



# Another 'look' – the Latvian particle *lūk* in parliamentary discourse

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# STRUCTURE OF THIS TALK

- ‘look’ particles in Latvian
- Functions of *lūk* in SAEIMA
- Syntax: place of *lūk* in the transcriptions (literalized speech)
- Prosody: borders and integration
- Conclusions: what *lūk* can contribute to current discussions

# ‘LOOK’ PARTICLES IN LATVIAN

Latvian-English dictionary (Veisbergs 2018 at [letonika.lv](http://letonika.lv))  
Particles with ‘look!’ as translation equivalent

<b><i>lūk</i></b>	look!, there!, behold!
<b><i>re</i></b>	look!, see!; bingo!; behold!, lo!
<b><i>skat</i></b>	see!; look!; have a look!
<b><i>rau(g)</i></b>	look!, see!; behold!, lo!
<b><i>klau</i></b>	look here!, listen, hark!

Russian-Latvian dictionary for Russian ***vot***:

***lūk, redz, rau, skat, re*** (informal)

Particles given as synonyms of *lūk* at  
letonika.lv

*āče; āre; āreče; e; edz; eku; ekur; palūk;  
parau; paraug; paskat; pavei; rau; raug; reče;  
redz; reku; rekur; skat; ve; vei; veiše; veve*

NB in Latvian grammar, these words are classified as  
«interjections», not «particles»

# DEVERBAL ORIGIN OF THE PARTICLES

PARTICLE	ROOT   2SG.IMP	INFINITIVE, VERB MEANING TODAY
<b><i>lūk</i></b>	<i>lūk</i> <i>lūko!</i>	<i>lūk-o-t</i> ‘try’; ‘look for’ <i>ap-lūkot</i> ‘look at, examine’
<b><i>rau</i></b> <b><i>raug</i></b>	<i>rauG</i> <i>raugi!</i>	<i>raudz-ī-t</i> ‘try’; ‘examine (visually)’ <i>ie-raudzīt</i> ‘perceive’, ‘catch sight of’
<b><i>re</i></b> <b><i>redz</i></b>	<i>redz</i> <i>redzi!</i>	<i>redz-ē-t</i> ‘see’
<b><i>skat</i></b>	<i>skat</i> <i>skati!</i> <b><i>skaties!</i></b>	<i>skat-ī-t</i> ‘look at’, ‘view’, ‘see’ <i>skat-ī-t-ies</i> ‘look (at)’, ‘watch’
<b><i>klau</i></b>	<i>klaus</i> <b><i>klausies!</i></b>	<i>klaus-ī-t-ies</i> ‘listen’
<b><i>sak</i></b>	<i>saK</i> <i>saki!</i>	<i>sac-ī-t</i> ‘say’
<b><i>paga</i></b>	<i>gaid</i> <b><i>(pa-)gaidi!</i></b>	<i>pa-gaid-ī-t</i> ‘wait (for a while)’

# FREQUENCY OF 'LOOK' PARTICLES

	<b>Saeima N</b>	<b>Saeima pm</b>	<b>LVK pm</b>	<b>LVK N</b>
<i><b>lūk</b></i>	6560	<b>298.20</b>	59.92	736
<i><b>palūk</b></i>	1			11
<i><b>re</b></i>	104	4.73	37.57	400
<i><b>reku(r)</b></i>	8			16
<i><b>skat</b></i>	100	4.55	3.17	39
<i><b>paskat</b></i>	1			47
<i><b>rau</b></i>	8	0.36	2.20	27
<i><b>raug</b></i>	0			4
<i><b>klau</b></i>	16	0.73	3.01	37
<i><b>paklau</b></i>	8	0.36	4.48	53

# MEANING

In the monolingual dictionary LLVK *lūk* and *re* are given the exact same definition (my translation):

1. Used to draw someone's attention to something visible;
2. Used to draw someone's attention to something said or written before, also in order to emphasize its content

// Used to draw someone's attention to what will be said or written; used to emphasize what will be said or written.

# DATA USED IN THIS RESEARCH

Corpora (available at [www.korpuss.lv](http://www.korpuss.lv))

LVK2018 – Balanced corpus of Latvian, 10 million words

SAEIMA – Corpus of shorthand transcripts of parliament sittings, 21 million words

Full texts on which SAEIMA is based, available at:

<http://www.saeima.lv/lv/par-saeimu/arhivs>

Recordings of the respective sessions available at:

<https://latvijasradio.lsm.lv/lv/piedavajumi/saeimas-sedes/>



# OBSERVATIONS IN THE SAEIMA CORPUS

- *lūk* and *re* are not synonymous and hardly ever interchangeable;
- *re* is often used when pointing to something visible, *lūk* rarely;
- *re* is used most often in exchanges between speakers (or their depiction in represented speech), while *lūk* is used by one speaker holding the floor. => *re* is «interactive», *lūk* is not
- both *re* and *lūk* are found isolated and sentence-initially, only *lūk* is also found sentence-medial.

