

LITHUANIAN SLANG ADVERBS OF SLAVIC ORIGIN

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1. Introduction

A social dialect is always related to a certain region, predominant in a certain territory with the status of language and the ethnic composition of the population, i.e., with territorial dialects (Chambers, Trudgill 2004: 45–46). A number of Slavisms (Belarusianisms, Polonisms, Russianisms) have appeared in Lithuanian due to constant and close contact between Lithuanian and Slavic languages. Because of the commonality of Slavic languages, it is not always possible to determine from which language the word came; therefore, it is simply considered to be a Slavism. Only a minor part of Slavisms were accepted and became the norm of the standard language, and Russianisms are mostly used in nonstandard everyday language, vernacular, slang. Also, a large part of the nonstandard Slavic lexicon appeared due to the forced bilingualism and Russification carried out in Soviet-occupied Lithuania (1944–1990).¹

Borrowing is a constant process in a language and is particularly pronounced in slang, since borrowing allows for a constant updating of the vocabulary, replacing words with more expressive ones for stylistic reasons, etc. A foreign language unit that arises in the context of another language undergoes assimilation — it is transformed in one way or another by adapting it to the linguistic system. The level of adaptation is directly related to the relationship between the two language (or several, if there are language intermediaries) systems. The adaptation of a foreign word, borrowed into the grammar of the language (orthography, phonology, morphology) can be of several stages and types — these features are especially noticeable in nonstandard language. The phenomenon of borrowing adaptation can be described in three stages: zero, partial, and complete (cf. Filipović 1980: 2–5). According to the degree of adaptation, borrowings can be divided

¹ In order to Russianize the institutions of Lithuanian administration, the leadership of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) accelerated the migration of Russians to Lithuania, many of whom were employed in administrative institutions. The Russian language prevailed in institutions, and Soviet destructive ideology was concealed by the so-called proletarian internationalism (Anušauskas 1996; Tininis 2008).

into: a) completely unadapted², b) adapted only orthographically and phonetically, phonologically, c) adapted orthographically, phonetically and morphologically. Such a full adaptation of and integration of borrowed vocabulary (semantic and syntax aspects should be added) is universal in many languages (Treffers-Daller 1994: 243–244; Irwin 2011: 44–53; Sharp 2001: 30; Sunde 2018: 85–88; Durkin 2014). Morphological adaptation is already a sign of a borrowing integration into the system and has several subtypes: (1) obtaining inflectional endings, (2) adding a derivational suffix, (3) changing a derivational suffix (the derivational suffix of a donor language is replaced by the suffix of a recipient language) (cf. Pakerys 2016: 264; Wohlgemuth 2009: 56; Valeckienė 1967: 128). The derivation of the derivative with its own suffix from the borrowing as well as adaptation with affixes (derivation according to semantically close derivatives with affixes) are a confirmation that integration that has already taken place (Urbutis 2009: 137–138; LKE 1999: 15).

The above-mentioned degrees of adaptation can be illustrated by several examples of slang. The borrowed infinitive *achujiet'*, *achujet'* (Russ. vulg. *oxyémь*)³ is adapted in several ways phonetically and orthographically with the meaning 'to go crazy' (*va cia tai achujiet galima, nuotaika ishvois sugadino*)⁴. This infinitive is adapted in hybrid fashion morphologically with the suffix *-inti*: *achujielinti*, *achujelinti* 'to become surprised; to go nuts (cf. past tense forms, sg. 1, 2, 3 pers.: *oxyél*, pl. 1, 2, 3 pers.: *oxyéli*) — the verb can be conjugated. The adjective of the same root with the suffix *-nas* (Russ. *-ный*) is adapted phonetically, orthographically and with the ending *-as* morphologically: *achujienas*, *achujenas*, *-a* (Russ. vulg. *oxyénный*) with the meaning 'great' (*Ale gi achujienas kūrinys!*); 'big' (*Beto gi nelabai senas lupenas varo i lietuva muitai achujieni.*). The addition of an inflectional ending (*-as*) indicates the integration of the borrowing into the system. Further, a hybrid adverb is consistently derived from the adjective — the derivational suffix *-ai* establishes an orthographic and phonetic integration: *achujienai*, *achujenai* 'great, well' (*Taip atrodo achujenai, bet ir kainuoja neblogai.*); 'a lot' (*isvada —*

² Zero adaptation is theoretical — more commonly used borrowing is naturally phonetically adapted according to the principle of substitution of foreign phonemes as close as possible to its own.

³ All the Russian words, except for monosyllabic, are stressed with a single stress (´) used in the Russian language (only the grapheme *-ě-* is left without a stress as it is always stressed). For Lithuanian slang words the base of the stressed syllable (vowel, diphthong) is underlined. An apostrophe after the consonant (e.g., *tol'ka*) indicates the softness of the consonant.

⁴ Illustrative examples have not been edited: examples of slang of written language from the internet are without diacritics, writing without diacritics is the norm in internet slang.

reik turet achujenai daug babkiu.). Such a derivative can be also formed by affix adaptation — simply from the Russian adverb — by changing the derivative suffix of the donor language to the suffix of the recipient language: the adverb *achujienai* is formed by simply adapting the Russian adverb *оху́енно* (replacing the Russ. adverbial suffix *-o*), rather than from the adjective *achujienas*.

In standard Lithuanian, only a minor part of borrowings are uninflected; research has shown the tendency to morphologically adapt almost all borrowings (Rimkutė 2010; Jakaitienė 2009: 236). Also, in Lithuanian slang, the majority of slang words integrate into the derivational and inflectional paradigms of Lithuanian and only a small part remain morphologically unadapted. This typical and systematic pattern for slang can be illustrated by the root words of Russian slang *fūflō* (Russ. slang *фүфлō*) in different classes of parts of speech. Sometimes the lexeme can be only adapted orthographically and phonetically: *fūflō* is used as an adjective meaning ‘great, original; strange, crazy’, and as an adverb ‘greatly, originally; strangely, crazily’. However, in usage, the morphologically unadapted form *fūflō* (cf. Russ. *фүфлō*) remains more remote; the productive grammatical categories of the noun (gender, number, case) are realized in a standard way during adaptation. Morphologically unformed forms of borrowings that are entrenched in usage have a tendency to become inflected in the long run — the addition of an inflectional ending indicates the integration of the borrowing into the system, e.g.: *fūflas* ‘falsification; nonsense’. The addition of a derivational adjective ending *-iškas* only establishes orthographic and phonetic integration: *fūfliškas*, *-a* ‘forged; poor’. In the slang form, it is noticeable that by copying the derivative model of the standard language from the adjective *fūfliškas*, *-a* the adverb is formed with the suffix *-ai*: *fūfliškai* ‘forged; poorly’. It is natural that the system also has some rare suffixes, e.g., *-avas*: adjective *fūflavas*, *-a*.

