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The hit or miss guesswork figuring the deictic centre of the Russian patronymic

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Abstract: Set within the framework of Proximization Theory, which focuses on the construal of deixis (Chilton 2004, Cap 2006, 2010, 2013), the present study explores address terms (ATs) as used by the Russian-speaking minority in Lithuania (RuL). The collected data strongly suggest that forms of address of this ethnic group have shifted from the mainland standard Russian *full name + patronymic* to the *full name* only. Moreover, the previously consistently used polite form of address with the patronymic is now largely regarded as causing discomfort and consequently avoided, especially in mixed groups. The shift in address strategy is attributed to the deictic shift along the axiological axis in the mental representations of the speakers. The patronymic-less ATs, previously placed within the outside deictic centre are shown to be reanalyzed and placed within the interactants' inside deictic centre. Hesitations in selecting a given AT, a potential issue between the interactants from different age groups, is indicative of the internal conflict of the speaker and their mental switching between the IDC and the ODC. The proposed analysis determines the placement of patronymic and name-only forms on the axiological axis and discusses implications for the differences in Anglo-Saxon and Russian terms for address study.

Keywords: deictic centre, proximization, politeness, address terms, Russian, minority, patronymic

1 Introduction[1]

Imagine a work situation in which there is a speaker B addressed by speakers A and C. B is a senior-aged colleague while A and C are of the same age group and of equal status. There is neither kinship, nor personal antagonism between the speakers, and they all enjoy friendly terms. B is first addressed by A and then by C.

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Given that the form of address used by A and C is exactly the same, what is it that makes B annoyed when addressed by C?

On another occasion, given that D and B share the same characteristics, what is it that prevents C from addressing another colleague, D, in exactly the same way as A has just done – by full name?

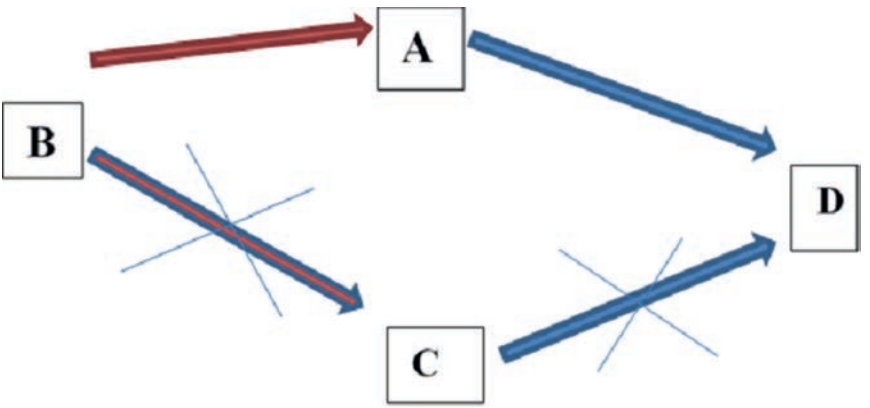

Figure 1: Smooth and not-so-smooth responses to address of older interactants B, D, by younger A, C.

This is the essence of the mental guesswork that representatives of the Russian-speaking ethnic minority of Lithuania may encounter themselves in work-related settings (hereinafter Russian spoken in Lithuania is referred to as *RuL*). While neither of the interactants is at conflict with each other, the likelihood for an interaction in which one of the parties is annoyed, or offended, and consequently potentially less collaborative and more tense is quite high.

The discussions of how much one is allowed to say having grown incrementally and currently keeping a firm grip on top of the global agenda (e.g., BBC 2020, Franks 2020, Ferguson 2020, DER SPIEGEL 2019), the study of language in conflict is a relatively recent dimension bringing together three venues of research (Wright 1998): discourse analysis, with power relations and ideology already at the centre of attention since its inception; sociolinguistics (which has served as an initial impetus for the present study), and conflict mediation. Yet conflict might not only be the result of coercive ideology or "verbal aggression" (Perloff 2003). Conflict is oftentimes elusive and able to spark out of nowhere, while its reasons may be deduced only in retrospective, by analysing the cause and effect of things said, turning the language, the indispensable instrument of communication, essentially into a culprit (Chilton 1998). If conflict is stifled, cognitive dissonance – the

individual's own protest against the undesirable communicative instance having taken place – will still burden their self.

The present study seeks to build an account for the use of address terms, viz. the opposition between the *full name only* and *the name + patronymic*, in light of Proximization Theory. The article is structured as follows. In section 2, Russian and Lithuanian address strategies as well as major differences are outlined. Section 3 formulates the core principles of Proximization Theory. Section 4 first presents the results of the questionnaire conducted with RuL speakers, and then develops a formal account for the factors influencing the currently prevailing address terms (ATs). The conclusions summarise the study.

2 The inventory of address terms in Russian and Lithuanian

2.1 The patronymic dilemma

Alongside the T and V forms, commonly used in both Lithuanian and Russian, RuL speakers are confronted with the memories of the geopolitical past as well as the rich repertoire of ATs in the official Lithuanian which differs significantly from Russian in several respects. The main properties of mainland Russian and Lithuanian ATs will be briefly presented below.

