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THE RUSSIANIZATION OF THE LITHUANIAN VOCABULARY UNDER THE SOVIETS

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The vocabulary, in its broad sense, is the entire number of words of a language, the sum total of words of a language (German **Wortschatz**, English **vocabulary**). Speaking more narrowly one may talk about children's, students', soldiers', or even thieves' vocabulary; one may talk also about the vocabulary of a particular epoch or of a particular author (e. g. Donelaitis), or about poetic or dialectical vocabulary. Linguistics uses here the special term **lexicon** (French **lexique**, Italian **lessico**, Russian **leksika**).

The more numerous and varied is the vocabulary, the richer, more expressive and easier to use is the language. The vocabulary of a language changes constantly with the life of the speakers. Words denoting obsolete concepts or things are forgotten and new words (neologisms) are created for new concepts and things or words are borrowed from other languages. The more lively and varied is the cultural life of a people, the faster its vocabulary is enriched and changed. Political upheavals, particularly those connected with profound changes in the social life are reflected in the development of the vocabulary. For example, the French revolution left traces in the French language. And connected with the October revolution and the introduction of the Soviet regime are significant changes in the Russian language and even today most of the words of Militant Communism have remained, e. g. the abstract meanings of **avangard** 'avant-garde' and **ataka** 'attack'. The Russian phrase **avangardnaja rol' kommunistov** is translated into English as 'the leading role of the Communists' just as in Lithuanian a faithful translation would be 'vadovaujamasis komunistų vaidmuo'. Compare also the phrase of Lithuanian communist literature: **komunistų partija yra darbininkų ir valstiečių klasės avangardas** "the Communist party is the avant-garde of the workers' and peasants' class", translated word for word from Russian.

The Sovietization of Lithuania and the privileged role of Russian in public life has found its expression in the Lithuanian language not only in the flood of special Soviet terms, but also in innovations in usage and word formation.

Particularly in the spoken language as a result of administrative and industrial bilingualism more and more acronyms are being used, i. e. compound contracted words. For example in the Russian-Lithuanian dictionary of abbreviations published by Feigelson, in addition to the acronyms listed in the Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian (1954), we find the apparently commonly used **partorgas** 'party organizer', **partkomas** 'party committee', **partkabinetas** 'party office; local party headquarters', **partorganizacija** 'party organization', **partsusirinkimas** 'party meeting' (the two latter are given only as examples of word formation) and six neologisms are added **partaktyvas** 'cadres of the party', **partarchyvas** 'party archives', **partbilietas** 'party card', **partbiuras** 'party office', **partmokykla** 'party school', **partšvietimas** 'party education'. In the language of the party members on analogy with the Russian **partden'** 'party day' and **partjačejka** 'party cell' we will soon find **partdiena** for **partijos diena** and **partkuopelė** for **partijos kuopelė**. From Russian **spec** (abbreviation for specialist) the Lithuanian counterpart **specas** has bred at least thirteen translated abbreviations such as **specseminaras** 'special seminar', **specskyrus** 'special division', **specdrabužiai** 'special clothes' (in the 1954 dictionary), **specavalynė** 'special foot-wear', **speckursas** 'special course', **specparuošimas** 'special preparation', **specvaldyba** 'special administration'. But one can be sure that now instead of the official word **specialusis korespondentas** 'special correspondent' the newspapermen when they talk among themselves use the word **speckoras**, as the Russian **speckor** is found in normative dictionaries of the standard language. The word **gailestingoji sesuo** 'nurse' has now been replaced in Lithuania by **medicinos sesuo** (in the 1954 dictionary) and **medsesuo** (cf. Russian **medicinskaja sestra**, **medsestra**). The Russians recently have begun to call the man who fills the same function a **medbrat** 'male nurse' (literally 'medical brother'). We can expect the introduction of **medbrolis** into Lithuanian. A. Lyberis and K. Ulvydas (1958) affirm that now these abbreviations are less used in the literary language. But, of course, the situation is quite different in the everyday spoken language. With the collectivization of the farm land in 1948 in place of the formerly used word of the Lithuanian

press, the purely Russian **kolchozas** (cf. in folk language **kolkdzas**, **kalkozas**) there was introduced the official, supposedly 'creative' word **kolūkis** 'collective farm' derived from **kolektyvinis ūkis**) already given in the 1948 dictionary by Sereiskis. The Lithuanian Academy Grammar (1965, p. 251) even gives certain rules for the accentuation of such abbreviations. But, using Soviet terminology the **prikazčik** 'steward' in the living language still cannot avoid **uklons** 'deviations' and **peregibs** 'twists'. Compare the word **kolukė** (from Gegužinė) defined in the Academy Dictionary as **pasalūkas**, - 'treacherous person' and the pronunciation **kòlūkis** found in the speech of some recent arrivals from Lithuania.