A derivative can also be formed by changing the derivational suffix (the derivational suffix of the donor language is replaced by the suffix of the recipient language): the adverb *fūflowai* is made simply by transposing from the Russian adverb *фүфлōво* (the suffix of the Russian adverb *-o* is replaced with Lithuanian adverb *-ai*), and not from the Lithuanian slang adjective *fūflovas*, *-a*. However, such a formation of adverbs from Russian is rare and atypical.

Slavic slang is characterized by several typical features of phonetic adaptation. In unstressed syllables of Russian words a reduced /a/ is pronounced instead /o/ (RG 1980: 25–27; Avanesov 1984: 51–60; Gorbačevič 1989: 35–42). The pronunciation of the vowels /a/ and /o/ at the beginning of a borrowed slang word may vary, but such pronunciation is rarer, cf.:

achujienas, ochujienas, -a (Russ. vulg. *оху́енный*); *biestalkovas, biestolkovas* (Russ. *бестолко́вый*). This feature is taken over by the adverbs derived from it: *achujienai, ochujienai* (Russ. vulg. *оху́енно*); *biestalkovai, biestolkovai* (Russ. *бестолко́во*). This feature is rather consistently applied when borrowing Russian words as well. The sound /o/ in such cases is probably used by more literate informants (in the written form: Russ. adv. vulg. *оху́енно, офиге́нно*), but it is rare.

The present slang words of Slavic origin are also characterized by a systematic variation of the root vowel /e/, /ie/ with diphthongized or otherwise varied vowels. Slang adverbs accept this feature from the base words — adjectives: *viečnas, večnas* (Pl. *wieczny*, Russ. *вечный*); *abaldienas, abaldenas* (Russ. slang *обалде́нный*); *cherovas, chierovas, -a* (Russ. vulg. *херо́вый*) etc.⁵ Adaptation to such variation may also be influenced by normative words of co-origin, e.g.: *šviežias* (cf. Russ. *свежий*, Pl. *świeży*) or /e/-/ie/ diphthongization areas of territorial dialects found throughout the Lithuanian language area (Urbanavičienė 2018: 59; Kardelis 2009: 100–139). Old Slavisms presented in the normative publications of the standard language (see KPP 1985) also have a variable root vowel /ie/, /e/: *peškom, pieškom* (Pl. *pieszo*, Russ. *пешкóм*); *čierka, čerka* (Pl. *czarka*, Belarus. *чарка*); *siemkos, semečkės* (Russ. vern. *сэмки*, Russ. *сэмечки*) etc. Old Slavisms can also have a nonvarying diphthong /ie/: *radielka* (Russ. *подделка*), *radjiezdas* (Russ. *подъезд*), *pieška* (Russ. vern. *пешка*), *svietas* (Pl. *świat*, Belarus. *свет*, Russ. *свет*), *biesinti* (Russ. *бесить*, cf. Pl. *bies* ‘evil’) etc. (KP 2005).

The aim of this article is to morphologically examine different types of slang adverbs: hybrid derivatives of the suffix *-ai* from suffixal Slavic adjectives, hybrid derivatives of the suffix *-ai* from Slavic adjectives without suffixes, slang adverbs of Slavic origin without formants, adverbialized word combinations of Slavic origin.

For selected adverbs, the origin of the slang word was first determined and then the word was analyzed morphologically. Derivationally segmentable adverbs are classified according to the suffixes of the derivative base, and a systematic analysis is performed in order to refine the prevailing derivative models, to discuss the relations of those models. Derivationally nonsegmentable forms (adverbs without formants and adverbialized word combinations) are described in terms of phonetic adaptation. The analysis aims to identify

⁵ Also, the old Slavisms have both a variable root vowel (*peškom, pieškom* (Pl. *pieszo*, Russ. *пешкóм*)), and a nonvariable (*radielka* (Russ. *подделка*), *biesinti* (Russ. *бесить*, cf. Pl. *bies* ‘evil’)), etc. (for more, see KP 2005; KPP 1985).

systematic morphological features and general structural patterns. The material was collected from Dictionary of Lithuanian Slang and Nonnormative Lexicon (Kudirka 2012) and the supplementary electronic database of this dictionary, which has been updated in 2020 (the dictionary consists of more than 9360 headwords.). The collection of the material started in 1998. The material in this dictionary was collected from two sources: (a) spoken language and (b) online forums and interactive online chats via text messages (mIRC, Skype, etc.). Material for the vocabulary has not been collected from printed („paper“) sources, fiction, etc. texts that could have been edited. Certain social areas — prison, criminal, drug addicts, soldiers and so on. — slang was collected solely from spoken language, recording with a dictaphone during personal conversations — in this way almost all words of these areas were collected (for more details, see Kudirka 2012: 3–5). The base words of hybrid derivatives are provided from explanatory dictionaries (Czeszewski 2006; Vaitkevičiūtė 2003; Kveselevič 2005; Mokienko, Nikitina 2000).

Usually, the research of borrowings focuses on nouns, adjectives, and verbs (Pakerys 2014; Pakerys 2016; Girčienė 2005; Vaicekauskienė 2007). There is no separate, systematic, and detailed lexical research of Lithuanian slang.

2. Morphological features of an adverb

An adverb is the most dynamic part of speech and is particularly diverse. The first feature of the adverb is its non-inflectionality (only part of adverbs are graded), the adverb ends with: (1) a derivational formant, (2) the suffix of the derivational base, (3) simply the stem, the ending of the derivational base which does not serve as an ending (LKG II 1971: 425; Paulauskienė 1994: 378). Adverbs also differ from other parts of speech in that they can be formed from various inflectional parts of speech or word combinations, but usually, adverbs are made from adjectives with the suffix *-ai* (LKG II 1971: 426; BSŽ 2004). It is important to understand that relations among standard, standardized and nonstandard language are not spontaneous, since most of these phenomena are like a junction of such systems (standard language and nonstandard language) with their own patterns.

