

**LATVIAN WAYS OF SPEAKING AND
THEIR CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS**

by

Iréna Svilans-Dennis

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Iréna Svilans-Dennis

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ERRATUM

Due to a technical error some of the numbers of headings in Chapter ⁴~~3~~ are inaccurate:

3.3.3.1	should read	3.3.2.1
3.3.3.2	" "	3.3.2.2
3.3.3.3	" "	3.3.2.3
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ABSTRACT

The anthropologist Boas has claimed that in order to understand what shapes a people's cultural values, one must study in detail the way this people uses language. This study of Latvian ways of speaking seeks to prove the validity of this claim. More specifically, it addresses the two-part question: what is distinctive about the ways Latvian-speakers use Latvian and what can be learnt about Latvians from examining their language use?

The introduction begins with a brief summary of the historical background of the Latvian people and language, referring to the connection between historico-geographical facts and distinctive national traits. There follows an overview of a number of works that have addressed various aspects of Latvian language behaviour. The author then goes on to explain what is meant by 'ways of speaking', pointing out that for the purposes of the present study this phrase refers to four areas of Latvian language behaviour: using forms of address, expressing feelings and attitudes, beginning and concluding episodes of social interaction and getting people to do things. Descriptions of these behaviours are based on several kinds of data: examples of directly observed utterances, examples of utterances from written sources including literary works and examples of utterances elicited from respondents via questionnaires.

In order to show how Latvian linguistic structures encode Latvian socio-cultural values and what is distinctive about them, it is important to be able to say what these structures mean in a way that is free of ethnocentric bias. For this reason, semantic descriptions or parts of descriptions are proposed in 'natural semantic language' (NSM, for short), consisting of a metalexicon of approximately 50 hypothetical conceptual primitives (such as: 'want', 'I', 'you', 'think', 'feel'), presumed to be universal. Before embarking on her descriptions and analyses, the author briefly refers to significant works in the background literature of cross-cultural pragmatics.

Chapter one (Using address forms) examines the use of both non-pronominal and pronominal forms of address. Among the non-pronominal forms discussed are names, titles, kin terms and their various combinations. In the section on pronominal address, the focus is on the two singular address pronouns: *tu* and *jūs*. Unwritten rules of use are discussed, including strategies of avoidance when pronoun choice is difficult. Address form 'hybrids', such as first names used with the 'formal' address pronoun, are discussed.

The first part of Chapter two (Beginning and ending episodes of social interaction) discusses Latvian 'greeting' and 'farewelling' formulae. It shows how the absence or the abbreviated utterance of an expected formula can have social meaning. In the section on boundary-marking formulae in person-to-group speech events, the author explains why the Latvian *Dāmas un kungi* 'Ladies and gentlemen' has a much more

restricted field of use than its counterpart in English. In part three, formulae used to begin and end letters are shown to act in Latvian as conveyors of the writer's feelings and attitudes to the addressee to a far greater extent than they do in English, where 'Dear X' and 'Yours sincerely' are appropriate ways of beginning and ending a letter in a large variety of contexts.

Chapter three (Communicating feelings and attitudes) analyses the Latvian use of the so-called 'diminutive' suffixes. Contrary to what is implied in a number of traditional grammars which label suffixes of this type as pamazināmās 'diminutive' and/or milināmās 'of endearment', these suffixes can convey the idea of 'big' rather than 'little' and 'bad feelings' rather than 'good feelings'.

In Chapter four (Getting people to do things) the author examines Latvian directive behaviour. After a preliminary discussion of the term 'directive' in the first part of the chapter, a number of Latvian strategies for conveying the message 'I want you to do something' are described and analysed. In the third part of the chapter, the approach used is a departure from the qualitatively-based one used through most of the present study. In order to highlight certain features of directive utterances in Latvian, the author has focused on the quantitative aspects of data elicited by means of a questionnaire, comparing results obtained from both Latvian-speakers in Rīga and English-speakers in Canberra.

The main conclusion summarizes the distinctive Latvian characteristics emerging from the study. These include the value attached to the expression of good feelings and the importance attached to kin and kin relationships. Speaker-focused rather than hearer-focused ways of 'directing' point to an area where Latvian behaviour can be called 'individualist'; on the whole, however, Latvians are probably closer to 'collectivist' on Triandis' continuum of 'individualist' and 'collectivist' cultures.

Conventions and abbreviations

AA - Anglo-Australian

ACC - accusative case

addr. pron. - address pronoun

ADJ - adjective

ADV - adverb

AL - Australian Latvian (to do with the Latvian community in Australia)

COND - conditional

DAT - dative case

def. - definite

DIM - diminutive

f. - feminine

FN - first name

FUT - future tense

GEN - genitive case

IMP - imperative

ind. - indefinite

IND - indicative

INT - interrogative

KT - kin term

LL - 'Latvian' Latvian (to do with the Latvian community in Latvija)

LOC - locative case

LV - Latvian

LVV - Latviešu valodas vārdnīca

m. - masculine

MLLVG - Mūsdienu latviešu literārās valodas gramatika

NOM - nominative case

NP - noun phrase

NSM - natural semantic metalanguage

oblig. - obligation marker

OTH - other

p. - person, personal

p.c. - personal communication

p.o. - personal observation

PEJ - pejorative

pl. - plural

PREF - prefix

PRES - present tense

pt. pple. - past participle

qn-marker - question marker

sg. - singular

SUFF - suffix

T pronoun - the 'informal' address pronoun

V pronoun - the 'formal' address pronoun

VOC - vocative case

VP - verb phrase

Addendum page xi

Delete first sentence of para. 2 ('The truth of Boas' claim...')
Replace with:

Implicit acknowledgement that ways of speaking reflect ways of thinking and behaving lies in that people have sought (and still seek) to change other people's behaviour by changing the way they use language. This phenomenon can be observed in a number of areas of human activity.

INTRODUCTION

This study is based on the assumption that ways of speaking reflect cultural values. In this sense, it follows the lines of thought of the anthropologist Boas, for whom, as the Latvian sociologist Veidemanis (1964: 249) put it:

to understand native cultures was to understand people's thoughts since they think in a cultural framework. Understanding of thought was obtainable through evidence of psychological processes, accessible only through detailed studies of language.

~~The truth of Boas' claim is borne out by the fact that there are areas of human activity where language has become a powerful tool for influencing thinking.~~ One such area is advertising; another is media reporting [We fight 'bravely', the other side 'fanatically'; we 'take calculated risks', the other side is 'foolhardy']. Yet another is politics, where governments have sought to bring about new ways of thinking by seeking to introduce new ways of speaking and banning old ways. This has been documented with reference to ideology-inspired address forms in studies of ways of addressing in totalitarian or semi-totalitarian regimes. For example: the use of tongzhi in Chinese (Fang and Heng, 1983; Scotton and Wanjin, 1983), biedrs in Latvian (Sīlis, 1987) and towarzysz in Polish (Wierzbicka, 1991: 59), all of which mean approximately 'comrade', and some features of address behaviour in post-revolutionary Iranian Persian (Keshavarz:1988).

Instances where a government has sought to replace one language with another have also been documented. For example, in what is now Latgale (the eastern province of Latvija), in 1824 and 1865 the government sought to ban Latgalian ways of thinking by banning certain areas of Latgalian language use. These attempts were in the shape of two

edicts that were issued, the first banning the use of Latgalian in schools and the second banning all printing/publishing in Latgalian (see Bukšs, 1973: 33).

Even seemingly insignificant features of language use have been perceived as factors potentially influencing thought. In the Latvian literature published in Latvija over a fifty year period from about 1939, the word Dievs 'God', if it appears at all, is written with a lower-case 'd'. Arguments over pre-Soviet and Soviet ways of writing the fricative in lexical borrowings such as technikis/tehnikis 'technician', show that the graphemes '-ch-' and '-h-' have become 'indices' (the term is from Ekman, 1969) of varying degrees of commitment to a particular ideology.

Aim

I propose to offer further proof that Boas' claim is a valid one, by describing and analysing the ways of speaking of Latvians. More specifically, my aim is to offer some answers to the question: what (if indeed anything) is distinctive about the ways Latvian-speakers use Latvian and what (again, if indeed anything) can be learnt about Latvians from examining their language use. As a native-speaker of Latvian who has spent the best part of her life as a bilingual in Australia, I have a personal interest in analyzing what it is that sets Latvian ways of speaking apart from, say, Anglo-Australian ways. I also believe that such an analysis can be useful in helping Latvian-speakers and English-speakers understand each other better.

This has considerable relevance in Australia, whose government seeks to promote understanding and cooperation between the country's large number of ethnic groups¹ and whose largest city, Sydney, is home to the second largest Latvian-speaking community outside Latvija. In the foreseeable future, knowledge of Latvian and English communicative strategies will have an even larger and globally significant area of

application, as Latvija, together with the other Baltic states, has raised the possibility of negotiating entry into the expanding European Union.

On Latvija, Latvian and Latvians

Historical background

Latvija is one of what are commonly referred to as 'the three Baltic states' in northern Europe. Roughly south-east across the Baltic sea from the Scandinavian countries, it measures 66,000 square kilometres; this is slightly larger than Denmark, about the size of Tasmania. Like the other two Baltic states, Estonia and Lithuania, it is a largely flat, very wooded country with many lakes, rivers and marshes. Daugava and Gauja, its two biggest rivers, are navigable. Latvija shares borders with the Baltic sea and with Estonia, Russia and Lithuania.

The capital Rīga is at the mouth of the main river, Daugava. Being ice-free for most winters, the port on the Gulf of Rīga was much coveted by peoples with limited or no access to the sea. This fact partly explains why numerous powers over the centuries have sought to annex Latvija to their territories.

Latvian (also known as Lettish) is an Indo-European language and is one of the surviving members of the Baltic language group which included Old Prussian, Curonian, Semigallian and Selian. The other survivor is Lithuanian. Old Prussian became extinct around 1700; the other three: Curonian, Semigallian and Selian, had disappeared some time earlier, between 1400 and 1600, having been, as Gimbutas (1963) reports, 'Lettonized' or 'Lithuanized'. Latvian, as a language distinct from Lithuanian, can be traced back to about 8 AD (Andrups and Kalve, 1954).

It is spoken by about one and half to two million people. More than half of this number live in Latvija; the rest are in other parts of the world, including Australia (see

Putnins, 1986: 60–63 for locations and size of these communities). In 1981, according to Putnins' estimates (*ibid*: 88), there were 18,800 Latvians in Australia.

Currently, the Latvian-speaking language community in Latvija shares borders with a variety of language communities: Estonian, which is of the same language family as Finnish, in the north, Lithuanian in the south and Russian in the east. Both Latvian and Lithuanian derive from Proto Indo European and form the 'Baltic' subgroup within Indo-European; the subgroup 'Slavic' is probably their closest related subgroup. Estonian is a 'Uralic' language, belonging to the Finno Ugrian branch of Indo European.

The Latvian historian Dunsdorfs (1969) refers to archaeological and toponymic evidence suggesting that the origins of Latvians (and Lithuanians) can be traced back to the Baltic people who lived along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea around the year 2000 BC (see also Gimbutas, 1963: 26-33). At about this time, trade links were established between the Balts who had amber (washed up along the shores of the Baltic Sea) and Ancient Greeks and Romans who had bronze (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 11). Through what came to be known as 'amber routes' (Gimbutas, 1963: 58-59) Balts also made contact, at about this time, with what are now the British Isles, the Scandinavian countries, Russia and much of central and eastern Europe. In what is probably one of the earliest historical records referring to the Balts, the Roman historian Tacitus in 1 AD speaks of them as the 'Aisti' who collected amber and cultivated crops (Gimbutas, 1963: 25).

Since these early beginnings, extensively documented by the archaeologist and ethnologist Marija Gimbutas (1963), the area now known as Latvija has had a chequered history. In the early Middle Ages, it was successively overrun by the Huns, the Vikings and the Slavs (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 17, 23). Wars were common in ancient times in the whole of Europe. When not fighting a common enemy, the numerous Latvian states (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 19) fought with each other.

Founded in 1201, the capital city, Rīga, was from about the 13th to the 17th centuries a Hanseatic League town and port, thus making medieval Latvians part of what

has recently been called 'Europe's first common market' (National Geographic, October, 1994: 56 ff). The influence of the Hanseatic League German merchants spread through a network of some 200 towns, extending from Germany to London in the east, Bergen (Norway) in the north-west and Novgorod (Russia) in the north-east. A number of churches and other buildings in Rīga are a present-day testimony to this Latvian-German connection which brought Rīga in contact with lands and towns it may not have otherwise known.

From the east, with the beginning of the 12th century, came repeated Slavic invasions, with the Slavs eventually setting up a government in what is now eastern Latvija and bringing with them the Greek Orthodox religion around the end of the 12th century. At about the same time, together with German traders, the monk Meinhard arrived, bringing with him Catholicism. During the 13th century, increasing areas of Latvija (and what is now Estonia) were conquered by Germans led by the Teutonic Knights. Towards the end of the 13th century, the Germans named the combined conquered 'Latvian' and 'Estonian' territories 'Livonia'.

Livonia existed as a Catholic church state until the Reformation in the 16th century when in 1522 the teachings of Luther were introduced. These were embraced by the ruling classes and as a consequence, the Catholic church state collapsed. About thirty years later, Ivan the Terrible declared war on Livonia; this war was to last for almost thirty years. At the end of it, what is now north Estonia was claimed by Sweden, with the rest of Livonia, including present-day Latvija, annexed to the combined Polish-Lithuanian state. Two years later, what had been Livonia, with the exception of Riga and a few other areas which remained independent, was divided among the Russians, Danes, Finns, Prussians, Swedish and the Polish-Lithuanian state. Towards the end of the 16th century, what had been Russian territory, was conquered by the Polish-Lithuanian state. During the next hundred or so years, progressively more of Poland-Lithuania was involved in wars until in the 18th century the Polish-Lithuanian state collapsed with Russia taking over nearly all of the territory that is now Latvija.

The influence of the French Revolution of 1789 spread slowly eastwards and it was not until 1861 that serfdom was abolished in the Russian Empire, including what is now Latvia. With the end of serfdom came the earliest beginnings of a national awareness and the time known as (tautas) atmodas laikmets 'lit: nation's awakening era' which had its counterparts in much of central and eastern Europe where cultural nationalism long preceded the overt expression of political independence. Perhaps one of the most significant manifestations of national awareness beginnings for Latvians, was the work of Krišjānis Barons, who spent most of his life (1835-1923) compiling the Dainas roughly, 'Folksongs'; the first volume of these appeared in 1898.

At the end of World War I, nearly the whole of Latvia was under German occupation. Even though its independence had been formally declared on 18 November 1918, Latvia remained occupied until the beginning of 1920, largely because of the Russian civil war (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 156).

When at the end of the Russian civil war, communists took over many of the newly independent states/territories, Latvia, together with Lithuanian, Estonia, Poland and a few other states, remained independent. There was some talk of forming a federation of independent states, but when conflict arose between Poland and Lithuania, the idea had to be abandoned (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 153). Nevertheless, from around this time on, the destiny of Latvia grew even more inextricably bound with that of Estonia and Lithuania (Vardys and Misiunas, 1978; Von Rauch, 1974). Following the Nazi-Soviet pact between Hitler and Stalin in 1939, all three Baltic States were annexed to the Soviet Union and remained Soviet Republics for almost fifty years.

This period has been documented in detail in a number of works, one of the more recent being a volume jointly written by Misiunas, the Foreign consultant to the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, and Taagepera, Professor of Social and Political Science at the University of California (1993). According to these authors, the Baltic States had in World War II lost about 20 per cent of their pre-war population, through war casualties, deportation of 'undesirables' and emigration (Misiunas and Taagepera,

1993: 75). In the early post World War II period in the Baltic States, Russian was promoted as the official 'Soviet' language. The works of pre-Soviet writers were banned or strictly censored. All contact with Latvian émigrés, including personal correspondence, was banned. With the early 1950s, the ban on personal mail was lifted, but for many years afterwards, the content of letters from émigrés was 'vetted'. Poorly re-sealed envelopes and missing contents showed that the letters had been opened and examined. Letter-writers had to be careful that what they said did not in any way incriminate the addressee(s) or express anti-Soviet sentiments.

From the early post World War II years, periods of tolerance of national manifestations of culture alternated with periods of strict censorship. For example, in 1956, the festival celebrating the summer solstice, Jāņa Diena 'St John's Day', was again permitted, to be banned again later. In the late 1950s, performances of some works of the émigré playwright Zīverts were allowed. Probably because of the discovery of the beginnings of a Latvian anti-Soviet movement, the early 1960s were marked by vigorous attempts to curb nationalism. Accused of 'patriotism', the poet Skujenieks was sentenced to seven years' forced labor. Russian names were given to Rīga's streets. Accompanying the drive against nationalism was an anti-religious campaign, resulting in the closure of churches and police action against the religious. The repression of Baltic nationalism was accompanied by the encouragement of immigration of Russians (particularly in the cities); by 1965, they numbered about one million in the whole of the country. In 1970, just over one half (57 per cent) of Rīga's population were Latvian. In the late 1970s there were further efforts to establish Russian as the *lingua franca* of the Soviet Republics; Russian television programmes were expanded and educational institutions had to increase the percentage of Russian spoken and taught. People compared these russification efforts to those of the Tsarist rule in the 1890s.

However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s there were increasing contacts with the West, either through travel or cultural interaction. Western books, plays, films and musicals became available. In the words of Misiunas and Taagepera (1993: 177), 'the

striving for Western styles... [had come] to be viewed as cultural opposition to Russification'. Cultural aspirations found their political counterpart - at least on one level - with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and the freedom and independence of the Baltic States.

The émigré Latvians

After peace was declared in May, 1945, many of those who had left Latvija as refugees, were reluctant to go far, thinking that their exile would be short, three to six months at the most (personal communication). As it became increasingly evident, that Latvija would be under Soviet rule for the foreseeable future, they emigrated to whichever country would have them, establishing communities in countries as far-flung as South America, Canada, Europe and Australia (see Putniņš in Birškys et al, 1986:60).

Thus, from about the late 1940s, there were two distinct types of Latvian communities: those who had stayed at home and those who had left and eventually were to settle permanently in various parts of the world. As the Soviet government's efforts to russify the Baltic countries intensified, the Latvian émigrés increasingly saw themselves as having the svēts pienākums, lit: 'sacred duty', to act as the preservers of the Latvian language and cultural heritage. This is why cultural 'exports' from Soviet Latvija were viewed by the émigrés with suspicion.

To promote Latvian culture in the bi-lingual Australian context, Latvian Saturday schools were organized, choirs were formed to carry on the pre-Soviet tradition of choral singing, drama groups were created, sports clubs sprang up. In Australia, probably the most important cultural event for Latvians, is the Kultūras Dienas, lit: 'Days of culture', now officially known as 'Latvian Arts Festival' and in its forty-fourth year. This annual event, to be held in Melbourne this year, draws Latvians from all over Australia and outside it as well. For one week, there are exhibitions of the works of Latvian artists and

craftsmen, concerts at which works of Latvian composers are performed, folk dancing displays, theatrical performances of works by Latvian dramatists, public lectures, church services, sessions of prose and poetry-reading - all in Latvian.

That the Latvian Arts Festival (as it is now officially known in English) has kept essentially the same format for its forty-four years, shows the extent to which it continues to be regarded as a monument to both the Latvian culture that was perceived as the 'true' Latvian culture in the early 1950s, namely, the culture of pre-Soviet Latvija, and to the seriousness with which the organizers see their role as the preservers of that culture. Ironically, some of the changes in format that have occurred over the last few years, have been brought about through increased contact and cultural exchange with Latvians in Latvija.

The various Latvian communities outside Latvija, like the one within it, are also in contact with speakers of other languages. The post-war (and younger) generations, having been brought up as bi-linguals, speak a Latvian that has acquired the flavour of the local language. (I refer later in the present study to some examples of linguistic transfer from English). However, apart from having left their mark on the lexicon, on the pronunciation and on some areas of ways of speaking, the local languages have had little influence on Latvian. Swedish Latvian, Australian Latvian, German Latvian, French Latvian are all mutually intelligible language varieties of the one language.

In Latvian, nouns are marked for gender, number and case. Traditional grammar (MLLVG, vol. 1: 388 ff) notes seven cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative and vocative. There are several declension classes. Adjectives, which agree in number, gender and case with nouns have two forms: indefinite and definite. The verb-system is highly complex (ibid: 542 ff). Number, person and tense are marked by verb-endings. Aspectual nuances are made possible by at least twelve verb prefixes. The phonemic system includes long vowels (marked diacritically) as well as short; note, for example, the minimal pairs: radi 'relatives', rādi 'you (sg.) show'; mele 'liar (f.)', mēle 'tongue'; krita 'fell-3 p.', krīta 'chalk-GEN'. The palatalization of some

consonants has phonemic status, for example: gala 'end-GEN', gaļa 'meat-NOM'; asi 'sharply', aši 'quickly'.

Religion and cosmology

Ancient Latvians paid homage to a number of deities and quasi-deities which are personifications of natural phenomena and include: Saule 'Sun' and Saulesmeitas 'Sun-daughters', Mēness 'Moon' and Pērkons 'Thunder' (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 29; Gimbutas, 1963: 189-214; Brastiņš, 1977). Among other things, the wind, forest, sea and earth were personified as 'mothers': Vēja māte 'Mother of wind', Meža māte 'Mother of forest', Jūras māte 'Mother of sea' and Zemes māte 'Mother of earth'.

There were also trees, groves and stones that were sacred and thought to have curative powers. Certain trees were thought to embody the spirits of the dead which were regarded as ever-present, though invisible, and had to be appeased, like the deities, at certain times of the year and on special occasions with offerings and banquets (Gimbutas, 1963: 193-196). Thus, nature was perceived as a living-thing, or more precisely, a collection of living-beings with whom one had to co-exist as peaceably as possible. One was especially careful not to incur the displeasure of the deities to whose rule all nature was subjected.

As mentioned earlier, Christianity did not reach Latvians until the 12th century with Greek Orthodoxy introduced to what is now the eastern part of Latvija and Catholicism brought to the area north of Rīga. Subsequently, as part of the Holy War (under Pope Innocent III), Christianity came with the Crusaders and for over three hundred years most of what are today Latvija and Estonia was under the jurisdiction of both the Pope in Rome and the Holy Roman Emperor. The teachings of Martin Luther reached Latvians as early as 1522 and were eagerly embraced by the inhabitants of Riga (Dunsdorfs, 1969: 62). Probably because it was the religion of the ruling classes who came from Germany,

Lutheranism continued to flourish and became Latvia's main religion. Today, about 75 per cent of the population are Lutheran, roughly 20 per cent are Catholic, with the remaining 5 per cent belonging mainly to the Greek Orthodox and Protestant religions. There is a geographical split corresponding to the religious one: eastern Latvia, especially the province Latgale, is Catholic; the rest of the country is Lutheran.

Latvian way of life and character

Past events have left their traces on the national psyche, but the geography of the country has had an influence as well. After the peasants were finally given their freedom, the plots of land accorded to them were not always the choicest. Besides, though generally flat, the country with its forests, lakes, swamps and marshes had small and scattered tracts of arable land, and what there was, was not particularly fertile (Dunn, 1966) Thus, a great number of peasants lived in isolated homesteads, separated from their nearest neighbours by anything between 1 to several versts (Dunn, 1966:14; 1 verst=0.66 miles). In addition to this, they had to cope with the country's harsh climate where there is snow on the ground for at least four months of the year.

Living in isolation, surrounded by forests where people got lost and swamps and marshes where people drowned, one learnt to distrust the unknown. One developed a wariness with the unfamiliar that extended to unfamiliar faces. One felt that one could only really trust and feel at ease with people one knew, and in the isolated farmstead, the people one knew were 'family'; usually the extended family, or more precisely, the saime roughly, 'members of the same household'. Only those outsiders who had skills the household members did not possess or goods that could not be made on the farmstead were tolerated: the itinerant potter, tailors, the wandering salesmen.

Besides, living in such circumstances meant that for one's material well-being too one depended on the 'family'. In order to be self-sufficient, all family members who were

capable of farm-work, had to work. Given the climate, the soil was only cultivable for a relatively short time of the year. In that time, from the thawing out of the soil in spring until the first frosts of late autumn, enough food had to be produced to feed the family through the winter until the next food-producing season. The jobs involved could not be handled by one person working alone; co-operation of the whole household was essential.

Co-operation with nature was also essential; the optimum time for sowing did not come on the same date every year; neither did harvest-time. The different tasks could not be postponed without at the same time risking the loss of one's livelihood. So completely at the mercy of nature, one had to learn to work with it. Besides, crops could be ruined by too much sun or rain at the wrong time. Therefore, it is no wonder that ancient Latvians perceived nature as invested with special powers, both good and evil.

The living conditions described above, remained unchanged for the Latvian peasant through many generations until fairly recent times. The philosopher-scholar, Jurēvics, sees them as instrumental in the shaping of the Latvian character. Jurēvics makes the following assertions (among others) about Latvians when in his collection of essays called Idejas un īstenība (Ideas and reality) he writes about 'The Latvian soul' (1965: 356-404):

Latvians like to be engaged in purposeful activity [=work]

Latvians are independent thinkers

Latvians are good planners and organizers

Latvians strive to improve their lot

Latvians value the acquiring of knowledge

Latvians respect people who have acquired knowledge

Latvians like to sing and drink together

Latvians tend to be 'asocial'[Jurēvics' term]

Latvians are emotional, but not passionate

Latvians love nature

(Note: Jurēvics uses the term asociāls, roughly 'asocial' to describe a person who is reluctant to establish contact with those outside his (extended) family and group of intimate friends.)

Evidence supporting this assessment of what might be called 'Latvian-ness' is present in the findings of the scholars Blese (1948), Dunn (1966), Andrupš (Andrupš and Kalve, 1954: 9-88) and Viķis-Freibergs (1976). There is some evidence that what may appear to be a Latvian way of looking at things, is in fact a Baltic, Nordic, Slavic, or even a general rural/peasant way (Jurēvics, 1965: 373, 379, 385, 407 and elsewhere). However, given that, as part of the Lithuania-Poland state, Lithuania was a powerful political force in Europe for some considerable time (which Latvija never was) and that Estonia, through its language is closer to Finland than to either Latvija or Lithuania, one would expect that each of the Baltic states has some distinctive feature(s) that set it apart from the others. Some clue(s) as to what this feature (or these features) might be, will undoubtedly be found in the ways of speaking of each culture.

Existing works on aspects of Latvian language behaviour

To date, not very much has been written that could offer some answers to the two-part question stated at the beginning: what is distinctive about the ways Latvian-speakers use Latvian and what can be learnt about Latvians from examining their language use? Even in recent years when considerable attention has been given to the ways of speaking of a variety of cultures and a variety of linguistic communities within cultures, Latvian scholars have preferred to focus on other aspects of Latvian. Since 1940 a handful of works with varying degrees of relevance to my topic of research have appeared. They are

included in the bibliography and I refer to them in the course of my study. The following is a short summary of the more significant ones.

The professor of philosophy, Blese (1940), describes from an etymological point of view a number of lexical items that are, in his view, representative of Latvian ways of thinking. For example, because the Latvian verb darīt 'to do' has the basic meaning ko pārveidot par derīgu approximately, 'to change something into something useful/fitting' (Blese, 1940: 209), purposeful physical activity is seen by Latvians as something inherently good. The linguist, Rūķe-Draviņa (1953) explores a comprehensive list of examples of adjectival diminutives in Latvian and offers a collection (Rūķe-Draviņa, 1974) of approximately 1100 Latvian idiomatic expressions together with examples of their use from literary works, thus providing valuable insights into a broad area of Latvian linguistic behaviour, usually ignored by traditional dictionaries and grammars. Silis (1980, 1988) focuses on a number of aspects of the Latvian use of address forms, including a discussion of biedrs, biedr(en)e 'comrade'. Bušs' (1986) and Mirovics and Dubaus' (1990) works on Latvian slang, are another departure from mainstream Latvian language studies which have in the past tended to be dominated by polemics on orthography and 'correct' Latvian syntax and pronunciation.

In addition to these studies, some references to pragmatic (as opposed to morphological and syntactic) aspects of Latvian can be found in two Latvian grammars: Mūsdienu latviešu literāras valodas gramatika (A grammar of present-day literary Latvian) which appeared in Rīga in 1962 and, more recently, A grammar of modern Latvian, written jointly by a non-Latvian Australian academic and a Latvian émigré, in Australia in 1980.

Aspects of Latvian ways of 'greeting' and 'addressing' are discussed in two works best described as educational manuals of something like 'good manners': Dzīves māksla (lit: The art of living), a 1992 edition of a manual of the same name, first published in Rīga in the 1930s and Uzvedības kultūrai (lit: For the culture of good behaviour), also published in 1992. Since the emphasis in both manuals is largely on

providing answers to the question 'How to behave properly', the approach is prescriptive: in the sections on 'greeting' and 'addressing', the reader is told 'how one should greet' and 'how one should address'. Notes from the editor/author prefacing the main text in both manuals suggest that the prescribed behaviours reflect the social norms of tertiary-educated middle-class urban Latvians.

Establishing parameters

Some clarification of the phrase 'ways of speaking' is necessary, since it can have a variety of meanings. In looking at Latvian ways of speaking, I propose to look at how Latvians 'do things with words' (Austin, 1962). Given the time and space constraints of this work, I have had to limit myself to the following: how Latvians address each other, how they express feelings and attitudes, how they begin and conclude verbal dealings with other Latvians, and how they get people to do things.

There are several reasons why, out of a large number of types of linguistic activity, I chose these four. Firstly, it seems to me - often as a bilingual observer of the ways of speaking of two different cultures - that in these areas of linguistic behaviour, the differences between Latvian and Anglo-Australian ways of speaking are especially marked. Secondly, the four types of activity occur as elements of a great variety of social encounters; they are specific neither to any one type of speech event, nor to any one social or professional group of people. Thirdly, these four areas of language behaviour are some of the most basic, as has been confirmed by the findings of research into language acquisition by children; how to name people, how to 'greet' and 'farewell', how to convey 'feelings', 'wants' and the message 'I want you to do something', are all skills that are acquired, albeit in a rudimentary fashion, at an early age (Bates, 1976; Greenfield and Smith, 1976).

While this division of language into kinds/types of speech-act performance is useful, even necessary, for analytical purposes, it is artificial in practice: in real-life, people rarely use language to do one thing at a time. How speakers address each other, greet each other and farewell each other, and 'direct' each other, conveys simultaneously something about their feelings/attitudes to each other.

My interest is in the words, morphological devices and certain routine expressions that Latvians have at their disposal to carry out the socio-linguistic tasks of addressing, getting into and out of verbal transactions, communicating feelings and controlling the behaviour of others. Interesting as the subject is, a discussion of the auditory utterance features such as pitch, stress, rhythm, 'uhms and aahs', frequency and length of pauses cannot be included here.

Method

My analysis is based on several kinds of data. First, there are spoken examples of language use from 'real life' interactional episodes. These comprise examples directly observed in my own dealings with Latvian-speakers and examples (usually described in informal conversations) from the experience of informants. Secondly, there are examples from what Mathiot (1978: 218) calls 'mediated cultural behaviour', that is, written Latvian: letters, newspapers, magazines, novels, plays and poems. Finally, there are examples elicited from informants via questionnaires.

My discussion will include comparisons between Latvian and Anglo-Australian language use in similar situations. References to the ways of speaking of other cultures will also be included.

When faced with the task of describing Latvian utterances from the perspective of language use and explaining their meanings in order to show what is special about them, I sought a method of description that would suit my purposes. My search led to a number

of studies and investigations whose description of the pragmatic meanings of utterances proved to be inconclusive; I refer to some of these in the course of my study. To illustrate the kinds of problems I encountered, I propose to mention some aspects of studies of 'directives' [= ways of getting people to do things].

In order to show what various types of 'directive' utterances mean, a number of classification systems have been proposed. Firstly, there is a lack of consensus on the number of 'classes', 'types' or 'categories' of utterances. Ervin-Tripp (1976) proposes a taxonomy of six types to which Pufahl Bax (1986) adds two more. Blum-Kulka proposes nine (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka, 1987). Secondly, and more importantly, the names for the various categories are given as self-explanatory. For example, Pufahl Bax (1986:684) using Ervin-Tripp's categories, describes three formally similar interrogative directives in the following way:

'Can you type this?' is an 'Embedded imperative'

'Can I ask you to look at something?' is a 'Question directive'

'Can I get two copies?' is a 'Permission directive'

Elsewhere in the same study, as an example of a, presumably, sub-category of 'Imperatives' Pufahl Bax suggests that the utterance 'Two copies' is an 'elliptical imperative'. By what criteria the author has chosen to call this an 'imperative' is never made clear; it could just as well be an 'elliptical question directive' [=Can I ask you to give me two copies] or an 'elliptical permission directive' [=Can I get two copies]. More importantly, labelling utterances this way, does not say much about their meanings.

Holmes' (1984) approach in investigating The structure of teachers' directives yields a description that is much clearer. In her study, 'The directives are divided into three major categories on the basis of their form: imperative, interrogative or declarative. Within these categories syntactic variants and modifications have been discussed using formal and explicit criteria as far as possible, and the social correlations of forms have

been noted where relevant' (Holmes, 1984: 98). In this respect, my approach to discussing Latvian directive utterances is similar to Holmes'. However, some of Holmes' explanations of utterance meaning are limiting. For example, in her discussion of the utterance form 'Let + first person pronoun' (ibid: 102) as used in the classroom ['Let's see if you can sort this out', 'Let's see who can sit down quickly'], Holmes describes such structures as 'directives with the force of a command rather than a suggestion'.

Such a description is of limited use on two counts. Firstly, it takes for granted that the reader understands what is meant by the terms 'command' and 'suggestion' (and there is evidence in linguistic writing that these terms are not always used or understood the same way by everybody). Secondly, it cannot be applied to similar utterances across languages. In Latvian, for example, there is a word pavēle which means 'command', but it also means 'order', 'directive' (in the administrative, not the linguistic sense); as for 'suggestion', there are three 'possibilities' in Latvian: ierosinājums and ieteikums and even padoms, each of which has some semantic components that it shares with the others and some that are distinctive. These problems are representative of those encountered in areas of linguistic behaviour other than 'directives'.

In order to show what socio-cultural values are encoded in Latvian linguistic structures, it is essential to be able to say what these structures mean. At the same time, in order to explain what is distinctive, if not unique about Latvian ways of 'doing things with words', one has to be able to compare meanings between similar structures, both intra- and cross-culturally. To do this in a way that is free of ethnocentric bias, a descriptive tool that has universal applicability is needed. Such a tool is 'natural semantic metalanguage' (hereafter NSM).

What is NSM?

NSM is based on the premise that 'the key to a rigorous and yet insightful talk about meaning lies in the notion of semantic primitives (or semantic primes)' (Wierzbicka, in press: 1995). In other words, in order to describe the meaning of a word or expression in

an intelligible way that avoids circularity, we must use words that are 'semantically more basic' (ibid: 7).

For example, to explain 'to thank' in terms of 'to express gratitude' does not explain 'to thank' at all. The person who does not understand the concept in 'thank' is even less likely to understand the concepts in 'express' and 'gratitude'. A much more fruitful line of approach would be to explain 'thank' in terms of 'saying something good to a person when this person has done a good thing for you' (for the format used for NSM semantic explications, see Goddard and Wierzbicka, 1994).

In the more basic way of explaining the meaning encoded in 'to thank' (see above), the words: 'say', 'good', 'thing', 'person', 'when', 'this', 'do', 'you' are English configurations of a universal set of basic human concepts, numbering just over 53 (or 54); (for a more detailed discussion see: Wierzbicka, in press; Wierzbicka and Goddard, 1994). As the hesitation over a definitive number of items shows, the NSM lexicon is in the process of being tested for applicability across a variety of languages and continually revised in the light of fresh evidence.

Proponents of the NSM approach argue 'that conceptual primitives can be found through in-depth analysis of any natural language...[and] that the sets of primitives identified in this way would "match", and that in fact each such set is just one language-specific manifestation of a universal set of fundamental human concepts' (Wierzbicka, in press). Some findings from such 'in-depth analysis' of a number of languages, including those of non-European origin, have been published (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 1994), but the work is far from over.

As a descriptive tool in the present study, NSM has several advantages. Derived from natural language, it can be easily understood. Definitions in NSM, because they are expressed in lexical primitives (terms that are indefinable), avoid circularity. NSM can be used to describe the meanings of any type of linguistic structure: the morpheme or the whole utterance; it can be used to formulate in easily grasped terms, cultural values,

attitudes and beliefs. Most importantly, NSM allows cross-cultural comparisons of meanings to be made.

Semantic descriptions in NSM (also called semantic formulae) are set out in a format that is specific to the NSM approach. Briefly, 'Each component [of the formula] is set out as if it were a paragraph' (Ameka, 1991: 27). Indentation and minimal punctuation are used to show that certain parts of a complex component are embedded in others.

Through these highly formalized semantic descriptions in NSM, small but significant differences between related linguistic elements, such as 'diminutive suffixes', can be revealed (see Wierzbicka, 1992: 225 ff). Cross-cultural differences between what appears to be the same speech-act in a number of cultures, emerge very clearly from an NSM explication of the speech-act in its various culture-specific settings (see Wierzbicka, 1991 on 'self-assertion', p. 72 ff).

As an illustration of what NSM paraphrases of meaning look like in practice, I quote from Wierzbicka (in Hellinger and Ammon, (eds) (1994) who is explicating the Anglo-American and Chinese attitudes to 'well-meaning pressure':

Attitudes to well-meaning pressure - Anglo-American

when I want someone to do something

because I want to do something good for this person

I can't say something like this to this person:

" you have to do it"

Attitudes to well-meaning pressure - Chinese

when I want someone to do something

because I want to do something good for this person

it is good to say something like this to this person

"you have to do it"

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In line 7 from bottom, delete 'significant' and substitute 'relevant'.

After '..necessary' (3 lines from bottom), insert:

When positing an extended semantic definition of a particular construction, my aim has been to list the semantic components which together account for its use. In this sense, I have followed the approach outlined and discussed in considerable detail in Wierzbicka (1991: 197-254).

In Anglo-American culture, 'any attempts to force the addressee to do something against his or her will are generally taboo (except for adult-child interactions); by contrast, in Chinese culture...well-meaning pressure is welcome and expected' (ibid: 18). Thus, what is perceived as an 'imposition' from the Anglo perspective, is not an imposition at all.

One practical problem with the NSM approach is that semantic formulae using nothing but the fifty or so elements from the NSM metalexicon can become very long, consisting of twelve or more separately defined components (ibid: 20-21); this makes them hard to read and hard to understand. For practical purposes therefore, an expanded metalexicon, such as the one with over 150 elements used in Wierzbicka's dictionary of English speech act verbs (1987) is necessary.

For this reason, the language I have chosen to use in describing the meaning(s) of various linguistic structures and, occasionally, other communicative devices (e.g., gestures), is an adaptation of NSM, both in terms of lexicon and format. The descriptive language I use contains a number of basic terms that are not present in the hypothetical set of primitives, but are readily definable; terms like 'mother', 'father', 'together' and 'married'.

The semantic definitions I provide are usually not 'semantic formulae' or 'semantic explications' in the NSM sense. My focus in most cases is not on explicating in detail the meaning of a form or feature, but rather stating certain of its components that I believe to be ^{relevant} ~~significant~~. Occasionally, I propose a more extended semantic definition. In these cases, I use the prescribed NSM format, listing each semantic component on a separate line. In these longer explications, the components are numbered for ease of reference, should that be necessary. /

Background literature

For a better understanding of the relationship between culture (including cultural values), meaning and 'ways of speaking', the following works proved especially helpful. I refer

to the study comparing ways of expressing 'politeness' in Greek and English (Sifianou, 1992), to beginning phone conversations in French and American English (Godard, 1977) and English and Greek (Sifianou, 1989), to a comparison of formulaic expressions in Turkish and Greek (Tannen and Oztek, 1981) and to the detailed descriptions and analyses of language behaviour across a spectrum of different cultures (Wierzbicka, 1991, 1992; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1981).

On culture-specific language phenomena, particularly illuminating were the works on Japanese (Lebra and Lebra, 1974; Condon and Saito, 1974), on Black English (Kochman, 1972), on the 'Tuareg' of North Africa (Youssouf et al, 1976), on Hebrew (Katriel, 1986), Yiddish (Matisoff, 1979) and Jewish (Schiffrin, 1984; Tannen, 1981).

On gender-specific linguistic features, Holmes (1985), Tannen (1990, 1992), Wolfson and Manes (1980), Staley (1978) and McConnell-Ginet (et al., 1980) were especially enlightening.

The implications of different speaking styles for other areas of human social activity emerged particularly forcefully from the following studies of cross-cultural speech: in the field of teaching (Scollon and Scollon, 1983; Boss, 1983; Robinson, 1985) in Egyptian-American diplomacy (Cohen, 1987), in culture-specific ways of expressing emotions (Lutz, 1990), in French and Anglo-Australian conversational strategies used by employees in office-work (Béal, 1993) and in variations in conversational style among English-speakers with a variety of cultural backgrounds (Clyne, 1994). The works of Béal and Clyne highlight aspects of cross-cultural communication that have considerable implications for fostering better inter-cultural relations in the workplace; an aspect of language use that is particularly relevant in the multicultural society of Australia.

Regarding the theoretical background of the present study, I have already alluded to the considerable input of the NSM approach for semantic description, as defined by Wierzbicka and her associates. To Mathiot (1978) I am indebted for a clearer perception of the ways face-to-face interaction can be analysed. To Goffman (1967; 1981), I owe the view that ways of speaking are an integral part of social behaviour. To Austin (1962),

Searle (1969; 1979), Reiss (1985), Verschueren (1985) I am in debt for the perception of the use of language as 'doing [things with words]'. For a more thorough understanding of the history of the Baltic people in general, and Latvians in particular, I have to thank Dunsdorfs (1969), Gimbutas (1963) and Misiunas and Taagepera (1983; 1990).

Outline of chapters

Chapter one (Using address forms) examines different forms of address and the ways Latvians use these in person-to-person communication. The first part of the chapter discusses personal names (including their shortened or suffixed forms), titles, last names, kin terms, the rise and fall of 'comrade' and various combinations of two or more of these lexical elements. The second part of this chapter focuses on the use of the two singular address pronouns: Tu and Jūs. I discuss the unwritten rules of when and when not to use Tu, examples of switching from one to the other form between the same interlocutors and examples of avoidance strategies when choice of the appropriate pronoun is difficult. I also refer to non-pronominal and pronominal address form combinations which appear to carry conflicting messages, for example: first name address together with the so-called 'formal' singular address pronoun Jūs.

Chapter two (Beginning and ending episodes of social interaction) deals with Latvian words and phrases used as boundary markers for episodes of social interaction. Because these are often used to initiate such episodes, various forms of 'greeting' are discussed. In addition to this, I show how the omission of an expected 'greeting' formula can have social meaning. In my discussion of boundary-marking formulae in person-to-group speech events, I explain why the Latvian counterpart to the English formula 'Ladies and gentlemen' has restricted use. In reference to opening and closing formulae used in letters, I show how these act as conveyors of the writer's feelings/attitudes to the addressee to a far greater extent in Latvian than they do in English.

In chapter three (Communicating feelings and attitudes), I discuss the role/s of 'expressive' suffixes, including the so-called 'diminutive' suffix. Traditional grammars have given an incomplete picture of the use of some of these suffixes, grouping most of them under the label of pamazināmās 'diminutive' and/or milināmās 'of endearment'. Some of my examples show that not all uses of these suffixes are 'diminutivizing' or 'endearing'. Traditional grammars have also tended to gloss over the fact that some of these suffixes are adjectival and adverbial, as well as nominal. Neither are the suffixes confined to the domain of children's talk and children's literature as might be expected. I aim to show that the chief role of this group of suffixes appears to be that of conveying feelings and attitudes on the part of the speaker.

In chapter four (Getting people to do things) I investigate the numerous Latvian strategies for conveying the message 'I want you to do something'. In the previous chapters my observations on Latvian ways of speaking are based almost exclusively on selected examples from literature, personal observation and conversation with other Latvian-speakers and my analysis is qualitatively-based. In the third part of this chapter, however, I have adopted a quantitative approach. I have used data elicited by means of questionnaires administered over a one-month period in Rīga, in 1992. I have also included results from a smaller number of responses from Anglo-Australian informants in Canberra in early 1993 to the English version of the same questionnaires.

¹As an illustration, I note that in Melbourne, more than 100 languages are spoken (Clyne, 1994).

Chapter 1

USING ADDRESS FORMS

Introduction

As in other areas of linguistic behaviour, when it comes to naming the addressee to her/his face, non-native speakers of a language risk communicating things other than they have intended; note for example the case of the English native-speaker in Paris, who approached a French 'gendarme' to ask for street directions and prefaced her question with Monsieur le flic 'Mr Fuzz' (p.c.).

Intra-culturally too, examples of addressees' reactions to what they deem inappropriate address from the speaker attest to people's sensitivity regarding the labels given to them by others. Boņs's aunt Malvīne, in the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of Man), does not want to be addressed as or called 'Aunt' (Klīdzējs, 1956: 20), because it makes her feel too old. In a small group of Latvian refugees in Germany in the late 1940s, an elderly woman in the communal kitchen objects to being called māmiņ roughly 'mother-DIM' (p.c.). In the English-speaking world, a pop-star insists on being called 'Peter' instead of 'Pete'¹ because it sounds more 'serious'.

All this somewhat anecdotal evidence points to the fact that in the use of address forms, the risk of mis-communication is probably greater than in the use of many other linguistic forms. To reduce this risk, it is important that ways of addressing continue to be studied, both across different language communities and within the same community.

This chapter is about Latvian ways of addressing. Constraints of time and space do not allow me to offer a detailed discussion and analysis of all the Latvian address forms and their use. Instead, I will concentrate on those areas where Latvian address behaviour differs most markedly from Anglo-Australian and show how the differences say something about Latvian cultural attitudes and values. My observations will be based

on personal experience and observations of Latvian address behaviour and data from a variety of written and oral sources, including the following: grammars and dictionaries; the manuals of good-manners; informal conversations with Latvian-speakers; a questionnaire administered in 1991 and 1992 to two groups of Latvian-speakers: one in Adelaide, one in Rīga and over several hundred utterances collected from several thousand pages of novels and plays.

The Brown and Gilman approach (Giglioli, 1983: 252-82) was probably the first serious attempt to elaborate a system of categorizing different forms of address across languages. They propose a set of rules of use for address pronouns in each of the languages they discuss. Their approach, based on an analysis of a large number of examples of address pronoun use, does not include a number of very ordinary, everyday situations.

People do not talk only to other people who are capable of answering them; they talk to babies, to animals, to inanimates and to the supernatural. Where in the Brown and Gilman pronoun scheme would one situate the Tu 'you' Latvians use when they carry out linguistic tasks such as talking to God or the devil, talking to their pet cat, addressing their Fatherland, muttering to themselves or to no one in particular, uttering formulae such as Bet ērmi, tavi ērmi! 'How very strange!' [lit: but weird-things, *your-sg.* weird things]? Can one speak of 'power' and/or 'solidarity' in these contexts? Using the Brown and Gilman model, how would one set about explaining the Tu 'you' French-speakers address to God in the Notre Père 'Our Father' and the Vous 'you' they direct to Mary, Mother of Christ?²

Among other attempts to establish a system of rules of address is the flow-chart diagram, which Ervin-Tripp first proposed for American English address forms (Pride and Holmes, 1972: 226); the same type of diagram was later used by Ervin-Tripp to present the address pronoun system in 19th century Russian, in Yiddish and among Puerto Rican children (ibid: 232-34). The flow-chart diagram, which has the advantage of being a relatively clear, easy-to-follow visual representation of a complex reality, appears to work for a restricted set of address forms: the non-pronominal forms in American

English and the T versus the V pronoun use in languages with the dual address pronoun system. By means of these diagrams, Ervin-Tripp is able to show that feelings/attitudes conveyed by a first name v. 'title + last name' form of address contrast in American English are communicated by the T v. V pronoun contrast in Yiddish. For example, 'deference' is communicated by title + last name in American English and by the V pronoun in Yiddish (ibid: 233).

As long as one stays within the confines of one formal category, the non-pronominal address forms or the pronominal forms, Ervin-Tripp's diagrams seem to 'work' well. Whether they can be used to describe successfully the various non-pronominal and pronominal combinations possible in, for example, Latvian (or French) is more problematic.³

My approach will be to show how the different ways Latvian address forms are used illustrate their meanings. To do this, I will, where possible, propose semantic formulae in the manner of the NSM explications of Wierzbicka (see for example: 1991, 1992). Much of the time, though, using a less rigid format, I will refer to a particular form as conveying a particular message (this frequently being the first step towards the elaboration of an explication in NSM). In the language I use for the 'messages' I will avoid, as far as possible, terms that to date have been extensively used as self-evident descriptive tools; I am referring to terms such as: 'politeness', 'formal', 'intimate', 'solidarity', 'power', 'distance' and so on.

For the sake of simplicity, there will be two parts to this chapter:

the non-pronominal address forms: names, titles, kin terms and so on; and

the address pronouns: Tu and Jūs

1.0. *The non-pronominal address forms*

The second volume of MLLVG (A grammar of contemporary literary Latvian) devotes five and a half pages (out of over nine hundred) to Uzruna 'Address' (1962, vol. 2: 581-86) which focuses exclusively on non-pronominal address. The Latvian word uzruna has the same prefix and stem as the verb uzrunāt 'to address' (lit: uz- 'on' + runāt 'to talk/speak'). The word uzruna is also used to refer to a short speech given to a group of people in contexts like introducing a guest-speaker, opening a concert, opening a building. In the grammar, however, uzruna is defined with considerable circularity as 'a word or a combination of words which in a sentence usually serves to address a person or other living being' (MLLVG, vol. 2: 581). Braun's (1988: 7) definition of 'address' looks more precise, although how Braun would define collocutor(s) is uncertain:

The term denotes a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor/s.

Under Uzruna the grammar lists some of the forms and functions of Latvian non-pronominal address forms; they can be summarized as follows:

inanimates such as a speck of dust, the earth, sun, sea, fields, stones, Fatherland, can be addressed;

address forms can categorize addressees according to their occupation - one can be addressed as 'mower', 'poet';

address forms can categorize addressees according to their kin relationship to the speaker - 'son', 'Grannie';

address forms are always in the vocative;

there is something called a 'vocative intonation';⁴

an address form 'names' or 'concretizes' someone or something that has been referred to by a pronoun, for example: 'Were you, Marty, not afraid to come here all by yourself?'⁵

address forms can communicate 'emotionally expressive meanings' as in the following question addressed to a lamb: 'Little silly, why are you yowling?'⁶

these 'expressive meanings' can be 'intensified' with the repetition of the address form, as in: 'Child, child, how did you manage to make yourself such an expensive and beautiful dress!'⁷

address forms can occur anywhere in the sentence, though they tend to follow rather than precede imperative verbs;

when occurring sentence-initially, address forms have 'special emphasis'.

Treated as a separate (that is, distinct from those listed above) function of address forms, is their 'ability' to attribute 'shades of emotionally expressive meaning to the addressee' (MLLVG, vol. 2: 585). The grammar refers to examples of address forms that communicate something like 'affection' or 'friendship' (rough equivalents for the Latvian terms mīļums and draudzīgums). As the main exponents of 'affection' and 'friendship' it lists the 'diminutive' derivations of kin terms (discussed in more detail in Section 1.4.1. of this chapter), address terms preceded by the first person possessive 'my' and first names. There is an interesting example of an address form imparting a 'tone/shade of pathos' (the original reads: patosa nokrāsu⁸):

Sveiciens tev, *padomju tēvzeme!*

Greetings to you, *soviet fatherland!*

This overview of the forms and functions of Uzruna 'Address' reflects the somewhat haphazard way the subject is treated in the MLLVG text. The loosely organized description of the morphological and syntactic aspects of the Latvian address system and the grammarians' apparently subjective interpretation of some of its pragmatic functions have resulted in an incomplete picture. There is no reference to the terms kundze 'Mrs/Madam/Lady' and kungs 'Mr/Sir/Lord'. The omission of these can probably be explained on ideological grounds, as can the absence of some other terms, but why exclude biedrs/biedre(ne) 'comrade m./f.' and pilsonis/pilsoņe 'citizen m./f.'? As for compound forms (see Section E on p. 24), the grammar mentions only two possibilities: 'first name + last name' and 'last name + kin term' address.

In the more recent work, A Grammar of Modern Latvian (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980), some supplementary information is offered in Lesson 76: 'Latvian names and forms of address' and in Lesson 100: 'The Vocative Case'.⁹ The grammar proposes kungs, kundze and jaunkundze as the Latvian equivalents for 'Mr, Mrs' and 'Miss' respectively and gives a number of rules regarding the form of the surname when accompanying any of these titles. We are given examples of the vocative case-marking for the various classes of nouns; from these we can infer that both animates - persons and non-persons - and inanimates can be addressed. Among the examples given as address forms for persons are 'teacher', 'son', 'Paul', 'Eve', 'mother'. Some vocative forms of animate and inanimate nouns with the 'diminutive' suffix are also given.

The grammar also offers some information concerning 'rules of use'. For example: alongside the address forms skolotāj! 'teacher!' which can be used for both male and female addressees, there are the forms skolotāja kungs! roughly, 'Mr Teacher' and skolotājas kundze! roughly, 'Mrs/Miss Teacher'. These latter are 'more usual when addressing people professionally' and, the authors add, 'contrast with the more intimate skolotāj!...given earlier.' To further illustrate the contrast, the authors state that 'Similarly,

ārsta kungs! roughly 'Mr Doctor' is formal, ārsts! 'Doctor!' less formal and ārstin! 'Doctor-DIM!' very familiar.' (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980, vol. 2: 492)

Some of the gaps in the description of the Latvian system of address forms based on both of the abovementioned grammars are filled by one of the more recent Latvian dictionaries: Latviešu valodas vārdnīca (A dictionary of Latvian language, hereafter LVV) which was published in Rīga in 1987. On page 416, under the entry kundze, roughly 'Mrs/Madam/Lady', the dictionary gives as one of the meanings: 'A polite expression that can be used to address a woman, usually a married woman' and offers as an example the formula Cienījamā kundze! roughly 'Honourable lady!' This meaning is qualified as 'archaic'. Similarly, on p. 417, one of the meanings of kungs, roughly 'Mr/Sir/Lord', is given as 'a polite address form for a male'. This meaning, together with the examples Kalniņa kungs! 'Mr Kalniņš!', Profesora kungs! roughly, 'Mr Professor!' and Cienījamais/godājamais kungs! roughly 'Honourable sir!' is also labelled 'archaic'. Interestingly, the dictionary has no such label for the use of kungs in the formulaic expression Ak (tu) kungs! roughly 'Oh (you-sg.) lord!' which is used to communicate izbrīnu, which is something like 'amazement', sajūsmu, which is something like 'excitement' and sašutumu, which is something like 'indignation'.

The label 'archaic' attached to kundze/kungs - address terms that remained in use through the years of Soviet rule - is evidence of the government's efforts to have these terms replaced by ones more compatible with communist ways of speaking, terms such as: biedrs/biedre(ne) 'comrade m./f.' As one of the meanings of the latter, the dictionary states on p. 130: 'the polite term of address of the Soviet people'. Under pilsonis/pilsone 'citizen m./f.' the dictionary gives no similar meaning, even though there is evidence that this word too was encouraged by the Soviet government as an address term to replace the 'bourgeois' kungs/kundze (see Silis: 1988, discussed at some length in Section 1.3.1. in this chapter).

The grammars and dictionaries quoted above have been useful in providing a considerable number of elements of the Latvian repertoire/set of non-pronominal address forms and, through allusions to 'rules of use', have obliquely referred to some of their

pragmatic meanings. Further data, the sources of which are mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, has resulted in the setting up of a more extensive repertoire of forms. Here is a complete list of the nouns and their combinations that can function as forms of address:

A. Names

1. First names (FN): Andri, Lija (Klīdzējs, 1962: 6,10)
2. Last names (LN): Rugāj (ibid: 11, 45)

B. Kin terms (KT): Tēv, dēls (ibid: 20)

C. Titles

1. Social titles (ST): jaunkundz (Brigadere, 1957: 528)
2. Professional and occupational titles (PT): Direktor

D. Honorifics (H): cienītā (p. o.)

E. Combinations of two or more of the above

1. FN + LN: Anton Sapulān (Klīdzējs, 1962: 230)
2. FN + ST: Līziņas jaunkundz (Brigadere, 1957: 686)
3. LN + ST: Upānes jaunkundz (Klīdzējs, 1962: 13)
4. PT + ST: skolotājas jaunkundz (ibid: 39)
5. H + ST: cienītā kundze
6. H + KT: Cienīgtēv (Zelta tīnīte, 1957: 70)
7. FN + KT: Agates tant (Putniņš, 1979: 101); Jānonkul (p.c.)
8. LN + KT: Tāmuļu māte (Voitkus, 1964: 181)

F. Nouns communicating feelings/attitudes

1. Terms of endearment, including the 'diminutives'
2. Terms of hostility/non-endearment

Compared to a similar repertoire of address forms in every-day English (Ervin-Tripp, 1979), the list of Latvian address forms is considerably more extensive; its variety suggests that in everyday social interaction, Latvian-speakers like to fine-tune their

speaker-to-addressee attitudes to a greater extent than speakers of English. For this reason, a detailed analysis of the use of everyone of the items in the Latvian repertoire would prove highly instructive. The dimensions of this chapter, however, dictate that the present discussion be limited to the following categories: names, kin terms, titles and expressive/emotive address terms (including the sub-category of diminutive address forms).

1.1. Names

Coming into contact with ways of address in Anglo Australian one of the things a Latvian-speaker first notices is the ease and frequency with which Anglo-Australian speakers use first name address, especially reciprocal FN address.¹⁰ In Canberra, for example, teachers and students exchange first names not only in tertiary institutions but in government secondary colleges as well. Doctors and dentists use first names to their patients, check-out operators at supermarkets often bear a name-tag with first name only, thus, presumably, encouraging customers to address them in that way. Complete strangers on the phone will call one 'Mary' rather than 'Mrs Smith'. Tradesmen and repairmen expect to be addressed by their first name and if the person showing them into the house is a man, they will reciprocate.¹¹ The principal and her/his staff at a secondary school are on first name terms, often right from the start. Heads of departments in universities and fellow members of a department exchange first names. At Parents' and Friends' Association meetings, committee members and non-members alike are introduced to each other as 'Mary Smith' and 'Peter Brown', but expect to be addressed as 'Mary' and 'Peter'.

Officially, most Latvians have two names: a first name (also called 'Christian' or 'personal' name) and a last name (also known as 'sur-' name or 'family' name); it is possible to have two or more Christian or personal names. Any of these names can stand alone as a form of address. As forms of address, combinations involving one of the

personal names plus the family name occur rarely. Even less frequent are combinations involving multiple personal names plus family name.

Like all nouns in Latvian, personal names are marked for gender and case. The Nominative case endings of feminine personal names are -a and -e, masculine names end in -is or -s. When used as forms of address, personal names are marked for Vocative. Examples of address words in this chapter have been given with the Vocative case ending, unless otherwise indicated. There is a description of the Vocative case endings for the different groups of nouns in A Grammar of Modern Latvian (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980, vol. 2: 492-94). Very few names show no case-marking: Otto and Bruno are two examples.

As suggested earlier, a characteristic of Anglo-Australian ways of speaking is the extensive use of reciprocal first name address, even among strangers. Reciprocal first name use is far more restricted in Latvian; even asymmetrical first name address is less frequent. The prime 'targets' of FN address are children. They receive this form of address from their peers, from their parents, teachers,¹² scout masters, youth club leaders. In fact, any adult who is not a stranger to a child will usually address that child by her/his first name.

From adult speakers who know the child very well, most often it is not the 'official' form of the first name that is used, but a derivation of it. For example, in the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of Man) the hero has been christened as Bonifācijs 'Boniface', but is never addressed as Bonifācij! Instead, everybody says to him Bon! (Klīdzējs, 1956). The heroine in Belševica's semi-autobiographical short stories (1992) is Bille roughly, 'Syb'; it is only when the parents have to fill in enrolment forms for her to start school that the reader learns that her real first name is Sibilla 'Sybil' (1992: 172 ff). Similarly, in Brigadere's Trilogy, the heroine's first name is uttered in its 'official' form, Anna, only twice: once by her primary school teacher and the second time by the pastor during confirmation class. On both of these occasions Anna occurs in combination with her last name (Brigadere, 1957: 391, 645); the rest of the time, when Brigadere's heroine is first-named, the form Annele is used by everybody.

Other examples of the non-expressive, 'official' first name address are those that students, both at *ģimnāzija* ['high school'] and at university, get from their fellow-students, in the class-room/lecture hall as well as outside it: *Virģine*, *Lija*, *Anton*, *Andri* (Klīdzējs, 1962: 9,10,11), *Int* (Kārklīņš, 1962: 187). There is some evidence that females are more readily 'first-named' by their peers, both male and female; males tend to get 'last name only' address. In the opening ten pages of Klīdzējs' novel (1962), there are three utterances where the targets are females, all three address forms are first names (pp. 9, 10). Of the sixteen address forms directed at males, six are first names (pp. 6, 7, 8, 10), ten are last names (pp. 5, 6, 7, 9) and two are nicknames (p. 6). The fact that the author introduces the reader to all the main female characters by their first name (p. 7) while the main male characters are introduced by their last name (pp. 5, 6, 7, 9) suggests that first-naming is thought of as more appropriate for young women than for young men.

With adults who know each other well, and are kin, first name use is not always symmetrical. In dyads consisting of parent and adult child, grandparent and adult grandchild, aunt/uncle and adult niece/nephew, the younger interlocutor can be first-named. Very rarely, a parent can receive first name address from an adult child (p.c.) and, somewhat less rarely, an aunt/uncle adult can be first named by an adult niece/nephew. Grandparents never receive first names from their adult grandchildren.

