

## CLIPPING IN ENGLISH AND LATVIAN

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### 1. Introduction

This paper deals with the issues connected with clipping in two rather unrelated and different languages of the Indo-European group of languages – Latvian and English.

The ability to coin as well as understand new words rather easily derives in part from the fact that there is a lot of regularity in word-formation processes: word-formation types, paradigms which the word has to fit, and analogies with similar words. On the other hand, word-formation patterns are not always used in a neat and tidy manner, nor are they in general so regular. They are often combined creating a multitude of variants.

Even today in studies of English there is still much disagreement about which patterns are to be included within word-formation scope and which not. Usually affixation, composition, clipping and conversion are included. Yet, clipping is often viewed as differing from the traditional word-formation types and referred to the sphere of speech, not language (Marchand 1968). As pointed out by Bauer (1983: 89), some word-formation patterns display parallelism and there exist links between different patterns, so, for example, clipping is formally very similar to back-formation, because in both cases the base is shortened.

Latvian word-formation studies (being very traditional, not to say antiquated) prefer to devote most attention to composition and affixation (which are the predominant word-formation types). Much less attention is paid to conversion and abbreviation, and clipping is generally ignored (Grabis 1959, Kalme and Smiltiece 1989, Freimane 1993). Other word-formation types, if touched upon, are generally viewed outside the sphere of word-formation. As suggested by Endzelīns (1951), Latvian word-formation studies are very historically centred. New tendencies are at best ignored, at worst fought as distorting the traditional Latvian patterns. Thus even the name for the process of clipping (*strupināšana*) is a relatively new one – usually clippings were viewed under the common name of shortening (*saīsināšana*). There is also a much greater gap between the written and spoken language in Latvian than

in English and clipping is more characteristic of the colloquial language. Another difference is that English word-formation has been very much left to develop on its own, (of course analogy and common sense affect it) while Latvian word-building has, to a great extent, been worked out and monitored by linguists.

Despite the fact that English and Latvian belong to the same language family, their morphological typology differs considerably. This, first and foremost, concerns the morphological structure of the words. While the basic wordstock of English consists of one-morpheme words where the root morpheme is both the independent word and the stem for word-formation, Latvian words consist mainly of two and even three morphemes – the root and the affix or the root and two affixes, e.g. a comparison of two semantically identical sentences consisting of equivalent words:

(1)	<i>The little</i>	<i>Maz-ai-s</i>	[root + definite suffix + masculine ending]
	<i>dog</i>	<i>sun-īt-is</i>	[root + diminutive suffix + masculine ending]
	<i>could</i>	<i>var-ē-ja</i>	[root + past suffix + 3rd person ending]
	<i>run</i>	<i>pa-skrie-t</i>	[prefix + root + infinitive ending]
	<i>quite</i>	<i>tīr-i</i>	[adjective root + adverb forming suffix]
	<i>fast.</i>	<i>ātr-i.</i>	[adjective root + adverb forming suffix].

This difference is determined by the distinctly inflectional nature of Latvian. In its turn it is connected with the word-formation patterns (Arakin 1979: 221-222): languages in which one-morpheme units predominate tend to prefer non-affixational word-formation patterns (English, Chinese), while a two-morpheme pattern leads to the dominance of affixation (Latvian, Russian, German). Consequently, it is only natural that clipping takes a more prominent place in English than in Latvian, where the multimorphemic words are often the result of several affixes which cannot be deleted for grammatical reasons. Also the new clipped form in Latvian is much more complex – while an English word, after losing its elements is “ready” for use, Latvian clipping is still to be supplied with a derivational suffix and inflectional ending, e.g. *minerālūdens* ‘mineral water’ < *min* - *īt* - *is*<sup>1</sup> [clipped form + diminutive suffix + masculine inflectional ending]; *šizofrēnikis* ‘schizophrenic’ < *šiz* - *iņ* - *š* [clipped form + diminutive suffix + masculine inflectional ending].<sup>2</sup>

*Clipping* is shortening of a word by cutting off its elements. Clipping is sometimes also called unabbreviated shortening (Cannon 1987: 152). This type of economy is a frequent occurrence in many languages. Clipping is not so much a method of new word formation, rather altering old ones with a slight change of their meaning (mainly connotational). The new form normally retains the semantic and syntactic function of the original. As the economy principle in language would not al-

<sup>1</sup> The retained part of the source form is underlined in Latvian.