2.1. Hybrid derivatives with Lithuanian slang suffix *-ai* from suffixal adjectives of Slavic origin

Lithuanian slang is especially rich in suffixal derivatives (70) formed from adjectives of Slavic origin with the suffixes *-nas* and *-ovas*. Other

suffixes are less common: *-(i)avas* (12), *-skas* (7), *-telnas* (5), *-nutas* (5), *-ovatas* (*-avotas*) (3), *-yvas* (2).

2.1.1. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with the suffix *-nas*

The majority (37) of adverbs are derived from base adjectives of Russian origin with the affix *-nas* (adapted from Russ. *-ный*) (RG 1980: 269–270); most of these adjectives in Russian are slang or colloquial. A small part of the base slang adverbs can be also related to the Polish adverbial suffix *-ny* (cf.: *blatnas*: Russ. *блатный*, Pl. *blatny*) (GWJP 1999: 494–496).

In Lithuanian slang, hybrid adverbs with suffix *-ai* (e.g., *abaldienai*, *pravai*) are formed from Lithuanian slang adjectives that are usually borrowings from Russian (*abaldienai*: *abaldienas* (Russ. slang adj. *обалдённый*), *pravai*: *pravainas* (Russ. adj. *провальный*) but not from Russian adverbs: adv. slang *обалдённо*, adv. *провально*. However, in the list, the base word is followed by the Russian adverb too (if it exists) with the abbreviation (cf.), because in some cases such derivation is also possible: *abaldienai*, *abaldenai* ‘greatly’ (: *abaldienas*, *abaldenas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *обалдённо*), *abydnai* ‘disappointingly’ (: *abydnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *обидно*), *achujienai*, *achujenai* ‘greatly’ (: *achujienas*, *achujenas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *охуённо*), *afigienai*, *afigenai* ‘greatly’ (: *afigienas*, *afigenas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *офигённо*), *baldiožnai* ‘impressively’ (: *baldiožnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *балдёжно*), *bardačnai* ‘messily’ (: *bardačnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *бардачно*), *bespredielnai*, *bespredelnai* ‘overstepping the bounds’ (: *bespredielnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *беспредельно*), *bezabydnai* ‘not offensively, peacefully’ (: *bezabydnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *безобидно*), *blatnai* ‘uniquely’ (: *blatnas*, *-a*), *chaliqvnai* ‘freely’ (: *chaliqvnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *халёвно*), *chaltūrnai* ‘nonqualitatively’ (: *chaltūrnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *халтёрно*)...⁶

2.1.2. Derivatives of the suffix *-ai* from adjectives with the suffix *-ovas*

A major (33) group of adverbs originate from base slang adjectives of Russian origin with the suffix *-ovas* (Russ. *-овый* (orthographically also *-евый*) (RG 1980: 276). The semantics of this suffix is very broad and usually ‘indicates the relationship with the subject matter expressed by the base word’ (e.g.: *столовый* ‘table, of a table’). A part of the slang adjectives

⁶ If there are more than ten examples, they are presented in the appendix below. The words quoted in the article are not repeated in the appendix.

may be related in origin to the Polish adverbial suffix *-owy* (cf. *chujovas*, *-a*; Pl. adj. vulg. *chujowy*) (GWJP 1999: 493). In this subsection, as well as in other cases, in Lithuanian slang hybrid adverbs with the suffix *-ai* (e.g., *biestalkovai*, *chrienovai*) are formed from Lithuanian slang adjectives that are borrowings from Russian (*biestalkovai*: *biestalkovas*, *-a* (Russ. adj. *бестолкóвый*)), *chrienovai*: *chrienovas*, *-a* (Russ. adj. vulg. *хренóвый*) and not simply from Russian adverbs — adv. slang *бестолкóво*, adv. vulg. *хренóво* (derivation directly from Russian adverbs is characterized as rare, atypical). Hybrid adverbs from root slang adjectives of Russian origin with the suffix *-ovas*: *bespantovai* ‘unintentionally’ (: *bespantovas*, *-a*, cf. Russ. adv. slang *беспонтóво*), *biestalkovai*, *bestalkovai* ‘pointlessly’ (: *biestalkovas*, *bestalkovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *бестолкóво*), *chierovai*, *cherovai* ‘badly’ (: *chierovas*, *cherovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *херóво*), *chrienovai*, *chrenovai* ‘badly’ (: *chrienovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *хренóво*), *chrinovai* ‘badly’ (: *chrinovas*, *-a*), *chujovai* ‘badly’ (: *chujovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *хуёво*, Pl. adv. vulg. *chujowo*), *depresovai* ‘depressively’ (: *depresovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *депресóво*), *dermovai* ‘awfully’ (: *dermovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *дерьмóво*), *dešovai* ‘cheaply’ (: *dešovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *дешёво*), *figovai* ‘poorly’ (: *figovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *фигóво*).

There are borrowings from the field of music from English into Russian itself, hybridly adapting the suffix *-овый*: *pankovai* ‘punk’ (: *pankas*; cf. Russ. adv. *пáнкoво*, Eng. *punk*), *popsovai* ‘in a pop way’ (: *popsovovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *попсóво*), *repovai* ‘characteristic of rap’ (: *repovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *рэпoво*), *rokovai* (: *rokovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *роково*), *hiprovai* ‘in a hippy manner’ (: *hiprovovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *хиппóво*). Among recent borrowings in Russian: *bugovai* ‘with errors’ (: *bugovas*, *-a*; cf. Eng. *bug* ‘software error’), *draivovai* ‘impressively’ (: *draivovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *драйвóво*; cf. Eng. *drive* ‘impetus, inner impulse’), *kreizovai* ‘crazily’ (: *kreizovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *крéйзoво*, Eng. *crazy* ‘crazy’), *seksovai*, *sexovai* ‘in a sexy manner’ (: *seksovas*, *sexovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *сексóво*).