# EXAMPLES FOR *RE*. 1. POINTING TO SOMETHING VISIBLE: *RE (KUR)*

(1) *Bet man būtu jautājums Apiņa kungam. Viņa nav zālē ... (Starpsauciens: "Ir!") **Ā, re kur!***

‘But I would have a question to Mr Apiņš. He is not here ... (Call from audience: “Yes, he is!”) **Ah, there he is!**’

(2) *Jūs tā kā tāds mušpapīrs, manuprāt, vienkārši velkat pie sevis... **Re, kur jums ir atvilks Platpers, re, kur Šimfa!***

‘You [are] like fly-paper, I think, you just attract [people] towards yourselves... **Here** you have attracted Platpers, **here** Šimfa!’ [the named politicians are present]

## 2. POINTING TO TEXT: *RE (+ NU)*

(3) *Es atbalstu opozīcijas priekšlikumu. **Re nu!***

‘I support the opposition’s suggestion. **Re nu!**’

(4) *[...] valodas pozīcijas, teikšu atklāti, gadu no gada nemitīgi vājinās. (No zāles dep. P. Tabūns: „**Nu re!**”)*

‘[...] the position of the language, frankly speaking, is getting weaker each year. (MP P. Tabūns from the audience: «**Nu re!**»)’

(5) [...] *Lūdzu šodien atbalstīt trešajā lasījumā. (Dep. A. Bērziņš: “Malacis, Inese ! **Re**, ko nozīmē skaidri un gaiši !”)*

‘[...] I ask you for your support in the third reading.  
(MP A. Bērziņš: «Great job, Inese! **Re** what it means [to speak] clearly and explicitly!»)

# MAIN FUNCTIONS OF *LŪK* IN SAEIMA: POINTING TO TEXT WITHIN A TURN

- ❖ marker of discourse structure, «**argumentation marker**» and presentative particle
  - introducing a subtopic, an illustrative example, supporting facts, evidence;
  - announcing an especially important part within a text passage;
  - marking the end of a topic, example, part of text;
  - hesitation between such parts of text;
- ❖ **quotative marker**, marker of different (disputed) viewpoint (often in represented speech)

# POSITION IN THE TEXT (EXAMPLES ON THE HANDOUT) 1. ISOLATED OR INITIAL

(CONNECTIVE | PARTICLE ) **lūk** (CLAUSE/SENTENCE | RELATIVE CLAUSE | NOUN PHRASE NOMINATIVE | VOCATIVE)

<b>Isolated</b>	<i>Lūk!</i> <i>Nu tad lūk!</i> <i>Lūk, Šadurska kungs!</i>
<b>Sentence initial</b>	
• <b>before clause (complex)</b>	(6), (7)
• <b>before <i>kas</i>-clause</b>	(8), (9), (10)
• <b>before NP NOM</b>	(11), (12)

# POSITION IN THE TEXT

## 2. PARENTHETICAL

### Parenthetical

- **after complementizer (13)**  
*ka* 'that', before  
**clause (complex)**
- **within clause, (14), (15)**  
**between clause or**  
**phrase constituents**

# PROSODY: FROM ISOLATED TO INITIAL (LEFT MARGIN)

When syntactically isolated,

- *lūk* most often is in a separate intonation unit (with accompanying particles);
- the intonation is falling from high to low (marked by !);
- *lūk* most often is (strongly) is stressed;
- it is always clearly separated from the preceding IU, but may be close to the following IU.

When syntactically part of a clause complex,

- *lūk* may be prosodically more or less independent.



# EXAMPLES FOR ISOLATED LŪK

- 1) Framing a subtopic (Brivers\_180222\_1 + \_2)
- 2) Filling pause between introduction and argumentation (Belevics\_150423\_1)
- 3) Announcing the important part of a read text (Elksnins\_150423\_2)
- 4) Marking the end of one of three numbered arguments (Snore\_160609)

# INTRODUCING SUBTOPIC

BRIVERS\_180222\_1



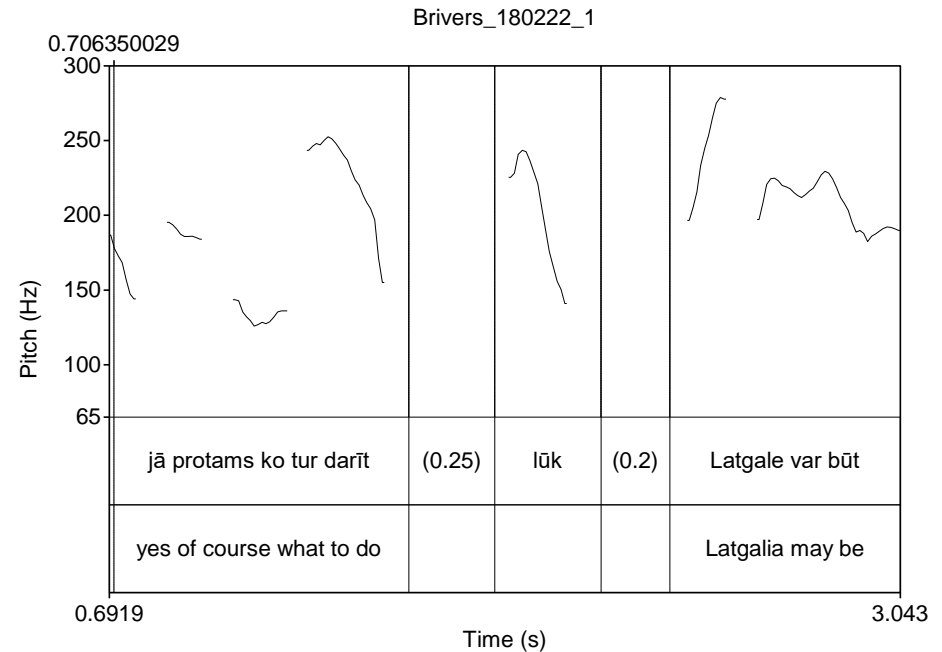
JĀ protams ko tur DARīt!

