

# ADAPTIVE HYBRID VERBS IN LITHUANIAN SLANG AND THE PROBLEM OF MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION

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*Abstract.* The article focuses on adaptive hybrid verbs in Lithuanian slang which take the suffix *-inti*. Extracted from the Dictionary of Lithuanian Slang and Non-Standard Language, these verbs (96 originating in the Russian language and 46 borrowed from English) are distinguished from hybrid derivatives. The study shows that affixal adaptation is used in order to incorporate borrowed verbs into the Lithuanian linguistic system. Loan verbs adapted purely phonetically are rare in Lithuanian slang and tend to be used adverbially. Although semantically, borrowing can result in new meanings, many of these verbs are seen only as trendy non-standard variants. Some of the suffix *-inti* verbs are morphologically decomposable: they are derived from base words already adapted in the Lithuanian language. A small number of morphologically unanalysable verbs are also investigated. These loanwords are adapted using the derivative suffix *-inti* and following the principles of derivative analogy. Morphological adaptation of hybrids is achieved by replacing the derivative suffix of the donor language with the suffix of the recipient language.

*Keywords:* verbal borrowings; morphological adaptation; verb formation; slang.

## 1. Introduction

Social dialects are always linked to specific regions and the status of the standard language within a certain territory. Not immune to globalization, the Lithuanian

language is experiencing a huge influx of Anglicisms together with the terminology of electronic and information technologies. The dominance of English-language popular culture, modern communication technologies and the global status of English facilitate its interaction with other languages, meaning that words in their original form can transfer from one language to another quickly and directly. Furthermore, due to historically close contact with Russian, a number of Slavicisms have entered the unofficial Lithuanian language, particularly during the Soviet period of imposed bilingualism in Lithuania. Some of these borrowings have taken hold, others are mostly used only in slang or vernacular speech.

Borrowing is a continuous process, particularly in slang, as it allows the speaker to refresh their vocabulary and replace certain words with more stylistically emphatic ones. It is a complex phenomenon, especially when spontaneous slang is used alongside the standard language. Having originated in the context of another language, a foreign linguistic unit undergoes assimilation, i.e., it is transformed in one way or another by being adapted to the receiving linguistic system. Lexeme integration is dependent on the relationship between the two (or more, in case of intermediary languages) linguistic systems. Grammatical (orthographic, phonetic and morphological) adaptation of a borrowing can happen in several stages and display different characteristics; this variability is particularly obvious in non-standard language. According to the degree of adaptation,<sup>1</sup> borrowings can be: a) completely unadapted (zero adaptation); b) adapted only graphically and phonetically (partial adaptation); c) graphically, phonetically and morphologically adapted (complete adaptation). Such full adaptation of lexical borrowings is common in many languages (Sharp, 2001, p. 30; Irwin, 2011, pp. 44–53; Sunde, 2018, pp. 85–88).

Morphological adaptation is in itself the act of integrating a borrowed verb into the recipient linguistic system either through derivation or adaptation. Derivation is the addition of a derivative suffix, e.g.: *šitlistinti*, *shitlistinti* (← *šitlistas*, cf. Eng. vulg. *to shitlist*) ‘to include in a list of undesirables, transgressors’; *čefyrinti*<sup>2</sup> (← *čefyras*, cf. Russ. vern. *чифирь, чепур*) ‘to drink a very strong black tea’. In the above examples both derivative hybrids already have adapted base words in the recipient language (*šitlistas* and *čefyras*). Adaptation, on the other hand, occurs when the derivative suffix of the donor language is replaced with that of the recipient language, e.g. the Russian verb suffix *-umb* (Russ. colloq. *дыбачumb*) is replaced with the Lithuanian *-inti*, as in *dubasinti* ‘to beat, batter’ (cf. Pakerys 2016: 264; Wohlgemuth 2009: 56). The same rationale is applied to verbs borrowed from English: where no adapted base words exist in the recipient language, loans are adapted with the *-inti* suffix: *mauntinti*,

<sup>1</sup> Here, integration is perceived more broadly – as complete incorporation of a linguistic unit into the system. Integration itself can be split into different structural parts, such as phonetic adaptation, morphological adaptation, etc. (see Grzega 2003: 154–156; Wohlgemuth 2009: 16, 56).

<sup>2</sup> The basis (vowel, (mixed) diphthong) of the stressed syllable in Lithuanian slang words is underlined.

*mountinti* (← Eng. *to mount*) ‘to attach (a file, device)’ and *raidinti*, *ridinti* (*ride’inti*) (← Eng. *to ride*) ‘to cycle, to scooter’. Without derivational opposition (there are no base words *mauntas\** and *raidas\** in Lithuanian slang<sup>3</sup>), such words cannot be formally treated as derivatives – the closing segment *-inti* (which coincides with the suffix) is purely adaptational. Affixal adaptation (reconstruction in line with semantically close, analogous affixed formations) or derivation by using the recipient’s suffix only confirm that the integration of the loanword has already taken place (Urbutis 1999: 15).