<sup>2</sup> In Latvian the words are almost exclusively stressed on the first syllable so accent does not really play any role in word-formation. Pronunciation is practically identical to the spelled variant with a slight adaptation of voiced and unvoiced consonants preceding other voiced or unvoiced consonants. The phonetic aspect of the source word does not seem to affect formation of clippings.

low having two forms with one meaning simultaneously, so clippings generally retain more of a colloquial or slangy tinge, “they indicate an attitude of familiarity on the part of the user, either towards the object denoted, or towards the audience” (Adams 1973: 135). One can differentiate between historical clipping and modern clipping. As the latter is of more importance for contrastive studies, we will look at it first.

## 2.1. Modern Clipping

Clipping is very common in English. Bally (1950) pointed out decades ago that English prefers monosyllabism. Clipping as a word-formation type among neologisms constitutes 4.6% and actually outnumbers abbreviations (Cannon 1987: 152). Clipping is a predominant feature of school and college slang, e.g. *grad* < *graduate*, *exam* < *examination*, *physed* < *physical education*, *lab* < *laboratory*, *digs* < *diggings*, *math* < *mathematics*, *econ* < *economics*, *dorms* < *dormitories*, etc. which does not mean that such use is limited to schools or universities only. As a direct parallel the great spread of clipping in school and college slang in Latvian could be pointed out, e.g. *latene* < *latviešu valoda* ‘Latvian’, *dirkšķis* < *direktors* ‘director’, *alkāns* < *alkoholiķis* ‘alcoholic’, *eksis* < *eksāmens* ‘exam’, *fakis* < *fakultāte* ‘faculty’, *litene* < *literatūra* ‘literature’, *matene* < *matemātika* ‘mathematics’. As a slang phenomenon it has at least been around in this century.

Apart from this, other specific language spheres contribute to the production of clippings, e.g. *vet* < *veteran*, *cap* < *captain*, *copter* < *helicopter*, *chute* < *parachute* take their origin in army slang, while *bra* < *brassiere*, *nighty* < *nightdress*, *undies* < *underclothes*, *pants/panties* < *pantaloons* seem to have come from shop slang. Afterwards, similar to other slang words, they pass into the standard language. One can also distinguish some spheres in Latvian where clipping is rather rife, e. g. sports: *futen/fuķis* ‘football’, *basis/baskets* ‘basketball’; technical gadgets *dipiņš* ‘slide’, *maģis* ‘recorder’, *teļļuks* ‘TV set’, *fočuks* ‘camera’, *plaķenes* ‘pliers’), and others.

Clipping is less common in Latvian than in English and the statement that “the tendency to abbreviate is minimal in Standard Latvian” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1977: 100) can be considered quite true of the earlier period of development. However, the situation has, to a certain extent, changed. There have been attempts in the past by outstanding linguists and writers to improve the language by creating shorter forms. The greatest Latvian poet, Rainis, promoted shorter forms both in theory and in practice. There have always been rather many clippings in colloquial language and slang, as well as in the spoken language (e.g. one could mention the tendency to reduce the definite adjectival endings), but in the past linguists did not take it seriously since the gap between the standard written language and the spoken language was significant.

Yet today, there are many literary words created by means of backclipping, to mention but a few: *mīla* < *mīlestība* ‘love’, *ilgas* < *ilgošanās* ‘longing’. These can be viewed as clipping of the rather clumsy suffixes *-šana*, *-ība*, but might as well be viewed as resuffixation – substitution of these suffixes by another denotationally equivalent, shorter suffix: *-e*: *atveidošana* > *atveide* ‘reproduction’, *ritēšana* > *rite*



'circulation', *slīdēšana* > *slīde* 'sliding', *piesaistīšana* > *piesaiste* 'attraction'. The suffix *-e* has become rather productive in terminology and general word-formation and carries a slight modernistic or terminological tinge.

There is a gradually growing tendency for clippings (including new occasional ones) to appear in written language and, therefore, to lose their solely colloquial status. For example:

- (2) Svaigs ir tikai tā krāsojums, kas rotā **tramu**, šo pilsētas vilcienu. ...**tramam** pat izdomāja krustmāti... (*Diena*, 25.11.1994) (*trams* < *tramvajs* 'tram')

Clipping predominantly affects nouns. In English there are a few verbs that are used in their clipped forms, e.g. *rev* < *revolve*, *prep* < *prepare*, *phone* < *telephone*, and a few adjectives: *comfy* < *comfortable*, *mizzy* < *miserable*.