(0.25)

**LŪK!**

(0.2)

LATgale var būt kā sevišķi  
spilgts piemērs.



[Topic: Latvia's demographic problems]

'Yes, of course, what can one do? (0.25) **LŪK!** (0.2)

Latgalia may serve as an especially striking example.'

# END OF SUBTOPIC

BRIVERS\_180222\_2



tāpēc es klausījos ko viņi stāsta.

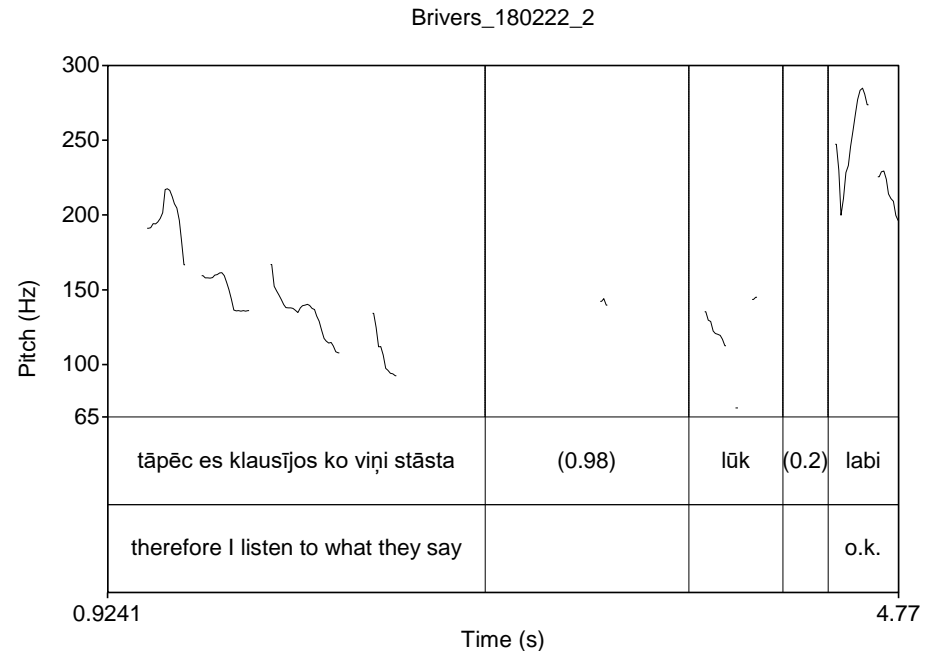
(0.98)

**lūk.**

(0.2)

Labi es tagad laika trūkuma dēļ

varbūt VISsu NEuzskaitīšu.



‘Therefore I listened to what they say. (0.98) **lūk.** (0.2)  
Ok, for lack of time I maybe will not enlist everything now.’

# BETWEEN INTRODUCTION AND FACTS



BELEVICS\_150423\_1

es aicināju ņemt piemēru  
sistemātiskā pieejā alkoholisma  
apkarošanā

kura dod rezultātus.

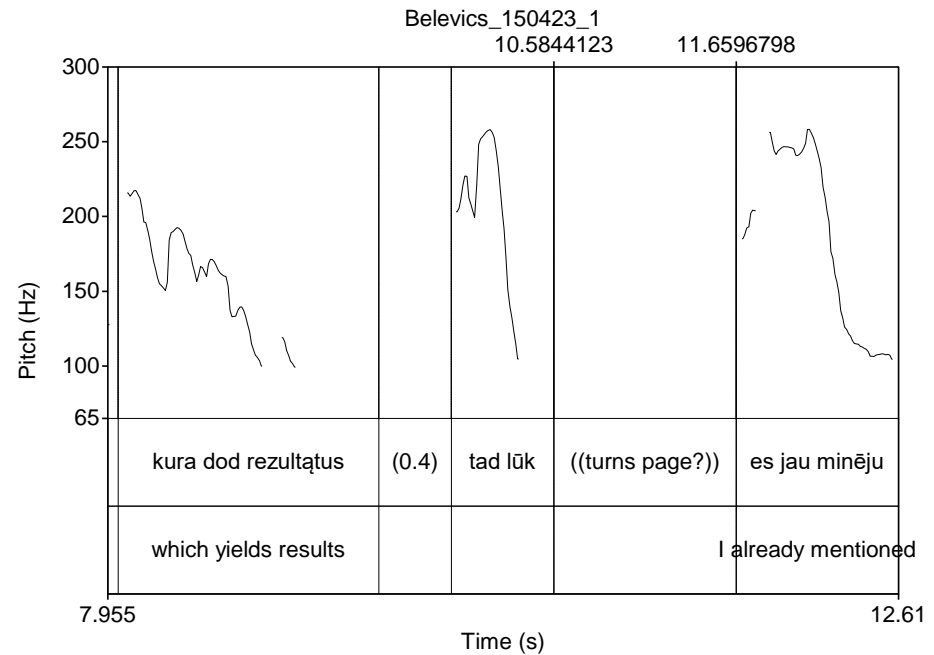
(0.4)

**tad LŪK!**

((pause 1.08, turns page?))

es jau minēju.

ka 2008.gadā



‘I recommend to take [this as] an example for the systematic  
fight with alcoholism, which yields results. (0.4). **tad LŪK!** (1.08)  
I already mentioned, that in 2008’

# ANNOUNCING THE MOST IMPORTANT PART

## ELKSNINS\_150423\_2



((reads from a legal text))

[...] demokrātiskās Latvijas valsts un sabiedrības locekli.