In letters from Lithuania probably with tongue in cheek the forms **kalūkis** and **kuolūkis** (which would appear to be derived from **kalė** 'bitch' and **kuolas** 'stake' respectively). Since the Russians use the word **kollektiv** for **kolchoz** in the abstract sense, the Lithuanian word **kolektyvas** has now appeared in belles-lettres (Baltušis, Miežėlaitis, Tilvytis). A kolchoz farmer (formerly **kolchozninkas** in Lithuanian) is now called a **kolūkietis**. From the point of view of word formation this name is at least somewhat better than the word **kolvalstietis** which appeared first in the periodical literature. The reality of contemporary Lithuanian life is so powerful that finally even linguists begin to explain that 'such abbreviations are clear, accurate, convenient and meaningful. ... that to pronounce or to write them one does not need to waste much time.' And one must agree that they 'are suitable to express certain concepts', only, of course for the concepts brought in by the Russian communism.

The Russian language is rich in prefixed and compound words with **de-** 'up to, as far as', **obščē-** and **so-** 'common', **sverx-** 'above, overly', **vse-** 'all', **mnogo-** 'many, much', **melko-** 'small, fine'. The Lithuanian press and other writings are saturated with such loan-translations as **ikiburžuazinis** 'pre-bourgeois', **ikikapitalistinis** 'pre-capitalistic', **ikiklasinis** 'before the creation of classes', **ikimarksinis** 'pre-Marxian', **ikimonopolistinis** 'pre-monopolistic', **ikirevoliucinis** (in the 1954 dictionary) 'pre-revolutionary', **ikisantuokinis** 'maiden, pre-conjugal' (name), **ikisuvaziaviminis** 'pre-meeting' (party discussion in the translation of Lenin's works), **ikišaukiamasis**, **ikišaukiaminis** and **ikišaukiamininkas** (Russ. **doprizyvnyj** 'pre-conscription', **doprizyvnik** 'person undergoing pre-conscription military training'), **ikitardyminis** 'pre-examination' (time), **ikitarybinis** 'pre-Soviet' (literature), **bendraatsakovis** (Russian **sootvetčik** 'correspondent'), **bendraautoris** (Russian **soavtor** 'co-author'), **bendranacionalinis** and **bendratautinis** (language even in linguistics' writings) (Russian **obščēnacional'nyj** and **obščēnarodnyj** 'general, public'). **Bendrakariuominis** 'common military', **bendraliaudinis** 'common, public', **bendrarusiškas** 'all Russian', **bendrasajunginis** Russ. **obščēsojuznyj** 'all union' **bendražmonijinis** (Russian **obščēčelovečeskij** 'common human') culture, **viršnormis**, **viršnorminis** (Russian **sverxurocnyj** 'overtime, over the norm') work, **viršpelnis** (Russian **sverxpribyl'** 'excess profit'), **viršsąmatinis** 'superfiscal' **virštermininis** 'superterminal'; **visaliaudinis** (Russian **vsenarodnyj** 'of all the people, public') holiday, **visapasaulinis** (Russian **vsemirnyj** 'universal') organization, **visarusijinis** 'all Russian' newspaper, **visasajunginis** 'all union' academy of sciences, **visatautinis** 'common to all people' struggle, **visaapimantis** and **visaaprepiantis** (Russian **vsexvatyvajusčij**, **vseobjemljuščij** 'all encompassing, all inclusive'), **visanugalintis** (Russian **vsepobeždajuščij** 'all conquering') **daugianacionalinis** (Russian **mnogonacional'nyj** 'multinational') state, **daugiatiražis laikraštis** (Russian **mnogotiražka** 'widely circulated publication'), **daugiastaklininkas** 'a person taking care of several lathes'), **daugiašeimis** (Russian **mnogosemejnyj** 'having a large family'), **smulkiaburžuazinis** (Russian **melkoburžuaznyj** from German **kleinbuergerlich** 'petty bourgeois'), **smulkiavalstietiškas** 'small farmer', **smulkiasavininkiškas** 'small owner', **smulkiadidmeninis** 'small wholesale' trading basis, **smulkiadvarė** bajorija (Russian **melkopomestnoje dvorjanstvo** 'small landowning nobility').