2.1.3. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with suffix *-(i)avas*

A minor part (12) of adverbs originates from base adjectives with the suffix *-avas*, *-iavas* (Russ. *-авый*, *-явый*: *кровавый*, *дырjавый*; cf. Pl. *-awy*: *ciekawy*; cf. Ukr. *цикáвий*, Belarus. *цикáвы*) (RG 1980: 287; GWJP 1999: 489). There are very few adjectives with the suffix *-avas* in slang, since the semantics of this suffix are duplicated by derivatives with the suffix *-ovas*. There are cases where slang words of the same root have both suffixes;

however, derivatives with suffix *-ovas* are used more often: *seksovas* and (rarely) *seksavas*, *stiliovas* and (rarely) *stiliavas*, (rarely) *rokavas* and *rokovas*. However, there are derivatives with the suffix *-avas* that are not used with *-ovas*: *cekavai* ‘curiously’ (: *cekavas*, *-a*), *chaliqvai* ‘for free’ (: *chaliqvas*, *-a*), *nachaliqvai* ‘for free’ (: *nachaliqvas*, *-a*, cf. Russ. adv. vern. на халяву), *nachaliqonai* ‘for free’ (: *nachaliqonas*, *-a*, cf. Russ. adv. vern. нахалявно).

Some slang words are already formed in a hybrid manner in Lithuanian with the suffix *-avas*. Since in Russian slang there are no such words, they seem to be pseudo-borrowings (see the term Vaicekauskienė 2007: 19) or pseudoanalogical derivatives (Urbutis 2009: 328), i.e. formed on the pattern of foreign words: *bachūravas*, *-a*, *chronciavas*, *-a*, *chroniavas*, *-a*, *forsavas*, *-a*, *šyzavas*, *-a*, etc. In such cases, adjectives are already formed in Lithuanian slang according to derivational analogy, since there are no such adjectives in Russian. These adjectives are the derivational base for the following adverbs: *chrienqvai*, *chrenqvai* rar. ‘poorly’ (: *chrienqvas*, *chrenqvas*, *-a*), *chroniavai* ‘as a chronic alcoholic’ (: *chroniavvas*, *-a*), *monqvai* tech. ‘mono-, with one loudspeaker’ (: *monqvas*, *-a*), *popsqvai* ‘in a pop way’ (: *popsqvas*, *-a*), *rokqvai* ‘characteristic of rock music’ (: *rokqvas*, *-a*), *seksqvai*, *sexqvai* rar. (: *seksqvas*, *-a*), *steriavai* ‘stereophonically’ (: *steriavvas*, *-a*), *stiliavai* ‘stylishly’ (: *stiliavvas*, *-a*).

2.1.4. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with suffix *-skas*

In slang there are few (7) hybrid adverbs with adjectival affix *-skas*; derivatives with this suffix can be both from Russian (*-ский*, longer variants: *-енский*, *-еский*, *-овский*), and from Polish: (*-ski*, longer variants: *-ański*, *-cki*, *-eński*, *-iński*, *-owski*) (RG 1980: 291; GWJP 1999: 494): *amerikānskai* ‘in the American way’ (: *amerikānskvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. по-американски), *bābskai* ‘womanishly’ (: *bābskvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. по-бабски), *bandiṣkai* ‘in a ruffian manner’ (: *bandiṣkvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. по-бандитски), *žydovskai* ‘in a Jewish way’ (: *žydovskvas*, *-a*; cf. Pl. adj. żydowski, Russ. adv. по-жидовски), *zajebāṭelskai* ‘amazingly’ (: *zajebāṭelskvas*, *-a*), *zajibāṭelskai* ‘amazingly’ (: *zajibāṭelskvas*, *-a*), *kacāpskai* ‘in a Russian way’ (: *kacāpskvas*, *-a*, cf. Russ. adv. по-кацáпски).

2.1.5. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with suffix *-telnas*

There are few (5) derivatives with suffix *-telnas* (Russ. *-тельный*) (RG 1980: 290): *achujabyṭelnai*, *achujabiṭelnai* ‘greatly’ (: *achujabyṭelnas*, *achujabiṭelnas*, *-a*), *achujiebyṭelnai*, *achujebiṭelnai* ‘in a very cool way’ (: *achujiebyṭelnas*, *achujebiṭelnai*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. охуебительно), *achujyṭelnai*, *achujitiṭelnai* ‘in a very cool way’ (: *achujyṭelnas*, *achujitiṭelnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv.

vulg. *оxу́тельно*), *afigytielnai*, *afigítelnai* ‘very’ (: *afigytielnas*, *afigítelnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *офигу́тельно*), *rochujytielnai*, *rochujítelnai* (: *rochujytielnas*, *rochujítelnas*, *-a*, cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *поху́ительно*).

2.1.6. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectival participles with suffix *-nutas*

All the base words of the adverbs in this subsection are adjectival Russian passive participles with the suffix *-тый*, e.g.: *чо́кнутый*, *ебану́тый*. All the base words of these adverbs have the verbal suffix *-ну-*, thus, the entire ending of derivatives is *-нутый* (RG 1980: 668). In slang, there are only several (5) adverbs, the majority of which are rarely used, and their meaning is similar ‘bad, not well’: *čiȯknutai* (: *čiȯknutas*, *-a*), *jebanu̇tai* (: *jebanu̇tas*, *-a*), *jobanu̇tai* (: *jobanu̇tas*, *-a*), *jobnutai* (: *jobnutas*, *-a*), *pyzdanu̇tai*, *pizdanu̇tai* (: *pyzdanu̇tas*, *pizdanu̇tas*, *-a*).

2.1.7. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives suffixes *-ovatas*, *-avotas*

Several hybrids (3) are related to the compound suffix of Russian adverbs *-овато* (orthographically also *-евато*). It is derived from adjectival suffix *-оватый*, meaning part of a feature, a small degree of a feature (cf., *красный* > *красноо́ватый* ‘reddish, slightly red’) (RG 1980: 285). Also, the suffix of root adjectives can be derived from Polish: *-owaty* (GWJP 1999: 489). There are only two hybrids derived from base words with this suffix: *pyzdavotai*, *pizdavotai* ‘poorly’ (: *pyzdavotas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *нуздоо́ато*, Pl. adv. vulg. *pizdowaty*), *debilavotai* ‘retardedly’ (: *debilavotas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *дебилосо́ато*). With the suffix variant *-еватый* there is only one hybrid adverb *chujovotai* ‘badly’ (: *chujovotas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *хуево́ато*).