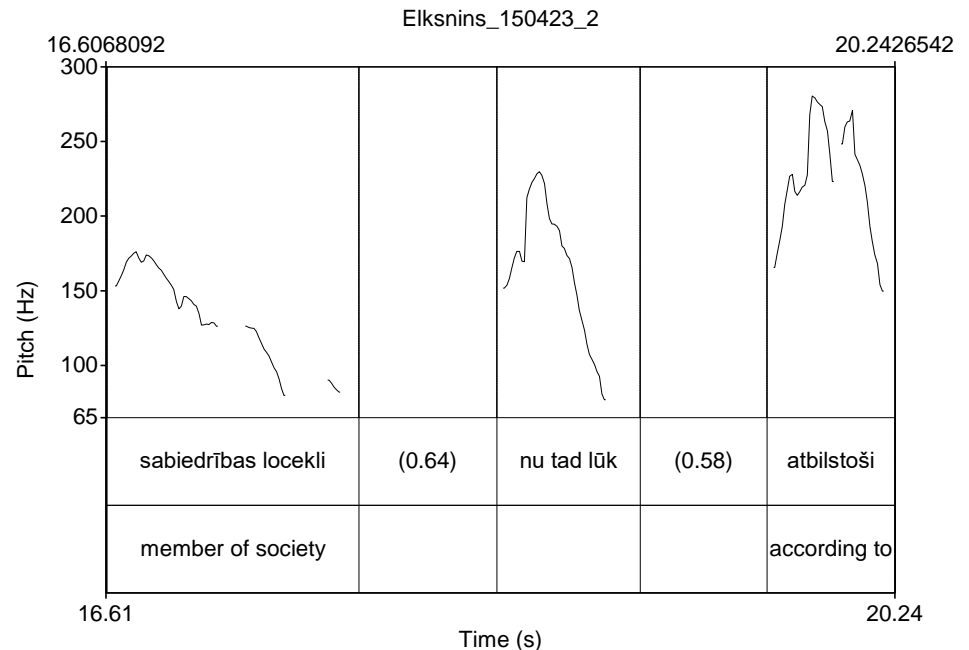
(0.58)

**nu tad LŪK!**

(0.64)

((continues reading))

atbilstoši izglītojamā vecumam, [...]



# END OF FIRST (OF THREE) ARGUMENTS

SNORE\_160609



uz KO ee

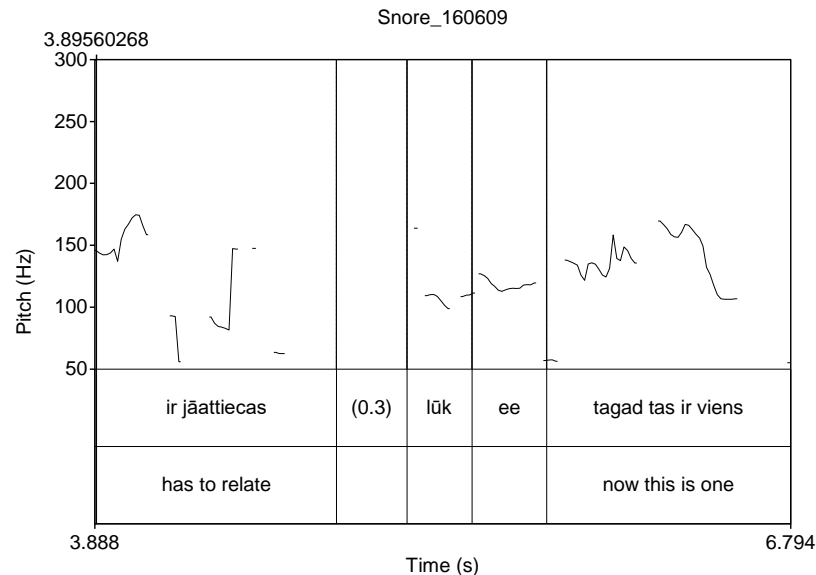
tātad šim priekšlikumam  
ee un šai NORmai ir  
JĀattiecas.

(0.3)

**lūk** ee

tagad tas ir viens;

otrs [...]



‘to which therefore this proposition and this norm have to apply. (0.3) **lūk** ee Now this is number one. The second [...]’

# EXAMPLES FOR «LEFT MARGIN» USES

*lūk* as a presentative particle, comparable to French *voici* and *voilà*, pointing to preceding or following text

- 1) Summing up visual evidence (Smiltens\_180412) – VOILA
- 2) Summing up textual evidence (quote) (Kirsteins\_160609) – VOILA
- 3) Announcing examples (Sudraba\_180222) – VOICI
- 4) Announcing text (quote) (Bite\_170209) – VOICI

# COMMENTING VISUAL EVIDENCE (VOILA)



SMILTENS\_180412 – EXAMPLE (7) ON THE HANDOUT

((after presenting pictures))