Borrowed verbs adapted with suffixes that meet no derivational opposition can be described as analogous formations. This is a universal linguistic phenomenon (Mattiello 2017: 24–40). However, analogous affixal derivatives can emerge not only by adapting with a native suffix – a reverse process can take place in slang, when a commonly borrowed suffix is added to a Lithuanian stem. If a sizeable morphological ‘group’ of certain words already exists, such formal affixation can be employed to morphologically derive lexemes based on the analogy of other affixed words within that ‘group’. The process can be illustrated by the Lithuanian-stem slang word *dribašinti* ‘to fall over, to plonk down’ (cf. SL verb *dribti* and interjections *dribt*) which is formed with the ‘suffix’ *-šinti* based on abundant analogous cases: *atjebašinti* (hyb. from Russ. sl. *отвебошуть*) ‘to smash’, *narkašinti* (hybr. from Russ. sl. *наркешуть*) ‘to take drugs’, *jabašinti* (hybr. from Russ. vulg. *ебащуть*) ‘to whip’, *dalbašinti* (hybr. from Russ. colloq. *долбащуть*) ‘to batter’, *glušinti* (hybr. from Russ. vern. *глушуть*) ‘to drink continuously’, etc. The analogy of onomatopoeic words should not be overlooked: *kevelšinti*, *klemšinti*, *lepšinti*, *plušinti*, *plunšinti*, *šlumšinti* (LKŽe). Analogy is also the basis for the slang noun *dribakas* (a hybrid with Slavic suffix *-akas*, from Russ. *-ak*) ‘the act of plonking down’, as a whole group of similar loanwords already exists: *slabakas*, *-ė* (Russ. vern. *слабák*), *levakas* (Russ. sl. *левák*), *tūpakas*, *-ė* (Russ. vern. *мынák*), etc.

Morphologically unadapted borrowed verbs are rare in Lithuanian slang. Purely phonetically adapted English-origin verbs are also scarce, with these third person singular present tense forms mostly used adverbially: *sucks*, *sux* (Eng. colloq. vulg. *sucks*) ‘poorly, badly’ and *rules*, *rulez* (Eng. colloq. *rules*, *rulez*) ‘really well’. Slightly more frequent are inflectional verbs and infinitives adapted from Russian purely phonetically. Most of these cases are infinitives used adverbially: *abaldet* (Russ. sl. *обалдеть*) ‘great; brilliantly’; *gadyca* (Russ. colloq. *годиться*) ‘well’; *pajabat* (Russ. vulg. *поебать*) ‘to hell with it’. Verbs in past indicative forms can also be used adverbially: *prajabal* (Rus. vulg. *проебал*, infinitive: *prajabat*, Russ. vulg. *проебать*) ‘I misplaced, lost’. Phonetically adapted present and past tenses (first, second or third person singular) can also be found: *nejabiot* (Rus. vulg. *не ебём*) ‘don’t care’; *afigel* (Russ. vulg. *офигел* (infinitive: *afigiet*, Rus. vulg. *офигеть*)), etc. Widely used

<sup>3</sup> Asterisk (\*) marks a non-existent, artificial form.

in Lithuanian slang are adverbialized second person singular imperatives borrowed from Russian, such as *zajabys*, *zajebys* (Russ. vulg. *заебѹсь*) meaning ‘really well, brilliantly, wonderfully’; these are used in slang, where they perform the function of adverbs and are not conjugated.<sup>4</sup> But morphologically adapted suffixed hybrids with the same stem (*jabalinti*, *pajabalinti*, *zajabalinti*, *afigelinti*) are used as standard verbs, i.e. they are inflected in their various forms of tense, mood, person, etc.

Due to their specific morphological nature, verb borrowings have not been researched extensively. Previous studies mostly focused on the old Slavic-origin verbs (Kregždys 2014; Smetonienė 2005 & 2019) and the semantics of the prefix *da-* (Kozhanov 2014). Historically, Slavicisms in the Lithuanian language have mostly been researched in the context of the old Lithuanian texts (Palionis 1967; Lebedys 1977; Zinkevičius 1988) or discussed in studies dedicated to specific authors of those early writings (Siaurukienė 1987; Voitkevič 2010). One exception comes from a detailed analysis of the morphological adaptation of new international and non-standard-use verbs (Pakerys, 2014). Slavic tendencies have also been the focus of more specialized studies investigating aspects such as morphological integration (Valeckienė 1967: 108–128; Rudzinskas 2011: 41–51) or semantic adaptation (Adomavičiūtė 1979 & 1982). The latest research on Slavicisms is considerably more detailed and methodologically consistent (Smetonienė 2015 & 2016).

The current study analyses morphologically unanalysable adaptive hybrids with the Lithuanian suffix *-inti* whose base words come from English and Russian verbs. The study aims to: 1) discuss adaptive hybrid (morphologically unanalysable) verbs with the suffix *-inti* and analyse the features differentiating them from derivative hybrids which already have adapted base words in the recipient language; 2) determine systemic morphological characteristics of adaptive hybrid integration into Lithuanian slang, investigate their morphological decomposition and establish how loanwords are morphologically incorporated into the receiving linguistic structure.

All slang words used in this research were extracted from the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Slang and Non-Standard Language* (Kudirka 2012). Definitions of borrowed units and their base words were taken from various glossaries and dictionaries (OEDe; CED; ODMS; DLKŽe; TTŽ; LKŽe; Mokienko 2000; Kveselevič 2005).