Adults who are non-kin, who have known each other for a long time (usually since their pre-adult days), who have some time in the past shared similar experiences over several years and/or who have become particularly good friends, will exchange 'official' first name address. An informant in her seventies, tells me that at her local post office in the country, she was on first name (and T pronoun - see later section in this chapter) terms with the post-mistress; both had known each other since early childhood. Other examples of similar use are in Klīdzējs (1962: 42, 82, 113, 114), Putniņš (1979: 76, 102), Brigadere (1957: 266, 285, 356), Kīķauka (1965: 19, 120, 267) and Janovskis (1968: 42, 72, 91).

The post World War II generation adults, including those living in Latvija, will more readily exchange first names on the basis of being superficially acquainted through being in the same club, sharing similar interests, working on the same staff, having children at the same school, singing in the same choir (personal observation). However, in Latvija, this kind of reciprocal first name address is accompanied by the reciprocal 'formal' address pronoun Jūs, whereas Australian Latvians exchange the 'informal' Tu. There will be a more extensive discussion on some seemingly mis-matched non-pronominal + pronominal address patterns later in this chapter.

The above examples indicate that there are two categories of Latvian first name address terms: the 'official' or 'non-expressive' and the 'expressive'. As a first approximation, I suggest that the meaning of the 'official' FN contain the following components:

first name ('official', non-expressive)

I want to speak to you the way people speak

to people they know

and to people who are not adults

'Expressive' FN address, would be represented as follows:

first name ('expressive')

I want to speak to you the way people speak

to people they know very well

and to people who are children

Because first names mean 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to people who are not adults', when used asymmetrically, that is, by teacher to pupil (p.o.), leader to scout (p.o.), lady of the house to servant (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 139, 154, 156), they imply an additional message: 'You have to do as I say'. Thus, the Latvian-speaker

who cannot claim to know the addressee well, but because of common interests wants to first-name her/him, runs the risk at the same time of saying something like 'You are my inferior'. That is why first name address occurs in Latvian much less frequently than it does in Anglo Australian.

This is so even within the family where a native English-speaker would probably expect to find it most. Where the exchange of first name address between siblings is very common both within the family and outside it, husbands and wives tend to prefer other address forms in the family setting (see Section 1.2. in this chapter).

Families where children use first names to their parents are rare. In the extended family, older relatives use first name address to younger ones. Sometimes a person, having reached advanced adulthood will start to occasionally address her/his older aunt/uncle as 'Mary'/'John' rather than 'Aunt Mary'/'Uncle John'. Most often however, while parents continue to use first names to their adult children, the latter will only reciprocate if they have been doing so right from the start.

Children routinely receive first name address, adults, unless they know each other well, tend not to. When does the person stop receiving first name address from people who are neither relatives nor friends? There are a number of events in a young person's life that can be accompanied by a switch from first name address to other forms.

For Annele, the heroine of *Trilōģija* (*Trilogy*), starting school is such an event (Brigadere, 1957: 390 ff). More often however, it is the young person's transition from primary school to a *ģimnāzija*, roughly 'high school' or a similar post-primary educational institution that is invariably accompanied by a transition to last name address from the teachers. Some indication that in a *ģimnāzija*, address forms are partly determined by the gender of the addressee is in the novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*) where the hero gets last name only address (Klīdzējs, 1962: 45, 38) while his girlfriend's last name address is prefaced by *skolniec* 'pupil/student' (Klīdzējs, 1962: 34) resulting in *Skolniec' Salnīte*, lit: 'pupil/student Salnīte'.

Later, on graduation from these post-primary institutions, social titles corresponding roughly to 'Miss' and 'Mr' are added to last names. In the Lutheran

church, being confirmed (usually at about the age of sixteen) marks a similar point of transition. So, if the adult speaker, who is neither a relative nor a friend and cannot therefore claim to know her/him well considers the young addressee to be either old enough to be a post-primary student or old enough to have been confirmed, s/he will use the social title + last name form of address. Thus, in the progression from largely first name address [= being treated like a child] to largely 'social title + last name' [= being treated like an adult] there is an intermediary stage when last name only address is appropriate.

Outside the circle of family and close friends, an individual's progress from childhood through adolescence to adulthood (marked in my examples by the transition from home to school to graduation/confirmation), is signposted by the move from asymmetrical to symmetrical address within the teacher-student dyad. Broadly speaking, while from the first day of school to the day of graduation the teacher never gets first name address from her/his pupils/students, but receives something like 'Mr Smith' or 'Mr Teacher' (see more on this address form in Section 1.3. in this chapter), the pupil/student moves from being first-named, then last-named and finally, on graduation, addressed as 'Mr Smith'. The title + last name form of address to a student from her/his teacher is a sign of acknowledgement that the student can now be thought of as an adult.

However, the status of imminent adulthood (as exemplified by the use of the last name only address form to young people), is not accorded in the same way by classmates as it is by teachers. In the novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*) both female and male 'high school' students receive some form of last name address from their teachers, as observed earlier. From their male and female classmates, as we also saw earlier, males are addressed by their last names more often than first names; females, on the other hand, most often get first names. One possible interpretation of this behaviour is that in Latvian, the status of young adulthood is granted more readily to males than it is to females, although other factors may be involved. Other examples of LN address form use suggest that it may be a characteristic of Latvian male speech.¹³

On the evidence based on examples of use in my data, I suggest that, as a first approximation, the meaning of 'last name only address' in Latvian can be represented as follows:

last name only

I want to speak to you the way people can speak
to people they know and
to people who are not members of the same family and
to people who are not very young children

Initially, the last component of this representation was 'to people who are not children and who are not women', since most of the examples in my data point to 'last name only' address as being mostly directed at males who are not children. However, though nowhere near as often as men, women too can be last named, as Mare's mother is, by a female neighbour in the novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*; Klīdzējs, 1962: 154).

1.2. Kin terms

The preceding discussion on 'names' confirms the view expressed earlier that first name address in Latvian is far more restricted than in Anglo-Australian. There is further confirmation of this view when one examines more closely the repertoire of kin terms in Latvian and the way Latvian-speakers use them.

From the discussion below, it will emerge that, broadly speaking, Latvian ways with kin terms differ from those of Anglo Australians in two respects. Firstly, the repertoire of kin terms that can be used as address forms is more extensive in Latvian than in Anglo-Australian. Secondly, reciprocal use of kin term address is considerably more frequent in Latvian, than it is in Anglo Australian where kin terms feature almost exclusively as one-way address forms from children to parents and relatives of their

parents' generation or older. In Latvian, they can also occur as the preferred address form from the older to the younger generation.

There are, for example, in Brigadere's *Trilōģija* twenty-seven instances where the heroine, Annele, receives some form of address from her parents or grandmother. In less than one quarter [six] of these twenty-seven instances, she is called Annele. In two-thirds, some kind of kin term is used: 'daughter' occurs in ten, 'child' or 'child-DIM' in eight. In three of the twenty-seven examples, she is addressed simply as meitēn, roughly, 'girl'.

Parents will often address their children (in adulthood as well as childhood) as bērn/meit'/dēls 'child/daughter/son' (Brigadere, 1957: 223, 226; Zīverts, 1967: 57), or, using the expressive derivations of these, as bērnIN/meitIN/dēlIN roughly, 'little child/little daughter/little son' (see reference to this also elsewhere in this chapter/thesis). Aunts and uncles will use krustmeit'/krustdēl' 'niece/nephew' and grandparents will say mazmeit'/mazedēls 'grand-daughter/grand-son'.¹⁴ In letter-writing particularly, Latvian equivalents for 'Dear child/son/daughter/niece/nephew' are very common, though 'niece/nephew' tend to give ways to first names as the addressee grows older. Kin terms are used to address brothers and sisters (Brigadere, 1957: 438, 655; Klīdzējs, 1962: 160; Putniņš, 1979: 101).

In the husband and wife dyad, it is acceptable (though somewhat abrupt) for a husband to address his spouse as Siev(a)! 'Wife!' (Putniņš, 1979: 88, 103; Voitkus, 1964: 283) as well as to use the 'diminutivized' term: Sieviņ! roughly, 'Wifey!' (Brigadere, 1957: 356, 357, 361). To a husband, a wife can use Vīrs! 'Husband!' (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 161; Kļīkauka, 1965: 122; Brigadere, 1957: 334, 357). In the home or in family gatherings, the most common forms of inter-spousal address are Māt! and Tēv!, 'Mother' and 'Father' (Brigadere, 1957: 335, 356, 357, 358) or Mām/Mamm! and Tēt!, terms that correspond near enough to 'Mum' and 'Dad'.

There is an extensive series of kin terms for in-laws and all of them can be used as terms of address. Svainis is a common address term for 'brother-in-law' (Klīdzējs, 1956: 124), while a 'sister-in-law' gets svaine or svainene. Daughters-in-law get called vedekla

'daughter-in-law' (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 296) and 'sons-in-law' get znots (Zīverts, 1962: 36). Vīramāte 'husband's mother', vīratēvs 'husband's father', sievasmāte 'wife's mother', sievastēvs 'wife's father' (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 153) are all acceptable as address forms. An in-law can also be addressed as if s/he were a blood relation. In Brigadere's Trilōģija, Annele's grandmother says meit 'daughter' when speaking to her daughter-in-law (Brigadere, 1957: 180, 232). One Latvian-speaker regularly writes to her daughter and son-in-law, addressing them as Mīlie bērni! 'Dear children!' Similarly, the terms Māt! and Tēv! 'Mother!' and 'Father!' can, as in English, be used to parents-in-law as well as true parents.

In rural Latvija, all members of a household, including seasonal workers, could address the lady of the house (if she had children) as māt 'mother'. In a more public gathering (in church for example, or at evening-prayers by a wayside cross) the same person would get the kin term prefixed by her family name, as does Boņš's mother in Klīdzējs's novel, when some of the village women address her as Pavulānu māt lit: 'mother-of-the-Pāvulāni' (1956: 71). By using an address form that includes the kin term, outsiders to the family acknowledge the addressee's role within the family, thus reaffirming the importance of the family group within society.

To address sisters and brothers of one's parents, both adults and children can use kin term only address: krustmāte/tante 'aunt' (Klidzejs, 1956: 246) and krusttēvs/onkul(i)s 'uncle'. However, these terms can be used to familiar faces who are not necessarily related to the speaker; particularly where the age difference between speaker and addressee is considerable.¹⁵ Since the words krustmāte and krusttēvs can also mean 'godmother' and 'godfather' respectively, some Latvian-speakers prefer to reserve these address terms for their godparents, using the equivalents from German, tante and onkulis, for aunts and uncles who do not have the godparenting role.

There are situations where an addressee not related to the speaker can be addressed not only as kin, but as kin viewed affectionately. For example, in Brigadere's fairy-tale play Maija un Paija (1951: 38-39), the heroine Maija calls an old beggar-woman who simply appears in the garden Māmiņ! 'Little/Dear mother!' Later, in her journey

through the underworld, Maija meets three old men whom she addresses as *tētiņi* 'daddies' and *vectētiņi* 'grand-daddies'. In *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*), the bereaved young Andris is addressed as *dēliņ*, which is best translated by something like 'dear son' or 'sonny' by a close neighbour (Klīdzējs, 1962: 154). In a short story by Skalbe (1938: 211) a young woman passing by notices an old sick man who has collapsed by the roadside; *Tētiņ, kas jums kait?* 'Father-DIM, what is the matter with you?' she asks.

In these examples, it is not only the 'diminutive' suffixes that have an expressive function; the kin terms too are used to convey the speaker's attitude towards her addressee. In fact, it is the two components that work together to convey a message that goes something like this: 'I feel something good towards you; I feel something of the kind I would feel towards my own mother/father/grandfather/son.' In passing, I note that this group of examples is further proof that for Latvians 'affection' is often inextricably linked with 'compassion' or 'pity'. All the addressees in the above group of examples are somehow 'weakened', through poverty, old age, sickness or bereavement.

In order to propose sets of semantic explications for each of the kin terms mentioned in the previous pages, I would need a much broader range of examples of use than is presently available to me. However, there is sufficient data to warrant the following list of semantic components which are present whenever kin term only (that is, without any other lexical items affixed to it) address is exchanged by interlocutors who are real kin:

kin term

when I think of you I think of you like this:

you and I are parts of the same thing ['family']

because of this we can say things to each other that we cannot say to
everybody

because of this we have to do things for each other that we do not have to
do for everybody

Being someone's 'kin' in Latvian puts certain obligations on an individual and at the same time accords her/him certain rights. In rural Latvia particularly, this kind of mutual interdependence among members of the 'family' was necessary for survival; therefore, the 'family' and being part of it were valued.¹⁶ There is evidence that being 'kin' matters more than being 'a particular kind of kin': Latvian has two nouns rads and radnieks which both mean something like 'kin/relative'. When I refer to X as 'my kin' I am saying something like the following:

I think of X as someone to whom I can say:

You and I have some of the same blood inside us
and are parts of the same thing ['family'] because of
this

Both rads and radnieks can be used as address forms. In the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of Man), Boņs's mother addresses her brother-in-law of one year as jauno radin 'young/new relative-DIM' (Klīdzējs, 1956: 131). Speaking to her sister-in-law, Ārija's mother in the novel Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons) calls her mīlā radniec 'dear relative' (Kārklīšs, 1962: 103). People who are not 'relatives' would never be addressed in this way.

When kin terms are used to addressees who are real kin, they act as a constant re-affirmation of the importance of the links that tie both speaker and hearer to the family network; interlocutors who are real kin, like to let each other know that they see themselves and their 'others' not so much as independent entities sufficient unto themselves, but as parts of a much bigger entity, the family. That family roles and family ties are valued by Latvians is surely demonstrated, among other things, by the expressive use of kin terms referred to above.

In order to see to what extent this still applies, I asked two groups of Latvian-speakers to complete a short questionnaire on the use of kin term address forms in present-day Latvian social interaction. The first group were Australian Latvians

interviewed in Canberra and Adelaide in January 1992; the second were 'Latvian Latvians' interviewed in Rīga in November 1992. The responses from both groups indicated Latvians still use kin terms as address forms; predictably, Latvians in Latvija use them more than Latvians in Australia. Here is a short report on how this information was obtained.

As part of the questionnaire, I gave the informants a list of twenty-four kin terms and their 'diminutive' derivations and asked them to answer the question: 'As far as you can tell from the speech of Latvians you know, are these address forms used at the present time?' (see Appendix I). When answering, the respondents were required to mark each item either as 'rather rarely' or 'rather often'.

Out of 34 respondents in the Australian Latvian [AL] group, 4 did not attempt the question at all. From the 30 respondents who did, out of a possible total of 720 responses (30 respondents x 24 address forms) there were 553 'yes' responses; that is, every respondent had, on average, observed 18 instances of some form of kin-term address among their friends and acquaintances. In the 'Latvian Latvian' [LL] group, only 1 out of 31 respondents did not attempt the section at all. From the remaining 30, there were 633 'yes' responses out of a possible total of 720, indicating that, on average, every Rīga respondent had knowledge of 21 instances of some form of kin term address in the speech of their friends and acquaintances. These figures gave the following table:

	Yes	No	
AL	553	187	
LL	633	87	(chi sq. = 40.766, df = 1; p ≤ 0.0001)

In the AL group, of the 553 'yes' responses, 289 were in the 'rather rarely' column. In the LL group, of the 633 'yes' responses, 232 were marked 'rather rarely'. The tabulated results look like this:

	Rarely	Often	
AL	289	264	
LL	232	401	(chi sq. = 28.566; df = 1; p ≤ 0.0001)

The results from both sets of figures show that the incidence of kin term address is considerably higher in the experience of 'Latvian' Latvians than in that of Australian Latvians. The difference between 'Latvian Latvian' and 'Australian Latvian' kin term address use can be attributed to two things. Firstly, as Latvians migrated to Australia leaving grand-parents and other relatives behind, kin-ship networks were dislocated. Secondly, constant exposure to Anglo-Australian ways of speaking has led to the adoption of Anglo-Australian ways of address where kinship terms are far less prominent. Given that the Australian Latvian community dates from the late 1940s, it is remarkable that the incidence of kinship address form use in the Australian Latvian group was as high as the results of the questionnaire showed. This can only mean that the area of kin-ship address is more impervious to linguistic transfer (cf. Clyne, 1967) than other areas of address forms, the personal pronouns for example (see Section 2.0. in this chapter) or 'diminutive' address forms (see Section 1.4.1. in this chapter) and leads to the conclusion that 'familism' (cf. Sinha and Kao, 1988: 93 ff) is a strong feature of Latvian society, outside of Latvija as well as within.

1.3. Titles: social and professional/occupational

There are addressees to whom neither the first name nor the kin term address is offered. These are adults who are neither family nor friends: acquaintances, workmates, bosses, one's doctor, dentist, shop-assistants, customers, bus-drivers, bank clerks and so on. To address these people, there are several forms possible.

1.3.1. Social titles

Where the person's name is not known, one can use any of the three social titles alone: kundze, jaunkundze and kungs, roughly corresponding to 'Mrs/Madam', 'Miss' and 'Mr/sir' in English.¹⁷ In instances where the initial social interaction develops into an acquaintanceship, the social title is affixed to the addressee's last name to give forms like Bērziņa kundze roughly, 'Mrs Bērziņš'. Where the age difference is not great, two adults who see each other often, or who during their first meeting discover common interests, will probably switch from mutual 'last name + social' title address to reciprocal first name address.

There is some evidence in literature that there used to be a fourth social title, namely, jaunskungs which, broadly speaking, is the masculine equivalent of jaunkundze. In the novel Jaunieši (The young ones) an old lady selling flowers on the street addresses a young man in this way (Klīdzējs, 1962: 119). This form, however, never became as widely used as the other three (Sīlis, 1980) and survives as a semi-jocular address form from parent to son, as for example, in the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of man) where Boņs's father uses it to the seven year old Boņs (Klīdzējs, 1956: 42).

Like their near-equivalents in other languages (cf. Sifianou, 1992 on Greek, for example) the address forms kundze, jaunkundze and kungs all convey the message 'I do not know you well'¹⁸ and the resemblance stops there. To say, for example, that kundze is used for married women and jaunkundze for unmarried women is oversimplifying. Similarly, even though the ways of using kundze and kungs are similar - both, for example can be combined with first name address (Sīlis, 1980: 69) - it is wrong to assume that the only difference between the two forms is one of gender. The plural kungi roughly 'gentlemen', is used as an address form, but kundzes is never used this way.

Space constraints do not permit me to discuss in detail the various functions of each of these social titles in order to arrive at an explication of their meaning. I shall

therefore focus on kundze, at the same time reserving the right to comment on the other two as necessary.

As suggested earlier, as well as forming the following combinations: 'last name + kundze', 'first name + kundze', 'professional title + kundze' or 'husband's professional title + kundze', kundze can be used alone as an address form. As such, it can be used to strangers and non-strangers, but not to relatives or one's best friend; this supports the earlier assertion that one of its messages is something like 'I do not know you well'. Furthermore, like madame in French, kundze in Latvian is used to address married women or women old enough to be married; thus, 'I think you are married' and 'I think you are not young' are two more messages inherent in the address form kundze. That it is considered unacceptable to address an older, unmarried woman as jaunkundze 'Miss', suggests that as well as referring to marital status and to age, kundze communicates something that is absent from the address form jaunkundze. This something is an attitude of 'respect' or, at least, something like it. This interpretation is supported by the following example.

In a short story (Kļiņka, 1965: 83 ff.), the target of the address form kundze is Mārīte Brencis, who is twenty-five and single, as the addressor knows. No one could possibly think of Mārīte as old; the author refers to her artfully applied violet lip-colour, her silvery eye-lids, her trim figure and the young male lawyer she has arranged to meet in her studio later on that evening.¹⁹ Mārīte Brencis is also the graphic artist who designed the cover for the guest-of-honour's latest prose collection, in this way becoming noteworthy in the eyes of the speaker, one of the more prominent figures in Latvian society. In the address form kundze, this prominent figure says to Mārīte Brencis something like this: 'When I think of you I feel something good of the kind people feel towards older or married women whom they do not know well'.

In the address form combinations with kundze listed above, the last name, first name, professional title or husband's professional title acts as a qualifier to the message 'I do not know you well'. When I address you as Daktera kundze 'Mrs Doctor', I am saying 'I do not know you well, but I know you are married to a doctor'; similarly,

Skolotājas kundze 'Mrs Teacher' says 'I do not know you well, but I know that you are a teacher'.

That these different combinations exist, shows that for Latvians, it is important to be able to express different degrees of 'not knowing someone well'. To the addressee who gets 'first name + kundze' address, the speaker is saying 'I know you better than the people to whom I can say 'last name + kundze'; in Latvian, last names of people are known before first names.

The complex meaning of 'last name + kundze' address emerges with particular clarity in the following short episode where three different address forms targeting the same addressee are juxtaposed; the episode is from the novel Jaunieši (The young ones).

The main character, Andris, who has left his village to study and work in Rīga is renting a room in an apartment belonging to a couple living as man and wife. The man, Mr Dancers, works in a factory. His consort, a hairdresser, is described as follows:

...pretty, curly-haired woman, powdered, painted and varnished. Yes, she knew how to be attractive, jolly and friendly; she knew how to please.²⁰

Andris addresses her as Dancera kundze roughly, 'Mrs Dancers'. To this, 'Mrs Dancers', who is attracted to Andris and subsequently attempts to seduce him, responds with:

Don't call me that! Mrs Dancers...Mrs! [kundze!] I'm not Mrs Dancers! Call me Miss Rita...Better still, simply - Rita.²¹

The hairdresser objects above all to being called kundze. By suggesting that Andris include jaunkundze 'Miss' as part of his address form, she is saying 'I want you to think of me the way people think of women who are not married or who are not old'; however, she does not stop there. That she wants to be on more 'familiar' terms with Andris is apparent when she asks to be called 'Miss Rita' and 'Rita'. By expressing her preference for these address forms, the hairdresser is showing that she is very much

aware that the address form kundze means not only 'I think of you as a married or older woman' but also 'I think of you as of someone whom I do not know well'.

To distinguish the meanings of 'Mrs Dancers', 'Miss Rita' and 'Rita' thereby highlighting the bundle of semantic elements in kundze ['Mrs/Madam'], I propose to state in simple language what is behind each of the hairdresser's three 'directives':

Don't call me [Mrs Dancers]

Call me Miss Rita

[Call me] simply - Rita

Don't call me [Mrs Dancers]

I don't want you to think of me as a woman who is not young

I don't want you to think of me as a woman who is married

I don't want you to think of me as a woman whom you do not know well

and for whom you feel something of the kind people feel towards
older/married women whom they do not know well

Call me Miss Rita

I want you to think of me as a woman who is not old

I want you to think of me as a woman who is not married

I want you to think of me as a woman whom you know well

[Call me] simply - Rita

I want you to think of me as of someone whom you know very well and to whom
you can say:

you and I can say things to each other that we cannot say to other people

Kundze, jaunkundze and kungs, either alone or in combination with the addressee's last name, are exchanged between people who do not know each other well.

First names are exchanged between people who know each other well. The symmetrically used address forms are a re-affirmation of the relationship between the interlocutors which can be spelled out as follows: 'You and I do not know each other well' in the reciprocal use of social title, and 'You and I know each other well' in the mutually used first names.

But there are situations where the exchange of address forms is asymmetrical. Latvian cultural norms dictate that while a primary school pupil receives first name address from her/his teacher and a servant is first-named by the lady of the house, the teacher and the lady of the house do not get first name address. From her/his pupil, the female teacher gets either Skolotāj 'Teacher' (the professional title alone) or the 'professional title +social title' combination: Skolotāj kundze 'Mrs Teacher'; from her servant, the lady of the house gets kundze 'Madam'. The husband of the lady of the house will get kungs 'sir' from the servant. Thus the address form which conveys the message 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to those whom they do not know well' (for kundze and kungs are used to address strangers) comes to be regarded as also conveying the message 'You can say to me: you have to do what I want'. In other words, if A gives B first name address and B gives A kungs or kungs + last name address, they are both acknowledging the fact that A can give orders to B.

Further evidence that the address forms kundze and kungs (as well as combinations with them) have to do with acknowledging 'power' in an interlocutor, lies in the fact that from about 1945 to 1989 (Sīlis, 1980: 63) they were actively and systematically discouraged by the Soviet government; for example, both kundze and kungs are labelled as 'archaic' in the dictionary of Latvian language (LVV, 1987: 416). To replace them, the government encouraged the use of biedrs and biedre(ne), the male and female forms roughly corresponding to 'comrade' and, to a lesser extent, pilsonis and pilsone, male and female nouns meaning approximately 'citizen'. In order to show how biedrs/biedre(ne) came to be regarded by the Soviet government as somehow more attuned to its ideology than kungs/kundze, I digress briefly to offer some historical background of these terms.

Both biedrs and biedre(ne) were in use in pre-Soviet Latvija, but only as terms of reference. According to the Latvian dictionary of Milenbachs, which appeared in the early 1920s, until the end of the 19th century, the speaker used these terms to refer to someone with whom s/he felt a common bond, be it because both were in the same job, enjoyed the same leisure activities, were on the same journey, or were, translating literally from Latvian 'bound by...the one life', that is, 'married'.²² Some examples of these uses are under the entry biedrs in LVV (1987: 130). The terms, which mean something like 'mate/companion' are still used as elements of nominal compounds like the following: klases biedrs/biedre(ne) 'class-mate', dzīvesbiedrs/dzīvesbiedre 'spouse' [lit: of-life mate/companion], skolas biedrs 'contemporary at the same school', studiju biedrs 'contemporary in the same course of studies', darba biedrs 'work-mate', galda biedrs 'table-companion', rotalbiedrs 'playmate' and cīņu/kaujas biedrs 'fellow-soldier'. In contemporary Latvian, biedrs can also refer to a 'member of a particular organization', as for example in, teātra biedrības biedrs 'member of the drama society'.

Towards the end of the 19th century, biedrs and biedre(ne) gradually came to be used as address terms within the workers' movement. This linguistic behaviour was patterned on the way Russians had started to use the form tovarišč. From about 1920 to 1940, biedrs/biedre(ne) was the preferred reciprocal address of the Latvian communists (Sīlis, 1988: 208). In the 1940s, accompanying the coming to power of the communists, the use of the address forms biedrs and biedre(ne) grew. At the same time, the forms kungs, kundze and jaunkundze, which had become icons for social structures perceived as hostile to communism, became less frequent (Sīlis, 1988: 209, 214).

The 'new' forms, biedrs/biedre(ne) and combinations with them, did not gain immediate acceptance. Examples from the literature of the early 1960s attesting to this are quoted by Sīlis (1988: 210, 214); one of them is the form direktora biedri 'comrade director' existing alongside biedri Garšīn 'comrade Garšīn'. Nor did the 'new' forms ever gain acceptance as widely as might have been expected; though less frequently used, the 'old' forms never disappeared completely.

Latvians living outside Latvija had of course continued to use them. When, after the collapse of Soviet rule, they began in ever-increasing numbers to visit relatives and friends in Latvija, they found that the 'old' ways of address served them well (p.c.). My own personal experience in late 1992 was that over a period of one month in Rīga, biedrs 'comrade' or any combination with it never once featured in the variety of address forms I encountered at the university, on the street, in the public transport system, in cafés and theatres.

Even before the main political events that led to the Soviet government's collapse, the Soviet ways of address were in decline. Writing about the late 1980s, Sīlis (1988: 211) notes that although the address form 'biedri + last name' had been regarded as appropriate for all age groups and professions, within academic and professional circles it was being increasingly replaced with kolēģi roughly, 'colleague' or 'kolēģi + last name'. Increasingly, it was the older generation who were becoming the chief users of 'biedri + last name'; younger Latvians preferring to avoid any reference to the addressee's first or last name and instead using the 'formal' address pronoun jūs 'you' alone. In asymmetrical dyads where both parties had known each other for some time, the older speaker used first name address to the younger, who reciprocated with 'biedri + last name'.

As this had been one of the contexts for using the 'old' form 'last name + kungs', it is evident that in combination with the addressee's last name, the Soviet address form [biedrs] was very probably acquiring the very functions its introduction was supposed to have stamped out. This impression is strengthened when one learns that biedrs combined more readily with some professional titles rather than others (Sīlis, 1988: 212). The address forms biedre apkopēja 'comrade cleaner', biedre telkope 'comrade calf-breeder', biedri kolhozniek 'labourer in the kolhoz' were seldom heard; more frequent were those where the professional title referred to what had been (and very likely still was) a high status position, such as that of a tiesnesis 'judge', advokāts 'solicitor', priekšsēdētājs 'chairman' and direktors 'director/principal'. Even the 'biedri + professional title' combinations of this group, notes Sīlis (1988: 212), were used only in highly formalized,

highly structured situations where everything happened/was conducted according to 'protocol'. In less 'formal' contexts, the biedri direktor 'comrade director', biedri dekān 'comrade dean' and biedri priekšsēdētēj 'comrade chairman' became simply direktor 'director', dekān 'dean' and priekšsēdētēj 'chairman'.

In my summary of the history of the Latvian address forms biedrs/biedre(ne) I have referred to them, for the sake of simplicity, as if both the male and female forms in this pair were used in exactly the same way. That may have been the case at first. However, examples from my data point to a difference in use between the address forms biedrs and biedre(ne). Like kungs and kundze, both biedrs and biedre(ne) can combine with last name address (Dziļums, 1961: 212; Putniņš, 1979: 90, 93). However, I found no instances of biedre(ne) used alone as an address form, whereas there were several examples of its masculine equivalent biedrs used in this way (Putniņš, 1979: 10, 76, 79, 92, 102; Dziļums, 1961: 143, 196). This suggests that to use the form biedre(ne) alone to a female addressee was thought of as unacceptable.²³

The same constraint does not appear to operate on pilsone 'citizen (f.)'. In Putniņš' play (1979), the university teacher Kalniņš uses pilsone alone to Veriņa, the wife of a good-for-nothing lay-about, (Putniņš, 1979: 97, 102). In the same play, the same character uses 'biedrene + last name' to address Terēze, an employee in the Education Department (Putniņš, 1979: 90, 93), as biedrene Bērziņa 'comrade Bērziņa'.

The masculine biedrs, also appeared in a number of combinations involving a professional title: biedri direktor 'comrade director' (Dziļums, 1961: 330, 347), biedri priekšniek, roughly 'comrade chairman' (Dziļums, 1961: 199, 215) and biedri brigadier, roughly 'comrade foreman' (Dziļums, 1961: 179, 204); more examples of the same kind can be found in Sīlis (1980: 75). There were no examples of the feminine biedre(ne) used like this, but this could simply mean that women did not occupy those positions.

1.3.2. Professional/occupational titles

The list of occupation nouns that can be used as address forms is much longer in Latvian than in English. Many such nouns have both masculine and feminine gender forms. For example, saimnieks 'head of household' and saimniece 'wife of head of household' or 'female head of household' are routinely used as ways of address by household members and visitors to the house alike. The masculine kolēga and feminine kolēģe, both meaning approximately 'colleague', are frequently used reciprocal terms of address between members of the medical professions (Kārkliņš, 1962: 399, 410, 369, 372). Here are examples of other professional pairs: Doktors/Doktore 'Doctor'; Profesors/Profesore 'Professor'; Skolotājs/Skolotāja 'Teacher'; Zobārsts/Zobārste 'Dentist'; Inženier(i)s/Inženiere 'Engineer'; Vadītājs/Vadītāja 'leader' (in the scout and guide movement), 'manager' (of a factory or other business concern). Blinkena (1969: 158 ff) cites many more examples of feminine gender nouns that have come into the lexicon as a consequence of women taking on jobs that had previously been all-male; but whether these feminine nouns can be used for addressing has yet to be verified. No feminine gender equivalents exist for: Virsnieks 'Officer', Kārtībnieks 'Policeman', Generālis 'Brigadier' and Mācītājs 'Reverend'.²⁴

Most of these nouns can combine with social titles to give something like 'Mr Doctor', 'Mr Engineer', 'Mr Student', 'Mr Writer', 'Mr Miller', 'Mr General', 'Mr Reverend', 'Mrs Professor' or 'Miss Teacher'. With kundze, this leads to potentially ambiguous titles, such as Dakter(a) kundze, which can be directed either at a medical practitioner's wife or at a female medical practitioner. The wife of a Lutheran pastor would be called a Mācītāj(a) kundze and it is to be presumed that a 'woman of the cloth' would get the same address form. Interestingly, the same situation never obtains with a male addressee; the husband of a female medical officer is never addressed as *Dakteres kungs 'Mr Doctor'.

The way of life in Latvija under the Soviet government gave rise to other professional titles. Possibly in an attempt to give them prestige of the kind accruing to

traditionally status-laden occupations, government officials began to use as address forms a whole series of specialist titles. Many of them were compound nouns involving the morpheme '-kopis/-kope', masculine and feminine affixes derived from the verb kopt 'to care for, look after, breed, cultivate': Cūkkopis/Cūkkope 'pig-breeder (m./f.)', Putnkopis/Putnkope 'poultry-breeder (m./f.)' and so on. These and similar terms, which usually occur together with the addressee's last name, existed before collective farming, but were never used as address forms.

1.4. Expressive/emotive address terms

The speaker's voice, gestures, body posture, facial expression can add an expressive/emotive meaning to all of the previously discussed forms of address; in this sense, every address form uttered can be thought of as having an 'expressive' element. There are, however, some common nouns used as address terms, where the emotive/expressive content is conveyed by other than para-linguistic means. Broadly speaking, they fall into two groups; it is impossible to list them all, but the following examples will give a general idea of the possibilities.

In the first group, the emotive/expressive meaning comes from a metaphorical use of names of flora and fauna. As terms of endearment, it is the 'diminutive' form of the noun that is found most often: zakītis 'little rabbit', puķīte 'little flower', kukainīts 'little bug'.²⁵ (See Appendix II for more examples.) In these words, it is the suffix as much as the lexical content of the base that have positive connotations. There is no 'diminutive' suffix on common nouns used as address terms of abuse: lops 'animal', mērkakis 'monkey', cūka 'pig', zoss 'goose', sisenis 'locust', čūska 'snake', suņi 'dogs' (this last addressed to a group of rough schoolboys throwing stones).

In the second group of address words, the lexical content of the stem has a 'positive' or 'negative' meaning, as for example in the case of briesmonis 'monster', derived from the noun briesmas 'danger'. Several emotionally charged address terms are

nouns derived from adjectives: lempis 'clumsy one', from lempīgs 'clumsy'; slinkais 'lazy one', from slinks 'lazy'; gudrais 'wise/clever one', from gudrs 'wise/clever'. Most adjectival derivations used in this way are nominalizations of the definite form of the adjective, as is the case of the just-mentioned slinkais and gudrais; mīlais/mīla '(my) dear (m./f.)' or '(my) darling (m./f.)' and stulbais/stulba '(you) idiot (m./f.)' or '(you) fool (m./f.)' are two more examples.²⁶

Some adjectival derivations communicate good feelings twice, so to speak. In substantive derivatives like mīļumiņš, roughly 'little darling' and dārgumiņš, roughly 'little precious', the positive meaning is conveyed both by the diminutive suffix -iņš and the semantic content of the base adjectives mīļš 'dear, beloved' and dārgs 'dear, precious, valuable, expensive'.

The two nouns vecais (m.) and vecā (f.) both derived from the adjective vecs/vecā 'old (m./f.)' have acquired different pragmatic meanings. Vecais 'old boy/fellow/chap' [lit: the old man] occurs quite often as an address form used by a wife to her husband and between males of like age who know each other well (cf. Fr. 'mon vieux' and Eng. 'old chap'); it conveys good feelings. A wife, on the other hand, is addressed as vecā 'lit: old woman', only by a bad-tempered husband ; in other words, the address form has come to encode bad feelings.

1.4.1. 'Diminutive' address terms

The 'diminutive' first name used as an address form, is discussed more extensively elsewhere in the present study (Chapter 3, Section 2.1.), so I will allude to it only briefly in this section. As well as 'diminutivized' first names, Latvian address forms also include the 'diminutive' forms of kin terms, last names and titles, as well as the flora and fauna terms discussed above. In these derived forms, as in first name derivations, the 'diminutive' suffix is most often an indicator of good feelings on the part of the speaker.

While women tend to be the main givers (especially to children) and receivers of FN address, first name address in its 'diminutive' form can also be used by a man to his girlfriend. In Klīdzējs' novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*), the hero Andris, who is about eighteen, has a girlfriend Mare, whom he addresses as *Maruk*, roughly 'little Mara', most of the time. It is significant that in the novel there is no other young woman he addresses in this way.²⁷ In the same novel, two young women friends address each other with the 'diminutive' form of their first names when they talk about being in love (Klīdzējs, 1962: 84). An adult man and woman can exchange 'diminutive' first name address if they are related or if they happen to be very good friends.

Usually for a male speaker, however, even where there is a bond of kin- or friendship, it is very rare to use a 'diminutive' first name to a male addressee; one time when that could conceivably happen is when the addressee happens to be known to everyone as, say, *Jančuks*, roughly 'Johnny' rather than *Jānis* 'John'. It is almost as rare to find a father using 'diminutive' first name address to his young children; if he does, more often than not the addressee is female. For males, the diminutivized kin term *dēliņ* 'son-DIM' is far more likely.

Kin terms to young children, especially to very young children, are frequently diminutivized. The words for 'child', 'daughter', 'son', 'niece' and 'nephew' can all take the diminutive suffix. Grandparents are routinely addressed as *Vecmāmiņ* and *Vectētiņ*, approximately 'Grandma' and 'Grandpa' respectively. With uncles and aunts, if, the age difference between the interlocutors is large, or if the interlocutors see each other rarely, the 'diminutive' kin term address of *Krustmāmiņ* and *Krusttētiņ*, roughly 'Auntie' and 'Unca', is common.

It is perhaps not wrong to say that when used by an adult to an adult and where the kinship bond is genuine, the diminutive kin term address communicates good feelings that at the time of speaking happen to be particularly strong. The following examples from *Brigadere* (1957) will illustrate.

One of the main characters, a young woman, has been seriously ill for a long time. Noticing signs of recovery, her mother says:

My daughter-DIM, my daughter-DIM! You'll be alright now. You've pulled through!²⁸

Elsewhere, the author describes what happens when the same young woman, Līziņa, opens a wedding-present from her brother:

'Oh, brother-DIM, silver!' Līziņa exclaimed joyfully, hugging the kind giver and then wiping her eyes for a long[†]ime.²⁹

In a different story, when the two sisters are planning to move to another town and it turns out their mother will not be accompanying them, concern is expressed in the following way:

'Mother-DIM, are you going to be all by yourself then?' Annele's voice trembled.³⁰

In another part of the book is one of the rare examples of a 'diminutive' address form occurring between adult males. The last few moments of Annele's father's death are described as follows:

Uncle Ansis...says in a solemn, strange/unfamiliar voice:

'In the peace of God, in the peace of God sleep sweetly dear brother-DIM!'³¹

The adjective 'genuine', used earlier with reference to bonds of kinship, requires a short explanation. There are numerous examples of diminutivized kin terms used to addressees in instances where there is no real kinship bond at all. In the chapter on diminutive suffixes I refer to some drinking songs where the speaker uses Latvian terms that roughly correspond to 'daddy' and 'little brother' when addressing his drinking

companions (see Chapter 3, Section: 2.2.4.1.). Similarly, as illustrated above (Section 1.2.), an older person who is a complete stranger can be addressed as 'mother-DIM', 'grandmother-DIM', 'father-DIM' and 'grandfather-DIM'.

There is also an interesting use of the diminutive address forms of KT's and ST's in strongly worded 'directives', bordering on 'threats'. Thus in the following fictitious example, someone who has caught a burglar red-handed, can conceivably address the thief as follows (note the T address pronoun as well):

Pagaid tik *brālīt*, nekur Tu nemuksi!

wait just *brother-DIM* nowhere you will-not-escape

Just you wait, brother dear, you're going nowhere!

In the collection Latviešu tautas pasakas par velniem (Latvian folktales about devils), there is a story where the hero has killed the devil's two sons (Pasakas par velniem: 151). Furious, the devil threatens him thus:

Pagaidi *kundziņ!*...nu nokaušu tevi pašu

wait-2 sg. IMP *sir-DIM* ...now will-kill you yourself

Just you wait, dear sir!...I'll kill you now!

The suffixed address form in these contexts is clearly not a vehicle for 'good feelings' towards the addressee.

As mentioned earlier, surnames and titles can have diminutive forms as well. A suffixed last name is always used on its own, that is, without the word corresponding to 'Mrs', 'Miss', or 'Mr'. In the 1930s, a student at the Skolotāju institūts 'Teacher training institute', could be addressed with the form 'last name + DIM' not only by fellow-students, but by teachers as well; a teacher whose last name is Kalmane, would be

addressed as Kalmanīt. In the 1940s and 1950s, a secondary school-teacher in Latvija received 'last name + DIM' address as a matter of course from many of her colleagues, who were of about the same age or else had known her over a period of some years. At staff-meetings, there were occasions when even the school principal addressed her in this way. If, however, an outsider, for example an inspector, happened to be present at the staff-meeting, the 'last name + DIM' address form was not used.

Of the 'diminutive' derivations of the social titles kundzīte, jaunkundzīte and kundziņš, roughly corresponding to 'Mrs-DIM', 'Miss-DIM' and 'Mr-DIM', only the first two are considered acceptable as address forms in everyday social interaction. They occur in 'service encounters' to hairdressers and shop-assistants and usually come from older, male speakers. For example, a male speaker, older than the addressee, would find it natural to say after a hair-cut, Paldies jaunkundzīt! 'Thank you *Miss-DIM*' to a hairdresser, especially if she was slight, attractive and had a pleasant manner (p.c.). When questioned as to why kundziņ cannot be used the same way as the other two, informants described it as 'jocular' and/or 'derogatory'.

The last group of 'diminutive' terms of address, mentioned earlier, consists of practically an open-ended list of nouns of which the following are representative: bitīt 'bee-DIM', putniņ 'bird-DIM', sirsniņ 'heart-DIM', saulīt 'sun-DIM', zakīt 'rabbit-DIM', stirniņ 'doe-DIM'. These are some of the more commonly found examples, but in fact, the list is as long as the creativity of Latvian speakers is productive.

The people who most often are on the receiving end of diminutive address forms are very young children and lovers. Trying to soothe her crying baby, a mother addresses her/him as: Mazulīt...mīlulīt... 'dear little one...little pet...' (Klīdzējs, 1962: 69). The diminutive suffix -īt(i)s (here in the VOC) has been added to the terms mazulis and mīlulis, nouns derived from the adjectives mazs 'small, little' and mīļš 'dear, loved, cherished'. One mother will address her very small daughter as čabatiņ 'little slipper' or puķīt 'little flower'. Another will address her as mušiņ 'little fly', yet another will choose to say stirniņ 'little fawn'.³² That one of the messages these 'pet names' convey is something like 'I want to think of you as people think of a small child' is aptly

demonstrated by the following extract from the novel *Cilvēka bērns* (*Child of man*) where the young hero is addressed as *cālīt* 'little chick' by his considerably older friend, Tancis.

Bons, the eight year old hero is finding life in a household with three aunts rather tiresome. He has decided that it is because his three aunts do not behave like *cilvēki* 'human beings/people' but like *sievietes* 'women'. He has noticed that his twenty year-old aunt, Malvīne, gets on very well with his best friend Tancis who is twenty-three. Bons decides that perhaps his aunts behave like 'women' with him and like 'people' with others. He wants to clarify this and says to Tancis (Klīdzējs, 1962: 227):

'Does Malvīne act like a woman with you or not?' Tancis frowns and bites his lip. 'Why do you ask that, *little chick*?' Bons pulls his lips into a pout. He can't stand that kind of little chick talk coming from Tancis; it is precisely the kind of little-chickenese he get from some of those women. He is really cross that Tancis wants to start treating him as if he were some little kid.

There is a more extensive discussion on 'diminutives' as a feature of talk between people in love in chapter three, so I will allude only briefly to it here. In a short, playfully romantic song, written in the form of a light-hearted dialogue between lovers, part of the dialogue goes thus (it is the young man who is talking):

Sirsniņ, cālīt, čabulīt,

Saldā meža zemenīt...

Heart-DIM, chick-DIM, bright-young-thing-DIM [*čabulīt* - untransl.]

sweet forest-GEN strawberry-DIM

A husband can receive the address term *zakīt* 'little rabbit, bunny' from his wife; a wife will get *sirsniņ* 'little heart' or *sirdspukīt* 'little flower of my heart' (p.o.). When I

interviewed (via a questionnaire) a group of informants about these forms of wife and husband address, one of the comments was that these forms, used as reciprocal interspousal address in the early years of a marriage, disappear almost completely as the marriage ages. The same comment had already been given an airing in public by Blaumanis (1952, vol. 2: 50) in a short poem called *Labrīts* (*Good-morning*). The first part has the title 'In the first few months of marriage', the second is called 'A few months later'. Both parts start with a 'greeting' from the husband to his wife. The first 'greeting', with the address forms in italics, is as follows:

Labrītiņ, *sirsniņ!* Nu, labrīt,

Tu manu zeltīto *kukainīt!*

good-morning-DIM *heart-DIM* well good-morning

you my golden *creature-DIM*

The very best morning to you, dear heart, good-morning,

My dear little golden creature!

In stark contrast with the good feelings expressed in both the diminutivized greeting formula as well as the two address forms, is the following couplet which opens part two of the poem:

E, celies augšā! Stavai, *Līz!*

Ko žāvājies!...Nu, drīz, drīz!

Hey lift-yourself up standing Liza

what you-yawning...well rightaway rightaway

Hey, get up! On your feet, Liza!

Stop your yawning...well, hurry up!

Even though children and lovers are the main targets of this group of 'diminutive' address forms, they are not exclusively so; an elderly female Latvian-speaker regularly used saulīt 'little sun' to address many of her friends, both old and young, male and female (personal observation in the 1970s).

In order to gain some insight into how extensive 'diminutive' address is in present-day Latvian, I questioned two groups of Latvian-speakers; the same groups that responded to my kin-term question (see Section 1.2. above). Both groups were given a list of sixteen expressive address forms (see Appendix II) and asked to respond to the question: 'Do your Latvian friends/relatives/acquaintances use these address forms?' The respondents were also asked to say whether the address form in question was used 'sometimes' or 'often'.

Out of 512 possible responses from the thirty-two Australian Latvians [AL] who completed the question, the results yielded 67 'yes' responses. In the 'Latvian' Latvian [LL] group, twenty-nine completed the question, yielding 187 'yes-es' out of a possible 464 responses. The table of results is as follows:

	Yes	No	
AL	67	445	
LL	187	297	(chi sq. = 92.242; df = 1; p ≤ 0.0001)

Of the 67 'yes' responses in the AL group, 12 were marked 'often'. In the LL group, of the 187 'yes' responses, 71 were marked 'often', resulting in the following table:

	Often	Rarely	
AL	12	55	
LL	71	116	(chi sq. = 8.13; df = 1; p ≤ 0.05)

These results show that Australian Latvians are far less inclined to use expressive address forms than are their counterparts in Latvija. They confirm the hypothesis based on personal observation during my field trip in Rīga in October-November 1992, that a more extensive use of expressive derivation in address forms is one of the features of Latvian ways of speaking in Rīga as opposed to Latvian ways of speaking in Australia, which in this respect have become more similar to Anglo-Australian ways.

2.0. The address pronouns: tu and jūs

While the seminal article by Brown and Gilman (Giglioli, 1983: 252-82) gives valuable insights into pronominal address forms across a number of languages, the framework proposed in it for pronominal address form analysis is of limited use in Latvian. To discuss the pair of Latvian address pronouns along the dimensions of 'solidarity' and 'power', 'intimacy' and '(social) distance' as Brown and Gilman propose, gives only a very approximate idea of the ways these pronouns are used and what these ways mean.³³ In situations where reciprocal tu is used, it might be appropriate to speak of it as conveying something like 'intimacy' and 'solidarity'. In asymmetrical address (such as between teacher and primary-school age pupil) however, it is difficult to see anything 'intimate' or 'solidary' in the tu the pupil gets from the teacher. Likewise, the tu used to insult can hardly be thought of as a sign of 'intimacy' and/or 'solidarity'.

Of the two Latvian address pronouns, traditionally, tu is called the singular form, and jūs - the plural form. Both pronominal forms are the nominative case forms of a declension system comprising six cases. To simply describe tu as the singular and jūs as the plural, as does the MLLVG in its section on personal pronouns (1959, vol.1: 503 ff),

suggests that Latvians use tu when talking to one person, and jūs when talking to more than one. In real life, the situation is more complex.

For plural addressees, jūs is always used. When speaking to a singular addressee, however, one must choose between tu and jūs. Even if the speaker uses a second person verb minus the address pronoun s/he cannot avoid choosing between tu and jūs; for example, the utterances (a) Vai brīvdienās iesi uz kino? and (b) Vai brīvdienās iesiet uz kino? both mean 'Will you be going to the movies in the holidays?' but (a) is asked of a person whom one would address as tu and (b) is targetting someone to whom one would use jūs (or a plural addressee). The same can be said of structures involving the imperative verb, which as a rule occurs without the address pronoun; Latvian imperative verb forms, like other verb forms, are marked for person (cf. French and other European languages). Similarly, the forms of words denoting possession, those corresponding to 'your' in English, are different, depending on whether the possessor is thought of as receiving tu address or jūs address.

As in other languages that have two singular 'yous' (there are numerous European languages that do this), the decision whether to use tu or jūs in Latvian can be a difficult one. And this not only for the learner of Latvian, but for the practised native-speaker as well, as attested by the proportionately large number of paragraphs devoted to the address pronouns in the section on 'Addressing' in Veics's book on good-manners (Veics, 1992: 105-108).

In this section I will discuss the use of tu, the use of the singular jūs and, briefly, some examples of pronominal and non-pronominal address form hybridisation. This discussion will therefore have three sub-headings:

The pronoun tu

The pronoun jūs

Which pronoun?

Since it has become a linguistic convention to refer to the address pronouns as the T and V pronouns (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Brown and Ford, 1961; Slobin 1963; Friedrich, 1972; Braun, 1988 and others) and because in some ways their use parallels that of the French tu and vous, the Russian ty and vy, the Serbo-Croatian ti and vi (Kocher, 1967) and similar pairs in other languages, I shall, for ease of reference, call tu and jūs (singular) the T and V pronouns.

2.1. The tu pronoun

There are a number of instances where the 'speaker' will always use the T pronoun: tu is used for all singular addressees in prayers and hymns.³⁴ In the farewell speeches at a graveside, the deceased is addressed as tu; in passing, this is also one of the comparatively rare occasions when the addressee receives first name address from strangers or near-strangers. No matter who or what is addressed in the Dainas roughly, 'Folksongs', tu is always used. In conversations with oneself (interior monologues, soliloquies) the address pronoun is tu. Servants, both male and female, in the country as well as in town, all receive the T pronoun address. Children and animals always get tu from everybody. On the receiving end of tu, can also be things denoted by 'collective' nouns such as: jaunatne 'young people', concrete nouns such as: ciems 'village', abstract nouns such as: pretvara 'enemy/opposition' [lit: pret 'against' + vara 'power'].

Tu and its other case-marked forms is found in a large number of fixed or formulaic expressions, including folk proverbs and 'sayings' (Latviešu tautas mīklas, sakāmvārdi un parunas, 1956). One group of fixed expressions, addressed to no one in particular, are used to convey a variety of psychological states, such as 'uncertainty' in: Ej tu nu sazini! 'Who can tell/say' and 'disappointment' in: Te tev nu bija! 'Tough luck!' To communicate 'resignation', one can say:

Ko tu padarīsi?

what *you-NOM* will-do

What can you do?

To communicate 'anger', 'frustration', 'impatience', the following can be used:

Lai velns *tevi* rauj!

may devil-NOM *you-ACC* pull

The devil take you!³⁵

As well as being used as a vehicle for conveying 'anger' at an unspecified addressee, this last utterance can target a particular person. In this respect, it belongs to another category of formulaic utterances, called 'curses' (for similar phenomena in Yiddish, see Matisoff, 1979). In Latvian, a prime example of 'curses' comes from the communicative behaviour of wandering gypsy beggars in rural Latvija.

Before they asked for food, the gypsies would say nice things about the inhabitants of the farm they were visiting (see Chapter 3, Section 2.2.4.1.). When this ploy did not work, they registered their displeasure by raining on the farm-inhabitants, curses similar to the following:

Kaut *tu* sava rada nepazītu!

may *you-NOM* your-own kin not-know

May you fail to recognize your kin!³⁶

Kaut *tev* visi lopi adatu pārēstos!

may *you-DAT* all animals needles overeat

May all your farm animals eat their fill of needles!³⁷

Kaut *tu* akmeņus rītu!

may *you-NOM* stones swallow

May you swallow stones!³⁸

According to MLLVG (Vol. 1: 505-06), *tu* '...is the traditional address form used among family members, friends, comrades/mates, people who know each other well.' Children who do not know each other use reciprocal T address (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980, vol. 1: 1 ff). Reciprocal T address is the norm within the nuclear family and usually extends to aunts, uncles, in-laws, cousins and grandparents. However, with extended family-members, the *tu* does not always come easily, especially where the two family members may be speaking to each other for the first time or where the age gap within the dyad is perceived by the speaker as great.

For example, eight year-old Annele of Brigadere's short story collection (1957: 286) finds it difficult to ask an older male cousin Aldis whether she can borrow one of his books, because:

it was difficult to know how to address Aldis: with 'tu' or with 'jūs'. It's true that he was a relative, but a grown-up one; neither 'tu' nor 'jūs' sounded right.

In Karkliņš' novel (1962: 103) Ārija's mother meets for the first time the sister of her late husband; it is some time before the visitor can address her sister-in-law *bez stostīšanās* 'without groping for words'.

Personal experience in the early nineties with relatives from Latvija with whom I spoke for the first time attests to a similar hesitation, especially where there was a

generation's difference between interlocutors. With cousins, the T pronoun came naturally from the beginning; with aunts, as the younger of the dyad, I waited for cues from the other party and so for the first few minutes of the conversation, any kind of pronominal address was avoided. Eventually, with one aunt, reciprocal tu was adopted. Another aunt used V address and I had no choice but to reciprocate; a younger person cannot address with T an older person who has chosen to use V.

Further evidence that, being more removed from the 'ego', aunts and uncles are in a 'grey area' as far as address pronoun use is concerned, is in a number of utterances I collected from about one hundred Latvian-speakers in Riga in October-November 1992 (see parts 5-8 of the questionnaire in Appendix III). When the addressee was the speaker's 'boss', the speaker's child's school-teacher, the local reverend, the respondents were almost unanimous in their use of the V pronoun; out of almost 100 responses, only one had T address used to a 'boss'. When the addressee was a brother, a sister or a best friend, the 100 respondents were unanimous in their choice of T pronoun. When the addressee was an aunt, an uncle or a neighbour, both T and V were used, with more T address for the aunt/uncle and more V address for the neighbour.

The speaker's hesitation regarding the use of tu in the three or four examples discussed in the previous paragraphs, confirms that one of the messages conveyed to the addressee by this address form must be 'I know you well'; it is difficult to say this to someone with whom one has had very little (if any) previous communication. This is why the banning of V address in favour of universal T, promoted by kolchoz leaders personifying the ideals of communism in Dziļums' novel (1962: 211, 213, 357, 358, 359) never really worked; the article of Sīlis (1988) attests to the presence of both T and V address pronouns during Soviet rule.

As mentioned earlier, reciprocal T address tends to be the norm within the family and between close relatives. There are only two examples where V address is used by child to parent; in Brigadere's *Trilogija* (*Trilogy*) Annele's grandmother gets it from her son (1957: 252) and a father gets it from his children in an example from the author Birznieks-Upītis (MLLVG, vol. 1: 506). Sometimes, because of a relative's particular

social status, s/he gets jūs rather than tu address, as was the case of an uncle who was a pastor; the speaker always used jūs with this uncle and tu with all his other relatives (p.c.). There were instances (p.c.) of the non-reciprocal T in the period before World War II, in Latvian families whose religion was Russian Orthodox; parents in these families gave T to their children, but received V.

Outside the circle of family and friends, there are certain ritualized situations where the reciprocal T occurs. During Mass in Latvian, the priest says to the congregation: Miers ar jums 'Peace be with *you-pl.*' He then repeats the greeting to each of his altar-servers, but this time, the formula used is: Miers ar tevi 'Peace be with *you-sg.*' The altar-servers respond with the same formula. Then the members of the congregation greet each other in the same way; once again the reciprocal T pronoun is used.³⁹

Various organizations promote the mutual use of T address for their members, irrespective of age and rank within the organization; the address pronoun thus becoming a sign of in-groupness. The reciprocal T address is encouraged, for example, in the scout and guide movement and in various academic organizations similar to the 'fraternities' and 'sororities' in America. The address pronoun is perceived in these instances as one of a whole series of signs - linguistic and non-linguistic - that identify their users as belonging to the same group. Personal experience however, has shown that a large number of members of such organizations have difficulty extending the T address to members who are considerably older or to a member who comes into their usual group from outside, a member visiting from another country for instance.

For adults who are not related, shared experiences are an important factor for motivating a reciprocal T address. The experiences have either been shared over a very long period of time as in the case of adults who have been friends since childhood;⁴⁰ or they are special in some other way as those of the four partisans in Zīverts's play Pēdejā laiva (The last boat).

The four are hiding in a makeshift underground shelter, living in permanent fear of discovery and death. Their particular job is to spy on the movements of the enemy so

that they can report back to their own scattered troops. There is strong bond of interdependence linking all four partisans; a badly timed move or sound from one would result in certain death for all. This bond of interdependence has resulted in a family-group kind of situation, as it were, and all four members mutually address each other as tu. Even Melnais Žanis 'Black Jack' who is very much the 'boss', in the sense that he gives all the orders and nothing is done without his permission, gets tu from the boy in his early teens. In a different context, that of an ordinary everyday workplace, for instance, differences in age and 'status' would be marked by asymmetrical pronominal address. Brown and Gilman (1972: 262) report a similar fading of age and status boundaries in French that occurs at a certain critical altitude in mountaineering when climbers shift from non-reciprocal to reciprocal T address.

Where the interlocutors are of about the same age, anticipated shared experiences are sufficient to motivate reciprocal T address. In the 1970s, I personally observed young adult Latvians (from America, Australia and Europe) meeting each other for the first time at a youth congress in Zwolle, a song festival in Koln, a summer school in Munster and a public lecture in Paris. With only a very few exceptions, reciprocal T address came naturally.

In Australia, Latvian-speakers of the post World War II generation will readily use Tu to a complete stranger of like age, same sex and similar social background. This is in marked contrast to Latvian address behaviour in Latvija, where in comparable situations in 1992, I observed reciprocal V address to be far more prevalent.

2.2. *The jūs pronoun*

To an adult stranger, the address pronoun jūs is used. Andris, the hero of the novel Jaunieši (Klīdzējs, 1962: 213 ff), is approached in Rīga by a farmer asking for directions. The farmer, speaking in dialect, addresses him as kungs 'Sir' and as jūs. In his answer, also in dialect, Andris reciprocates the jūs. The reciprocal V address cannot continue for

long, however, since by responding to the farmer in dialect and offering to take him where he wants to go, Andris has conveyed something like the following the message: 'You and I are from the same part of the country, because of this, we can say that we know each other'. Over the next few hours, including a shared lunch, Andris and the farmer talk like long lost friends and when it is time for the farmer to leave, saying his farewells, he addresses the younger man as Tu (Klīdzējs, 1962: 215), once more confirming to Andris: 'I do not want to talk to you the way I talk to a stranger'.

In the same novel, there is another example of a similar address pronoun switch. On his way home from the station, Andris is offered a ride from the driver of a horse and cart who addresses him as 'Rugājs' son' (Klīdzējs, 1962: 149) and says tu to him, thus conveying the message: 'I know you'. Andris, who does not know the driver, uses V pronoun address (Klīdzējs, 1962: 150) as he admits: *...es jūs nepazīstu* '...I don't know who you are'. After the driver has identified himself as the father of Vera and Ignats, whom Andris knows, tu address from Andris becomes appropriate (Klīdzējs, 1962: 151).

The usual address pronoun from a tram-driver to a stranger, is the V pronoun. This does not happen in the following incident from the aforementioned novel *Jaunieši* (Klīdzējs, 1962: 146). The hero, who has just had some very bad news, is wandering distractedly through the city. As he crosses a street, he is suddenly aware of a thundering noise, brakes squealing and something jolting him sharply in the ribs. Startled into a stop, he sees a tram that has just braked in order to avoid running him over. Using the T address pronoun, the driver shouts:

Are you wrong in the head! Are you drunk? Do you want to be swept off the cobblestones with a broom?

The first two episodes above patently point to one of the elements of meaning in the address pronoun jūs, which is something like: 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to people whom they don't know'.⁴¹ The third episode, where in the place of

expected V pronoun address the T pronoun is used by the angry (and probably frightened) tram-driver, in a roundabout way also points to this same element. By using tu, the tram-driver is saying something like: 'I cannot speak to you the way people speak to those whom they don't know'. The driver is clearly too distraught to observe 'proper' ways of speaking, and, more importantly, he wants his words to get through to the addressee who is less likely to take them seriously if they are spoken as if to a stranger.

Not everybody whom one does not know gets V pronoun address; everyone uses the T address pronoun to children (and to animals). There must therefore be some time when the transition to V pronoun address occurs.

As with first name address, there are at least two occasions that formally mark this transition. For young Latvians whose education has ended with primary school and who happen to be Lutheran, probably the first contact with the reciprocal jūs comes when they start to attend Bible lessons in preparation for confirmation. For example, Annele (Brigadere, 1957: 646) gets jūs address from Emmija, another of the young women in the confirmation class.

For those who continue with post-primary education, the first contact with reciprocal jūs comes with the beginning of ģimnāzija roughly, 'high school'. It is the address pronoun usually used between teachers and students. And unless the students happen to know each other already - either through having attended the same primary school, having been neighbours or friends - jūs is the pronoun they use among themselves. As friendships are formed, the reciprocal jūs is replaced by the reciprocal tu. Between a female and a male, the reciprocal tu often indicates that the relationship is a 'serious' friendship; it gives the couple sweetheart status. Consequently, the reciprocal tu address comes much more readily where both parties are of the same sex.