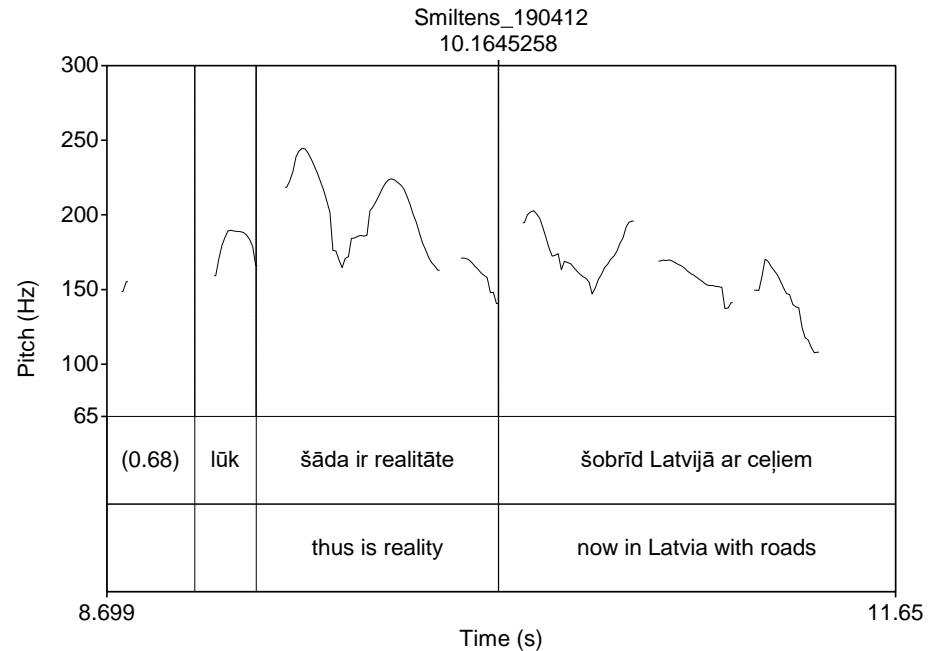
NOgrimušas MAšīnas (0.5)

neizbraucami CEļi (0.44)

piegādes hm VEIkaliem (-) kas  
AIZkavējas; (0.68)

**lūk ŠĀda** ir REalitāte;

šobrīd Latvijā ar CEļiem.



‘Sunken cars (0.5) impassable roads (0.44) deliveries that are late (0.68) **lūk** such is at present the reality on Latvia’s roads.’



# COMMENTING A QUOTE (VOILA)

KIRSTEINS\_160609



Kirsteins\_160609

un ko viņš ATbildēja  
jūs visi DZIRdējāt.

((quote begins))

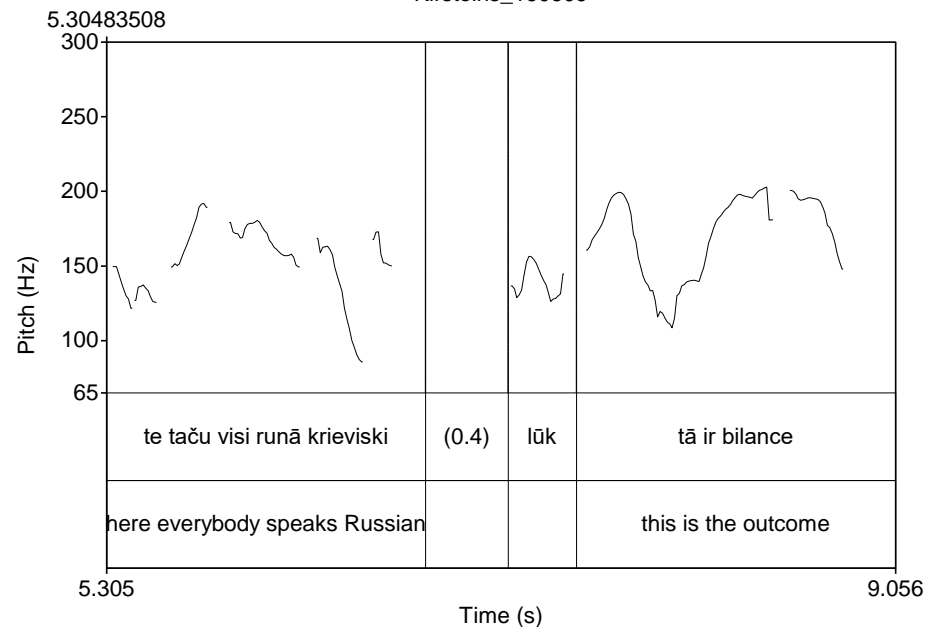
priekš KĀ!

Latvija taču te ir tāpat ka KRIEvija.

te taču visi runā KRIEviski. (0.4)

((end of quote))

**lūk** TĀ ir Bllance;



‘and you all heard what he answered. «Why [should I learn Latvian]? Latvia is the same as Russia, everybody speaks Russian here.» **lūk** this is the outcome [...]’