## 2. Verbs with the suffix *-inti* in Standard Lithuanian and in Lithuanian slang

The stem of a suffixed, morphologically analysable derivative is always made up of two components: the base stem and the derivational affix. To be considered a suffixed

<sup>4</sup> But, like adverbs, these can be used in the comparative or superlative degree: *zajabys*, *zajabiau*, *zajabiausią* (cf. SL forms: *puikiai*, *puikiau*, *puikiausiai*)).

derivative, a verb has to possess a base word. However, some verbs in Standard Lithuanian contain a derivative suffix which has been morphologically adapted, so decomposition in these cases is only conditional, with the base words themselves referred to as ‘partially alive’. For example, the Lithuanian word *piktžodžiauti* ‘to gossip maliciously about a person or thing’, derived from *piktžodis* ‘swear word’ (DLKG 2005: 385), is described as ‘not having a clear derivational base’ or it could have been formed following the analogy of other suffixed derivatives. Some international words used in Standard Lithuanian also lack derivational bases, e.g. *akredituoti* (cf. Fr. *accréditer*, also cf. Eng. *accreditation*, Lat. *accreditatio*), *bombarduoti* (cf. Eng. *to bombard*), and similar (cf. Drotvinas 2001: 4). The use of morphologically unanalysable verbs is also known as indirect insertion in the typology of borrowings: the word is integrated into the system not directly, but by employing an adaptive verbalizing affix (see Wohlgemuth 2009: 95).

The data from the *Dictionary of International Words* shows that the most productive suffix used for adapting borrowed verbs in Standard Lithuanian is *-(iz)uoti*. These verbs account for 94% (785) of all entries. However, few international words tend to take the suffix *-inti*, with only 35 hybrid derivatives identified (Pakerys 1991: 90–91; DLKG 2005: 388). An even smaller proportion of international verbs carry suffixes *-auti*, *-ėti*, and *-yti*. The *-uoti* suffix tends to be employed more frequently due to its productivity in denominal verb formation (Jakaitienė 1973: 40; LKG II 1971: 247).

With regard to verb formation in Lithuanian slang, *-inti* is the most productive suffix used, as confirmed by the entries in the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Slang and Non-Standard Language*. Non-prefixed English-origin slang words with the *-inti* suffix account for a total of 198 words in the Dictionary. The suffix is also very common in non-prefixed Russian-origin verbs (231).<sup>5</sup> The number of loanwords formed with other suffixes is considerably lower, with *-uoti* being the second most productive: 54 lexemes recorded (28 non-prefixed Russianisms and 26 non-prefixed Anglicisms). The article will focus only on adaptive hybrids with the suffix *-inti* used in Lithuanian slang. All of the analysed verbs have either Russian origins (96 words) or were borrowed from English (46). Also discussed in this study are a small number of old loan variants affiliated with adaptive hybrids. Re-borrowed from the English language, these verbs are adapted in line with the dominant word formation model and used in non-standard Lithuanian.

## 2.1. Russian-origin slang hybrids adapted with the suffix *-inti*

Lithuanian slang verbs are often formed by adding the derivative suffix *-inti* to loanwords (nouns or adjectives) which have already been adapted, e.g.: *kaziolinti*

<sup>5</sup> The *-inti* suffix itself is not new in loan adaptation. The Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (LKŽe) includes a number of old Slavicisms adapted this way, e.g. *gruzinti* ‘to load’, *grąjinti* ‘to play (an instrument)’, *koliečinti* ‘to cripple’.

(← *kaziolas* ‘sneak’, cf. Russ. sl. *козлить* ‘to snitch’) ‘to snitch’. However, a large number of adaptive hybrids with the suffix *-inti* are morphologically unanalysable. The method of affixal adaptation is used for creating these derivatives, i.e., loanwords are formally reconstructed in line with similar affixed formations. In some cases, the Lithuanian suffix appears to be used as a substitute for the loan affix in order to morphologically adapt it (cf. Urbutis 1999: 15). Although borrowings adapted this way cannot be formally treated as derivatives and their closing segment<sup>6</sup> *-inti* (which coincides with the suffix) is purely adaptational, they are treated by slang users as fully-fledged derivatives of *-inti*: they can be conjugated (tense, mood, person) and used to make participles. In other words, such formations are fully integrated within the derivational and inflectional paradigm. An example of this is the vulgarism *jobinti* (← Russ. vulg. *ебать*): adapted by using *-inti*; it becomes analogous to a suffixed derivative, where the function of the suffix is transformed from adaptive to derivative. This, in turn, makes conjugation possible (third person present tense *jobina*, first and third person past frequentative *jobindavo*, third person future tense *jobins*) as well as facilitating participle formation (singular (past simple) nominative forms *jobinęs*, *jobinusi* and *jobindamas*), etc. The altered function of the suffix (from adaptive to derivational) was observed in all analysed verbs. When standard suffixed derivatives are used to make prefixed formations (*išjobinti*, *nujobinti*, *įsijobinti*, *sujobinti*), derivational opposition occurs.

The highest number (48) of adaptive hybrids with the *-inti* suffix were formed from verbs containing the most productive Russian suffix *-umь* (RG 1980: 332–335). This group includes the following examples: *bombinti* (← Russ. sl. *бомбить*) crim. ‘to steal’; *chimyčinti*, *chimičinti* 1. (← Rus. vern. *химу́чить*) ‘to construct, put (jumble) together’; 2. (← Russ. vern. *химу́чить* ‘to swindle’) ‘to falsify; to scheme’; *chujáčinti* (← Russ. vulg. *хуя́чить*) 1. ‘to do something energetically, smash; to get on; to perform an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be)’; 2. ‘to drive or walk fast’; *chujarinti* (← Rus. vulg. *хуя́рнуть*) 1. ‘to do something in a hurried way; to go; to perform an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be)’; 2. ‘to drive or walk fast’; *chujovértinti* (← Rus. vulg. *хуе́вертнуть*) ‘to go; to perform an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be)’; *dalbašinti* (← Rus. colloq. *долба́шить*) 1. ‘to beat, to smash’, 2. music ‘to play fun tunes; to move to the beat’; 3. narc. ‘to take intravenous drugs’; *davinti* (← Rus. *да́вать*) ‘to bully, terrorize’.<sup>7</sup>

Fewer adaptive suffix *-inti* hybrids (7) are formed from Russian verbs with the suffix *-amь*: *čiešinti* (← Rus. sl. *чеса́ть*) ‘to lie’; *čiūchintis* (: Russ. vern. *чуха́ться*)

<sup>6</sup> The closing segment is a phoneme series which coincides with the suffix and cannot be synchronically distinguished without the base word.