Mainland Russian formal address is grounded in the nearly universal use of the patronymic which is added to the full first name in any official setting and regardless of the age of the interactants. The patronymic is formed by adding respectively the male or the female *–(o/e)vitch* or *–(o/e)vna*, to the person's father's name:

(1) *Aleksandr Viktor-ovitch, All-a Andrey-evn-a*,

where *Aleksandr* and *Alla* are a male and a female first names, while *Viktorovitch* and *Andreyevna* are patronyms formed respectively from the male *Viktor* and *Andrey*. In formal settings, the *name + patronymic* forms are invariably accompanied by a V form; in informal settings, a T form may be used to highlight familiarity and friendliness. Given the rich agreement morphology in Russian, the names change by gender, number and case. Example 2(a) features the same names in the singular dative; example 2(b) provides the same names in the plural genitive form:

(2) a. *Aleksandr-u Viktor-ovitch-u, All-e Andrey-evn-e*
b. *Aleksandr-ov Viktor-ovitch-ey, All Andreyevn*

The patronymic form is not to be found among native Lithuanian address strategies and was only forcefully imposed during the period when Lithuania was part of the Soviet Union. Then such use resulted in ATs which sounded quite alien both to the Russian and to the Lithuanian ear: to the former, because the familiar cluster *name* + *patronymic* was formed from non-Russian names; to the latter, because the cluster itself presented a non-typical formation:

(3) *Vand-a Kazimir-ovn-a*

Consequently, to accommodate the needs of daily work-related communication, RuL speakers often face the dilemma of either opting for the patronymic AT, highly marked in mixed or Lithuanian environments, or the patronymic-less *full name* AT, the latter potentially regarded as somewhat artificial or even ironic in Russian-only environments: in informal environments, one will expect a short name, in formal ones – the *name* + *patronymic*. In semi-formal and informal contexts, the full name used alone may be perceived as either artificial, or as conveying hidden irony by many speakers. But more significantly, as a relatively recent and marked form used in formal contexts to substitute the *name* + *patronymic form*, it may be perceived as disrespectful by senior addressees.

2.2 Address terms in Lithuanian and Russian

Meanwhile the inventory of Lithuanian ATs is rich. In addition to the standard distinction between the T and V forms and address by the person's first name in its both long (official) and short (familiar) form, specifically Lithuanian ATs are either absent or are marked in RuL. These include the substantivised 2nd person pronoun *Tamsta/Tamstos*, (cf. Sp *Usted/Ustedes*), stand-alone honorifics *Ponas/Ponia/Panelė* (cf. Fr *Monsieur/Madame/Mademoiselle* (Clyne et.al. 2009), and stand-alone institutional titles in the vocative: e.g., *Auklėtoja* (lit. 'Nursing teacher'), *Viršininke* or *Pone Viršininkas* (lit. 'Boss' and 'Mr Boss') (for a detailed overview, see Girčienė 2017, Korostenskiene & Belovodskaja (forthcoming)).

The complicacy of ATs for RuL speakers does not end at this point. In the post-Soviet times, mainland Russian itself has also experienced the need to review its repertoire of ATs (for an overview of Russian ATs, see Lagerberg et.al. 2014, Luchkina 2015). Overall, the prevailing form of address is by the name only (by which we here mean first name as well as the *name* + *patronymic* forms), so both honorifics and stand-alone institutional titles sound awkward. For instance, Russian has available as many as three honorific alternatives, which indeed are used with varying frequency – *gospodin* 'Mister'/ *gospozha* 'Missis', the generic *tovarishch* 'comrade', and respectively the male and female *grazhdanin* / *grazhdanka* 'citizen'. Yet none is a convenient option. *Gospodin* used to be a standard honorific in tsarist Russia until

1917. In the present time, it is currently offered as a substitute for and in the absence of the Soviet-time *tovarishch* 'comrade', but even now, almost 30 years past the collapse of the Soviet Union, it sounds unnatural. The remaining two alternatives are no better options: *tovarishch* too strongly connotes its Soviet-time politicised use so that its other, non-politicized meaning 'pal, friend' is obscured. *Grazhdanin / grazhdanka* sounds adversary, as this has long been the honorific with which the law enforcement and prosecuting bodies formally address their clients. In return, the latter could address the official by *grazhdanin nachalnik* "citizen boss", or, depending on the looming relationship, *grazhdanin / tovarishch milicioner* "citizen / comrade militioner" (the term militioner has now been replaced with *policejskij* "policeman" in Russian). Stand-alone institutional titles are rather rare: e.g., *doktor* "doctor", *sestra* (formed from *medsestra)* "(medical) nurse", and *professor* "professor". Even *uchitel'nitsa* "(female) teacher", which is just as widespread a notion for social life, sounds awkward in Russian (to compare, *Mokytojau* / *Mokytoja,* the Lithuanian male/female for "teacher" in the vocative case as well as any stand-alone institutional title is a perfectly acceptable option in Lithuanian). The generic institutional AT *nachalnik* "boss" sounds disrespectful, which is frequently employed in Soviet-era films to highlight the difference between "the good" officials and "the wrongdoing" characters. At the street level, one may also hear generic gender-based honorifics, such as *muzhchina* "man", *zhenshina* "woman", *devushka* "girl, lady", *molodoj chelovek* "young man" (the list is not exhaustive; see, e.g., Vvedenskaya 2001), but these are rather rare in RuL environment, and their use is markedly Russian. One might suggest yet another AT – the adjective *uvazhaemyj* 'respected' (cf. En *Dear)*, which can be used both when followed by the first name (if it is known), or alone (when the first name is not known), in the latter case taking featuring as a substantivised adjective:

(4) a. *Uvazhaemyj Denis Vladimirovitch*
Respected/dear D. V.
b. *Prostite, uvazhaemyj / uvazhaemaja*
Excuse me, respected (male) / respected (female)

The form as used in (4a) is characteristic of the formal spoken or written register and does not sound natural when heard in a daily situation; if not followed by the *name + patronymic*, as in (4b), the form is unnatural at all times.

2.3 A brief note on the name-only AT

In the discussion of address inventory, one more component should be mentioned, as its implications are fairly palpable in daily use. This is the relation between the full name and its short form. While there is a clear tendency to shorten those full

names that are longer than their short counterparts, the notion *full name* does not necessarily correlate with the actual length of the name. For instance, the short form of the male name *Ilya* is *Iliusha*, which to quite many speakers may sound as childish, affectionate, or effeminate due to the suffix –(*i)(u)sha*, which is one of the diminutive suffixes used to form affectionate name forms:

(5) a. female names: *Tanya > Taniusha, Nadya > Nadiusha, Katya > Katiusha*
b. male names: *Kirill > Kiriusha, Andrey > Andriusha*

To compare, the tendency to use short forms of full names is common and well-known in other languages, too, including English and Lithuanian. But in both Lithuanian and English the diminutive form may be used as a legal name. Such is, for instance, the Lithuanian *Laimutė*, which is the diminutive from *Laima*; the American English *Bob* or *Bobby* instead of *Robert* (Dorisa Costello, p.c.)). In Russian, however, this option is not available, and, except newly-coined names (e.g., the female name *Alika*), short names cannot have the status of legal names.

Table 1 below summarises the main AT strategies in Lithuanian and standard Russian, half of which stand in opposition. Consequently, RuL speakers are naturally confronted with the diversity of Lithuanian ATs, which offer convenient strategies for various levels of formality as well as in situations when the name of the interlocutor is not known. In Russian, however, the repertoire is much more limited, in particular, due to the high markedness of forms available in standard Russian.

Table 1: Address strategies available in neutral contexts in Lithuanian and Russian

Address strategy	Lithuanian	Mainland Russian
T and V forms	+	+
First name only	+	+
name + patronymic	–	+
2nd person respectful AT	+	–
Stand-alone honorifics	+	– (sound awkward)
Institutional titles in the vocative	+	– / very limited
Non-naming	+	+

2.4 Russian speakers in Lithuania

Due to the uneasy geopolitical past, many RuL speakers seek to disguise their Russianhood in public. This is reflected, inter alia, in switching to Lithuanian in public places, even when communicating with children, naturalisation of

Russian names by adding Lithuanian endings (e.g., *Arturas Morozovas* is a naturalised name from *Artur Morozov*), and sending children whose native language is Russian to Lithuanian schools. The native language, potentially popping up as an occasional, yet burdensome reminder of the Soviet legacy in mixed communication, coupled with Russia's policies having consistently placed the country in the negative spotlight, has become a historical hostage of sorts. Discussion of any views on the common past and subsequent geopolitical changes, including the more recent events, is a topic to be avoided. When modelling communication, the geopolitical and historical factors lead to reconsideration of strategies of address. Given substantial differences between Lithuanian and Russian ATs, this reconsideration yields yet another illustration of the established and amply researched cognitive chain whereby high intensity words create scenarios which, while reflecting attitudes, affect behaviours (e.g. Schwarz-Friezel&Reinharz 2017, Bara 2010, Perloff 2003, Stefanowitsch 2018). While it comes at a cost, the adjustment seems inevitable, for even in societies with a complex social organization, there is still "no cooperation without trust" and "no trust without intimacy", the latter attained not only through shared "social categories of *gender, age, descent*, and *marriage*" (Givón 2005: 59), but also by establishing and upholding a system of values and ultimately, language.

Given all these considerations, daily communication is often characterized by *ad hoc* adjustments dictated by the immediate context rather than preferred choice. While generally it seems a natural consequence that an ethnic minority in a country with a 30-year long independence history should adopt at least some of the forms of the dominant culture and thus assimilate to an extent, the cognitive processes reflected by these shifts are little explored, if at all. Yet delving into the mental construal of address presents considerable interest as it may help develop a formalized expression of areas prone to ambivalence, higher levels of disagreement and potential conflict. The main premises of Proximization Theory, which helps capture such relationships between the interactants, will be discussed next.

