

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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**EUPHEMISMS IN THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE: EXPRESSION AND
MOTIVATION**

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VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

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LIETUVIŲ KALBOS EUFEMIZMAI: RAIŠKA IR MOTYVACIJA

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INTRODUCTION

Research object, novelty and relevance of the topic, research methodology and problematicity. The object of the thesis is Lithuanian euphemisms. The thesis only deals with euphemisms that are related to animals and human beings and their environment. The section of animal euphemisms does not encompass all animals but is restricted to snake, wolf, louse, toad, bear, cricket, and worm euphemisms because the majority of other animalistic euphemisms have been researched by B. Jasiūnaitė.

Studies on euphemisms are not extensive in Lithuania, however, there are individual articles on contemporary euphemisms (Marcinkevičienė 1998) or certain groups of euphemisms, for example graphical euphemisms (Kudirka 2012). There has been some research of euphemisms in legal rhetoric (Koženiauskienė 2006, 2009) and rhetoric (Koženiauskienė 2001). Most extensive studies of Lithuanian euphemisms have been carried out by B. Jasiūnaitė (2001, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2012). Her research discusses euphemism formation problems, terms, methods and possibilities of analysis and classification. The scholar also sporadically discusses some euphemistic animal names and euphemisms related to human beings and their environment. The author of this dissertation has analysed euphemisms in a few articles (2013, 2014; the 2013 article co-authored with B. Jasiūnaitė). There are very few extensive studies on traditional animalistic euphemisms and euphemisms related to the human being and their environment and works comparing them to euphemisms in other languages. Therefore this is a relevant study that tackles one of the least stable layers of lexis and which opens new vistas for prospective studies of Lithuanian euphemisms.

The term *euphemism* and the subject of taboo have been discussed by Gaivenis, Keinys (1990), ELL (Encyclopaedia of the Lithuanian Language) (1999). Taboo and the relationship between linguistic taboo and euphemism formation were analysed by S. Karaliūnas (1997). It is important to mention J. G. Frazer (1936) whose book alongside numerous examples of euphemisms includes extensive material about taboos of different nations as well as S. Freud (2010), in whose book taboo is analysed by applying the method of psychoanalysis which also includes examples of taboo and euphemisms. The topic of the importance of substitutes for the extinction of ancient animal names has been addressed by both Lithuanian and Slavic scholars (Трубачев

1958, Būga 1959, Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984). The famous American linguist L. Bloomfield (1969) also drew attention to the issue of the usage of euphemisms. The usage of euphemisms has been analysed by A. Dąbrowska (1992), B. Kuna (2005). Apart from providing a euphemism definition and presenting euphemism analysis, the article by A. Dąbrowska includes a brief dictionary of Polish euphemisms. Euphemisms in Croatian fiction have been discussed by T. Темас (2010). Problems, classification and the term in Croatian have been examined by B. Kuna (2007), R. Melvyn and R. Hammond (2011) analysed them in Spanish, whereas Л. Крысин (2000) has discussed these issues in Russian. Such issues as the usage of euphemisms, the term *euphemism* and euphemism classification have been addressed by numerous scholars (Ларин 1961, Видлак 1965, Бенвенист 1974, Москвин 2001, Жельвис 2001, Stepanovas 2003). Separate mention has to be made regarding dictionaries in which euphemisms are provided only as part of lexis (Grose 1796, Neaman, Silver 1990, Ayto 2000, Rawson 2003, Partridge 2007) and dictionaries in which euphemisms are presented with more extensive cultural and ethnolinguistic information (Holder 2003, “Славянские древности” (СД 1995–2012)). R. W. Holder’s dictionary of euphemisms includes about 70 thematic sections: body parts, lies and lying, politics, race, physiological processes and activities, stealing, etc. The dictionary provides not only euphemisms but also their motivation. The introductory article of the dictionary is especially valuable in this regard. The dictionary of rhetoric “Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik” (1996) provides a short review of euphemisms from Antiquity till the 20th century.

Different scholars’ ideas on various issues with regard to euphemisms, their relation to taboo, euphemism classification and the term of euphemism are discussed more extensively in the chapter *Taboo. Linguistic taboo. Euphemism formation*. The discussion of euphemisms is based on folk and mythology data which works as a reference point allowing the explanation of the occurrence and motivation of euphemisms.