Except for the adverbially derived adjectives **ik(i)šiolinis**, **ligšiolinis** 'up to the present' and the ecclesiastical loan translation (from the Polish **doczesnyj**) **ikilaikinas**, **liglaikinis**, **liglaikiškas**, **laikinas** 'hitherto existing, up to this time' in the Lithuanian language there were no other words with **iki**. In the standard language up to now we were accustomed to saying **prieškarinis** 'pre-war' (life), **priešmirtinis** 'before death', **priešmokyklinis** 'pre-school' (age), **priešrinkiminis** 'pre-election' (agitation), **prieššventinis** 'pre-holiday' (sale), **priešpietinis** 'before dinner' (train). Already Lalis' dictionary (1910) beside the noun **prieštvanis** 'time before the flood' and **priešvelykis** 'time before Easter' recognizes the adjectives **prieštvaninis** 'antediluvian' and **priešvelykinis** 'pre-Easter'. But now there have been forced into the language **ikikarinis** 'pre-war', **ikišventinis** 'pre-holiday', **ikimokyklinis** 'pre-school' from which in order to translate Russian **doškolnik** there was even created an **ikimokyklinukas** 'pre-school child' and an **ikimokyklininkas** 'a pre-school teacher'. In Russian the meaning of the following prefixes is distinguished: **do-** 'before, up to, as far as', **protivo-** 'against, opposite', **anti-** 'anti', **pred-** 'before' and such distinctions are now being foisted off on Lithuanian. Therefore in place of the customary expression **ankstyvasis priešmokyklinis amžius** 'early pre-school age' we now find **ikipriešmokyklinis** on the basis of Russian **dopredšokol'nyj** 'before pre-school'. But the clumsy **bendrasajunginis**, **bendratautinis**, **bendraliaudinis** are not semantically distinct from **sajunginis** 'union', **tautinis** 'national', **liaudinis** 'folk, people' (e.g. meeting, affair). In Lithuanian we say **bendroji žmonijos kultūra** 'the common culture of humanity' therefore the aforementioned lengthy neologism is not necessary. Neither is the word **bendrakariuomeninis** (Russian **obščēvojskovoje** 'common to all troops') necessary, because in case of need one can say **bendras visoms kariuomenės rūšims** 'common to all branches of the armed forces.' Similarly one could make from Russian such words as **bendramiestinis** 'common to the city', **bendravaltstybinis** 'common to the government', **bendrapolitinis** 'common political'. But the Russian **obščēobrazovatel'naja škola** is further translated by the old common term **bendrojo lavinimo mokykla** 'school of common education'. J. Jablonskis had almost extirpated the term **viršvalandžiai** 'overtime work' from the Lithuanian language, replacing it with the Lithuanian construction **antvalandžiai**. But these, unable to break off from the Russian **sverxurocnye** now indicate the word **viršvalandžiai**. Now the attempt is being made to limit the prefix **ant-** to those cases where Russian uses **nad-** (Cf. **antstatas** - Russian **nadstrojka** 'superstructure') and the prefix **virš-** translates Russian **sverx-**. Therefore in the dictionary

for antnormis we find a reference to **viršnormis** 'beyond the norm'. But somehow **antžmogis** 'superman' and **antgamtinis** 'supernatural' have remained and have not been turned into the words **viršžmogis**, **viršgamtinis** which had previously been banished from the language by Jablonskis. And **visapasaulinis** again means nothing more than **pasaulinis** 'world'. And at the same time they have begun to write **visaapimantis** 'all inclusive' etc., because the Russians write it so.