3 Proximization theory as a cognitive-pragmatic methodological approach to conflict studies

Given its heavy presence in the agenda on construal of reality contested by opponent forces, legitimization and power relations, the language of conflict is an integral part of studies of political discourse (van Leeuwen 2008, Schwarz-Friezel&Reinharz 2017, Stefanowitsch 2018).

Developed within the Łódź linguistic school, stemming from Chilton's (2004) Discourse Space Theory (DSC, the term *discourse* used interchangeably with *deictic* (Kowalski 2017)) and further developed by Cap (2006, 2008), Proximization Theory has been specifically designed to examine antagonism relations in the political discourse: "Proximization is a pragmatic-cognitive strategy that relies upon the speaker's ability to present events on the discourse stage as directly affecting the addressee, usually in a negative or a threatening way" (Cap 2010: 119). According to the theory, the speaker has control over the communicative situation and may choose to construe it so as to increase or decrease the salience of phenomena of interest and thus condition the way they are perceived by the addressee. The addressee is positioned in the *deictic centre* of these phenomena – and consequently becomes subject to their influence. Concomitantly, the deictic centre is expected to be maximally close to the speaker's perspective, to the effect that the (imaginary) reality consciously and intentionally constructed by the speaker is shared and perceived by the addressee as the true and trustworthy reality. The phenomena of this reality are construed on three axes: a) *spatial* (S), driven by the relation of opposition and having to do respectively with the place – whether it be perceived in physical literal terms, or metaphorical terms, for instance, concerning social arrangements, b) *temporal* (T), highlighting the relevance and significance of *now* versus past or future, and c) *axiological* (A), used to juxtapose the value system of the interactants with the one of the externally threatening antagonist and expressed through either epistemic modality, pertaining to knowledge, or deontic modality, denoting necessity and obligation (Cap 2010, 2013; Kowalski 2017). The axiological axis is oftentimes activated as a mechanism responsive to manifestations taking place primarily at the spatio-temporal plane, hence the division into S/T-A, or A-S/T proximization framework (Cap 2010). The lexical means used to build this framework are primarily noun phrases and verb phrases high in pragmatic content.

Being placed in the deictic centre of the communicated reality, the interactants share several properties. The speaker assumes the role of an agent at power to construct, characterize and position all the interactants *inside the deictic centre*, attributes of which are denoted as IDCs. IDCs are in opposition to the attributes *outside the deictic centre* (ODCs), which are consequently perceived as alien and potentially threatening (Cap 2010). It is through the opposition of IDCs and ODCs that the well-known "*us* vs *them*" is construed and can be analyzed both in its global terms, e.g. as a looming threatening environment, and in more elementary units, such as influence (aka manipulation) delivered along the relevant axis/axes.

Proximization Theory (PT) has been claimed to capture effectively a broad range of phenomena, but its practical implementation has largely been reduced to political discourse only. In this study, an attempt is made to apply the "soft" version of PT specifically to the study of ATs. In this approach, we view the

speaker as setting and tuning the deictic centre through a particular AT they use. Focusing on IDCs as opposed to the ODCs, we seek to show that, at the cognitive level, failure to match the speaker's and the recipient's IDCs leads to "missing" in the guesswork of selecting the correct AT.

4 Findings and discussion

4.1 A note on ATs

In this study, address terms are perceived as highly pragmatic linguistic units syntactically expressed as noun phrases used to address and attract attention of the interlocutor. At the same time, ATs acknowledge the relation holding between the addressor and the addressee at the former's initiative, and thus may be viewed as performing the strategic function of representation (Chilton 2004) – that is, specific ATs represent the reality of the speaker toward the addressee while their choice stipulates how this reality will be represented. We therefore position ATs along the axiological axis, since expression of politeness as a code of behaviour or *ideology* is inherently encoded in them: any voiced AT encodes in itself the speaker's affirmation of "the epistemic *true* and the deontic *right*" (Chilton 2004: 59).

Where geopolitical changes are involved, all proximization axes are activated, and the spatio-temporal dimension gains relevance. Besides, the formal difference between the *(full) name-only* and the *name-patronymic* strategy of address is not merely in an extra word added in the latter case: conceptually, difference in address points to differences in orientation within a given communicative situation: *the speaker-oriented* and *the recipient-oriented* respectively (Proshina 2008: 93, cited from Zavyalova et.al. 2016: 114; see also Leech & Larina 2014; cf. *metarepresentation* in Chilton 2004). As Korostenskiene & Belovodskaja (forthcoming) note, the presence of the patronymic – and the need to remember it so as not to appear impolite – puts "double pressure" on the speaker. At the conceptual level and besides the spatio-temporal considerations, the RuL ethnic minority is thus confronted with the dilemma of which orientation to choose at the axiological level.