Clipping in English is not restricted by any rules of what the final elements of the clipped form should be (e.g., *limo*, *pro*, *cap*). The cut does not even have to coincide with the morpheme boundary or the syllable structure: *exam* < *e.xa.mi.na.tion*, *grad* < *gradu.ate*. Unlike in English, in Russian clippings generally end on a consonant.

In Latvian the addition of the ending (derivational suffix + inflectional ending) is inevitable and the cut is normally after the first syllable. This means that clipping in Latvian is predominantly rule-driven: normally the first syllable of a multisyllabic word remains and a suffix from a relatively restricted set (see below) is added. The rare polysyllabic clipping form (not counting the suffix) can normally be accounted for by some other linguistic reason, e.g. *datoršičiks* < *datorspeciālists* 'computer specialist' has been affected by Russian and the earlier existence of a Russian barbarism (though widely used) in Latvian *datčiks* 'sensory element' which could cause misunderstanding.

Generally, the clippings are predictable, typical of short Latvian names and theoretically clipping could easily spread to wide layers of vocabulary, however, it does not.

## 2.2. Backclipping

There are three main types of clipping: backclipping, foreclipping, and middle clipping.

In the case of backclipping (apocrypy) the final part of the word is cut off. Backclipping is the most common way of clipping in English, e.g.

- (3)
- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>advertisement</i> | <i>doctor</i>     |
| <i>laboratory</i>    | <i>fabulous</i>   |
| <i>professor</i>     | <i>miniskirt</i>  |
| <i>professional</i>  | <i>chimpanzee</i> |
| <i>demonstration</i> | <i>fanatic</i>    |
| <i>captain</i>       | <i>referee</i>    |
| <i>clitoris</i>      | <i>gentleman</i>  |
| <i>William</i>       | <i>cigarette</i>  |

<i>memorandum</i>	<i>rhinoceros</i>
<i>flippant</i>	<i>limosine.</i>

Backclipping can go together with ellipsis in compound phrases: *zoo* < *zoological gardens*, *proms* < *promenade concerts*, *perm* < *permanent wave*, *pub* < *public house*, *prefab* < *prefabricated house*. This model is widespread in Latvian (see the Latvian examples below).

Similarly to English, in Latvian backclipping also takes the dominant role. There is a great similarity between traditional English backclippings and the Latvian ones. These clippings are most characteristic of school or college slang, but many of them are used in general slang and colloquial language. In many cases clippings stand for a notion expressed by a phrase (clipping and ellipsis), in which case the attributive word is retained and clipped. Clippings in Latvian are often accompanied by a change in the root of the word. The phonological change in the remaining part of the source word is often the result of Latvian phonological rules, e.g. palatalization because of the introduction of a narrow vowel *ekonomiskais veikals* 'economical supermarket' > *ekītis*, *plakanknaibles* 'pliers' > *plāķenes*, *fakultāte* 'faculty' > *faķis*, *magnetafons* 'recorder' > *maģis*, *veikals* 'shop' > *veičis*, influence of loans *videofilma* 'video' > Russian *vig'ik* > Latvian *vīgiks*, as well as optimization of pronunciation and perception *diapozitīvs* 'slide' > *dipiņš*, *televizors* 'TV set' > *teļļuks*.

As pointed out before clippings are always supplied with an extended (suffix + inflectional ending) ending from a relatively restricted set (mainly diminutives).