Besides the message 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to people whom they don't know', V pronoun address conveys something like this: 'I feel something good towards you of the kind people feel towards people they don't know well'. The use of T (not V) pronoun address to a stranger, says 'I feel something bad towards you'. This message came through very clearly in the 100 or so responses I

collected to the following scenario in the questionnaire whose aim was to elicit directive utterances (see Appendix III):

N is a young woman walking along the street. A young man is pestering her. N wants him to go away. She says to the young man:""

Some responses featured V pronominal address, but these were vastly outnumbered by those with the T pronoun.

The fact that many of the T responses had non-standard Latvian lexical items, for example, verbs like *atšujies* and *atsienies*, both meaning roughly, 'Buzz off!' or 'On yer bike!', shows that the insult is most probably inherent not in the T pronoun itself, but in the linguistic behaviour deliberately chosen against the dictates of the prevailing norm governing 'polite' ways of speaking to strangers. In view of this, the above message 'I feel something bad towards you' ascribed to the T pronoun in insults, has to be revised to something like the following: 'I don't want to speak to you the way people usually speak to people whom they don't know'. For this reason, as the two following examples show, a departure from expected V pronominal address can bring mixed reactions (irrespective of what the speaker's intentions might be).

While in the 1930s, reciprocal V pronoun address was the norm between high school student and teacher, some teachers found that they had a better rapport with their students when choosing to disregard the norm. Thus, one high school music teacher used the T pronoun to all his students, right from the start. He was an excellent teacher and musician, well-liked by all his students who found his address behaviour 'warm and friendly' (I quote from the personal communication). One day, however, a female student complained to the principal that she found the music-teacher's T pronoun address rude. From that day on, the teacher, like all his colleagues, addressed his students as *jūs*.

There was a similar situation about forty years later in the Latvian community in Australia. In the late 1980s, there was a religious council held in Australia for Latvians. It was attended mainly by people in their fifties and sixties. The pastor leading

the council was of the post World War II generation; he used *tu* with everyone. Many of those who had taken part in the council felt that by 'tu-ing' his flock, the pastor came across as a warm and kind-hearted personality. Not everyone, however, saw the use of T address as an indication of 'closeness' and 'friendliness'; a number of people were not pleased by what came across to them as a breach of manners.

Far from wanting to complain, the high school student in the following incident felt great relief at being addressed 'familiarly' by a school inspector in the 1930s in Latvia. The student was seen outside a cinema when he was supposed to be in class. The school inspector who recognized him, said:

Es tevi piekaušu

I you-ACC will-beat-up

I'll beat you up!

The use of T address, a departure from the standard ways of speaking of school inspectors, told the student that he would not get into trouble. Using the T pronoun where V was the norm, the inspector behaved for a moment like the student's peer and a friend. His message to the recalcitrant student was something like: 'I saw you doing something bad for which you should be punished, but as your friend I am not going to punish you'. The student would have known he was really in trouble if the inspector had said something like this:

Mr X, would you [V pronoun] please report to my office at 2 pm tomorrow.

2.3. Which pronoun?

In this part, I want to discuss briefly one aspect of address behaviour that as far as I know has had very little attention from linguists researching forms of address. Literature on address forms, for which there is an extensive bibliography in Braun (1988), confirms that very little has been written about the apparent contradictions in what people do with address forms. What I am referring to is departures from what one might be led to expect from a discussion of the non-pronominal forms on the one hand and the pronominal system of the other.

Available data confirms that, as one would expect, the following non-pronominal address forms always co-occur with the V pronoun:

STs used alone: kungs, kundze, jaunkundze

PTs used alone: Profesor, Skolotāj

LN/FN + ST: Lisijas jaunkundz, Stērstes kungs

PT + ST: Kapteina kungs, Skolotājas kundze

The contexts in which these non-pronominal forms are found (see Section 1.3. above) confirm that through them, the speaker conveys to the addressee a two-part message that is something like the following:

- a) I am speaking to you the way people speak to people whom they do not know well and who are not children [= 'distance']
- b) I want to show you that I feel something towards you of the kind people feel towards people they do not know, or do not know well and to people who are not children and of whom they think something good [= 'respect']

The presence of V pronominal address reinforces this two-part message.

That social titles, their combinations and the V pronoun are all perceived as saying very similar things is evident from a reference to the address behaviour of Indulis, the young male taxi-driver and his young woman friend in a novel (Kārklīņš, 1962: 31). The couple have switched to using the T pronoun, after Indulis asks that they stop the jūsošana 'using jūs [the V pronoun]' and the kungošana 'using the address form kungs'.

Titles and their combinations co-occur only with V address. Kin terms, first names and last names, on the other hand, co-occur either with tu or jūs. The limitations of Brown and Gilman's approach become particularly apparent when we are faced with the task of describing these address form hybridisations. This area of Latvian address behaviour deserves a more thorough investigation at a later date, not least because similar non-pronominal and pronominal hybridisations occur in other languages, in French (p. o.) and Polish (Wierzbicka, 1991) for example. For the present time, I propose to explain in simple terms the messages behind the seemingly contradictory signals sent out in the following two types of utterances:

- 1) first name address co-occurring with jūs
- 2) kin term address co-occurring with jūs

The apparent difficulty with first name address co-occurring with jūs is that first names are used to people to whom one can say 'I know you well' or to people with whom one has something in common (fellow-students, for example) and jūs is used to people to whom one cannot say 'I know you well'. I suggest that the V pronoun occurring together with the first name, adds more precise information to the verb phrase 'know well'. In this way, it serves as further evidence that Latvians think of the category of 'people whom one knows well' or, more precisely, 'people to whom one can say - I know you well' as consisting of sub-categories of people whom one claims to know better than others. I therefore suggest that 'FN + jūs' conveys the following message:

I want to speak to you the way people speak to someone they know well

but not the way they speak to a brother or a sister or a child
or someone to whom they can say 'You and I think the same'

The problem with utterance-type 2) above, is that kin term address implies something like: 'You and I are part of the same family' from which it follows that 'You and I think the same' [= 'solidarity']. Kin terms are, as a general rule, used together with the T pronoun of address. The 'solidarity' expressed in the kin term appears to be negated by the address pronoun *jūs*. The speaker using a kin term in conjunction with the V pronoun is conveying the following message:

You and I are part of the same family

I don't want to speak to you the way people from the same family speak to each other

I want to speak to you the way I speak to people whom I don't know well and about whom I think something good

Conclusion

This chapter has done several things. Firstly, it has acquainted the reader with the ways of address of one of the lesser known European languages. While perhaps not as extensive/complex as the address form repertoires of some non-European languages such as Javanese (Geertz, 1979), Hindi (Jain, 1969), Egyptian (Alrabaa, 1985), Japanese (Hori, 1986; Peng and Kagiya, 1973), Malayalam (Chandrasekhar, 1970) and Korean (Hijirida and Sohn, 1988), the Latvian address system presents its speakers with a range of possibilities to choose from far broader than the one accessible to speakers of English, particularly Australian English.

Secondly, the chapter has shown how the choice of a particular address form depends on a number of factors: the extent to which the interlocutors can claim some

degree of acquaintanceship, their relative ages and social status, their sex, their intention to convey a particular feeling or attitude, the dictates of a political ideology. In this respect, the chapter contributes to the body of research to which the following authors have already contributed: Yassin (1978), Nakhimovsky (1976) and Emihovich (1981) who have all written on address forms as vehicles of feelings/attitudes; McBrian (1978), Ostor (1982), Comrie and Stone (1977), Mitchel (1979), Fang and Heng (1983), Scotton and Wanjin (1983), Bates and Benigni (1975), Keshavarz (1988) and Kempf (1985) who have discussed how governments in a number of different countries have sought to change a society's ways of address in order to reflect a particular ideology; Jaworski (1986), Kramer (1975), Hook (1974) and Wolfson and Manes (1980) whose articles have focused on sex-related difference in ways of addressing; Brown and Gilman (1972), Brown and Ford (1961) and Ervin-Tripp (1969) whose work has centred on the age and status variables in address behaviour. These and other works on similar topics, confirm the view that attracting someone's attention is only *one* of the functions of addressing; address forms function as markers of social categories, as vehicles for feelings and attitudes and as a reflection of political change.

Thirdly, this chapter has shown how address forms and their use say something about the socio-cultural values of the people who use them; thus adding to the work of Sifianou (1992), Wierzbicka (1991 and 1992) and others. It is now widely accepted that ways of using a language can reflect the cultural values held by the speakers of that language. Obviously, it is not reasonable to expect to learn everything about Latvian cultural values solely from a brief discussion of Latvian ways of using address forms. On the basis of the evidence in this chapter, however, it is possible to draw some conclusions about how Latvians view the world, themselves and their fellow human beings.

The fact that there is a reluctance to use first names shows that in the Latvian view of the world, human beings tend not to be seen as individuals *per se*, but rather as belonging to a particular category or group of people. That last names alone are the preferred address form at school, both primary and secondary is one example of this; last name address identifies an individual as belonging to a family. (Outside the context of

addressing, that is, in introductions and for self-identification on the phone, Latvian-speakers prefer to give last names alone.) The repertoires of kin terms and professional/occupational titles used as address forms indicate that individuals are seen in terms of the roles they have in bigger social structures; one is ever conscious of the fact that each individual is a component in an intricate pattern of relationships.

The family group and the individual's place in it are viewed as especially important, as shown by the extensive use of kin term address. Being part of a family is something to be valued, since one of the worst possible things that can be wished on an individual (see the part on gypsy curses in Section 2.1.) is the inability to recognize who is family. As further evidence of the high regard in which family networks are held in Latvija, I note that nearly every time I was introduced to relatives in Latvija, the information 'the eldest daughter of so-an-so' came even before my name was mentioned.

Kin term and professional title address in a sense mark sub-categories of addressees, for over and above these, Latvian-speakers categorize addressees broadly as 'familiar' and 'non-familiar'. Latvian-speakers are constantly using address forms to say to their addressees, 'I know you' or 'I don't know you'. However, they do not remain content with 'organizing' their addressees into two broad categories; by means of various address forms and their combinations where the T and V address pronouns play an important role, Latvian-speakers give more precise information about the degree of acquaintanceship with their addressees. We saw above, how address forms communicate the following messages:

'I know you well'

'I know you very well'

'I do not know you well, but I know something about you'

'I do not know you'

and so on. What is more, the use of expressive address forms, the 'diminutive' derivations in particular, shows that in their ways of addressing Latvian-speakers are no

less reluctant to express their feelings than in other ways of speaking as the following chapters will show.

¹See the section 'Two-up' in *The Australian Magazine*, July 20-21, 1991, p. 40

²The T addressed to God in French is relatively recent. Before Vatican II (1962), God was addressed with V.

³In French, for example, people who get first name address do not automatically get the *tu* pronoun; in the 1970s, 'au pairs' working in Paris routinely got first name address, together with *vous*. Similarly, teachers and students in adult language classes used reciprocal first name address and reciprocal *vous* (p. observation).

⁴MLLVG, vol. 2: 582. The 'vocative intonation' has to do with the length of the pause separating the address form from the rest of the elements in the sentence.

⁵MLLVG, vol. 2: 583. The original, from *Staburaga bērni* (*The children of Staburags*) by Valdis, reads as follows: 'Vai tev, Marč, nebija bailes vienam šurp nākt?'

⁶MLLVG, vol. 2: 583. The original, from *Kopotī raksti III* (*Collected works, vol. 3*) by Birznieks-Upītis, is as follows: 'Mulkīti, ko tu brēc?'

⁷MLLVG, vol. 2: 583. The original, from *Trilōģija* (*A trilogy*) by Brigadarere, is: 'Bērns, bērns, kur tu varēji sev uztaisīt tik dārgu un skaistu kleitu!'

⁸MLLVG, vol. 2: 585

⁹See Vol. 1: 371 and Vol. 2: 492, respectively.

¹⁰On this point, see also Wierzbicka (1992: 383) who refers to the 'widespread insistence on a reciprocal use of first names...in Australian universities undergraduates commonly address their lecturers by their first names. Journalists interviewing celebrities usually address them, and are addressed by them, by their first names. Politicians make a point of repeatedly addressing the interviewers by their first names...' and so on. Note that in interviews with politicians, first name address is not reciprocal. For example, in the televised current affairs programme *The 7. 30 Report* on ABC in Australia, the interviewer Quentin Dempster addresses the current Prime Minister (Paul Keating) as 'Prime Minister', but is himself addressed by Keating as 'Quentin'.

¹¹A woman either gets a mumble, nothing at all, or 'Mrs + LN'

¹²In the country, pupils also got LN address with the gender-specific ending. In Brigadere's *Trilogy* (op. cit.) the heroine Anna Avots is addressed as Avote by her primary school-teacher.

¹³Last-naming also appears to be a characteristic of young male speech in Anglo-Australian and in French (p.o.).

- 14The 'niece/nephew' and 'grand-child/grand-daughter/grand-son' forms are often 'diminutivized'; I shall say more on that later.
- 15There are examples of this kind of address in other languages. Living with a family in France in the nineteen seventies, was an elderly spinster whom everybody addressed as Tante X, even though she was no relation to anybody in the household. Similarly, I observed a young Frenchwoman addressing an elderly female neighbour, whom she had befriended, as Tante X. This too was the address form the neighbour requested of me when we were introduced. 'Aunt X' is also used in this way in Anglo-Australian (p.c.).
- 16A person without a family was a nobody; this is why there are so many folk rhymes [dainas] deploring the lot of an orphan. Anything that threatened the stability of the 'family' structure too was similarly deplored: a brother's departure for war or military service, a sister's marriage. Reluctance to destabilize the family structure probably explains some of the wedding rituals of Latvian country weddings (Barons, 1949).
- 17Many European languages have this kind of address. In French, it is normal to address people as Madame, Mademoiselle, Monsieur, i.e., using the social title alone.
- 18This is what Sifianou means when she refers (1992: 65) to the Greek address forms kirios 'Mr', kiria 'Mrs' and despinis 'Miss' as '...the most distancing and impersonal...'.
 19See Ķiņauka, 1965: 86, where the original text reads: '...Mārīte Brencis...are saviem 25 gadiem, violētas krāsas lūpu zīmuļa veikli ierkrāsotām kontūrām, sidrabainiem acu plakstiem un loti iežņaugto vidukli' and (ibid.:101) '...Mārīte Brencis ilgojās būt atpakaļ savā stūdiņā kur tai pēc stundas bija norūāata satikšanās ar jaunu juristu.'
- 20See Klīdzējs (1962: 75); the original text reads: 'Daiļa, sprogaina, pūderēta, krāsota un lakota. Jā, viņa prata būt skaista, jautra un laipna.'
- 21See Klīdzējs (1962: 72) for the original text: 'Nesauciet mani tā! Dancera kundze...kundze! Kas par kundzi. Es nēesmu nekāda Dancera kundze! Sauciet par Ritas jaunkundzi...Labāk vienkārši - par Ritu.'
- 22Sīlis (1988: 206) quotes from vol. 1 of the 1923-25 edition of LVV; the original text is: 'Līdz XIX gadsimta beigām par 'biedru' vai 'biedri/eni' runātājs mēdza nosaukt cilvēku, ar kuru viņu saistīja, piemēram, kopīgs darbs, vaļasprieks, kopīgi ejams ceļš, viena dzīve, utt.'
- 23Earlier, Sīlis (1980: 75ff) had found that both biedrs and biedre(n)e on their own were considered inappropriate address forms; however, the masculine plural biedri, meaning approximately 'Gentlemen' or 'Ladies and gentlemen' was in use. The feminine plural *biedre(ne)s and the phrase *biedri, biedre(ne)s were not used.
- 24In her article 'Only masculine gender?' Blinkena (1969) proposes the use of virsniece 'officer' and ģenerāle 'brigadier' for female addressees, arguing that it would be more correct to do so, but concedes that they would sound strange.
- 25Note that many of the elements of address forms discussed elsewhere in this chapter can be used with diminutive suffixes. I will be referring to them later.
- 26In Latvian, adjectives have two forms, traditionally labelled the non-definite and definite. For example: brūns/brūna... 'a brown (m./f.)...' and brūnais/brūnā...'the brown (m./f.).

- 27 It is also significant, that when Andris learns of the tragic death of his girlfriend and weeps at her funeral, he repeatedly addresses her as Mārīt (NOT Maruk) in a series of interior monologues where he partly blames himself for her death. Both Mārīt and Maruk would be glossed as 'little Mara' in English, but they do not mean exactly the same thing. See Klīdzējs (1962: 144-45 and 154).
- 28 See Brigadere (1957: 234) where the original is: ' "Manu meitiņ, manu meitiņ! Nu tu būsī vesela. Nu tu esi cauri!" '
- 29 See Brigadere (1957: 698) where the original text reads: 'Vai, brālīt, sudrabs! Līziņa priecīgi iesaucās, sirsnīgo devēju apskaudama un pēc tam ilgi slaucīdama acis.' '
- 30 In Brigadere (1957: 695) the original reads: ' "Māmīt, vai tad tu paliksi nu viena?' Annele's balss iedrebējās." '
- 31 In Brigadere (1957: 439) the original text is: '...tēvocis Ansis...saka svinīgi, neparasti: "Dieva mierā, dieva mierā dusi saldi, mīļo brālīt!" '
- 32 The first three of these examples have been personally observed. The fourth is a personal communication. Compare the French address terms biquette 'little fawn' and poussin 'chick' also used to children (cf. also Volek, 1987 and Wierzbicka, 1987).
- 33 See also Wierzbicka (1992: 320) on this point.
- 34 Compare this with French where children are currently being taught the Notre Père 'Our Father' with 'Tu' and the Je vous salue, Marie 'Hail Mary' with 'Vous'.
- 35 Personal communication.
- 36 Personal communication.
- 37 Jaunsudrabiņš (1981: 37)
- 38 Personal communication.
- 39 A possible explanation for the use of the T pronoun in this example is that the original Latin text of the Mass had a T pronoun in this context.
- 40 That experiences have to be shared over a long period of time is brought out by the following personal communication. A sixty-ish year old informant tells me that her father had a good friend whom he had known for a long time (but not since childhood). The two men saw each other frequently, had many shared activities such as fishing-trips) and yet always used reciprocal V address and the LV address form roughly corresponding to 'Mr + LN' in English.
- 41 This is the same as one of the semantic components of the Russian vy, proposed by Wierzbicka, 1992: 322).

Chapter 2

BEGINNING AND ENDING SOCIAL INTERACTION

Introduction

This chapter will look^{at} a set of linguistic structures/forms in Latvian that are used in (usually) relatively short interactional segments to define the boundaries of longer segments. This is not to say that boundary-definition is the only function of the linguistic forms under discussion, or that boundaries cannot be indicated/marked in other ways, both verbal and non-verbal (see especially: Firth, 1972; Kendon, 1990). Nor is Latvian unique in having such boundary-marking structures.

Naden (1980: 137-45) attests to the importance of expressions of salutation in northern Ghana:

no well-formed interpersonal interactions can take place without an opening greetings-litany: even if you are going to insult someone or punch him on the nose, you will greet him correctly first.

And Irvine claims that for speakers of Wolof (Irvine, 1974):

a greeting is a necessary opening to every encounter... Gestures and eye contact are also necessary to the greeting but are never sufficient.

For speakers of Australian English too, it is usual to offer some form of salutation to one's colleagues when arriving at work and when leaving for home. A student seeking information from the departmental secretary will usually precede her enquiry with

something like 'Good morning' or 'Hello' and follow it with a 'See you later' or 'Bye now'.

Investigation of what people do and say to start and finish various kinds of social interaction has revealed a wide range of social behaviours both cross-culturally (cf. Firth, 1972) and intra-culturally (cf. Kendon, 1990). In face-to-face communication, for example, verbalized beginnings can consist of a simple utterance, such as the Tikopia formula meaning 'so you've come' (Firth, 1972: 8) or an utterance plus response exchange of short formulae as in Maori (Firth, 1972: 8) and Latvian (see, for example, the exchange of *Labdien* lit: 'Good-day' in Janovskis' novel [1968: 175]). Or they can be longer, such as the 'opening greetings litany' of Bisa-speakers alluded to earlier (Naden, 1980) or the repeated 'good-mornings' of Egyptian-speakers described by the journalist Tony Horwitz (1991: 137), the 'typical greeting exchange [which] goes through three stages' of the Tuareg (Yousouf, Grimshaw and Bird, 1976) and the lengthy and elaborate greeting routines of the Wolof (Irvine, 1974: 170 ff).

In these and other studies of the *linguistic* aspects of 'opening' and 'closing' behaviour in person-to-person encounters, the focus has chiefly been on the formal organization of the structures involved. Continuing the focus on formal structure, Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 297) have discussed initial and ending 'sequences', 'greeting exchanges' and 'terminal exchanges' in, presumably, American English. Pawley (1974, unpublished) has explored the nature and patterning of various 'moves' speakers of English make in order to effect even the most basic of 'leavetakings'. The boundary-marking function has been explicitly recognized by Candlin, Leather and Bruton (1976: 249) who see 'opening' and 'closing' behaviour as constituting what they call the 'GREET-LEAVETAKE frame' of most medical consultations in English.

From most of these studies, it emerges that boundary-marking is not the only function of this type of behaviour. Similarly, when Ferguson (1981: 21 ff) alludes to expressions used in 'openings' and 'closings' in different cultures under the collective label of 'Politeness Formulas'¹ and calls them '...little snippets of ritual used in everyday encounters between people...', he appears to be referring to what could be termed the

purely phatic function² of these formulae, that is, the function of establishing lines of communication and/or checking that they are 'in working order'. However, the fact that in Latvian, Labdien is not the only formula found at the beginning of person-to-person interaction suggests that these 'snippets' convey other messages as well.

In Gonja, for example, opening strategies are seen as '...a means of defining, and affirming, both identity and rank...And...a mode of entering upon or manipulating a relationship in order to achieve a specific result' (Goody, 1972: 40). 'Status manipulation' is seen as the chief function of the Wolof 'greeting' by Irvine (1974) who shows how 'the greeting' serves to maintain the hierarchical divisions in the Wolof society. Caton (1986) has shown how 'a great many verbal and nonverbal signs in the speech event [of greeting] communicated values central to a Yemeni concept of the person.' From Firth's (1972) point of view: 'Forms of greeting and parting are symbolic devices...of incorporation or continuance of persons in a social scheme.' For Schiffrin (1977) opening strategies are 'Access displays...[which] signal ...social recognition... Of closing strategies, Adato (1975) says: 'Leave-taking marks the end of an interactional episode, but at the same time insists that the personal relationship continues.' Albert and Kessler (1976) discuss how these two things may be achieved by the use of certain linguistic structures.

In the following discussion, I propose to examine the use of Latvian boundary-marking formulae and their exchanges in order to identify their covert messages. Among other things, I propose to show that in Latvian, these structures are a subset of a broader set of utterances whose common message is something like 'I (want to) say something good to you'.

While most of the discussion will focus on formulae used in beginning and ending person-to-person (face-to-face) encounters, I shall also examine those used in person-to-person written communication and those occurring at the beginning of a person-to-group encounter. For the sake of simplicity I shall use the term 'greeting' when referring to linguistic structure(s) and/or behaviour that occurs at the beginning of a person-to-person (face-to-face) encounter and 'farewell' when such behaviour occurs at

the end. To avoid confusion, I shall be using the label 'greeting/farewell formula' when the short, simple expression such as 'good morning', 'goodbye', 'ta-ta' or 'hi' is meant; I shall use the label 'greeting/farewell routine' when referring to the somewhat longer speech event such as the following:

- A. Good morning.
- B. Good morning.
- A. How are you ?
- B. Very well, thank you. And you ?
- A. Fine thanks.

This discussion will not include an analysis of 'greeting' formulae when they are used in 'offering good wishes on a special occasion',³ though reference may be made to these. There are times when a formula used to convey special occasion wishes has at the same time the function of introducing/opening a longer verbal exchange; in English the mutually exchanged 'Merry Christmas' and 'Happy New Year' are examples of such formulae. In the present chapter, the focus will be on everyday greetings, except where reference to the 'special occasion' type of 'greet^{-ing}' might illustrate or emphasize a particular point of the present discussion.

1.0. Boundary-marking in person-to-person encounters

Before undertaking a detailed analysis of Latvian 'greeting' and 'farewelling' formulae, I propose to do two things. First, I shall briefly discuss some speech-act verbs and verb phrases used to refer to this type of communication. I believe that such a discussion is important in order to understand how Latvians view the act of 'greeting' and 'farewelling'. Secondly, I will give a brief overview of the repertoire of what have been called 'formulaic phrases of greeting and parting' (Laver, 1981: 298).

1.1. The speech-act verbs and phrases

There are six speech-act verbs in Latvian to do with 'greeting' and 'farewelling'; the English glosses supplied here are approximate: sveicināt 'to utter to someone an everyday greeting formula'⁴ apsveicināties/sasveicināties 'to engage in a greeting routine'; sazavasalutīs 'to engage in a greeting routine' (in eastern Latvija); atsveicināties 'to engage in a farewelling routine'; atvadīties 'to engage in a farewelling routine'; ardievojties 'to engage in the goodbye routine' (from : Ar Dievu!/Ardievu! 'Good-bye!').

Note that the base lexical morpheme sveik- occurs in the verb pair sasveicināties and atsveicināties that code a 'greeting' routine and a 'farewell' routine respectively. The base form sveik- is present in three other speech-act verbs: sveikt 'to greet, welcome, salute'; apsveikt 'to congratulate, greet (on a birthday, graduation)'; pasveicināt 'to remember someone to someone else, to offer regards to someone on someone else's behalf'. Thus, openings and closings to longer stretches of person-to-person communication, are seen as occasions on which to offer one's good wishes with the expectation that they will be returned.

Semantic similarity does not automatically follow from formal similarity. However, the ways Latvians use sveik- derivatives, verbal and non-verbal, suggest that the derivatives are semantically related as well as formally. This hypothesis is supported by evidence from Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca (Latvian etymological dictionary) (1992, vol. 2: 333) which under sveiks has the following entry (roughly translated here) :

[according to Frenkel] *sveiks* < **su-ei-kas*, where **su-* is the Indo-european **su-* 'lads' [=good] and *-ei-* is the root of the verb *iet* (**ei-*) [= to go], thus the earliest meaning of *sveiks* is 'someone who goes about good (strong, powerful)'.

The verb *sveikt* has acquired the meaning of wishing someone well.

Of the verbs sveicināt and sasveicināties, both of which can be glossed as 'to greet', the first refers to the uttering of a greeting formula or the making of some non-

verbal sign that conveys the same message. In the utterance 'Don't forget *to say good-morning* to the teacher' the expression in italics would be translated in Latvian as sveicināt. The action coded by sveicināt is perceived as a one-way process; something involving *only the speaker*, as going from the speaker to the addressee.

In sveicināt, the suffix -ināt is a causative suffix found also in the following verbs: balināt 'to bleach' (from bāls 'pale'), zilināt 'to cause to become blue' (from zils 'blue'), smīdināt 'to make (s'one) laugh' (from smiet 'to laugh'), spīdzināt 'to torture' (from spiegt 'to shriek'), strādināt 'to make (s'one) work' (from strādāt 'to work'). Given that the modern meaning of sveiks is roughly, 'unharmful, well', it is not implausible to see in sveicināt a verb derived from the adjective sveiks and meaning, literally, something like 'to cause someone to feel something good'.

From sveicināt, by means of the morphemes sa- and -ies has been derived sasveicināties. Traditionally labelled 'reflexive' or 'reciprocal', the -ies suffix indicates that the speaker is on the receiving end as well as at the giving end of the 'action' being described. The aspectual prefix sa- means that the action is perceived as having a well-defined end; it also has a prepositional content which can be glossed as 'together' or 'in the one place'. Thus, for the italicised expression in the following utterance 'Go and *say hello* to your friends' the Latvian equivalent would be sasveicināties. The action labelled as sasveicināties is perceived as a two-way process; something involving *both speaker and addressee*, something referring to an *exchange* of greeting formulae. Atsveicināties 'to farewell' is also coded as a speech-act involving both speaker and addressee. The prefix at- has the same aspectual content as sa- (above); its prepositional content means something like 'away' or 'from'.

When Latvians talk/write about the conversational routine sasveicināšanās roughly, 'greeting', they refer to the person uttering the greeting formula - 'Good morning', for example - as the person who padod labrītu 'gives [someone] good-morning'; the person who responds is thought of as the person who atņem (labrītu) 'takes away from [someone] (good morning)'.⁵ The 'good-morning' is perceived as something concrete, something that can be handed over to someone or taken away from

someone, like any tangible object. The greeting routine is thus perceived as a transfer of goods. This transfer is given a visual dimension in the handshake that usually accompanies the exchange of utterances; the person who 'gives', stretches out her/his hand and the one who 'takes', receives it.⁶

1.2. *The repertoire of formulae*

In the Janovskis' novel (1968: 38) the author describes a scene in the foyer of a public hall where a large group of Latvians have gathered prior to spending a social evening in each other's company:

vienā laidā atskanēja goddevīgas uzrunas: *majora kungs! Daktera kundze! Mīļo pulkvedi !...*

Tikai reizumis izspruka kāds neiederīgs, bet tāpēc jo sirsnīgāks - *Sveiks, vecais* - un nobūkšķēja zvēliens pa kamiesi.

One after the other you could hear respectful terms of address : *Mr Major! Mrs Doctor! Dear Commander! ...*

Very occasionally, out of place and for that reason all the more cordial a - *Hi, old chap* - could be heard, followed by a resounding thump on a shoulder.

In a short biographical account (Klīdzējs, 1989: 77), the writer reminisces about some advice that, as a ten-year-old in eastern Latvia, he was given by his grandfather:

Kod ej uz sābru sātu, tev jôsoka kristeiga cylvāka sveicynojums : '*Lai byus pagūdynots Kungs Jezus Kristus* ', Tovam sveicīnam sābri atbild: '*Myužeigi myužam* '...

tagad vel vīna līta. Kod tu ceļā sateic ļauds, kas vacôki par tevi. Nu, zini - taidi leli. Tu nūraun sovu zylū capuri un soki, jo tys ir puiss: '*Vasals* dziadzeit! 'Jo tei ir meitīts, soki: '*Vasala* cioceit!'

When you go to a neighbour's place, you must use the Christian person's greeting - *Praised be Lord Jesus Christ!* - The neighbours will respond with - *For ever and ever....*

And another thing. When on the road you meet people older than you, you know grown-ups, pull your blue cap off and if it's a man say - *Health to you, dear Uncle!* If it's a woman, say - *Health to you, Auntie!*

Contrary to common practice in Australian English of using the same simple formula 'Hello + FN' when greeting a professor as when greeting a friend, Latvians must use two separate greeting forms. The professor is greeted with something like *Sveicināts, Profesora kungs!* lit: '(Be)greeted, Mr Professor'. The friend receives *Sveiks Jān!* lit: '(Be) unharmed John.'

These three examples of Latvian greeting behaviour point to a greater variety of boundary-marking formulae in Latvian than, say, in Australian English. My data has revealed twenty-five such formulae. Of these, four occur in both beginnings and endings to longer interactive episodes, eight feature exclusively in beginnings and the rest are used in endings.

In the case of some linguistic behaviours, there is a connection between pragmatic function and a specific grammatical form: in Latvian, as a general rule, only nouns and NPs in the vocative case and the second person pronouns can function as address forms; the imperative form of action verbs is used to express a 'directive'; the so-called diminutive suffix can be used to convey emotion.

With Latvian boundary-marking formulae in person-to-person encounters, however, there is no such connection; virtually any element of what traditionally have been called 'parts of speech' can function as a boundary-marker. There are compound

nouns, adjectives, adverbs and a past participle. There are phrase and clause structures, there are borrowings from other languages. The following list is by no means exhaustive; the English equivalents give only a rough idea of the meaning encoded in the Latvian forms:

Formulae found in openings

Labrīt 'Good-morning' (from: labs 'good' + rīts 'morning')

Labdien 'Good-day' (from: laba 'good' + diena 'day')

Labvakar 'Good-evening' (from: labs 'good' + vakars 'evening')

Sveicināt-s/-a; -i/-as lit: '(Be) greeted (m./f. sg; m./f. pl.)'

Dievs palīdz 'lit: (May) God help (you)'

Lai būs slavēts Jezus Kristus 'May Jesus Christ be praised'

Hallo 'Hello'

Mojn 'Good-morning' (from: Ger. morgen 'morning')

Formulae found in closings

Ar labu rītu 'Good morning'

Arlabvakar 'Good-evening'

Ar labu nakti 'Goodnight'

Uz redzi 'See you (later)'

Uz redzēšanos 'See you soon'

(Nu,) pagaidām 'So long'

Laimīgi 'lit: Happy/Happily'

Visu labu 'Bye now'

Ardievu 'Goodbye'

Lai Dievs Tev palīdz 'May God help you'

Atā 'Ta-ta'

Bai-bai 'Bye'

Čau⁷ 'Bye/See you' (Latvian-speakers in Australia)

Formulae found in openings and closings

Sveik-s/-a; sveiki/-as 'lit: unharmed (m./f. sg; m./f. pl)

Vesels (also spelt: Vasals) 'lit: in good health, whole'

Čau roughly, 'Hi' and 'Bye' (Latvian-speakers in Latvija)

Most of these structures have the feature of overtly saying something good. They thus fall into the much broader category of what Albert and Kessler call 'well-wishing statements' (1978: 542) or simply, 'good wishes' formulae such as Priecīgus Ziemsvētkus 'Joyous Christmas'; Laimīgu Jauno Gadu 'Happy New Year'; Daudz laimes dzimšanas dienā roughly, 'Happy Birthday'; Laimīgu ceļu, roughly 'Bon Voyage' and so on. In the 'closings' group, a small number are 'continuity statements' (Albert and Kessler, 1978: 542) whereby the speaker expresses the possibility of an encounter at some future time; these 'continuity statements' too show that the speaker wishes the addressee well, otherwise s/he would not express the hope of a future meeting.

Space does not permit a detailed analysis of each of the items listed in the repertoire nor of the non-verbal signs that accompany them and occasionally replace them. For the purposes of the present work, I propose therefore, to focus on two categories of forms: firstly, those which, according to my data, are the more commonly used and secondly, those which, while being less common, have something to 'say' about the idiosyncratic side of Latvian greeting and parting behaviour.

1.3. Absence or imperfect utterance of 'greeting' and 'leave-taking' formulae

Omission of 'greeting and parting' signs (Laver, 1981) carries meaning. Firth (1972: 2) refers to such omissions in what is probably English behaviour as ' "cutting" a person who is already known but found objectionable [and sees in] the refusal of a greeting to

him...a denial of him as a social entity in what would otherwise be a shared situation.' Similarly, continues Firth, 'when two people are "not on speaking terms" they do not greet each other and so reduce the area of their common relationship to as small a compass as possible' (on 'cuts', see also Schifffrin, 1977: 687).

Thus the absence or the imperfectly uttered formula on the part of the speaker can become a vehicle for conveying bad feelings towards the hearer. Various non-linguistic or para-linguistic behaviours such as talking through clenched teeth, refusing to shake hands, 'growling' or 'barking' the utterance instead of 'speaking' give added force to the message:

I feel something bad towards you

I want you to know this

In Latvian too, the omission or the imperfect rendition of 'greetings' and 'goodbyes' can be used as a mechanism for communicating bad feelings. For example, when in Dziļums' novel (1961: 70) Rēķis says something to Urzula that makes her cross, she:

got up, and was on her way without having said goodbye.⁸

What Urzula in fact is 'saying' to Rēķis is something like:

after now you and I will not be in the same place

we will not be able to say things to one another

I should say something to you of the kind people say to one another at a time like

this

I do not want to say this (something)

because I feel something bad towards you

One way the same novelist reminds the reader that relations between Mazjēcis and his *de facto*, Betija, have soured is to say that Mazjēcis omits the expected greeting formula before talking to her for the first time after his absence of several months in hospital (Dziļums, 1961: 260); and when some time later Betija, who has set up house with her new boyfriend, invites Mazjēcis for dinner, the latter accepts with hesitation and voices his suspicions thus:

What's behind all this? You're not going to cook a roast chicken for me just out of the goodness of your heart, you who time after time haven't even bothered to say hello to me.⁹

Betija's antipathy towards Mazjēcis, manifest in her systematic refusal to greet him, is such that the roast chicken dinner indeed turns out to be part of her scheme to kill him. By refusing to deliver the expected 'greeting' formula, Mazjēcis and Betija on the various occasions are communicating something like this to each other:

you and I are now in the same place
 when you and I are in the same place we can say things to one another
 I should say something to you of the kind people say to one another at a time like
 this
 I do not want to say this (something)
 because I feel something bad towards you

In Belševica's short story collection *Bille*, Tante Alvīne shows her reluctance to welcome Bille and her parents, by failing to offer to shake hands with them (1992: 14). This is the first of a series of signs whereby during their short stay with her, she shows her guests that their visit is far from a pleasure.

Failure to respond to the uttered formula in the accepted way can also be interpreted as a sign of bad feelings on the part of the addressee. This is illustrated by a

short scene from one of Zīverts' plays (1967: 55). The Notary wants to see Jānis, Mrs Cērps' son. Mrs Cērps warns him that Jānis is not in a good mood. Jānis enters and the following exchange takes place:

Notary: Good-evening!

(No response)

Notary: I wished you, Janis, a good-evening.

Janis: (through clenched teeth) 'Evening.¹⁰

There is a similar example in one of Skalbe's short stories where the public servant Upītis, no longer able to endure the boredom of working in an office, responds to his boss's greeting not with the expected Labrīt 'Good-morning', but with a curt Brīt! (Skalbe, 1938: 141).

The failure to greet, the failure to respond to a greeting, the abbreviated lexical content of the utterance - all these are interpreted, in the examples quoted above, as carrying the following main message:

I feel something bad towards you

However, not all omissions of the greeting routine (or part of it) translate bad feelings on the part of either of the interactants. When for some reason the speaker is in a hurry to communicate something, failure to greet will not offend. In Brigadere's Trilōģija (Trilogy), Kasparsons is anxious to take Līziņa and her sister Annele to the theatre, for which he has managed to secure tickets at the last minute. There is very little time to organize everything, so when he arrives with the tickets, the interaction begins thus:

One evening he rushed in, holding little red bits of paper. Without a word of hello, he spoke urgently to the sisters:

"Hurry, hurry! To the theatre! Here are some tickets."¹¹

short scene from one of Zivert's plays (1967: 22). The Notary wants to see Janis. Mrs
Cepa sees Mrs Cepa wants him but Janis is not in a good mood. Janis enters and the
following exchange takes place:

Notary: Good evening!
(No response)
Notary: I wished you Janis a good evening
Janis (though clenched teeth): Evening!

There is a similar example in one of Skalde's short stories where the public servant
Ulfrik no longer able to endure the tedium of working in an office, responds to his
boss's greeting not with the expected 'Good-morning', but with a curt 'Hi!
(Skalde, 1972: 141).

The failure to greet, the failure to respond to a greeting, the abbreviated lexical
content of the utterance - all these are interpreted, in the examples quoted above, as

Addendum p. 73


Delete last sentence of Section 1.3 ('Latvians, from an Anglo perspective...')
Replace with:

That the Latvian greeting/parting formula repertoire is considerably larger than, say,
the Anglo-Australian one, shows that Latvians are, from an Anglo perspective, less
'democratic' about the ways in which they choose to show good feelings.

(Thiloxy, Karpmanov is anxious to take Lisiga and her sister Anneke to the theatre, for
which he has managed to secure tickets at the last minute. There is very little time to
organize everything, so when he arrives with the tickets, the information begins to

One evening he rushed in, holding little red bits of paper. Without a word of
hello, he spoke urgently to the sisters:
'Hurry, hurry! To the theatre! Here are some tickets!'

Similarly, when the speaker is in the grip of some strong emotion, the failure to observe the proper greeting routine is not perceived as a transgression. The hero Andriksons, in the story of the same name (Blaumanis, 1952, vol. 5:304 ff), has desperately been looking for his children lost in the forest-fire which he himself had lit to spite the Baron. He stumbles upon the Baron who has found them. Hugging his children and sobbing, Andriksons falls to his knees and all he can say is: Mani dēliņi...baronlielskungs...mani dēliņi 'My little-sons....sir Baron...my little-sons...' (ibid: 335) And when in the novel Jaunieši (The young ones), Andris, having come back from the city for the funeral of his sweetheart, is met by his father, the two do not immediately exchange the customary greeting formulae (see Section 1.5.5.1. of this chapter for a detailed description of the episode).

If the absence of greeting and parting formulae (and non-verbal signs such as handshakes) in Latvian can be the speaker's way of communicating to the addressee the message 'I feel something bad towards you', then it seems reasonable to assume that their presence communicates something like 'I feel something good (or, at least, not bad) towards you'. ~~Latvians, from an Anglo perspective, are less 'democratic' about the ways in which they choose to show good feelings; this explains to some extent why their greeting/parting formula repertoire is considerably larger than, say, the Anglo-Australian one.~~ 

1.4. The non-verbal signs

This group of signs includes manifestations of physical contact such as the handshake, hugs/embraces and kisses that are used to replace or to accompany linguistic structures. The following discussion will show that there are considerable divergences between Latvian and Anglo-Australian ways of using these signs; at the same time however, there are some similarities.

In both cultures, encounters between people who have been separated for a long time often begin with an exchange of handshakes, hugs and/or kisses. Similarly, people who are about to be separated for a long time will exchange these particular non-verbal signs; personal observation of greeting and farewelling behaviour in airports and main rail-stations has confirmed this.¹² In 'greeting' routines following introductions, both Latvian and Anglo-Australian ways include handshakes.

1.4.1. Hand-kissing

There is a Latvian custom of hand-kissing in opening and closing routines still occasionally practised by Latvians in Australia in the early fifties (personal observation). In most of these routines, a much younger person kisses the hand of an older one. While, as the following examples will show, it is more usual for women to receive a kiss on the hand, men are not excluded from this type of manifestation of something like 'respect + good feelings' for the addressee.

In Brigadere's *Trilōģija* (*Trilogy*) the young woman Līziņa greets her father in this way (Brigadere, 1957: 221). On arrival at the farm where he will be employed for the summer, the fifteen year-old cow-herd and odd-job boy, Jānis, in the novel *Aija*, greets the *saimniece* roughly, 'lady of the house' in this way (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 21). In the novel *Cilvēka bērns* (*Child of man*), after an evening meal with Boņs's family, a kiss on the hand is the parting gesture of eleven year-old Paulīna to Boņs's mother (Klīdzējs, 1956: 19). In Zīverts' play *Kā zaglis naktī* (*Like a thief in a night*), Raiskums greets Dace's mother with 'Good-evening, mother', bending down to kiss her hand (Zīverts, 1962: 13). In an episode from a novel, the elderly Aunt Luīze is greeted with a kiss on the hand by Paparde, chairman of the Latvian Association (Janovskis, 1968: 41); elsewhere in the same work, at a dinner-party hosted by her, she is farewelled in the same way by a young poet (Janovskis, 1968: 193). In weddings in eastern Latvija, before the

church ceremony, special prayers and rituals at the bride's house end with the bride kissing her mother's and father's hand before she leaves for church.

Hand-kissing involves, on the part of the performer, a movement very similar to bowing; in order to touch the addressee's hand with the lips, the performer has to lower all or some part (the head) of the top-half of the body. Unlike the handshake (or the mutually exchanged kiss on the cheek) which involves both interactants in the same way, hand-kissing is an 'asymmetrical' gesture [that suggests] an assumption of difference [between the two interactants]' (Wierzbicka, in press: 1995 in *Semiotica*). The 'bowing' component of hand-kissing, conveys to the addressee the message 'I am not as good a person as you', or, quoting once again from Wierzbicka:

I think something good about you

I couldn't think the same about myself

The 'kissing' component, communicates 'I want you to know that I feel something good towards you'.

But the various contexts of Latvian hand-kissing in the examples quoted above, suggest that in addition to 'respect' and 'good feelings' something else is expressed. The people whose hand is kissed, for example, Līziņa's father, Boņs's mother, the 'lady of the house', the parents of the Latgalian bride-to-be and Aunt Louise, are all people who have done something good to their respective hand-kissers (or to other people they know); the kiss on the hand is a substitute for 'thank you'. In this sense, Latvian hand-kissing is quite different from the 'ritualized kiss on the hand' used as a greeting to women in Poland (*ibid.*).

Judging from these examples, the person who is doing the kissing is 'saying' something like:

Hand-kissing

(a) you and I are now in the same place

- (b) because of this, I want to say to you
- (c) I think of you like this:
 - (d) you have done (many) good things for me and for others
 - (e) because of this I think you are a (very) good person
 - (f) I couldn't think the same about myself
- (g) because of this, I feel something good towards you
- (h) I want you to see this
- (i) I want you to feel this
- (j) I have to do THIS (i.e., kiss your hand)

Components (a, b, c) link up with the notion that hand-kissing occurs at 'greetings' and 'partings'. Components (d,e) express the idea that in Latvian, hand-kissing is used to convey something like 'thank you' to the addressee. Components (e, f) spell out the actor's 'respect' or 'relative inferior status' Firth (1972: 32) vis à vis the addressee. Component (g) links the hand-kissing gesture to an expression of 'good feelings'. The components (h) and (i) which refer to the visual and tactile (that is, the non-verbal) quality of the message could be replaced by the single component 'I want you to know this'. They are, however, necessary, since they focus on the aspects that distinguish hand-kissing from verbal ways of conveying the 'thank you + respect + good feelings' message. Finally, component (j) situates the communicative gesture in the realm of social conventions.

Probably the closest Anglo-Australian equivalent to the Latvian hand-kissing greeting was the ring-kissing greeting used for a Catholic bishop. Less than forty years ago, Catholic children due to be confirmed were being taught this non-verbal sign of 'respect'. This kind of greeting is no longer practised.

1.4.2. *Handshake*

In Anglo-Australian communicative behaviour, while the handshake can be found in a variety of contexts (Kendon, 1981 and 1990; Firth, 1972; Patterson, 1983 and others), it tends to be restricted to two very specific situations. Firstly, as suggested earlier, the handshake is an element of greeting behaviour that follows introductions among adults, though sex-related 'rules of use' have sanctioned its occasional absence.¹³ Secondly, it is a feature of 'greeting' and 'parting' exchanges in airports and rail-stations.¹⁴

Handshakes are also an element of Latvian post-introductory behaviour but there is a difference in how they are carried out. Contrary to what happens in Anglo-Australian introductions where men tend to wait for women to offer their hand first, in Latvian introductions both parties - whether of the same or different sex - extend their hand simultaneously for the handshake, thus showing that the handshake is perceived as an essential element of the 'greeting'. Personal experience has shown that refusals to shake hands are extremely rare.

Furthermore, Latvian hand-shaking behaviour differs from Anglo-Australian in the sense that there are many situations where Latvians shake hands while Anglo-Australians do not. In Latvian communities in Australia, members of the congregation linger outside after a church service; people exchange 'greeting' formulae and handshakes before engaging in conversation. When visiting relatives, the handshake is part of 'greeting' and 'farewelling' behaviour. Between people who know each other, conversations on the street begin and end with a handshake.

There is, however, in Australia, a difference in handshaking behaviour between older and more recent generations of Latvians. While the older Latvians use the handshake in greeting everybody, younger Latvians, including those Australian-born, use the handshake only with older interlocutors, preferring to use the verbal greeting only with their peers. This is an example of younger Latvians adopting the behaviour patterns of Anglo-Australians (cf. Clyne on 'transference' in Clyne, 1967).

Even so, some Australian-born Latvian parents still teach their children to offer their hand when 'greeting' someone. Anglo-Australians, too young to utter the verbal parting sign 'ta-ta', are taught by their mothers the non-verbal sign of waving. Similarly, Latvian youngsters, long before they are capable of saying Labdien roughly, 'Hello' or Ardievu something like, 'Goodbye' are told: dod rocinu 'lit: give hand-Dim.' to the person who has approached to greet/farewell the family;¹⁵ and this person will clasp the child's hand. Thus, the handshake is still considered as an inherent part of the whole greeting/parting event between people who are acquainted; a claim that is further supported by the following evidence.

Ieva, a young woman, in the novel Aija, was doing some work at the well when:

someone said good-morning...and startled her...But she recognized the stranger straightaway. Ieva dried her wet hand on her apron and held it out to Jānis.¹⁶

In one of Kļauka's short stories (1965: 94) a guest has decided to leave the dinner-party before it is quite over:

Having excused himself, he awkwardly rose to his feet, said goodbye, shook hands with the host, but to the others, according to American custom, gave a little wave of the hand and together with his generously proportioned missus...headed for the door.¹⁷

(In passing, I draw the reader's attention in this example to the implication that Latvian custom would be to shake hands with everyone.)

In the novel Tev nebūs...(Thou shalt not...), the hero, Vilis, has to catch the bus home and his woman friend Ruta walks with him as far as the bus-stop:

This is where I turn back, [she said]. She held out her hand [to Vilis]¹⁸

Jānis, the young farmhand from a neighbouring farm is a welcome Sunday visitor to Annelès house in a short story from Trilōģija (Trilogy):

When he arrived, he would shake hands with everyone in turn...¹⁹

Babāns and Arturs, in the novel Pār Trentu kāpj migla (Fog is rising over the Trent), are friends who regularly drink at the same pub and have rented rooms in the same house. Arturs's work on a farm takes him away from town for a week at a stretch. On one occasion, as he leaves, he says to Babāns:

...here's my hand. I must rush.²⁰

This is how Arturs recounts one of their meetings in the pub:

Hallo, Artur!

Out of a years' old/long habit, we shook hands.²¹

In Aija, when fifteen year-old Jānis arrives at the farm where he will be helping with odd jobs over the summer, he meets the eight year-old Jozus, who has been hired as a pig-herd. This is his account of the meeting:

Hallo! I called out.

We shook hands like grown-ups.²²

Since the handshake is an essential component of the Latvian 'greeting-farewelling' frame within which social interaction between two people can take place, Wierzbicka's comments on the 'universal' handshake are viable for the Latvian one (Wierzbicka, in press: 1995 in Semiotica):

the action [i.e., of shaking hands] cannot be seen as impulsive and triggered directly by a feeling. Rather, it has to be seen as a controlled, deliberate action motivated by a communicative intent

Furthermore, I agree that the semantic components of the 'universal' handshake, namely 'I feel something good towards you I want you to know it', are present in the Latvian handshake as well. I have, however, reservations concerning the third element of the following set proposed by Wierzbicka (my italics):

I feel something good toward you

I want you to know it

because of this, I want to do THIS [i.e. shake hands] now

In the Latvian examples quoted above, it is not a matter of 'wanting to' shake hands, but rather of 'having to'; a fact borne out by the reference to the 'old habit' that results in the handshake between Babāns and Arturs in the pub and by the reference to hand-shaking being 'grown-up' behaviour. Like hand-kissing, hand-shaking is dictated by (largely) unwritten rules of social behaviour and therefore, for the above italicised component I would want to substitute:

because of this, I have to do THIS now

I conclude from the various examples of the Latvian use of the handshake that this non-verbal sign communicates something like this:

Handshake

(a) you and I are in the same place

(b) we can say things to each other

(c) I feel something good towards you

- (d) I want you to see this
- (e) I want you to feel this
- (f) I have to do THIS (i.e., shake your hand)

The components (a) - (c) are the same as for some verbal expressions used in both greeting and farewelling routines (see discussion below, in Section 1.5. of this chapter). The handshake need not be always accompanied by speech; it can be used alone as a 'greeting' or a 'farewell'. Components (d) and (e) refer to the non-verbal quality of the communication and component (f) links up with the notion that the gesture has to do with social norms.

1.4.3. Summary

The preceding discussion of some Latvian uses of non-verbal communicative signs in greeting and parting, suggests that in person-to-person encounters, Latvians rely on body language as a tool of social interaction to a greater extent than, say, Anglo-Australians. The kiss on the hand and the handshake can, in Latvian, be substituted for verbal openers and closers. But even when linguistic structures are present, it appears that Latvian 'greetings' *have* to be given a visual and a tactile dimension thus involving more of the interactants' personae in the exchange. The message uttered by the speaker becomes *seen* and *felt* as well as being spoken and heard.

Besides, the handshake and/or hug involves a change in proxemics which acquires symbolic significance. To exchange *verbal* greetings, even without shouting, the interlocutors can be standing quite a distance apart. For a handshake or a hug, the distance has to be reduced and so the semantic component of the 'greeting' formula 'You and I are now in the same place' is given added emphasis. In other words, the non-verbal element(s) of the communication underscore the meaning present in the verbal.

Before closing this section on non-verbal signs, in support of the above claim that Latvian social interaction is more 'physical' than, say, Anglo-Australian, I wish to add that speech-acts other than 'greeting' and 'farewelling' too can in Latvian be performed by non-verbal signs. One particularly salient example of this is in a short episode from the novel *Cilvēka bērns* (*Child of man*) where the eight year-old Boņs who has been desperate to plough just like his father, is allowed to try. After his brave attempt, this is what happens:

"You'll be ploughman yet", his father slaps him on the shoulder...

Tears of joy rush into Boņs's eyes. This is the first time his father has hit him on the shoulder in the same way grown-up fellows hit each other when they want to show that the other person has done something good and therefore counts as something in this world.²³

That mutual/reciprocal touching is such a frequent feature of Latvian 'greeting' and 'parting' rituals seems to indicate a willingness on the part of both interactants to enter into each other's personal space. Through the exchange of the handshake (or the hug) I am communicating the following message (among others):

you are in one place

I want to be in the same place

I know that you want this

Anglo-Australian 'greeting' and 'parting' behaviour which tends to exclude reciprocal touching, translates as a mutual unwillingness to enter each other's personal space. Even with people I know very well, as an Anglo-Australian I prefer to convey the message :

You are in one place

I do not want to be in the same place

I know that you would not want me to be in the same place

This attitude is an illustration of the importance that is attached in Anglo culture to 'respecting the other's right to privacy'.

1.5. *The verbal signs*

As mentioned earlier, when Latvians talk/write about the conversational routine involving this group of formulae, they often refer to the person initiating the routine as the one who 'gives something': *padod labrītu* 'gives good-morning-ACC', *padeva sveicienu* 'gave greeting'. The person who responds is thought of as the person who *atņem labrītu* 'takes (away) from [someone] good-morning-ACC'. In the examples quoted earlier, the original text in Latvian uses the equivalent of 'give + the appropriate message' to mean 'greet'. The two verbs *atņemt* and *padot* in the context of 'greeting' behaviour have entries in LVV (pp. 93 and 560).

Consider the situation described by the following:

X gives something ['greeting'] to Y

Y takes the something ['greeting'] from X

The 'something' must be something good. I think that this underscores the positive meaning already present in the lexical content. Thus the exchange of 'good-morning, good-day, good-evening' is perceived as an exchange of good things.

In passing, note that a handshake very often accompanies the verbal exchange and that in 'greeting', the hand is 'given', not 'shaken':

visiem deva roku pēc kārtas

to-everyone gave hand according-to turn

'he would shake hands with everyone in turn' (Brigadere, 1957: 280)

Mes *SAdevāmlES* rokas kā lieli cilvēki

we *PREF-gave-SUFF* hands like big people

'We shook hands like grown-ups'. (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 23)

1.5.1. The Lab- group

There are five formulae in this group: Labrīt 'Good-morning'; Labdien 'Good-day'; Labvakar and Ar labvakar 'Good-evening'; Ar labu nakti 'Good night'. The morpheme ar marks the formula as interaction-final; Ar labvakar (also written Arlabvakar²⁴) and Ar labu nakti feature exclusively in closings.²⁵

1.5.1.1. Labrīt, Labdien, and Labvakar

'Greeting' formulae specific to the time of day is one feature of ways of greeting that Latvian shares with other languages/cultures. For example, roughly corresponding to Labdien there are, in English: 'Good-morning/Good-afternoon'; in Lithuanian: Laba diena; in French: Bonjour; in Italian: Bongiorno; in German: Guten Tag.

The scope of these routine formulae varies across languages. For example, the Latvian-speaker can use Labdien where the English-speaker would say 'Good-morning' or 'Good-afternoon,' but not everywhere where the French-speaker utters 'Bonjour'.²⁶ 'Good-evening' can be used both at the beginning and end of social interaction; Labvakar occurs only at the beginning. 'Good-day' occurs as a farewell only (Laver, 1981: 299);

Labdien occurs only as a greeting and is very common. Latvian Lab- forms occur in a much broader range of situations/contexts than their lexical equivalents/near-equivalents in British English where:

Good day/morning/afternoon/evening...[are] phrases of maximum formality and maximum distance...[and] are also the phrases used to acquaintances of higher rank or greater age who have not offered a dispensation to the speaker to progress to a less formal style (Laver, 1981: 300)

Labrīt, labdien, labvakar all appear as separate entries in LVV and have therefore, presumably, been given the mark of acceptability as standard Latvian phrases.²⁷ Evidence from my data offers further proof that as conversational openers, the Lab- forms are the standard. My data numbers about one hundred examples of these as opposed to less than half that number of anything else.

Unlike other greeting forms (see discussions in Sections 1.5.2; 1.5.3; 1.5.5.1.below), the Lab- forms function as *passe-partout* forms of greeting. They are used by adults to children,²⁸ by children to adults,²⁹ between men and women,³⁰ between men only,³¹ between women only.³² They are used between people who know each other³³ and between total strangers.³⁴ People use them within the home³⁵ and at 'formal' gatherings, such as independence day commemorations, to addressees they barely know.

The 'standard greeting-formula' status of this group is further attested by the following features. Each of the Lab- greeting forms can be used on its own, as illustrated by the examples in the previous paragraph, or in co-occurrence/combinability with a wide range of address forms; for example:

Labrīt! 'Good-morning!'³⁶

Labrīt, meitēn... 'Good-morning, girl...'³⁷

Labvakar, māt. 'Good-evening, mother.'³⁸

Labrīt, Anton! 'Good-morning, Anton!'³⁹

Labrīt, Ārijas jaunkundz... 'Good-morning, Miss Arija...'⁴⁰

Labrīt, Agates tant! 'Good-morning, Aunt Agatha!'⁴¹

Labrīt krustmāt! 'Good-morning, godmother!'⁴²

As well as occurring with the verb padot 'to give, hand to', these formulae can also occur with pateikt 'to say, utter' and vēlēt 'to wish, want'. Their occurrence with vēlēt adds more weight to the lexically present evidence that these utterances encode something good; one does not use vēlēt to wish someone something bad, unless one is being ironical.

There are other Latvian 'good wish' formulae with the same structure as the Lab- group of 'greetings', namely, an adjective that means 'something good' followed by a noun or a noun phrase. In addition to the ones I have referred to, here are a few more examples:

Labas sekmes 'lit: Good results'

Labu apetīti 'lit: Good appetite'

Labu ceļa vēju 'lit: Good way/road wind'

Laimīgu ceļu 'lit: Happy/lucky way/road'

The person uttering these formulae is saying something like 'I want you to have something good', or, more precisely, 'I want something good to happen to you'.

The meaning of the Lab- group of opening formulae, therefore, would contain the following components:

Lab- 'greetings'

we were not in the same place before now

you and I are now in the same place

because of this we can say something to each other

I should say something to you of the kind people say to one another at a time like this

I say: I want something good to happen to you

1.5.1.2. Arlabvakar and ar labu nakti

Arlabvakar 'lit: with-good-evening' and Ar labu nakti 'lit: with-good-night' are 'farewell' formulae that are used at night, but are not interchangeable. Arlabvakar, a standard formula to mark the end of a person-to-person interaction at night, can be used with everybody, everywhere. It means this:

Arlabvakar

you and I will not be in the same place after now

because of this we will not be able to say things to each other

I should say something to you of the kind people say to one another at a time like this

I say: I want something good to happen to you

Ar labu nakti tends to occur between interlocutors who know each other well; it is still a good wish that members of a household exchange at bed-time. In the novel Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons) leaving late at night, after a brief visit, Ārija says it to her mother (Kārkliņš, 1962: 153). After having the evening meal in Boņs's house (Klīdzējs, 1956: 19) in the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of man), ten year-old Paulīna from a neighbouring farm-house, announces her departure with:

Es tagad iešu...*Ar labu nakti!*

I'm going now...*Good-night!*

In Kārkliņš' novel (1962:320) at the end of an evening spent together at a fancy-dress ball and night-club, Eglons sees Ārija home. They exchange a 'long, lingering, passionate kiss' and Ārija says: Ar labu nakti, Eglon 'Good-night, Eglon.'

Personal observation of the way Latvians use this formula, supported by the examples in the previous paragraph, leads me to conclude that when I say Ar labu nakti to someone, I am saying at the same time one of two things: 'I am going to bed after this' or 'I know you are going to bed after this'. Thus, for this formula I propose, as an initial approximation, the following semantic structure:

Ar labu nakti

You and I will be where we cannot see each other after now

Because of this we will not be able to say things to each other

We will be where we cannot see each other for a short time

I should say something to you of the kind people say to one another at a time like
this

I want something good to happen to you

1.5.2. Dievs palīdz!

The use of one rather than either of the other lab- greeting signs is restricted by the time of day the utterance is taking place. Restrictions on the use of the opening formula: Dievs palīdz '(May) God help (you)', stem from something else. In the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of man), Boņs's father is ploughing when Boņs rushes out to ask him something:

"May God help you!" he shouts from a distance, between gasps.

"Thanks, son, thanks" replies his father, wiping his brow.⁴³

To the young shepherd/cowherd, in the novel Jaunieši (Young ones), digging in a pit of clay, the young man Andris says: Dievs palīdz! Ko tu dari? 'May God help you! What are you doing?' (Klīdzējs, 1962: 246) In an earlier episode of the same novel, Dievs palīdz is the formula Andris uses to start a conversation with a group of young men who are ploughing (ibid: 237-38). In Cilvēki vētrā (People in a storm) Urzula is working in the garden when she is visited by Betija and her *de facto* Mazjēcis:

Betija politely said "Dievs palīdz" [= May God help you], but Mazjēcis straightaway put the list of instructions on Urzula's dirt-covered knees.⁴⁴

These examples show that between people who know each other, Dievs palīdz as an 'opener' is used instead of other formulae when the addressee is engaged in some job/task. Between strangers, on the other hand, it was used as a 'greeting' only in the rural Latvia of the 1930s and 1940s. It was the standard 'greeting' formula from a passer-by to the person minding domestic animals or doing some other kind of work in field or pasture.