4.2 Survey on RuL ATs

To examine the preferred inventory of and conditions for particular ATs used in offline communication, a questionnaire was developed using Vilnius University platform and was disseminated among RuL speakers by word of mouth as well as

through the social networking platform Facebook. The questionnaire comprised 19 questions: 4 general demographic questions, and 15 questions soliciting either opinions, or preferred choices for specific situations. Within February–March 2019, 165 RuL speakers aged 18–66 + took part in the survey. 125 respondents returned completed questionnaires, which were further used for analysis. The sectors in which daily professional interaction by the resondents takes place comprise: health (37%), science and education (16%), services (10%), and arts and media (10%).

The survey proved the hypothesis that RuL speakers generally avoid the patronymic form. At work, in the presence of both Lithuanian- and Russian-speaking colleagues, 39% of the respondents would address their Russian-speaking colleagues by their first name only, 8% would address them by the *name + patronymic* form and 14% will opt for a non-naming strategy. In Russian-only work environments, 61% of the respondents would address a senior colleague by their first name and 28% by the *name + patronymic*. In informal situations taking place in mixed environment, only 5% would address a senior acquaintance by a V form and the *name + patronymic*, which is in stark contrast to over 60% preference for address by the first name accompanied by either a T or a V form (25% and 36% respectively). In written correspondence, address by the name-only strategy amounts to 53%; the *name + patronymic* form will be chosen by 34% of the respondents. In informal letters, a similar tendency is observable. Meeting for the first time, 80% of the respondents will introduce themselves by their first name only. Notably, of all the respondents, only one person stated they would introduce themselves by the *name + patronymic* form. 82% of the respondents have encountered situations when they consciously avoided naming their interlocutor by the *name + patronymic* form even though they knew the patronymic. The question

(6) Do you agree with the following statement: "In Lithuania, the form of address by the *full name and patronymic* may cause discomfort"?

was answered in the affirmative by 76% of the respondents. The view on the form *full name + patronymic*, which in mainland Russian is assumed to highlight the social status of the addressee, is rather divided among RuL speakers: as many as 52% believe that this perspective does not hold for the RuL environment. 82% of the respondents have agreed that, regardless of the age of the interlocutor, address by the *full name only* is an appropriate strategy for Russian in Lithuania, equivalent in degree of politeness to the *name + patronymic* address in mainland Russian. As for the more demographic component of the survey, the data revealed that 77% of RuL speakers occasionally insert Lithuanian words when speaking Russian, 50% regularly follow the news and 88% have an optimistic outlook. Due to the overall reluctance of the RuL community to reveal in any way their attitudes to the geopolitical processes of the past, these questions were

formulated with the objective to identify whether RuL speakers feel themselves reasonably comfortable in daily life, which, in turn, would shed at least some light on how well they have adapted in life, including their daily linguistic environment. The answered received demonstrate a positive trend.

4.3 Discussion

We see that RuL speakers consistently avoid the use of the patronymic in their interaction, which is the exact opposite of the standard interaction held between mainland Russian speakers. A significant fact revealed in the questionnaire is the general consent that the use of the patronymic overall may cause discomfort in Lithuania. Let us examine the proximization mechanisms involved here.

Changes in the geopolitical situation, viz., Lithuania regaining independence in 1990, stipulate activation at both the spatial and temporal axes, while their impact is manifested through specific forms at the axiological axis. To the present day, the patronymic AT in Lithuania will be immediately related to mainland Russian by speakers with even moderate knowledge of Russian[2]. Meanwhile in the given spatial arrangement, the patronymic evokes memories of Soviet imposed officialdom in native Lithuanian speakers, and hence its public use is now perceived as a politically toned relic of the past. In proximization terms, this reaction is interpreted as activation of both the epistemic and the deontic modality: the former is activated by *knowing* that the patronymic is standard (in Russia) and is not (in Lithuania), while the deontic modality is heavily manifested as an ideological choice the speaker has to make. The use of the patronymic is not outdated, incorrect, or impolite – contrarily, it is both correct and polite. But it is *inappropriate* in the given situation, and thus is a salient feature at the deontic strand the axiological pole. The use of the patronymic implicates the construal of the reality of the past on the part of the speaker. Together with the accompanying value system, it is projected onto and incorporates the addressee who is then invited to share the same values. This is exactly the potentially conflict-turning point (cf. the notions of *contact* and *affect* and the latter's branching into "dis/satisfaction, un/happiness and in/security" (Muntigl & Horvath 2005: 229)).