The Russian language has inherited from the Church Slavic (and this latter on the model of Byzantine Greek) a disposition for compound words. And after the revolution, in part because of the influence of the German Marxists, these increased (Cf., e. g. **tovarouptrebimost'** German Warenverbrauch 'consumption of goods'.) But imposed upon the Lithuanian language were such monstrosities as **smulkiasavininkiškas** 'small owner', **privačiasavininkiškas** 'private owner', **privačiakapitalistinis** 'private capital' (Ch. Lemchenas' Russian-Lithuanian Dictionary 1955). Russian **častnosobstvenničeskij**, **častnovladel'českij** 'private owner' are words of the inflated party style and in meaning are not differentiated from **častnyj** 'private'. According to the laws of the Russian language, from the attributive combination **častnyj sobstvennik**, **vladelec** 'private owner' are formed the compound adjectives (cf. **železnaja doroga** 'railroad': **železnodorožnyj** 'railroad' (adj.)). But in the Lithuanian language form **privatus** or **privatinis savininkas** 'owner' one can form only a genitive phrase **privačių** or **privatinis savininkas** 'owner' one can form only a genitive phrase **privačių** or **privatinių savininkų** 'of private owners' but never the forms **privačiasavininkiškas** or **privačiasavininkinis**.

During the Sovietization of Lithuania while industry was being spread and production specialized, there were created many new and necessary terms. Especially many derivatives were formed with productive suffixes, e. g. **kojininkas** 'worker in a stocking factory', **pasienininkas** 'frontier-guard', **pavieinininkas** (Russian **edinoličnik**) 'uncollectivized farmer or craftsman', **upininkystė** 'river affairs' (cf. **jūrininkystė** 'naval affairs'), **ėrininkystė** 'lamb-breeding' (cf. **avininkystė** 'sheep-breeding'), **prisiskaitėlis** (cf. Russian **načetčik** 'well-read but uncritically minded person'), **prisiskaiteliškumas** 'quality of being well-read but uncritically minded', **partietis** 'Communist party member', **žalgirietis** 'member of a collective farm (or factory) **Žalgiris**', **pergalietis**, **inkarietis** (names of members of sports clubs, members of **kolchoz's**, workers at a particular factory), **metalingas** 'having lots of metal', **kryptingas** (Russian **celenapravlenyj** 'having a clear and obvious goal'), **kryptingumas** 'quality of having a direction' (of a novel, poetry), **klausovas** (Russian **sluxac** 'soldier whose duty it is to listen to enemy reports, conversations'), **skaitovas** 'a person who reads something publicly, a reader at a theatrical rehearsal' (because of the difference in Russian between **čitčik** and **čitatel'** 'a reader in general'). Lithuanian has now also quite a number of new prefixed words such as **apdaila** (Russian **otdelka** 'trimming, finishing'), **atžyma** (Russian **otmetka** 'mark, note'), **įrenginys** (Russian **sooruženie** 'building, construction'), **išmilžis** (Russian **udoj** 'quantity of milk obtained', **nuoskaita** (Russian **načet** (deficit, **poplūdis** (**pavodok** 'inundation'), **priešgaris** (Russian **kontrpar** 'steam released into the cylinder of a steam engine against the moving pistons in order to stop the movement of the piston and thereby stop the machine'), **priešlapis** (Russian **forzac** 'flyleaf'), **užkaitas** (Russian **fal'c** 'rabbet, groove').

Most of these new industrial, agricultural and scientific terms are created intelligently and according to the laws of word formation of the Lithuanian language.

On the model of Russian, neologisms, for the most part loan translations are formed by means of hybridization, e. g. **uodegizmas** 'following after, a certain opportunism' (Russian **xvostizm**), **uodegistas**, **uodegininkas** 'follower, opportunist', **antiliaudinis** and **priešliaudinis** 'anti-people', **energotraukinys** (Russian **energopojezd** 'mobile electric station on railroad platforms or railroad cars'), **kontraveržlė** and **antveržlė** (Russian **kontrgajka** 'jam-nut'), **infragarsas** 'infra-sound', **šviesoforas** (Russian **svetofor** 'traffic signal'), **aerouostas** and **aeroportas** (Russian **aeroport** 'airport on an airline'), **aerošvyturys** 'aircraft beacon light', ' / **kontr(a)smugis** 'counter-attack'. In place of the last three it would be better to have **oro uostas**, **oro švyturys**, **priešsmūgis** or **atosmūgis**. Compare still **superkietas** 'super-hard', **superdangoraižis**. The Russians call only American skyscrapers **neboskreb**, but their own they call **vysotnoe zdanie**, **vysotnyj dom** 'tall building' (the noun **vysota** means 'height'). Therefore for Lithuanian was created **aukštybinis namas**. In Lemchen's dictionary the word **didžiaukštis namas** is also given, but it did not become adapted because it is not a literal loan-translation from the Russian name. If indeed a new term was really needed it would have been much easier to say **aukštinis namas** (cf. **aklinė siena**, **gatvė** 'wall without windows; dead-end street').