<sup>7</sup> The remaining examples are provided in Appendix I.

1. 'to recover, get over'; 2. 'to be hungover'; *čmokinti* (← Russ. colloq. *чмокать*) 'to suck'; *drygintis* (← Russ. colloq. *дрызгаться*) 'to be stuck with sb or sth'; *jōbinti* (← Russ. vulg. *ебать*) 1. 'to go ahead, get something done, complete an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be), usu. 'to put in; drink, inject, etc.'; 2. 'to hit'; *kocinti* 1. (← Russ. sl. *коуать* 'to cut') pick. 'to slash a handbag or pocket with a razor blade'; 2. (cf. Russ. crim. sl. *коуать* 'to steal') pick. 'to open a handbag'; 3. (← Russ. narc. sl. *коуать* 'to make a cut in the poppy head with a knife') narc. 'to collect the milky fluid from a cut in unripe poppy head into a cloth bandage'; *lamočinti* (cf. Russ. *ломать*) 'to break'. In the word *lamočinti*, the origin of the segment -oč- is unclear, as the words \**ломочить* and \**ламочить* do not exist in the Russian language (there is only one word for *ломать* 'to break'). Such words can be formed through the process of analogy, because there are many similarly structured words of Slavic origin: *tručinti*, -ina, -ino (*aptručinti*, *ištučinti*), *purtačinti*, -ina, -ino (*supurtačinti*); *koliečinti*, -ina, -ino (*apkoliečinti*) (for more information, refer to LKŽe). The words *lamašinti*, meaning 'to break,' and *sulamašinti*, meaning 'to break,' share a similar origin (LKŽe).

Very few slang words (6) are formed from Russian verbs with suffixes -(н)уть, -еть, -оть. -уть in particular is not a productive suffix in the Russian language (RG 1980: 346). Also rare are hybrids derived from primary words or similar: *chapninti* (← Russ. vern. *ханнуть*) 1. crim. 'to arrest'; 2. 'to grab, take'; *kliuninti* (← Rus. *кlyнуть*) 'to give in to provocation, to be caught'; *jōbintis* (← Rus. vulg. *ёбнуться*) 'to fall over, to plonk down'; *jōbninti* (← Russ. vulg. *ёбнуть*) 1. 'to drink; to inject oneself'; 2. 'to hit, punch'; *kolintis* (← Russ. narc. sl. *колоться*) narc. 'to take intravenous drugs'; *fasinti* (← Russ. *фасс* 'catch!') 'to incite an attack, to sick sb on sb'; *pasinti* (← Russ. crim. sl. *насту*) 'to keep an eye on sb, to follow'; *baliējinti*, *balejinti* (← Russ. colloq. *болеть*) 'to be nervous for, support a team'.

A number of analysed slang verbs (33) contain the suffixal variant -linti. These adaptive hybrids follow an unconventional formation route – rather than replacing the suffix of the donor language with that of the recipient language, the vowel in the Russian suffix -еть is retained, with only the infinitive formant -ть dropped: *afigelinti* (← Russ. vulg. *офигеть*) 'to be surprised; to become impudent'; *baldelinti* (← Russ. sl. *балдеть*) 'to have fun, to have a jolly'; *balelinti* (← Russ. colloq. *болеть*) 'to support a team'; *pizdelinti* (← Russ. vulg. *нуздеть*) 'to bullshit'. This is also the case with Russian suffixes -ать and -умь: *matalinti* (← Russ. vern. *мотать*) 'to go, drive, walk', *mirgalinti* (← Russ. *моргать*) 'to flash lights'; *grubylininti* (← Russ. *зрубумь*) 'to speak roughly'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The remaining examples are provided in Appendix II.

## 2.2. English-origin slang hybrids adapted with the suffix *-inti*

The increased global status of English has prompted re-loaning some of the older borrowings (usu. Latinisms adopted through linguistic intermediaries) into non-standard Lithuanian. In addition, unofficial language can be driven by a certain linguistic snobbery, the need to show off. For example, although the loanword *formatas* (cf. Fr. *format*) and the verb *formatuoti* have both been in use for a long time, it is re-borrowed from English (cf. Eng. comp. *to format*), resulting in a non-standard variant *formatinti*. Examples of other variations that have entered non-standard Lithuanian this way are *kopinti*, *copinti* (*copy'inti*) (← *kopija*, cf. Eng. *to copy*) 'to copy'; *instalinti(s)*, *installinti(s)* (← *instalas*, cf. Eng. comp. *to install*) comp. 'to install', etc. These loanwords display characteristics similar to adaptive hybrids and can be considered as such because the suffix appears to be added to the English verb (*to study*, *to test*), rather than deriving a variant of the verb from *studijuoti*, *testuoti* using another suffix: *studinti* (← Eng. *to study*) 'to study'; *testinti* (← *testas*, cf. Eng. *to test*) 'to test'. These cases should be treated as both: (1) derivatives/derivative variants (*testuoti* / *testinti* (← *testas*)), and (2) suffixed adaptive hybrids formed directly from the English verb (*to test*).