Let us turn back to the situation described early in the article whereby speaker B reacts differently to the same AT used by speakers A and C. Here both B and C are representatives of the RuL minority, whereas speaker A is native Lithuanian. The cognitive dissonance takes place in the mental world of the (senior-aged) speaker B when a patronymic-less address on behalf of speaker C

2 In Lithuanian schools, Russian can now be selected as a foreign language.

essentially conflates two cognitive worlds which we will index through 1 and 2: what for B used to be part of the IDC1 (the *name + patronymic* AT) has now moved to the ODC2 and become representative of the external (threatening) world (cf. *C2 communication* in Chilton 1998; *2nd, 3rd and 4th order framings* in Givón 2005). The currently official form of address through the first name only has assumed a firm position in the more recent deictic centre IDC2, which C has developed, but B has not. Meanwhile the shared spatial and temporal axes are still inherently attributed to the IDC1 by both speakers. Speaker B experiences the cognitive dissonance because the name-only AT, perfectly acceptable in Lithuanian in work-related contexts, is not yet perceived by B as pertaining to their IDC, given differences in the ethnic background between B and A on the one hand and age differences between B and C on the other. Consequently, the reaction of speaker C is stipulated by such properties: a) the *name + patronymic* form characterizes their IDC1; b) the work-related formal use of the name-only AT characterizes their ODC1; c) while the name-only AT has the potential of being quickly reanalyzed and transferred to IDC2 by the younger speaker C, this option may not hold for B. What is at stake is not only the form of address itself, but also the readiness of the interactants to adopt the same (inside) deictic centre. This ultimately results in guesswork with an outcome put to chance, and hence divergence in the perception of a given AT may produce the opposition in its attribution to the IDC by one speaker, but to the ODC by the other.

In another instance, with the senior speaker D successfully addressed by the name only by speaker A, but not speaker C, the reason for this discrepancy is in D and C sharing common ethnolinguistic background and – importantly – common past, in which C would address D by the *name + patronymic* form. Years later, the shared past results in difficulties of C switching to the name-only AT, which is suggestive of C holding on to their IDC1 (the latter likely to be shared by D).

Focusing on the axiological axis only, we thus view the deictic centre as construed through the uniform perception across the speakers along both the spatial and temporal axes. The axiological axis is represented through the use of the *name-only* and the *name + patronymic* ATs. Any markers indicative of the Soviet legacy (preference for the patronymic among them) are attributed to ODC1, even if they do not cause any apparent inconvenience, which is why we view the proposed approach as the mild version of proximization. Rows/columns featuring no alignment across the deictic centres in all three speakers are suggestive of potential conflicting situations.

Below are the characteristics of the speakers:

(7) **A:** Speaker A represents a native Lithuanian speaker for whom the name-only AT is standard and hence is placed within IDC1. The *name + patronymic*

form is always ODC1. Speaker's A preferences are used as a reference point in all tables.

B: Speaker B is the oldest of the interactants and has three projected scenarios:

a) they have eschewed their self-identification as Russian, possibly through earlier assimilation and/or self-identification with native Lithuanian population, e.g., as an old believer; then the name only-form is viewed as IDC1;

b) they have an expressed patronymic bias, hence the name-only form is viewed as ODC1;

c) they have eschewed the practice of using the *name* + *patronymic*, have adapted to the current life and adopted the name-only AT; this has become their second nature, hence placed within IDC2;

C: Speaker C, too, can undergo three behavioural scenarios:

a) C has eschewed the practice of using the *name* + *patronymic*, has adapted to the current life and adopted the name-only AT; this consequently has become their second nature, hence placed within IDC2;

b) as B, C has a marked patronymic bias; consequently, the name-only form is viewed as ODC1; or

c) C has been born without having been exposed to Soviet period and is unfamiliar with the AT *name* + *patronymic*; or alternatively, they are bilingual; the name-only form is then placed within IDC1.

Consequently, when interacting, the speakers perform from their perceived deictic centres and, in the case of speakers B and C, if they have assimilated vis-à-vis the use of ATs, also from their adopted/acquired deictic centres. The outcome depends not merely on the three speakers; but rather, on the layout between potentially as many as three deictic centres: IDC1, IDC2, and ODC1. The possible scenarios are given in tables below, with the two possible outcomes credited through the mathematical signs of "+" and "-": "-" indicates a negative outcome, i.e., where the specific AT may activate a conflict-prone scenario; "+" indicates a positive outcome, i.e. one in which all parties will comfortably accept the greeting and will proceed to the second stage of communication. The row with the name-only AT is regarded as primary; the row with the patronymic is construed based on the primary speakers' response to the name-only AT.

(8) **Scenario 1:** B has patronymic bias; C has acquired a new self-identity. This scenario results in a negative outcome regardless of whether the name-only or the patronymic AT is used: in the former case, B will perceive the address as impolite or disrespectful; in the latter, A will be excluded at the deictic level.

	A	B	C	Outcome
Name only	IDC1	ODC1	IDC2	–
Patronymic	ODC1	IDC1	IDC1	–

(9) **Scenario 2:** B and C have both acquired a new self-identity. The outcome is straightforward in that both B and C will be at ease with the name-only AT, which sounds native to A. The patronymic form will result in a negative outcome as at the deictic level it implies the exclusion of A.

	A	B	C	Outcome
Name only	IDC1	IDC2	IDC2	+
Patronymic	ODC1	IDC1	IDC1	–

(10) **Scenario 3:** B has acquired a new self-identity; C is bilingual or previously unexposed to mainland Russian AT (e.g., if young). In this scenario, the name-only address strategy will result in a positive outcome; the use of the patronymic form will produce a negative outcome due to the different perception of the patronymic form by B and C: only B will perceive it as familiar.