# ANNOUNCING EXAMPLES (VOICI)



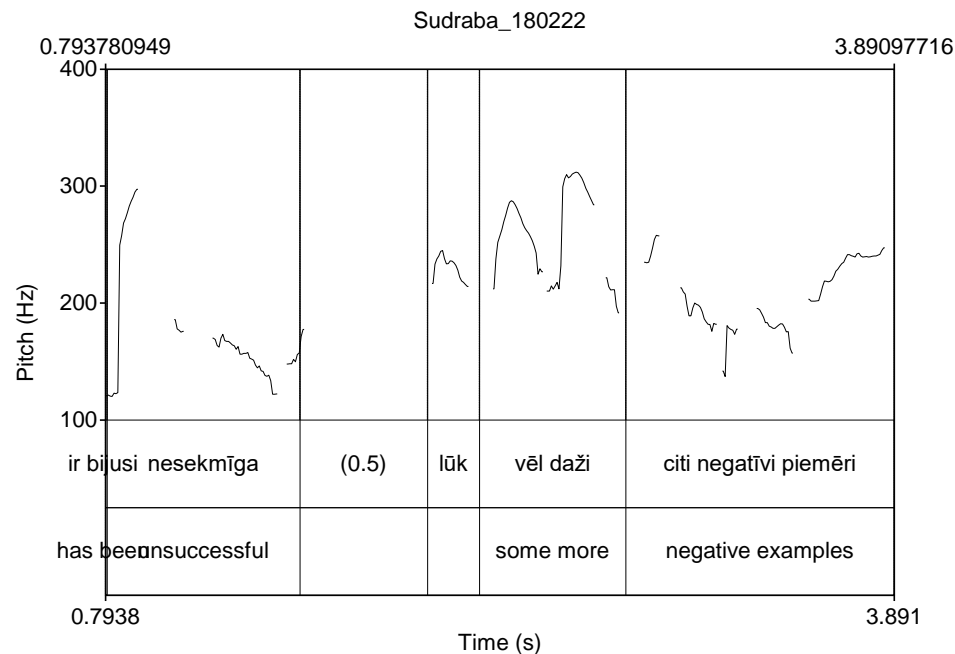
SUDRABA\_180222

((read speech))

ir bijusi NEsekmīga.

**lūk** VĒL DAži citi negatīvi piemēri,

kas ir konstatējami pat ar neapbruņotu aci.



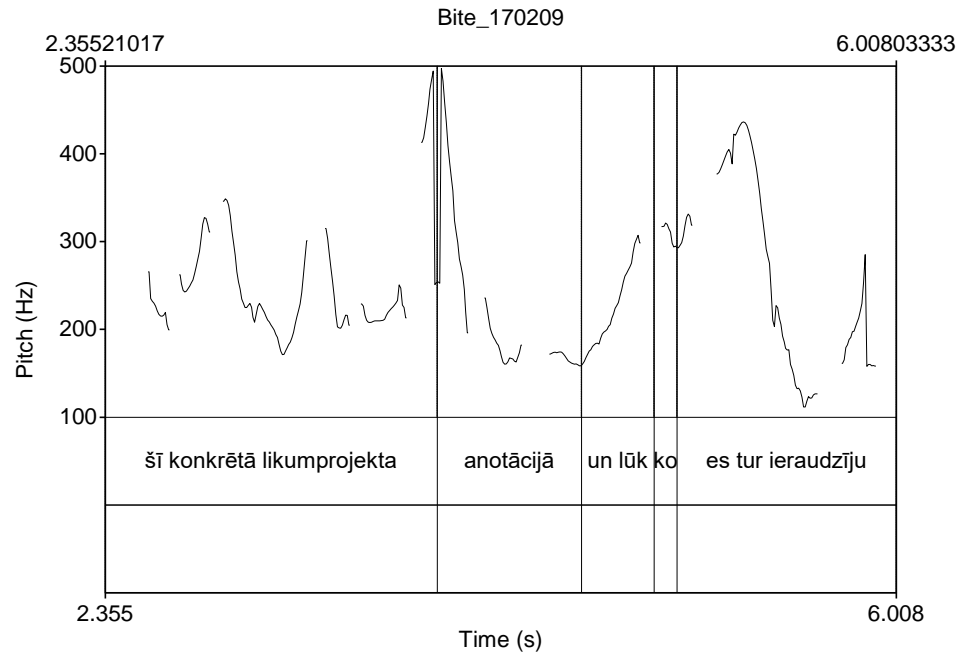
‘[the goal] has not been reached. **lūk** (= here are) some more negative examples, which can be found with a naked eye.’

# ANNOUNCING A QUOTE (VOICI)

BITE\_170209 — EXAMPLE (10) ON THE HANDOUT



tad nu es IEskatījos,  
šī KONkrētā likumprojekta  
Anotācijā.  
**un LŪK ko** es tur  
IEraudzīju.



‘so then I looked into the annotation of this particular draft law and **lūk** (= here is) what I noticed there’

# PROSODY: PARENTHETICAL LŪK

When *lūk* marks a different viewpoint, it tends to attach to the previous intonation unit, not to the following. It belongs to the voice of the current speaker, not the quoted speaker.

## Examples

- 1) with complementizer *ka* after a complement taking predicate ('show that') (Vilums\_180222)
- 2) with complementizer *ka* without complement taking predicate (Platpers\_180222)
- 3) without complementizer, direct speech; (Latkovskis\_180524)
- 4) without complementizer, indirect speech with morphological hearsay marker. (Ribena\_150423\_1)