Semantically, such borrowings can result in additional meanings, e.g. the verb *kodinti*, *codinti* (*code'inti*) (← Eng. comp. *to code*, cf. *kodas*)<sup>9</sup> gains a new meaning: comp. 'to programme, to write computer code' or *stopinti* 'to travel by getting rides from passing cars, to hitchhike'.

Verbs such as *studinti* (← Eng. *to study*) 'to study', *kopinti* (← Eng. *to copy*) 'to copy', *registrinti* (← Eng. *to register* 'to register', *registry* 'registration') comp. 'to register' (cf. *registras* 'a list', Lat. *registrum*), *registerinti* (← Eng. *to register*) 'to register', *reginti* (cf. Eng. *reg* (abbrev. from *to register*)) 'to register', and similar should be treated only as trendy variants of non-standard language and assigned to the same category as other derivatives from a very productive model of adapting Anglicisms with the suffix *-inti*. These hybrids emerge due to the derivational analogy of genuine neologisms entering the Lithuanian language from English in large quantities, e.g. *setapinti*, *setupinti* (← Eng. *to set up*, cf. *setapas*), *skaipinti*, *skypinti* (*skype'inti*) (← *skaipas*, cf. Eng. *to skype*), *skeitinti*, *skate'inti* (← *skeitas*, cf. Eng. *to skate*), etc. This derivational model is also applied to words borrowed from other languages (French, Russian): *reklaminti* (cf. Fr. *reclamer*), *remontinti* (cf. Fr. *remonter*), *fotkinti* (cf. *fotké*, Russ. vern. *фоткать*, Eng. colloq. *foto*, *photo* (abbrev. from *photograph*)).

The suffix *-inti* adaptational model is used frequently in non-standard Lithuanian, as confirmed by a number of spontaneous derivatives, such as *printerinti* (*atprinterinti*)<sup>10</sup> – *to printer*\* does not exist in the English language. Another example of this productive model being applied comes from the word *miksuoti* (← *mikšas*, cf. Eng. mus. *to mix*) '1. to mix', 2. mus. 'to connect music pieces, samples into one

<sup>9</sup> cf. DLKŽe, TTŽ *koduoti* 'to turn information into code'.

<sup>10</sup> Also cf. *printeriuoti* (← *printeris*), *atprinteriuoti* (← *printeriuoti*).



by matching beats'. A relatively recent borrowing that is actively pushing its way into Standard Lithuanian, this verb gets its own slang variant *mīksinti*, *mixinti*. Even such 'emblematic' loanwords as *sorry* 'I apologize' do not escape this derivational treatment and are often replaced with hybrids *sorintis* or *sorrintis* 'to apologize (repeatedly)'.

With regards to true adaptive hybrids, i.e. morphologically unanalysable lemmas, most of the 46 words identified are recently borrowed terms of electronic and information technologies. The base word in each of these verbs is not a Lithuanian noun or adjective but an English verb: *brauzinti*, *browsinti* (*browse'inti*) (← Eng. *to browse*) 'to browse'; *brūžinti* (← Eng. *to use brute force*) 'trying different combinations to find a password'; *defraginti* (← Eng. *to defrag* (abbrev. from *to defragment*) 'to defragment'; *defragminti* (← Eng. *to defragment*) 'to defragment'; *dekodinti*, *decodinti* (*decode'inti*) (← Eng. *to decode*) 'to decode'; *delytinti*, *deletinti* (*delete'inti*) (← Eng. *to delete*) 'to remove'; *detektinti*, *detectinti* (← Eng. *to detect*) 'to detect'; *diseiblinti*, *disablinti* (*disable'inti*) (← Eng. *to disable*) 'to deactivate; disable (a function)'; *eksekjūrinti*, *executinti* (*execute'inti*) (← Eng. *to execute*) 'to execute'; *enkodinti*, *encodinti* (*encode'inti*) (← Eng. *to encode*) 'to (en)code'; *forvardinti*, *forwardinti* (← Eng. *to forward*) 'to forward'.<sup>11</sup>

Without derivational opposition, borrowings adapted this way cannot be formally treated as derivatives and their closing segment *-inti* (which coincides with the suffix) is purely adaptational. However, due to analogous cases in the recipient language, these hybrids are treated by slang users as fully-fledged derivatives: they can be conjugated (tense, mood, person) and are integrated within the derivational and inflectional paradigm. The altered function of the suffix (from adaptive to derivational) was observed in all the verbs analysed in this chapter.

Interestingly, both Russian-origin loans and borrowings from English are treated quite similarly by language users when forming adaptive hybrids. This points to a shared, analogy-based verbal model for slang adaptation:

- a) *grabinti* (← Eng. *to grab*) 'to take', cf.: *grabinti* (← Russ. *зpaбумь*) 'to steal; rob';
- b) *kompilinti*, *compilinti* (← Eng. *to compile*) 'to compile' cf.: *spūlinti* (← Russ. crim. *цнытумь*) crim. 'to get rid of something, to hide the evidence'.

Word borrowing in both slang and standard language can develop in several historical stages. It is a complex, multi-faceted and multi-layered phenomenon which should not be synchronically simplified. This can be illustrated by a number of compound words in Standard Lithuanian which contain the component *turbo-* (Lat. *turbo* 'whirlwind') 1. 'turbinal', 2. 'fast-speed'. Adapted a long time ago (cf. *turboreaktyvinis* 'turbocharged', *turbogeneratorius* 'turbogenerator', *turbokompresorius* 'turbo-compressor', etc.), the loan *turbo* is now often used in IT and video games as an adjective meaning 'particularly fast, intense'. Other, figurative meanings (alongside the trendy *mega*, *super*, etc.), have emerged for describing something as 'very good, brilliant'.