	A	B	C	Outcome
Name only	IDC1	IDC2	IDC1	+
Patronymic	ODC1	IDC1	ODC1	–

(11) **Scenario 4:** both B and C have patronymic bias; if they refrain from using the patronymic AT, they both may feel discomfort; if B and C opt for the patronymic form, the situation will become marked for speaker A; consequently, both outcomes are unfavourable.

	A	B	C	Outcome
Name only	IDC1	ODC1	ODC1	–
Patronymic	ODC1	IDC1	IDC1	–

(12) **Scenario 5:** Speakers B and C have come to distance themselves significantly from their Russian origins and both view the patronymic form as marked. Under these conditions, both outcomes are likely to be positive as in the case of using the marked patronymic form, given the unanimous perception of it by all the interactants, its use may produce humorous context.

	A	B	C	Outcome
Name only	IDC1	IDC2	IDC2	+
Patronymic	ODC1	ODC1	ODC1	+

(13) **Scenario 6:** B has acquired a new identity; the old identity on its own does not evoke any discomfort; C is born with the new self-identity. In this case both address strategies are projected to produce positive outcomes. In the patronymic-less scenario, B's adopted identity will "mitigate" the effect of the name-only AT. The scenario with the patronymic form, while still bearing the native status to B, will be marked for both A and C speakers. The use of the patronymic in this context, in general, is highly unlikely; but if taking place, will be perceived by the interactants as highly marked and ultimately potentially limited to friendly informal and jocular contexts.

	A	B	C	Outcome
Name only	IDC1	IDC2	IDC1	+
Patronymic	ODC1	IDC1	ODC1	+?

4.4 Proximization theory as an aid in terminological issues of address theory

Incorporation of proximization framework in the analysis of address terms helps draw the distinction between impoliteness and disrespectfulness, briefly contrasted in Korostenskiene & Belovodskaja (forthcoming). Within the present study, the construal of disrespectfulness may be defined as arising from a potential clash along the axiological axis between two interactants, for what is perceived to be (morally) right by one speaker (e.g., the name-only AT), under the circumstances we presented above, risks being perceived as (morally) wrong by the other speaker (e.g., one who is used to being addressed through the *name + patronymic* AT). Remembering that the closer to the deictic centre, the more salient the deontic feature is (the distinction is not unproblematic (Cap 2013)), it may be concluded that the patronymic AT is perceived as highlighting the importance of the one who is meant by it; contrarily, the name-only AT is perceived as denying the addressee this importance or reciprocity and is hence placed further away from the centre. Let us try to take the discussion a little further.

Remember that the axiological axis is formed by two modality strands – epistemic and deontic. Remember also a view on the *name-only* and *name + patronymic* strategies as respectively speaker- and recipient-oriented. In light of the present discussion, we believe that the two address strategies may be conceptualized as mapping respectively onto the epistemic and the deontic strands of modality. This construal helps explain the "same, but different" status of the

two ways of address, the *name-only* strategy implementing the deictic and the vocative functions (Hajek et.al. 2013), while the *name + patronymic strategy*, in addition to that, being also charged with some deontic notes. This instructiveness is conveyed by the general term used by the Russian school in the study of address: viz. *speech etiquette*, the edifying tone of which is much higher than that of the notion *politeness*.

Figure 2 further extends Chilton's (2004) and Cap's (2013) perspectives on the operation of the axis of modality in light of the present discussion, placing the patronymic and the patronymic-less ATs respectively on the deontic and the epistemic strands of the axiological axis (A). The deictic centre is marked by a human figure (the Addressee); the *name + patronymic* AT is relatively closer to the Addressee's deictic centre than the *name only* AT.