- (4) *-ene*
- disene* < *diskotēka* 'disco'
  - biblene* < *bibliotēka* 'library'
  - litene* < *literatūra* 'literature'
  - latene* < *latviešu valoda* 'Latvian language'
  - dzimene* < *dzimšanas diena* 'birthday'
  - multene* < *multiplikācijas filma* 'cartoon film'
  - učene* < Rus. *uchitel'nitsa* 'teacher-f.'
  - futene* < *futbols* 'football'
  - plāķenes* < *plakanknaibles* 'pliers'
  - krosenes krosa* < *kurpes* 'sports shoes'

*-is*

- faķis* < *fakultāte* 'faculty'
- flomis* < *flomasters* 'felt tip pen'
- maģis* < *magnetafons* 'recorder'
- veičis* < *veikals* 'shop'
- eksis* < *eksāmens* 'exam'
- mēģis* < *mēģinājums* 'rehearsal'
- tīnis* < *tīneidžers* 'teenager'
- fuķis* < *futbol* 'football's'

*ķinis* < *kino* 'cinema'

*mocis* < *motocikls* 'motorcycle'

*kompis* < *kompjūters* 'computer'

-ūzis

*kafūzis* < *kafejnīca* 'cafe'

*restūzis* < *restorāns* 'restaurant'

*ēdūzis* < *ēdnīca* 'canteen'

*vannūzis* < *vannas istaba* 'bathroom'

-ītis

*unītis* < *universālveikals* 'supermarket'

*eķītis* < *ekonomiskais veikals* 'economical supermarket'

*dīpītis* < *deportētā persona* 'deported person'

*minītis* < *minerālūdens* 'mineral water'

-iņš

*dipiņš* < *diapozitīvs* 'slide'

*letiņš* < *latvietis* 'Latvian'

*zapiņš* < *zaporožecs* 'zaporozhets car'

*šiziņš* < *šizofrēniķis* 'schizophrenic'

*autiņš* < *automašīna* 'car'

*idiņš* < *idiots* 'idiot'

-uks

*teļļuks* < *televizors* 'tv set'

*učuks* < Rus. *uchitel* 'teacher-m.'

*fočuks* < *fotoaparāts* 'camera'

*ričuks* < (*div*)*ritenis* 'bike'

*spečuks* < *speciālists* 'expert'

various:

*stīpa* < *stipendija* 'grant'

*auto* < *automašīna* 'car'

*baskets* < *basketbols* 'basketball'

*viģiks* < *videofilma* 'video'

*datorščiķis* < *datoroperators* 'computer operator'

It is interesting to note that there is a change of gender in some of the clippings. As practically all nouns in Latvian must acquire gender it would be reasonable to expect clippings to retain the gender of the original noun. Yet, sometimes the masculine suffix seems to be more attractive and dominates the feminine gender of the source word (though there exist parallel masculine and feminine suffix forms). The masculine seems to dominate in most of the cases: *automašīna* > *auto*, *videofilma* > *viģiks*, *deportētā persona* > *dīpītis*, *ēdnīca* > *ēdūzis*, *kafejnīca* > *kafūzis*. The opposite process has only one example: *futbols* < *futene*. This falls in line with the general tendency of "masculinization" in Latvian.

### 2.3. Foreclipping

In the case of foreclipping (frontclipping, apheresis) the front part of the word is deleted, e.g.

- (5) *airplane*     *hamburger*  
*omnibus*     *telephone*  
*helicopter*     *varsity* < *university*  
*telegram*     *Becky* < *Rebecca*  
*periwig*     *parachute*  
*violincello*     *broolly* < *umbrella*  
*microfiche*     *hydrofoil*.

In comparison to backclipping, foreclipping is not so widespread – which might be explained by several reasons. It is easier to identify backclipping (the beginning of the word is enough) than frontclipping and this may affect the spread of the new form. Jespersen (1934) has interesting data that children actually prefer the front-clippings, while adults give preference to backclippings.

Front clipping is rather rare in Latvian, and usually connected with foreign language influence:

- (6) *mašīna* < *automašīna*  
*busiņš* < *autobuss*  
*ritenis* < *divritenis*.

### 2.4. Middle clipping

In the case of middle clipping (syncope), something is cut out in the middle of the word. These clippings are often graphically visible (use of apostrophies), sometimes they reflect pronunciation. Occasionally they are used for space economy reasons (titles, noticeboards), some cases can be viewed as backclippings with the addition of an 's', e.g.

- (7) *ma'am* < *madam*  
*specs* < *spectacles*  
*Jo'burg* < *Johannesburg*  
*maths* < *mathematics*  
*didn't* < *did not*  
*vibes* < *vibrations*  
*prade* < *parade*  
*pants* < *pantaloons*  
*B'ham* < *Birmingham*.

Because of the heterogeneous character of these no further study will be offered. Yet it is important to state, that there are no cases of syncope in Latvian.