<sup>11</sup> The remaining examples are provided in Appendix III.

The same meanings were instantly adopted by the verb *turbinti* 1. (comp.) ‘to speed up, to force’, 2. ‘to improve’ (prefixed: *pa(s)turbinti* 1. ‘to speed up’; 2. fig. ‘to make better, to perfect’; *užturbinti* comp. ‘to speed up, to force’).<sup>12</sup>

Slang words can occasionally emerge due to the impact of intermediate languages, as illustrated by the verb *popsinti*: mus. ‘to turn into popular art (usu. about pop music)’. The consonant -s- could have been inserted into the base word *popsas* (cf. Eng. colloq. *pop*, abbrev. from *popular*) in order to distinguish it from existing words *popas* ‘Orthodox clergyman’ or *popinti* ‘to spoil’. But it is most likely to have been re-loaned during the Iron Curtain years from the Russian slang word *nonc*, *noncá*.<sup>13</sup>

### 3. Conclusions

1. Due to constant linguistic contact, borrowing from Russian is still very common in Lithuanian slang. Loaned Russian verbs are often integrated by replacing the suffix of the donor language with the Lithuanian derivative suffix *-inti*. Out of 96 adaptive hybrids analysed during the study, 33 contain the suffix variant *-linti*. These slang verbs follow an unconventional formation route – rather than replacing the suffix of the donor language with that of the recipient language, the vowel in the Russian suffix is retained, with only the infinitive formant dropped.
2. The impact of English as the global lingua franca is obvious in the sheer volume of loanwords entering the Lithuanian language, particularly neologisms driven by electronic and information technologies as well as popular culture. Some of the verbs borrowed from English are considered morphologically unanalysable. In such cases (46 analysed in the article), the *-inti* suffix is employed for the purpose of adaptation. Semantically, borrowing from English can result in additional meanings. A number of verbs are used as trendy variants of non-standard language and should be treated in two ways: (a) as derivatives, and (b) as adaptive hybrids which could potentially be affiliated with a derivationally productive model of adapting Anglicisms with the *-inti* suffix.

### Abbreviations

Colloq. – colloquial

Comp. – computer

Crim. – criminal

<sup>12</sup> Cf. analogous Russ. sl. *турбнуть* ‘to turbocharge’.

<sup>13</sup> Also see *pops* ‘another name for *popular*’: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/pops>.

Der. – derisory  
 Eng. – English  
 Fr. – French  
 Lat. – Latin  
 Mil. – military  
 Mus. – music  
 Narc. – narcotics  
 Outd. – outdated  
 Pick. – pickpocketing  
 Pris. – prison  
 Refl. – reflexive  
 Russ. – Russian  
 SL – Standard Lithuanian  
 Sl. – slang  
 Transp. – transport  
 Vern. – vernacular  
 Vulg. – vulgarism

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## ADAPTĪVIE HIBRĪDVERBI LIETUVIEŠU ŽARGONĀ UN MORFOLOĢISKĀS DALĀMĪBAS PROBLĒMA

Robertas Kudirka

Pastāvīgā lingvistiskā kontakta dēļ lietuviešu žargons, nestandarta valoda ietver daudzus no krievu valodas aizgūtus vārdus, kas pārsvarā tiek lietoti neformālās situācijās. Aizguvumi var ienākt sistēmā dažādos laikos, kā rezultātā veidojas vairāki aizguvumu hronoloģiskie slāņi. Pēdējos gadu desmitos lietuviešu valoda piedzīvo milzīgu anglicismu pieplūdumu līdz ar elektronisko un informācijas tehnoloģiju terminoloģiju. Angliskās populārās kultūras dominēšana, modernās komunikācijas tehnoloģijas un angļu valodas globālais statuss atvieglo tās mijiedarbību ar citām valodām, tāpēc vārdi to sākotnējā formā var ātri un tieši pāriet no vienas valodas uz otru. Runājot par vārdiem, kas aizgūti no mūsdienu krievu valodas, tie lietuviešu žargonā ienāk jau ar žargonisku nozīmi. Pētījums parāda, ka žargoniski aizguvumi tiek iekļauti uztverošajā lingvistikas sistēmā, izmantojot afiksālo adaptāciju. Aizgūti verbi, kas pielāgoti no angļu valodas tikai fonētiski, ir reti sastopami un lietojami galvenokārt adverbiāli. Lai gan aizgūšana var radīt jaunas nozīmes, daudzi no šiem vārdiem uzskatāmi tikai par moderniem nestandarta valodas variantiem. Jaunāko aizguvumu adaptācija tiek veikta ar lietuviešu sufiksu *-inti* palīdzību, kas ir visproduktīvākais aizgūto verbu morfoloģiskajā adaptācijā. Rakstā iekļauta arī diskusija par morfoloģiski nedalāmiem hibrīdverbiem gan no krievu, gan angļu valodas, atšķirot tos no hibrīdiem atvasinājumiem jeb derivātiem. Hibrīdi derivāti tiek morfoloģiski integrēti aizguvējvalodā, aizstājot donorvalodas sufiksu ar aizguvējvalodas jeb valodas recipientes sufiksu *-inti*.