2.1.8. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with suffix *-yvas*

There are only two slang adverbs derived from base adjectives with the suffix *-yvas* (Russ. *-ивый*): *falšyvai* ‘falsely’ (: *falšyvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *фальши́во*), *paršyvai* ‘poorly’ (: *paršyvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *парши́во*).

3. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from Slavic adjectives without suffixes

There are a significant number of slang adverb derivatives from adjectives without suffixes (17). In slang, the base words of these derivatives with

the suffix *-ai* from hybrid adverbs are usually primary two-syllable adjectives of Russian origin (e.g., *čiotkai* ‘splendidly’ : adj. *čiotkas*, *-a*). They could be made from adjectives as well as in certain cases from Russian adverbs, thus, where possible, adverbs are also given in brackets. In these cases, the formation of adverbs from adverbs is a specific phenomenon of morphological adaptation, since in the Russian language system *-o* is a true adverbial suffix (e.g., *кρύτο*, *чѣтко*), which can be simply rejected (cf. Valeckienė 1967: 128, Girčienė 2012: 33). Such a method of morphological adaptation when the derivational suffix of the donor language is replaced by the suffix of the recipient language is also described in the research of borrowed adjectives (Pakerys 2016: 247). There are similar cases in slang when in the same way morphological pseudo-borrowings, words formed on the basis of foreign word patterns, are made, e.g.: *bachūravas*, *-a*, *forsavas*, *-a*, etc. (Görlach 2002: 29–30; Fisher 2008: 7).

In this subsection there are 17 adverbs: *chaliqvai* ‘for free’ (: *chaliqvas*, *-a*), *čiornai* ‘heavily; extremely intensively’ (: *čiornas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *черно́*), *čiotkai* ‘splendidly’ (: *čiotkas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *чѣтко*), *jasnai* ‘clearly’ (: *jasnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *ясно*), *kliqvai* ‘greatly’ (: *kliqvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *клѣво*), *krūtai* ‘in a very cool way’ (: *krūtas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *кρύто*), *liėvai* ‘badly’ (: *liėvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *лѣво*), *miortvai* ‘deadly’ (: *miortvas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *мѣртво*), *nachaliqvai* ‘for free’ (: *nachaliqvas*, *-a*, cf. Russ. adv. vern. *на халѣву*), *paglai* ‘rudely’ (: *naglas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *на́гло*)...

4. Slang adverbs of Slavic origin without formants

In Lithuanian slang, morphologically unadapted borrowed forms are not commonly used, since they are not adapted to derivational and inflectional paradigms. However, there is a group (22) of morphologically unadapted Slavic borrowings without formants that are used in slang only as adverbs: *dabro* ‘well; greatly’ (Russ. coll. *добро́*), *karočia*, *karoče* (Russ. coll. *короче́*) ‘in a word, in short’, *slabo* ‘too weak, unable’.

Some of the borrowed adverbs, when used, have phonetically altered and deformed variants: *vabše*, *vabšie*; *vobšče*, *vobščie*; *vobše*, *vobšie* (Russ. *вообще́*) ‘overall, in general’, *von*, *vun*, *vūn* (Russ. coll. *вон*) ‘get out, go away’.

The slang words *amba*, *ambo* (Russ. vern. *амба*, Pl. coll. *amba*), *kajuk* (Russ. vern. *каю́к*), *kirdych*, *kirdyk* (Russ. vern. *кирды́к*), *chana* (Russ. coll. *хана́*) meaning ‘badly’ can be used as predicative adverbs. Some borrowed adverbs are integrated into an inflectional or derivational system: they are alternatively used with an adapted suffix (*kajukai*) or ending (*kirdykas*).

The vulgarism *chui* (Russ. vulg. *хуй*) meaning ‘any, nothing’ can be also used as an adverb: *Chui tu įą atplėši!* // *Chui ten firma, šaraga kažkokia neaiški*. Euphemisms *chrien*, *chren* (Russ. vulg. *хрен*), *chier*, *cher* (Russ. vulg. *хер*), *fig* (Russ. vern. *фуз*) are also predicatively used as an adverb with a meaning ‘any, nothing’. Vulgarisms *dermō* (Russ. vern. vulg. *дерьмó*), *gavno* (Russ. vulg. *говно́*, Pl. vulg. *гówno*) also can be used predicatively as an adverb meaning ‘badly; shit’: *zodziu gavno gavos su amerikanska plevele, su kiniska gal ir geriau butu buve*.

5. Adverbialized word-combinations of Slavic origin

Adverbialized word combinations are rather common in slang (72), such words combinations are adapted in a particular way: borrowed slang sayings that are more often used are adapted both phonetically and morphologically, e.g.: ♦ *pa polnai* (Russ. *по́лно́й*), ♦ *pa polnai programe (pragramė)* (Russ. coll. *по́лно́й програ́мме*), ♦ *pa polnai katūške* (Russ. vern. *по́лно́й кату́шке*) meaning ‘to the maximum’. Only phonetically adapted word combinations are rarely used: ♦ *pa (po) polnoi*, ♦ *pa (po) polnoi programe (pragramė)*, ♦ *pa (po) polnoi katūške*, and the adverb itself in a form **polnoi* is not individually used in Lithuanian; it is always only *polnai*, a standard⁷ derivation of suffix *-ai* from adj. *polnas*, *-a* (*turi kelias pozicijos-nuo polnai gulinos iki sedimos*. // *Krc uzregistravau vakar, sutvarkiau viska polnai* // *Idealios bukles, polnai veikiantis, visi laidai*). It should be emphasized that in slang it is rather common that due to the specificity of use (stability) of stable word combinations, a frequently used saying can be also derived from a phonetically adapted, specific form e.g., *pragramė*, *polnoi*. In slang only the adverb *polnai* ‘fully’ is used independently; also in slang a long established standard language borrowing *programa* keeps the form of a Russian morphologically unadapted prepositional pronoun in locative case *pragramė* (Russ. *програ́мме*), which is not used independently in slang and such a case form does not exist in slang. The above-mentioned sayings also have morphologically adapted, translated forms: ♦ *pagal pilnq programą*, ♦ *visa (pilna) katūške*, ♦ *ant visos (pilnos) katūškės* ‘to the maximum’.