On the basis of these observations, I propose for this opening formula the following semantic structure:

Dievs palīdz!

you and I are now in the same place

we were not in the same place before now

we can now say things to each other

you are doing something good

I want God to do something good for you because of this

I want you to know at the same time that

I do not feel bad things towards you

1.5.3. The Svei- group:

Strictly speaking, there are eight different, but formally related formulae in this group: Sveiks! Sveika! Sveiki! ?Sveikas! which all literally mean, '(Be) unharmed' and Sveicināts! Sveicināta! Sveicināti! ?Sveicinātas! which literally mean, '(Be) greeted'. There are no examples of the feminine plural formulae Sveikas and Sveicinātas in my data and while intuitively I know that the forms exist, I can point to no personally observed or personally communicated examples of use; hence the question-mark. For the purposes of this discussion I will call the first sub-group the Sveik- subgroup and the second subgroup the Sveic- group.

We referred earlier to the English-speaking student in Australia who can use the same simple formula when greeting his professor as when greeting a friend; 'Hello + FN' is acceptable in both cases. In Latvian, a friend and a professor are both greeted differently. Not only is there a difference in terms of address (as discussed in the previous chapter), but the word corresponding to the 'Hello' used in Australian English is different in each case. The friend receives Sveiks Jān 'lit: (Be) unharmed, John'. The professor is greeted with something like Sveicināts Profesora kungs 'lit: (Be) greeted, Mr Professor'.

In the two social interactions 'student meets professor' and 'student meets friend', Latvian and Anglo-Australian ways of speaking are governed by diametrically opposing cultural norms. The Latvian norm is:

I cannot say things in the same way to everybody

this is good

The Anglo-Australian norm is:

I can say things in the same way to everybody

this is good

These different cultural norms also explain some of the differences between Latvian and Anglo-Australian linguistic behaviours in other areas of language use, particularly in ways of addressing and ways of 'directing' (see chapters 1 and 4).

1.5.3.1. *The Sveik- subgroup*

Sveiks/Sveika and Sveiki can be used in both opening and closing routines. This is stated in LVV (p. 778) and supported by examples discussed below. Nevertheless, personal observation suggests that Sveiks (and its feminine equivalent Sveika) tends to occur interaction-initially, while Sveiki is mostly used in the interaction-final position. More empirically verifiable data would have to be collected in order to test the validity of this claim. However, an informal count of examples of Sveiks and Sveiki found in literature, appears to add weight to personally observed evidence. Of the utterances to a singular addressee that feature Sveiks/Sveika, roughly twice as many occur in opening routines as do in closing routines; Sveiki occurs in ten closing routines, and six opening routines.

Sveiks, occurs in my data as an element of male-to-male speech; there was not one example of a female greeting a male with Sveiks. Two short episodes of greeting, one from a play and one from a novel, appear to be conclusive. Having come home from work, Mitulis enters the living-room where the little group - his wife, daughter, mother-in-law and his war veteran friend Raiskums - have been waiting for him. He greets Raiskums with a Sveiks! 'Hi/Hello' and the ladies with a Labvakar! 'Good-evening' (Zīverts, 1962: 50). In the second episode, Egons Midega meets Ints - a friend and a former fellow-student and Ārija - also a former fellow-student, colleague and his ex-fiancee. He shakes hands with both of them, but greets the young man with Sveiks, Int..., 'Hi/Hello Ints' and the young woman with Labvakar, Ārij... 'Good-evening Ārija' (Kārkliņš, 1962: 467).

The two examples of Sveika were both spoken by males. Allija, one of the village girls in a short story by Eglītis, gets Sveika as she goes past the young electro-technician Rūdolfis who is fixing some wires at the top of a telegraph pole (Eglītis, 1967: 48). In Brigadere's Trilogy, the young man Jānis uses sveika in a closing utterance to his sister (Brigadere, 1957: 695).

Sveiks/sveika occurs in contexts where one can say of the speaker and addressee(s) that they have something in common. The 'something' can be similar age as in the case of Allija and Rūdolfis, or the same parents, as in the case of Jānis and his sister - see Sveika examples in the previous paragraph.

The 'something' can be a shared profession. In a short story (Eglītis, 1967: 45) set in a small town, the baker Karelis lifts his cap by way of a greeting to a fellow-shop-owner and gets the following response:

Sveiks, sveiks, Kareļa tēv! Kā nu ar veikaliem?

lit: Sveiks sveiks Karelis father! How now with shops?

(Be) unharmed, Karelis! How's business?

In a story by a different writer, fifteen year-old Janis who has been hired as a cow-herd greets a fellow cowherd with a Sveiks! and a handshake even though the latter is considerably younger (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 23).

The 'something' can be a shared past. At a party, featured in a novel (Janovskis, 1968: 191), the returned soldier Baigais greets his friend with:

Sveiks, vecais!

sveiks old-VOC. m. def.)

(Be unharmed), old chap!

In a play, Sveiks is the greeting Mitulis uses to his war veteran friend, Raiskums, the hero; we know that both men fought side by side and that Raiskums saved Mitulis' life (Zīverts, 1962: 50). Egons Midega, in a novel by Kārklīņš, greets a former fellow student and colleague with Sveiks (Kārklīņš, 1962:467).

Given that in the Sveik- subgroup the Sveiks/Sveika tends to be used in opening routines and Sveiki occurs mostly in closings and on the basis of other aspects of use emerging from the examples, I propose initially, two separate semantic formulae to explicate the meanings of these expressions:

Sveiks/Sveika ('greeting')

you and I are now in the same place

we were not in the same place before now

you and I are the same kind of people

because of this I can say things to you the way I say things to people I know well

you and I think about things in the same way

because of this, you and I can say things to each other that we cannot say to other
people

I say: I do not want bad things to happen to you

Sveiki ('parting')

after now, you and I will not be in the same place

you and I are the same kind of people

because of this I can say things to you the way I say things to people I know well

you and I think about things in the same way

because of this you and I can say things to each other that we cannot say to other
people

I say: I do not want bad things to happen to you

Examples of Sveik- utterances showed that these utterances are used where both speaker and addressee have 'something shared': profession, past experiences, age-bracket, parentage. Thus, the 'greeting' must encode something like 'You and I have something in common'. In the semantic formulae above, I have suggested the component 'You and I think about things in the same way', because it is inherent in 'You and I do the same things' (shared profession), 'You and I have done the same things' (shared past experiences), 'You and I have lived as long as each other' (similar age), 'You and I have the same mother/father' (shared parentage).

That Sveik- group formulae are restricted to situations/contexts where the interactants regard each other as equals or near-equals is further attested by certain facts regarding their combinability with other elements in the utterance. For example, Sveiks can stand alone as an opening formula. It can also occur with FN address, KT address or Latvian address forms equivalent to something like 'old chap' or 'dear friend' in English. It can never occur with a social or a professional title such as Bērziņa kungs '(roughly) Mr Bērziņš', Skolotāja kungs '(roughly) Mr Teacher', Profesor 'Professor'; nor can it occur with the 'honorific' address forms. In fact, Sveiks is not used with people whom one would address with the V pronoun. In sum, the Sveik- formulae of 'greeting' and 'parting' can be used by the speaker to a person to whom s/he can also say 'I think of you as of someone I know well'.

The expression sveiks and sveiki can be found in social drinking situations as attested by the following short extracts. In an episode from a novel, two Latvians are drinking in a pub in Leicester (Janovskis, 1968: 16):

-Iedzersim šito un iesim...Nu tad sveiks!

-Vesels!

-Let's have this one and go...OK then, cheers!

-Cheers!

In a different part of the same novel, before Aunt Louise takes a sip of the whisky that has just been poured for her at a Latvian gathering, she says to the small group around her (ibid: 43):

Sveiki draugi!

sveiki friends

Cheers friends!

In Zīverts's play, Raiskums, a war veteran comes to visit a fellow veteran, Mitulis. The latter greets him as they drink together (Zīverts, 1962: 27):

Sveiks, veco zēn!

sveiks old boy-VOC

Cheers, mate!

Evidently, Sveiks and Sveiki must have to do with wishing something good for the addressee. The reason I choose to express the 'something good' as 'I do not want bad things to happen to you' rather than 'I want good things to happen to you' is that sveiks means something like 'safe, unharmed'. Outside the 'greeting', 'farewelling' and drinking contexts, the word appears in a fixed formula sveiks un vesels (plural: sveiki un veseli) which means very much the same as the English expression 'safe and sound'. The Latvian dictionary gives the following example:

Visi *sveiki un veseli* pārnāca mājās.

all *unharmed and well* came home

They all came home safe and sound.⁴⁵

There is an adverb sveikā which shares the same root as the greeting formula. To the question: How did you get on in the exam? the following response is possible:

Tiku *sveikā* cauri.

got *safely* through

I got through alright/Passed

1.5.3.2. *The Sveic- subgroup*

Sveicināts (m.sg.) Sveicināta (f.sg) and Sveicināti (m. pl.) constitute this subgroup. According to my data, supported by personal observation of Latvian greeting behaviour, the use of Sveic- expressions appears to be restricted to opening routines.

While Sveicināts and Sveicināta are spoken to singular addressees, both singular and plural addressees can be on the receiving end of Sveicināti. The following short contexts of this 'greeting' formula prohibit any definite conclusions at the present time about the use of Sveicināts/Sveicināta as opposed to Sveicināti with singular addressees.

In the foyer of a Latvian Hall in Australia, before a concert in late December 1991, the formula Sveicināti came through as the most frequently used one as people came in the door. Sometimes it appeared to be directed at one addressee, sometimes at a group, sometimes to no one in particular.

In the novel Romantiski Iemesli (Romantic reasons), in an episode set in the university, the hero Egons is greeted with the plural Sveic- form in Sveicināti, kollēga by an older fellow-student posing as a professor (Kārkliņš, 1962: 220). As a university teacher, the same Egons, uses the singular feminine Sveic- form in Sveicināta, kollēga to precede his examination questions to the female dental student Arija (ibid: 310).

In a play where the action is set in the summer in the country, Harijs, a businessman from the city greets Monvids, one of the locals, with Sveicināti (Putniņš, 1979: 110). In the same play, Kalniņš, a university professor from the city, greets everyone with Sveicināti. In turn, *he* is greeted by Harijs with Sveicināti, sveicināti! (ibid: 118)

In a short story by Eglītis (1967: 37), the young man Rūdolfis, a new-comer to the small town visits the pub where he is greeted by the owner with: Sveicināts, jaunais draugs 'Sveicināts, young friend'; compare this with the Sveiks he uses to a fellow-shop-owner, Karelis in an earlier example.

On the basis of these examples, for this group of opening expressions I propose in the first analysis, the following set of components:

Sveicināts/Sveicināta/Sveicināti

you and I are now in the same place

we were not in the same place before

you and I are not the same kind of people

we do not think the same

because of this I cannot say: I want good things to happen to you

I can say: I think good things about you

(Perhaps this Sveic- group formula would be more explicit with the addition of the following: 'I cannot say things to you the way I say things to people/someone I know well', given that the formulae in this subgroup occur with addressees with whom one would use the V pronoun, while Sveik- subgroup formulae occur with addressees with whom one would use the T pronoun).

1.5.4. Two commonly used endings: Uz redzēšanos and Ardievu

The following forms, appear exclusively in endings to interactional episodes. They mark the end of a person-to-person interaction by signalling at the same time the departure of one or more of the interlocutors/interactants involved:

Arlabvakar 'lit: with-good-evening'

Ar labu nakti 'lit.: with good night'

Uz redzēšanos 'lit: on seeing-each-other'

Ardievu 'lit: with-God'

The LVV acknowledges the existence of all of these formulae, except for Ar labu nakti 'Good-night'. According to the dictionary, Arlabvakar is an 'interjection' which is used, 'to express a farewell when parting in the evening'.⁴⁶ Ardievu, too is an 'interjection' and is 'a term of farewell, which is uttered when parting' (LVV: 73); Sveiki is mentioned as its synonym. The phrase Uz redzēšanos roughly, 'See you again' is entered under redzēšanās (f. noun) 'encounter/meeting' (LVV: 670) and the dictionary describes its meaning as 'very similar' to that of Ardievu. Thus the dictionary information implies that Arlabvakar, Ardievu, Sveiki and Uz redzēšanos are all interchangeable; this does not appear to be supported by evidence from real-life use of these structures.

Arlabvakar and Sveiki were discussed above as elements of Lab- and Svei- groups of formulae respectively (in Sections 1.5.1.2. and 1.5.3.1. of this chapter). We saw that two different kinds ^{of} constraints 'control' the use of this pair. I recapitulate briefly: Arlabvakar is restricted to a particular time of day (after dark), but not restricted to a particular set of interlocutors. Sveiki, on the other hand, can be used at any time of day, but cannot be used with everyone. Constraints of different kind affect the use of Uz redzēšanos and Ardievu.

Uz redzēšanos is formed by the preposition uz 'on' and the accusative case of the derived noun redzēšanās 'see-SUFF'. The suffix -šanās codes the activity denoted by

the stem, in this case redzē-, as reciprocal; thus redzēšanās is 'a seeing-each-other'. Ardievu, sometimes written as Ar Dievu, literally means 'with God'.

Whether one says Uz redzēšanos or Ardievu in closing a communicative episode is contingent upon a number of things, all of them affecting the degree of certainty with which the speaker views the likelihood of a subsequent encounter.

Uz redzēšanos tends to occur when the interactants see themselves as being separated for a short time and thus conveys the message 'You and I will not be together for a short time'. Whether partings are viewed as relatively short or relatively long can depend on the relative spatial distance involved in the separation. If both interactants know each other, live in the same village or town and part in order to return to their separate homes, the separation is likely to be perceived as relatively short. Relatively short spatial distance is involved in the following examples.

In an episode from a novel, the guest-speaker at a gathering of members of a Latvian Association says this before leaving:

Unfortunately I now have to leave your pleasant company, because I have a train to catch. Thanks again and see you soon.⁴⁷

Andris, the hero of Klīdzējs' novel Jaunieši (The young ones), and his sweetheart Mare part with an exchange of Uz redzēšanos when it is time to go, knowing that the following day they will see each other at school (Klīdzējs, 1962: 48). During a telephone conversation in Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons), Suks arranges to take Ārija for a drive in the country the following Sunday. He rings off with: Tad uz redzēšanos! Man jāskrien. 'OK, see you! Got to rush.' (Kārklīņš, 1962: 39) In the same novel, the patient with a drug-dependence problem has managed to coax a prescription from the new young doctor. On leaving (ibid: 329), he says:

Uz drīzu redzēšanos, daktera kungs.

on speedy seeing-each-other doctor sir/Mr

See you again very soon, Doctor.

Ardievu occurs when the time of parting is perceived as long and so communicates 'You and I will not be together for a long time'. In the play Kā zaglis naktī (Like a thief in the night) Mitulis reminisces about the time when, badly wounded in battle, he had given up all hope of being found (Zīverts, 1962: 27):

saņēmu visu pēdejo varēšanu kopā un nokliedzos - *ardievu*, pasaulīt!

I summoned my last ounce of strength and shouted - *good-bye*, dear world!

In one of Brigadere's stories, Silmežs has come to Jelgava to ask Līziņa to marry him. Līziņa tells him that she is engaged to be married to someone else. They part with an exchange of Ardievu! 'Good-bye!' (Brigadere, 1957: 663) In Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons) after her mother's death, Ārija goes to her house to sort out a few belongings. The short conversation she has with her mother's boyfriend, ends with an exchange of Ardievu! (Kārklīšs, 1962: 438-39).

That Ardievu has chiefly to do with the speaker's saying 'You and I will not be in the same place for a long time' is particularly evident in the following small episode from Brigadere's Trilogija (Trilogy). Two young women, Karlīne and Līziņa, have decided to go wild-flower picking. When she sees that Līziņa wants to take her little sister along too, Karlīne, impatient to be off, says:

...seeing that you want to drag that kverplis along, good-bye [=ardievu], I won't wait for you any longer.⁴⁸

When the envisaged parting will result in a relatively great distance separating the interactants spatially, it will be perceived as long. In an episode from Brigadere's

Trilógija (Trilogy), Līziņa, who lives in town, has had a visit from her family, who live in the country; she will not see them again for some time (Brigadere, 1957: 227). Her reluctance to part from them is communicated by:

Līziņa...*ardievojās* [verb] ar visiem pa pirmo, pa otru, pa trešo lāgu....

Lizina...*said goodbye* to everyone once, twice, three times...

The temporary nature of the the parting 'announced' by Uz redzēšanos and the more permanent nature of the parting presaged by Ardievu, are brought home particularly forcefully in two examples of 'farewell' routines where Uz redzēšanos and Ardievu are juxtaposed. The first example comes from Zīverts' play Kā zaglis naktī (Like a thief in the night). Raiskums is visiting his old friend Mitulis, whom he has not seen for a very long time. In the course of a lengthy conversation with Mitulis and his wife Alita, Raiskums becomes increasingly aware that he and his friend have grown apart. As a former refugee, Mitulis has made a new, comfortable life in Sweden, while Raiskums has spent many years in a labour-camp in Siberia. Something that Raiskums says, upsets Alita who leaves the room. Mitulis gets up to follow her and the 'farewell' routine of the two men is (Zīverts, 1962: 56):

Mitulis: ...Uz redzēšanos. (Exits) [= roughly, 'See you']

Raiskums: Ardievu. [= roughly, 'Goodbye']

The pair are never to meet again.

In the second example, from Kārkliņš' novel Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons), Ārija is in hospital recovering from acid-burns to her face; these have been inflicted by Indulis, her former *de facto*, in a fit of jealous rage. Her boyfriend, Eglons has not come to visit. He has sent her roses and a card with a routine message of sympathy. Ārija is puzzled. Their last night together before the 'accident' had been

passionate. Eventually, together with an older doctor, Eglons comes to see her. However, he comes not as the lover, but as the young doctor doing his rounds of the hospital wards. When finally the couple do have a few minutes to themselves, Ārija learns that plans they had made together have been changed. Eglons is afraid that his professional reputation will suffer if he is associated with Ārija's 'accident', sensationalized in the newspapers. Gradually, Ārija realizes that their relationship is over. Eglons gets up to leave and says: Uz redzēšanos, Ārij! 'See you, Ārija!' To this, her barely audible whisper is: Ardievu, Eglon...Ardievu, mīlais... 'Good-bye, Eglon...Good-bye, darling...(Kārklīš, 1962: 414).

Given the evidence discussed in the previous paragraphs, I propose that the difference in meaning between Uz redzēšanos and Ardievu is best captured by the following semantic formulae:

Uz redzēšanos

after now we will not be in the same place

I know we will not be in the same place for a short time

because of this I can say:

I know we will be in the same place some other time

I know we will be able to say things to each other

I want this to happen

Ardievu

after now we will not be in the same place

I know we will not be in the same place for a long time

because of this I cannot say:

I know we will be in the same place some other time

I know we will be able to say things to each other

I can say: I want God to do good things for you

That Uz redzēšanos conveys a speaker's want that is somehow more 'personal' (= I want to see you again) than that expressed in Ardievu, (= I want God to do good things for you) clearly emerges from the following two episodes. In a novel, the young man Ints is moving to another town. Ārija, a young woman, is seeing him off at the station. From the moving train, Ints waves and shouts (Kārkliņš, 1962: 470):

Ārij! Ārij! *Uz redzēšanos!* Vai tu brauksi? Saki, ka brauksi!

Arija! Arija! *See you soon!* Will you come? Say, that you'll come!

And it is as much the Uz redzēšanos! as the Saki, ka brauksi! [= Say, that you'll come] that prompts Arija to whisper as if to herself: 'Yes, my friend. I'll come - very soon' (ibid: 470).

The 'personal want' component of Uz redzēšanos is brought home even more forcefully in a short episode from a short story by Eglītis (1967: 92-93) where Ardievu occurs where one might reasonably expect Uz redzēšanos. After chopping up some firewood for their teacher Mrs Bērziņš, her four young pupils leave with Ardievu, even though they know that they will see her at school the following day. The expression Uz redzēšanos in this context would sound presumptuous; a younger speaker cannot claim to know that a meeting with an older addressee will most probably occur.

In order for me to be able to say to you 'I know you and I will be in the same place some other time after now' I have to know you (know things about you.) How is it then, that Uz redzēšanos occurs between strangers? Personal observation of Latvian farewelling behaviour confirms that this formula is often used to terminate service encounters where it appears to signal not much more than the end of a communicative event. In episodes of social interaction of this kind, that is, on-the-job conversations between shop-assistant and customer, postal/bank clerk and customer and so on, the speaker is often quite certain of never seeing her/his addressee again.⁴⁹

In these contexts too, Uz redzēšanos means the same as in those where it is exchanged between friends. The semantic content is unchanged; the farewell formula becomes a vehicle for showing 'good feelings'. In choosing to say things to you the way I say them to someone I know well, I am conveying the message 'I feel something good towards you'.

1.5.5. Two less common formulae: Vesels! or Vasals!⁵⁰ and Lai būs pagodināts Jezus vārds!

These boundary-marking formulae are used in the eastern part of Latvija, particularly in the province Latgale, in person-to-person face-to-face interaction.

1.5.5.1. The formula Vesels! (or Vasals!)

Latkovskis, a Latgalian scholar and professor of folkore, calls Vasals the most-frequently used Latgalian 'greeting' expression (1968: 223 ff.), claiming that it is used in preference to dialectal versions of such standard Latvian forms as Labdien and Labrīt (discussed earlier). To Latgalians, Labdien and Labrīt sound 'neutral' and 'impersonal', Latkovskis' informants have told him, thus suggesting that Vasals means something special to them.

This probably explains why the Vesels greeting routine is still used by some Latgalians in Australia. Even though they will often use the standard Latvian pronunciation, the formula and the response serve to remind them that they are somehow bound by a similar past with all its traditions. Most non-Latgalian Latvians would not know how to respond to the Latgalian Vasals! even if pronounced in the standard Latvian way.

The Latgalian word, like its standard Latvian equivalent vesels, means 'well, in good health, whole'. The noun veselība (veseleiba in Latgalian) means 'health'. In the

adjective and the noun (and presumably their derivatives) Latkovskis sees more than just the notions of 'good health' 'wellness' and 'wholeness'. According to him, the stem of these words is the same as that in the Russian word veselyj (~~spelling?~~) and the Polish wesoly both of which can be translated as 'merry, cheerful, gay'.

The formula can have any of four endings, depending on the number and gender of the addressee(s): Vesels! is male singular, Vasali! - male plural - can also be used to a group of men and women (Klīdzējs, 1956: 18), Vasala! is feminine singular and Vasalas! - feminine plural. Often accompanied by a handshake, vesels, is the most common response to vesels used in 'greeting'. Between friends who feel particularly close to each other (I am para-phrasing Latkovskis), the reduplicated formulae: Vasals, vasals!, or Vasali, vasali! is commonly used as a way of communicating good feelings.⁵¹

While its main use appears to be as a formula in opening routines in personal encounters, vesels can feature in closing routines to such encounters as well. This is attested by Latkovskis' example⁵² and the following references to short episodes from literature.

In the novel Jaunieši (The young ones), the young hero Andris, after a lengthy absence, is walking home to his village from the station. He is gradually overtaken by a horse and cart whose driver eyes him attentively as he goes past and then stops his horse. Here is the beginning of their conversation; the driver speaks first (Klīdzējs, 1962: 149):

-I'm looking and wondering - can it be Rugājs' son? Vesels!⁵³

-Vesels!

-Come on up! You can have a lift. Coming from the station?

-Yes.

They ride and talk. After Andris gets out, the driver says (ibid: 151):

Nu dzīvo *vesels!*

now-then live *in-good-health*

Now then, cheerio!

Andris responds with:

Paldies. *Vesels!*

Thank you. *In-good-health!*

Thank you. Cheerio!

That the exchange of the vesels greeting formula was thought of as an important part of personal interaction is attested by the following episode from the same novel. Andris has come home to his village for the funeral of a neighbour's daughter who had also happened to be the girl he loved. As he enters his house, he sees his father standing by the curtain (Klīdzējs, 1962: 152). The father begins:

-You came to the funeral. We waited and thought you wouldn't get here... Warm yourself. We'll have to leave very soon. The padre has already arrived. Perhaps you visited them already.

-No. Just got here from the station.

They both stood silent, looking at each other. The father was picking bits of flax off his wool coat.

-Vesels, father...- only now did Andris recover and offer his hand to his father.

-Vesels, son, vesels! It's been a long time since you left. Heavens. how time goes!...

In less fraught circumstances, the exchange of Vesels would have come before any other conversation.

In the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of Man), Boņs's uncle, on a long-awaited visit, greets his seven year old nephew with a handshake and says (Klīdzējs, 1956: 125):

Vesels! Nu, kā tu dzīvo?

In-good-health! well, how you are-living

Cheers! How's life?

Boņs is pleased that he has been greeted 'like a proper person'.⁵⁴

In Klīdzējs' novel Jaunieši (The young ones), Vesels is used to end a short conversation between classmates (1962: 27) in their final year at high school. In Jaunsudrabiņš' novel, as Aija leaves the house to go on an errand (no date:321), the parting words to her husband include:

Nu, *vesels!*

well, *in-good-health -m. sg!*

Keep well then!

In a short story, when the old wandering smithie, Šukavs, packs his belongings and is ready to leave (Jaunsudrabiņš, 1981: 260), the head of the household says:

Staigā *vesels*, meistar...

walk *in-good-health-m.sg.* master

Have a safe journey, master...

The extracts just quoted, show that Vesels (like the formula Sveiks, discussed earlier) is used in conversational openings and closings by people who share a common

bond and can therefore claim to know each other well or fairly well: relatives, good friends and classmates of several years' standing.

The formula appears to have geographical limits; it does not feature in greeting episodes set in Rīga, for example, not even between Latgalians. As a university student in Rīga, Andris is greeted by a fellow-student with: Sveiks!, roughly, 'Hello!' (Klīdzējs, 1962: 178). Later on, when he meets one of his former schoolmates in the capital city Rīga, many years after they shared the same bench at school, he says: Labvakār! 'Good-evening!' (ibid: 230)

Within the geographical limits, there appear to be other constraints on the use of vesels: constraints involving the relative age of the interlocutors and the context/situation. While the older speaker can use it to the younger addressee, the younger speaker cannot do so. The seven year old Boņs does not use vesels when greeting his uncle Antons;⁵⁵ nor does this word occur in his greeting to Izidors, the peripatetic piano-accordion player.⁵⁶ In the secondary school in Salāni, the small town featured in Klīdzējs' novel (1962), the young school teacher working in the district she grew up in does not use it when greeting her class. Neither do her students use it when responding.⁵⁷

On the basis of the above discussion, one can say that Vesels expresses a good wish. The way the word is used in situations other than those of 'greeting' and 'farewelling' will provide further proof that this is indeed so.

To celebrate a happy occasion,⁵⁸ one invites neighbours to have a drink of beer. The drinking is accompanied by reciprocally uttered formulae including vesels. There is a Latgalian noun pasavasalošona (Latkovskis, 1968: 227), which is used to refer to the business of exchanging these formulae. Compare this with the English 'Health!' when having a drink (SOED, 1964, vol.1: 878), the French 'drinking formula' Santé! [= health] and the Latvian Priekā! [= in/with merriment]. In all these utterances, the speaker is saying 'I want you to feel something good'.

According to Latkovskis (1968: 227, 232), a typical Latgalian drinking formula exchange routine is the following:

A. Byus *vasals!*

lit: be -2 p. sg. FUT *vasals*

B. Dzer *vasals!*

lit: drink -IMP 2 p. sg. *vasals*

Sometimes, the addressee is named and in his response names the speaker:

A. Byusi *vasals*, Pīter! (= Peter)

B. Dzer *vasals*, Jôn! (= John)⁵⁹

Note the reciprocally used second person singular forms of the verbs *byut* 'to be' and *dzert* 'to drink' showing that both the speaker and addressee would also exchange the T address pronoun (see Section 2.0 of the previous chapter). Beer-drinking is a social event where there is no room for strangers.

As well as featuring in Latvian social-drinking behaviour, the formula *Vesels* occurs as part of the response to the expression of thanks at the end of a meal.⁶⁰ The expression is also used in a 'good wish' utterance accompanying a special gift-giving moment in the novel *Aija*, when the mother-in-law of the bride (as was the custom) wraps a shawl around the bride's shoulders and says:

Valkā nu, vedekliņ, *vesela*.....

lit: wear-2p.sg.IMP now daughter-in-law-DIM VOC *in-good-health*

There now, dear daughter-in-law, wear it in good health..⁶¹

It does not seem implausible to suggest that the speaker who says *Vasals!* (which literally means 'healthy') is saying something like 'I want you to be in good health'. Latkovskis (op. cit.) sees in this formula 'a constant reaffirmation of the view that (good) health is of paramount importance, since a sick person cannot be a happy person.' His

view is that this formula encapsulates a world view/philosophy of life that he sees as particularly Latgalian. This he sums up by saying that for a Latgalian (Latkovskis, 1968: 229):

A. *Facere est esse.*
 jo ir veseleiba, tod ari viss pōrejais ir.

if one has good health, then all the rest will follow.

Our discussion of examples of the use of Vesels, suggests that the formula has the following semantic components:

Vesels ('greeting' and 'parting')

you and I are in the same place

you and I are from the same place [in Latvija]

you and I are the same kind of people because of this

you and I think in the same way about things

because of this I can say things to you that I cannot say to other people

I can say: I want you to feel (something) good

That vesels has to do with wishing someone well seems to me to be confirmed by its use in the various 'good wish' formula mentioned above: Valkā vesela, Staigā vesels, Dzer vesels, Veseli ēduši and so on.

1.5.5.2. The religious greeting: Lai būs pagodināts Jezus vārds and variants

This formula occurs as part of another opening routine that Latkovskis describes as typical of eastern Latvija, home to most of Latvija's Catholics:

A. *Lai būs pagodināts Jezus vārds!*

B. Mūžiņi mūžam.

A. May the name of Jesus be honoured!

B. Forever and ever.⁶²

There is an example of this type of 'greeting' routine in a short story where the eighteen year-old hero goes to visit one of the neighbouring houses (Klīdzējs, 1948: 62). The routine was a common Latgalian exchange upon entering someone's house and is still in use, especially in rural Latgale. Latkovskis (1968: 224 and 225) endorses this view, adding that there were two other types of use.

Two social groups rarely used other than the religious formula as part of their 'greeting' and/or 'farewelling' behaviour. These were the village poor who went from house to house begging for food (1971: 429) and the clergy. The padre who comes to visit Boņs house in the novel *Cilvēka bērns* (*Child of man*) uses it. It is still used by a Latvian padre in Australia (p.o.). Latkovskis goes as far as saying that the clergy were 'always' greeted with the religious formula.⁶³

On the basis of this evidence, I suggest that the person who utters the religious greeting is saying, as it were, 'I know you are a Catholic, so am I. Because of this we say things to each other that we cannot say to people who are not Catholics.' In other words, the religious formula is an affirmation of in-groupness, of 'solidarity' through the common bond of a shared religion.

Given that this formula occurs most often as an opener when a person enters someone else's house, I propose the following semantic structure for it:

Lai būs pagodināts Jezus vārds ('entering a house')

- (1) you and I are now in the same place
- (2) you live in this place
- (3) I was not in this place before now
- (4) I know you are a person who thinks good things about God

- (5) I want you to know that I think the same
- (6) because of this, I say: I want people to say good things about God
- (7) I know you want the same

2.0. *Person-to-group openers*

In Anglo-Australian, the opening formula 'Ladies and gentlemen' is the usual way a speaker in public will refer to his audience. There are instances in Anglo-Australian of longer openings to speeches. For example, at the Graduation Parade in December 1993 at one of the military institutions in Canberra, Australia, one of the speeches began with: 'Governor General and Mrs H, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen' (p.o.). By and large, however, the formula 'Ladies and Gentlemen' is regarded as appropriate for a variety of situations, to some of which I will refer later. Latvian ways of opening a speech, on the other hand, are not quite so simple.

As their basic unit, the Latvian formulae have an adjective or an adjectival phrase followed by a noun or a noun phrase consisting of a lexical item 'naming' the addressees. Address formulae consisting of nothing but the basic unit are, however, rare. Most consist of combinations such as: adjective/adjectival phrase + basic unit, basic unit + noun/noun phrase or 'strings' of two or more basic units.

Some typical adjectives are: godājamie 'distinguished', cienījamās 'esteemed/respected', darbīgie 'diligent', mīlie, dārgie 'dear'. Note that they all have the property of saying something good about the addressee.

There are a number of 'names' for addressees in public-speaking situations, in Latvian. One such 'name' is dalībnieki 'people taking part/participating (in something)' from dalīties 'to share'. This term is hardly ever used by itself, but occurs as part of a noun phrase where it is preceded by some qualifying expression. Thus, at the opening ceremony of the Kultūras Dienas approximately, 'Cultural Festival', the speaker may choose to address those present with a formula where s/he names them as kultūras dienu

dalībnieki 'people taking part in the Cultural Festival'. On a particularly happy occasion, such as a large celebration to mark some significant birthday or anniversary, the speaker might choose to call the addressees: *gavilnieki* 'those who are expressing their happiness/joy' from *gavilēt* 'to express happiness/joy'. Address formulae can include terms like: *rīkotāji* 'organizers' and *darbinieki* 'workers'.

Some 'names' are social-event-specific. The audience at a concert or a public lecture, for example, gets: *klausītāji* 'listeners' from *klausīties* 'to listen'. The audience at a play or an opera gets: *skatītāji* 'those who are looking/watching' from *skatīties* 'to look/watch'. *Kāznieki*, derived from *kāzas* 'wedding' names those taking part in a wedding, while those participating in a funeral are *bērinieki*, from *bēres* 'funeral'.

The act of 'naming' the addressees as 'listeners, lookers, organizers' and so on, serves two purposes. Firstly, it is an acknowledgement on the part of the speaker of the addressees' active role(s) in the event at hand. Secondly, it impresses upon each individual that for the time being s/he is called upon to let her/his other social personae slip into the background and assume the persona of 'listener, looker, organizer' together with others present.

In simpler terms, in 'naming' the addressees, the speaker is in effect saying to each one something like:

you and I are in the same place
 I can now say things to you
 I want you to know that you are doing something good
 you were not doing it before now
 other people are doing the same

Most of the following examples of address formulae have come from a collection of Latvian short stories. One story itself begins thus (Kļauka, 1965: 119):

Godājamie viesi, šī vakara darbīgie rīkotāji, cienījamās dāmas un kungi!

Distinguished guests, *diligent* organizers of this evening, *esteemed* ladies and gentlemen!

This is the opening for a talk which the hero - a writer and poet - has been asked to deliver as part of the programme at an evening organized in honour of somebody or something (allusion is made to the reading of congratulatory messages, telegrams and to the presentation of bouquets). Finding the right beginning is difficult; three pages into the story (ibid: 122) the poet tries again:

Daiļās dāmas un *cienījamie* kungi!

Lovely ladies and *esteemed* gentlemen !

From the same collection, another story presents us with a different beginning formula (Kļiņka, 1965: 84). The guest-of-honour, whose fiftieth birthday is being celebrated, precedes his talk with:

Mani *mīļie* viesi!

My *dear* guests!

In a different story there are further examples:

Mīļie draugi, kollēgas un darba biedri!

Dear friends, colleagues and work associates!

says the director of a publishing house, the first speaker at a special meeting of the board of publishers, editors and other staff (Kļiņka, 1965: 274). The editor-in-chief begins his speech (ibid: 279) with:

Kollēgas, *čaklie* darbinieki
 Colleagues, *diligent* workers

and one of the assistant editors begins with the following (ibid: 281):

Godājamie redaktori, vadītāji un pārējie
Distinguished editors, people in charge and others

In the above examples, the speaker/s always include/s adjectives that say something good about the addressees. This is also the case in two beginnings which were personally noted at a function called the 18. novembra akts⁶⁴ - an 'evening' to commemorate the declaration of Latvia's independence. The introductory address, in Canberra, Australia, on 19 November, 1991, began with the following utterance:

Augsti godājamie viesi, dāmas un kungi!
Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen!

The guest-speaker, opened her speech with:

Ļoti cienījamie svētku viesi!
Very esteemed guests of the celebration!⁶⁵

Similar formulae have appeared in the Latvian press. On the front page of a newspaper is the transcript of a talk given by the then political leader, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, on the occasion of a song festival in Latgale. His talk begins with :

Godātie Latgales dziesmu svētku dalībnieki un viesi!
Distinguished participants and guests of the Latgale song festival!⁶⁶

That of these examples of openings in person-to-group communication not one has yielded a formula that might correspond to the most often heard 'Ladies and gentlemen' in comparable social situations in English, is significant.

There is one speech event in the story collection already mentioned where the simple 'Ladies and gentlemen' formula does occur with a slight variation, probably an idiosyncrasy on the part of the speaker rather than being indicative of Latvian ways of speaking. The person responsible for chairing the important meeting in the story *Rēnā gaisma* (*Faint light*) invites everyone to take their seats so that the business of the evening can begin (Kļīka, 1965: 273). Here is what he says:

Es lūdzu šīvakara delegātus pie galda. *Kungi un dāmas!* Lūdzu ieņemiet savas vietas tā, lai mēs varam sākt bez kavēšanās. Paldies.

I ask this evening's delegates to the table. *Gentlemen and ladies!* Please take your seats so that we can start without delay. Thank you.

Supplementary information volunteered by Latvian-speakers questioned in an informal way confirms the conclusion that in Latvian, the formula 'Ladies and gentlemen' occurs in a far smaller number of contexts than in English. In English, for example, it is perfectly acceptable for the president of an association to open an annual general meeting with the formula 'Ladies and gentlemen' The usual Latvian way, is to begin with something like the following:

Dārgie nodaļas biedri un viesi!

Dear members (of the association) and guests!

For a president of a Latvian association to start his opening remarks with *Dāmas un kungi* 'Ladies and gentlemen'⁶⁷ sounds very unusual.

Further evidence that the use of Dāmas un kungi is much more restricted than 'Ladies and gentlemen' appears when one compares ways of starting a speech at a wedding or an important birthday in Latvian and English. At Latvian weddings, the starting formula always includes a reference to the bride and groom and special guests; it might be something like this: Jaunais pāris, izcilie viesi...'lit: New/young couple, distinguished guests...' At an important birthday function, the Latvian formula begins with the words: Dārgais jubilār..., lit: 'Dear jubilant...'⁶⁸ Speakers at Australian weddings, on the other hand, are advised to begin with a 'Ladies and gentlemen' said in a 'hearty and commanding tone' (Bineham, 1984); and as an opening to a speech proposing a toast at an Australian 21st birthday party, one authority on such matters suggests 'Ladies and gentlemen' (Buttrose, 1985).

Alongside the example quoted on the previous page, the adjective-less formula Dāmas un kungi occurred as an opener to loudspeaker announcements made by Latvian-speaking airline crew to passengers on board a Rīga-bound flight from Frankfurt in October 1992. In this respect, Latvian language behaviour is similar to that of Anglo-Australians, where crew-to-passenger communication over the intercom is also introduced by 'Ladies and gentlemen'.

More investigation needs to be done on the Latvian speech events that do allow the use of Dāmas un kungi as an opener. When questioned as to why the formula tends to be shunned in situations where English-speakers use it quite happily, Latvian-speakers said that it was because the expression sounds 'official', 'too abrupt', 'inconsiderate'.

That audiences in the English-speaking context find this 'neutral' opener acceptable in a wide range of situations shows, I think, that English-speakers do not readily endorse public manifestations of feeling(s). In the Latvian-speaking context, on the contrary, the audience is uncomfortable with an opener that does not include an overt expression of good feelings on the part of the speaker. The speaker's positive feelings/attitudes to her/his listeners *have* to be communicated. Besides, s/he has to show that s/he thinks of them as active participants in the same situation, not simply 'ladies and gentlemen'.

For her/his part, the speaker does her/his best to express these feelings, sometimes adding intensifiers such as loti 'very/a lot/greatly/much' and augsti 'highly' to the adjectives describing the addressees; it is almost as if she/he feels that s/he has no right to the listeners' attention and is obliged to 'buy' it with expressions of good will.⁶⁹ It is possible to see in this behaviour that communicates 'You want to hear me, I feel something good because of this' something of the self-effacing behaviour present in the public speakers of other cultures (cf. Jain, 1969). Since much of their semantic content is lost in translation, the adjectives merit a closer look. Space does not allow me to consider more than two sets: dārgais, mīlais roughly 'dear' and cienījamais, godājamais/cienītais, godātais roughly 'esteemed, honoured'.

*2.1. Different adjectives, different attitudes*⁷⁰

Dārgais and mīlais are the definite forms of the adjectives dārgs and mīļš, both meaning roughly 'dear'. The cien- and god- forms are derived from two verbs: cienīt 'to hold in (high) regard/esteem, to recognize the value of sthg./s'one' and godāt 'to honour, to show esteem/regard towards s'one'. The forms ending in -amais have traditionally been called 'gerundives' and their meaning has been glossed in English as 'requiring to be'. Thus, one would say that cienījamais roughly means 'requiring to be esteemed', and the approximate meaning of godājamais is 'requiring to be honoured'. The forms ending in -ais are past-participles and can be roughly glossed as 'esteemed' and 'honoured' respectively.⁷¹

Dārgais, mīlais are used in the opening formulae of speeches to smaller groups and those where the speaker knows a good many of those present. I referred earlier to their use in the language of association meetings and birthday celebrations. Both adjectives occurred in the opening utterance of an interstate visitor (a former Canberran) who had been asked to introduce the guest-speaker at a gathering of about thirty Latvians in Canberra in 1991; the speaker said:

Mīļie, dārgie kanberrieši!

(My) *dear, dear* Canberrans!

Both adjectives convey 'something good' to an addressee, but it is not the same 'something good'.

The difference in meaning between the two 'synonyms' is best illustrated by a brief look at some things dārgs and mīļš can describe. The person in a hurry might describe every minute as dārga 'roughly: precious'; for the traveller in the desert, every drop of water is dārga. The adjective mīļš, can refer to a favourite song, a word uttered in kindness, a loving glance, the hands or face of a loved one. The nominalizations of the superlative form: mīlākais and mīlākā mean 'lover (m.)' and 'lover (f.)' respectively.

Some things are both mīļš and dārgs; one notable example is tēvija, tēvzeme, dzimtene roughly, 'fatherland'. In song and verse about going to war in order to defend it, one's 'fatherland' is most often called dārga (Zandbergs, 1991: 48). The reminiscences of those driven into exile, on the other hand, are about events that took place and scenes that were set in a 'fatherland' that they think of as mīla (Zandbergs, 1991: 23).

Thus, when I say dārgais to someone, the underlying message is 'I value/cherish you...' or, in simpler language, 'I do not want something bad to happen to you'. When, however, I say mīlais to someone, I am communicating at the same time the following: 'I love you' or, more simply, 'I feel something very good towards you'. Neither of these messages can be communicated to people of whom the speaker might say 'I do not know them'.

It is not difficult to see that it is natural for dārgs and mīļš to be used together, as in the above example referring to 'Canberrans'; if there is someone/something about whom/which I can say 'I feel something very good towards you', it would not be natural not to think at the same time 'I do not want bad things to happen to you'. Interestingly, the reverse is not true; when I say 'I do not want bad things to happen to you', it does not

automatically follow that 'I feel something very good towards you'. Perhaps this is why in adjectival phrases involving both adjectives, mīļš almost invariably precedes dārgs.

These considerations lead me to suggest that the messages of dārgais and mīlais used in person-to-group (and other) openings can be spelled out as follows:

Dārgais X

I can now say something to you

I think you want to hear this something

Because of this I say:

if something bad happens to you I shall feel something bad

Mīlais X

I can now say something to you

I think you want to hear this something

Because of this I say:

You and I can say things to each other that we cannot say to other people

I feel something good because of this

Contrary, to these messages, with the cien- and god- forms, the speaker is transmitting to the addressees something like the following message:

Cien-, god-

I can now say something to you

I think you want to hear this something

Because of this I say:

I want you to know that I think good things about you

I think other people think the same

Maybe this is why cienījamie, cienītie and godājamie, godātie feature in the opening formulae at speeches to a larger rather than smaller audience, to an audience where the speaker knows very few of those present, and in situations that are perceived as more 'official' than others.

3.0. *Beginning and ending a letter*

To a far greater extent than in English, formulae used in letter beginnings and endings in Latvian must say something about the relationship that exists between the addressee and the writer. In the English context, 'Dear John' could be the opening formula to a love-letter or a business-letter; the 'John' could be a brother, a good friend, the secretary of the local Parents and Friends Association or an employee in a travel agency. The same opening formula can head a large variety of letters, ranging from the very personal to the very business-like. Such epistolary feats are not possible in Latvian.

The first letter a young person learns how to write is usually to a relative and the opening formula is Mīlais/Mīla/Mīlo X 'Dear(m./f.)' where X stands for: Mum, Dad, Aunty, Uncle and so on. It is appropriate to use first names in letters to some relatives (see chapter on address forms). When it comes to the end of the letter, the usual closing formula preceding the signature is: Ar mīlu sveicienu / Ar mīliem sveicieniem 'lit: With a loving greeting/wish' and 'With loving greetings/wishes'; in English the endings 'Love' and 'Lot of love/Lotsa love' convey a very similar message. Thus one learns that the recipients of openings and closings with the word mīls and its derivatives are chiefly relatives, even those whom one may not have met, and close friends.

As the young person gets older and her/his field of social contacts broadens, her/his repertoire of ways of starting and ending letters must expand. For example, a young woman learns that Mīlā + FN is a suitable opening formula to a female friend of approximately the same age, but that Mīlais + FN to a male friend is used only when the addressee happens to be romantically involved with the writer. The same young woman

would not hesitate to use closing formulae that include mīļš 'dear' or sīrsnīgs 'cordial' to her female friends, but would prefer to end a letter to a male friend with the 'neutral'⁷² expression Ar sveicienu, 'lit: With greeting/wish' whose closest equivalents in English are 'Bye now/Cheers (American English)'. Epistolary openings to older acquaintances (whom one would address as X kungs 'Mr X' or X kundze 'Mrs X' in face-to-face encounters) would feature the expressions Sveicināts (m.) and Sveicināta (f.), lit: '(Be) greeted'.

Besides factors like the addressee's age and gender that in Latvian dictate the kind of opening/closing formula to be used in Latvian letters, there is her/his official status. Should the older acquaintance have some socially prominent position either within or outside of the Latvian community and should the letter be on business matters related to this position, then it is far more appropriate to start the letter with the formula Loti cienījamā... 'Very esteemed...' if the addressee is female and Augsti godājamais... 'Highly distinguished...' if the addressee is male.⁷³ The formula can be followed with the Latvian equivalents for 'Mr/Mrs + LN' or, alternatively, 'Mr/Mrs + professional/official title' can be used. Thus a letter to a female doctor could start with 'Greatly esteemed Mrs Doctor', a letter to a male architect could begin by 'Highly distinguished Mr Architect' and a male author could have 'Highly distinguished Mr Writer'. As with the formulae discussed in the section concerning speaking in public, 'Very esteemed...' can be freely used for men as well, but people seem reluctant to use 'Highly distinguished...' for women.

The closing formula for letters to people 'in high places' reiterates the writer's recognition of the addressee's worth; the word for 'esteem' and its derivatives is an almost invariable feature. The preferred (some say 'safest') expression is Patiesā cieņā, roughly: 'In true esteem', though other formulae have been attested.⁷⁴

In a language where speakers use beginnings and endings especially tailored to suit the addressee and the occasion, change in the formulae used over a period of time can be meaningful in that it can reflect a changing writer-addressee relationship. Examples from the letters exchanged between Rainis and Aspazija illustrate this.

The first letter from Rainis begins as follows:

Augsti cienījamā Rozenberg jkdze! [jkdze. = the conventional abbreviation for *jaunkundze* 'Miss']

Highly esteemed Miss Rozenbergs!

and concludes with *Visā augstcienībā*, 'lit: in all high-esteem' (Aspazija, Birkerts un Birkerts, 1937: 21). The 'formality' is further evident in the 'signing-off' which features the V form of the possessive pronoun followed by the writer's last name :

Jūsu Pliekšāns 'Your Pliekšāns'⁷⁵

Aspazija's reply begins with:

Cien. [= abbrev. of *cienījamais* or *cienītais*] redaktora kungs!

Esteemed Mr Editor

and concludes with *Augstcienībā*, 'lit: In high-esteem' followed by a signature consisting of 'FN initial + LN'. In both letters, the formal address pronoun *Jūs* is used. There follow some more letters with similar openings and closings.

Then Rainis writes again, and the opening utterance is a striking departure from the norm (Aspazija, Birkerts un Birkerts: 1937: 30):

Mana gaišā saules meita!

lit: My *bright sun daughter!*

This beginning, together with the T pronoun of address is enough to let even the superficial reader know that the letter is not about business-matters. Much longer than the

preceding letters, it is a declaration of love. There is reference to a visit from Aspazija which has proved to be a turning-point in the relationship.

The strong feelings in Rainis' letter are reciprocated; Aspazija starts her reply with:

Ak mīlais!

Oh dear-one!

No longer does Aspazija say

'I want you to know that I think good things about you

I think other people think the same'

which is the message inherent in the Cien. ['Esteemed'] of her first letter to Rainis. Her message now, is 'You and I can say things to each other that we cannot say to other people' (see Section 2.1. of this chapter).

Another set of data provides further illustration how change in opening and closing formulae in letters can communicate a change in the writer-addressee relationship. Examples from the small collection⁷⁶ of Aspazijas letters to Mr Kārklīšs, a writer/editor whom she valued both professionally and personally show how the 'misuse' of a particular formula or set of formulae can convey something about the attitude of the writer. In Aspazija, Birkerts un Birkerts (1937: 47), the letter-beginnings Mīlo Kolēģi! 'Dear Colleague!', and Ļoti cienīts Kārklīņa kgs⁷⁷ 'Very esteemed Mr Kārklīšs!' both say something good about the addressee, but are not interchangeable. For someone who has been regarded as a 'dear, kind' personal friend, to be called 'Very esteemed Mr Kārklīšs' sounds 'cold'.

The first of the Aspazija-Kārklīšs letters begins with the Ļoti cienīts formula referred to in the previous paragraph. The contents of the letter reveal that the addressee

has done something that the speaker has perceived as very bad. In the first sentence Aspazija says:

Up until now...I had dared to think of you as a personal friend.

Further on we read:

You and your wife were dear, kind friends...you were people whom I hold in high regard.

The speaker has been so deeply hurt by whatever has happened that a request for the return of manuscripts precedes the concluding formula Visā cienībā 'In total esteem'.

Judging from the second letter, written more than a year later, the perceived wrong has been forgiven. Mīlo Kolēģi! 'Dear colleague!' writes Aspazija and ends with Sirsnīgi sveicinu 'I greet you cordially'. Opening formulae in the rest of the letters, with words like Mīlais... 'Dear...', draugs 'friend', draudziņ 'friend-DIM', redaktoriņ 'editor-DIM' indicate that the friendship has been resumed. The relationship goes through various degrees of 'intimacy' as reflected in 'Dear editor/Dear editor-DIM' and 'Esteemed friend' before apparently stabilizing in the 'Dear friend/Dear friend-DIM' of the last three letters.

In the first of the Aspazija-Kārcliņš letters, even though one of the semantic components in the opening formula is 'I think good things about you', because it also contains the component 'I want to talk to you in the way people talk to someone whom they do not know', the message received by the addressee is 'Go away. I do not want to see you any more.' In subsequent letters, words like mīlais and draugs and the use of the diminutive suffix, contain the message 'I feel good things towards you such as one feels towards someone one knows well'.

Conclusion

In the course of the preceding discussion of Latvian boundary-marking formulae and the messages they encode, we showed how, in addition to the 'sign-posting' function at the level of organization of discourse these formulae have additional functions.

Firstly, in person-to-person interaction, 'greeting' as an interaction-initial speech act in Latvian, is seen as an exchange of 'saying good things'. In this sense, it differs from the everyday greeting behaviour of Anglo-Australians where the following pair of 'greeting-inquiry + positive response' formulae are a common occurrence:

How are you?

Fine thanks.

The Latvian greeting is more than simply 'that unit of social interaction often observed when people come into one another's presence, which includes a distinctive exchange of gestures or utterances in which each person appears to signal to the other, directly and explicitly, that he has been seen' (Kendon, 1990). In their greeting utterances, in addition to 'I have seen you', Latvian-speakers *have* to signal something like 'I want to say something good to you because of this'. We noted how often in Latvian 'greeting' formulae, the 'something good' is overtly present: in the lexical element meaning 'good' in the Lab- group of compounds and phrases, in the adjectives sveiks 'unharmd' and vesels 'in good health'. To say in Latvian 'You and I are in the same place' without at the same time conveying something like the message 'I think this is good' or 'I feel something good towards you', is impossible.

For the good wish formula to be perceived as such by the hearer, it has to be uttered freely and completely. The absence of the expected formula, or the utterance of some abbreviated version of it, is perceived by the hearer as an 'expression' of bad feelings, unless some mitigating factor is involved: such as the near-panic of

Andriksons, for example, or the 'hurry' of Kasparsons.

We saw that in person-to-person interaction, greeting behaviour in Latvian includes a non-verbal component to an extent far greater than in Anglo-Australian: Latvians shake hands much more often than Anglo-Australians. Latvian interlocutors do not consider words alone to be enough. The Latvian addressee must not only be able to hear the speaker say 'You and I are in the same place, I think this is good' s/he must also be able to feel it and so the Latvian-speaker must oblige.

Good feelings must also be conveyed in Latvian openings to speeches in public; this is why the 'neutral' formula Dāmas un kungi 'Ladies and gentlemen' has a much narrower range of use in Latvian than in Anglo-Australian. The Latvian-speaker in front of an audience, cannot remain neutral. Her/his opening utterance must establish a 'rapport' with her/his listeners. This can be based on something akin to 'affection' ['I feel something very good towards you'] as evidenced by the terms mīlie 'beloved' and dārgie 'dear', or 'respect' ['I think good things about you'] as shown by cienījamie/cienītie 'lit: esteem-able/esteemed' and godajāmie/godātie, lit: 'honourable/honoured'.

Letter-openings too show that Latvian interaction-initial formulae act as vehicles for a speaker's feelings/attitudes towards the addressee. However, unlike Anglo-Australians who have a standard letter-opening formula 'Dear...' which suggests that the writer feels the same towards every addressee, Latvians have a considerably broader range of letter-openings. With their variety of adjectives and adjectival phrases, including the 'affectionate' Mīlais 'beloved', the 'solidary' Sveiks 'unharméd X' and the 'respectful' Augsti godātais 'Highly honoured', Latvian-speakers are openly acknowledging that one cannot feel the same about each one of the people to whom one writes. The same is acknowledged in letter-closing formulae, which range from the 'very affectionate' Ar mīlu buču 'with a loving kiss' to the 'respectful' Patiesā cieņā 'in genuine esteem'.

The 'good feelings' component in Latvian opening formulae in public-speaking situations is almost invariably accompanied by the speaker's reference to the

position/role/status of the addressees in relation to the situation. This pattern was observed in a variety of Latvian public-speech beginnings, suggesting that members of the Latvian 'audience' want to be seen as active participants in the meeting, the concert, the performance of the play, the wedding-feast and the birthday dinner-party. In the Anglo-Australian context, similar reference is restricted to speech-openings in a very limited number of situations: in parliamentary debates, for example, university degree-awarding ceremonies and graduation parades at military institutions.

That Latvian addressees in a public-speech like to be seen as all doing something good together, suggests that they have a 'collective' mentality, an attitude more clearly expressed as 'You and I want the same things as everyone else'. However, it would be a mistake to label the Latvian society as 'collectivist'. Firstly, the public-speech manifestations of a 'collective' mentality are transient. Once the occasion is over, the bond that joined its participants is dissolved. Secondly, it is highly debatable whether one can speak of a true 'collectivist' mentality in a situation where the speaker overtly expresses his feelings/attitudes to the audience. Surely, publicly saying what one feels and what one thinks, is the mark of an 'individualist' mentality.

In person-to-person interaction especially, the opening formulae show that in Latvian 'People do not say things the same way to everybody'. Different greeting formulae (alongside different terms of address) are used for 'familiar' as opposed to 'non-familiar'. To this person I say Sveiks 'unharméd', to that person I say Sveicināts '(Be) greeted'. This underscores the importance placed in Latvian culture on how well one knows one's interlocutor; or, in other words, the speaker (as do the letter-writer and the public-speaker) uses opening forms to signal varying degrees of 'intimacy' or 'closeness' existing between her/him and the addressee(s).

But not all 'familiar' are greeted the same way either. To this 'familiar' person I say Sveiks 'unharméd', to that 'familiar' person I say Vesels 'in good health', to a third 'familiar' person I say Lai būs slavēts Jezus Kristus 'May Jesus Christ be praised'. The bond between interlocutors who exchange Sveiks is not the same as that between those

who exchange Vesels which in turn is not the same as that between those who exchange the religious formula.

That a speaker's feelings/attitudes to her/his addressee(s) be communicated at the start of an interactional episode, shows how important it is for Latvians to know where they stand in relation to each other in society. In marked contrast to the far more 'informal' and 'casual' Anglo-Australian ways, when Latvians interact, they need right from the start to inform and be informed of their relative positions on the 'social distance' scale existing between them.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, compared with Anglo-Australian ways, Latvian ways of beginning and ending social interaction reveal a tendency to a greater degree of non-uniformity. In Latvian, there is no one formula that can be used the same way as the Anglo-Australian opener 'Hello!'; neither is there an expression that corresponds fully to the Anglo-Australian epistolary beginning 'Dear...' and in person-to-group encounters, Latvians cannot use Dāmas un kungi 'Ladies and gentlemen' for the same broad range of speech events that this formula can open in Anglo-Australian.

The Anglo-Australian speaker's uniformity of expression appears to correspond to a uniformity of feeling. This seems highly unlikely. Rather, because the Anglo-Australian speaks to everyone the same way, s/he is conveying the message 'I do not want to show what I think and feel'.

The two different 'ways of speaking', translate two contrasting ways of viewing one's behaviour with other people. In NSM terms, Latvians believe that:

It is not good to say things in the same way to everyone

With more specific reference to boundary-marking formulae, Latvians ways follow a norm that goes something like this:

It is good to say to people what one thinks/feels about them

Anglo-Australians, on the other hand, believe that:

It is good to say things in the same way to everyone

And the uniformity of much of Anglo-Australian boundary-marking behaviour suggests, that the Anglo-Australian way can be spelled out as:

It is not always good to say to people what I feel/think about them

¹That he uses this term rather loosely is evidenced by the fact that as examples of such formulas he mentions 'good morning', 'thank you', and 'God bless you' said when someone sneezes. While someone who omits to say 'good morning' or 'thank you' may be thought of as impolite, I am not sure that someone who omits to say 'God bless you' to a sneeze would be thus labelled.

²On 'phatic communion' see Laver, John (1981: 301 ff).

³In Latvian, *sveikt* 'to offer good wishes on a special occasion' and *sveicināt* 'to say hello' are obviously derived from the same root.

⁴In a situation where the interlocutors are for instances on the opposite sides of a street, *sveicināt* can refer to a non-linguistic sign of greeting.

⁵Compare this with the Eng. 'to say hello' and the Fr. 'dire bonjour'.

⁶During my field-trip in Latvija in 1992, it was obvious that Latvians in Latvija used a handshake to accompany their 'hellos' and 'goodbyes' far more frequently than Latvians in Australia.

⁷First observed among young Latvians in Australia in the 1960s, this expression is probably a borrowing from Italian, via Australian English.

⁸The original reads: 'Urzula cēlās, ardievas neteikusi, gāja tālāk.'

⁹Dziļums (1961: 283). The original is: 'Kas tad tev padomā? Tu tak par velti necepsi manis dēļ vistu, kur tu citreiz man pat labdienu nepadod!'

¹⁰Zīverts (1967: 55); the original text reads thus:

N. Labvakar!

(Neatbild)

N. Es tev, Jāni, vēlēju labu vakaru.

J. (caur zobiem) Bvakar.

¹¹Brigadere (1957: 530). The original text reads: 'Kādu vakaru tas steigšus ieskrēja ar sarkaniem papīrišiem rokās. Ne labdienu nepateicis, skubināja māsas: "Ātri, ātri! Uz teātri! Te jums biļetes." '

¹²See also examples of Latvian behaviour in Brigadere (1957: 221 and 519).

¹³I have observed that between men, the post-introductory handshake occurs nearly always, with both parties extending their hand simultaneously. Between men and women, there is some hesitation. Men usually wait for women to initiate the gesture and many women are reluctant to do so; women will, however, always return a handshake offered by a man. Between women, the handshake occurs far less often.

¹⁴As such, it tends to be used mostly between men; women with women exchange embraces and/or hugs and/or kisses which are also exchanged by parties of different sex. Male behaviour filmed during televised newscasts and sports-matches shows that there are probably only two situations where Anglo-Australian men exchange hugs and embraces: on the sports-field and at a funeral. Members of a football/soccer team exchange hugs and embraces when a team-mate has scored a goal or when their side has won. Men who are either related or close friends hug and embrace each other in the presence of death.

¹⁵Personal observation, in December 1990 in Adelaide, South Australia, during the Latvian culture festival.

¹⁶Jaunsudrabiņš (no date:138). The original version is: 'Te kāds padeva laburītu...Ieva satrūkās...Bet tūlīt viņa svešo ari' pazina. Ieva noslaucīja pie priekšauta slapjo roku un sniedza to Jānam pretīm.'