## Appendix I.<sup>14</sup> Adaptive hybrids formed with the suffix *-inti* from Russian verbs with the *-ить* suffix

*dolbinti(s)* 1. (← Russ. narc. sl. *долбиться*) narc. 'to take intravenous drugs', 2. (← Russ. colloq. *долбить*) 'to beat, punch';

*drajinti* (← Russ. *драить*) mil. 'to polish';

*dročinti* (← Russ. sl. *дрочить*) 1. 'to jerk off', 2. 'to knead, move; to switch on and off, to push around';

*dubasinti* (← Russ. *дубасить*) 'to beat, punch';

*dūcharinti* (← Russ. sl. *духарить*) 'to bully; to fool';

*fufyrintis* (← Russ. colloq. *фufыриться*) 'to dress up';

*futbolinti* (← Russ. vern. *футболить*) 'to fend off, to try to get rid of sb', refl. *futbolintis* 'to keep refusing, to try to distance oneself from sb';

*gliučinti* 1. (← Russ. narc. sl. *глючить*) narc. 'to hallucinate', 2. (← Russ. comp. sl. *глючить*) comp. 'to not work properly, keep getting stuck';

*glagolinti* (← Russ. *глаголить*) der. 'to speak, blab';

*gniėvinti, gnevinti* (← Russ. outd. *зневить* 'to make sb angry', cf. Pol. *gniewać* 'to anger') 'to infuriate';

*jibašinti* (← Russ. vulg. *ебашить*) 1. 'to get something done, to do, to perform an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be)', 2. 'to shoot, beat';

*kliučinti* (cf. Russ. vern. *отключить*) 1. 'to beat up, knock out' 2. 'to put sb out of it', refl. *kliučintis*;

*kontačinti* (← Russ. *контакчить*) 'to make contact';

*krajinti* (cf. Russ. colloq. *кроить* 'to remake') pick. 'to secretly keep some of the money when passing the stolen purse/wallet to one's accomplice';

*liečinti, lečinti* (← Russ. sl. *лечить*) 'to lie, make things up';

*lomintis* (← Russ. pris. sl. *ломиться*) 'to try to escape the cell due to conflict or while forced by other inmates';

*majačinti* (← Russ. sl. *маячить*) 'to give a sign, to signal';

*močinti* (← Russ. sl. *мочить*) 'to beat';

*mūtinti, mutinti* (← Russ. colloq. *мутить*) 'to anger';

*pālinti* (← Russ. narc. sl. *палить*) narc. 'to smoke drugs (usu. marijuana)';

*pielinti* (← Russ. vern. *пилить*) 'to travel, walk, drive';

*pardolinti* (← Russ. vulg. *пердолить*) 'to do, to perform an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be); to get down with it';

*pyzdiačinti, pizdiačinti* (← Russ. vulg. *пиздячить*) 'to do, to perform an action (usu. in conjunction with a noun, to describe an action that is carried out as it is meant to be); to get down with it';

*raskumarinti* (← Russ. narc. sl. *раскумарить*) narc. 'to stop abstinence-induced illness by taking drugs';

*rybačinti* (← Russ. *рыбачить*) 'to fish for';

*sabačinti* (← Russ. vern. *собачить*) 'to fix; to hammer';

*splavinti* 1. (← Russ. vern. *сплавить*) 'to legalize, get rid of', 2. (← Russ. crim. sl. *сплавить*) crim. 'to betray, to tell on sb';

*sporinti* (← Russ. *спорить*) 'to bet';

*strojinti* (← Russ. *строить*) 'to make sb do sth, command; to bully';

*šarinti* 1. (← Russ. *шарить*) 'to search', 2. (← Russ. sl. *шарить*) 'to understand, to be an expert in sth', 3. (cf. Russ. sl. *шарить*) sport 'to run fast';

*šyrintis, širintis* (← Russ. narc. sl. *шурить*) narc. 'to take intravenous drugs';

*tračinti* (← Russ. *тратить*) 'to waste, spend (money, time)';

*travinti* (← Russ. vern. *травить*) 'to try to convince sb, to turn against sb';

<sup>14</sup> This and subsequent appendices list only those words which are not included in the article.

*valinti* (← Russ. vern. *валить*) 1. 'to walk, go, get to it', 2. transp. 'to drive, to have a powerful engine, rev';  
*varganinti* (← Russ. pris. sl. *варганить*) pris. 'to trade sth for sth, to deal';  
*vložinti* (← Russ. sl. *вложить*) pris. crim. 'to tell on sb, to snitch';  
*zachujācinti* (← Russ. vulg. *захуячить*) 'to get onto sb; to attack';  
*zachujarinti* (← Russ. vulg. *захуярить*) 'to get onto sb; to attack';  
*zakazlinti* (← Russ. crim. pris. sl. *закозлить*) 'to snitch';  
*zamočinti* (← Russ. crim. sl. *замочить*) crim. 'to kill';  
*zvāninti* (← Russ. *звонить*) 'to ring'.

## Appendix II. Adaptive hybrids formed with the suffix variant *-linti* from Russian verbs with suffixes *-ать, -ить, -еть*