Words are given new meanings. For example a **knygnešys** (originally a 'book-smuggler in Czarist times') now carries about and tries to sell propagandists literature (Russian **knigonoša**) and **rodiklis** 'exponent; direction indicator' is now used in such sentences as: **gamybos**, **darbo rodikliai** 'production, work indicators, indices', **įvykdyti planą pagal visus rodiklius** 'to fulfill the plan according to all indicators', **kultūrinio augimo rodikliai** (Russian **pokazateli kul'turnogo rosta** 'indicators of cultural growth'). On the model of Russian the verbs **užaštrinti** 'to sharpen', **nusmailinti** 'to cut to a point' (a stick), **nudrožti** 'to sharpen' (a pencil) have begun to be used also in an abstract sense 'to emphasize, to underline, to point out the significance of', e. g. **užaštrinti klausimą** (Russian **zaostrit' vopros** 'to sharpen a question, to emphasize the importance of a question'), **prieštaravimus** 'opposition, contradictions', **vaizdą** 'an image' (in a literary work), **politinis užaštrinimas** 'political acuteness'. It is not unlikely that someone in place of **atkreipti**, **sukelti dėmesį** 'to fix one's attention on' will start to say **užaštrinti dėmesį** (Russian **zaostrit' vnimanie** 'to stimulate an interest in'). The phrases **įtvirtinti žinias** 'to reinforce news', **laimėjimus** 'victories', **pasiekimus** (Russian **dostiženija** 'achievements'), **drausmę** 'discipline' **pamokos įtvirtinimas** 'reinforcement of a lesson' can only be understood with the help of Russian. Up to now, if the need arose, we used to say **sustiprinti žinias**, **laimėjimus**, **drausmę**, **išmokyti pamoką** 'to learn a lesson well', **pamokos išmokymas** 'reinforcement of a lesson'. The Russian verbs **zakrepiť** and **ukrepiť** are both used with the abstract meaning of 'strengthen, to make firm'. But since the military terms **įtvirtinti** 'to reinforce', **įsitvirtinti** 'to be

reinforced', **įtvirtinimai** 'reinforcements' are translated by Russian **ukrepiť**, **ukrepiť'sja** and **ukreplenie**, the Lithuanian forms are remade on this model. In Lithuanian now people are saying and writing **įsisavinti pamoką** 'to assimilate a lesson', **žinias** 'news', **įprotį** 'a custom', **techniką** 'technology', **naujus metodus** 'new methods', **maistą** 'food' (about an organism). The basic idea behind these expressions is: 'to learn well', 'to retain', 'to overlearn' (a lesson), 'to provide oneself with, to get' (news, a custom, etc.), 'to rework', 'to use', 'to take in' (food). In the latter case in biology and medicine a special term is used, viz. **asimiliuoti** 'to assimilate'. This is confirmed by the first meaning given for **asimiliacija** 'assimilation' in the 1954 dictionary: a process whereby the animal or plant organism reworks the ingested food.