Another illustrative example with a slang word is *prikolas* (Russ. slang *прико́л*), which has a morphologically-adapted ending and is inflectional — it is a standard integration into the inflectional or derivational system. If the form of this slang word belongs to a stable word combination, such word

⁷ Hybrid derivatives of suffix *-ai* from adverbial adjectives of Russian origin are the most common derivatives in Lithuanian slang.

combinations are affected in a limited way by regular rules: a form that looks like a case form, functionally can be not a case or a lexical idiomaticity may occur (Čermák 2007: 77–82; Baldwin, Kim 2010: 269). For instance, in the word combination ♦ *pa (po) prikoľum* (Russ. slang *по прикóлу*) ‘for fun’ the form **prikoľum* is not used independently, it is always a part of an adverbial saying: *ziuriu, kai kuriems nedasuto, kad cia viskas po prikoľum eina? // pamirsau paminet, kad mano gimtadienis balandzio 1, tai visi kazkodel man dovanas pa prikoľum dovanoja*. In a nonstandard language there are more forms of saying adapted in several variants (morphologically as well): ♦ *pa (po) prikoľam (prikoľom)*, ♦ *dël prikoľo* (translated from Russ. slang *для прикóла*), ♦ *ant prikoľo* ‘for fun; nothing serious’.

The majority of adverbialized prepositional constructions or adverbial phraseological word combinations are borrowed from Russian or are loan translations: ♦ *da (do) lampročki*⁸ (Russ. coll. *до лампочки*) ‘whatever’, ♦ *iki lemputës* (translated from Russ. coll. *до лампочки*) ‘whatever’, ♦ *pa (po) barabãnu* (Russ. vern. *по барабãну*) ‘does not matter, whatever’, ♦ *ir visio takoje* (Russ. coll. *и всё такóе*) ‘and so forth’, ♦ *v žõru* (Russ. vulg. *в жóпý*) ‘screw it; to the maximum’, ♦ *po prostu* (Pl. *po prostu*) ‘just, simply’, ♦ *dël ponõto* (translated from Russ. cf. *для пóнта*) ‘not seriously; for fun’, ♦ *ne prikoľas* ‘seriously, really badly’, ♦ *na urã* (Russ. *на ура́*) ‘anyhow’, ♦ *pa (po) liubõtu* (Russ. coll. *по-любóму*) ‘either way, anyway’...

Some established word combinations with a changed meaning have come into general slang from criminal slang: ♦ *ne zapadľo* (Russ. pris. crim. slang *не западлó*) ‘no shame’, ♦ *ant zapadľo* ‘to try intentionally harm, on purpose’, ♦ *v padľu* (Russ. slang *в пãдľу*) ‘shame’, ♦ *per blatã, po (pa) blatu* (Russ. coll. *по блãту*) ‘unofficially, illegally’.

In Lithuanian slang there are also euphonic combinational adverbs, derived from ideophones and almost all of them came as borrowings from Russian or through the mediation of Russian. Euphony (i.e. rhyme, rhythm, alliteration) additionally binds word combinations into a semantic unit, and sonority helps the combinations to maintain their consistency, to make them phraseological word combinations: ♦ *tiãr liãr* (Russ. coll. *тян-лян*) ‘uncarefully’, ♦ *šãltãi baltãi* (Russ. vern. *шалтãй-болтãй*) ‘not seriously’, ♦ *šãchar mãchar* (*šãcher mãcher, šãkar mãkar*) (Pl. coll. *szacher-macher*) ‘fraudulently, illegally’, ♦ *fiti mĩti* (cf. Russ. crim. slang *мĩту-мĩту* ‘money’) ‘fraudulently’,

⁸ Transliterated borrowed adverbial word-combinations are usually stressed in the same way as they are stressed in the language they originate from: *po prostu* (Pl. *po prostu*), *v padľu* (Russ. žãrg. *в пãдľу*), *v natĩre* (Russ. vern. *в натĩре*), *za adnõ* (Russ. *за однó*), etc.

♦ *raz dva* ‘one, two and finished’ (cf. Russ. *раз, два и готово*), ♦ *сар сарар* (Russ. coll. *уán-уарán* ‘to catch’) ‘surreptitiously’, ♦ *тарам барам* (cf. Russ. *тáры-бáры* ‘chatter’) ‘and so on’, ♦ *tiutel’ka v tiutel’ku* (Russ. coll. *тиóтелька в тиóтельку*) ‘very precisely’.

The particle *bele* (*bile*) borrowed from Polish (cf. Pl. *byle*), together with the Lithuanian adverbs for *when, where, how, how much*, forms a number of hybrid adverbs according to the Polish combinational model (cf. Pl. *byle gdzie* — Lith. *bele kur*): ♦ *bele* (*bile, belen, bilen*) *kaip* (cf. Pl. *byle jak* ‘anyhow’) ‘haphazardly; wretchedly;’, ♦ *bele* (*bile, belen, bilen*) *kada* ‘whenever’, ♦ *bele* (*bile, belen, bilen*) *kur* ‘anywhere’, ♦ *bele* (*bile, belen, bilen*) *kiek* ‘any amount’, ♦ *bele* (*bile*) *tik* (cf. Pl. *byle tylko*) ‘just; only, only this way’.

In slang, a popular vulgarism *chui* forms a number of adverbial word combinations: ♦ *dachuja ir bijški* (*su bijškiu*) (cf. Russ. vulg. *до хуя и больше*) ‘very much’, ♦ *pol chuja* (Russ. vulg. *пол хуя*), *s pol chuja* (Russ. vulg. *с пол хуя*) ‘not bad, quite good’, ♦ *chui s nim* (Russ. vulg. *хуй с ним*) ‘let it ride’, ♦ *chui znajiet* (*znajet, znajit*) (Russ. vulg. *хуй знает*) ‘nobody knows’, ♦ *ne* (*ni, nie*) *za chui* (Russ. vulg. *не (ни) за хуй*) ‘no way, not in any circumstances’, ♦ *za nechui* (Russ. vulg. *за нехуй*) ‘not in any circumstances, no way’, ♦ *nechui delat’* (Russ. vulg. *нехуй делать*) ‘easy, pretty easy’. Analogous word combinations are formed with other adverbs as well: ♦ *nefig* (*nechren*) *delat’* ‘very easily, simply’, ♦ *za nechren* ‘not in any circumstances, no way’.