*achujēlinti, achujēlinti* (← Russ. vulg. *оxygen*) 1. 'to be surprised', 2. 'to become impudent';  
*afigēlinti, afigēlinti* (← Russ. vulg. *офигеть*) 1. 'to be surprised', 2. 'to become impudent';  
*baldielinti, baldielinti* 1. (← Russ. sl. *балдеть*) 'to mess about, have fun', 2. (← Russ. *балдеть*) 'to fool around';  
*balielinti, balelinti* (← Russ. colloq. *болеть*) 'to support a team';  
*dračēlinti* (← Russ. sl. *дрочить*) 1. 'to jerk off', 2. 'to fiddle; to switch on and off';  
*gasylinti* (← Russ. *засучь*) 1. 'to finish, put a stop to sth', 2. 'to drink continuously';  
*grubylynti* (← Russ. *зрубить*) 'to speak roughly';  
*grūzēlinti, grūzēlinti* (← Russ. sl. *грузить*) 1. 'to affect, burden', 2. 'to reproach; to annoy';  
*gubylinti, gubylinti* (← Russ. *зубить*) 'to kill';  
*jabalinti* (← Russ. vulg. *ебать*) 1. 'to have sex', refl. *jabalintis*, 2. 'to hit';  
*kačēlinti(s)* 1. (← Russ. sl. *качать*) 'to do weight lifting', 2. (← Russ. comp. sl. *качать* 'to send') comp. 'to send';  
*kanalinti* (← Russ. sl. *канать* 'to imitate sb, to pretend to be sb') 'to aggravate, to tease; to annoy';  
*lažalinti* (← Russ. sl. *лажать*) 'to have a negative view on sb or sth, to gossip about', refl. *lažalintis* 'to be embarrassed';  
*machalinti* 1. (← Russ. *махать*) 'to gesticulate', refl. *machalintis*, 2. refl. *machalintis* (← Russ. sl. *махаться*) 'to fight';  
*pyzdielinti, pyzdelinti, pizdielinti, pizdelinti* (← Russ. vulg. *нуздеть*) 'to bullshit';  
*rubalinti* (← Russ. sl. *рубать*) 'to do sth energetically; to beat';  
*sasalinti* (← Russ. vulg. *сосать*) 'to suck';  
*stradalinti* (← Russ. *страдать*) 'to be angry; to complain';  
*stukalinti* (← Russ. vern. *стучать*) 'to tell on sb';  
*šagalinti* (← Russ. vern. *шагать*) 'to walk, stride';  
*tarčialinti* (← Russ. narc. sl. *торчать*) narc. 'to take drugs (usu. intravenous)';  
*vaznikalinti* (← Russ. vern. *возникать*) 'to behave in an obnoxious way; to be rowdy';  
*vystupalinti* (← Russ. vern. *выступать*) 'to express one's disapproval';  
*zagružalinti* (← Russ. *загрузить*) 'to burden with heavy thoughts; to say difficult things';  
*zajabalinti* (← Russ. vulg. *заебать*) 'to become annoying, unbearable';  
*zavoisalinti* (← Russ. sl. *зависать*) 'to spend time, to do sth fun; to slouch around'.

## Appendix III. Adaptive hybrids formed with the suffix *-inti* from English verbs

*inklūdinti, includinti* (*include'inti*) (← Eng. *to include*) 'to include';  
*kancelinti, cancelinti* (← Eng. *to cancel*) 'to cancel';  
*kaptūrinti, capturinti* (*capture'inti*) (← Eng. *to capture*) 'to save a highlighted fragment';  
*kardinti, cardinti* (← Eng. *to card*, cf. Eng. sl. *carding*) 'to perform illegal bank card transactions, to practice carding';

*kempinti, campinti* (← Eng. *to camp*) 'to encamp (in video games)';  
*klerinti, clearinti* (← Eng. *to clear*) 'to clear, delete';  
*kompresinti, compressinti* (← Eng. *to compress*) 'to compress';  
*konfigūrinti, configurinti* (*configure'inti*) (← Eng. *to configure*) 'to configure';  
*konvertinti, convertinti* (← Eng. *to convert*) 'to convert';  
*laudinti, loadinti* (← Eng. *to load*) 'to transfer data into memory';  
*lokinti, lockinti* (← Eng. *to lock*) 'to lock, block; to fixate';  
*mauntinti, mountinti* (← Eng. *to mount*) 'to attach (file, device)';  
*overburninti* (← Eng. comp. *to overburn*) 'to overburn';  
*overlokinti, overclockinti* (← Eng. *to overclock*) 'to speed up';  
*overvraitinti, overaitinti, overwritinti* (*overwrite'inti*) (← Eng. *to overwrite*) 'to overwrite';  
*peisinti, pastinti* (*paste'inti*) (← Eng. *to paste*) 'to import';  
*reloaidinti* (← Eng. *to reload*) 'to refresh, reload';  
*resazinti, resizedinti* (*resize'inti*) (← Eng. *to resize*) 'to change size';  
*restorinti, restore'inti* (← Eng. *to restore*) 'to restore';  
*serčinti, searchinti* (← Eng. *to search*) 'to search';  
*skipinti* (← Eng. *to skip*) 'to skip';  
*snifinti, sniffinti* (← Eng. *to sniff*) 'to intercept and analyse data being transmitted over a network using a packet sniffer';  
*spektatinti, spectatinti* (← Eng. *to spectate*) 'to watch a video game in real time as a spectator';  
*strafinti* (← Eng. *to strafe*) 'to walk, stride sideways (in video games)';  
*submitinti* (← Eng. *to submit*) 'to submit';  
*subskraibinti, subscribinti* (*subscribe'inti*) (← Eng. *to subscribe*) 'to subscribe';  
*supportinti, supportinti* (← Eng. *to support*) 'to support';  
*taipinti, typinti* (*type'inti*) (← Eng. *to type*) 'to type';  
*teikoverinti, takeoverinti* (← Eng. *to take over* 'to take over') 'to assume control or ownership of a chat';  
*treisinti, trace'inti* (← Eng. *to trace*) 'to trace';  
*unlaikinti, unlikinti* (*unlike'inti*) (← Eng. *to unlike*) 'to unlike';  
*unmauntinti, unmountinti* (← Eng. *to unmount*) 'to disconnect'.

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