The key to everything, of course, is the Russian word **usvoit'** (**svoj** 'one's own') which is used in the other meanings. In the dictionary they even mention 'the assimilation of arable land'. In Lithuanian one can really only talk about living on or cultivating arable land. The ecclesiastical words **šlovė** 'glory', **šlovingas** 'glorious' which resemble Russian **slava**, **slavnyj** have begun to be used in such phrases as **šlovė tarybiniams didvyriams** 'glory to Soviet heroes', **šlovė Stalinui** 'glory to Stalin', **šlovingoji komunistų partija**, **tarybinė armija** 'the glorious Communist party, the Soviet army'. Although **šventas** 'sacred, holy' according to the Communist ideology is a term of religious superstition, nevertheless, since Russians say **svjatoe delo** 'sacred cause' it is translated into Lithuanian as **šventas reikalas**. Likewise the phrase **šventa pareiga** 'sacred obligation' has been left (Russian **svjataja ob'jazennost'**). But otherwise this adjective is avoided. Thus the names of the churches are written Peter and Paul's, John's, Anne's, Theresa's church, likewise the epistles of the apostles: the epistle of Paul the apostle to the Romans, the epistles of the apostle Peter. And in place of **Holy Writings** they now only use the word **Bible**. Daukantas' word **kariauna** 'military forces, troops' is now used as a pejorative term like Russian **voješčina** 'fighters, military clique', e. g. **fašistinė kariauna** 'fascist military clique', **Amerikos kariaunos žvėriškumai** 'the brutalities of the American military clique'. Russian **peredovoj** 'forward' is also used with the abstract meaning 'progressive, first, leading'. Therefore the Lithuanian language has had imposed upon it the following expressions: **priešakinis mokslas** 'advanced science', **mokytojas** 'teacher', **mokslininkas** 'scholar', **priešakiniai darbininkai** 'foremost workers' (people understanding the best), **priešakinė žmonija** 'foremost people', **technika, priešakinės idėjos** 'leading ideas', **šalys** 'countries', even a **priešakinė moteris** 'foremost woman'. Evidently it was felt that in Lithuanian it is not right to say it that way, therefore a few people have started to use **priešakingas**. But in Lithuanian this means only 'with a large protruding forepart'. Apparently **pažangūs** is to be reserved only for Russian **progressivnyj** 'progressive'. In place of the phrases **aprūpinti darbu** 'to supply with work', **duoti, parūpinti darbą** 'to give a job' and **gauti darbą** 'to get a job', **apsirūpinti darbu** 'to provide oneself with a job' in Lithuanian now the following neologisms are gaining wide currency: **įdarbinti** 'to supply with work' and **įsidarbinti** 'to get a job' (in volume II of the big dictionary published in 1947 we do not find these words, but they have already been put into the Sereiskis dictionary of 1948), **įdarbinimas** 'supplying with a job' (cf. **darbininkų įdarbinimo indeksas** 'workers' employment index). The basis for these strangers is to be found in the Russian chancellory terms **trudoustroiti** 'to give work to somebody', **trudoustrojstvo** 'giving somebody work, finding somebody a job' (concerning the correctness of this word even the Russian linguists dispute among themselves). Usually Russians say here **ustroit' na rabotu** 'find somebody a job', but also **ustroit' v bol'nicu, v školu** 'to put into a hospital, a school', **ustroit' билет** 'to procure a ticket', **ustroit' delo** 'to settle an affair'. But it is not likely to come into anybody's head to let loose the following clever innovations: **įligonininti** or **įligoninti** 'to hospitalize' (cf. **vargoninkas** from **vargonininkas** 'organist'), **įmokyklinti** 'to supply with a school', **įbilietinti** 'to supply with a ticket', **įreikalinti** 'to settle an affair'. Of course someone might invent a neologism with the opposite meaning, **išdarbinti** 'to release from work, to dejob'. But we probably shouldn't expect it, because the Russians don't say **trudouvolit' id.**. The form known in dialects **įdarbis** 'starting to work' cannot justify **įdarbinti**, because it is formed from the noun **darbas** or rather from the verb **įdirbti** 'to be able to work' (with ablaut). In the Soviet Lithuanian press the following phrases are widespread: **socializmo, komunizmo statyba** 'socialist, communist construction', **kultūrinė statyba** 'cultural construction' (where the word **statyba** should be replaced by **pastatymas**), **statyti komunizmą, naują gyvenimą** 'to build Communism, a new life'. In Lithuanian one can only say **kurti naują gyvenimą, naują Lietuvą** 'to create a new life, a new Lithuania' (A. Venclova and K. Korsakas still use this latter word **kurti**), and, if you will, 'socialism and Communism'. The expression **kultūrinė kūryba** 'cultural creation' has been customary for a long time. They have started to use the new construction under the influence of Russian (**stroit' komunizm** 'to build Communism', **kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo** 'cultural construction'). The 1954 dictionary does not consider it necessary to list the verb with that meaning and only **socializmo statyba** 'the construction of socialism' is mentioned. We can perhaps only explain this Russianism by the fact that since they started to use the noun **kūryba** for the translation of Russian **tvorčestvo** 'creation of literary or artistic value', they began to avoid using it in Lithuanian in its common wider sense. It is unfortunate that the otherwise good Lithuanian-Russian dictionary of A. Lyberis (1962) also gives for **kūryba** a translation **tvorčestvo** with the example **liaudies kūryba** 'people's or folk creation'. A Common Russianism of the press is the verb **išstoti** (as well as the nominal derivative **išstojimas**) in the meaning 'to declare oneself against something or in favor of something'. Although such usage is condemned by linguists, the mighty have decided it is acceptable.