The negative particle of Russian *не*, if not stressed, turns into *ни*, e.g.: *где* > *нигде*, *какой* > *никакой*, *кто* > *никто*. The negative particle *ни* (Russ. *ни* ‘neither, not’, Pl. *ni* ‘neither, not’, *nie* ‘not’, Belarus. *ni* ‘neither, not’) is used individually in stable word-combinations: ♦ *ni ni* (Russ. coll. *ни-ни*) ‘no way’, *ни* ‘neither, not’, Belarus. *ни-ни*) ‘no way; by no means; completely nothing; nothing at all’, ♦ *ni to* (cf. Russ. coll. *ни то ни другое*) ‘neither this nor that’) ‘not this, not in this way’, ♦ *ni to, ni to* (cf. Russ. coll. *ни то ни другое*) ‘neither this nor that’; Pl. *ni to, ni owo* ‘neither this nor that’, *ni tak, ni siak* ‘neither one thing nor the other’) ‘neither this nor that; neither one thing nor the other’, ♦ *kazkas ni to* (cf. Russ. *что-то ни то*) ‘something wrong, something is not right’.

6. Conclusions

1. The study reveals that adverbs of Slavic origin, as foreign linguistic units appearing in the context of another language, undergo assimilation — they are transformed in one way or another by adaptation to the linguistic system.

2. In Lithuanian slang, many adverbs (104; 48.2%) with the suffix *-(i)ai* are formed from suffixal adjectives of Slavic origin (mostly Russian). The most productive suffixes of them are *-nas* (37; 35.6%) and *-ovas* (33; 31.7%). Others are not so common: *-(i)avas* (12; 11.5%), *-skas* (7; 6.7%), *-telnas* (5; 4.8%), *-nutas* (5; 4.8%), *-ovatas (-avotas)* (3; 2.9%), *-yoas* (2; 1.9%). The analysis has indicated a clear systematic feature: of all hybrid derivatives of the suffix *-ai*, the largest number (67.3 %) are for hybrid adverbs the root words of which are precisely those with the most productive suffixes *-nas* and *-ovas*. The remaining adjectivalized suffixes are rarer in the Lithuanian slang, and it is no coincidence that they are not productive in Slavic languages either.
3. In the section “Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives without suffixes), derivatives from Russian adjectives without suffixes dominate as well (17; 7.9%).
4. The number of borrowed adverbs without formants is high (22; 10.2%). These are mostly phonetically and orthographically adapted Slavic words.
5. The article discusses 72 (33.3 %) adverbialized word combinations of Lithuanian slang. Most of the adverbialized prepositional constructions or adverbialized phraseological compounds are phonetically and orthographically adapted borrowings or loan translations from Russian. The slang terms also include highly variable adverbial word combinations, e.g., with Polish particle *bele* (Pl. *byle*).
6. Due to the influence of territorial dialects and other languages, slang adverbs are characterised by systematic variation of the root vowel /e/, /ie/ with diphthongised or other qualitatively altered vowels. There is some variation in the pronunciation of the vowels /a/ and /o/ in adverbs, since in unstressed syllables of Russian words a reduced /a/ is pronounced instead of /o/.

General conclusion. The adaptive features of the studied slang Slavic adverbs are determined by systematic patterns: (a) slang lexis is adapted phonetically and orthographically according to the principle of substitution of foreign phonemes as close as possible to their own, (b) Slavic slang lexis tends to copy derivational models and integrate into the derivational and inflectional paradigms of Lithuanian: morphological features are taken from Slavic languages and specifically transformed in the system of Lithuanian, (c) a part of slang words remains morphologically unadapted only due to the adverb-specific feature — limited inflectionability, (d) variability of borrowed slang words appears due to spontaneous adaptation to the features of the recipient language.

Abbreviations

- pers. — person
Eng. — English
Belarus. — Belarusian language
adj. — adjective
Pl. — Polish
Pris. — prison
cf. — compare
vern. — vernacular, nonstandard, vulgar colloquial language
adv. — adverb
e.g. — for example
rar. — rarely
Russ. — Russian
coll. — colloquial language
Ukr. — Ukrainian language
sg. — singular
vulg. — vulgar

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Appendix

1. Hybrid derivatives with suffix *-ai* in Lithuanian slang from suffixal Slavic adjectives

1.1. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with the suffix *-nas*

davolnai 'with satisfaction' (: *davolnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *довольно*),
gliučnai 'hardly functioning' (: *gliučnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. slang *глючно*),
grūznai, *gruznai* 'sluggishly' (: *grūznas*, *gruznas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *гру́зно*),
interesnai 'interestingly' (: *interesnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *интересно*),
kyslotnai 'valiantly' (: *kyslotnas*, *kislotnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. slang *кислотно*),
močnai 'firmly' (: *močnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *мо́цно*),
nachaliqvai 'for free' (: *nachaliqvas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. vern. *нахалявно*),
našarnai 'for free' (: *našarnas*, -a),
navarotnai 'extravagantly' (: *navarotnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. slang *наворотно*),
nejasnai 'not clearly' (: *nejasnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *неясно*),
nevejbenai 'beyond description' (: *nevejbenas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *невъебённо*),
nevtennai 'off the point' (: *nevtennas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *невтёмно*),
pachabnai 'poorly' (: *pachabnas*, -a; cf. Rus. adv. vern. *поха́бно*),
padrolnai 'underground, illegally' (: *padrolnas*, -a),
paliotnai 'full of drive' (: *paliotnas*, -a),
patoinai 'contemptibly' (: *patoinas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *помо́йно*),
parašnai 'poorly' (: *parašnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. slang *пара́шно*),
plotnai 'tightly' (: *plotnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *плóтно*),
podrolnai rarely 'underground, illegally' (: *podrolnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *подпо́льно*),
pravainai 'unsuccessfully' (: *pravainas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *провáльно*),
prikolnai 'impressively' (: *prikolnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. slang *прико́льно*),
striomnai 'uncarefully' (: *striomnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. slang *стрёмно*),
tarornai 'roughly' (: *tarornas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *топо́рно*),
tarmoznai 'slowly' (: *tarmoznas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. *тормо́зно*),
viečnai, *večnai* 'forever' (: *viečnas*, *večnas*, -a; cf. Pl. adv. *wiecznie*, Russ. adv. *вечно*),
zavodnai 'receptively' (: *zavodnas*, -a; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *заво́дно*).