¹⁷The original text is: 'Atvainojies viņš nervozi piecēlās kājās, atvadījās, sarokojās ar namatēvu, bet pārējiem, pēc amerikāņu paraduma, pamāja ar roku un kopā ar dūšīgo kundzi...devās uz āru.'

¹⁸Voitkus (1964: 59). The original is: ' "Tālāk vairs neiešu..." Viņa sniedza roku...'

¹⁹Brigadere (1957: 280). The original reads: 'Kad atnāca, visiem deva roku pēc kārtas..'

²⁰Janovskis (1968: 157). The original is: '..še nu roka. Man jāskrien.'

²¹Janovskis (1968: 16). The original is: ' "Sveiks, Artur!" Veca paraduma dēļ mēs sarokojamies.'

²²Jaunsudrabiņš (no date: 23). The original text is: ' "Sveiks!" es saucu. Mes sadevāmies rokas ka lieli cilvēki...'

²³Klīdzējs (1956: 59). The original is: ' "No tevis iznāks arājs", tēvs viņam uzsit uz pleca...No laimes Boņam saskrien asaras acīs. Tā ir pirmā reize, kad tēvs viņam ir uzsitis

uz pleca tā, kā to lielie puisi dara viens otram, kad grib parādīt, kad tas otrais ir kaut ko labu paveicis, un ka tāpēc viņš šinī pasaulē ir kaut ko vērts.'

²⁴In Putniņš (1979: 88)

²⁵Note that the morpheme ar is found in other closings; for example: ar Dievu (or ardievu) 'Good bye', and in the letter-closing formulae : ar sveicienu 'lit: with greeting/good wish' and ar mīlu buču 'lit: with loving kiss'.

²⁶Contrary to what was being taught in Australian schools, 'bonjour' was already a 'greeting' unspecified by time of day in the late 1960s. In Canadian French, in the late 1970s, I noticed that it was being used in endings to phone conversations with administration; just before hanging up/ringing off, the person on the other end of the line would say: Merci. Bonjour. 'Thanks. Bye.'

²⁷See LVV: 426 - 27 and 74.; the dictionary ascribes to them the word-class it calls izsauk., an abbreviation for izsaukmes vārds 'interjection' (lit: exclamation word) and explains that each is a sveiciena vārds 'term of greeting'. Each of the first three is uttered, continues the dictionary, upon meeting: labdien, on meeting diena 'during the day'; labrīt, on meeting no rīta 'in the morning' and labvakar, on meeting vakarā 'in the evening'.

²⁸Brigadere (1957: 308); the young Annele, looking after her flock is greeted by her adult neighbour with Labrīt, meitēn... 'Good-morning, girl....'

²⁹Klīdzējs (1956: 284); the eight year-old Boņs says Labrīt! 'Good-morning' to the peripatetic accordionist, Izidors.

³⁰Putniņš (1979: 113); Agate greets Antons with Labrīt, Anton! 'Good-morning, Anton!'

³¹Janovskis (1968: 149); the lodger Babāns says Labrīt! 'Good-morning!' to his landlord, Mijkrēslis.

³²Putniņš (1979: 77); Terēze, on holiday from the city, greets Agate, the owner of the house in the country with Labvakar ! 'Good-evening!'

³³Klīdzējs (1962: 82); Andris the lodger, and his landlady Rita, exchange Labvakar! 'Good-evening!' as they walk past each other in the street.

³⁴Janovskis (1968: 175); Aunt Luīze and a gate-keeper at a cement-factory, exchange Labdien 'Good-afternoon'.

³⁵Jaunsudrabiņš (no date: 195); in the garden where they both work, Miks, an odd job man, greets the farmhand Janis with Labdien 'Good-afternoon'.

³⁶Jaunsudrabiņš (no date: 116)

³⁷Brigadere (1957: 308)

³⁸Zīverts (1967: 12)

³⁹Putniņš (1979: 113)

- 40 Kārkliņš (1962: 23)
- 41 Putniņš (1979: 104)
- 42 Putniņš (1979: 105)
- 43 Klīdzējs (1956: 57); the original text is: "Dievs palīdz!" viņš kļiedza tēvam pa gabalu, caur elsieniem. "Paldies, dēls, paldies", atsaka tēvs, pieri slaucīdams.'
- 44 Dziļums (1961: 50); the text reads: 'Betija pieklājīgi padeva dievpalīgu, bet Mazjēcis tūlīt nolika izpildu rakstu uz saimnieces smilšainajiem ceļiem.'
- 45 LVV: 778
- 46 LVV: 74; the original says: 'Atsveicināšanās vārds, ko lieto atvadoties vakarā.'
- 47 Janovskis (1968: 193); the text is: 'Man diemžēl tagad jāatstāj jūsu patīkamā sabiedrība, jo man jāsteidz uz vilcienu. Vēlreiz, paldies un uz redzēšanos.'
- 48 Brigadere (1957: 59); the original says: '..ka tu to kverpli velc līdz, tad ardievu, tad es tevi vairs negaidu.'
- 49 Anglo-Australians use 'See you later' in a similar way. For example, a postman who delivers a parcel to the door has used it as a parting utterance. I have heard it from interviewers doing door-to-door surveys. Strangers who have stopped me in the street for directions have closed the conversation with a 'See you later'. I have even received 'See you later' at the end of telephone conversations with travel agents and airport officials.
- 50 For the purposes of this discussion, when referring to these formulae, I propose to use the standard Latvian spelling, that is: Vesels! Vesela! and so on, unless I am quoting directly from a Latgalian text, in which case it seems to me the Latgalian spelling (Vasals! Vasala! and so on) is warranted.
- 51 Latkovskis (1968: 229); the original reads: '...ar tū ['Vasals, vasals!'] izsaceja sajusmu un prīcu par tikšonūs ar tū cylvāku, ar kuru beja leloka un tyvoka draudzeiba.'
- 52 *ibid*: 229; Latkovskis cites the following as a commonly used 'farewell' routine: Nu to palīc vasals! 'Well then, remain vasals' followed by the response Nu vasals! 'Well, vasals.'
- 53 The novel is set in Latgale, but written in standard Latvian; hence the standard spelling.
- 54 This is how Klīdzējs presents the whole short episode:
' "Boņs!" he (the uncle) exclaims, moves over a step or two, holds out his hand to Boņs and says, what has to be said to a proper person: "Vesels! How's life?" '
- 55 Klīdzējs, 1956: 251; to his uncle Antons, Boņs says: Labrīt! 'Good-morning!'
- 56 Klīdzējs, 1956: 284; to the musician, Boņs also offers a 'Good-morning!'
- 57 In Klīdzējs (1962: 37), the teacher uses labdien, lit: 'good-day'.

- 58 One such occasion is described in the short story Seši kalni (Six hills) in Klīdzējs (1948: 77 ff). Linukalns is happy that for the first time in many months all his six grown-up children are home and that the crops he has sown are sprouting. Beer is brewed, neighbours are invited and there is singing, laughter and merry-making.
- 59 *ibid*: 231
- 60 LVV: 851 has, under vesels, the example : Veseli ēduši! 'lit: *in-good-health* having-eaten'
- 61 Jaunsudrabiņš (no date: 296)
- 62 More examples of this routine (sometimes with slight variation) can be found in Latkovskis (1968: 224, 225 and 229); Klīdzējs (1989: 77) Klīdzējs (1956: 48).
- 63 Latkovskis (1968: 224)
- 64 The English translation is very approximate, since akts is a culture-specific term denoting a solemn kind of social gathering, usually in order to commemorate something, as for example, in Mātes dienas akts roughly, 'Mother's day commemoration'.
- 65 In both of these beginnings, the word viesi is used to denote all those listening to the speech.
- 66 Literatūra un Māksla 'Art and literature', June 2, 1990, published in Rīga, Latvija.
- 67 When I asked an informant whether Dāmas un kungi minus qualifiers of any kind would be an appropriate opener to an address given on an official occasion such as the celebration of Latvia's independence, her answer was, I thought, most revealing. This person began by saying 'Quite OK, quite acceptable' but then immediately added that Cienījamās dāmas un kungi would be another formula one could use.
- 68 The word jubilārs (NOM m.) is more widely applied than the corresponding English 'jubilant', which tends to be reserved for very rare occasions such as the silver and gold jubilees of religious sisters.
- 69 Paldies par uzmanību 'Thank you for (your) attention' is often used as a closer to speeches in public; this is another device that the speaker uses to admit that the audience's attention to her/his words were a privilege, not a right.
- 70 I have given the forms as they would appear in a dictionary, that is, with masculine singular nominative endings.
- 71 Cienīt and godāt have themselves been derived from ciena and gods, both of which have semantic components very similar to those present in the English term 'honour'. For the fourth Commandment, for example, '*Honour* thy father and thy mother', the Latvian version reads Tev būs Tavu tēvu un māti cienā godā turēt (lit: You will have to hold your father and mother in *esteem* and *honour*).
- 72 I use this term reservedly. One could argue that in English, 'Dear X' and 'Yours sincerely' have acquired a certain 'neutrality' since they feature in a broad range of kinds of letters: to strangers, to friends, 'official', 'personal' and so on. However, in a language where a variety of formulae are used, there really is no 'neutral' formula. The

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mere fact that Ar sveicienu is chosen rather than any of the other possibilities, means something.

73 Sometimes the words for 'very' [= loti] and 'highly' [= augsti] are not included. However, where there has been no previous communication between writer and addressee, these 'intensifiers' are almost always included.

74 For example, the Latvian poet Aspazija ends a letter to her editor Visā cienībā 'In total esteem'; published in the literary journal Zari (Branches) (1982: 49).

75 Rainis is a pen-name; the author's real name is Jānis Pliekšāns.

76 There are eleven letters written over a period of six years; the first is dated 23/IX/1930 and the last - XII 18/1936; see Aspazija, Birkerts and Birkerts (1937).

77 Abbreviation for kungs.

Chapter 3

COMMUNICATING FEELINGS AND ATTITUDES: THE 'DIMINUTIVE' SUFFIX

Introduction

Like Russian (Volek, 1987), Spanish (Gooch, 1970), Greek (Sifianou, 1992), Lithuanian (Rūķe-Draviņa, 1953: 452), Polish (Wierzbicka, 1991, 1993), French (Hasselrot, 1972) and a number of other European languages, Latvian has a considerable number of derivational forms that can be labelled 'expressive'. In all such derivations, except for a few adverbs where it has been added through infixation, the 'expressive' component is in the suffix or suffixes. Traditionally, these have been called 'diminutive suffixes' with the added comment that they often imply not diminution as much as endearment. Some grammarians have chosen to discuss them under a heading something like 'forms of diminution and forms of endearment'. In A Grammar of Modern Latvian (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980: 400) the authors have this to say: 'The normal function of the diminutive is to indicate smallness, but it is very often used to express endearment or affection. Particularly in folk songs, the diminutive is often frequent, and quite often is nothing more than an alternative form of the original noun'. To say that the diminutive is nothing more than an 'alternative form' is to imply that it and the base word are interchangeable. I propose to demonstrate, among other things, that this is hardly ever the case.

The claim that a vast number of lexical elements have at least two suffixed forms would not be excessive. Some of these suffixed forms can take additional suffixes to give 'double-diminutive', more precisely 'double-expressive', forms. These 'double-' forms are also found with adjectives and adverbs.

While perhaps not as extensive as the inventories of expressive suffixes in some other languages (Russian, Lithuanian, Portuguese and Spanish, for example) compared

to the system of Anglo diminutives, the richness and complexity of the Latvian expressive suffix system could seem overwhelming. Where English has no more than a few words denoting the female human parent: 'mother, mum, mummy, mom' Latvian has about a dozen: one can call the person in question māte 'mother' or any of the following forms: mamma, māma, māmiņa, māmulīte, mammēlīte, memmiņa, memmīte, māmulīņa, mammucīte, māmīte. To give the exact translation of each of these is impossible.

For nouns denoting non-persons, the variety can be just as striking. Consider for example this list of 'expressive' forms for suns 'dog': sunīts, suņuks, suņucīts, suņukēns, suņulīts, sunēns, šunel(i)s, šunelīts. English has only one: doggie; whether the baby-talk forms bow-wow, bowsie-wowsie and dogsie-wogsie are 'expressive' is debatable. Bikses 'trousers' can have the following suffixed forms: biksiņas, biksītes, bikšeles, bikšuki, bukstiņi. In Latvian, krogs 'pub' can also be called krodziņš or krogēlis.

As far as I know, there have been few attempts to explain how it is that in a language that has the adjectives mazs meaning 'small, little', sīks meaning 'tiny' and mīļš meaning 'dear, lovable' there have to be 'diminutive' suffixes and that these three adjectives mazs, sīks and mīļš can themselves form the 'diminutives': maziņš, sīciņš, mīliņš. Some answers to these and related questions can be found in the discussion of Latvian adjectival diminutives by Rūķe-Draviņa (1953) who includes in her discussion references to the use of the suffix in adverb derivations and formulae of 'greeting' and 'farewell'. We shall see later in this chapter that, in addition to its nominal, adjectival and adverbial uses and its presence in utterances of salutation, the diminutive form occurs in speech acts as diverse as requests and threats, and that sometimes, far from suggesting smallness and endearment, it can suggest just the opposite.

The authors of a Latgalian grammar, one of the rare grammars that acknowledges that perhaps there is a case for having a separate derivational category for these suffixes, discuss these derived forms under the heading Diminutīvi 'Diminutives' (Bukšs and Placinksis, 1973: 231 ff). Their discussion is introduced with the following

comment: 'The Baltic languages are very rich in diminutives. Folksongs and rhymes as well as the language of the ordinary people is full of diminutive forms. These forms constitute the psychological aspect of these languages'. I have underlined the sentence that seems particularly revealing.

Unfortunately, the authors do not say what the 'psychological aspect' might be, but it seems to me that the authors are hinting at the real role of these 'diminutive' forms, namely, that much of the time they tell the addressee, the listener, the reader, the audience, how the speaker feels about certain things. What is more, when used with people's names especially, they have the potential to make the person hearing them feel good or bad, feel disposed to doing certain things and not doing certain others. In a word, they have the potential to make or break relationships between people. Considering the important role 'diminutives' have in Latvian, it seems surprising that so little has been written about them. This fact is even more surprising when one realizes that for the vast majority of Latvians the earliest conscious contact with their own first name was to hear it in its derived form.

I propose to look at expressive derivation in Latvian under two main headings: Forms and Functions, with the understanding that there will be some overlap. For example, remarks about the combinatorial possibilities of the suffixes, in one sense the property of Forms, are better discussed under Functions. For the same form of suffix, the meaning can depend on the grammatical category of the base word with which it combines: with an adverb, the suffix -inš means something different from -inš with a person's name.

Under Forms, by far the shorter of the two sections, I state briefly which bound morphemes are susceptible to being used 'expressively'. In Functions, there is firstly a general discussion of the scope of expressive derivation in Latvian, based on examples drawn from the novel Cilvēka bērns (Child of man, Klīdzējs, 1965) This is followed by a description and analysis of the four most commonly used groups of suffixes, in alphabetical order:

- 1 The forms -el(i)s/-ele
- 2 The form -ene
- 3 The form -ēns
- 4 The forms -inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte

The starting-point to what I have to say in both sections will be the information in MLLVG.

The suffixes which some traditional grammars have variously called the 'diminutive' and 'endearment' suffixes, I propose to call 'expressive' following Volek (1987) and Wierzbicka (1992). In the present discussion, 'expressive' means something like 'able to convey a feeling or attitude about someone/something' (Goöch, 1970).

Some information about expressive suffixes is available in grammars, as already mentioned. However, it is over-simplified and therefore often inaccurate. One of the aims of the present discussion is to clear up some of the inaccuracies and to elaborate on some of the oversimplified descriptions.

In discussing 'function', I will avoid as far as possible the comments and labels that to date have been ascribed to various uses of the suffixes. Descriptions that correspond roughly to the English phrases 'of endearment/affection', 'of mockery, derogation' (Freidenfelds et al., 1963: 61-62), 'express scorn' (Pauliņš et al., 1978: 63) and comments such as 'The...diminutive...is very often used to express endearment or affection' (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980: 400) do not give a clear picture of the semantic content of a particular suffix. For this reason, when describing the suffixes as vehicles of different kinds of feeling or attitude on the part of their user towards the addressee or someone/something else, the language I use will be similar to Wierzbicka's 'natural semantic metalanguage' (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 1994).

In order to analyze these different functions, I have examined an extensive variety of 'diminutive' suffix uses. My observations are based on data from many different sources. There are several hundred examples of the suffixes taken from

published materials listed in the bibliography; these include dictionaries, novels, plays, anthologies of prose and verse, collections of Latvian dainas '(roughly) folk-rhymes/songs', song-books, magazines, and newspapers. Other examples come from the original script for a radio broadcast, from personal observation, from informal communication with Latvian-speakers and from responses to two questionnaires on language use. In the second of these, examples of suffix use were purely incidental, the main emphasis being elsewhere.

1.0. *Forms*

From information in Latvian grammars, one can conclude that there are several forms of the so-called diminutive suffixes. Most grammars admit to at least three. The most extensive list is probably in MLLVG (p. 94 ff) which has the following:

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
-el(i)s	-ele
	-ene
-ēns	
-iņš	-iņa
-īt(i)s	-īte
-ulis	-ule

A comprehensive collection of expressive suffixes would need to include a number of others, such as the suffix -ona which combines with certain semantic categories of verbs to produce nouns where it means 'something bad'.¹ Furthermore, Latvian-speakers who are not afraid to admit that literary Latvian (as reflected in most grammars and dictionaries) is not the only variety actually in use, would acknowledge

the presence in everyday language-use situations of at least two more forms of expressive suffixes: -uks and -ka.

Personal names can end in -uks; for example, Mare 'Mary' becomes Maruks², Jānis 'John' becomes Jančuks;³ so can common nouns, as shown by Bukšs and Placinskis (1973: 232) and other sources. For example, Draugs (Friend), a Latvian monthly for teenagers notes fačuks 'father', probably from 'Vater' or 'Father'.⁴ Latviešu žargona vārdnīca (A dictionary of Latvian slang) (Mirovics and Dubaus, 1990: 61 and 64) offers poluks [policists 'policeman'] and ričuks 'bicycle' [ritenis 'wheel/cycle']. One of the answers to my field-work questionnaire in 1992 had balluks [balle 'ball/social evening with dancing'], meaning probably something like 'a bit of a party'.

Examples with the suffix -ka feature in the Latvian slang dictionary as well: bračka 'brother', butka 'run-down little shed/dwelling', denaturka 'distilled spirits', čarka 'a nip of spirits', kriska 'a critical/dramatic situation', voska 'louse' and tuška 'toilet' (Mirovics and Dubaus, 1990: 19-82).

Grammars also say little about the combinatorial possibilities of the expressive suffixes other than give a set of morphophonemic rules that determine whether a particular noun will be used with an -inš or an -īt(i)s suffix (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980: 400 and 406); only a few words have both an -inš and an -īt(i)s form. These rules however, cannot account for the following linguistic phenomena. Consider this table:

<u>Base form</u>	<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Diminutive</u>
vepris 'hog'	veprītis 'little h.'	veprelis 'little h.'
galva 'head'	galviņa 'little h.'	galvele 'little h.'
sivēns 'piglet'	siventiņš 'little p.'	siventelis 'little p.'
lakats 'scarf' ⁵	lakatiņš 'headscarf'	lakatels 'little h.'
grāmata 'book'	grāmatiņa 'little b.'	grāmatele 'little b.'
Anna 'Ann/Anna'	Anniņa 'little A.'	Annele 'little A'

	Ancīte 'little A.'	
Māra 'Mara'	Mārīte 'little M.'	Marele 'little M.'
	Māriņa 'little M.'	
Jānis 'John'	Jānīt(i)s 'little J.'	Jančelis 'little J.'

The largest number of words that can combine with either one or another of the expressive suffixes fall into the categories of common nouns and personal names.

In the present chapter, an investigation of the meanings of each of the expressive suffixes listed above is impossible. Therefore, I will focus on the following groups: -el(i)s/-ele, -ene, -ēns, -inš/-iņa and -īt(i)s/-īte as those most often used. There will be examples of these in various combinations: with proper nouns, common nouns denoting persons, common nouns denoting non-persons, adjectives, adverbs and other expressions.

2.0. Functions

In MLLVG the 'diminutive' function of suffixes is mentioned as one of several discussed under Lietvārdu darināšana 'The derivation of nouns' (MLLVG, vol. 1: 86 ff). The section is divided into paragraphs with the forms of suffixes as headings; for example, paragraph no. 154 is called Izskanas -el-is, -el-e 'Suffixes: -el-is, -el-e' (MLLVG, vol. 1: 93 ff) and contains a list of examples of this derivational suffix with a short comment on the function of the suffix in each group of examples.

Thus, in some suffixed forms, the function appears simply to be that of substantive derivation. Combined with the noun ziema 'winter' the suffix -elis produces ziemelis 'north wind'. From the verb smirdēt 'to stink' the noun smirdelis 'a stinky person' is derived; with tiepties 'to pester' we get tiepelis 'a pesterer/one who pesters'. With the verb dvest 'to gasp', the feminine -ele combines to give the noun dvēsele 'soul'.

To the -elis suffix in smirdelis and tiepelis (as well as several other substantive derivations) the grammar ascribes 'a pejorative shade of meaning'.⁶ I think, however, that what is called the 'pejorative' meaning probably comes from the lexical content of the base word as already seen in smirdēt 'to stink' and tiepties 'to pester' and supported by the following: bēdāties 'to complain loudly', drebēt 'to shiver/shake/shudder', diedelēt 'to beg insistently', nekrietns 'naughty/wicked' and gurds 'feeble/tired' (MLLVG, vol. 1: 90).

Probably because of this combinability with lexical items whose connotations/associations are negative, -el(i)s/-ele add what the grammar calls a 'pejorative' shade to derivations where the suffix also means 'diminutive'. Consider for example: virš 'a man' and vīrelis 'a little, insignificant man' (a 'slip of a man?'); nams 'a building' and namelis 'a shabby little building'; istaba 'a room' and istabele 'a poky little room'; amatnieks 'tradesman' and amatnieķelis 'a fly-by-night tradesman, one who does not practise his trade seriously'.

What exactly is meant by the label 'pejorative shade of meaning' is never explained. The adjective 'pejorative' has been used by others in reference to the meaning of suffixes. Gooch, for example, uses it to describe a group of suffixes in modern Spanish; the title of his book - Diminutive, augmentative and pejorative suffixes in modern Spanish - implies that in Spanish, there is a category of suffixes - 'Pejoratives' - separate and distinct from those of 'Diminutives' and 'Augmentatives'. He also uses it to describe one of the functions of some augmentative suffixes. The label appears as a component of the meaning of the Spanish suffix -ales for example, which Gooch explains as 'pejorative + a strong implication of affection' (Gooch, 1970: 251).

The standard Latvian grammar is selective not only as regards the suffixes it chooses to discuss and their 'combinability', but their function as well. For example, under the sub-heading 'Suffix: -ene' nothing is said of -ene combining with the first or last name of a woman and used referentially to convey the speaker's bad feelings. Similarly, when discussing the most frequently used suffixes -īt(i)s/-īte; -inš/-iņa the

grammar's chief focus is on the speaker's positive feelings about the addressee or someone/something else that these suffixes transmit. No mention is made of their use as vehicles of feelings that are not good.

2.1. Expressive derivation in Cilvēka bērns (Child of man)

To convey some of the richness and the complexity of the expressive suffix system, especially in relation to personal names, a good starting point is a discussion of some Latvian first names such as they appear in Cilvēka bērns (Child of Man), a novel by Klīdzējs (1956). A closer look at who uses these names and in what situations, will reveal that the different forms of the names are not simply alternative forms as implied by Fennell and Gelsen (1980: 400). I propose to focus my discussion on the hero's name and its various forms, since the novel is written from this seven year-old boy's point of view; nevertheless, where appropriate I shall be referring to some of the other name forms.

Most of the time he is referred to as Boņs and addressed as Boņ!, but at other times he is called Boņuk! Boņukin! Boņuciņ! Boņucik! On several occasions (not more than five in the whole novel) he refers to himself as Bonifācijs Pāvulāns, using his first name plus last name. On one occasion, he calls himself Bonifācijs, very shortly afterwards adding Pāvulāns.

Boņs comes from a small, closely-knit rural community one of whose members is twenty-two year old Tancijs, a man whom Boņs admires very much and considers a friend. Another of Boņs's friends is twenty year-old Bibuks, a woman whom Boņs has known ever since he was a toddler and whom he plans to marry when he's grown up. Boņs has two brothers: Justs, who is a year or two older and Juriks who is about five and half years younger. Also slightly older than Boņs are the two children he often plays with: Pēters and Paulīne, also referred to as Paulīte, and on one occasion as Paule.

Boņs and Tancis are commonly accepted short forms for Bonifācijs and Tanclavs. The two suffixes -iks, -uks (see: Juriks, Boņuks, Bibuks, Tančuks) are so-called diminutive suffixes; -ukiņ, -uciņ, -ucik (see: Boņukiņ! Boņuciņ! Boņucik!) have traditionally been called double-diminutives. Broadly speaking, the relationship that exists between the forms Bonifācijs, Boņs, Boņuks and Tanclavs, Tancis, Tančuks is similar to that existing between the forms James, Jim and Jimmy in English. There is no neat equivalent for the double-diminutive forms; it would probably be something like ?Jimmikins. It is more difficult to find a parallel in English to the triad Paulīne, Paule, Paulīte. The English name forms Deborah, Deb, Debbie are not a useful example; one can say that Deborah is to Debbie as Paulīne is to Paulīte, but Paule and Deb are different. The form Paule is used to the young girl in a teasing rhyme by one of her rowdy classmates who is intent on provoking her into some kind of retaliatory action, while the name Deb, on the other hand, sounds friendly, even affectionate. Perhaps the threesome: Elizabeth, Liza, Lizzie (not a regular derivational pattern) is a better parallel for Paulīne, Paule and Paulīte, with the famous example of Liza used to name the cockney heroine in the Lerner and Lowe musical, My Fair Lady, of the early 1950s.

The first time Boņs refers to himself using his full name is when he is praying to God the Father (Klīdzējs, 1965: 30). Among other things he says:

Dievs Tēvs, es zinu, ka tev pasaulē ir daudz Boņu un visus atcerēties nav visviegli...Mans vārds pa īstam un pilnīgi, ir Bonifācijs Pāvulāns

God the Father, I know that you have lots of Bons in the world and that remembering them all isn't easy...My full name really is Bonifācijs Pāvulāns.

In a different episode, the local padre is visiting at Boņs's place and asks Boņs his name. He answers: Boņs. Bonifācijs...[pause]...Pāvulāns (Klīdzējs, 1965: 48). In yet another episode (p. 196 ff), a shopkeeper asks him: "Whose son are you?" to which Boņs answers that he is the son of Aleksandrs Pāvulāns, and adds his full name.

Further on in the book (p. 217 ff) Boņs meets the padre on the road. The padre remembers that he has seen the boy somewhere, but cannot remember exactly. He is puzzling it out when Boņs jogs his memory, giving his name first as simply Boņs, only to follow it a moment later again with 'FN + LN'. On two occasions (pp. 149, 284) Boņs happens to bump into the local musician, a kind of wandering minstrel who goes around the neighbourhood playing at weddings. Both times, when asked for his name, he answers: Boņs. Bonifācijs Pāvulāns. The one other time when Boņs name appears in full is when he tells the reader that his friend Tancis has taught him how to write Bonifācijs Pāvulāns (p. 143).

Clearly, the occasions enumerated in the previous paragraph are perceived by Boņs to be somehow formal, unfamiliar or official. That in nearly all instances he starts off by giving the short, everyday version of his name shows that this is the name he is more used to in fact, this is the name his addresses would expect from a seven year-old. However, Boņs feels that when spoken to by adults he does not know very well, 'FN + LN' is somehow more appropriate for the purposes of identification.

The fact that the unabbreviated form of a first name is somehow linked with the world of adults is underscored elsewhere in the book. The reader learns from the seven year-old narrator himself (p. 18) that his aunt Malvīne prefers to call Tancis by his full first name: Tanclavs. We are told that this is her 'special' name for Tancis. The reader also learns that Malvīne and Tancis are more than just casual friends; the long form of Tancis's first name emphasizes the serious, adult side of his relationship with Malvīne. Much to Boņs's displeasure, his aunts refer to his other good friend Bibuks, using her unabbreviated name; for example, Zuze says (p. 102):

...every night Boņs goes to hear his girlfriend Brigita sing.

And Malvīne comments on one occasion (p. 99):

It's a bit silly of that Brigita to joke like that with the boy..

Boş's friend, Bibuks, also gets the unabbreviated first name address form [Brigita] from her wedding guests (pp. 267, 268)

Boş is the only one to use his full name. No one else, the padre, the shopkeeper and the musician included, use Boş's full name either as a referent or as a form of address. To do so when talking of or to a seven year old would seem ridiculous. When the padre chats to the boy (p. 49) he says Boş! In fact, the short version of Boş's name is used by everybody: his family, including his grandfather and his father's three sisters who all live in the same house, relatives whom Boş does not see all that often, family friends who are frequent visitors and his peers. Who then uses the other derived forms of the hero's name, mentioned earlier?

It is interesting to note that all twenty-five or so examples of these derived forms are in the Vocative case, thus showing that they are all used as forms of address. As noted on page 144, there are four 'diminutives' for Boş: Boşuk, Boşukin, Boşucin, Boşucik; three of them are 'double diminutives' which have been derived from Boşuk!, the most frequently used form; there are at least nineteen examples of it. In order to show what the special function of these name forms is, I shall begin by mentioning those characters in the book who *never* talk to Boş in this way.

These forms are never used by Tancis, the young man whom Boş considers a particularly good friend, because Tancis talks to him mostly as man to man. Neither are they used by Boş's older brother, nor by the two other children he plays with. They are not used by the two uncles who figure in the story. They are not used by the padre, the shopkeeper, the musician. That leaves Boş's parents, his grandfather, his paternal aunts and his 'girlfriend' Bibuks, the woman in her early twenties who lives nearby. On closer examination of the data, we find two situations where a derived form is used by Boş's grandfather (pp. 23, 103) and one where it used by his father (p. 39). In the remaining twenty-three or so situations, it is spoken by a woman.

On the basis of this evidence, it would not be wrong to say that it is women who tend to favour the -uk and other derived forms of a name when addressing a young

child with whom they have a close bond, either through friendship or through being related. This appears most markedly in the episode where Bons is greeted by his uncle Jezups and aunt Lidija, who rarely come to visit because they live a long way away. His uncle calls out: 'Bons!' while his aunt says: 'Bon... dear Bonuk!' (pp. 125-26) However women also use the name Bons, Bon! for the same young child. The derived name forms must then be something more than just a phenomenon of women's speech to young children. What do they mean? The following examples may prove enlightening.

Bons is on top of a hill in the snow, watching the lights go on in the little town below as it is getting darker and darker. His mother wants him to come inside; he can hear her calling (p. 13):

Yoo-hoo! Bonuk, Bonuk...where are you?

Some hours later, Bons's grandfather has returned from a hard day's wood-chopping in the forest. Bons asks about the shiny pearl of ice stuck in his grandfather's moustache. The grandfather tells him that the pearl is a thank you present from a squirrel. Bons wants to know more and the grandfather ends his short tale with the words (p. 23):

So you see, Bonuk, what you can get simply for wishing somebody well.

Another time (p. 103), asking him something that he knows is very personal and very important, Bons's grandfather says:

Bonuk...Bonuk, so you're pretty keen on that Bibuks?

One evening, a day or so later, Bons's father is reading the paper and Bons interrupts him with a question. His father gives a brief answer, which is corrected by Bons's older

brother Justs. Boņs is cross that Justs claims to know better than his father and shouts at him. His father, who wants to be able to read on in peace says (p. 39):

Don't shout, Boņuk....Justs is right.

One Saturday, before sunset, everyone is getting ready to assemble at the cross by the roadside for evening-prayers. His mother, says to Boņs (p. 69):

Boņuk, put your boots on, we are going...

On several occasions (pp. 30, 244, 245, 246), when his aunts ask Boņs not to tell anyone about some things he has overheard when the women have been chatting among themselves, they precede their request with Boņuk! Boņs's friend Bibuks, also precedes a request with this name form (p. 283):

Boņuk, come in, I've just stewed some apples. Let's have a taste.

And one day when, wrapping his arms around her knees, Boņs says that he wants to try to lift Bibuks up (p. 250), she says through her laughter:

Boņuk...Let go...You're tickling me...My knees, they're so ticklish...

By using the -uk form, the speaker is communicating particular warmth and closeness to the addressee. This is further illustrated by the one example with this suffix occurring on the name of an adult. One night Boņs can hear his young aunt talking in her sleep (p. 53):

Hey - y!... Tanci....Tančuk....Keep your hands to yourself!..

Sometimes, the -uk name is not felt to be warm or close enough; it is then that double diminutive forms are used. One evening in winter, Boņs is anticipating the arrival of Tancis, Bibuks and other friends who will be dropping in to pass the time. The boy is so excited that he goes outside to wait for them in the dark and as soon as he hears Bibuks's footsteps, shouts from a distance (p. 32):

Bibuk, I have been waiting for you!

and Bibuks answers with:

How good you are, Bonukin...

Boņs's uncle and aunt want him to give them his dog. Boņs naturally does not want to part with his four-legged friend. His aunt Lidija says (p. 129):

Let us have him, Bonucin!

After two of his aunts have come to Boņs and bribed him with sugar cubes to keep quiet about certain things he has heard them say about their prospective fiancés, the third aunt Zuze comes in with the same request and says (p. 246):

Bonuk, we all decided that you're not a bad sort after all...

to which Boņs answer is:

Did you bring any sugar?

and Zuze says:

No, Bonucin...I brought you that fob-watch chain that you liked so much...

Elsewhere, the main purpose of one particular visit from Bibuks is to invite Boņs to her wedding (p. 251). Bibuks knows that Boņs loves her with a passion only a seven-year old can have and is aware that Boņs will not like the news of her wedding which will take her away from him. Therefore, Bibuks precedes her invitation to Boņs with the double-diminutive used twice:

Bonucin! My dear little friend, come over here...Bonucin, you'll...

Even though the list of examples is short, it shows that the derived form of address can be used as a component in a variety of speech acts. It is significant that this form of address is used when the speaker wants the addressee to do something that will be good for the speaker. When addressed by a name that communicates good/warm feelings, the person is more likely to comply with what is asked. When the speaker (like Bibuks in the last example above) knows that the request is likely to be especially unpleasant for the addressee to hear, hence increasing the chance of a refusal, the double-diminutive 'softens the blow'. It has the same role in the negative response Zuze offers to Boņs's question about the sugar. Zuze knows that Bons is expecting a 'yes' and does not want to disappoint him; he might then refuse to do what she is about to ask him. (This 'mitigating' function of suffixed name forms is also discussed in Chapters 1 and 4 in this thesis.)

It is interesting to see what his parents and aunts call Boņs when they are cross with him. He is addressed as and referred to simply as puika 'boy' by his scolding mother (p. 138). His father (p. 141) silences him with: Gana! Pietiek! 'Stop it! That's enough!' One of his angry aunts uses the term bezkauna 'lit: one-without-shame' (p. 242). Another aunt shouts (p. 242):

Tādu bezdievīgu bērnu!

such-ACC godless-ACC child-ACC

What an abominable child!

The third aunt calls him a pig.⁷ Even the name form Bons is avoided, let alone the suffixed forms quoted earlier. Bad feelings and the derived name forms do not go together.

2.2. *Remarks on other pragmatic possibilities*

The preceding discussion of some personal names has served only as an introduction to some of the pragmatic possibilities of certain forms of expressive suffixes. As mentioned earlier, there are other forms and other possibilities and they are not by any means limited to the domain of personal names.

They extend to other proper nouns such as the names of towns and rivers; the main river Daugava is often assigned the suffix -iņa (rivers in Latvian are feminine) and called Daugaviņa; phrases such as Daugaviņa, māmulīņa 'Daugava-DIM mother-DIM' bear witness to the love Latvian fishermen have for this river (Zandbergs, 1991: 22). For the names of farms/homesteads, people often chose derived nouns with the 'good feelings' suffix (see Section 2.3.4.1. in this chapter); there is Bitītes 'Little bees' for example, and Plaviņas 'Little meadows'. In fact, examples will shortly show that this type of suffix is not limited to names of people and places, but can be assigned - as already stated - to most common nouns, adjectives, adverbs and a variety of fixed formulae featured in ordinary communicative interaction.

This does not mean that every one of these parts of speech occurs with the whole range of suffixes. Grammatical, semantic and pragmatic constraints determine the ways base forms combine with the various suffix forms. For example, Fennell and Gelsen (1980: 400-406; 487 ff) refer to morphophonemic constraints that determine

whether the diminutive of certain nouns will end in -inš/-ina or -it(i)s/-īte. The suffix -ele, for example, occurs only with nouns. The suffix -ēns occurs chiefly with common nouns denoting animals. The suffix -ene can combine with female first name or last name, but the resulting 'expressive' is only ever used as a referent.

Interesting lexical items have resulted from a blend of a borrowed base form plus a 'diminutive' suffix. The truncation of the French rendez-vous together with -inš has produced randinš which means 'a date, an appointment with a friend, usually of the opposite sex'. There is no base form *rands and no other term to express the concept present in randinš. Mademoiselle (Fr.) has become mamzele and together with -īte has produced mamzelīte.⁸ Occasionally, a borrowed term ends up looking like a 'diminutive' form, but is in fact nothing more than the closest Latvian phonetic approximation of the original word; meeting (Eng.) has produced mītiņš [mītiŋʃ] 'a political gathering, often of a militant nature' (cf. 'le meeting' in Fr.).

Expressions of greeting and leave-taking can have derived forms as well. Labrīt! 'Good morning!' becomes Labrītiņ! and Uz redzi! 'See you later!' becomes Uz redzīti! The meaning of these 'diminutive' forms will be discussed later.

Generally the addition of a suffix does not bring with it a change of grammatical category; nouns remain nouns, adjectives - adjectives, and so on. Occasionally however, the derived word ends up in a different category, as in the following two examples:

balts 'white'	Baltiņš 'Whitey' (name of pet rabbit)
brūns 'brown'	Brūnīte 'Brownie' (name of pet hen) ⁹

The Latvian system of expressive derivation may, on first acquaintance, appear of dubious usefulness to a native-speaker of English; after all, people in English manage to communicate successfully without such an apparently complex collection of forms. The fact is, there are cultures whose members feel the need to express feelings and attitudes to each other about many things much of the time. Smooth and satisfying

communicative interaction is not possible without me (the speaker) letting you (the addressee) know how I feel about a particular person, thing, state of affairs, whatever; expressive suffixes enable me to do this with lexical economy. For example, sentiments similar to those conveyed by the English phrase 'funny little' with reference to someone or something, can in Latvian be conveniently expressed by a suffix added on to the noun denoting the someone/something. Likewise, an attitude similar to that communicated by the phrase 'that rotten old' referring to so-and-so, is conveyed in Latvian by attaching a suffix to so-and-so's first or last name.

2.3. The four main groups of suffixes

In spite of their complexity, it is possible to state the meanings of the suffixed forms by identifying certain fairly specific contexts or situations where these forms occur most often. It is through these contexts or situations that the different forms of suffix acquire their meaning(s). For reasons that will become evident in the course of my analysis, I propose to discuss the suffix meanings under four main headings:

- 1 The forms -el(i)s/-ele
- 2 The forms -ene
- 3 The forms -ēns
- 4 The forms -inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte

As mentioned earlier, the language of my explications, will be an adapted version of Wierzbicka's NSM (= natural semantic language). This means that in proposing a set of semantic formulae to define the meaning(s) of a particular suffix, I shall be avoiding as far as possible, complex and culture-specific terms denoting feelings and attitudes. Instead, I shall be using a far simpler and more basic vocabulary.

2.3.1. The forms *-el(i)s/-ele*

MLLVG (pp. 93-95) lists four main areas of use for this suffix.¹⁰ Two of them are relevant to the present discussion. Briefly, with certain verbs and adjectives the suffix is used to derive names of persons (as opposed to names of things), 'agent nouns' which, says the grammar, usually have a 'pejorative' shade of meaning; I alluded to this earlier. Combining with nouns, the suffix produces 'diminutive' forms which can convey two seemingly opposite attitudes, as discussed below. Fennell and Gelsen (1980: 488), suggest that all diminutive forms with the suffix *-el(i)s/-ele* are 'pejorative'.

In addition to the examples listed earlier, here is a further table:

krog(u)s 'pub'	krodziņš	kroģelis
galva 'head'	galviņa	galvele
ķēve 'mare'	ķēvīte	ķēvele
sivēns 'piglet'	siven(t)īņš	siventel(i)s
māsa 'sister'	māsiņa	māšele
puisis '(big) boy'	puisītis	puišelis

Along with the idea of 'small', 'diminutives' ending in *-el(i)s/-ele*, continues the grammar, can express something else. Sometimes, they convey *nievājumu*, a derivation from the verb *nievāt* which means, roughly 'to scorn/belittle' and sometimes they convey *mīlinājumu*, derived from *mīļš* 'dear, loving' and meaning something like 'endearment'.

'Endearment' appears to be conveyed in derivations of personal names. A woman writing to her sister, for example, might start her letter with 'Dear Marele' instead of 'Dear Māra' which could be considered too impersonal. Sisters talking among themselves and referring to an absent sister can call her Terele, instead of Terēze 'Therese'. In the grammar's example *amatnieķelis*, a derivation of *amatnieks*

'tradesman', it is not difficult to see expressed something very much like 'scorn, belittlement'.¹¹

However, most examples of this group of 'diminutives' do not comfortably fall into either the 'endearment' or the 'scorn' category. For example, talking about a large family which is struggling to make ends meet, a person might say:

'Desmit bērneli, viens pats pelnītājs. Kā lai tos visus apgādaā?

ten children-DIM one self earner how may those all he-provide-for

Ten kiddies, one sole bread-winner. How can they all be provided for?

Joskiene, the dirty, ragged-looking beggar-woman in a short story of the same name (Jaunsudrabiņš, 1981: 52) wears a lakatels 'headscarf' as opposed to lakatiņš, also 'headscarf'. The word rati means a 'cart', but when it accompanies an adjective meaning something like 'pretty pathetic-looking' it can take the form rateli(pl.) (Brigadere, 1957: 91). The lakatels 'headscarf' and the rateli 'cart' show all the signs of poverty.

Moreover, the labels 'belittlement, scorn' and 'endearment' are also used by the grammar to describe some of the meanings of the two sets of forms discussed in Section 2.3.4. of this chapter. My hypothesis, therefore, is that the 'endearment' conveyed by -el(i)s/-ele is not the same 'endearment' as that present in the -inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte derivations; that the mechanisms conveying 'belittlement' and 'scorn' in both the -el(i)s/-ele words and those of Section 2.3.4. are probably different and that the degree of intensity of 'scorn' expressed by both groups of suffixes is probably different. The truth of the first part of my hypothesis is borne out to some extent by evidence in the next paragraph.

There is a semi autobiographical trilogy of short stories in which the heroine is mostly referred to and addressed as Annele (Brigadere, 1957). Annele is the youngest child of a peripatetic rural working-couple. The stories are about her growing up,

starting with her earliest childhood in the country and ending with her as a sixteen year-old high school student in the town of Jelgava. Her life dominated by hard work, the heroine sees herself as someone who is constantly thirsting for knowledge and understanding. Annele has a cousin whose first name, like hers, is Anna. This cousin, however, is called Ancīte. The only child of a well-off landowner couple, Ancīte has her own little pedigree lap-dog called Bižu (from: 'bijou' Fr). Unlike Annele, Ancīte has nice things to eat, spends much of her time playing and never gets into trouble.

The -ele and -īte contrast underscores the difference in character and background of the two Annas, both of about the same age. This is how Brigadere sums it up:

Annele heard now, that the Laukmaļu girl, who had the same name as her, was not called Annele, but Ancīte and that she had her very own dog, a lap-dog at that! That was really something posh and classy!¹²

In my data bank of about four hundred examples of the 'diminutive' suffix, just over one hundred examples end in -el(i)s/-ele. The largest number, about fifty, are used in reference to animals, children and things belonging to children. They include proper nouns, such as the name of Annele's dog Krančelis, the small boy Anšelis and the Jewish tailor's eleven year old son Joskelis (Brigadere, 1957: 295, 324 and 64 respectively), the infant boy Jānelis (Jaunsudrabiņš: no date: 98) and Bille's playmate Jančelis (Belševica, 1992: 58).

They include common nouns denoting persons, parts of the body - human and non-human, animals, items of clothing. The following example is a caption underneath a front-page photo in a newspaper:

Domājams, ka ikviens no šiem bšrnunama IMANTA bērneļiem labprāt atrastu vecākus

it-is-to-be-thought that everyone of these orphanage IMANTA children-DIM willingly would-find parents

Every one of these *little ones* from IMANTA orphanage would most probably love to find some parents¹³

Here are some more examples: roķeles 'hands/arms-DIM', kājeles 'legs-DIM', puišeli 'boys-DIM', austeles 'ears-DIM', ačteles 'eyes-DIM', gultele 'bed-DIM', šunelis 'dog-DIM', raģeli 'horns-DIM', aunelis 'ram-DIM', degunteli 'nose-DIM', vaigeli 'cheeks-DIM', zodelis 'chin-DIM', gotele 'cow-DIM', bikšeles 'trousers-DIM', grāmateles 'books-DIM', vanagelis 'hawk-DIM', vistele 'hen-DIM' and māšeles 'sisters-DIM'. In another example, a girl who is in a bad mood is called Mazais dadželis 'Little *thistle-DIM*' by her older sister.

However, as has been shown already elsewhere, including the paragraph on the Annele/Ancīte pair above and as will shortly emerge in the next few pages, this suffix is not the only one occurring in examples of nouns to do with children and animals. There must, therefore, be some meaning or set of meanings that it and no other 'diminutive' suffix can convey. These meanings become apparent when we examine the context of most of the -el(i)s/-ele nouns just mentioned and a group of others that have very little to do with the world of children and animals.

Aunelis 'ram-DIM' is the smallest of the flock and always loses in a fight.¹⁴ The three puišeli 'boys-DIM' singing a Christmas carol are 'in ragged clothing..their noses frozen [and] are standing at a dark, cold and unwelcoming door' (Janovskis, 1968: 136). The deguntelis 'nose-DIM' belonging to a 'sturdily built boy...with bulging calf's eyes' is 'snub and turned up at the end'.¹⁵ In one example the zodelis 'chin-DIM' mentioned by the author, belongs to a weeping twelve-year old girl (Klīdzējs, 1962: 121) in another, it belongs to a small baby whose mother is unhappy (ibid: 232). Similarly, the roķeles 'hands-DIM' are those of deceased Mare's brothers and sisters, wiping away their tears at her funeral (ibid: 154); roķeles 'arms-DIM' are also those of the small (probably about three-year old) Annele who is trying to put them around the trunk of a huge birch-tree (Brigadere, 1957: 26). Kājele 'little foot' belongs

to a baby-boy who, having thrown off his bed-clothes is sucking his big toe. (Kronberga, 1953: 35). Gultele 'bed-DIM' belongs to Bille, who together with her parents, lives in a cramped city apartment, where the sun hardly ever shines (Belševica, 1992: 57). The gotele 'cow-DIM' belonging to Aija is an 'old, red cow...that was probably twelve years old or more...in very bad condition'.¹⁶ The šunelis 'dog-DIM' who disappears from the room, has been scolded (Brigadere, 1957: 137). Little gypsy boys are wearing bikšeles 'trousers-DIM' that have come unhitched at the waist (Jaunsudrabiņš, 1981: 37).

In the examples just quoted, the persons/things with the -el(i)s/-ele suffix are described as presenting an aspect that is 'pathetic', 'poor', 'vulnerable', 'lacking something'. The same can be said of almost forty instances of the other large group of nouns used with this suffix, that is those which do not have to do with children or animals.

The būdeles 'sheds-DIM' in the small vegetable plots on the outskirts of Rīga are described as škības, noplukušas 'crooked, shabby' (Belševica, 1992: 78). The birch-trees growing in a purvelis 'marsh-DIM' look sick (ibid: 41). The uzvalķelis 'suit-DIM' Baigais wears to a particular function is 'the same crumpled [one] of indeterminate colour that he wore every day';¹⁷ his svārķelis 'jacket-DIM' is 'shabby with a split in the seam down the back'.¹⁸ Aija's apakšlindrakeli 'undershirts-DIM' are 'widely gaping at the side-seam' (Jaunsudrabins, no date: 116). A knife that is called naželis 'knife-DIM' is either 'old' (ibid: 180) or 'blunt' (Brigadere, 1957: 383). Kasteles 'crates-DIM' are made from old bits of wood (Putniņš, 1979:84), a grāmatele 'book-DIM' is 'worn around the edges' (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 18). The istabele 'room-DIM' inhabited by a refugee is in the roof and is cold (Janovskis, 1968: 116); a different istabele is the 'dreadfully small and narrow...next to the bath-room' student accommodation in an unpretentious boarding-house (Kārkliņš, 1962: 207). Mājele(s) and nameli(s) 'house(s)-DIM' and 'dwelling(s)-DIM' are either 'wooden' (Klīdzējs, 1962: 7) or 'low, small, old' (ibid: 121); they 'have burnt down' (Brigadere, 1957: 554); they do not have a care-taker/'concierge' (Kārkliņš, 1962: 288); they are like

Aija's house which has 'a bit of a hump and [are] leaning over towards the hillside as if in fear of rolling down'.¹⁹ A man who is called a virelis 'man-DIM' is either greizs 'crooked' (Dziļums, 1961: 267); or, as in Kārklīņš' novel Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons) is 'tiny, wrinkled...with equine teeth' (p.72), 'old...with a thin, greying beard' (p.229), 'of small build...with grey hair' (p.215); or looks 'nondescript' (p.261).

Another group of examples, suggest that the 'sad' or 'poor' element present in this set of suffixes, cannot be the same kind of 'sad' associated with truly tragic events, such as something very bad happening to a loved one or something loved; this impression is reinforced by the fact that -el(i)s/-ele never occur in truly tragic contexts. In such contexts, -inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte are used. There is something comical about each of the following short scenes from Brigadere's Trilogy (1957).

The small dog with its shiny ačteles 'eyes-DIM' is showing his teeth and trying to look fierce (p.136). Annele cannot stop laughing, when the young lamb 'attacks' the dog, trying to butt it with its raģeli 'horns-DIM' which are described as 'ridiculously tiny' (p. 297). Aukiene 'scolds...and pummels' her four small children, 'wrapped in shawls, thrown in a pile' who then kick and shriek like siventeli 'little piglets' (p. 409).

That the suffix -el(i)s/-ele appears to convey 'mixed feelings' emerges from the following short episode involving Annele and her dog, Krančelis. This is how Brigadere describes it:

When evening began to set in, there was an end to work. Annele could now run around outdoors. Outside, at the door, she was welcomed by her friend Krančelis with his one white laughing eye and his other black crying eye. He hurled his paws into her chest and her nose into her face, and Annele, gently catching hold of him by the ears so as not to hurt him, planted a kiss on his soft forehead.

"Krančeli, Krančeli, you will never grow up to be a Krancis" she said, feeling a mixture of love and pity for him.²⁰

For the phrase, 'feeling a mixture of love and pity' the Latvian text has *žēlodama*, the present participle of *žēlot* which means something like 'to feel love and pity/to show love and pity'.

But 'love' and 'pity' are language-specific labels and therefore not the best words for capturing the complex of feelings/attitudes present in *-el(i)s/-ele*. To capture the meaning of this suffix I therefore propose the following list in NSM of the semantic components it encapsulates:

-el(i)s/-ele used with animates or parts of animates

- (1) when I think about X I think something like this:
- (2) bad things could happen to X ('X is vulnerable')
- (3) I don't want this
- (4) I feel something bad when I think of this ('pity')
- (5) I want good things to happen to X ('love')

Initially, it seemed that two separate, but similar, formulae had to be proposed. One would be for animates and parts of animates with the components (2) and (4) above and the other for other things with the components (2) and (4) replaced with: 'bad things have happened to X' and 'I wanted good things to happen to X'. Upon further reflection, however, I realised that all *-el(i)s/-ele* derivations in my data could be accounted for with the one formula. The difference lies in the different things that 'motivate' (is there a better word?) the second component: 'bad things could happen to X'.

With small children, young animals, their body parts and things belonging to them, it is their 'smallness', as it is with the three-year old Annele trying to reach her arms around the trunk of a tree; with the older Annele it is the straitened circumstances of her family. With the *gotele* 'cow-DIM', it is her old age. With the other things, such as the garden-sheds, houses, the refugee's room, Baigais's suit and jacket, Aija's

petticoats, it is their very apparent poor condition and state of disrepair that makes them seem 'vulnerable'. The fact that one can so plainly see that 'something bad has happened to them' makes it seem likely that more 'bad things could happen to them'.

2.3.2. *The form '-ene'*

According to MLLVG (vol. 2: 95-102) this suffix, which is very productive in substantive derivation, is 'pejorative' (MLLVG, vol. 2: 98) in a number of derivations from female animal nouns, such as: kēvene 'mare-PEJ', cūcene 'pig-PEJ', vistene 'hen-PEJ', gotene 'cow-PEJ'. In addition to these words, the dictionary ascribes a similar function to -ene in vecene 'old woman-PEJ' where the suffix conveys a bezcienas attieksme roughly, 'disrespectful attitude' towards the referent or addressee.

Other data confirms that the 'pejorative' function evident in the small group of derivations of female nouns has been transferred to -ene derivations of female names (both FN and LN) or their truncations. When I refer to 'X' by calling her 'X-ene', I am saying, roughly speaking, 'X, I do not like her'. For example, during the 1950s in one of the Latvian schools in Australia there were two female teachers, who at a particular time became unpopular with a group of students at the school; consequently, for a time, the students referred to them as Ausmene 'Ausma + ene' [FN + -ene] and Ritene 'Ritums (minus -ums) + ene' [truncated LN + ene]. At about the same time, there was also a youth-group worker whose charges, when cross, called her Skalbene 'Skalbe + ene' [LN + ene]. Through a personal communication many years later, I was to discover that in Latvija, school-students who disliked a particular female teacher would refer to her as 'teacher's name + ene' long before Latvian schools existed in Australia.

That the 'name + ene' combinations were never used in conversation with adults, nor occurred when their referents were within ear-shot, means that they meant 'something bad'. To conclude from this that '-ene' with its unpleasant connotations

when referring to females is restricted to the way(s) of speaking of young people, would be wrong. Consider, for example, this description of two women, Pēterene and Tēvene in Janševskis' novel Dzimtene (Land of my birth):

One was approaching middle-age, thin and rather tall, the other - a bit younger - was fatter and shorter than the first. The taller one had thrown over her shoulders a threadbare shawl which kept slipping as she ran, one corner of it dragging along the ground; on her feet she had wooden clogs...The shorter one too, in her haste, had not bothered to adjust her clothes: she had grabbed a headscarf, but hadn't had time to tie it on. Her uncombed, tousled hair was going in all directions and getting messed up in the wind. One of her slippers had come off, she held it in her hand, running unshod.²¹

Consider as well, a few short details from a description of one of the women in Brigadere's trilogy (1957: 92 ff); she is a church pauper, called Knābene [knābis 'beak'], not her real name:

'Par Knābeni (ACC) viņu sauca tāpēc, ka viņai bij liels, uz āru izliekts deguns kā putna knābis...lielas melnas acis un zods bij apaudzis...

She was called Knābene because she had a big nose curved like the beak of a bird...big black eyes and a hairy chin...

If anyone upsets her, Knābene is quick to let them have it with her sharp tongue, glaring fiercely and threatening them with her stick (p. 93).

Contrast this with the impression created by a brief reference to another of the church's paupers from the same book, an old man with a wooden leg called Bungātiņš [bungāt 'to knock, to tap']. A veteran from a war with the Turks, Bungātiņš is always

cheerful in spite of his disability. His greetings are warm (p. 94) and jolly (p. 167); and when his fellow paupers speak crossly to him, his cheerful response is:

Why be angry, my dear little ones, everything on God's dear earth is good.²²

The substantive vecene 'old woman' derived from the adjective veca 'old' is used in contexts where English would probably have something like 'old hag/bag'. Plaska, a witch in disguise, in one of Brigadere's plays (1951: 14) shouts angrily to a little old woman:

Nost no kājām ! Kas tā par *veceni* ?

away from feet what that for *old-woman*

Out of my way ! Who's that old hag ?

In the same play (p. 11), the spoilt, lazy and thoroughly unpleasant young woman Paija, summons attention with:

Uhū ! Sievas ! Meitas ! *Vecenes* !

Hey there! Women ! Wenches ! *Hags* !

In other derivations used as referents to women, -ene also adds 'something bad'. For example, rudzene (from rudzi 'rye') means something like 'a young woman of easy virtue' (p.c.) Vācene 'a German (f.)', as opposed to vāciete 'a German (f.)', conveys the message 'a German woman, I do not like Germans.'²³

However, I think that there is more than just 'dislike' in this suffix. When for example, the speaker refers to a young woman as frizierene 'hairdresser-ENE' instead of using friziere, the standard term for a female hairdresser, he is conveying something

closer to 'scorn', as does the speaker in the following extract from a novel (Klīdzējs, 1962: 75):

...viņam te bija tāda kā sieva. Kāda frizierene.

...to-him here was something like wife. Some hairdresser-ENE

...he had a sort of a wife. Some hairdresser or other.

The speaker in one of Brigadere's short stories (1957: 155) expresses a similar attitude when referring to a young German woman:

...Ko tu viņu [Anneli] dzini ar to *vācieteni* ?

...Why you her [Annele] drove with that *German-woman-ENE*

..Why did you make her go with that bad German woman ?

In the light of all these examples, it is plain that, when referring to a woman, the suffix *-ene* has a 'pejorative' meaning; it conveys 'dislike', 'disrespect' and 'scorn'. All this can, I think, be expressed more clearly and succinctly in the following way:

-'ene', referring to a woman

- (1) when I think about X I think something like this:
- (2) I cannot think good things about X
- (3) because of this I would not want to say things to her
- (4) because of this I would not want to do things with her

For component (2) there can be different motivations. The teacher whom I refer to as 'X + ene' has given me a bad mark in class, the youth-leader is making me do things I do not want to do. The German woman referred to as 'German + ene' is the victim of

politically-based prejudice. Tēvene and Pēterene are well-known in the community for their scandal-mongering. Components (3) and (4) spell out the attitude 'I do not like' in no uncertain terms. On reflection, from an earlier outline of the semantic components, I decided to exclude the component 'Because of this I would not want to be with her' as an exponent of 'I do not like', since it is already present in component (4).

Everyday social interaction shows that alongside the 'pejorative' -ene there is another expressive -ene which appears to function above all as a mark of 'ingroupness'. This second group of derivations consists of words associated with schooling, young people's dress and leisure activities. That numerous examples of these -ene words feature in Latviešu žargona vārdnīca (Dictionary of Latvian slang) (Mirovics and Dubaus, 1990) points to the fact that they belong to a non-standard variety of Latvian. Furthermore, that a number of them can be found as a regular feature in Draugs (Friend), a periodical published in Latvija mainly for adolescents, shows that they belong largely (though not exclusively) to the ways of speaking of young Latvians. Here are some examples:

<u>dzimšanas dienas viesības</u> 'birthday party'	dzimene
<u>angļu valodas stunda</u> 'English lesson'	anglene
<u>konservatorija</u> 'conservatory of music'	končene ²⁴
<u>latīņu valodas stunda</u> 'latin lesson'	latene
<u>literatūras stunda</u> 'literature lesson'	litene
<u>alģebras stunda</u> 'algebra lesson'	alģene/alene
<u>grāmata</u> 'book'	graķene
<u>bibliotēka</u> 'library'	biblene
<u>futbols</u> 'football(game)'	futene
<u>galda teniss</u> 'ping-pong'	piņķene
<u>diskotēka</u> 'disco(theque)'	disene

<u>frizūra</u> 'hair-style'	frisene/fricene
	pricene
<u>panku tipa frizūra</u> 'punk hair-style'	pancene
<u>multiplikācijas filma</u> 'cartoon'	multene
<u>filma</u> 'film'	filene
<u>fotogrāfija</u> 'photo'	focene

This list should perhaps not include the word multene 'cartoon', since this has become the accepted term for 'animated film' in both spoken and written Latvian in Latvija, as I was able to observe personally.

Almost all of the derivations on the right have resulted from -ene combining with an abbreviated form of the words and phrases on the left. Featuring in conversational exchanges between like-minded young Latvians they are perceived as conveying 'informality', 'good humour', 'solidarity' and even 'anti-intellectualism' (as in končene, latene, litene, for example). In this respect, they are not unlike the Anglo-Australian truncations of standard nouns or noun-phrases combined with the suffix '-ie' (or '-y') or '-o' as for example in: *footy* [football], *tenno* [tennis, tennis-ball], *ciggies* [cigarettes], *afro* ['African': a very curly permed hairstyle] *combo* ['combination', as in the 'cut and colour combo' advertised by a hairdresser], *compo* ['composition': a type of English exercise in primary schools; or 'worker's compensation'], *rego* [car registration].²⁵

The -ene occurring in vocabulary used primarily by young Latvians to young Latvians provides the users with a means for expressing an attitude with the following semantic components:

'-ene' as part of the lexicon of young Latvians

- (1) when I think about X I think something like this:
- (2) people think about X as a big thing
- (3) I do not want to think of X as a big thing

(4) I know you think the same

The kind of 'informality, jocular cynicism and knocking things down to size', that have been identified as Anglo-Australian cultural values,²⁶ appear to exist in adolescent Latvian peer-groups as well.