The Soviet press, especially in party and propagandists publications, is rich in various pejorative, condemnatory and scolding terms. Of course these have been transferred into Lithuanian as loan translations. For example, **bažnytininkas** 'ecclesiastic', **kulto tarnas** (Russian **služitel' kul'ta** 'servant of the cult'), i. e. a pejorative term for 'clergyman', **brakadarys** (Russian **brakodel** 'unconscientious workman who breaks goods being produced') **nuolaidžiauti** (Russian **popustitel'stvovat** 'to tolerate'), **pravaikšta** (Russian **progul** 'shirking, truancy'), **pravaikštininkas** 'shirker, truant', **tamsybininkas** (Russian **mrakobes** 'obscurantist'), **trupingraužys** (Russian **kroxobor** 'niggard'), **trupingraužystė** 'harmful punctiliousness' **užsieniava** (Russian **inostranščina** 'everything foreign styles, customs, habits'), **atomininkai** (Russian word **atomščik** 'exponent of the use of the atom bomb', but this latter term is directed only at the British and

Americans), **diplomatinė gešeftmacherystė** (Russian **gešeftmaxerstvo** from German **geschaeftmacherei** 'business dealings'), **degolininkas** 'a follower of De Gaulle' **neofašistas** 'neofascist', **neohitlerininkas** 'neo-Hitlerite', **sociališdavikas** (Russian **socialpredatel'** 'traitor to the cause of socialism'), **pogromininkas** 'person who takes part in a pogrom', **vokiškėji grobikai** 'German plunderers', **amerikiniai angliškieji karo kurstytojai** 'American English war mongers'. With the introduction of collective farms the term **buožė** 'exploiter, especially landlord', has become widespread. The term had already been used in the press by Communists to translate the Russian **kulak** 'rich farmer' and occasionally it had appeared in belles-lettres too (A. Vienuolis). This term was apparently invented by a man who knew from a dialect the borrowing **kulokas**, used with the meaning of **buožė** 'stick, cudgel, thick piece of wood'. There have even been formed a whole series of derivatives such as **buožija** 'village bourgeoisie, rich peasants who exploit others', **buožynė** 'a nest of richer farmers', **buožgalis** 'part of the village inhabited by the bourgeoisie', **buožduktė** 'daughter of a bourgeois person', **buožėnas** 'a son of a richer farmer', **buožvaikis** 'child of a bourgeois person', **buožiuikas** 'a young son of a richer farmer', **buožiakas** '(slightly derogatory): a young son of a richer farmer', **buožienė** 'wife of a bourgeois person', **buoželė** 'mall bourgeois', **pusbuožė** 'almost a rich farmer', **išbuožinti**, nubuožinti 'to dis-bourgeoisie, i. e. to take away the property and land of a larger land owner' (cf. Russian **raskulačit' 'id.'**), **buožiauti** 'to be village bourgeois', **išbuožėti** 'to become village bourgeois'.

In the use of foreign words the Russians are faithfully copied. For example, the elected members of various councils are called **deputatai** 'deputies', the word is used by the Russians who borrowed this livelier sounding appellation from the terminology of the French revolution. In place of **pilnatis**, more commonly **pilnatis posėdis** 'plenary session' on the Russian model they use **plenumas** 'plenum' **plenarynis**, **plenumo posėdis** 'plenary session'. Compare also the English words which have come through Russian, e. g. **komfortas** 'comfort', **komfortabilus** 'comfortable', **trolebiisas** 'trolley bus', **buldozeris** 'bulldozer', **skreperis** 'scraper', **eskalatorius** 'escalator', even **limitas** (with the Russian stress on the second syllable, not the first as in English) 'the norm, or limit of a prices, wares, credit, imports' with the derivatives **limitinis** 'limit (adjective)', **limituoti** 'to limit', **viršlimitinis** (cf. Russian **sverxlimitnyj** 'over-limit' adjective). In the Russian periodical press the word **eskalacija** has appeared, but not in the sense of 'military escalation', but in the sense of American aggression will undoubtedly come into the Lithuanian newspapers. From the Soviet bureaucratic terminology has been taken over the word **mikrorajonas** 'microregion, i. e. the smallest administrative unit, a school district from which the children must go to the same school'.