## 2.5. Complex cases

In English there are quite frequent combinations of the two of the above mentioned types, i.e. foreclipping and backclipping affecting one word (often personal names) simultaneously. For example,

- |     |                      |                      |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------|
| (8) | <i>detective</i>     | <i>prescription</i>  |
|     | <i>influenza</i>     | <i>head shrinker</i> |
|     | <i>refridgerator</i> | <i>distillery</i>    |
|     | <i>Elizabeth.</i>    |                      |

No such complex cases have been observed in Latvian.

## 2.6. Clipping and compounding

Clipping can also go together with compounding. Clippings often become the first constituents in the compound, e.g. *con man* < *confidence man*, *paratroops* < *parachute troops*. If this model turns out to be productive for one form the clipping can turn into a semi-affix, as in: *Eurocup* < *European cup*, *Eurofighter*, *Eurasia*, *minibus* < *miniature bus*, *minibudget*, *minicab*, *minipill*.

This type of clipping plus compounding is quite widespread in Standard Latvian and neutral in style, often connected with the scientific style of the newspaper language. It is backclipping together with compounding bordering on semiaffixation, e.g. *speckurss* < *speciālais kurss* 'special course', *specskola* < *speciālā skola* 'special school', *politinformācija* < *politiskā informācija* 'political information', *fizkultūra* < *fiziskā kultūra* 'physical information', *kompārtija* < *komunistiskā partija* 'communist party', *santehnika* < *sanitārā tehnika* 'sanitation technology', *komjaunatne* < *komunistiskā jaunatne* 'Komsomol', *ģeofizika* < *ģeogrāfiskā fizika* 'geophysics', *Eiroparlaments* < *Eiropas parlaments* 'European Parliament'.

- (9) Iemantotais **padlaiku** simbols, ko līdz šim tikai saujiņa.. "krievu padomju cilvēku" izmantoja saviem groteskajiem **komkulta** rituāliem  
(*Diena*, 20.06.1997)

*padlaiku* < *padomju laiki* 'soviet times'  
*komkults* < *komunistiskā kultūra* 'communist culture'

Clippings can also be second constituents in the compounds: *skylab* < *sky laboratory*, *showbiz* < *show business*.

No compounds with a second element clipped have been noted in Latvian.

## 2.7. Two backclippings

There can also be compounds consisting of two backclippings: *sit-com* < *situation comedy*, *telex* < *teleprinter exchange*, *hi-fi* < *high fidelity*, *sci-fi* < *science fiction*,

*tion*, *Interpol* < *international police*, *napalm* < *naphthenate palmitate*, *phys-ed* < *physical education*, *comintern* < *communist international*, or even 3 elements *Benelux* < *Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg*.

Also in Latvian one meets compounds consisting of two backclippings: *partorgs* 'party organizers', *Latvenergo* 'Latvian Energy', *Donbass* 'Don Bassin', *kolhozs* 'collective farm', *sovhozs* 'soviet farm', *agitprops* 'agitation and propaganda'. There is usually a strong influence of Russian behind these clipped compounds (loan translations) and they are generally either borrowed or built from international elements by use of analogy. Yet some of the new units seem to be created solely in Latvian, e.g. *zemsavieši* 'members of the Farmers' Union', *humpala* 'humanitarian assistance', etc.:

- (10) Ekonomikas ministrs būšot pazīstamais labdaris Joahims Zīgerists – viņam liela pieredze **humpalu** gādāšanā. (*Rīgas Balss*, 20.10.1995)

*humpala* < *humanitārā palīdzība* 'humanitarian assistance'.

Though most of the clippings in English are shortened forms of the initial word without any other change, some clippings undergo a graphical change in the process (mainly in order to maintain the pronunciation of the source form). Hypocoristic ending -y is sometimes applied: *comfy*, *undies*.

- (11) *libe* < *library*  
*lib* < *liberation*  
*mike* < *microphone*  
*nightie* < *nightdress*  
*nuke* < *nuclear weapons*  
*hanky* < *handkerchief*  
*sample* < *example*  
*dub* < *double*  
*ammo* < *ammunition*  
*ciggie/y* < *cigarette*  
*biz* < *business*  
*libbie* < *liberationist*  
*tute* < *tutor*  
*teeny* < *teenager*  
*telly* < *television*  
*vegie* < *vegetarian*  
*varsity* < *university*  
*pram* < *perambulator*  
*Victoria* < *Vic/Vicky*

It is interesting that some of these formally modified clippings obtain a diminutive ending, which in general is not widespread in English.