2.3.3. *The form '-ēns'*

There is a group of animal nouns where the suffix means 'young' or 'young of' as in the following examples:

kaķis 'cat'	kaķēns 'kitten'
pīle 'duck'	pīlēns 'duckling, young duck'
teļš 'calf'	telēns 'young calf'
pele 'mouse'	pelēns 'baby mouse'
zvērs 'wild animal'	zvērēns 'young wild animal'
putns 'bird'	putnēns 'baby-bird, young bird'

There may be some expressive semantic components in these derivations, in so far as young (and therefore usually little) animals are commonly thought of as inspiring good feelings. However, it is primarily when these derived animal nouns are used in speaking to or of a child that *-ēns* acquires an expressive function; MLLVG (vol. 1: 109) cites seven such derivations. Two short examples from literature will illustrate their use.

In Klīdzējs' novel (1956: 240) one of the women says of her seven year-old nephew Boņs:

Ko tāds *telēns* var redzēt vai saprast?

Addendum p. 169

After line 7, insert:

- (4) Because of this I feel towards him something of the kind one feels towards
young animals

what such-a *young calf* can see or understand

What can such a dumb little creature see or understand?

In this context, telēns means something like this:

telēns 'young calf' (referring to a child)

- (1) when I think of this child, I think this:
- (2) he cannot know much ['dumb']
- (3) he does things that a young calf does ['little creature']

In the same novel, another of Boņs's aunts, Anna, profoundly embarrassed by something her nephew has just blurted out for all to hear, refers to the ill-mannered behaviour of sivēni 'lit: piglets, young pigs' before leaving the room and slamming the door (p. 242). Her comment implies that Boņs's behaviour is no better than that of a young pig. Used in this way, sivēns means:

sivēns 'young pig' (referring to a child)

- (1) when I think of this child, I think this:
- (2) he has done something bad of the kind a young pig could do
- (3) because of this I feel something bad towards him

There are very few examples of the expressive -ēns combining with inanimate nouns; MLLVG gives four, including mētelēns 'overcoat-SUFF' which also features in my data. My hypothesis is that the function of -ēns in inanimate noun derivations is probably similar to that of -elis (see Section 2.3.1.); it appears so from a comparison of the two derived forms: 'overcoat-ĒNS' and 'overcoat-ĪTS'. In one of Belševica's short stories (1992), mētelēns 'overcoat-ĒNS' belongs to Bille. Bille's mētelēns is 'last year's' and consequently well-worn and probably too small for her; in stark contrast

with it, is the brand-new, light-coloured mētelīts 'overcoat-ĪTS' of her friend Valtrauta (Belševica, 1992: 211).

2.3.4. The forms -inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte

Of the expressive suffixes, this group are the most versatile in terms of both combinability and range of use to convey what appears as a considerable variety of meanings. These suffixes can combine with proper nouns, nouns denoting persons and non-persons, animates and inanimates, adjectives, adverbs, and certain fixed expressions used in speech acts such as 'greeting' and 'farewelling'. As mentioned earlier, whether a particular word has an -inš/-ina or an -īt(i)s/-īte suffix is nearly always determined morphophonemically. There is a small number of personal names and concrete nouns, including the following examples, that can take either suffix: Anna, Māra, Daina, kaste 'box', karte 'card, map', zvaigzne 'star' and kamols 'ball (of wool, string)'; these point to the possibility of there being one (or more) semantic component(s) specific to -inš/-ina group and a different one (or more) specific to the -īt(i)s/-īte group. Nevertheless, given the very small number of these 'bi-valent' derivations, for the purposes of the present analysis I will assume that there are no semantic components that are the exclusive property of either the -inš pair or the -īt(i)s pair.

The range of use of this suffix group is broad: they can be used to express both negative and positive feelings/attitudes; they can be used to praise and to put down, to convey 'cordiality, affection, gentleness' and 'sarcasm, belittlement, mockery'.²⁷ They can be used to make light of a serious matter, to express friendliness, to ensure that people will do something you want them to do, to make people feel good. They also occur in a number of fixed phrases/expressions that are used to communicate a particularly strong feeling/attitude towards or about someone or something; expressions that, for example, correspond roughly to 'Heavens above!' or 'My goodness!'

These so-called 'diminutive' suffixes have what may be termed a purely 'literal/lexicalized' meaning. There are derivations where the suffix simply means 'small' with nothing expressive about it. Derivations of this kind can be called diminutives in the true sense of the word and often are entered as separate items in a dictionary.

While for Latvian-speakers dakša is a 'pitch-fork' or a 'garden-fork', one uses a dakšina 'fork-DIM' to eat.²⁸ People read a grāmata 'book', but when they travel, their most important document is a pases grāmatiņa 'passport' [lit: book-DIM of pass] and for a bank account they have a bankas grāmatiņa 'pass book' or 'bank book' [lit: book-DIM of bank].²⁹ To use the non-diminutive words would sound ridiculous. Similarly, if someone is buying a 'bottle' of milk or lemonade, the container is called pudele, but if one is after some ink, perfume or nail polish, the container has to be called pudelīte 'bottle-DIM'. The piece of furniture one eats off in the dining-room is galds 'table' or ēdamgalds 'dining-table'; a much smaller and lower version of the same thing in the living room is called a kafijas galdiņš 'coffee-table' [lit: table-DIM of coffee]; an even smaller version of something very similar that is often found next to one's bed is a naktsgaldiņš 'night-table' or 'bedside table' [lit: table-DIM of night]. When referring to, say, the eyes of a cow or a horse, the word used is acis 'eyes'; when, on the other hand, the speaker is talking about the eyes of, say, a mouse or a hen, the diminutive actiņas 'eyes-DIM.' is normally used.

As well as the non-expressive meaning, the group 4 suffixes -iņš/-iņa; -īt(i)s/-īte can have a range of 'expressive' meanings which is the focus of the present discussion; I propose to discuss these under the following sub-headings:

- (i) expressing 'good-feelings'
- (ii) expressing 'intense feelings'
- (iii) talking about 'childish' things
- (iv) expressivity as 'intensifying' in adverbs and adverbials
- (v) expressivity as a dissimulating device

2.3.4.1. *Expressing 'good-feelings'*

There are examples of derivations where the suffix meaning 'small' is used not because the particular thing referred to is seen as a small version of something, but because the speaker wants it to be *thought of* as 'small' or 'of little significance' by the addressee. Sales-assistants in Rīga in 1992, when asked about the price of goods, would typically respond with something like *Divsimts rublīši* 'Two hundred *roubles-DIM*'. Here the role of the diminutive is similar to that of the word 'only' in Anglo-Australian advertising messages of the kind 'only one hundred and ninety-nine dollars'. Both the suffix in *rublīši* in the Latvian utterance and the word 'only' in the Anglo-Australian advertisement are saying something like 'I want you to think of it as something small.'

But the *-īši* in *rublīši* has a semantic component that 'only' does not have. We saw earlier, that 'smallness' can be expressed by other groups of suffixes. That the speaker of the utterance with the word *rublīši* has 'chosen' to use a suffix from this group rather than from any of the others, is because s/he wants to express feelings/attitudes for which *-inš/-ina; -īt(is)/-īte* are much better vehicles than *-el(i)s/-ele; -ene; or -ēns*. Unlike other expressive suffixes, *-inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte* are extensively used linguistic devices to convey positive feelings and attitudes.

One can think of any number of contexts/situations where people would want to communicate good feelings. The scope of this work is not broad enough to consider all of them. Evidence from the data I have been able to collect shows that in person-to-person communication, certain speech acts, such as uttering a 'directive', a 'compliment' or a formula used in greeting, occur with at least one element of the utterance in the 'diminutive'. In examples of 'mediated interaction' (Mathiot, 1978: 218) some contexts/areas of language use have a higher incidence of examples of affective derivation than others. By referring to various examples of use, I propose to show that communicating 'good feelings' is probably the most common function of this

group of suffixes. Good feelings can be conveyed in other ways too - linguistic and non-linguistic - the suffixes seem to be a particularly economical way of doing it.

In ordinary day-to-day social interaction, 'directive' utterances frequently contain at least one example of a 'diminutive'. Two strategies are used. The first involves getting across the message 'I want you to do something-DIM', while the second communicates 'I want you-DIM to do something'. I note, in passing, that similar strategies have been observed in Russian by Volek (1987), in Greek by Sifianou (1992) and in Bengali and Japanese by Khan (1986).

The first of these I was able to observe in Rīga in October 1992 in the Science Academy foyer. In order to gain admittance, users of the Academy had to show their *caurlaides* 'passes' at the main entrance. I overheard the lady at the door ask a young man:

Kur jums *caurlaidīte* ?

where to-you-pl. *pass-DIM*

Where's your pass?

Also in Rīga, when a shop-assistant in a book-store had run out of change, she asked me:

Vai jums būtu viens *rublītis* ?

qn-marker to-you-pl. would-be one *rouble-DIM*

Would you by any chance have a rouble ?

In one of Kļāuka's short stories (1965: 98), one of the guests at a dinner-party says to a fellow-guest:

Addendum p. 174

Above line 7 from the bottom of the page, insert:

There are two things to note concerning the DIM forms in the directive contexts quoted on pp. 173-174. Firstly, these forms can occur in non-directive contexts as well. Secondly, they are not (semi)-lexicalised expressions. For example, the caurlaidīte 'lit:pass-DIM' requested in the Academy example on p. 173 can be referred to as caurlaide 'pass', that is, without the diminutive suffix. I was able to observe it used this way in 1992 by the stern doorman at one of Rīga's better hotels; everyone who came in through the doors was greeted with a stern Kur jums caurlaide ? 'Where's your pass?'

Vai es varētu palūgt *gabaliņu* laša ?

qn-marker I could ask-for *piece-DIM* of-salmon

Could I trouble you for a piece of salmon ?

The little old lady in Klīdzējs' novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*) who sells flowers in the summer, in the winter (1962: 166) exhorts people to buy bunches of pine-tree branches with:

Pērciet *skujiņas!*...

buy-pl. *pine-needles-DIM*

Buy my bunches of pine!

The Latvian telephone utterance that roughly corresponds to 'Could I please speak to so-and-so?' gets the response:

Vienu momentīņu!

one *moment-DIM*

Just a moment, please.³⁰

The main message in all these utterances is 'I want you to do something good for me'. The utterance with 'buy' may seem to contradict this assertion; 'buy' being commonly perceived as a message that says 'I want you to do X, it is good for you'. However, in the little old lady's use of 'buy', while the 'it is good for you' component is present, the 'it is good for me', I think, dominates; she is anxious to sell her last four bunches because it is already getting dark on Christmas Eve, the last day that people will buy them.

Because the speaker wants to ensure that the addressee will comply with her/his want, s/he does two things: a) presents the want and b) communicates good feelings; both are achieved via the diminutive. Thus the diminutive suffix in the 'request' utterances above is crucial to conveying the total message which goes something like this:

non-addressee diminutive in 'requests'

- (1) I want you to do something ['show', 'give', 'buy', 'wait']
- (2) it will be good for me
- (3) I think of it as something small ['pass-DIM', 'rouble-DIM', 'piece-DIM', 'pine-needles-DIM', 'moment-DIM']
- (4) when people think of things in this way they feel something good
- (5) I want you to feel something like this

The 'I want you-DIM to do something' strategy of 'directing' was illustrated earlier with examples of 'requests' introduced by Boņuk, Boņukin. With the expressive suffix used this way, the speaker says: 'I want you to know that I feel something good towards you', thus ensuring that the 'request' will be carried out. The head of the household in Jaunsudrabiņš' novel Aija (no date: 83) uses it to the young maid-servant:

Aijiņ! - saslauki tagad palodzi...

Aija-DIM sweep-up now the window-sill

Aija dear, sweep up what's on the window-sill...

The narrator's comment (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 83) on this use of derived address forms, clearly spells out the illocutionary force of this kind of 'diminutive' address in 'requests' :

terms of endearment in the mouth of a master or head of a household were a rather dangerous weapon. They sometimes can wear a person out more than the whip does. This kind of little word...can make brooms sweep, turn a walking-pace into a gallop, and even sometimes calm a tongue itching to say something. As I was to see in later life, with this little word, human beings exploit each other in the completest way.

In NSM, the semantic formula of 'requests' where the addressee is 'diminutivized' can be represented as follows:

addressee diminutive in 'requests'

- (1) I want you to do something
- (2) it will be good for me
- (3) I think of you as someone small
- (4) when people think of other people in this way they feel something good
- (5) I want you to feel something like this

Examples in literature attest to the fact that wandering gypsy-women are especially adept at manipulating people via this group of affective suffixes used both in 'requests' and in 'compliments'. As they go from farm to farm, begging for hand-outs, their fairly rigidly structured *modus operandi* has been described as follows. They begin by saying good things about the farm and/or its inhabitants; Annele, a young girl in one of Brigadere's short stories (1957: 117), is the target of the following list of attributes:

Ai, ai! Zelta *matiņi*, dimanta *actiņas*, rožu *vaidziņi*...

oh oh golden *hair-DIM*, diamond *eyes-DIM*, of-roses *cheeks DIM*

Oh, the golden hair, the daimond-sparkling eyes, the rosy cheeks....

Then comes the begging. In a short story by a different author (Jaunsudrabiņš, 1981: 37), a grandmother is approached like this:

Bet, mīļā *memmīt*, kad nu tu tik žēlīga esi...tad iesien *lupatiņā* arī kādu *karotīti* sviesta. Es vārīšu *bērniņiem* ...

but dear *mother-DIM*, when now you-sg. so merciful are-sg...then tie-into *rag-DIM* also some *spoon-DIM* of-butter I will-cook for-*children-DIM*..

But, darling mother, seeing that you are so kind... do wrap a spoonful or two of butter in the cloth [which already contains kibbled barley for barley porridge]. I'll cook my little ones some....

If in spite of their profuse display of good feelings the gypsies are met with a refusal, curses of the kind quoted elsewhere in this work (see Section 2.1. in Chapter 1) come thick and fast; with 'diminutives' conspicuous by their absence.

In a communication between superior and inferior, such as a phone conversation between a male departmental head and a female member of the ancillary staff at a university, 'exploit' would be far too strong a term when referring to the use of the diminutive personal name. Rather, it would seem to be a matter of re-affirming relative status between interactants. In 1992 in a departmental office of the Latvian University in Riga, the head was heard addressing a female secretary/administrator over the phone as 'FN + DIM'; while transmitting to the secretary the message 'I feel something good towards you', he was also communicating something else.

This was confirmed during a short informal interview with the same head about the 'targets' of the 'diminutive' FN address in the university office context. It transpired that a male would most probably not get 'FN + DIM' address. Nor would the

departmental head receive 'FN + DIM' address from his staff. Given that children routinely get 'FN + DIM' address, it seems reasonable then to posit that 'FN + DIM' address to ancillary staff has the bi-partite message:

I feel something good towards you

I can speak to you the way people speak to a small child or to someone they know well.

In this sense, female 'FN + DIM' address received from a superior in Latvian is not unlike the 'dear' and 'love' women get from their superiors in English (cf. Wolfson and Manes, 1982).

Manifestations of very good feelings are present in derivations of fixed formulae used to greet and farewell:

<u>Base form</u>	<u>Expressive form</u>	<u>English gloss</u>
Labrīt!	Labrītiņ!	Good-morning !
Labdien!	Labdieniņ!	lit: Good-day!
Labvakar !	Labvakariņ!	Good-evening !
Visu labu !	Visu labiņu!	Bye (for now) !
Uz redzi !	Uz redzīti!	See you (later) !

Speakers who want to show bad feelings, either abbreviate the base form as does Kantains in Skalbe's short story when he says Brīt! 'Morning!', and Jānis when he responds to the Notary's Labvakar! 'Good-evening!' with Bvakar 'Evening!'; or they can leave out the greeting formula altogether (see more on this in Chapter 2, Section 1.3.).

In situations of delayed communication, derived forms are a vehicle for feelings in lighthearted, sometimes romantic songs and poetry, such as Mīlestība (Love), a poem by Poruks (Alainis, no date: 36):

Aizver *actiņas* un smaidi...

Close your *eyes -DIM* and smile...

By using the suffix with the word *acis* 'eyes' the speaker/poet/singer is saying something like 'your dear little eyes'. Similarly, in a song about being in love, sung to the rhythm of a quick waltz, the pretty young woman is called a *Meldermeitiņa* 'miller's dear little daughter' (Zandbergs, 1991: 226).

As a contrast, there is a popular song where the author expresses her/his sadness at the fact that the time of youth and the time of being in love are over (Zandbergs, 1992: 88). The song has the following refrain:

Trīs vītušas rozes un mazs smaidošs foto,

Tas viss kas no laimes man sirdī vēl stāv.

Three withered roses and a small smiling photo,

That is all that remains of happiness in my heart.

A 'diminutive' derivation in this quatrain would have been discordant; it would have spoiled the mood which is not that of feeling something good.

Drinking songs sometimes begin with an invitation where the addressee is labelled with a suffixed form (Zandbergs, 1992: 97, 270):

Iedzer, *brālīt* '...

have a drink *brother-DIM*,

Iemet, *papiņ!*...

Throw (it) in, *daddy !....*

The prospective sharing a drink with someone, establishes a bond between the speaker and addressee and there is the anticipation of something pleasurable. The word *alus* 'beer' becomes in drinking songs *alutiņš* 'beer-DIM'; and there are drinking songs where suffixed forms proliferate, such as in the following extract:

Tur es dzēru, tur man tika,

Tai mazā *krodziņā*.

Tur *soliņš* bij' kur apsēsties,

Un *mietiņš* bij' kur zirgu siet.

I enjoyed drinking there, in that *little pub*.

There was a *little bench* to sit on, a *little post* to tie one's horse to.

The second couplet is the refrain and is repeated after every verse.³¹

Nowhere near as frequent as in light-hearted, humorous songs and poems, the Latvian 'diminutive' nevertheless is not totally incompatible with sad songs or poems. In the refrain to a song about a loved-one who never comes back, the soldier leaving for war asks his sweetheart (Zandbergs, 1991: 52):

Kādēļ *actiņās* mirdz tev asaras?

why *in-eyes-DIM* shine to-you-sg. tears

Why are there tears shining in your darling eyes?

As the only derived form in the whole four quatrains, *actiņās* acquires a particular poignancy. Similarly, in a somewhat longer song about a soldier who does not come back to his girl (Zandbergs, 1991: 48), the only 'diminutive' is in the following quatrain:

Mežmalā stāv kapu *kopiņa*,

Nepuškota, viena atstāta.

Tikai balta roze uz tās zied:

Balta roze viņam visur līdzī iet.

At the edge of a forest is a *grave-DIM*,

Unadorned, neglected.

Only a white rose is blooming on it:

The white rose goes everywhere with him.

The sadness in such songs and poetry is, however, not a serious sadness; it is more of a transient/transitory sentimental sadness that Latvians like to indulge in when they sing about the passing of one's youth, saying goodbye, remembering one's childhood and one's homeland. Serious, solemn sentiments in song or verse are not compatible with *-inš/-iņa; -īt(i)s/-īte* forms.

An anthology of well over two hundred pages containing over sixty poems has only about six examples of expressive suffixation; most of them in one poem. This is because in *Mana Rīga (My Rīga)*, Aleksandrs Čaks (1961) writes mostly about the kind of life that is not commonly thought of as endearing. His is the world seen by a poet who lives in a cold, bleak attic with a bare light-bulb swinging from the ceiling and furniture consisting of a few old crates. The people who inhabit this world are the chimney-sweep, the old lady who sells newspapers and magazines in a kiosk on a street-corner, the drunk, the sailor without a home, people who for one reason or another dwell on the fringes of society, often on city outskirts or near the port.

Similarly, suffixed endearment forms are conspicuous by their absence in *Lāsts (Malediction)* and *Audiet mani karogā sarkanbaltisarkanā (Weave me into the red-white-red flag)*. Both books are collections of poetry by Andrejs Eglītis (1961; 1972) and contain the themes of slavery in an occupied land, war, exile, patriotism and suffering.

These themes, as those of Aleksandrs Čaks' poetry, are somehow incompatible with the use of suffixed endearment forms.

The frequency of these forms is especially noticeable in the Dainas, [= folksongs] (cf. Viķis-Freibergs, 1973: 31 ff). The word for 'sun' appears far more frequently in its suffixed form saulīte than in its base form saule. It is thought of as something lovable and precious in the same way one's mother is thought of as lovable and precious, as in the following quatrain:

Saulīt' silta, māmiņ' jauka,

Abas vienu mīļumiņu.

Saulīt' silta sildīties,

Māmiņ' jauka parunāt'.

The warm sun-DIM pleasant mother-DIM,

Both of the same lovingness-DIM

You can warm yourself in the warm sun-DIM

Mother-DIM is pleasant to chat to.

That the sun should be regarded with particular affection is not surprising in a country where for more than half the year the temperatures are freezing and a thick layer of snow covers the ground.

Affection is expressed in the following lines (Viķis-Freibergs, 1971: 32):

Ai tēvu zemīte,

Tavu jaukumiņu,

Smildziņa ziedēja,

Sudraba ziediem.

Oh land-DIM of my fathers,

Your *beauty-DIM* ,
 The *grass-DIM* blossomed,
 With silvery flowers.

The speaker is aware of the beauty of her/his fatherland and the things that grow there. And this theme is not incompatible with the use of endearment suffixes.

These suffixes are so frequent in the Dainas, that it has been said that their main function is to add a convenient syllable or two as required by the metric pattern of a line (Vīķis-Freibergs, 1973: 39) This may be partly true, but there are cases where a suffixed word will have the required number of syllables, yet the author chooses not to use it. One quatrain (Endzelīns, 1928, 3: 534) begins with a question about who it is that has been singing in the dark night; the reply is:

Tie ir visi *bāra bērni*,
 Bargu kungu klausītaj'.

Those are all the *orphan-children*,
 Servants of cruel masters.

The word barenīši 'orphans-DIM' (-īši is the NOM pl. m. of -īt(i)s) would have fitted metrically and meant much the same, but it would have added something else that the speaker did not want. Barenīši would have conveyed something like 'When I think of them, I feel something good' which would have been incompatible with the line 'Servants of cruel masters'. The fate of the 'orphan-children' is hardly one to inspire good feelings.

In a similar way, I do not think it was purely a question of prosody that prompted the base/unsuffixed forms italicised in the following quatrain (Endzelīns, 1928, 10: 236):

Karavīri bēdājās,
 Asiņaina *gaisma* aust.
 Nebēdājiet karavīri,
 Sidrabota *saule* lec.

The soldiers were grieving,
 The dawning *light* is blood-red,
 Stop grieving soldiers,
 Silver-coloured the *sun* is rising.

Because it is so common in the Dainas to refer to both sun and light in an affectionate way by using the 'diminutives', the non-diminutive forms are used in a context that has to do with the speaker 'feeling something bad'. The soldiers know that the approaching dawn is bringing them closer to the hour of battle. Thoughts of a positive outcome, symbolized here by the dawn of the silvery sun, are of little comfort, since the price paid for victory will be high.

A Latvian-speaker's description of a group tour through Latvija (broadcast on 2XX in Canberra in October 1990) provides further evidence that the 'diminutive' forms under present discussion communicate 'good feelings' or even 'especially good feelings'. Good feelings towards nature are shown in the following two extracts. In the first, the author describes a wooded park which provides welcome rest from urban hustle and bustle:

Te meža *zemenītes*, *bruklenītes*, dažādas *sēnītes*, *sūniņas*.

Here [grew] wild *strawberries-DIM*, *bay-berries-DIM*. different kinds of *mushrooms-DIM*, *mosses-DIM*

Elsewhere, he climbs an observation tower in a forest and savours the peace:

Pēc brīža, *stirniņa* bailīgi izlien no meža un ganās zaļā *zālītē*.

After a while, a *fawn-DIM* timidly emerges from the trees and browses in the green *grass-DIM*

Good-feelings are expressed about staying with *radiņi* 'relatives-DIM' in their apartment which the author describes as follows:

...divas *istabiņas*, *virtuvīte*...Virtuve...*skapīši*, *galdiņš*, *krēsliņi* - viss ļoti labi izdomāts un ērti sakārtots.

...two *rooms-DIM*, *kitchen-DIM*. In the kitchen...*cupboards-DIM*, *table-DIM*, *chairs-DIM*, - everything well-planned and comfortably arranged.

A visit with seldom seen relatives produces the following:

Mīļi, jauki. Pa dienu izludinājamies mazā *lidmašīniņā* apskatīt...

Warm and friendly, very enjoyable. During the day we take a flight in a little *plane-DIM* to look at...

The author's enjoyment of a particular area of a large city, comes across in:

Izstaigājos...pa šaurām *ieliņām*, gar glītām, cieši sabūvētām...div vai trīsstāv *mājiņām* un dažādiem...*veikaliņiem* ...

I took a long walk...through narrow *streets-DIM*, past attractive...two or three-storied *houses-DIM* built right next to each other and different kinds of...*shops-DIM*...³²

The meaning encoded in *-inš/-ina; -īt(i)s/-īte* used in the above examples of song, broadcast and other types of 'mediated interaction' consists of the following components:

'I say (for example) *lidmašīnina*' [=little plane]

when I think of X:

I feel something good

I want you to know this

I want you to feel like this

2.3.4.2. Expressing 'intense feelings'

Suffixed forms occur in utterances expressing strong feelings about someone or something. Some are part of fixed formulae whose role appears to be solely that of registering strong feelings of one kind or another. The following utterances are addressed to no one in particular: *Apžēliņ!* 'Mercy me!' [lit: have-pity-DIM];³³ *Mīlā debestiņa...* 'Heavens above!' [lit: dear heaven-DIM];³⁴ *Vai Dieviņ!* 'Oh, dear God!' [lit: oh God-DIM];³⁵ *Lautiņi...* 'Dear people...' [lit: people-DIM];³⁶ *Nu, bralīt!* 'BroTHER!' [lit: now brother-DIM].³⁷ *Ak pasaulīt, ak pasaulīt!* 'It takes all kinds!' [lit: oh world-DIM, oh world-DIM].³⁸

Others occur in utterances where they target a specific addressee or topic. When in the novel *Aija*, (Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 157), Mikus, the head of household's brother boasts that he can eat two and a half pounds of cottage cheese in one go, one of the 'domestics' expresses her disgust with the words:

Ak tu *lopiņš, lopiņš!*

oh you-sg. *farm-animal-DIM, farm-animal-DIM*

You pig, pig!

Andris, the hero of the novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*) finds the behaviour of his fellow-students frustrating and expresses this frustration by saying:

Puikiņas jūs vēl...

boys-DIM f. you-pl. still....

You're nothing but wimps!³⁹

In a play by Putniņš (1979: 82), the little old lady conveys her admiration for the teenager Gaston in the words:

...kas par velna *puisīti*...

...what for of-devil *boy-DIM*

...what a great lad...

Boņs, the seven year-old hero of Klīdzējs' novel (1956: 123), compliments his dog, Žiks, with the following:

...tev ir galva, kas par *galviņu*.

...to-you-sg. is head what for *head-DIM*

...you've got a brain, and what a brain.

In the novel, Romantiski iemesli (Romantic reasons) the university student Eglons thinks his friend lacks courage and tells him this in the following way (Kārklīņš, 1962: 189):

Memmes *dēliņš*...

of-mummy *son-DIM*..

Mummy's little boy...

When the young boy Jancis, the hero of a short story by Jaunsudrabiņš, mumbles something about sore arms while he is helping his mother, his mother says to him: Lellīte! 'Little namby-pamby!' [lit: doll-DIM] (Jaunsudrabiņš, 1981)

That 'diminutive' and 'double diminutive' forms can be vehicles for intense feelings is demonstrated almost palpably in the following episode from a play (Zīverts, 1967: 59). The whole group of characters is on stage. They have all been quarrelling, tension is in the air. Jānis, (the son of Mrs Cērps) and her future son-in-law, Valdis, have become involved in a particularly heated argument in the course of which Jānis pulls out a gun. The stage directions say 'Like angry bulls, the two stand facing each other: Jānis with the revolver in his outstretched hand, Valdis with feet apart and tightly clenched fists'. Jānis wants Valdis to back off, Valdis refuses to budge:

Jānis: 'I'll count to three.'

Valdis: 'Go right ahead'.

Jānis: One! (*Pause*) Get out I tell you! Two. (*Pause*) Get out, I'm asking you to get out! (*Pause*) So - two (*Pause; he is gasping*) and (*Pause*)...

'There is a very loud noise' say the stage directions, 'like an explosion...Mrs Cērps faints... the two younger women scream...' Jānis rushes over to his wife, Ella, with the words:

Ellīņ, mana dārgā! Kas tev kait?...

Ella-DIM my precious what to-you-sg. is-harming

Ella dear, darling! What is the matter?...

Lilija looks at her mother, sees that she's unconscious and tries to get her to respond with:

Māt, mamm, mammiņ, mammucīt!

Mother mum *mum-DIM* *mum-DIM-DIM!*

Mother, mum, mummy, darling mummy!

Intense feelings also motivate 'diminutive' forms used to/of non-children in the following contexts. During a phone conversation, I was informed of an accident that had taken the life of one of the sons of a former colleague. Referring to the nineteen year-old victim, the speaker used 'first name + DIM', calling him *Tomiņš* 'Thomas-DIM'. One female speaker, who had previously never used a 'diminutive' form of address to her husband, did so when he was very seriously ill, calling *Tētiņ* 'Daddy' (for more on the use of 'diminutive' forms of address, see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1.).

2.3.4.3. *Talking about 'childish' things*

Children, as well as persons and things that are part of - or associated with their world,

are consistently labelled with the suffixed form rather than the base one. In 1992, in Rīga, I came across a magazine that advertised itself as *žurnāls topošām māmiņām* 'a magazine for *mothers-to-be*' [lit: magazine for-becoming *mothers-DIM*]. Also, the expression *viņa drīz būs māmiņa* 'she is expecting a child/she is pregnant' [lit: she soon will-be *mother-DIM*] appeared to be the socially-acceptable way to talk about a woman's 'interesting condition'.

When talking to or of children, especially small or young children, an adult will often refer to a *galviņa* rather than a *galva* 'head', *kājiņas* rather than *kājas* 'legs, feet', *rociņas* rather than *rokas* 'arms, hands', *mutīte* rather than *mute* 'mouth' and so on. Mothers who go to shop for children's clothes will talk about getting a *kleitiņa* rather than *kleita* 'dress', *jacīņa* rather than *jaka* 'cardigan, jacket'. More recently, in Australia, a *parciņa* from the English word 'parka' and *uniformiņa* from 'uniform' has slipped into some vocabularies.

Adjectives too are 'diminutivized' in talk relating to or of children. For example, *smuks* which means something like 'good-looking/pleasant' becomes *smukiņš*.⁴⁰ *Maziņš* 'small-DIM/little-DIM', *sīciņš* 'tiny-DIM', *labiņš*: 'good-DIM' are derived from *mazs*, *sīks*, *labs*. *Smukiņš* features in an exclamation that carries the message 'When I look at you I feel something good'. *Cik smukiņš!* 'How good-looking-DIM!' can be said about little children, their faces, their behaviour. Someone observing young or small children (or small animals) at play could be moved to say *Cik smukiņi!* (the adjective is in the plural). Personal observation confirms that the Anglo-Australian 'How cute!', also an expression of positive feelings, is used in similar contexts.

Labiņš 'good-DIM' is used in expressions that precede a certain form of directive uttered to children (and also to spouses and to relatives and friends to whom one feels close). In order to make the addressee feel less inclined to refuse to do what the speaker wants her/him to do, a Latvian speaker's imperative directives are often structured as follows: *Esi tik labs* (un *izdari to un to...*) lit: 'Be so good/kind (and do such and such...)'. By using *Esi tik labiņš...* 'Be so good-DIM/kind-DIM...', the

speaker attempts to minimize the chances of being met with a refusal from the addressee.

Things belonging to children often are appreciably smaller than those belonging to adults. Therefore, some would argue, in the derived nouns to do with the world of children, the suffix means simply 'small'. There is however plenty of evidence to contradict this view. For example, a parent might say to a four-year-old at bedtime:

Nāc, laiks iet *gultiņā!*

Come, time for *bed-DIM!*

using the diminutive form of *gulta* when in fact the bed is not necessarily a smaller version of an 'adult' bed. I suggest that in this context, *gultiņa* 'bed-DIM' is the speaker's way of saying to the child 'When I think of your bed, I feel something good'. To an English-speaking child, the message 'Time to go beddy-byes!' has a similar affective content.

The following is one of the first folksong quatrains that many a Latvian-speaker was taught as a child (Endzelīns, 1928, 1: 686):

Aust *gaismiņa*, lec *saulīte*,

Tas pirmais *gaišumiņš*.

Labrītiņ', Dievspalīdz!

Tā pirmā *valodiņa*.

Light-DIM is dawning, the *sun-DIM* is rising,

That is the first *brightness-DIM*

Good morning-DIM, may God bless you,

Those are the first *spoken words-DIM*.

Gaisma 'light', saule 'sun', labrīt! 'good-morning!' and valoda 'language' are all here seen as part of a child's experience.

Lullabies and other children's songs and verse are a rich source of more examples. Here are the first two couplets from a lullaby by Blaumanis (Kronberga, 1953: 50):

Aiz kalniņa *mēnestiņis*,

Ripu, rāpu uzrāpoja.

Mēnestiņi, *zilsvārcīti*,

Nenāc manā *lodziņā*.

Behind the *little hill*, the *little moon*,

Slowly climbed up high.

Little moon, in a *little blue jacket*,

Don't come into my *little window*!

The English translation is very rough and sounds somewhat ridiculous; the use of 'little' alone does not communicate the 'little + dear/precious' meaning encoded by the suffixes in the original version.

Perhaps the best example to illustrate the extent to which the *-inš/-īt(i)s* group of suffixes can figure in children's verse is an extract from Plūdonis' poem Zaķīša pirtiņa (Bunny's bath-time) [lit: of rabbit-DIM sauna-DIM] from the aforementioned anthology by Kronberga (1953: 11); note especially the suffixed onomatopoeic terms: pičiņu, pačiņu 'splish-DIM, splosh-DIM' and the adverbs: modriņi 'clearly-DIM', tāliņi 'far-DIM', viegliņi 'lightly-DIM':

Garausīts zaķīts pa pakrēslu

Kurina *plaviņā pirtiņu*.

Mēnestiņš, *čigāniņš*, caur eglēm sāk vērties,

Zaķīšu māte savus bērnus ved pērties.

Pičiņu, pačiņu - *austiņām*:

Modriņi, modriņi sadzirdēt tām!

Pičiņu, pačiņu - *actiņām* :

Tāliņi, tāliņi saredzēt tām:

Pičiņu, pačiņu - *kājiņām* :

Viegliņi, viegliņi patecēt tām!

Strupausīts sunīts pa pakrēslu

Savā nodabā skraida pa *plaviņu*....

In the early evening Bunny Longears

Is lighting a fire for a sauna in the meadow.

Moon, the little trickster, is having a peek through the fir-trees,

The bunnies' mother is bringing her children for a bath.

Splishy, sploshy for the little ears,

So that they can hear very clearly, very clearly!

Splish, sploshy for the little eyes,

So that they can see very far, very far!

Splishy, sploshy for the little feet,

So that they can run very lightly, very lightly!

Doggie Shortears in the early evening

Is running around in the meadow, minding his own business...

Children's literature abounds with examples of derivations in *-iņš/-iņa*; *-īt(i)s/-īte*. In a random collection of forty-three children's book titles in Latvian, almost one half (20) contained at least one such lexical item. One has only to look at the titles of some well-known fairy tales: *Īkšķīte* (*Thumbelina*) [*īkšķis* 'thumb']; *Sprīdītis* (untranslatable) [*sprīdis* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and the tip of the middle finger in a fully splayed human hand']; *Ansītis un Grietiņa* (*Hansel and Gretel*),

derived from the personal names Ansis and Grieta (note that the English title is in fact a borrowing of two German 'diminutive' names); Sarkangalvīte (Little red riding-hood) derived from a compound of sarkans 'red' and galva 'head'.⁴¹

In an anthology of children's verse (Kronberga, 1953), a quick count of the poem titles shows that nearly one quarter (27 out of 125 titles) have one lexical item with a 'diminutive' suffix. Compare this with a collection of poetry for a more mature audience (Čaks, 1961) where out of 75 titles, only one contains a 'diminutive'.

Language-learning text books for young children are called Avotiņš [avots 'spring/source'] and Valodiņa [valoda 'speech/language']. Collections of poems and stories for children, come under headings such as Pasaciņa [pasaka 'story']; Kamoliņš [kamols 'ball of wool/string']; Zelta atslēdzina [zelts 'gold' and atslēga 'key']; Zelta tīnīte [zelts 'gold' and tīne 'chest/container']. A very popular children's story-book is about the adventures of a white mouse which is called Pīkstīte, from pīkstēt 'to squeak'.

When something bad happens to a child or something belonging to a child, the speaker reporting the event uses diminutives. When, in a short story by Brigadere (1957: 298), Annele's pet lamb is mauled by a pig, the author prefers to use the suffixed word jēriņš 'lamb-DIM' instead of the base form jērs 'lamb'; she describes what has happened to the lamb's curly muguriņa 'back-DIM' and the mēlīte 'tongue-DIM.' Annele is distraught, and stroking her dog, says:

Jēriņa vairs nav un nekad vairs nebūs.

lamb-DIM more is-not and never more not-will-be

There's no lamb any more, nor ever will be.

In the same story (ibid: 298), Annele picks up a wild duck, shot but not killed; she says:

Putniņ, putniņ, kas tev notika, putniņ!

bird-DIM, bird-DIM, what to-you happened, bird-DIM

You poor, poor bird, what happened to you !

For this group of diminutive suffixes, that is, those that occur in words that have to do with the world of children, I would propose the following semantic formula:

I say something about X [where X is something from the world of children]

- (1) I want to say something about X
- (2) when children say something about X they think of X as small
- (3) I want to do the same
- (4) when I do this I feel something good

Component (4) may seem somewhat out of place to a non-Latvian, in view of the fact that the derivations *-inš/-ina* and *-īt(i)s/-īte* can occur in contexts that are 'sad', as in the last two examples with the 'lamb-DIM' and 'bird-DIM'. From an English-speaker's point of view especially, 'feeling sad' does not somehow equate with 'feeling something good'. The fact is that, for Latvians, 'feeling sad' is compatible with 'feeling something good'. At least, that is how I would explain the Latvian enjoyment of melodies that are *saldserīgas* 'lit: sweet-sorrowful' or *smeldzošas* 'lit: stinging'.

2.3.4.4. Expressivity as 'intensifying' in adverbs and adverbials

In the small group of adverbial derivations the role of the infixes *-in-/-īt-* and *-ītiņ-* appears to be similar to that of the word *loti* 'very' in adverbial phrases such as *loti lēnām* 'very slowly', *loti klusām* 'very quietly'. *Lēnām* 'slowly' becomes *lēnītēm* 'very slowly', *lēnītiņām* 'very, very slowly'. Similarly, *klusām* 'quietly, silently' has the forms *klusīnām* 'very quietly', *klusītiņām* 'very, very quietly'; *pamaziņām* 'very

gradually' and pamazītiņām 'very, very gradually' are derivations of pamazām 'gradually'. Since the preferred environment for these derived adverbs is young children's literature, as earlier attested both by examples of verse and reference to book-titles, it would appear that the suffix implies some kind of 'good feeling' as well.

Expressions of quantity or degree such as mazliet, drusku, bišķi all denoting something like 'a little/a bit' have 'diminutive' equivalents and 'double-diminutive' equivalents: mazlietiņ ['a little bit'], druscīt, drusciņ ['a little bit'], druscītiņ ['a tiny little bit'], bišķīt, bišķiņ ['a little bit'], bišķītiņ ['a tiny little bit']. The term bišķi 'a little' is of special interest since it is a borrowing from German where it has the form bischen (already having the German diminutive suffixe '-chen') and means 'a little'.

In these expressions of quantity, as in the adverbs described at the beginning of this section, the morphemes -īt(i)s/-īte appear to function something like 'intensifiers'. The following example from a short episode in Janovskis' novel (1968: 135), support this.

When he hears a knock on the door, the loner Virzens refuses to open. Aunt Louise insists:

Varēji jau nu gan uz *mirkļiti* ielaist. Atpūtināt kājas...

You could let me in for *a moment-DIM* To give my feet a rest....

The base form of the italicised word, mirkļis, already denotes a short period of time; it has the same root as the verb mirkšķināt 'to wink/blink'. Mirkļītis, being 'smaller' than a mirkļis means 'a very, very short time'. Similarly, brītiņš 'a very short period of time' is derived from brīdis 'a short period of time'.

2.3.4.5. Expressivity as a dissimulating device

Quite a different use of the diminutive form is illustrated by the following examples. On a day when the temperature is in the uncomfortable forties (degrees centigrade), one might use the diminutive for karstums 'heat' and say:

Kas par *karstumiņu*!

what for *heat-DIM*

A bit hot!

Similarly, talking about someone earning a high salary, one can use the diminutive for nauda 'money':

Viņš pelna kārtīgu *naudiņu*

he earns tidy *money-DIM*

He's making a tidy bit of money

Consider the following line from a folk verse (Endzelīns, 1928, 1: 741):

Vilkam liels *brīnumiņš*,

to-wolf big *wonder/miracle-DIM*

The wolf is very amazed

In these examples, the karstumiņš is in fact a 'big heat' the naudiņa, 'big money', and the brīnumiņš 'big surprise'.

In the last three examples, it is as if the speaker is conveying something like:

I am thinking of something ['heat', 'money']

the something is big

I don't want to think of it as big

because of this I say: it is small

Just as 'bigness' can masquerade as 'smallness', so can unpleasant reminiscences masquerade as pleasant ones. Consider this short extract from a novel (Janovskis, 1968: 16-17) spoken in a pub by a miner in answer to someone's question un kā tad melnajiem labi iet 'and how are the black ones [= miners] getting on'; I have not tried to produce a fluent piece of translation, but have preferred to show the extensive use of 'diminutives':

-They are shovelling coal-DIM, friends-DIM. A golden existence-DIM!

Sometimes on their knees-DIM, sometimes half-crawling. A bit of water-DIM, a bit of gases-DIM. A golden existence-DIM!

- But you get money-DIM for that [said someone].

- We get too much, friends-DIM, too much. Can't manage to spend it all in the pub. The other week, in one of the tunnels, we had a rock-DIM break off the ceiling. Fell on a Ukrainian and squashed him flat. Later in a mattress in his house they found so much money...They do pay too much. For such an easy job-DIM the pay could definitely have been less.

After these words, adds the novelist, the speaker 'rose angrily and went over to the counter', thus confirming what the reader knows already: the comments about the work in the mines, especially those following the remark about mining being well-paid, have been uttered in bitterness and disgust.

There are contexts, similar to the following, where the 'diminutive' suffix seems to add something like the following meaning 'I think of it as something small, I

cannot think of it as one thinks of something big'. Detractors of a weekly newspaper, Austrālijas Latvietis (The Australian Latvian), refer to it as an avīzīte 'a little newspaper', rather than an avīze 'newspaper'.

Sometimes this way of thinking is used for comic purposes as in the case of Literatūra un Māksliņa (Literature-DIM and art-DIM), such is the title to the back page of Literatūra un māksla (Art and literature), a literary newspaper currently published in Latvia. The contents of the back page are satirical, with caricatures and cartoons; in other words, a departure from the serious tone of the rest of the paper.

The literal translation 'little' cannot render the meaning of the suffix sufficiently well; it means something more like 'not quite, sort of, not really serious'. For instance, the word balle 'ball (in the sense of a fairly formal function involving dancing)', but its diminutive ballīte means something like 'a hop' with connotations of something not particularly serious.

The Latvian dictionary of slang (Mirovics and Dubaus, 1990: 12-84) attests to a considerable number of non-standard words with this group of suffixes conveying the meaning 'cannot be taken seriously'. Among them are the following items:

dāmīNA 'a woman who tries to look elegant/who avoids work'

jampampINŠ 'someone given to fooling around a lot'

kumēdINI 'cheap jokes'

dievkociINŠ 'a young man with no backbone'

līzĪTE 'a stupid woman'

idINŠ 'a stupid man'

jefINŠ 'a flighty man'

kanārINŠ 'a rather mediocre singer'

liberINI 'a collection of odd bits and pieces of little value'

lorINI 'a collection of odd bits of clothing'

Conclusion

This chapter has done three things. Firstly, it has shown that the label 'diminutive' is not an adequate indication of the meanings of these forms, thus proving yet again that, while the terms used by traditional grammarians are useful for singposting certain areas of meaning, they are not very helpful as tools for semantic description.

Secondly, it has offered some insights into the functional load carried by the so-called diminutive suffix forms. The examples of use discussed above, showed that most of the time, these suffixes act as indicators of how the speaker feels about something or someone.

They can express good feelings as in saulīte 'sun-DIM', Labrītiņ 'Good-morning-DIM'. They can convey bad feelings, as in the examples with -ene. They can act as vehicles for hard-to-define feelings, such as the mixture of 'love' + 'pity' present in forms with -elis/-ele. They are used ironically as in Baigais's speech about coal-miners and coal-mining accidents, jocularly as in the newspaper heading Literatūriņa un māksliņa 'Literature-DIM and art-DIM'.

In addition to this, the -iņš/-iņa; -īt(i)s/-īte group are a distinctive feature of children's speech as illustrated by the references to children's literature. The -ene derivations are an essential element of young people's peer-group communicative style. Furthermore, we saw how, as vehicles of good feelings, expressive suffixes work in 'compliments' and 'requests'.

The very ubiquity of expressive suffixes indicates that this kind of derivation is an important part of Latvian ways of speaking. The extent of this importance emerged clearly, though fleetingly, in the references to the diminutivization of English the English borrowings: uniforma 'uniform' and parka 'parka'. The following example of a Latvian 'request' is further proof that expressive derivation is adapting to the Australian environment:

'Padod man *hamiņu*, man jāuztaisa *sandvičīši/sandvičītes!*'

give-sg. to-me *ham-DIM* to-me oblig.-make *sandwiches-DIM*

Pass me the ham, I have to make some sandwiches!⁴²

Thirdly, this chapter has gone part of the way to mapping out one small corner of the largely uncharted area of expressive derivation in linguistics.

¹In MLLVG: 149, see for example: *sutoņa* 'extremely humid, unpleasant heat'; *dreboņa* 'uncontrollable shivering'; *reiboņa* 'a strong, unpleasant feeling of dizziness'; *knudoņa* 'unpleasant tingling sensation'; and also: *muldoņa* 'a person who talks rubbish a lot', *strīdoņa* 'a person who quarrels a lot', *smirdoņa* 'stench' or 'someone/something who stinks really badly', *plēsoņa* 'a person/animal who acts like a wild-beast'.

²One of the main female characters in a novel by Klīdzējs (1962), is almost invariably addressed as 'Maruk' by her sweetheart.

³The husband of a friend was always called 'Jančuk' by everyone who knew him.

⁴See *Draugs* (1992), issue no. 10, p. 28

⁵It is actually a square piece of cloth large enough to cover the shoulders or head and shoulders

⁶The original text reads : 'Šiem atvasinājumiem mēdz būt pejoratīva nokrāsa...', MLLVG, vol. 1: 93.

⁷ See p. 242 of the novel; the word used is not the Latvian term for 'pig', but *sivēns* 'piglet' which when used as a form of address or with reference to a person (usually a child) has negative connotations in Latvian.

⁸This borrowing is also interesting in that the *-ele* in *mamzele* has clearly been interpreted as the expressive suffix *-ele*; the pragmatic components of the meaning of this word are similar to those in derived words ending in this suffix.

⁹See similar examples of animal-names in English: 'Whitey' and 'Brownie' for horses, 'Blackie' for a cat, 'Pinky' for a pig. In other substantival derivations from adjectives such as 'greenie', 'softie' and 'falsies', whether the suffix '-ie' is diminutive is debatable.

- ¹⁰MLLVG, vol. 1: 93 gives the suffix form (m.) as '-elis'; my data shows that both '-elis' and '-els' are possible.
- ¹¹MLLVG, vol. 1: 94: 'Viņš nevarēja pieļaut, ka kaut kāds amatnieķelis te spriedelē par bagātu cilvēku' where amatnieķelis can be glossed as 'pathetic/miserable little tradesman'.
- ¹²Brigadere (1957: 137 ff.); the original is as follows: 'Annele nu dzirdēja, ka Laukmaļu meiteni, ar kuru tā bij vārda māsa, nesauca vis Anneli, bet Ancīti un viņai bij pašai savs suns, un vēl klēpja suns! Tā bij varen smalka, lielmanīga lieta!'
- ¹³See the newspaper Diena, issue dated 7 August 1993.
- ¹⁴Belševica (1992: 135); the original is: '...pats mazākais aunelis, kam cīņās ar citiem gāja slikti...'
- ¹⁵Brigadere (1957: 323); the text reads: 'drukns puika strupu, uzmestu degunteli un izspīlētām telēna acīm.'
- ¹⁶Jaunsudrabiņš (no date: 146); the original reads: '..veca, sarkana govš...viņai varēja būt kādu divpadsmit gadu vai pat vairāk. Tas bija pavisam slikts lops.'
- ¹⁷Janovskis (1968: 39); the original text reads: 'Baigajam mugurā bija tas pats saburzītais nenoteiktās krāsas uzvalķelis, kas katru dienu.'
- ¹⁸Janovskis (1968: 93); the original text reads: '...viņa nodilušais svērķelis mugurā bija pavēries vīlē...'
- ¹⁹Jaunsudrabiņš (no date: 131); the original reads: '...mājele...bija drusku kūkumu uzmetusi un sašķiebusies pret kalnu, kā baidīdamās kādreiz lejā noripot.'
- ²⁰Brigadere (1957: 344); the text reads: 'Kad metās novakares, bij darbam miers. Annelei nu reize paskraidīt pa lauku. Ārā pie dūvīm to sagaidīja draugs Krančelis ar savu vienu baltu smejošu un otru raudošu aci, iesvieda tai savas ķetnas krūtīs un purnu sejā, bet Annele saķēra to aiz abām ausīm maigi, lai nesāp, un nomutēja uz mīkstās pieres. "Krančeli, Krančeli, tu nekad neizaugsi par Kranci," viņa žēlodama teica.'
- ²¹Janševskis (1986: 173); the original reads: '..divas visai nabadzīgi ģērbušās sievietes...Viena bija jau tuvu pusmūža gadiem, kalsnu, pagaru augumu, otra gados jaunāka, zemāka un resnāka par pirmo. Lielākā bija pārmetusēs jau stipri nonēsātu austeni pār pleciem, kura skrejot bija nošļukuse gluži zemu, turējās vairs tikai kaut kā, un stūris vilkās pat gar zemi; kājās bija tupeles...Mazākā, pārlietu steigdamās, arī nebija paguvuse apģērbu daudz maz sakārtot: drānu gan bija paķēruse, bet uzsieties to nebija paspējuse un turēja tāpat rokā, tā ka nesukātie, izspurušie mati purēja un juka vējā .. Viena pastala bija nomukuse, to turēja rokā, skriedama ar zeķi vien.'
- ²²Brigadere (1957: 95); the text reads: 'Ko nu, bērniņi, skaišaties, viss ir labs kas dieva pasaulītē.'
- ²³Names of nationalities often come in pairs, one of which has neutral or positive connotations, the other - negative; for example 'Americans' v. 'Yanks', 'les Allemands' v. 'les Bosches', 'Italians/Greeks' v. 'wogs'; 'latvieši' v. 'letiņi' (both mean 'Latvians'); British v. Poms; 'Germans' v. 'Krauts'; 'French' v. 'Frogs' and so on.

- ²⁴The first three items in the list are personally observed examples during a field-trip in Rīga, Oct-Nov, 1992; the rest come from Mirovics and Dubaus (1990) and the periodical Draugs (Friend).
- ²⁵See Wierzbicka (1984: 128-29) for a discussion on Australian abbreviations in '-ie' and '-o'.
- ²⁶See Wierzbicka (1984: 129)
- ²⁷See MLLVG, vol. 1: 113
- ²⁸To the observation, made to me by a reader of an earlier draft, that dakšina is 'surely..more basic' I wish to respond that Latvians, being very much a rural people, were familiar with pitch-forks long before they were familiar with table-forks.
- ²⁹Parallels of 'fork' and 'book' and their diminutive derivations are found in French; note: fourche 'pitch-fork/garden-fork' and fourchette 'table-fork' and livre 'book' and livret 'booklet/brochure'.
- ³⁰Sifianou (1992) refers to the use of diminutives in similar contexts in Greek.
- ³¹The second half of the quatrain is the Australian Latvian version of the refrain, sung in South Australia in the 1970s (p.o.). See Zandbergs (1992: 143), for a similar version.
- ³²Compare the use of mājinās 'houses-DIM' here with mājeles 'houses-DIM' quoted in Section 2.3.1. of this chapter.
- ³³Putniņš (1979: 116)
- ³⁴Voitkus (1964: 206)
- ³⁵Brigadere (1957: 77)
- ³⁶Brigadere (1957: 571)
- ³⁷Klīdzējs (1962: 79)
- ³⁸Putniņš (1979: 88)
- ³⁹Klīdzējs (1962: 240); note that the 'diminutive' of puika is puikiņš, in the plural it would be puikiņi. The fact that the word is 'feminized' here, conveys something like 'wimpiest of wimps' (compare the Anglo-Australian utterance 'he's an old woman'). There are examples in Latvian of masculine suffixes used with positive connotations and feminine ones with negative; this area of Latvian ways of speaking merits a more detailed investigation.
- ⁴⁰For a detailed discussion of Latvian adjectival diminutives, see Rūķe-Draviņa (1953).
- ⁴¹As mentioned earlier, the diminutive of galva 'head' is galviņa. Sarkangalvīte is patterned on the derived forms of compound nouns consisting of 'a word denoting a colour + a word denoting a body-part'. They are used to describe certain (usually

physical) attributes of humans: *sārtvaidzis* [*sārts* 'red' + *vaigs* 'cheek'] 'a boy/man with red cheeks', *brūnace* [*brūns* 'brown' + *acis* 'eyes'] 'a brown-eyed girl/woman'; *sirmgalvis* [*sirms* 'grey/hoary' + *galva* 'head'] 'a grey-haired man, an old man'; *tumšmate* [*tumšs* 'dark' + *mati* 'hair'] 'a brunette'.

⁴²This example was reported to me by a relative who in the early seventies had happened to be listening to some conversation between two Latvian ladies, aged about forty, who were preparing some food for a function in the Latvian Hall in Melbourne.

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine Latvian ways of getting people to do things. More specifically, I propose to offer some answers to two questions: 'What are some of the Latvian utterances that a speaker (S) produces in order to convey to a hearer (H) that she wants her/him to act (A)?' and 'How do Latvian ways of using these utterances reflect Latvian socio-cultural values?'

The chapter is in three sections. The first consists of a general discussion on the nature of the utterances mentioned above, which, for the sake of simplicity, I shall call 'directives' from now on. The second section is a description and a discussion of the form and function of Latvian utterances that are used as directives; in my discussion of the various syntactic patterns of Latvian directives I will be basing my observations mostly on data from literature and from my own personal experiences as a native Latvian speaker. The third section is a report on a number of findings that emerged from a cross-cultural study of Latvian and Anglo-Australian 'directive' behaviour. In sections two and three, my analysis of the semantic content of the various forms will be done in simple language modelled on 'natural semantic metalanguage' (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 1994). For ease of reference, the three sections have the following headings:

1. Directives: preliminary discussion
2. Latvian directive utterances: form and function
3. Same scenarios, different cultures, different structures

Chapter 4

GETTING PEOPLE TO DO THINGS

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1.0. 'Directives': preliminary discussion

The term 'directives' first appeared in Searle's *A taxonomy of illocutionary acts* (1975). In one of his later works (1979: 13) it describes a category of speech acts whose illocutionary point 'consists in the fact that they are attempts..by the speaker to get the hearer to do something'. Subsequently, it has meant different though not altogether unrelated things to different authors. Its main use has been as the name for a group of English verbs whose number has varied from between 50 and 60 in Bach and Harnish (1979) to 14 in Reiss (1985) and 24 in Searle and Vanderveken (1985). To their group of 24 verbs, Searle and Vanderveken have added 'questions', saying that they 'are always directives, for they are attempts to get the hearer to perform a speech act (1985: 199)'.¹ Indeed, given that most of the time when people say something to someone they expect some kind of a reaction to what they say, the number of utterances with 'directive' as one of their functions is vast. In the present study, I shall use the term to refer to both linguistic and non-linguistic ways of conveying the following message: 'I want you to do something'. The following few paragraphs will discuss some of these ways and the factors that influence the speaker's choice of one way rather than another.

1.1. Ways of communicating directives

'Directing', in the sense of conveying the message 'I want you to do something' is 'one of the fundamental functions of language' (Verschueren, 1985: 152). By age one, most human beings born into a European culture have been the targets of an utterance corresponding roughly to the English 'Say Ma-Ma/Da-Da' coming from a parent. At about the same age, or not long after, the same human beings have learnt ways of communicating their wants often using rudimentary utterances such as 'Dink' [= Please give me a drink], 'Up' [= Please pick me up]) and similar (Bates, Camaioni and Volterra, 1979; Rūķe-Draviņa, 1982; Braine, 1976).² From these early beginnings until the time

someone utters 'Rest in peace' over his/her mortal remains, every human being is constantly either uttering, hearing, reading or writing messages whose purpose is to influence the behaviour of other human beings; in other words, messages that can be said to have a directive function. Such messages have been found to be an important feature of the way parents (mothers, especially) talk to their children (Gleitman et al., 1984) and the kind of language that teachers use in the classroom (Holmes, 1983; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Other fairly common types of talk that have a significantly high proportion of utterances with a directive function are those that occur between doctors/dentists and patients, interviewers and interviewees (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, Trew, 1979), bosses and their staff (Pufahl Bax, 1986), restaurant patrons and waiters, officers and other ranks in the military services and even advertisers and their potential customers (Schmidt and Kess, 1985).

Examples of directive utterances in the present chapter will show that while a considerable number of them have what traditional grammars call the imperative structure, this grammatical structure does not have a monopoly on directives;³ neither does the interrogative structure.⁴ Moreover, and examples discussed in the next few paragraphs will throw further light on the matter, while there is a particular class of verbs that tends to be favoured (Bach and Harnish, 1979: 47 ff; Searle, 1981: 21 ff, 32; Searle and Vanderveken, 1985: 198 ff), elements of other lexical groups too can be used with a directive function.

Some directives are performed with zero lexical content and zero syntactic structure. For example, 'Hist' and 'Sh' in Poyatos' (1993) list of 'alternants' are used in English to convey the messages 'I want you to listen' and 'I want you to stop talking/making a noise'. There are occasions where even a sound is not necessary. 'Pointing', with 'apparent imperative intention', is in the very young children one of the first attempts at communication (Bates et al. 1979: 49, 55) and occurs months before they have tried to talk. Similar directive messages have been observed in people who have not mastered verbal strategies in a foreign language, as attested by the words of a character

from a novel set in Britain (Janovskis, 1968: 110). Baigais, a refugee from Latvija, recounts an early experience:

...the first time you came in here [= pub], you couldn't speak a word of the language. You just pointed in the direction of the shelf and then cupping your hand to your mouth made signs to show that you wanted something to drink.⁵

Another example of a non-verbal directive is that used by the pre-school teacher who places her/his index-finger on her/his lips is using a directive. Most people are familiar with the sign-language that is used to order drinks from a bar in a crowded pub.

Sometimes, not even gesturing is necessary. There is, for example, a short episode in the Latvian novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*) where the hero, Andris, is walking past the stall of a little old lady selling flowers on the street (Klīdzējs, 1962: 119). Something about her reminds him of his deceased mother and he stops.

She looked up:

-What kind of flowers were you after ?

In certain contexts, an utterance consisting of a single word acquires a directive function; the 'Help!' uttered by a person in danger of drowning is an example. The somewhat cryptic talk between a surgeon and his assistant, as the former communicates his requests for scalpel, tweezers, suture during an operation, is another case in point. The name of a person can also have a directive function. The student horsing around in the classroom has no difficulty interpreting the teacher's utterance of 'James' (said with a special kind of intonation) as 'I want you, James, to stop wasting your time and get on with your work' (cf., Holmes, 1984: 100-101). Coming from a parent audibly doing the dishes, the utterance 'Anne' gets the following response from the next room 'I have to do my homework', thus proving that the underlying message of 'Anne' was, most probably,

'I want you, Anne, to help with the dishes' (cf. also Ervin-Tripp, 1981 on similar strategies).

Alongside the directive messages conveyed by non-linguistic means and single-word utterances such as the verb-less elliptical structures ['Help!' 'Scalpel!'] and imperative verbs ['Go!' 'Sit!'], there are more complex linguistic ways; interrogative sentences such as 'Won't you sit down?', declaratives such as 'I would like you to be there by seven' and performatives such as 'I forbid you to talk like that.' For example, 'I want you to clean up the kitchen' can be communicated as any of the following utterances: 'Clean up the kitchen', 'Could you clean up the mess in the kitchen?' and 'You've left the kitchen in a right mess' (Blum-Kulka, 1987). Which of these various ways is chosen by a speaker to convey her/his message depends on a number of factors.

1.2. Factors that affect the form of directives

Consider, for example, a scenario where S wants H to receive the message 'I want you to come over here'. If S knows H's name, calling it out is sufficient. The distance separating S and H may be such that H is out of earshot; S can then use a kind of arm-waving ('beckoning' in English) to communicate what s/he wants. If H is within earshot of S, they are both of about the same age and status, S can use something like 'H, come here...' to get her/his message across. If the location is the main office, S happens to be the Principal and H is the school secretary, the same 'I want you to come over here' message is signalled with 'H, could you please come here ?' or 'H, would you mind stepping this way?'

Directive messages in writing show similar variation in form. For example, in English-speaking cultures, ready-made invitations for children's birthday parties often use the formula 'I want you to come to....' Invitations to more adult functions such as twenty-first birthday parties and weddings carry the words 'X requests the pleasure of the company of Y'.⁶

Another example in English of two different formulae translating the same directive message is in the beginnings to two songs. In the musical The King and I (Rogers and Hammerstein, early 1950s) the message 'I want you to dance with me' is conveyed by the words 'Shall we dance...'. In the late 1960s, on the other hand, Chubby Checker⁷ translated the same message as 'Come on baby, let's do the twist!'. One does not need to be a linguist to see that in both instances, the utterance has been shaped by the age and social status of S and H, by the kind of dance H is being asked to do and by the kind of location where the dance will take place: in a ballroom in The King and I and on a rock 'n' roll dance floor in Chubby Checker's song.