The dissertation was written by applying the descriptive and the comparative methods. The descriptive method was used since this is the first thesis devoted to the discussion of euphemisms in general. The comparative method was also applied in the research. It was not the main method and there was not extensive material to compare,

however, by comparing Lithuanian euphemisms with those of other languages significant similarities and differences of euphemism formation can be distinguished.

Lithuanian empirical data served as the basis to compile a 2000-word database and, having defined what a euphemism is (the definition is provided in the chapter *Taboo. Linguistic taboo. Euphemism formation*), 994 euphemisms were selected for the research. Certain groups were excluded from the analysis, which included dialectal words (e.g. a Samogitian word *krupis* which functions as a normal word instead of *rupūžė* ('toad')), jargon words (they are similar to euphemisms but have a different function), pejoratives, dysphemisms and words that in standard language bear the function of a euphemism but exist as regular words (e.g. *šlapintis* ('to urinate')). Those groups of words that were excluded from the research deserve separate studies and discussions regarding their ascription to the category of euphemisms.

The main problem concerned establishing the characteristics of what makes a euphemism. As the first step, euphemism had to be defined which proved to be a difficult task, since different scholars define it differently depending on their research goals. Having defined what a euphemism is and having selected relevant material, the issue of euphemism classification had to be solved. The widest classification of euphemisms reflecting most scholars' views was chosen for the present study. However, it is only suitable to analyse nominal euphemisms. Since apart from nominal euphemisms the dissertation also analyses verbal ones, a separate method of their examination had to be found. The final solution was a semantic classification, which also meant that the classification of each section of verbal euphemisms is different.

Aims and objectives of the study. The **aim** of the thesis is to collect, classify and analyse traditional Lithuanian euphemisms used to refer to animals and the human being and their environment. The aim also included the task of establishing possible motivation of euphemisms on the basis of additional material and, as much as it was possible, to compare Lithuanian euphemisms with those of other languages.

In order to achieve the aims of the study, the following **objectives** have been set:

1. To prepare the selected animalistic and human-being-related euphemisms for the analysis;

2. To classify the collected euphemisms according to the most suitable principles;
3. To analyse semantic and derivational features of euphemisms;
4. To establish potential motivation of euphemisms with regard to their derivation, semantics and ethno-cultural context;
5. To compare Lithuanian euphemisms with available material from other languages.

Defensive statements:

1. Nominal and verbal euphemisms were classified in different ways yet maintaining the main principles of classification. With respect to their linguistic expression euphemisms are divided into nominal, verbal and phraseological or compound euphemisms; whereas as far as their motivation is concerned, euphemisms tend to occur on the basis of similarities between action, sound or appearance.
2. In the Lithuanian language, euphemisms are used to refer to various phenomena of reality from animals to the structure of the human body of their birth and death.
3. There are similarities between some Lithuanian euphemisms and those of other languages, however, there are also numerous differences which occur due to different development and peculiarities of categorising the world.

Theoretical and practical value of the thesis. The study has been carried out relying on extensive and representative material and it adds to the studies of linguistic euphemisms and is important for the field of Lithuanian ethnolinguistics. The results of the study are valuable for synchronic and diachronic lexicology, in addition, the research data can be used in lexicography as well as translation theory and practice. The dissertation is written on the basis of and contains extensive theoretical knowledge on taboo, euphemisms and ways of their classification. The collected material and insights provided in the thesis can encourage more extensive studies and can thereby be used as a reference source for further research articles, bachelor and master theses.

Structure of the thesis. The thesis consists of a theoretical and an empirical part. The latter is further subdivided into smaller sections according to concrete names of objects that are euphemised.

1. Introduction. It sets the background for the study and provides a statement of thesis relevance, the current state of research in the field and defines the aim and objectives of the study.
2. The theoretical part discusses the relationship between taboo and euphemism formation, provides a detailed analysis of the variation of the usage of the term *euphemism* in different scholars' works and euphemism classification.
3. Empirical study:
 - (1) The first part is devoted to the analysis of euphemistic names of animals. It discusses euphemisms to refer to a snake, toad, wolf, louse and other animals;
 - (2) The second part deals with the analysis of euphemisms to refer to a human being and various phenomena of their environment. It discusses euphemistic substitutes to refer to items of clothing, bodily secretions, buttocks, sexual intercourse and genitals, diseases, labour (giving birth), and death.
4. Conclusions, list of sources and references.