### 3. Historical clipping

Diachronically, it can happen that one of the two forms can disappear or change semantically. The full forms rarely fall out of use altogether, yet there are a few such cases, e.g. *chap* < *chapman*, *brandy* < *brandewine*, *mob* < *mobile*. Sometimes there is a differentiation of meaning and the semantic link between the full word and the clipping is lost, e.g. *vamp* < *vampire*, *gin* < *Geneva*.

Diachronically, there may be a considerable change of meaning, when the clipped words acquire new meaning, e.g. *miss* < *mistress*, *cab* < *cabriolet*, *van* < *caravan*, *navvy* < *navigator*, *van* < *vanguard*, *wig* < *periwig*.

In Latvian random historical clipping is rather rare. Yet, there are parts of speech where clipping has occurred even rather regularly, generally connected with a change of its part of speech (often a phrase undergoes ellipsis and clipping) or diachronic reductive processes, or sound change, etc. This is more suggestive of the "word creation" type of clippings (McCully and Holmes 1988), e.g.

- (a) Interjections from imperative forms of the verb: *re*, *redz*, *edz* < *redzi* 'see'; *reče* < *redzi šē* 'see here', *klau* < *klausies* 'listen', *paklau* < *paklausies* 'listen', *skat* < *skaties* 'see', *paskat* < *paskaties* 'see', *pag* < *pagaidi* 'wait', *dzi* < *dzirdi* 'hear', *vadzi* < *vai dzirdi* 'hear', *lūk* < *palūko* 'look here', *rau*, *raug* < *paraugies* 'look here'.
- (b) Pragmatic particles: *nez* < *nezina* 'doesn't know', *tik* < *tikai* 'only', *ar* < *arī* 'also', clippings accompanied by ellipsis, *diez*, *diezin* < *dievs zina* 'God knows', *diemžēl* < *dievam žēl* 'God's pity', *diezgan* < *dievs zina gan* 'God does know', *diezkā* < *dievs zina kā* 'God knows how', *diezkas* < *dievs zina kas* 'God knows what', *kazi* < *kas zina* 'who knows'.
- (c) Prepositions from adverbs: *gar* < *garām* 'past', *caur* < *cauri* 'through', *pret* < *pretim* 'against'.
- (d) Also occasional separate words of other parts of speech have undergone historical clipping, e.g. the noun *paldies* 'thank you' < *palīdz dievs* 'God help'.

### 4. Translations

When translating clipped English forms Latvian equivalents are normally unclipped words mainly because clipping is less extensive in Latvian and the English clippings often do not have the strong colloquial connotation that Latvian clippings do. Clipping is usually retained in the international wordstock (the compounds) where identical forms often exist as borrowings, e.g. *Eurocabinet*: *eirokabinets*, *Interpol*: *Interpols*. If there are words with a long tradition of clipped use in Latvian as well as similar tonality of context, these are used: *libe*: *biblēne*. The same is true for Latvian – English translation: *ritenis* – *bike*, *šiziņš* – *schiz*. Thus translations reflect the above mentioned differences and similarities in the distribution and use of clippings.

### 5. Summary

Clipping and its basic types are very similar in the two languages. Both in the numbers of clippings in actual use and in the variety of its types English exceeds Latvian where there are no midclippings and fewer complex cases. In both languages backclippings dominate. Many clippings have a strong colloquial or slang character but many have lost this trait and are shorter variants of the longer words used in standard English and Latvian. Most clippings are reduced forms of the initial word and do not undergo serious semantic change. In both languages the pattern of *clipping* + *compounding* is widespread.

As Latvian peculiarities one could mention the relatively sharp division between clippings as part of compounds of terminological character and clippings as a phenomenon of colloquial speech and slang. Practically all of the latter are backclippings and they are supplied with an ending from a restricted set. Diminutive endings are attached to a considerable number of clippings. Changes in the retained part of the clipping are mainly the result of automatically operating phonological rules (palatalization), in separate cases the result of individual pronunciation and perception optimization. Thus Latvian clipping can be characterized as rule-driven and predictable, theoretically unlimited, in practice – rather restricted.

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