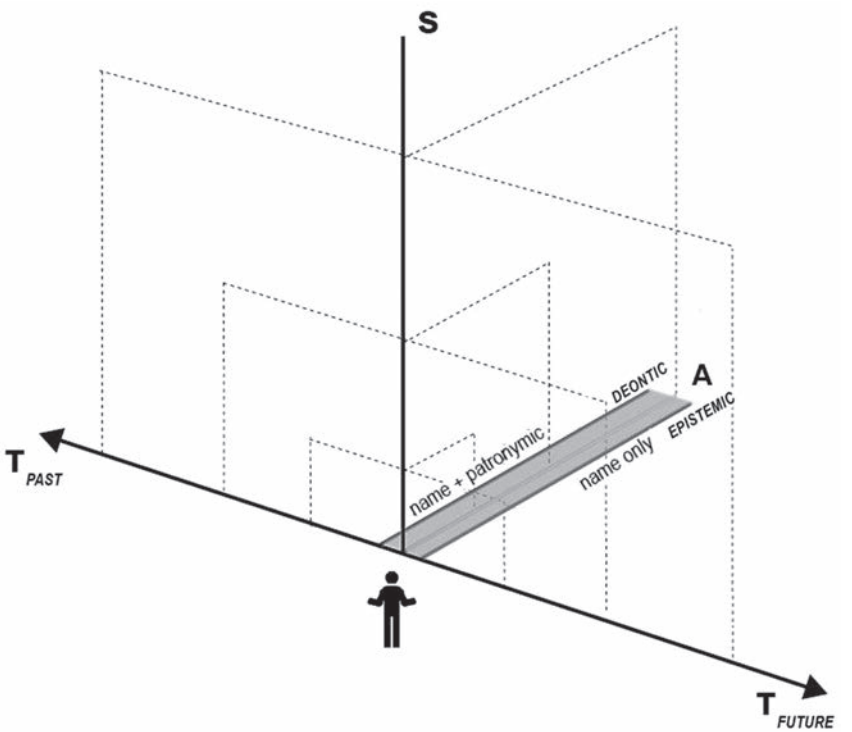

Figure 2: Placement of the name + patronymic and the patronymic-less ATs on the axiological axis (cf. Chilton 2004: 58, Cap 2013: 17).

We believe that it is this discrepancy of the interactants' perceiving the *name + patronymic* AT as placed either at the epistemic or the deontic strand that accounts for the misunderstandings described early in the article.

5 Conclusions

In this study, we have developed an account for the use of the marked patronymic AT in mixed environments with native Lithuanian and Russian speakers living in Lithuania. Applying Proximization Theory, we have unveiled the components conducive to either collaborative or potentially counter-productive type of behaviour. Our approach to the marked patronymic AT as placed on the axiological axis allowed us to develop six patterns of predicted behaviour. Examining the possible recipients' perspectives, the study has sought to contribute to the underrepresented component of reception within Proximization Theory, viewing ATs as "proximization signals", by the audience (Kowalski 2018: 136). The proposed approach contributes to the growing body of research on language in conflict and is believed to be applicable in modelling the (un)desired linguistic behavioural outcomes in larger contexts.

On a broader scale, given that variations in form and meaning are believed to have cognitive motivation, differences in the use of address terms suggest different conceptualizations in the minds of their users. We have developed an account for how a given address strategy may produce different mental representations in the minds of the interlocutors within the cognitive dimensions of time, space and modality. The proposed approach may also help explain differences between the less charged term *politeness* in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and the more charged term *speech etiquette* in the Russian tradition as well as model the more elusive notions within the theory, such as *attentiveness*, *appropriateness*, or the dichotomy *impoliteness* vs *disrespect*. Further analysis of these correlations is a subject of future research.

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Appendix

Results of the survey on RuL preferred ATs

No.	Question formulation (translated from Russian into English)	Answer summary in the order: reply (per percent, number of persons)
1	How long have you lived in Lithuania?	born in Lithuania 63%; lived over 20 years – 24%
2	How often do you watch/listen to the news on TV/the radio?	50% – on a daily basis; 18% – 2–3 times per week; 60% follow the news in Lithuanian and Russian
3	At work, in the presence of both Lithuanian- and Russian-speaking colleagues, how will you address senior Russian-speaking colleagues older than you?	In Lithuanian by first name only – 39%; by name and patronymic – 8%; will try not to name at all – 14%
4	At work, in the presence of Russian-speaking colleagues only, how will you address them?	61% – by name 28% – by name and patronymic
5	In an informal situation, how will you address your Russian-speaking acquaintances who are older than you in the presence of both Russian and Lithuanian acquaintances?	25% – by a T-form + name; 36% – by a V-form + name; 5 % – a V-form + name + patronymic; 33% – will only use a V-form, without any AT
6	In a letter, how will you address a Russian-speaking colleague who is older than you?	53% – V + name only; 34% – name + patronymic
7	In a friendly letter, how will you address a Russian-speaking acquaintance who is older than you?	59% – T + name 20% V + name 24% will try not to name in any way
8	Have you experienced situations when, even though you knew the patronymic of your interlocutor, you preferred to address them by their first name only?	Yes – 82%, 102
9	When meeting for the first time, will you introduce yourself by the name and the patronymic?	No – 65%; very unlikely – 20%; Yes – 0.8% (1 person)

No.	Question formulation (translated from Russian into English)	Answer summary in the order: reply (per percent, number of persons)
10	Do you agree with the following statement: "In Lithuania, the form of address by the *full name and patronymic* may cause discomfort"?	Yes – 76% (95)
11	When speaking in Russian, you sometimes switch to Lithuanian and insert Lithuanian words.	Yes – 77% (96)
12	Do you regard yourself an optimist?	Yes – 42% (52), rather, yes – 46% (58)
13	Do you agree with the statement: "In Lithuania, the form of address through the *full name* + *patronymic* when communicating in Russian highlights the social status of the addressee?"	No – 52% (65); yes – 48% (60)
14	Do you agree with the statement: "In Lithuania, the form of address through a V-form and by *full name*, regardless of the age of the addressee, is equivalent in degree of politeness to the address through a V-form and *full name* + *patronymic*, i.e., *Listen$_V$, Nikolai = Listen$_V$, Nikolai Petrovitch*….	Yes – 38% (47); rather, yes – 44%, (56)