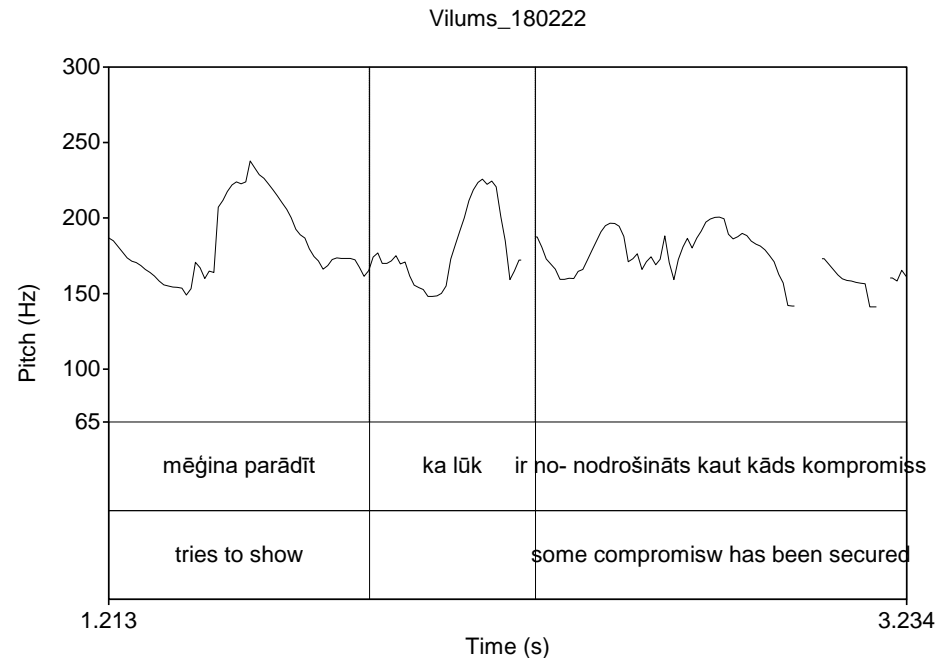
# INTRODUCING DIFFERENT VIEWPOINT

## VILUMS\_180222 – EXAMPLE (13) ON THE HANDOUT



un tādā veidā viņš mēģina  
PARĀdīt **ka LŪK**  
ir nodrošināts kaut kāds  
KOMpromiss  
un ir kaut kāda piekāpšanās.

**MANUprāt**

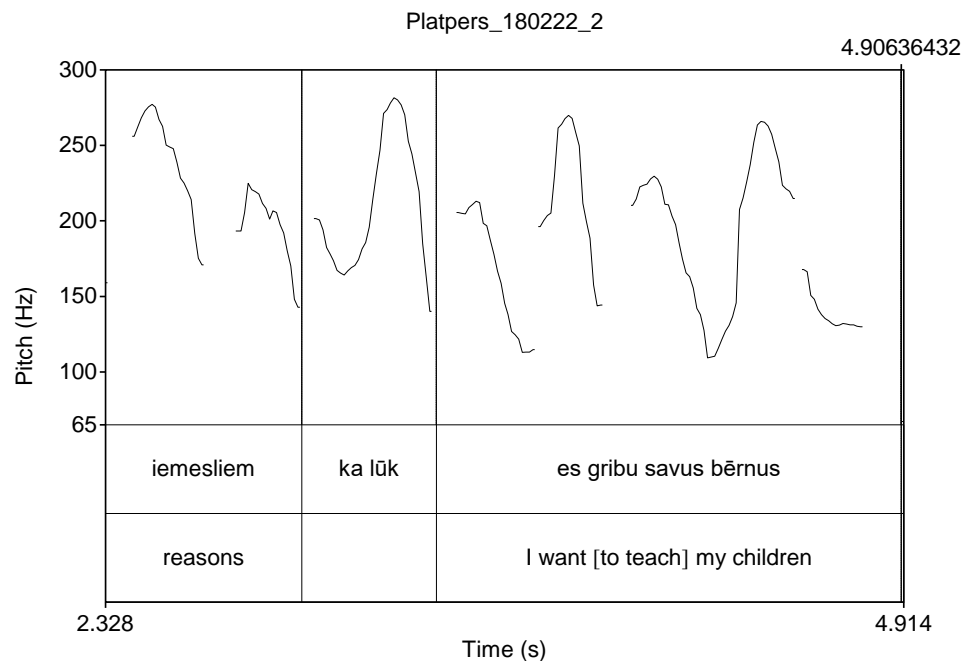


‘and that way he tries to show **that lūk** a certain compromise has been reached und there has been some concession. **In my view [...]**’

# INTRODUCING VIEWPOINT (PRESENTED AS DIRECT SPEECH) PLATPERS\_180222\_2



mēs RUnājam par (1.1)  
IEmesliem **ka LŪK!**  
es gribu savus BĒRnus  
 kaut ko MĀcīt kaut kādā citā  
valodā un viņiem ir GRŪti  
iemācīties latviešu valodu.



‘We are talking about (1.1) reasons **that lūk** «I want to teach my children something in some other language and it is hard for them to learn Latvian».’