Another factor that affects the form given to a directive is whether S perceives the A [= the something that S wants H to do] as something big or not. (This is probably what is meant by the 'degree of imposition'.⁸) The utterance S produces to convey to H the message 'I want you to lend me one dollar' will very likely be different from the one the same S will produce to the same H when saying 'I want you to lend me a hundred dollars'. The extent to which A is perceived as 'something big' can depend on things outside of A, as it were; such as the relationship between S and H, for example (Blum-Kulka, 1985). Other things being equal, the perceived 'degree of imposition' depends upon the question as to who will benefit if H were to do as directed. If the carrying out of the directive will bring some good to S, then S is likely to perceive the 'degree of imposition' had on H as relatively high; if, on the other hand, it is H who would benefit, then the degree of imposition on her/him is perceived as relatively low.

The shape of a directive utterance will also depend on the extent to which S expects that H will do what s/he wants him to do. If S for some reason is in a position where s/he expect H to comply, S will assume that H need not be given a choice of complying or not and therefore give her/his directive message the most 'direct' shape.

From the preceding comments, it can be seen that not one but several components of a particular situation determine the grammatical form a directive message will take. Some components are to do with the interactants : relative age and social status are important, as is the position both S and H have on the hierarchical ladder within a given

group. The place where - playground versus office - the message occurs is important, as is the occasion - a child's birthday party versus a young adult's.

What I have said about directives in Latvian and English applies to directives in any language. Speakers in all cultures rely on gesture alone to convey directive messages. Likewise, in all languages directives occur in a variety of syntactic patterns. But when the use of directive utterances is examined across cultures, it is clear that languages differ as to which form of directive occurs in a particular situation.

For example, on the phone, to the caller's utterance conveying the message 'I want to speak to Iréna', I say 'Speaking' in English, Klausos 'I am listening' in Latvian and C'est elle-même 'It is herself' in French. The words 'speak', 'listen', 'it', 'be' and 'herself' exist in all three languages, so the constraints that determine the different responses must be other than linguistic; they are social, or, more appropriately in this context, cultural. We can say then, that one very important factor that has a bearing on the form of directives is the cultural background of S and H.

Not all languages have the same repertoires of linguistic structures that can function 'directively'. In Latvian, as in Polish (Wierzbicka, 1991: 36-37) and French (Grévisse, 1964: 672), directive messages can be communicated via the infinitive (see more on this later in Section 2.1.2. below). Even when strategies are shared, in the sense that, for example, performative directives are possible in both English and Latvian, it does not automatically follow that a particular form in one language will always have its equivalent in the other; I refer to my comments on ielūgt 'to invite' below (Section 2.1.5.1.). The Latvian word for 'please' is lūdzu, the first person singular present indicative of lūgt 'to ask, pray, beg'; and in certain contexts, rather than the more common paldies 'thank you, thanks', it is more appropriate to use pateicos lit: 'I thank you', first person singular present indicative of pateikties 'to thank'.

As suggested earlier, it is the interplay of a number of different factors that shapes the directive. However, in this interplay, the roles assigned to the various factors are not the same across cultures. Thus, from the point of view of native English-speakers, Hindi

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is the occasion - a child's birthday party versus a formal meeting.
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For example, on the phone, in the caller's utterance conveying the message 'I
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'elle-même' exist in all three languages, on the utterances that determine the different
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form of directives is the cultural background of S and R.

Addendum p. 212

Above line 3 from the bottom of the page, insert:

Much depends on features such as: facial expression, gestures, stress, pitch and pausing, that accompany the utterance. When, for example, the imperative 'Sit' does not produce the desired results with disobedient children on a school bus, exasperated teachers set their eyebrows at a fierce angle and resort to a loudly uttered "SIT - (pause) - DOWN" (p.o.). The whole area of the role of non-grammatical features in the categorization of directives is as yet largely unexplored and merits an extensive, independent investigation; for the present, I can do no more than allude to the problem.

directive utterances within a family,⁹ for example, could seem abrupt; Hindi-speakers would most likely find the opposite to be true of English ways in the family context.

Similar views were indirectly conveyed by a Latvian-speaker about non-Latvian directive behaviour with relatives. On a number of occasions in Rīga in 1992, I was accused by a relative of being excessively polite; the expression an aunt used as a friendly rebuke went something like 'What's with the Chinese politeness ?' or 'You and your Chinese politeness again !' after I had used^d a non-imperative (probably interrogative) sentence pattern to ask her for something. For an English-speaker from Australia, Latvian directive behaviour with guests had a strongly peremptory flavour. One young woman from Canberra, on an exchange visit to Rīga in 1992, remarked to me on being 'ordered about' by her host family at the table; she was not used to being on the receiving end of utterances like: 'Try this', 'Eat this', 'You must have some of this', 'No, don't have that' - all typically Latvian ways of showing hospitality to a guest. The Latvian-speaking aunt expected an imperative directive, the young Anglo-Australian woman expected an interrogative one; each speaker thus betraying her unfamiliarity with the rules of use of a different language.¹⁰

1.3. Describing directive utterances

The question as to how best describe and categorize directive utterances from a functional point of view is a complex one. One attempt is that by Bach and Harnish (1979) whose 'illocutionary acts' category 'Directives' comprises six sub-categories: requestives, questions, requirements, prohibitives, permissives, advisories.¹¹ Other authors have used categories such as 'orders', 'requests', 'indirect directives', 'strong hints', 'mild hints', 'hedges', 'requestives', 'pure orders', 'pure requests'. \wedge

Another \wedge problem with attempting to say that a particular string of words is a 'request' or an 'order' is that two directive utterances having the same shape can be interpreted in two different ways (cf. Leech, 1983; Wierzbicka, 1991: 199 ff). For example, if at a

mess-dinner in a military institution the Commandant says to his wife 'Could you get me a coffee', the utterance is perceived as a request; if the Commandant utters exactly the same words to an officer, they are interpreted as constituting an order.¹²

This is yet a further illustration of the fact that the syntactic pattern of *an* utterance alone cannot be relied on to determine how it is to be categorized. The combination of factors outside the strictly linguistic domain, the context of the utterance, have to be considered (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1981: 195 ff; Pufahl Bax, 1986). In the military hierarchy, when the Commandant wants an officer to do something and says so, whatever pattern his utterance takes, it is perceived as an order. Presumably, during the week, in the day-to-day running of military business, the Commandant's orders to his officers would not begin with 'Could you...' At a mess-dinner, where norms governing social behaviour are different from those in a military office, the order masquerading as a request seems more appropriate.

The difficulty of successfully describing directives is compounded when labels like 'imperative' are used to describe both form and function. Besides, terms such as 'orders' 'requests' 'hints' are of little use when referring to directive behaviour in a language that does not have lexical equivalents for these terms, or if it does, they do not mean exactly the same as in English. The same applies to notions like 'direct' (cf. Wierzbicka, 1991: 63-64, 70-71) and 'polite'.

One final difficulty has to do with descriptions of linguistic directive behaviour that ascribe universality to certain features that are culture-specific. Certain kinds of directive utterances in English have been labelled as 'indirect' (Searle, 1975: 74) of which 'Can you pass the salt?' is a much-quoted example. Searle sees utterances of this kind as motivated by politeness:

The chief motivation - though not the only motivation - for using these indirect forms is politeness...in the example just given [Can you pass the salt?], the *Can you* form is polite in at least two respects. Firstly X [presumably the speaker] does not presume to know about Y's [presumably the hearer's] abilities, as he

would if he issued an imperative sentence; and, secondly, the form gives - or at least appears to give - Y the option of refusing, since a yes-no question allows *no* as a possible answer. Hence, compliance can be made to appear a free act rather than obeying a command.

What is not explained, is that not presuming to know about 'Y's abilities' and not giving or appearing to give 'Y the option of refusing' are not necessarily manifestations of a universally held notion of polite behaviour. Latvian-speakers, for example, (see Sections 2.1.3. and 3.0. below) prefer what Searle calls the 'imperative sentence' pattern for directives and use the *Can you* and similar forms of directive utterances more sparingly than speakers of English. Presuming to know about the abilities of their addressees, they regularly tell them to do things; only occasionally, it would seem, do they give them - or appear to give them - the option of refusing. This happens, because contrary to Anglo ways of speaking, there are many instances of Latvian social interaction where to 'presume to know about [the hearer's] abilities' is not considered impolite; neither is it impolite to appear to deny H 'the option of refusing'. In fact, there are times when the very kind of behaviour considered polite in English, is considered inappropriate in Latvian, as already indicated in the reference to my 'oriental politeness' in Riga and to the young Anglo-Australian's being 'ordered about' (in Section 1.2. of this chapter, final paragraph). In short, what is considered polite linguistic behaviour in one culture, may not necessarily be so in another.

2.0. Latvian directive behaviour: the syntactic patterns

To consider Latvian directive behaviour in its entirety lies well beyond the scope of the present study; I have therefore limited myself to a discussion of its linguistic manifestations. To recapitulate briefly: a directive utterance is one that S (=the speaker) produces when s/he wants H (= the hearer) to do something (say, A for action). I shall

give examples of the various syntactic patterns that Latvian directive utterances can have, comment on their contexts and explain the meanings encoded in them. Particular attention will be given to two of the utterance patterns, for it is in this area that Latvian ways diverge most markedly from Anglo ways. My observations will be based mostly on examples taken from literary works, personally observed behaviour and behaviour described to me in informal personal communication. Occasionally I may refer to data from the study discussed at length in Section 3.0. below.

There are in Latvian five types of syntactic structures that are capable of carrying a directive force. From the point of view of traditional grammar, they can be categorized as follows:

- a) verb-less/elliptical
- b) infinitive
- c) imperative
- d) interrogative
- e) performative and declarative

Broadly speaking, this grouping reflects in Latvian something very similar to what Blum-Kulka calls the 'directness-indirectness' dimension of requests (1987: 137): in her analysis, directive utterances having a verb-less or infinitive shape are perceived as more forceful than those with an interrogative or declarative shape.¹³ Except for the infinitive, the repertoire of syntactic patterns for conveying directive messages is the same in Latvian as in English. The difference between the two languages is more in the use of these patterns.

2.1. Verb-less structures

These constitute an open-ended list of mostly short utterances minus a verb. As will be seen from the following examples, many are adverbs or adverbial phrases. In Klīdzējs' novel (1962: 37) when the bell goes for Mrs Upāne's class, the students call out to each other:

Puikas! *Klasē* ! Mudīgāk!

Boys-VOC, *class* (room)-LOC, faster

Lads/chaps! To the classroom! Faster!

In a different episode of the same novel, there is a fight at the local market (Klīdzējs, 1962: 43); a by-stander starts to scream:

Policiju ! *Policiju*!

police -ACC *police*-ACC

Get the police! Get the police!

When, elsewhere in the same novel (Klīdzējs, 1962: 205), Lūce, the eldest daughter, wants everyone to come to the table, she calls out:

Vakariņās ! *Vakariņās*!

dinner -LOC *dinner* -LOC

Dinner-time! Dinner-time!

(For similar utterances in English, cf. Green, 1989: 110).

These examples indicate that elliptic structures occur when S does not have to 'spell out' to H what it is that s/he wants her/him to do, because H can infer it from the context and S expects there to be a very short time lapse between H's hearing the directive and responding to it. The sense of urgency is also conveyed by repetition, as in Vakariņās! Vakariņās! lit: 'Dinner-LOC! Dinner-LOC!' and Policiju! Policiju! lit: 'Police-ACC! Police-ACC!', by the use of appropriate adverbs such as Mudīgāk [=faster] and by the para-linguistic feature of an increase in loudness; all three utterances are either 'called out' or 'screamed'.

Elliptical structures were among the preferred Latvian responses to two situations in the cross-cultural study mentioned earlier and discussed at greater length below (see Section 3.0.). To someone about to cross a street in the path of an oncoming car, utterances like Uzmanīgi! lit: 'Carefully!' and Mašīna! lit: 'Car!' were common. Similarly, at a football match, the spectator who sees the ball about to hit a fellow-spectator says: Bumba! 'Ball!' Interestingly, for the same situations, Anglo-Australians favoured imperative structures, for example: 'Watch out!' and 'Look out!'

All this suggests that in Latvian, the elliptic directive is used when the speaker wants to convey to the hearer something like the following:

I say something

because of this you know I want you to do something

you know I want you to do it now

This is probably why many elliptic directives in Latvian occur between familiars and from 'superior' to 'inferior', as they do in English; note personally observed utterances like 'Bed-time!' [=I want you to go to bed], 'Brekky!' [=I want you to come to breakfast], 'Teeth!' [=I want you to clean your teeth], 'Shoes!' (=I want you to put your shoes on) and 'Shirt!' (=I want you to tuck your shirt in), the 'Shirt!' said by a secondary school-teacher to a male student of somewhat dishevelled appearance.

To a non-familiar of equal or superior status, the elliptical directive is used only when to 'I want you to do something now' can be added the following: 'Because something bad might happen to you (or to me, or to someone else)'. This explains utterances like the *Policiju! Policiju!* (above), *Palīgā* 'Help' [=I want you to save me] from someone drowning and *Ūdeni* 'Water' [=I want you to give me a drink] from a soldier dying of thirst, and in English, 'Scalpel' [=I want you to hand me the scalpel] from a doctor performing an operation.

2.2. *Infinitive structures*

Latvian is by no means the only European language having directive structures of this type. Grévisse (1964: 672) offers the following examples in French where these structures are limited to the written mode and are directed at unspecified addressees:

Pour renseignements, *s'adresser* à M. X.

For information *to-address-oneself* to Mr X.

Prendre trois cuillerées à soupe par jour.

To-take three tablespoonfuls a day.

Battre les blancs d'oeufs en neige.

To-beat the egg whites till they form peaks.

The purpose of infinitive directives in French is 'pour exprimer un ordre général et impersonnel' (Grévisse, 1964: 672). Loosely translated, this means that they are used to convey an order to an anonymous addressee or addressees and, adds Grévisse, tend to occur in public notices, proverbs and medical prescriptions; they do not appear to be used in personal interaction.

There are, however, languages where infinitive directives are used in personal interaction. In Polish, for example, the infinitive directive is used as a device to communicate anger, 'to assert one's authority' and to signal 'coldness and lack of intimacy' (Wierzbicka, 1991: 36, 37).

As in Polish, infinitive structures in Latvian can occur in the spoken mode and are used to specific addressees. They occur in certain ritualized situations. For example, sports races are begun with the utterance :

Uzmanību! Gatavību! *Sākt!*

Attention! Readiness! *To-start*

Ready! Set! Go!

In one novel (Kārklīšs, 1962: 270), the signal at the start of a duel is given as:

Krustot ieročus pirmajam gājienam!

to-cross weapons-ACC first-DAT round-DAT

Cross arms for the first round!

Similar instances occur in military, or quasi-military speech. For example, the Latvian equivalent for the English expression 'Halt!' from a sentry on duty is: *Stat!* lit: 'To-stop!' and for the 'About turn!' heard in military contexts, the Latvian equivalent is *Apkart griezties!* lit: 'Around *to-turn!*' I note in passing, that much directive communication in the English military context occurs through imperative structures (personally observed) as, for example the following: 'Stand at ease!', 'Shoulder/Present arms!', 'Raise/Lower ensign!'

The authority-asserting quality of Latvian infinitive directives occurring in these specialised contexts carries over into quite ordinary situations. In the novel *Aija*

(Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 297), the groom's father, having been talked into celebrating a little more at the wedding feast and having been coaxed into staying the night, has suddenly changed his mind; he slams his fist down on the table as he shouts to his wife:

Aiziet!

to-leave

Let's go!/Away!

Grīnbergs, the unpopular teacher in one of Klīdzējs' novels (Klīdzējs, 1962: 45) is in a bad mood as he begins his Latin class with:

Piecelties kas stundu zina!

to-get-up who-NOM lesson-ACC know

Stand up those who know their work!

Not long into the lesson, angered by a student who contradicts him, the same teacher yells:

Muti *turēt!*

mouth -ACC *to-hold*

Hold your tongue!

Significantly, when the same teacher says to his colleagues in the staff-room: 'I'm not setting foot in the classroom while that ... is there; choose between him and me!' (I am paraphrasing) he avoids the infinitive directive, even though he is still visibly angry.

These examples suggest that the Latvian use of the infinitive directive largely parallels the Polish one: the speaker is either in a position of authority over the hearer, is angry with the hearer, or is motivated in some other way to express her/himself in a way so as to indicate insistence. The directive message is couched in the infinitive when the speaker wants to convey something like the following:

I want you to do something

I can say: you have to do it

I think you will do it because of this

That this particular grammatical structure is perceived as one of the 'stronger' devices for communicating a directive message, is brought into sharp focus in the following example where imperative and infinitive directive utterances are juxtaposed.¹⁴ The scene from a play (Zīverts, 1970: 31) is an underground shelter in a forest. The speaker is Žanis, the leader of a small group of partisans who has just been informed by a scout/messenger of the presence of an enemy patrol nearabouts. He has to leave the shelter in order to go and help a fellow-partisan who could be in trouble. To his companion and the messenger who are to remain in the shelter, Žanis says:

Jūs abas *paliectiet* šeit! Un vienalga, kas augšā notiek - bunkuru *neatstāt!*

you both *stay*- IMP 2 p.pl. here and doesn't matter what above happens shelter
not-to-leave

You two stay here! And never mind what happens up there - you are not to leave the shelter!

In this example, the infinitive utterance is not produced out of anger. Neither is it spoken by a person having some considerable authority over the others; past events have created a situation where the speaker and hearers are interdependent and at any moment

each is ready to defend the other. Ironically, it is precisely this bond that makes Žanis suspect that the hearer might disregard a directive utterance unless it is clothed in the same form as that coming from a speaker either in anger or in authority.

2.3. *Imperative structures*

Traditional Latvian grammar (MLLVG, Vol.1: 602-609) lists several forms under the heading *Imperatīvs* roughly, 'Imperative'. Three of these are used as directives: the first person plural form which is the same as the first person plural future indicative (Fennell and Gelsen, 1980, vol.1: 166), and the two (singular and 'plural') second person forms which convey the message 'I want you to do something'. Like the 'plural' address pronoun *jūs* (see above in Chapter 1, Section 2.0.), the second person 'plural' imperative can target a singular addressee, thus saying 'I want to speak to you the way one speaks to more than one person at the same time and the way one speaks to someone whom one does not know well'.

Following the traditional categorization, I have included the first person plural 'imperative' in the present study, while conceding at the same time that one could argue against such a classification, on the basis of both form and function. Utterances with this directive form correspond approximately to 'Let's (do something)' in English, where they appear to be mainly used in two different contexts: one where the speaker will not be performing the action proposed to the hearer (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1979: 198), the second where the speaker will be performing the action together with the hearer.

Illustrating the first kind of context, are the 'Let's do something' English utterances found in 'motherese' (Gleitman et al., 1984), in teachers' directives to young children (Holmes, 1984 - among others) and in doctor/nurse talk to patients (p.o.). Examples of the second kind of context are the 'Let's do the twist' mentioned earlier and conversational expressions like 'Let's party'. While messages in both contexts have the same form, the meanings encoded in them are slightly different. The teacher who

says 'Let's open our books now', knowing that s/he will not be opening any books, is conveying something like:

I want you to do something

I say: I want you and me to do it at the same time

I think: you will want to do what I want because of this

Chubby Checker's 'invitation-suggestion' 'Let's do the twist' carries the following message:

I say: I want you and me to do something at the same time

I think: you will want to do what I want

The available data in Latvian yielded examples of first person plural imperative directives occurring with the second of the two meanings described above. In Klīdzējs' novel (1956: 209-210) Justs says to his brother Boņs:

Tagad *iesim*,...*PAsēdēsim*...*Bēgsim*!

now *go*-1 p. pl. FUT....*PA*¹⁵-*sit* -1 p. pl. FUT...*run-away*-1 p. pl. FUT

Let's go now,...let's sit...Let's run!

Both young brothers are engaged in the same secret escapade. In another of Klīdzējs' novels (1962: 72), Līpurs, a young man, says to a group of his friends:

Sapīposim!

SA¹⁶-*smoke*-1p. pl. FUT..

Let's have a smoke!

His friends are a group of young men, all in a party mood, taking the train to the city to look for a job. In these situations, the first person plural imperative underscores the bond of shared experience that exists between S and H. This form of directive utterance is used when the speaker wishes to say to the hearer something like: 'I want you and me to do something at the same time'.

For the second person imperatives, the plural is marked with a special ending which is usually: -iet (see MLLVG, Vol. 1: 602-609 and Fennell and Gelsen, 1980, Vol. 1: 166). For example, to his young woman friend, Ints (Kārkliņš, 1962: 291) says: Nāc... 'Come...' while to her playmates, the young school-girl Paulīne (Klīdzējs, 1956: 201) says: Nāciet... 'Come...'

However, just like the plural address pronoun jūs, the plural imperative can target a singular addressee. For example, to Boņs (Klīdzējs, 1956: 237), his aunt says: Sēdi... 'Sit...', but to her high-school pupil (Klīdzējs, 1962: 38), the teacher says: Sēdiet... 'Sit...'. In short, Sēdi is used to an addressee with whom one uses the T address pronoun, while Sēdiet is used to an addressee who would receive the V pronominal address. Thus, inherent in the utterance Sēdi, is the message 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to a person they know well and to children' (discussed in more detail later). Similarly, the 'plural' imperative utterance ending in -iet, contains the message 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to a person whom they do not know well and who is not a child'.

Thus it would appear that action-verb imperatives in Latvian can be used in both 'informal' and 'formal' contexts and so occur where they would be generally avoided in English (cf. Green and Davison, 1975; Wierzbicka, 1991: 25ff; Ervin-Tripp, 1976 and 1981). This is, to some extent, true and accounts for the linguistic behaviour in the following real-life scenario. On one of my field-trip visits to the English Department of the Latvian University in October 1992, one of the Latvian-speaking teaching-staff said to me (in English): 'Sit down!' and pointed to a seat; a similar use of the English imperative utterance by a Polish-speaker has been documented (Wierzbicka, 1991: 25 ff).

his friends are a group of young men, all in a party mood, taking the train to the city to look for a job. In these situations, the first person plural imperative addresses the group of shared experience that exists between S and H. This form of directive utterance is used when the speaker wishes to say to the hearer something like: 'I want you and me to do something at the same time.'

For the second person imperative, the plural is marked with a special ending which is usually: -cie (see MILLIG, Vol. 1: 602-609 and Fenell and Gaten, 1980, Vol. 1: 166). For example, to his young woman friend, Jan (Karkins, 1963: 281) says:

Addendum p. 225

In para. 2, line 5, delete from 'I digress..' to end of paragraph.

... In short, *Ście* is used to an addressee with whom one uses the T address pronoun, while *Ściecie* is used to an addressee who would receive the V (vocational) address. Thus, inherent in the utterance *Ściecie* is the message 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to a person they know well and to children' (discussed in more detail later). Similarly, the 'plural' imperative utterance ending in -cie contains the message 'I want to speak to you the way people speak to a person whom they do not know well and who is not a child.'

Thus it would appear that action-verb imperatives in Latvian can be used in both 'informal' and 'formal' contexts and so occur where they would be generally avoided in English (cf. Green and Davison, 1975; Wiczorska, 1981: 238; Eirvin-Tipton, 1976 and 1981). This is to some extent true and accounts for the linguistic behaviour in the following real-life scenario. On one of my field-trip visits to the English Department at the Latvian University in October 1982, one of the Latvian-speaking teaching-staff said to me (in English): 'Sit down', and pointed to a seat; a similar use of the English imperative utterance by a Polish-speaker has been documented (Wiczorska, 1981: 25 ff.).

To a native-speaker of English, the use of the imperative of the verb 'sit' in the abovementioned contexts sounds wrong; a suitable English directive utterance would be something like: 'Please have a seat', the verb 'have' being one of the few English imperatives accepted in everyday social interaction (note, for example, utterances such as 'Have a good time', 'Have a nice day') or 'Will you sit down?' as suggested by Wierzbicka (1991: 27).¹⁷

In the English-speaking world, the use of 'Sit!' and 'Sit down!' is fairly restricted. The first is used to dogs, to very active toddlers and sometimes to older children, usually when other forms of the directive have failed to produce the desired result. The second also tends to be restricted, though to a lesser degree than the first; it can be used to family-members and 'mates' (p. c.). ~~I digress briefly to add that it is difficult to say which one of these directive utterances is the 'stronger'. Much depends on the para-linguistic features, such as: facial expression, gestures, stress, pitch and pausing, that accompany the utterance. When 'Sit' does not produce the desired results with disobedient children on a school-bus, exasperated teachers set their eyebrows at a fierce angle and resort to a loudly uttered 'SIT- (pause) - DOWN' (p. o.).~~

Further evidence that imperative directives are a salient feature of Latvian ways of speaking emerges from the following facts. In the play *Kīnas vāze* (*A vase from China*), out of thirteen directive utterances counted in the first three pages (Zīverts, 1967: 7-9), nine have the second person imperative form; in *Kā zaglis naktī* (*Like a thief in the night*), another play, a similar count of directive utterances in the first three pages (Zīverts, 1962: 7-9) shows that all nine examples are second person imperative directives. Moreover, in *Kīnas vāze* (*A vase from China*), out of the 51 directive messages in the whole of the first act (Zīverts, 1967: 7-28), more than three-quarters (39) are conveyed via the second person imperative.

All this and evidence from the cross-cultural study discussed below (in Section 3.0.) suggests that in Latvian, the range of use of imperative utterances is broader than in English. Since the non-affixed and the affixed forms [*sēdi* v. *sēdiet*] can be used to express the 'informal-formal' contrast¹⁸ which in English can be conveyed, among other

things, by the opposition of the imperative versus the interrogative ['Sit down!' v. 'Won't you sit down?'], this conclusion appears to be a plausible one.

However, the range of use is not as extensive as might first appear. For example, a count of second person imperative utterance form examples from literature reveals that out of 80, only 19 end in '-iet'. Besides, the graph showing some of the results of the cross-cultural study of directives (see Appendix IV) also shows that Latvian imperative directives are less frequent with addressees with whom one would use V pronominal address [- Familiar category] .

This is understandable when one considers the second component of the semantic structure of the proto-typical imperative:

I say I want you to do something

I think you will do it because of this

To a person to whom one would say:

I want to speak to you the way people speak to people whom they know well and to children

it makes sense to convey at the same time the message:

I think you will do what I tell you to do

On the other hand, to say to a person:

I want to speak to you the way people speak to people whom they do not know well and who are not children

and at the same time convey the message:

Arī es domāju, ka tu darīsi, ko es tevi lūdz darīt.

I think you will do what I tell you to do

implies a contradiction [How can I say 'I think you will do what I tell you to do' when I am saying at the same time 'I do not know you well' ?]

This is why, with an addressee whom one does not know well, a Latvian-speaker will use imperative directives where s/he can expect compliance on the basis of something other than the degree of acquaintanceship. One such basis (and there are at least two) is the speaker's assumption that the proposed action will be good for the addressee. This is illustrated by the following examples.

In the first scenario (Zīverts, 1962: 7), Raiskums, after many years, has come to visit an old friend and has got caught in the rain on the way to his friend's house. His friend's daughter, Dace, a girl of about sixteen answers the door. After a brief exchange concerning the purpose of Raiskums' visit, Dace, who has never met Raiskums before, says to him (Zīverts, 1962: 8):

...*novelciet meteli*

...*off-pull-2 pl. IMP coat/overcoat-ACC*

...take off your coat.

In the next set of examples, the speaker and his girlfriend, Zīra, are in a refugee camp; the addressee is a former POW who has been assigned a place in their hut (Zīverts, 1965: 16):

Nāciet tālāk. Te būs jūsu gulta. Sēdieties!

come-2 p. pl. IMP further here will-be your bed *sit-yourself-down-2 p. pl. IMP*

Come right in. You'll sleep in this bed. Have a seat!

At some point well into the conversation (Zīverts, 1965: 21), Zīra says to the POW:

Novelciet mēteli....būs ērtāk.

off-pull -2 p. pl. IMP coat...will-be more-comfortable

Take off your coat...you'll be more comfortable

And a moment or so later, after she notices that H is practically barefoot (Zīverts, 1965: 21), she says:

Te ir zeķes. Ņemiet!

here are socks *take-2 p. pl. IMP*

Here's some socks. Take them!

In each of these examples, the utterance is produced because the speaker probably thinks something like this: 'I know it is good for you to do what I tell you to [= get out of that wet coat/come inside (out of the cold)/sit down/take off a heavy coat/take some socks]' From a Latvian-speaker's point of view, when the addressee's personal comfort is so clearly being compromised, it would seem very strange to inquire about the addressee's 'wants' as one would in a comparable situation in English, framing the utterance in something like 'Would you like to (do something)...?' Instead, the Latvian-speaker assumes that what s/he wants the addressee to do is something that the addressee wants too and therefore, via the imperative, says something like: 'I want you to do something, I know you will (want to) do it'.

Thus, in cases where S presumes to know that A will be good for H, the imperative directive is acceptable, the degree of acquaintanceship between the interactants being immaterial. I believe that this pre-condition accounts, at least partly, for a group of

English imperative directives that are found acceptable in everyday social interaction, such as the following utterances with 'have': 'Have a break/have a rest/have a Kit-Kat/have a nice day'.¹⁹

In most cases though, English-speakers are reluctant to use this form even with people whom they know well as shown by the results of the cross-cultural study of directive utterances (see Section 3.0. below) and illustrated by the following personal observation of Latvian and English ways of 'getting one's spouse to come to dinner.' In the English context, it is not unusual for a mother to say to her child 'Go and tell daddy (that) dinner's ready' and then for the child to say: 'Dad, dinner's ready'; (S thinks: I cannot think that Daddy will come). Directly translated into Latvian, such utterances sound somewhat stilted. In Latvian, it is more usual for the mother to say : (Ej un) pasauc tēti vakariņās '(Go and) call daddy in to dinner' and for the child to say: Tēt, nāc vakariņās 'Dad, come do dinner' [S thinks: I can think that Daddy will come].

2.4. Interrogative structures

While not occurring with nearly the same frequency as in English (see graph in Appendix IV), interrogative utterances having the illocutionary force of directives do exist in Latvian. They, like the utterances in 2.1.5. below represent a complex area of Latvian directive behaviour that merits a much more thorough investigation than can be offered here. In this section, I propose to discuss two different ways of shaping an interrogative directive in Latvian; for the sake of simplicity, I have called them 'the conditional interrogative' and the 'indicative interrogative'.

2.4.1. The conditional interrogative

In the novel *Cilvēka bērns* (*Child of man*), young Boņs, who has been forbidden to go outside, is desperate to get out. He wants his boots which are in the next room where his mother and aunts are working. When one of his aunts, Malvīne, walks by (Klīdzējs, 1956: 26), he says:

Vai *tu* man pa klusiņām *neiznestu* zābakus ?

qn.-marker *you*-sg for-me on quietly *not-out-carry*-COND, boots

Would you fetch me my boots?

In a novel by Voitkus (1964: 13), Ruta, a young woman-passenger slips and falls into filthy water covering the ship's floor. Her leg badly bruised, she cannot get up and wants a bystander to help her; she says:

Vai *jūs* man *varētu* palīdzēt ...?

qn.-marker *you* -pl. *can* -COND to-help...

Could you help me...?

In a different part of the same novel, the newly-arrived elderly female tenant, Tāmuliša, wants someone to tell her how to use the stove in the communal kitchen. She knocks on the door of an 'old' tenant (Voitkus, 1964: 149) and says:

Vai *jūs*, mīlīt, man *parādītu* kuru riņķīti uz pavardiņa varu lietāt?

qn.-marker *you* -pl. dear-little-person-VOC to-me *show* - COND which little-ring

on little-stove I-can,use

Would you, dearie²⁰, show me which burner I can use on the stove?

The conductor, in the same novel, wants the rowdy group of young men in the train to be less noisy (Klīdzējs, 1962: 71); he says:

Vai *nevarētu* drusku klusāk?

qn-marker *not-can-COND* crumb-ACC quieter

You couldn't be a bit quieter?

The young boy in the underground shelter featured in Zīverts' play (1970: 31) wants the scout/messenger to organize a place for him and his companions on a boat to freedom. He says:

Ja tu, teiksim, *aizliktu* par mums kādu labu vārdu pie rēderejas kungiem?

if you-sg. say *put-COND* for us-DAT some-ACC good-ACC word-ACC next-to
helm-GEN lords-DAT

Supposing you were to put in a word on our behalf to the men who run the boat?

Each of these utterances is a variation of the same basic pattern which can be represented as follows:

vai/varbūt/ja/kā būtu + addr. pron. + 'beneficiary' + VP-COND

(Other examples of utterances with this basic structure can be found in the following: Kārklīņš, 1962: 8, 247; Jaunsudrabiņš, no date: 107; Janovskis, 1968: 132, 148, 195; Klīdzējs, 1956: 50, 153).

2.4.2. The 'indicative' interrogative

The use of this type of utterance is illustrated by the following short extracts. In the novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*), when the seventeen year-old Andris is leaving to go home, his sweetheart, Mare, wants him to come again (Klīdzējs, 1962: 48); she says:

Tu rītvakar tak *ienāksi* uz kādu brīdi?

you-sg. tomorrow-night of-course, 'in-will-come on some while-ACC

Of course you'll drop by tomorrow night for a while?

Betija, in Dziļums' novel (1961: 280) wants her estranged lover to come in for a chat; she says:

Vai tu *neienāksi* aprunāties?

qn.-marker you-sg. not-come-in-2 p. sg. FUT to-chat

Won't you come in for a chat?

In Putniņš' play (1979: 82), Terēze, a fortyish female professional holidaying in the country, wants a fellow-tourist to join her and her family for *launags* 'a late afternoon meal'. Tereze says:

Nenāksit launagu ieēst ?

not-come-2 p. pl. FUT tea to-eat

Won't you come and have some tea?

In the novel *Tev nebūs...* (*Thou shalt not...*), Ruta, wants her fiance, Vilis, to visit her on Sunday; she frames her 'request' thus (Voitkus, 1962: 70):

Varēsi svētdien atnākt?

can-2 p. sg. FUT Sunday to-come

Will you be able to come on Sunday?

When, in the same novel, Vilis needs some money to pay a deposit on some property and wants Ruta to lend it to him, he says (Voitkus, 1962: 195):

Varbūt tu man vari...aizdot?

perhaps you-sg. me-DAT can-2 p. sg. PRES IND...to-lend

Perhaps you can lend me...?

The basic pattern of this group of utterances can be represented as follows:

vai/varbūt + addr. pron. + 'beneficiary' + VP-FUT/PRES INDIC

(Other examples of utterances with this basic pattern are in Voitkus, 1962: 266, 271; Janovskis, 1968: 172, 230; Kārklīņš, 1962: 178.)

2.4.3. Discussion

The basic patterns of both the conditional and the indicative interrogatives are very similar; for ease of comparison, I note them again:

'conditional'

vai/varbūt/ja/kā būtu ja + addr.pron. + beneficiary + VP-COND

'Could you give me something?'

'Perhaps you could give me something?'

'If you could give me something?'

'How would it be if you give me something?'

'indicative'

vai/varbūt + addr. pron. + beneficiary + VP-FUT/PRES INDIC

'Can you give me something?'

'Perhaps you can give me something?'

With the elements in the first slot: vai 'qn-marker', varbūt 'perhaps', ja 'if', kā būtu ja roughly, 'how would it be if', the speaker is saying:

I don't know if something could/can happen

I want to know this

None of the examples in the 'conditional' group uses punctuation [the question mark] alone (corresponding, presumably, to the question intonation in speech) to convey the 'I don't know, I want to know' message, while in three utterances of the 'indicative' group quoted above, the 'I don't know, I want to know' message is conveyed in this way. To distinguish between 'assertions' and 'questions', Latvian appears to rely on features other than word-order to a greater extent than does English; compare, for example, the following pairs of utterances:

'INDICATIVE-FUT.' [e.g. *varēsi atnākt* 'will be able to come']

I think: you will be able to do something (for me)

I want to know if you will be able to do it

'INDICATIVE-PRES.' [e.g. *vari aizdot* 'can lend']

I think: you can do something (for me)

I want to know if you can do it

In both groups of examples quoted above, the 'something to be done' is something that will be good for the speaker. The interrogative structure translates the Latvian-speaker's reluctance to assume that the speaker will comply. This reluctance is especially marked with 'strangers' or 'near-strangers'. With these people, Latvian-speakers avoid asking about the hearers' present and future 'ability'/'willingness', preferring instead to ask about their hypothetical 'ability'/'willingness'; the 'indicative' sample of utterances, though very small, hints at this preference.

English-speakers too consider 'Would you (do something)?' more 'polite' than 'Will you (do something)?' and 'Could you (do something)?' more polite than 'Can you (do something)?' (see a discussion on this point, among others, in Wierzbicka, 1991: 205-207). However, each language draws the demarcation lines separating the contexts requiring something like 'could/would' from those requiring, roughly, 'can/will' differently I will again refer to this question in Section 3.0. below.

Extreme reluctance on the speaker's part to presume on the hearer's willingness to carry out the proposed task is expressed by the 'conditional' interrogative occurring between people who know each other well. In the example with young Boņs and his boots he says something like 'Would you...?' rather than 'Can you...?' or 'Will you...?' as one would expect to a member of the same (extended) family; after all, Boņs and his aunt use reciprocal T pronoun address. But 'direct' questions about Malvīne's 'ability'/'willingness', with expressions corresponding, roughly, to 'Can you...?' or 'Will you...?' would be like the speaker saying 'I think you can/will (do what I'm

asking)' and might antagonize Malvine; the seven year old Boņs and twenty year old Malvine are presented to the reader as constantly teasing each other and feuding.

2.4.4. *The negative prefix NE-*

The role of negative interrogative structures as vehicles for conveying types of directive messages in English and other languages has received considerable attention from both intra- and cross-cultural perspectives (Wierzbicka, 1991 and Nakada, 1980, among others).

Consider the following English utterances:

Isn't it warm today?

Isn't he cute?

Aren't they lovely?

In each of these, S expects H to respond with some sign - verbal or non-verbal - that says: 'I think it is', 'I think he is' and 'I think they are' respectively. In NSM, utterances like those above, encode something like the following message:

'Isn't something ADJ?'

I say: I think something is ADJ [= warm/cute/lovely]

I don't know if you think something is ADJ

I want to know what you think

I think you will say: I think the same as you

Similarly, when an English-speaker says to someone 'Won't [=will not] you sit down?' s/he expects H to give her/him some sign (verbal or non-verbal) that says 'I will sit down'. For utterances with this pattern, therefore, I suggest the following semantic content:

Won't you do something?

I say: I think you will do something [=sit down]

I don't know if you will do it

I want to know if you will do it

I think you will say: I will do it

Utterances similar in form to the English ones above and conveying very similar meanings can also be found in Latvian, as shown by the following (fictitious) examples:

Vai nav silts šodien? (H says: Ir gan silts.)

Is not warm today? (H says: It is warm.)

Vai nav smukiņš? (H says: Ir gan.)

Is not cute? (H says: It is.)

Vai nav skaisti? (H says: Jā.)

Are not lovely? (H says: Yes.)

and the following short exchange from a play (Putniņš, 1979: 82):

Terēze: Harij, Gaston: *Nenāksit launagu ieēst?*

Harijs: O ja!

Terēze: Harij, Gaston: *won't you come and have some tea?*

Harijs: Yes of course!

In a short story by Eglītis (1967: 131) there is an even more convincing illustration that a positive response is often expected to a negative question. The hero, Gaitis, is recognized by a fellow-refugee on the other side of a waiting-room. The refugee says: Negribi pîpēt? 'lit: Don't you want to smoke', and (adds the author) 'without waiting for a reply, he throws the cigarette across the room', thus indicating that he has expected Gaitis to say 'Yes, I do want to smoke'.

These examples suggest that in both the English and Latvian utterances, the expectation that H will express agreement with what S says, is conveyed by 'not' in English and the prefix NE- in Latvian. (I note that 'is not' is expressed in Latvian by the word nav; the regular way for verbs to form negatives is by means of the prefix NE-; for example: iet 'to go', neiet 'not to go', darīt 'to do', nedarīt 'not to do'.) However, the negative morpheme does not *always* have this function in interrogatives across both languages; consider, for example, utterances of the type: Vai tev nav 'Haven't you got/Don't you have' + NP, where NP stands for a concrete object that is transferable from one person to another.

MLLVG (vol. 2: 156) cites the following example of an utterance to a librarian:

Vai jums *nav* tāda grāmata - 'Verdzības vēsture'

qn-marker you-pl. *is-not* such book - 'The history of slavery'

Do you not have such a book- 'The history of slavery'?

adding that the speaker of this utterance expects the librarian to say something like 'Yes, we do.' The literal English equivalent to the Latvian Vai jums nav... [Do you not have....] could not be used in a similar situation; the English phrase is used in 'reproofs' and 'complaints'.

That a transfer of linguistic structure is not always accompanied by a transfer of pragmatic meaning is further demonstrated by the following example. In a story by

Ķiķauka (1965: 222) there is an episode where a husband wants his wife to give him a clean shirt; he says:

Vai tev *nav* kur kads kreklis?

qn-marker you-sg. DAT *is-not* somewhere some shirt

Do you not have a shirt somewhere?

That interrogative utterances with this structure are perceived as 'requests' is shown by the wife's actions described as follows:

His wife disappeared without a word and returned with a freshly ironed...white...lightly perfumed shirt²¹

Unlike the Latvian interrogative discussed earlier [Vai nav silts...?], which has a counterpart, pragmatically as well as lexically and grammatically, in the English utterance 'Isn't it warm...?', the Latvian interrogative Vai tev nav kāds kreklis? has in the English utterances 'Don't you have a shirt?' 'Do you not have a shirt?' and 'Haven't you got a shirt?' counterparts only in the lexical and grammatical sense. With the English utterances 'Don't you have...?' 'Do you not have...?' and 'Haven't you got...?' the speaker conveys something akin to a 'reproof'. In a scenario where a Latvian husband uses the 'Don't you have...?' English structure in order to ask his Anglo-Australian wife for a clean shirt, the potential for cross-cultural mis-communication with predictable consequences is obvious.

2.5. 'Performative' and 'declarative' structures

In a very broad sense, the description 'performative' can refer to ^{an}act of speech. Every utterance can be called a performative utterance in the sense that the very act of saying something is 'performing' or 'doing'. I have chosen to use 'performative' to refer to a group of Latvian verbs that, in an utterance, can be used to carry out the action that they denote; the uttered verb 'is' the speech-act; for example: ielūdzu 'I invite', lūdzu 'I ask/beg/pray', aizliedzu 'I forbid' and so on. This is much the way Searle and others have used the term (Searle, 1965; Searle and Vanderveken, 1985) As for the term 'Declarative', I have used it here to describe sentences in the declarative mood.

2.5.1. Performative structures

In a short story by Brigadere (1957: 657) *Līziņa*, a young woman conveys the message 'I want you to come to dinner' to a young man in the following terms:

Nu tad *lūdzu* pie mums uz pusdienām
well then *I-ask* at us on dinner

In that case I invite you to dinner at our place

In *Cilvēki vētrā* (*People in a storm*), a novel by Dziļums (1961: 103), a member of the executive committee in the kolchoz, Mazjēcis, wants a farmer's wife to do something with her dog which is about to attack him. He says:

Es *prasu* pievākt to zvēru...

I *demand* to-take-away that beast...

I demand that you take the beast away...

In *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*), the secondary school-student, having heard lies about his father from his teacher (Klīdzējs, 1962: 46), says:

Es aizliedzu jums tā runāt par manu tēvu, skolotāja kungs!

I forbid to-you pl. thus to-talk about my father teacher sir/Mr

I forbid you to say things like that about my father, Sir!

The young man Egons in a novel by Kārklīšs (1962: 266) has been insulted by a fellow-member of a student fraternity. When the latter does not want to take back his insulting remarks, Egons challenges him to a duel with the following utterance:

Es tevi aicinu.

I you-ACC invite/ask/summon

I summon you.

The message 'I want you to dance with me' is conveyed by Silmežs to Līziņa in a short story (Brigadere, 1957: 433) where at a ball he comes up to her and says:

Lūdzu, lūdzu!

I-ask, I-ask

I ask, I ask!

meaning 'I want you to have the next dance with me'. In this and the other performative examples above, the verbs lūdzu 'I ask/beg/pray', prasu 'I ask/demand', aicinu 'I invite/summon' are all unambiguously conveying the message:

I say I want you to do something

Equally unambiguous is the message 'I say I want you not to do something' of aizliedzu 'I forbid'. The speaker is seen expressing the 'want' of controlling other people's behaviour.

In English, directive utterances with performative verbs (as utterances with imperative verbs) are generally perceived as less acceptable ways of conveying directive messages in everyday social interaction (Searle, 1979), at least in the active voice. Passive performative structures, such as those in the following group, are perceived as more acceptable: 'you are invited', 'you are requested', 'you are asked' and (usually in the written mode) 'you are required'. These structures are tolerated, because, through them, the speaker message conveys a message that goes something like this:

I say: someone wants you to (do something)

That some uses of passive performatives of this kind are perceived as having a 'co-ercive' force similar to statements of obligation [=I say: you have to do something] is evident from the reaction of people targetted by directives similar to this one which appeared in a school newsletter in the early nineties in Canberra. The directive was expressed as 'Parents are invited to (do something)' or 'You are invited to (do something)'. Some reactions to this directive were expressed in utterances similar to these: 'I can't be expected to do such and such' and 'How can X expect me/us to do such and such'. The utterances from parents showed that they perceived the 'speaker's' way of getting them to do something as a threat to personal autonomy and a desire to impose on

the part of the speaker; in other words, not an Anglo-Australian way of doing things (cf. Wierzbicka, 1991 and 1992)

Latvians, on the other hand, use such utterances all the time. The Latvian word lūdzu lit: 'I ask/beg/pray' occurs in a variety of kinds of contexts: contexts where Anglo-Australians would say 'Please'²², contexts where the appropriate response to 'Thank you' is 'You're welcome'. Lūdzu occurs in the formula Sakiet lūdzu, lit: 'Tell/say-IMP-pl. I-ask/beg/pray' used in service encounters to attract the attention of sales staff, information officers and clerks, thus serving as an introduction to utterances that carry the message 'I want you to tell me something'. In corresponding contexts, the Anglo-Australian way is to use a non-action verb in the formula 'Excuse me (please)'.

2.5.2. 'Declarative' structures

Finally, there are directive utterances that belong to none of the previous groupings: the 'declaratives'. In this group, it is impossible to talk about a discrete set of utterances, because, given the right context, practically any declarative utterance can be used with a directive illocutionary force. There are nevertheless some types of declarative utterances that are more obviously directive than others and there are different 'strengths' of illocutionary force.

As in English, there are utterances expressing 'obligation':

...man ar tevi *jārunā*...

to-me with you *must-speak*

...I have to talk to you...(Kārklīņš, 1962: 379)

whereby S says to H:

I have to say something to you

There are declaratives where S says to H something like 'I think you could do something for me', as in the following example from one of Zīverts' plays (1970: 31) where the boy who wants to escape to freedom, says to the scout/messenger:

...tu *varētu* mums izbrīvēt kādu stūrīti savā laivā.

you-sg. *can-COND* for-us to-make-free some small-corner your-sg.-LOC boat-LOC

...you could find for us some small corner in your boat

There are declaratives, which, as in English, convey to H the message 'something will happen to you'. In the novel *Jaunieši* (*The young ones*), a farmer on business in the city is wearing a heavy coat although the weather is very warm (Klīdzējs, 1962: 214). The young man with him wants him to take the coat off; he says:

Jums tai ar mēteļi *paliks* pavysam korsts.

to-you-plur., thus, with, coat, *become-3 p. sg. FUT.*, completely, hot

You with that coat on will get very hot.

There are utterances expressing what Blum-Kulka and others (Blum-Kulka et al. 1984) call 'strong hints'. When one of the rowdy group of travellers on a train in the abovementioned Klīdzējs' novels wants someone to give him a drink (1962: 72), he says, as he is eyeing something (probably another bottle) under the seat:

Man *kakls* sauss!

to-me, *throat*, dry

My throat is dry !

in other words 'Something has happened to me'.

Finally, there are declarative directives where the speaker says 'If you did something, I would feel something good'. The following example is from Voitkus' novel (1964: 72), where Ruta says to her boyfriend, who earlier on had expressed some reluctance at visiting her on Sunday:

...es priecātos ja tu svētdien varētu atnākt

I be-happy -COND if you sg. Sunday can -COND to-come

I'd be pleased if you could come on Sunday.

Utterances of this type, which appear to be somewhat restricted in English (see Sections 3.3.3.1. and 3.3.3.2. below), are commonly used in Latvian when the speaker wants to say something like 'I want you to do something which will be good for me'.

The speaker's good feelings about an anticipated act performed by the hearer are also expressed in Latvian with declaratives that say 'Something will happen to you' (see above). In Janovskis' novel, one of the characters 'invites' two others to a small party with the following utterance (Janovskis, 1968:93):

Būsit mīļi gaidīti.

be-2 p.pl. FUT with-love await/expect-pt. pple. m. pl. NOM

You will be lovingly awaited.

More will be said about the expression of good feelings towards the addressee as a feature of Latvian directive behaviour in Section 3 below. For the time being, suffice it

to say that these utterances share the following component: 'Because I want you to do something I want you to know this'. In addition to this, each of the Latvian declarative utterances we have discussed has at least one utterance-specific component. For the 'obligation' utterance such as man ar tevi jārunā 'I have to talk you you' this utterance-specific component is:

I have to say things to you

The young man's utterance to the farmer about his heavy coat being too hot for the warm weather) cited above, says, among other things:

because of what you have done [put on a heavy coat]

something bad will happen to you [you will get hot]

The rowdy traveller who is 'hinting' for a drink ['My throat is parched'] is conveying the following message:

something has happened to me

I feel something bad because of this

The 'invitation' in Janovskis' novel ['You will be lovingly awaited'] says:

if you do something [come to my party]

I will feel something very good towards you

2.6. Concluding remarks

In this overview of forms, contexts and meanings of directive utterances in Latvian, a number of interesting areas of investigation had to be left unexplored; I mentioned the complexities of interrogative and declarative directives already.

Another area is that of using terms and formulae whose role corresponds roughly to that of 'hedges', 'hesitators' and 'downtoners' (House and Kasper, 1981: 179-179; Blum-Kulka, 1987: 133, 137). Some of my comments may have implied that a Latvian-speaker has little difficulty in deciding whether, for example, her/his interlocutor is likely to comply with her/his directive and therefore communicates directive messages with a minimum use of 'hedges' and similar. Just as for the speaker of any other language, however, for the speaker of Latvian there are occasions where 'coming straight to the point' would be considered inappropriate behaviour and terms and formulae for expressing 'hesitation' and 'hedging' have to be used.

My comments may have also suggested that in interrogative and declarative directives, the illocutionary directive force is not as strong as in imperative directives. This is not always true. While this appears to be so for most of the examples of interrogative utterances and for some types of declarative utterances quoted in the present section, there are examples which suggest quite the opposite. There are Latvian utterances with the main verb in the future tense, similar to the English 'Will you be quiet !' as, for example, the following one:

Vai tu turēsi muti, velns!

qn-marker you-sg. hold-2 p. sg. FUT mouth devil

Will you hold your tongue, devil! (Janovskis, 1968: 50)

Other examples of this particular utterance type are in Putniņš (1979: 76), Jaunsudrabiņš (1981: 22), and Zīverts (1967: 8). There are other types as well, but their 'expressive' use cannot be investigated here.

What I have shown, is that, generally speaking, both English and Latvian have a similar range of syntactic patterns for conveying directive messages; Latvian, with its infinitive directive, has the slightly more extensive repertoire. The difference between the two languages is more in the distribution of use of these patterns. For example, the same scenario ['getting one's spouse to come to dinner'] has the Latvian-speaker using an imperative, whereas the Anglo-Australian uses a declarative. While part of the Latvian-speaker's message is 'I want you to come to dinner', the Anglo-Australian speaker is saying something like: 'I think you would want to know that you can come to dinner (if you want to).' Conversely, utterances similar in form have different pragmatic functions; I refer to the earlier discussion of 'Haven't you got a shirt?'

However, it has not been the aim of this section to produce anything approaching a definitive analysis of one or more aspects of Latvian directive behaviour. Rather, it has been to examine some specific instances of Latvians communicating 'action goals' (see more on this question in Ervin-Tripp, 1981: 201) in order to see how their ways of doing this compare with those in other languages (notably in English), thereby saying something about cultural values.

Directives in English are addressee-focused in the sense that the speaker wants to know about the addressee's wants first; the contexts where an English-speaker can be seen to presume to know what will be good for the addressee are very few. Even in cases where the directive is very much in the interests of the addressee, it has the shape of an interrogative, as in the following utterance from a check-out operator in a Canberra supermarket over the loudspeaker (p.o. on 8 August 1992). The addressee was a customer who had forgotten to turn the headlights off after having parked the car:

You've left your lights on. Would you please like to return to the car-park and turn them off.

When uttering a directive, the English-speaker acts (even with friends, family and acquaintances) as if s/he is always or nearly always conscious that a directive is a potential imposition on the speaker's right to do 'their own thing', an intrusion on their privacy. The speaker's attitude to the action proposed in the directive and how it might affect the addressee is rarely communicated.

Latvian directives, on the other hand, appear to be speaker-focused in the sense that a Latvian-speaker states her/his wants much more overtly. More readily than their English-speaking counterparts, Latvian-speakers presume to know what will be good for the addressee, especially when the addressee is someone they know well. With strangers or near-strangers (but not always even with these and with superiors, Latvians behave as if aware of a directive utterance's potential imposition; with someone whom they know well, their directive behaviour is more 'indirect' when they want the addressee to do something that will benefit S. Thus, Latvian-speakers' attitudes to the action proposed in the directive and how it might affect the addressee are communicated all the time.

There is a Latvian saying which epitomizes the Latvian attitude to getting people to do things which are presumed to be good for them:

Slimam prasa, veselam dod.

sick-person DAT, (one) asks, healthy-person DAT, (one) gives

Of a sick person you ask, to a healthy person you give.²³

which means (approximately) 'You need to inquire about the wants/likes/dislikes of a person who is sick because you cannot presume to know them; but you should be able to anticipate the wants/likes/dislikes of a person who is well.' That is why at a Latvian dinner - even a formal one - it is not unusual for the hostess to cheerfully tell her guests 'I want you to eat' in the following terms:

Ēdiet, ēdiet, ciemiņi! Nekaunieties!

eat-2 p. pl. IMP eat guests-VOC not-be-embarrassed-2 p. pl. IMP

Eat up, eat up! Don't be shy!²⁴

When it is a question of the self benefitting from the other's action, the unwillingness to presume on the kindness of the other evidenced by a preference for non-imperative directive structures, appears at the level of the whole interactive episode as well; not just at the utterance level. For example, personal observation has confirmed that at a party, where food is set out on the table for guests to help themselves, it is considered 'good manners' to wait until there has been some kind of a signal to start from the host/hostess. This signal can take the form 'Eat up, eat up' mentioned earlier; it is considered even 'better manners' to wait until the signal has been repeated at least once.

That this kind of 'reticent' behaviour is viewed positively, is evident from the following description of one Latvian way of saying 'I want you to lend me something' that was observed in rural Latvija in the 1930s; the italics are mine:

When a mother wanted to borrow something from her neighbour, she would sometimes send her child, who would be instructed as follows: remember to offer the appropriate greeting and wait to be asked inside; *above all, do not immediately blurt out what it is you are after but spend some time talking about other things*; say 'thank you', do not overstay your visit and remember to say 'good bye'.²⁵

The typical Latvian way of getting people to do things can be described as follows:

When I want people to do things

It is good to say to people something like this:

I want you to do something

I think you will do it because of this

OR

If you do something good for me

I will feel something good

OR

I think you will do what I want

This behaviour is motivated by a wider-reaching norm governing more than just directive behaviour; this norm contains the following components:

People can think these things about other people:

I know what this other person will do

I know that this other person will want to know what I think

I know that this other person will want to know how I feel

For Anglo directive behaviour, on the other hand, the following cultural script can be proposed:

When I want someone to do something

it is not good to say to this person: I want you to do it

it is not good to think: this person will do it

people have to say something like this:

I want to know if you want to do it

I want to know if you can do it

I want to know if you would do it if I said: I would want you to do it

This is in keeping with the English cultural norm which can be expressed in NSM as follows:

People cannot think this about another person:

I know what this person will do

I know that this person will want to know what I think

I know that this person will want to know how I feel

Thus, it is not Searle's notion of politeness (1975: 74 - on 'Can you pass the salt?'), or lack of it that prompts the Latvian-speaker to prefer to 'tell' people to do things rather than 'ask'. Neither is it a disregard for 'deference' that allows Latvian friends to 'order each other around' (Fraser and Nolen, 1981). Rather it is that there is a 'politeness' that is English and a 'politeness' that is Latvian. More tangible evidence for these contrasting 'politenesses' will emerge from quantitative data discussed in the next section of this chapter.

3.0. Same scenarios, different cultures, different structures: a report on the results of a study of Latvian and Anglo-Australian verbal strategies for getting people to do things

The aim of the Latvian questionnaires, administered in Rīga in October-November 1992, was threefold. Firstly, it was to expand my data base of directive utterances in Latvian. Secondly, it was to furnish a body of data whereby certain hypotheses about the way Latvians use language could be tested in an empirically verifiable way. Thirdly, and more importantly, it was to demonstrate that language behaviour as represented in literary works of a particular language community can provide a valid basis for the investigation of language use. The utterances produced by the questionnaires of the survey were remarkably similar to those 'produced' by the authors of plays and novels.

Examples of Latvian directive utterances I had examined prior to collecting the elicited data in Rīga, indicated that, as in other languages, here too there was a strong correlation between utterance form and different social factors, such as: the degree of 'familiarity' between S and H, their social position and their relative ages. Other things

too seemed to have a bearing on directive utterance form; things like the nature of A itself (its urgency, its difficulty) and the question as to who was likely to benefit from the A. Between the same interlocutors, the messages 'I want you to lend me a dollar' and 'I want you to lend me 100 dollars' is likely to produce two quite different utterance forms.

3.1. Setting up the questionnaires

Since the time available to me in Latvija was very limited, these had to be ones relatively easy to administer, that could be completed in a relatively short time and that would yield a sufficiently large number of examples. The most practical format proved to be a series of short interactional scenarios involving two people, one of whom had to say something. In this way, actual 'directive' utterances would be elicited from informants and written down by them. As a justification for this approach, I refer to Forgas (1985: 100) who says that:

a pilot study showed that when subjects were asked to state their requests verbally...results generated were quite similar to those produced when subjects responded in writing

Inspired by the survey work of Slobin (1963), Kasper (1990), Blum-Kulka et al. (1984, 1985), Gibbs (1985) and others, I produced a set of 52 scenarios arranged in 8 sections. As a larger sample of the scenarios and the lay-out, I have included a Latvian and an English copy of the second half (four sections) of the questionnaire in Appendix III; the following list of scenarios is a representative example for the purposes of the present discussion:

A mother wants her teenage son/daughter to tidy up his/her bookshelf; she says to him/her :.....

The wife has forgotten to buy the butter. She wants her husband to go and buy it. She says :.....

N is a university teacher. She wants a student to give her seminar paper a week earlier than planned. To the student she says: :.....

N is a university professor. His car has broken down. He wants the mechanic to fix it. To the mechanic he says :.....

You have a headache. You go to a chemist's. You want the chemist to give you something for the headache. To the chemist you say :.....

You are at a football game. At one point, the ball comes flying in your direction. The person next to you can't see the ball coming and the ball will hit him/her. To this person you say:

My aim was to devise what Gibbs calls 'real-life scenarios' (1985), the kinds of situations that were likely to be within most people's realm of experience, real or imagined. Here I ran into some difficulty, because, wanting to compare Latvian directive behaviour with Anglo-Australian, I needed a set of situations that would 'work' with Anglo-Australian informants as well as Latvian ones. Situations such as those involving dealing with banks, credit-cards, own rooms for teenage children, toddlers running around in public libraries, easily accessible public phones (that work!) - all commonplace in Canberra, had to be excluded; they would not work in Rīga. Even after numerous discussions with my research supervisors and a considerable number of re-drafting, changes had to be made after I arrived in Rīga with 400 photocopied pages of the final product.²⁶

3.2. Procedure for obtaining responses

In Rīga, given the limited time available and the fact that I had contacts at the Latvian University and the Pedagogical Institute of Rīga, it seemed that using post-secondary students as informants was the most efficient way of getting a satisfactory number of responses in a short time. Besides, such informants would all roughly be within the same age range and have a similar educational (and, possibly, social) background. In the Department of Sociology, a senior lecturer offered to let me 'borrow' his first year students and the departmental head in the Department of English was happy to arrange some time with the second and third year students in her department. The Director of the Pedagogical Institute freed up some time with a group of her students, primary school-teacher trainees. Through the colleagues of these people, I subsequently had access to other student groups in Philosophy and Political Sciences.

The Sociology lecturer thought that students would have no trouble in doing one sheet (that is, two sections) of the questionnaire in 10-15 minutes, so it was decided that two sheets would be administered per 30 minute session. (Previous experience several months earlier with a smaller questionnaire in Adelaide had shown that informants are reluctant to give more than 30 minutes at a sitting to responding to a questionnaire.)

Before distributing the questionnaires, I explained to the respondents that I was not interested in grammatical correctness of the responses; neither was I interested in what they felt 'ought to be said' in a particular scenario. My suggestion was that they read the scenario, imagine themselves as the person required to 'say something' in it and 'scribble' the first utterance that came to them.