1.2. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from adjectives with the suffix *-ovas*

fuflovai ‘fraudulently’ (: *fuflovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *фүфлѳво*),
grūzovai ‘sluggishly’ (: *grūzovas*, *-a*),
kaifovai ‘enjoyably’ (: *kaifovias*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *кайфѳво*),
lažovai ‘poorly’ (: *lažovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. slang *лажѳво*),
liuksovai ‘perfectly’ (: *liuksovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *лѳксово*),
liuksusovai ‘perfectly’ (: *liuksusovas*, *-a*; cf. Pl. adv. *luksusѳво*),
nechujovai ‘not bad’ (: *nechujovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. vulg. *нехүѳво*),
neputiovai ‘looking bad’ (: *neputiovias*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *непутѳво*),
nuliovai ‘completely anew’ (: *nuliovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *нулѳво*),
putiovai ‘greatly’ (: *putiovias*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *путѳво*),
stopudovai ‘guaranteed’ (: *stopudovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *стопудѳво*),
šyzovai, *šizovai* ‘crazily’ (: *šyzovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. coll. *шүзѳво*),
talkovai ‘understandably’ (: *talkovas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. *толкѳво*).

2. Derivatives with suffix *-ai* from Slavic adjectives without suffixes

polnai ‘completely’ (: *polnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *пѳлно*),
pošlai ‘in a vulgar manner’ (: *pošlas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *пѳшло*),
šūstrai ‘extraordinarily; fashionably; impressively’ (: *šūstras*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *шүстро*),
tōčnai ‘accurately’ (: *tōčnas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *тѳчно*),
tūpai ‘stupidly’ (: *tūpas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *түно*),
žestokai ‘cruelly’ (: *žestokas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. *жестѳко*),
žostkai ‘strongly’ (: *žostkas*, *-a*; cf. Russ. adv. coll. *жѳтко*).

3. Slang adverbs without formants

chier, *cher* (Russ. vulg. *хер*) ‘any; nothing’,
čiki (cf. Russ. slang *чѳки*) ‘well; perfectly’,
lafā (Russ. vern. *лафā*) ‘well, greatly’,
mīmo (Pl *mīmo*, Russ. *мѳмо*) ‘by’,
šabaš (cf. Russ. vern. *шабāш*) ‘bad, poorly’,
tichariā (Russ. vern. *втихаря, втихаря*) ‘secretly’,
zapраста (Russ. coll. *зāпросто*) ‘easily, simply’.

4. Adverbialized word combinations of Slavic origin

- ◆ *ant bajerio* (Pl. coll. *na bajer*) ‘for laughs’,
- ◆ *ant pīlno (vīso) gazo* (cf. Russ. vern. *на полном газу*) ‘at maximum’,
- ◆ *be tolko* (Russ. *без толку*) ‘pointlessly; disorderly’,
- ◆ *čiki briki* (Russ. coll. *чѳки-брѳки*),
- ◆ *čiki čiki* (cf. Russ. coll. *чѳки-чѳки*) ‘greatly; precisely’,
- ◆ *čiki piki, čikis pikis* (Russ. cf. *чѳки-нѳки*),
- ◆ *čiki puki* (Russ. cf. *чѳки-нѳки*),
- ◆ *dalše nekuda (niekuda)* (Russ. coll. *дальше нѳкуда*) ‘there is nowhere else’,
- ◆ *dalše nekuda* (Russ. vern. *дальше нѳкуда*) ‘nothing else’,
- ◆ *na vsie (vse) sto* (Russ. vern. *на все сто*) ‘surely, one hundred per cent’,
- ◆ *pa natūre* (Russ. *по натурѳе*) ‘indeed, inherently’,
- ◆ *pats gazas* ‘exactly; greatly, the best’,
- ◆ *prosto tak* (Russ. coll. *прѳсто так*) ‘*simply, not so good*’,
- ◆ *savo chodu* (translated from Russ. *своѳм хѳдом*) ‘independently, on smb’s own’,
- ◆ *tolka (tolko) tak* (Russ. *тѳлько так*) ‘as it has to be’,
- ◆ *tolko (tolka) pesnia (piesnia)* ‘fluently’,
- ◆ *v natūre* (Russ. vern. *в натурѳе*) ‘for real’,
- ◆ *za adno (odno)* (Russ. *за однѳ*) ‘at the same time’.

KOPSAVILKUMS

Slāvu cilmes lietuviešu slenga apstākļa vārdi

Robertas KUDIRKA

Rakstā morfoloģiski analizēti slāvu cilmes (pārsvārā krievu, dažkārt poļu un baltkrievu) lietuviešu slenga apstākļa vārdi (215), kas atlasīti no lietuviešu slenga vārdnīcas *Lietuvių kalbos žargono ir nenorminēs leksikos žodynas* (2012). Analīzei ir izvēlēti četri apstākļa vārdu veidi: hibridatvasinājumi ar piedēkli *-ai* no īpašības vārdiem ar piedēkli un bez tā, apstākļa vārdi bez formantiem un adverbēti vārdu savienojumi. Analīzes mērķis ir identificēt sistematiskus morfoloģiskos modeļus un adaptācijas pazīmes. Analīze parādīja, ka lietuviešu slengā slāvu apstākļa vārdi tiek fonētiski un ortogrāfiski pielāgoti pēc iespējas tuvāk pašcilmes vārdiem pēc citvalodu fonēmu aizstāšanas principa. Slāvu cilmes slenga leksikā ir tendence kopēt atvasinājumu modeļus un integrēt tos lietuviešu valodas locīšanas paradigmās: morfoloģiskās pazīmes ir pārņemtas no slāvu valodām un īpaši pārveidotas lietuviešu valodas sistēmā; aizgūtā slenga mainīgums parādās, spontāni pielāgojoties mērķvalodas iezīmēm.