# MARKING VIEWPOINT IN THE MIDDLE

(PRESENTED AS DIRECT SPEECH) LATKOVSKIS\_180524

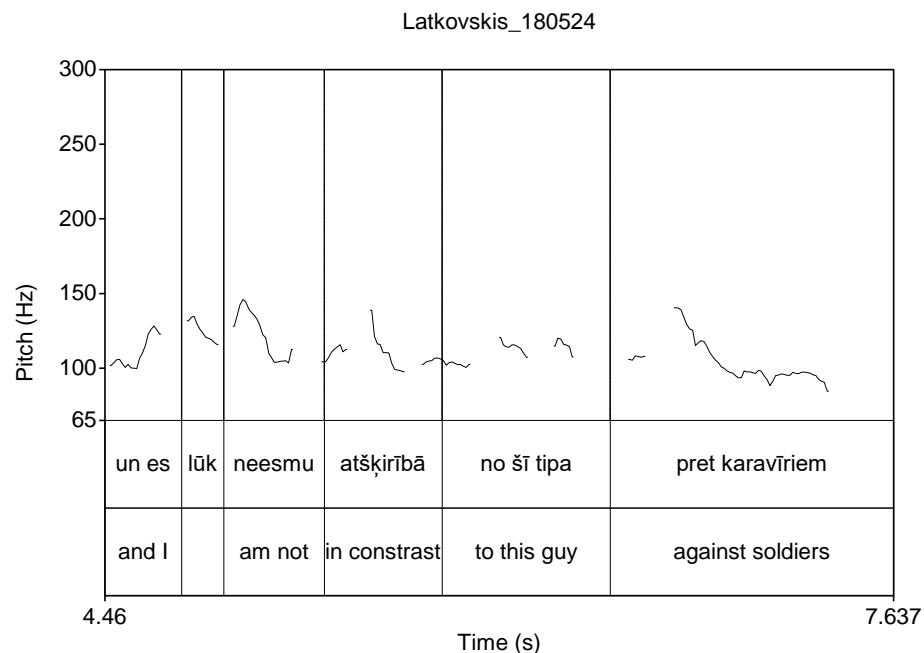
EXAMPLE (14) ON THE HANDOUT



ta::d es saņēmu pārmetumus  
**ka::**

šis tips ir pret karavīriem;

un **es LŪK** NEesmu atšķirībā  
no šī tipa pret KARavīriem.



‘Then I got reproachs **that** «this guy is against soldiers and **I lūk**, in contrats to this guy, am not against soldiers».’

# MARKING VIEWPOINT

(PRESENTED AS INDIRECT SPEECH) RIBENA\_150423\_1



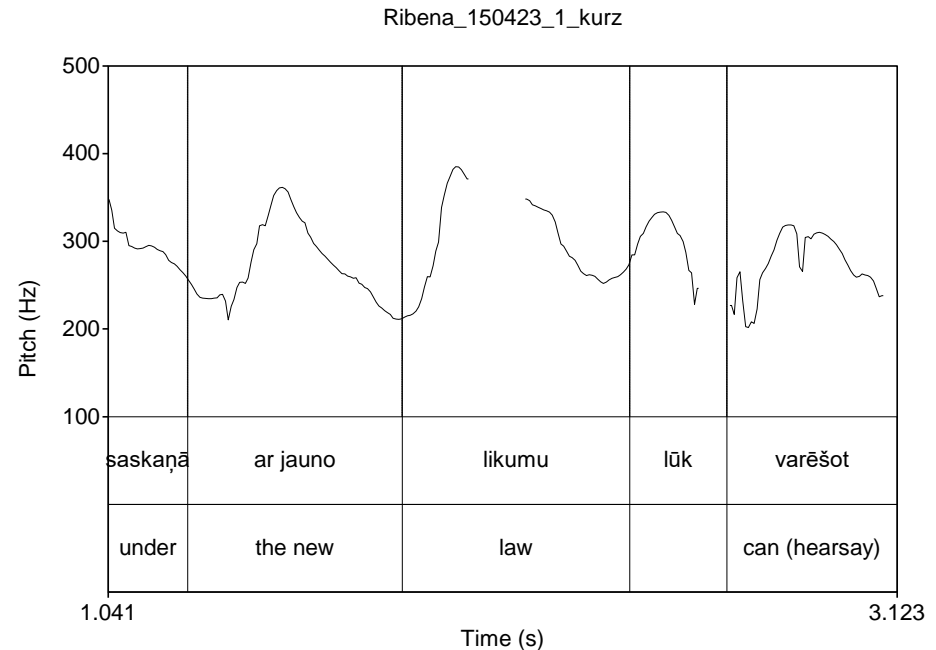
((Speaker is reading a prepared speech))

saskaņā ar jauno likumu **lūk**

**varēsot** aizliegt dažādas

Lindgrēnes Šekspīra  
Blaumaņa grāmatas

dainas un pat Bībeli.



‘with the new law **lūk** they **will be able** [hearsay/quotative form] to ban various books by Lindgren, Shakespeare, Blaumanis, the Dainas and even the Bible.’



# CONCLUSIONS

*lūk* is used **within** a turn (not at turn margins)

- as syntactically and prosodically independent unit to structure the speaker's argumentation,
- as independent unit or at the left margin of a unit to accentuate parts of an argumentation,
- in the middle of a syntactic unit to mark a different viewpoint, opposed to the speaker's viewpoint.

*lūk* is **not** used

- for turn-management;
- in questions;
- at the right margin of syntactic or prosodic units.

# 'LISTEN' VS. 'LOOK'

*klau* < 'listen' (informal)

- is used at the beginning or the end of turns;
- is used at the left or the right margin of syntactic and prosodic units;
- is used in questions;
- ... (more features still to explore)

## EXAMPLES FOR *KLAU*



- (16) [Beginning of turn, addressing previous speaker]  
***Klau, nu šitas ir nenormāli, ar ko tu tagad nodarbojies!***  
‘**Klau**, what you are doing here is unnatural!’
- (17) *Labdien, godātie kolēģi! **Kas te vispār notiek, klau?***  
(*Dep. S. Āboltiņa: “Cirks!”*)  
‘Good afternoon, dear colleagues! What is going on here, **klau?** (MP S. Āboltiņa from the audience: «A circus!»)
- (18) [Speaker is being reprimanded by the Chair person]  
***Varbūt jūs manā vietā nāksiet debatēt, klau, nu?***  
‘Maybe you will continue the debate instead of me, **klau, nu?**’



**Thank you for listening!**

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and Language Documentation)**