Two 30-minute sessions with the same 100 informants would have been ideal. However, not all informants were able to be present for both half-hour sessions, so that only about 40 informants filled in all four sheets of the survey. Everybody else filled in two or almost two, so that in the end I had over 90 more or less completed sets of questionnaires.

This represented over 4,500 examples of Latvian directive utterances from 100 or so informants, whose ages ranged from 16 to early 20's, with one mature-age student of 36. About two thirds of the responses were from women; more women than men choose to study Sociology, Philosophy, English and primary school-teaching. Some sessions with mathematics and engineering respondents would undoubtedly have redressed the male-female balance, but to arrange such sessions would have necessitated an extension to the field-trip.

While undeniably fruitful and enlightening, a detailed description and analysis of such a quantity of data was beyond the scope of the present discussion. Besides, I wanted to have a more equitable mix of female and male utterances. I therefore selected 50 sets of responses. These consisted of all 20 sets completed by male respondents, aged between 18 and 23, students of Sociology, Philosophy, English and Political Sciences. The 30 sets of female responses were selected to correspond roughly to the age range and academic orientation of the male set. The number 50 was chosen as the total in order to make percentage calculations as simple as possible (this, however, proved to be a vain hope much of the time!)

Using this data-base of about 2500 responses from a group of Latvian-speakers of roughly the same age and educational background, I proceeded to test some of my hypotheses based on the evidence from literature.

In order to put into sharper focus those aspects of Latvian directive behaviour that appear unique from an Anglo point of view, I gave the same survey to a number of Faculty of Arts students at the Australian National University and the University College of the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy. Thanks to the help of members of the teaching staff at these institutions, I collected 25 sets of utterances; that is, about 1250 utterances. This proved to be a sufficiently large number to enable me to draw some comparisons between Anglo-Australian [AA] and Latvian [LV] directive use.

3.3. Discussion

Before proceeding further, it is important to remember two things. First, the two sets of responses [Rīga and Canberra], reflect the norms and conventions of each language; the respondents wrote down what they imagined someone might say in a particular situation. Furthermore, the responses are examples of what a particular sector of the whole of the language community (i.e., a group of tertiary students) deems appropriate linguistic behaviour. Of course, what actually happens in real-life could be different.

The initial scan through the Latvian responses was enough to show that there appeared to be a strong correlation between a particular situation and the preferred syntactic pattern of the responses. Some situations appeared to favour the conditional form of the verb, others the imperative. Some repeatedly 'produced' an utterance in the interrogative, while for others there was a higher incidence of the imperative.

Personal observation of the way Latvians express directives together with personal communication from a native Anglo-Australian speaker pointed to the fact that, from an Anglo-Australian point of view, Latvians 'tell' people to do things, rather than 'ask' people to do things. Therefore, I began first by looking at the incidence of imperative and interrogative structures across the two and a half thousand responses. One other syntactic feature that distinguishes the speech of those who 'tell someone to do something' as opposed to those who 'ask someone to do something' is the conditional, so I examined the incidence of this form as well.

Given that I had previously found evidence that Latvians appear to have two markedly different ways of speaking - one used with people they know well, the other with people they do not know well - I wanted to see to what extent (if any) the degree of 'familiarity' of the interlocutors had an influence on the utterance pattern. In order to see this more clearly, I arranged the responses into two groups: 'plus-Familiar' and 'minus-Familiar'. The 'plus-Familiar' group included talk between best friends, classmates, relatives, neighbours; the 'minus-Familiar' group involved talk with boss, student to

teacher/lecturer, doctor to patient, customer to post-office clerk, and talk between strangers. There were 25 scenarios in each group.

3.3.1. Frequency of imperative, interrogative and conditional structures in both sets of responses

In the following table, I have noted the incidence of imperative [IMP], interrogative [INT] and conditional [COND] structures in the Latvian [LV] and Anglo-Australian [AA] sets of responses:

	LV		AA	
TOTAL	2400	(100%)	1286	(100%)
IMP	832	(34.67%)	244	(18.97%)
INT	883	(36.79%)	777	(60.42%)
COND	76	(3.12%)	388	(30.17%)

For the imperative structures: chi sq. = 99.006; df = 1; $p \leq 0.0001$.

For the interrogatives: chi sq. = 187.899; df = 1; $p \leq 0.0001$.

For the conditional structures: chi sq. = 1.001; df = 1; n.s.

The figures show that the frequency of imperative directives is higher in LV, but the frequency of interrogative directives is higher in AA; there is no significant difference in LV and AA use of the conditional.

The numbers in the above table, broken down into + and - Familiar categories of addressees and expressed as percentages look like this:

		+Familiars		
	LV	AA		
IMP	40	23		
OTH	60	77	(chi sq. = 5.932; df = 1; p ≤ 0.02)	
INT	28	62		
OTH	72	58	(chi sq. = 22; df = 1; p ≤ 0.0001)	
COND	18	23		
OTH	82	77	(chi sq. = 0.491; df = 1; n.s.)	

		-Familiars		
	LV	AA		
IMP	17	11		
OTH	83	89	(chi sq. = 1.038; df = 1; n.s.)	
INT	50	63		
OTH	50	37	(chi sq. = 2.93; df = 1; n.s.)	
COND	49	39		
OTH	51	61	(chi sq. = 1.644; df = 1; n.s.)	

These results explain how it is that Latvians may appear as 'bossy' to Anglos, while Anglos may appear as excessively 'polite' to Latvians; the percentage scores show that while the interrogative, rather than the imperative, is the preferred Latvian directive strategy only with -Familiars, Anglo-Australians use interrogative directives with + and -Familiars alike. In very general terms, Latvians 'tell' what they want + Familiars to do,

whereas they 'ask' -Familiars. Anglo-Australians, on the other hand, have a great reluctance to 'tell' anyone what they want them to do; they prefer to 'ask' + and - Familiars alike.

As suggested earlier, a number of scholars have commented on two characteristics which seem to be typical of the Anglo way of getting people to do things: the avoidance of the imperative and a predilection for the interrogative (Green and Davison, 1975; Goody, 1978; Wierzbicka, 1991). The figures in the table above, indicate that the same two characteristics are typical of Anglo-Australians too. By comparison, Latvians seem to be just the opposite: less reluctant to use the imperative and more reluctant to use the interrogative, except with non-familiars. This difference is borne out further by the following.

In both the LV and AA groups, for certain scenarios there were higher percentages of imperative structures, while certain others favoured the interrogative. So, in both categories, the 'plus-Familiar' and 'minus-Familiar' (each numbering 25 scenarios), I wanted to look at the connection between numbers of scenarios and percentages of both imperative and interrogative responses. Once again, the linguistic behaviour of Latvians differed markedly from that of Anglo-Australians, as shown in these tables.

Degrees of frequency are noted as ranges of percentages, the 0-24% range representing the lowest degree and the 75-100% representing the highest. The numbers in the other four vertical columns indicate the number of scenarios for each range of frequency. For example, in the table below, in the Latvian [LV] group, for 7 +Fam scenarios (out of 25) there was a high degree of frequency of imperative; in the Anglo-Australian group, on the other hand, only 2 +Fam scenarios (out of 25) had the same degree of frequency.

% of IMP	+Fam		-Fam	
	LV	AA	LV	AA
0 - 24%	3	15	17	21
25-49%	12	6	6	1
50-74%	3	2	2	1
75-100%	7	2	0	2

% of INT	+Fam		-Fam	
	LV	AA	LV	AA
0 - 24%	14	3	8	5
25-49%	8	6	5	4
50-74%	3	8	5	6
75-100%	0	8	7	10

Graphs (in Appendix IV) based on these results give a clearer picture of these quantitatively based conclusions about LV and AA 'directive' behaviour. Both LV and AA utterance structures show a sensitivity to the +/-Fam factor; in both cultures, the strategy used by the speaker depends on the degree to which s/he knows H. However, the level of sensitivity is different across cultures, as shown by the results in the 50-74% and 75-100% brackets. AA behaviour is relatively constant for both +Fam and -Fam, whereas LV behaviour is markedly different. From this, it appears that the Anglo preference for interrogative structures in directive behaviour is stronger than the Latvian preference for imperative structures. That the differences go beyond different preferences as regards sentence and verb form will be evident from a closer analysis of the Anglo-Australian and Latvian responses to four scenarios.

3.3.2. *A cross-cultural analysis of responses to four scenarios: S1, S2, S3 and S4*

When comparing both sets of responses (the Anglo-Australian and Latvian) section by section, there appeared to be a higher degree of similarity throughout Sections 1 and 2 than elsewhere. This suggested that when it came to conveying the messages 'I want you to come to my party' and 'I want you to lend me a pen/pencil' the Latvian and Australian ways were very similar. This turned out to be a wrong first impression as will become clear from a closer analysis of 2 pairs of similar situations: the first pair from Section 1 and the second from Section 2; for ease of reference I shall call them scenarios S1, S2, S3 and S4.

For each of these scenarios, examples came from the 25 Anglo-Australian surveys. So that there might be a better balance between the Anglo-Australian and Latvian groups, for this part of the analysis I used 50 sets of Latvian responses from a group of respondents whose age distribution and male to female ratio was similar to the group of 25 Anglo-Australians. In the next few pages, I will offer a summary of the findings scenario by scenario.

3.3.3.1. *Scenario S1: 'invitation' to boss*

Informants were asked to respond to the following situation:

It is your birthday

You are having a small celebration at home

You want N to come

What do you say to N if N is your boss

In order to convey the message 'I want you to come to my birthday party' to one's boss, for both Latvian and Anglo-Australian speakers the preferred sentence pattern is the declarative: 21 out of 48 in the Latvian set and 14 out of 24 in the Anglo-Australian set ($t = -1.18$; $df = 70$; n.s.).

The main difference is in the lack of performative sentences in the Anglo-Australian corpus. Where it is acceptable in Latvian to say to one person 'I am inviting you', 'invite' cannot be used that way by Anglo-Australians. In Anglo-Australian, the verb is used in the passive form. For example, standard printed invitations to a child's birthday says 'You are invited (to my birthday party)'. At the opening of the Parents' and Friends' Association annual general meeting, it is common for the speaker to say to the audience something like 'You are all invited to stay for supper after the meeting is over'. (The verb 'request' is used in similar way over the loudspeaker at the theatre: 'Patrons are requested to take their seats 5 minutes before the start of the performance'.) The fact is that the expression 'you are invited' does not occur in Anglo-Australian face-to-face/person-to-person interaction.

In both languages, expressions of obligation and imperative verbs are avoided. They are totally absent from the Anglo-Australian corpus and out of the 48 Latvian responses, only one mentions 'obligation' and 2 contains imperative verbs (preceded by *lūdzu* lit: 'I am asking').

But there the similarity ends, since upon a closer examination of the different components that make up both sets of utterances, there emerges a very striking difference in what the speakers actually say. The messages couched in similar syntactic form stress different things. This is best summed up as follows :

only about one fifth (10 out of 48) of the Latvian responses had some reference to H's 'ability' 'want' 'interest' 'feelings'; whereas almost all (21 out of 24) of the Anglo-Australian responses did ($t = 7.46$; $df = 70$; $p \leq 0.01$)

The two following utterances typify the Latvian way of doing this:

Vai jūs *nevēlētos* apmeklēt...?

qn-marker you-pl. *not-want/wish-COND* to-visit

Would you not want to visit...?

and

Vai jūs *nevarētu* ierasties...?

qn-marker you-pl. *not-can-COND* to-come/arrive

Could you not come....?

The Anglo-Australian way, is best represented by utterances that contained the following structures: 'Would you like to come...?', 'I was wondering if you'd like to.../if you'd be free to.../if you are interested....?'

more than one half (28 out of 48) of the Latvian responses had some reference to S's 'ability' 'want' 'feelings' whereas about one fifth (5 out of 24) of the Anglo-Australian responses had such a reference ($t = 3.43$; $df = 70$; $p \leq 0.01$)

Latvians typically convey this by expressions like: *es (ļoti) vēlētos/gribētu...* 'I (very) would want....' and *man būtu prieks...* 'I would be happy...'. Anglo-Australians say something like: 'I would be honoured...' and 'I'd be pleased...':

while close to a half (19 out of 48) of the Latvian responses had some reference to S's 'feeling something good', of the Anglo-Australian responses, less than a fifth (4 out of 24) had a similar reference ($t = 2.2$; $df = 70$; $p \leq 0.05$)

For referring to S's feelings, I already mentioned above, the Latvian expressions *es vēlētos* 'I'd like' and *man būtu prieks* 'I'd be happy'. Another commonly used Latvian strategy is to refer to H as the 'causer' of S's good feelings in utterances with structures similar to the following:

Vai jūs nebūtu tik laipns un *nevarētu mani pagodināt...*?

qn-marker you-pl. not-be-COND so kind and *not-can-COND me to-honour*

Would you you not be so kind and could you not honour me...?

In addition to the above observations, I noted that more than one third (9 out of 24) of the Anglo-Australian responses included the clause 'I was wondering/I wondered'. There is no Latvian equivalent for this expression. There is a verb *brīnīties* 'to wonder' but it is never used in contexts such as the one presently discussed. 'I was wondering...' is an open admission of S's uncertainty as to whether H will comply with S's 'wants'. The question 'Do you think you'd...' featured in one response, communicates the same uncertainty. We can therefore say, that in almost one half of the Anglo-Australian responses, S is openly saying to H:

'I cannot say : I know/think you will come'

There is another interesting point: more than three-quarters of responses in both corpuses had some reference to the reason for the invitation (a party, birthday, special dinner, etc was mentioned); this represented 40 Latvian utterances and 22 Anglo utterances. Out of the 40 Latvian utterances, just over a third mentioned that the party was 'small', while out of the 22 Anglo utterances, more than two thirds had some reference to 'smallness' ('a few people', 'small gathering', 'small get-together').

I believe that the overt stating of uncertainty regarding the actual outcome of events and the mention of the 'smallness' of the party is a manifestation of the 'polite

pessimism' of English-speakers mentioned by Brown and Levinson (1987). It was suggested to me that the reference to the smallness of the party could be interpreted as a device for getting H to comply; it is easier to refuse an invitation to a big party rather than a small (and therefore, possibly, exclusive) one. Such an interpretation would, however, be at variance with the 'I don't want to impose' [=I don't want you to do something that you don't want to do] attitude governing much English-speaking directive behaviour, making the 'polite pessimism' interpretation the more plausible one. By communicating the idea that 'it is not a particularly big/important occasion' and 'I am really more interested in what you want rather than what I want' S is making it easier for H to refuse without hurting S's feelings. In a way, S is protecting her/himself against a possible rebuttal and at the same time offering H, in the case of H's refusing, a means of saving 'face'; if H refuses, it will not appear as if s/he has refused a 'big request'.

By means of the conditional, the interrogative, and by words such as *varbūt* 'perhaps' S communicates uncertainty about the outcome in the Latvian responses too. However, this uncertainty is never conveyed as openly as in the Anglo-Australian responses with 'I was wondering...' and 'Do you think...'

Furthermore, as more than one half (14 out of 24) of the Anglo-Australian responses show, the uncertainty is not about H actually complying, but H 'wanting' to comply; S does not say 'I was wondering if you would come' or 'Would you come...?' While saying 'I was wondering if you'd like to....' and 'Would you like to...?', S is also saying something like 'I don't know if you want to come'. Plainly, in the Anglo-Australian context, the feelings of H matter a good deal.

Contrary to the Anglo-Australian way of proceeding in this particular situation, Latvians quite openly say 'If you come to my party, I will feel something good because of that'. This is in keeping with the concept of *viesmīlība*, a word for which there is no neat English equivalent. The word is a compound of *viesis* 'guest' and *mīlība* 'a warm, loving disposition'; thus, *viesmīlība* means something like 'a warm, loving disposition towards one's guests'. The adjective *viesmīlīgs* describes someone as 'having the quality

of being welcoming, showing consideration and kindness to guests'; its opposite is neviesmīlīgs 'unwelcoming, showing a lack of concern, coldness to guests'.

Thus, the Latvian-speaker's way of 'inviting to a party' is to show that one cares for H by expressing an eagerness to have H come. For Anglo-Australians, this display of good feelings towards H is not acceptable. For them, it is more important to show 'respect' for H's autonomy. The messages conveyed by the Latvian and Anglo-Australian ways of inviting a boss to a party, can be summed up in simple terms as follows:

Latvians say: I want you to come, I will feel something good if you come

Anglo-Australians say: I want you to come, I don't know if you want to come, I want to know if you want to come.

3.3.3.2. Scenario S2: 'invitation' to best friend

Informants were asked to respond to the situation:

It is your birthday

You are having a small celebration at home

You want N to come

What do you say to N if N is your best friend

The following facts emerged from a detailed comparison of the two sets of responses.

Unlike the Latvian set of responses, where imperatives were a common occurrence, only four of the Anglo-Australian responses contained the imperative action-verb 'come'.

About two-thirds (15 out of 24) of the Anglo-Australian responses were interrogative utterances that had to do with any one of three things: H's 'wants', H's

'ability' or the eventuality of H's compliance. Structures like: 'would you like to...?', '(do you) want to...?', 'wanna...?' and 'can you...?' express an Anglo-Australian speaker's concern for H's 'wants' and 'ability'. The focus on the eventuality of H's compliance is translated by structures like: 'will you come...?' and 'are you coming...?'

Thus, the Anglo-Australian way of inviting one's best friend to one's birthday party, appears to be typified by utterances that can be thought of as saying something like:

I want you to come

I cannot say: I think you will come

This, clearly, is not the Latvian way. Of the 48 Latvian responses, about two thirds (32) carry the message:

I want you to come

I can say: I think you will come

This is communicated principally by three kinds of structures: imperative, declarative and declarative+interrogative tag structures. One imperative structure: pamēģini neatnākt lit: 'try-sg. to-not-come' expressed a jocular 'threat' [=if you do not come to my party, something bad will happen to you]. In the other fifteen, the action verb atnāc 'come-over-sg.' was used, the speaker thereby openly saying to the addressee:

I say: I want you to do something

I think you will do it because of this'.

To the imperative atnāc, in two of the utterances, the expression ja vari 'if you can' was added; no other imperative utterance contained a reference to H's 'wants' or 'abilities'.

In the declarative structures, the message 'I want you to do something, I think you will do it' is conveyed by other means. In some, the speaker uses the verb gaidīt 'to wait, to wait for, to expect, to look forward to, to anticipate':

Es tevi (ļoti) *gaidīšu*.

I you-sg. (very) *expect-FUT*

I will be (very much) expecting you.

In others, the speaker says things like: svinēsim manu dzimšanas dienu lit: 'we-will-be-celebrating my birthday' or tu vari atnākt 'you can come'. By saying this, S is implying 'I know you want to come'. I note that the literal translation of tu vari atnākt sounds peculiar; it is as if S is giving H, permission to come. This is not at all what is intended in Latvian; rather, the expression conveys something like 'you don't have to wait to be asked to come'.

In the 'declarative + interrogative tag' structures, the speaker is also implying 'I know you want to come'; the commonest utterance form for this, is:

Tu (taču) *atnāksi*....., vai ne?

you-sg. (of course) *come-over-2 sg. FUT....qn.-marker no/not*

You will (of course) come over..., won't you?

None of these declarative utterances has an overt reference to S's want. The absence of this is significant, since it is S's way of saying something like 'I don't have to say what I want you to do, I think you know what I want and will do it'. For these declarative and 'declarative+interrogative tag' structures, I propose as the first sketch of a semantic formula the following:

I want you to do something

I don't have to say this

I think you know what I want

I think you want to do this too

Because of this I think you will do it

Unlike the Anglo-Australian corpus, the Latvian corpus contained only three examples of interrogative structures referring to H' 'wants' or 'abilities'

In both groups, there was a very low incidence of responses that openly said: 'I want you to come'; both the Latvian-speaker and the Anglo-Australian-speaker appear reluctant to openly say to their best friend 'I want you to come to my birthday party'. Here is an example, one is tempted to conclude, where Latvian and Anglo-Australian directive behaviour is the same. True, this one aspect of behaviour appears to be similar, but the overall message is different.

Behind the Anglo-Australian's reluctance, is her/his admission 'I cannot think that you (the H) will want to do what I want you to do, even though you are my best friend and it is my birthday'. Behind the Latvian's reluctance, on the other hand, is her/his admission 'I can think that you (the H) will want to do what I want you to do, because you are my best friend and it is my birthday'.

Obviously, when saying 'I want you to come to my birthday party' in Anglo-Australian, irrespective of whether the addressee is the boss or the best friend, cultural norms dictate that one must focus on H's rather than S's 'wants'.

3.3.3.3. Scenario S3: parent to child 'directive'

Informants responded to the following scenario:

Your pen/pencil breaks

You need something to write with

You say to someone near you that you

want to borrow a pen/pencil -

If you were at home and it happened to you in the middle of writing a letter, you would say to your child : "....."

In the Latvian group, out of 48 responses, the imperative was used in 42; in the Anglo-Australian data, on the other hand, the imperative featured in one third (8 out of 24) of the responses ($t = 5.04$; $df = 70$; $p \leq 0.01$).

Both the Latvian and Anglo-Australian sets of imperative utterances feature action-verbs that share similar semantic features. Anglo-Australians use: 'go, get, run, grab, pass, give' and various combinations of these. Latvians use: pameklē 'search', dabū 'get', iedod/padod 'give', aizdod 'lend', atnes 'bring', aizteci/aizskrien 'run', aizej 'go' and paskaties 'have a look'.

Of the Latvian-speakers, 5 (out of 48) choose to convey their 'directive' via an interrogative, while 16 (out of 24) Anglo-Australians choose this form ($t = -5.32$; $df = 70$; $p \leq 0.01$). Of the 24 Anglo-Australian responses, 5 are interrogative structures referring to H's 'ability' to comply; in the Latvian group, there are only 2 (out of 48) questions referring to H's 'ability' ($t = -1.9$; $df = 70$; n.s.).

These figures support the view, expressed earlier, that Latvians 'tell' people to do things and English-speakers 'ask' people to do things, even if the 'people' happen to be their own children; for the imperative utterances carry the following message:

I say to you: I want you to do something

I think you will do it because of this

The interrogative structures, on the other hand, say something like:

I say to you: I want you to do something

I do not know if you will do it

The figures also show that whether H can do what S wants matters more in the Anglo-Australian context than in the Latvian one.

Latvian and Anglo-Australian directive behaviours differed markedly in one other feature in this scenario: overt expression of the speaker's good feelings towards the addressee. This was present in 2 (out of 24) of the Anglo-Australian responses in the shape of the address forms 'Mate' and 'Darling'. In the Latvian responses, 8 (out of 48) featured some form of expression of the speaker's good feelings: 6 had 'diminutive' address forms such as *Pēterīt* 'little Peter' or *zakīt* 'little rabbit' and 2 had the expression *Esi tik labs!* 'Be so good'.

3.3.3.4. Scenario S4: inter-spousal 'directive'

The last scenario under consideration was this:

Your pen/pencil breaks

You need something to write with

You say to someone near you that you

want to borrow a pen/pencil

If you were at home and it happened to you in the middle of writing a letter, you would say to your wife/husband: "....."

In the Anglo-Australian responses, 22 (out of 24) are interrogative; 2 are imperative. Of the 48 Latvian responses, 22 are interrogative and 23 are imperative, showing only a slight preference this time for the message 'I can say: I know you will do it' ($t = -5.01$; $df = 70$; $p \leq 0.01$).

Of the 22 interrogative responses in AA, 17 are H oriented, 5 are S oriented. Once again, the dominant message is 'I cannot say: I know you will do it' and once again, the focus is on H's 'wants', with limited reference to what S wants.

In 18 of the 22 LV interrogative responses, the verb used is prefixed by NE-, suggesting that S's message has two components:

I cannot say: I know you will do A

I want you to say : I will do A

or (in the case of Vai Tev nav pie rokas kaut kas...? 'Do you have something handy...?')

I cannot say: I know you have something I want

I want you to say: I have something you want

(For a more detailed discussion of the NE- prefix on Latvian verbs in 'directives', see Section 2.1.4.4. of this chapter.)

The figures relating to S4 show that both in Latvian and Anglo-Australian, one can say 'I can tell you to do something and I think you will do it because of this' not as readily to one's spouse as to one's child. This constraint, however, as the figures indicate, is stronger in Anglo-Australian than in Latvian.

3.4. Concluding remarks

By examining the statistical data discussed above, we have obtained further insights into Latvian directive behaviour. Broadly speaking, there are three features that distinguish it from directive behaviour in Anglo-Australian.

Firstly, as in Polish, Russian, Hebrew, Italian, Hungarian (see references in Wierzbicka, 1991: 77) in Latvian too 'the use of interrogative structures in directives is

much more limited' than in English. Instead, the imperative 'is used much more freely'; I have reservations about calling LV imperative forms 'bare' (as in the 'bare imperative') since it is debatable whether the prefixed imperatives such as PAmeklē 'have a look', PAdod 'give', AIZdod 'lend' (and others) repeatedly used in the Latvian data can be labelled as 'bare', though what exactly (besides 'aspect') is communicated by the prefix needs still to be investigated. (The unprefixd imperative can sound more 'peremptory'. For example, the imperative is unprefixd in angry utterances like: Ej prom! 'Go away!' and Turi muti! 'Shut your mouth'. However, there are also 'affectionate' uses of unprefixd imperatives like: Dod rociņu! 'Give your little hand' and Dod mutītes! 'Give a little kiss'.)

Secondly, in Latvian directive behaviour the focus appears to be more on the 'wants' of S rather than those of H, as they are in Anglo-Australian.

Thirdly, to a greater extent than their Anglo-Australian counterparts, ^{Latvians} use the expression of good feelings to ensure compliance on H's part. With non-familiar addressees, this is usually achieved by saying something like 'I'd be pleased/honoured/happy...' (see Section 3.3.3.1 in this chapter). With familiars, with whom they prefer to use imperative directives, Latvian-speakers use expressive derivation as shown in Section 3.3.3.3. of this chapter (see other examples in Sections 2.1. and 2.3.4.1. in Chapter 3).

The semantic components of the preferred Latvian strategies in the four scenarios we have just looked at can be spelled out (tentatively) as follows:

S1 ('invitation' to boss)

I want you to do A

I don't know if you will do it

I would feel something good if you would do it

This last component is in keeping with the attitude encapsulated in viesmīlība - which means (roughly) 'welcoming attitude and behaviour to guests and potential guests'.

S2 ('invitation' to best friend)

For this scenario, there were two 'preferred' strategies. With the imperative verb *atnāc...* 'come over...' S is saying something like:

I say: I want you to do A

I think you will do it because of this

With the declarative and 'declarative + interrogative tag' structures whereby S does not state overtly what is wanted from H, the message conveyed to H appears to be:

I want you to do something

I don't have to say this

I think you know what I want

I think you want to do this too

Because of this I think you will do it

I note that perhaps there is a case for saying that Latvian directive behaviour in Scenario S2 shares some features with the following cultural norm in Greek that 'governs' husband-to-wife and father-to-daughter ways of speaking. Quoting data from Tannen, Wierzbicka (1991: 98-99) proposes that this norm can be explicated as follows:

I want something

I don't have to say this

I think this person will know what I want

I think she will do it because of this

S3, S4 ('I want you to get me a pen/pencil - to child and spouse)

I say: I want you to do A

I think you will do it because of this

As well as providing an insight into Latvian directive behaviour, the statistical data discussed above confirms yet again the validity of certain claims made about directive behaviour in English. The first of these concerns the very limited use of the bare imperative in this language (Wierzbicka, 1991: 76). As mentioned earlier, the survey responses showed that even with +Familiar addressees, the use of imperative action-verbs in English is restricted mainly to those situations where H stands to benefit from 'doing A'. There was a fairly high incidence of imperative responses from the Anglo-Australian group when S was:

(a) the teenager who wants her mother to hold her head still while she styles her hair (81% of total responses)

(b) the husband who wants his wife to take an umbrella with her as she leaves the house, because it looks like rain (and she might get wet) (75% of total responses)

(c) the wife who wants her husband to leave early so as not to miss his train (63% of total responses)

With -Familiar addressees the action-verb imperatives in Anglo-Australian were used by:

(d) the young woman who wants the young man pestering her on the street to go away (68% of total responses)

(e) the pedestrian who wants a fellow pedestrian to wait before crossing the road because there is a car coming (81% of total responses)

(f) the spectator at the football-match who wants a fellow-spectator[†] to get out of the way of an oncoming football (85% of total)

These percentages suggest that in Anglo-Australian, it is appropriate to say 'I want you to do something, I think you will do what I want' in contexts where I can also say the following:

If you do not do what I want

something bad will happen

I want this not to happen

I think you want the same

The evidence from the Anglo-Australian questionnaires adds further proof to the claim that:

in English, there is a strong cultural constraint on saying to other people something that would amount to 'I want you to do X' (Wierzbicka, 1991: 76)

What is more, our discussion of Anglo-Australian directive behaviour in the four scenarios has shown just how strong this cultural constraint is. That one would not want to say 'I want you to do A, I think you will do it because of this' to one's boss, is understandable to a Latvian-speaker, since one cannot be expected to speculate on what one's boss will or will not do. But from a Latvian-speaker's point of view, it seems strange to hear such a message communicated to one's best friend, spouse and especially one's child.

As we saw above, in the English-speaking scheme of things, S is more likely to say 'I think you will do A' to her/his child than to her/his best friend or spouse. But it is equally true that S still prefers to say to *everyone* 'I do not know if you will do A' when

uttering a directive, thus acknowledging *everyone's* 'right to personal autonomy' (Wierzbicka. 1991: 76). There are not many contexts where this right can be ignored.

¹It is possible to see a great many questions functioning as 'attempts to get the hearer to perform a speech act', but I am not sure that every question functions in this way. What of rhetorical questions? introspective questions such as 'How could I be so dumb?'

²See especially Bates, Camaioni and Volterra on 'The acquisition of performatives prior to speech' in Ochs Elinor and Schieffelin Bambi B. (eds) Developmental pragmatics. Their chapter has as one of its main focuses the acquisition of imperative structures by the very young child; they state (p. 113) that 'certain performative structures are already well-developed at the very beginning of language development' and refer to the findings of Gruber, Ingram, Fillmore and others.

³There may exist a language where a directive always has the same grammatical structure. To date, there is no evidence to prove that this is so.

⁴Searle and Vanderveken (1985: 199) say: 'Questions are always directives, for they are attempts to get the hearer to perform a speech act.' It is possible to see a great many questions functioning as 'attempts to get the hearer to perform a speech act', but I am not sure that every question functions in this way. What of rhetorical questions? introspective questions? of the kind 'How could I be so dumb?'

⁵Janovskis (1968:110); the original text reads: '...kad tu te ienāci pirmo reizi, tu neprati ne mū ne bē. Parādīji ar pirkstu uz plauktu un tad sauju pie mutes piemezdams ar zīmēm rādāji, ka gribi ko dzeramu.'

⁶See greeting-card collection in any reputable newsagency in Canberra.

⁷American pop-star, chiefly remembered for popularizing a dance called 'the twist'.

⁸This phrase is from Brown and Gilman (1960)

⁹cf. Jain (1969).

¹⁰My use of an interrogative where an imperative was expected was an example of a transfer of Anglo ways of speaking into a Latvian context; yet another example of 'transference' (Clyne, 1967).

¹¹Bach and Harnish (1979: 41, 47 ff)

¹²Personal communication from a staff-member at the Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, 1993.

¹³A much more thorough investigation would be needed to prove conclusively that verbless and infinitive directives are perceived as being equally forceful across languages. My intuition tells me that much depends on the repertoire of 'directive' structures together with the various strengths of illocutionary force ascribed to them in a particular language.

The illocutionary force of imperatives in English, for example, appears to be much stronger than that of imperatives in, say, Latvian, where the infinitive directive is perceived as having a stronger illocutionary force than the imperative.

14 This is contrary to what is claimed by Lakoff (in *Berkeley studies*, vol. 1) who says that the imperative is the strongest of the three speech acts (the other two being declarative and question).

15 The meaning of the verbal prefix PA- in this context is something like 'for a bit, for a while'.

16 The principal meaning of the verbal prefix SA- is that of motion together, coalescence', see Fennell and Gelsen (1980, vol. 3: 1043)

17 I have some reservations as to the suitability of 'Will you sit down?' The same utterance can be used as an especially 'strong' directive with the appropriate tone of voice; 'Won't you sit down?' is 'safer'.

18 Further nuances of 'informality' and 'formality' are possible with verb prefixes. With *sediet* 'to sit', these are conveyed with the prefix PIE-.

19 Other imperative directives sharing a comparable degree of 'acceptability' are: Take a seat/take five/take your time/take one tablet three-hourly; Feel free; Here - have one (handing an open bag of sweets to someone); Come on, the Blues (from a spectator cheering a soccer team during a match in Canberra, in 1991); Buy Australian; Relax, man; Make yourself at home.

20 The English word does not capture exactly the meaning of *milit* which means something like 'darling, sweet-heart, lovey'. 'Dearie' has a somewhat condescending tone which 'milit' does not. Maybe 'love' would be a better translation; cf., expressions like 'Yes, love' used between English-speaking strangers.

21 *Ķiķauka* (1965:222); the original is: 'Sieva mēmi pazuda un atgriezās ar gluži svaigi izgludinātu...baltu...iesmaržotu kreklu'.

22 The word 'please' itself is an illustration of the Anglo unwillingness to impose one's will on others. The word 'Please' comes from the French expression 's'il vous plaît' lit: 'if it pleases you', in other words 'if that is what you want'. For a detailed discussion of 'Please' see Allen (1994).

23 I have at the present time only a reference to the Latgalian equivalent of this utterance; see Trūps (1968: 555).

24 I realize that the English expression would not be used by English-speakers at a formal dinner. Perhaps something like 'Enjoy your meal' or 'I hope you like it' is more appropriate.

25 p.c.

26 For example, one of the scenarios read 'You are a school secretary. A parent wants to see the school principal. You want the parent to come on the following day after lessons are over. To the parent you say...' A senior lecturer from the Latvian University objected, saying: 'A school-secretary is in no position to want anything' and suggested that the 'you want the parent' be changed to 'you have to tell the parent'.

CONCLUSION

Then there was a scenario involving tourists who are about to scramble over a gate in order to picnic in a scenic bit of pasture, only to be told that it is inhabited by a fierce bull. It is only when the same lecturer said 'Bits of pasture bear very obvious traces of animals and no tourist in their right mind would dream of a picnic in such a spot, scenic or not' that I realized that a Latvian 'bit of pasture' and an Australian 'bit of pasture' have considerably different dimensions.

Such, in approximate translation, are the words of a Latvian patriot (Rubins, 1982: 176).

The four preceding chapters have shown how 'Latvian-ness' is manifested across a wide range of ways of speaking. That, for example, Latvian-speakers like to categorize their fellows into two broad groups by, as it were, 'saying' to their addressees 'I know you' or 'I do not know you', is evident from their use of address forms, from their repertoire of 'greeting' and 'farewelling' formulae and from their ways of getting people to do things. Similarly, Latvians 'say' so to speak, 'I feel this (about someone/something)' or 'I think this (about someone/something)' not only through expressive derivation, but through communicative gestures, beginning and ending routines and terms of address. Generally, there is no one-to-one correspondence between a cultural characteristic and a type of linguistic behaviour.

Nevertheless, one particular area of linguistic activity can reveal some aspects of Latvian culture in a more illuminating way than another. Chapter one (Using address terms), for example, shows how the Latvian use of kin terms as address highlights the importance that Latvians attach to 'family', an attachment which would justify calling Latvian society a 'familistic' one.¹ The Latvian predilection for addressing people by their professional or occupational title is evidence of the importance attached to a person's achievements, particularly in the area of knowledge acquisition.

The use of kin terms and professional titles as address forms, considerably more extensive in Latvian than in Anglo-Australian, coupled with a reticence about using first-name address, suggests that Latvians see people as interacting parts of a larger social structure, be it the family or an academic, professional or artistic group. In this respect, they are not unlike the Japanese (Condon and Saito, 1974). On the other hand, unlike their Anglo-Australian counterparts who extend first name address to complete strangers as well as to acquaintances and intimate friends, Latvians like to categorize their addressees into the two broad categories: those to whom they convey the message 'I know you' and those to whom they communicate 'I do not know you'. This behaviour links up with the Latvian predilection for expressing feelings (especially good feelings) and attitudes. In this respect, their ways of speaking resemble those of the Greeks (Sifianou, 1992).

Chapter two (Beginnings and endings) demonstrates that, for a Latvian-speaker, boundary marking in episodes of social interaction cannot generally be signalled without

CONCLUSION

Latvian-ness is a philosophy of life which not only determines how we celebrate our festivals and pray to God, but which also rules our behaviour on the street and even in the market-place. Latvian-ness pervades our human existence in all its manifestations

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Chapter two (Beginnings and endings) demonstrates that, for a Latvian-speaker, boundary-marking to episodes of social interaction cannot generally be signalled without

at the same time communicating 'good will' to the addressee. This is true of face-to-face dyadic interactive episodes, individual-and-group communication and person-to-person delayed interaction, such as in letters. In everyday face-to-face encounters between individuals, 'good will' in 'greetings' and 'partings' needs to be given non-verbal expression as well, usually in the form of a handshake. This and other tactile behaviour in Latvian, suggests that Latvians can be thought of as a society where 'sensory involvement' (Gudykunst and Kim, 1992: 179) is higher than in the Anglo-Australian society.

Furthermore, ways of beginning a speech to a group of people indicate that Latvians like to be seen as 'doers', as active participants in the event. While the term *publika* 'audience' can be used referentially, it is never used as a term of address. Latvian audiences are addressed as: *klausītāji* 'listeners', *skatītāji* 'watchers' and *dalībnieki* 'participators'. Particular importance is attached to physical work, as shown by the 'good-will' message *Dievs palīdz* 'May God help you', which one would not use to people engaged in intellectual work such as studying.

Chapter three (*Communicating feelings and attitudes*), by demonstrating the extent to which expressive derivation peppers Latvian speech, shows the value Latvians place on saying what they think and feel. The broad range of meaning and use of expressive suffixes suggests that in terms of verbal expression, Latvians cannot be called 'reserved' or 'restrained' (Putnins, 1986: 58); that is, if 'reserved' and 'restrained' mean something like 'not saying what I feel' and 'not saying what I think'. To a far greater extent than their Anglo-Australian counterparts, Latvians do say what they think and feel. Good feelings are constantly expressed to ensure smooth social interaction, as in Greek (Sifianou, 1992).

Chapter four (*Getting people to do things*) argues that, from an English-speaker's perspective, Latvians are more 'direct' in saying what they want someone else to do; they 'tell' rather than 'ask'. Utterances which, through either imperative or performative structures, unmistakably convey the messages 'I want you to do something' and 'I will feel something good if you do something', messages that are speaker-focused, are manifestations of 'individualistic' behaviour and would partly explain why 'individualist' as a characterization of Latvians appears in Jurēvics (1965) and Blese (1940). Even in interrogative structures that *appear* to 'inquire' about the other person's wants, with the NE- verbal prefix, speaker-focus slips in, for the prefix says 'I want you to do what I want'. Further evidence for Latvian individualism is in the unwritten rules: 'People do not say things to other people in the same way; this is good' and 'It is good to say what you think and feel'.

Various sections of the preceding four chapters have also shown that a similarity of form between the ways of speaking of two different cultures, does not necessarily equate with a similarity of use. Anglo-Australians, for example, use FN address forms

more readily than do Latvians. The same syntactic structure, the imperative for example, occurs in both Latvian and Anglo-Australian directive behaviour strategies, but it tends to be avoided in Anglo-Australian while being one of the more usual Latvian ways of getting people to do things. These are but two areas, where in Latvian-Anglo cross-cultural encounters, the potential for mis-communication is high.

From a methodological point of view, the present study has demonstrated the usefulness of NSM as a conceptual tool for describing meanings in Latvian. In addition to this, it has shown, particularly in chapter four (and, to a lesser extent, in chapter two) that reliable conclusions about linguistic behaviour can be made by drawing on examples from written sources (novels, plays) as distinct from using the more 'scientific' approach of administering questionnaires. In doing this, it has validated the extensive use of utterance examples from written sources throughout the study.

The need for exercising a degree of circumspection in making statements about social interaction that imply universality was especially evident in the discussion and analysis of Latvian directive behaviour (chapter four). Statements about ways of speaking, such as: 'two close friends do not order one another around' (Fraser and Nolen, 1981) and 'politeness...[refers] to whatever means are employed to display consideration for one's addressee's feelings (or face), regardless of the social distance between the speaker and addressee' (Green, 1989) do not compute with Latvian linguistic habits. The discussion of directive behaviour in chapter four shows how two close friends in Latvian *do* 'order one another around', as they appear to do in Chinese as well (Wierzbicka in Hellings and Ammon, 1994). Moreover, evidence that Latvian directives tend to be speaker-focused rather than addressee-focused, suggests that, rather than show consideration for their addressees' feelings, Latvian-speakers display their own.² Thus, the statements made both by Fraser and Nolen on the one hand and Green on the other are shown to apply to culture-specific ways of speaking belonging, probably, to the Anglo culture.

Contrary to what Putniņš claims (Birškys, Putniņš, Salasoo, 1996: 58), it is possible to generalize about aspects of what he calls 'national character'. What at first seem to be many 'individual exceptions' [=idiosyncratic ways of speaking] in the area of 'greeting', for example (chapter two), on closer examination prove to be hiding highly patterned language behaviours that convey shared ways of thinking.

The analysis of Latvian verbal behaviour has provided evidence in support of a number of characteristics of Latvians. That Latvians like to be seen as actively contributing to a speech event reinforces the view of Latvians as people who like to 'work'. The Latvian use of professional titles as address forms, at the same time conveying 'respect' to the addressee, is an indication of their respect for people who have acquired knowledge. The good feelings communicated by Latvian 'diminutive' suffixes in drinking songs, suggest that Latvians enjoy singing and drinking together. The

extensive use of expressive derivation to communicate good feelings when talking about nature, points to the Latvian love of nature. That Latvians tend to be 'reserved' towards strangers, is shown by the numerous strategies used by a Latvian-speaker to separate those addressees to whom s/he says 'I know you well' from those to whom he says 'I do not know you well'.

In sum, insights into a number of previously unexplored areas of human communicative behaviour have emerged from the present study. Yet again, the claim of Boas that, in order to discover how/what people think, one must examine how they talk, has been validated. The 19th century German philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach, characterised the human condition in the saying: De Mensch ist was er isst 'Man is what he eats'. We can adapt this, to conclude from the present study that: Der Mensch ist was er spricht 'Man is what he speaks'.

¹For a discussion of this and similar socio-cultural categories, see among others, Sinha and Kao, 1988 and Triandis, 1972 and 1989.

²I refer particularly to Section 3.3.3.1. of the chapter, where the Latvian message 'If you do something for me, I will feel something good' [Es ļoti priecātos ja jūs varētu atnākt 'I would be very happy if you could come'] was in striking contrast with the Anglo-Australian 'I don't know if you want to do something' [I was wondering if you'd like to come']

APPENDIX I: Latvian kin terms as address forms

APPENDIX II: Latvian expressively derived address terms

- meit 'daughter'
 meitiņ 'daughter-DIM'
 mazmeit 'grand-daughter'
 mazmeitiņ 'grand-daughter-DIM'
 krustmeit 'god-daughter'
 krustmeitiņ 'god-daughter-DIM'
 mās 'sister'
 māsiņ 'sister-DIM'
 krustmāt 'god-mother, aunt'
 krustmāmiņ 'god-mother-DIM, aunt-DIM'
 tante 'aunt'
 tantiņ 'aunt-DIM'
 dēls 'son'
 dēliņ 'son-DIM'
 mazdēls 'grand-son'
 mazdēliņ 'grand-son-DIM'
 krustdēls 'god-son'
 krustdēliņ 'god-son-DIM'
 brāl 'brother'
 brālīt 'brother-DIM'
 krusttēv 'god-father, uncle'
 krusttētiņ 'god-father-DIM, uncle-DIM'
 onkul 'uncle'
 onkulīt 'uncle-DIM'

APPENDIX III: Part I
 Directive utterance questionnaire (Latvian version)

APPENDIX II: Latvian expressively derived address terms

Kā te parākt?

Vecums: gadu Dzimums: S V (cilvēka pasvītums)

Nodarbība: (darb./pēt./stāja)

bitīt 'bee-DIM'

dzeguzīt 'cuckoo-DIM'

5. daļa

putniņ 'bird-DIM'

a) Jaunie N,
 jauneklis saka

sirsniņ 'heart-DIM'

kaķīt 'cat-DIM'

pelīt 'mouse-DIM'

b) Students N
 vairāk laika

saulīt 'sun-DIM'

runcīt 'tom-cat-DIM'

e) Studēne N
 studija biedre

aitiņ 'sheep-DIM'

zaķīt 'rabbit-DIM'

cālīt 'chick-DIM'

d) N ir universitātes
 nedeļu ātrāk nekā sākams runāt. Viņš studentam saka

sirdspuķīt 'heart-flowere-DIM'

sunīt 'dog-DIM'

kukainīt 'bug-DIM'

e) N ir universitātes profesors.
 salaba. Viņš mēģina salūzēt studentam

stirniņ 'fawn-DIM'

skudriņ 'ant-DIM'

d) N ir lektors universitātē. Viņš grib lai students M sagatavotu uz mūsu eksāmena
 nedeļu ātrāk nekā sākams runāt. Viņš studentam saka

APPENDIX III: Part I

Directive utterance questionnaire(Latvian version)

Kā to pateikt?-----
Vecums:gadi Dzimums: S V (lūdzu pasvītrot)Nodarbošanās/profesija :
.....
-----**5. daļa**

- a) Jauniete N, iet pa trotuāru. Kāds jaunēklis viņai uzbāžās. N grib lai viņš iet prom. Viņa jauneklīm saka:
- b) Students N nav pabeidzis uzdoto rakstu darbu.. Viņš grib lai lektors dod viņam mazliet vairāk laika. Viņš lektoram saka:
- c) Studente N ir izlaidusi vienu lekciju. Viņa grib aizņemties lekcijas piezīmes no kāda studiju biedra. Šai personai, N saka:
- d) N ir universitātes lektore. Viņa grib lai students M sagatavojās uz mutisko eksāmenu nedēļu ātrāk nekā sākumā runāts. Viņa studentam saka:
- e) N ir universitātes profesors. Viņam salūzusi automašīna. Viņš grib lai mehāniķis to salabo. Viņš mehāniķim saka:
- f) N ir lektors universitātā. Viņš grib lai students M sagatavojās uz mutisko eksāmenu nedēļu ātrāk nekā sākumā runāts. Viņš studentam saka :

6. Daļa

- a) Jūs atrodaties svešā pilsētā. Jūs gribat zināt kur ir pasta iestāde. Jūs ejat klāt kādam garāmgājējam. Jūs šai personai sakat:
- b) Jūs atrodaties dzelzceļ-stacijā. Jūs gribat zināt cik maksā pieaugušam biļete uz Rīgu. Ierēdnim aiz lodziņa, jūs sakat:
- c) Jūs atrodaties pavisam nesen atvērtā apģērbu veikalā. Jūs gribat zināt kur var nopirkt zeķes. Jūs ejat klāt kādam no pārdevājiem. Jūs pārdevējam sakat:
- d) Jums sāp galva. Jūs aizejat uz aptieku. Jūs gribat lai aptiekars jums iedod kautko pret galvassāpēm. Jūs aptiekaram sakat:

7. daļa

- a) Jūs atrodaties pastā. Jūs gribat pastmarkas. Ierēdnim aiz lodziņa jūs sakat:
- b) Jūs gribat maizi. Jūs aizejat uz veikalu kur to var dabūt. Pārdevējam aiz letes jūs sakat:
- c) Jūs esat ārsta uzgaidāmās telpās un gaidat savu kārtu. Jūs pēkšņi atceraties, ka esat aizmirsis mājās pasi. Jūs dzīvojat turpat tuvumā: kājām var tur nokļūt pāris minūtēs. Jūs gribat lai blakussēdošais patients "patur" jūsu vietu rindā kamēr jūs aizskrienat dabūt dokumentu. Jūs blakussēdošajam sakat:
- d) Jūs atrodaties pastā un tikko esat saņēmis lielu saini. Būs grūti to izdabūt pa pasta durvīm laukā. Jūs gribat lai kāda no tuvumā esošām personām jums patur durvis. Jūs šai personai sakat:

8. daļa

a) Jūs atrodaties uz ielas stūra un taisaties ielu krustot kad Jūs redzat mašīnu tuvojamies. Jums blakus-stāvošā persona mašīnu nav ievērojusi un taisās ielu krustot, tieši mašīnas ceļā. Šai personai Jūs sakāt:

b) Jūs esat viens no skatītājiem futbola spēlē. Pēkšņi, bumba nāk taisni jūsu virzienā. Jums blakus-stāvošais cilvēks bumbu neredz un bumba tam tūliņ trāpīs. Šim cilvēkam Jūs sakāt:

c) Jūs esat ārsts. Jūs gribat lai pacients tabletes ņem trīs reizes dienā. Pacientam Jūs sakāt:

d) Jūs esat skolas sekretāre. Kāds no skolēnu vecākiem grib runāt ar pārzini. Jūs gribat lai šī persona ierodas skolā nākošajā dienā pēc tam kad stundas beigušās. Jūs šai personai sakāt :

e) Jūs ejat garām iežogotai pļavai ar aizslēgtiem vārtiem. Jums ir zināms, ka pļavā ganās sirdīgs vērsis. Kāda automašīna ar tūristiem pietur pie vārtiem. Tūristi izkāpj. Pārtikas saiņiem un dzēriena pudelēm rokās tie lūko iežogojumam rāpties pāri. Jūs tūristiem sakāt:

APPENDIX III: Part II

Directive utterance questionnaire (English version)

What do you say ?

Age:..... Sex : M F (please circle)

Occupation/profession:

.....

Section 5

- a) N is a young woman walking along the street. A young man is pestering her. N wants him to go away. She says to the young man:
- b) N is a student who has not finished an assignment. He wants the lecturer to give him some more time. To the lecturer he says:
- c) N is a student who missed a lecture. She wants to borrow the lecture-notes from another student. To the student she says:
- d) N is a university teacher. She wants a student to give her seminar paper a week earlier than planned. To the student she says:
- e) N is a university professor. His car has broken down. He wants the mechanic to repair it. To the mechanic he says:
- f) N is a university teacher. He wants a student to give his seminar paper a week earlier than planned. He says to the student:

Section 6

a) You are in a town/city that you don't know very well. You want to know where the post-office is. You approach a person in the street. To this person you say:

b) You are in a train station. You want to know how much an adult ticket to Canberra costs. To the person behind the counter you say:

c) You are in a newly-opened clothes' store. You want to know where to find some socks. You approach a sales-assistant. To the sales-assistant you say:

d) You have a headache. You go to a chemist's. You want the chemist to give you something for the headache. To the chemist you say:

Section 7

a) You are in a post office. You want some stamps. To the person behind the counter you say:

b) You want some bread. You go to a shop that sells it. To the person behind the counter you say:

c) You are in a doctor's waiting-room, waiting your turn. Suddenly you remember that you have left your X-ray photos at home. You happen to live close by: it would take a couple of minutes on foot. You want the patient next to you to "hold" your place in the queue while you run home to get the X-rays. To the patient next to you, you say:

d) You are in the post-office and have just taken delivery of a large parcel. Getting it out through the door will not be easy. You want someone nearby to hold the door open for you. To this person you say:

Section 8

- a) You are standing on a corner about to cross the street when you see a car coming. The person next to you has not seen the car and moves forward to cross. To this person you say:
- b) You are at a football game. At one point, the ball comes flying in your direction. The person next to you can't see the ball coming and the ball will hit him/her. To this person you say:
- c) You are a doctor. You want the patient to take the tablets three times a day. To this person you say:
- d) You are a school secretary. A parent wants to see the school principal. You have to tell the parent to come on the following day after lessons are over. To the parent you say:
- e) A tourist bus stops at a scenic spot and the tourists are getting things ready for a picnic in the open. You know that a fierce bull has escaped from one of the neighbouring farms and is wandering around in the vicinity. As you go by, to the tourists you say:

Addendum p. 294

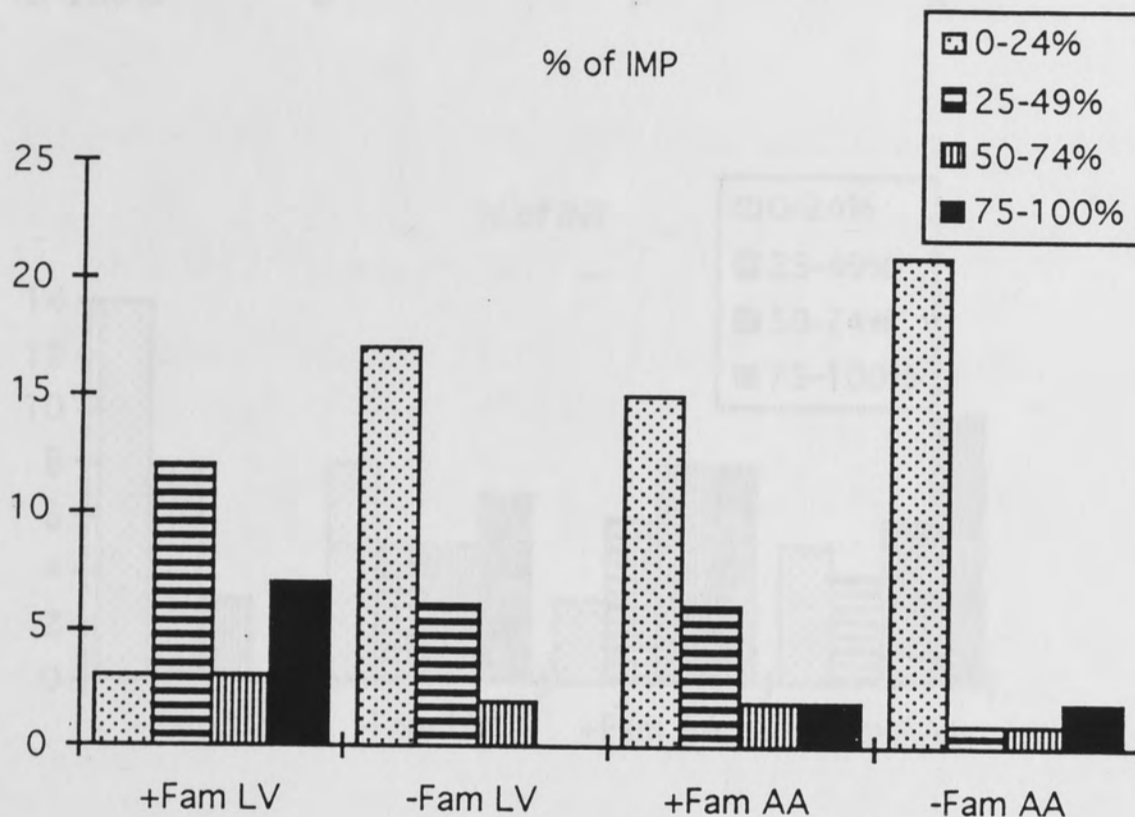
After line 1, insert:

Note: for data-base of these and subsequent graphs Cf. p. 253, Section 3.0 ff.

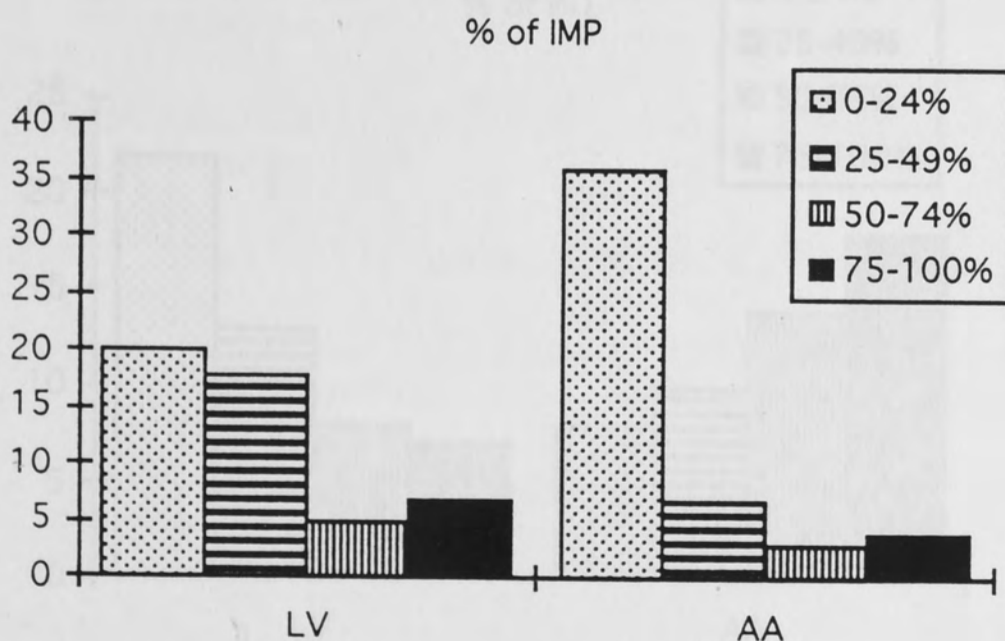
APPENDIX IV (Part 1)

The number of situations generating Imperative responses
Comparing LV with AA

% of IMP	+Fam LV	-Fam LV	+Fam AA	-Fam AA
0-24%	3	17	15	21
25-49%	12	6	6	1
50-74%	3	2	2	1
75-100%	7	0	2	2



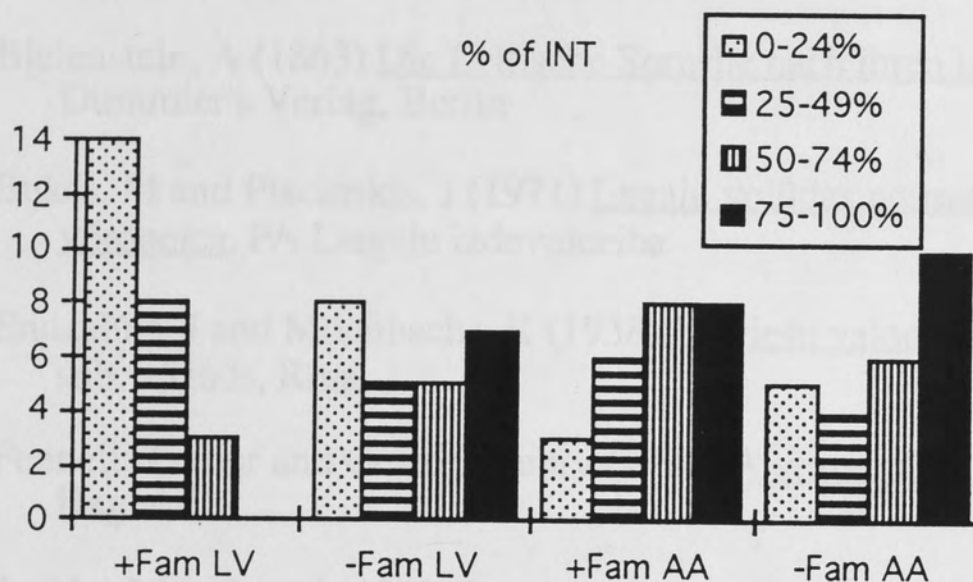
% of IMP	LV	AA
0-24%	20	36
25-49%	18	7
50-74%	5	3
75-100%	7	4



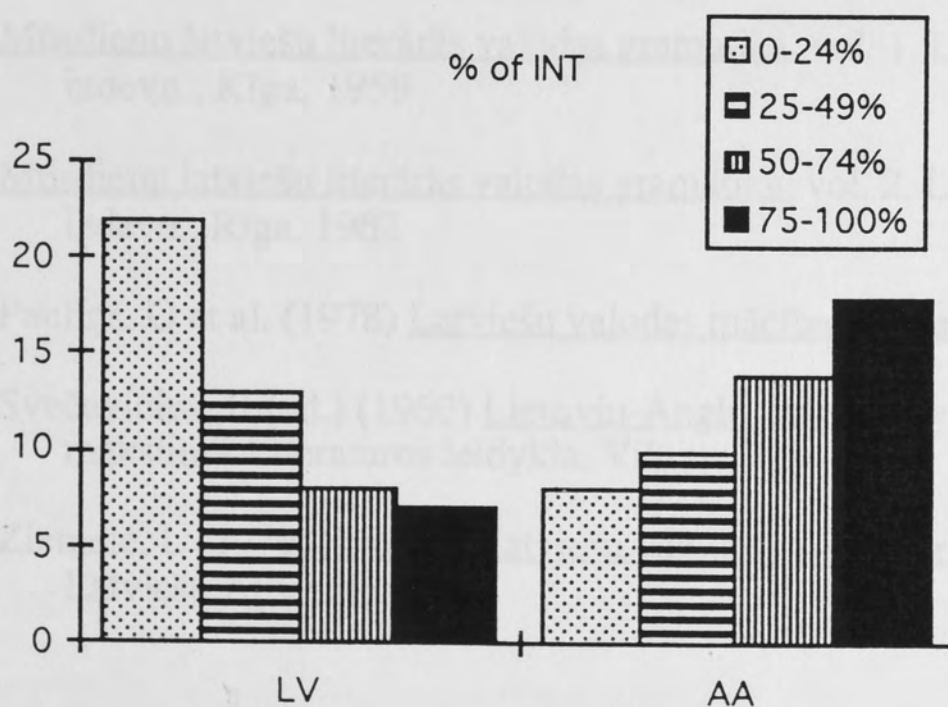
APPENDIX IV (Part 2)

The number of situations generating Interrogative responses
Comparing LV with AA

% of INT	+Fam LV	-Fam LV	+Fam AA	-Fam AA
0-24%	14	8	3	5
25-49%	8	5	6	4
50-74%	3	5	8	6
75-100%	0	7	8	10



% of INT	LV	AA
0-24%	22	8
25-49%	13	10
50-74%	8	14
75-100%	7	18



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There are three parts to the bibliography:

1. Latvian grammars and dictionaries
2. Sources of data
3. Secondary materials

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Under the 7th entry (Ameka, Felix) insert:

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