Although in the 1954 dictionary are included the linguistic terms **tarmybė** 'dialectism', **lenkybė** 'Polonism', **rusybė** 'Russianism', **vokietybė** 'Germanism', in practice more and more the terms **dialektizmas**, **polonizmas**, **rusicizmas**, **germanizmas** are being used. Simply because the Russians cannot say it another way. Compare further the terms **vietiniai**, **teritoriniai**, **klasiniai dialektai** 'local, territorial and class dialects' (from the so-called linguistic works of Stalin). A television set is called **televizorius** (Russian **televizor**). There are thus differences in the use of international words, cf. **ministerijos**, **teisėjų kolegija** 'a board of judges, of a ministry', **redakcinė kolegija** 'editorial board' (and **redkologija**), **visuotinė mokinių konferencija** 'general meeting of the students', **kiaulininkų**, **melžėjų seminaras** 'swineherds', 'milkers' seminar'.

From the point of view of vocabulary there are no completely pure languages which do not have foreign borrowings obtained from cultural exchanges or even by way of the mixture of linguistic communities. For example, the vocabulary of contemporary Albanian is very mixed because in it are crossed old Illyrian, Romance, Slavic and finally Turkish elements. English is considered a Germanic language, but half of its vocabulary is of Romance origin. The Normans of William the Conqueror were already speaking Old French. In the Russian literary language also there are infinitely many Church Slavic elements. Only these are not immediately evident, because one Slavic language has borrowed from another, (see B. Unbegaun, **L'héritage cyrillo-méthodien en Russie** in the publication **Cyrillo-Methodiana** published by M. Hellmann, 1964). Some modern languages accept borrowings rather easily, whereas others rather loath to accept them. The most liberal in this regard, it seems, is the English language, because in it as a result of the mixture of Germanic and Romance vocabulary elements, the question of purity is not in general even posed. Thus the German word **Kindergarten** is taken over in the German form, only it is written with a small initial k (although the second element is frequently pronounced like English garden), the same holds for **delicatessen** (written with a c as it formerly was in German instead of the k as it is written now). Once the Russians launched the **sputnik** the word was immediately accepted in the American and English press. The American words **beatnik** and the slang **vietnik** are formed with the Slavic suffix **-nik** borrowed by way of Yiddish into English (cf. Yiddish **nudnik** 'importunate, tiresome person'). But in recent times in France even the Academy has begun to war against the Anglicisms, or more accurately the flood of Americanisms which are given the name **Français**. Beginning with the Soviet epoch Russians borrowed considerably from other languages, especially international words. After the revolution poorly educated party members threw them about so much that Lenin himself scolded them for their endless use of queer foreign words, e.g. **defekty** 'defects' instead of the Russian **nedočety** or **nedostatki**. But his own writings like those of other Communist theoreticians are characterized by the influence of German and French Marxist terminology. In recent times the Russians have borrowed an especially large number of concepts and terms from English and some from German. Cf. such a monster as **kondicirovanije vozduxa** from English **air conditioning**. But Lithuanian **vėsintuvas** 'air conditioner' is on the model of German **Klimaanlage** (Russian **klimatešeskaja ustanovka** 'climatic apparatus').

Attempts to cultivate language by purifying its vocabulary go back to the XVI century. With this in mind in Italy the Academia della Crusca was created in 1582, in Germany the Fruchtbriogende Gesellschaft (which fought against

Gallicisms) was established in 1617 and in France the Academie Française was founded in 1635. The question of the reform of the Lithuanian written language was first raised in 1706 by a German priest from Lithuania Minor by the name of M. Morklin, who even thought of founding a Lithuanian philological society. Later S. Stanevičius worried about the insufficiency of the Lithuanian written language and later the **aušrininkai** ('the group of Lithuanian intellectuals who published the Lithuanian newspaper **Aušra**') practically but not very skilfully undertook this linguistic task. But the greatest reward for cleansing the Lithuanian language of foreign elements, especially Slavicisms, belongs to J. Jablonskis.