In addition, the thesis includes a list of abbreviations and an index of Lithuanian euphemisms.

Empirical data of the thesis. Lithuanian empirical data have been collected from all the volumes of the Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (1941–2002), The Systemic Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (1987), Lithuanian Language Atlas, volume 1 (Lexis) (1977) and folklore texts. Euphemistic names are common in folk narratives (fairy tales, legends), many of them were found in texts of curative magic, i.e. the so-called incantations (which contain numerous snake euphemisms). They were published in a collection *Lithuanian incantations: curative formulas* (2008) edited by Daiva Vaitkevičienė. As an additional source, the work *Sources of Lithuanian incantations. An electronic collection* (2005) written by the same author was utilized as well. Slavic language data was collected from a Russian collection of incantations (P33 1998), an ethnolinguistic dictionary *Славянские древности* (СД 1995–2012) and some

scholarly publications (Левкиевская 1993; Zavjalova 1998). Polish language data were collected from the study by Anna Dąbrowska (1992). The English data was collected from R. W. Holder's dictionary *How not to say what you mean* (2003).

Approval of the thesis. On the basis of the data of the dissertation, six articles were published (see list of publications) and two presentations were given in international conferences. In addition, the author of the thesis also delivered a public lecture on the dissertation topic.

EUPHEMISM FORMATION. TABOO. LINGUISTIC TABOO.

Contemporary linguistics pays more and more attention not to the language of human beings but the human being him/herself. Language is perceived as one of the activities of the human being. As a result, it is not only the language that is analysed but also everything else that surrounds the human being. It has been noticed that in many languages forbidden subjects also known as taboos come into daily use. The word *taboo* derives from Polynesian languages in which it constitutes a large system which encompasses religion, social and political affairs. Taboo is a social phenomenon, a system that governed and that still governs people and their daily life.

Linguistic taboo is a subject that needs separate discussion. It refers to the prohibition to use the names of certain reality phenomena which is related to religious beliefs and superstitions. Linguistic taboo has its basis in the ascription of magic powers to a word having equated the name with the issue it denotes. Taboo words are substituted by other words or are transformed in various ways. There are also simpler definitions of linguistic taboo, i.e. avoidance to refer to objects by their real names or to mention them in certain circumstances. As a result of such avoidance, one uses euphemisms. Linguistic taboo is closely connected to the magic function of language. A word can insult, hurt, comfort, words are used to curse and cure. The basis of verbal magic lies in the belief that the word and the thing that the word signifies are the same, i.e. that the word is a constitutive part of the signifier. Since the word and its signifier are considered to belong together, by knowing a person's name or the name of an item, it is possible to influence that person or item. Repetition of certain words is said to enable even to change the world.

Euphemism formation is a very old phenomenon which occurred due to the fact that a word denoting a certain entity, feature or some other item of reality is consciously or unconsciously considered to be the same thing, feature or other item of reality. As a result of fear, avoidance, repulsion, unwillingness to insult or other reasons people have avoided to directly refer to death, illnesses, issues related to physiology, sex and other topics. This is how the use of euphemisms occurs. They are soft, neutral words or phrases used instead of their hurtful, obscene or insulting counterparts. Commonly euphemisms are corresponding substitutions for tabooed words. Croatian linguists define the euphemism as a macrostructure in which the emotional function of language and meanings of words merge. The majority of euphemisms formed during a long period of time, whereas others are closer to contemporary time.

Euphemisms analysed in this thesis are very different, therefore the definition of the euphemism has been defined in the following way: **a euphemism is a word or a phrase used in a communicative act in order to ingratiate the euphemised object and thereby change reality or in order to mislead and force the hearer to perceive the reality in the way that is necessary for the speaker; the usage of euphemisms also encodes euphemised objects which break primary taboos and the results of their further development, ethics, and moral provisions.**

Ways of classifying euphemisms have been extensively discussed by B. Jasiūnaitė:

1) Complimentary euphemisms;

Traditional familiar forms of address – melioratives, e.g. *Paukštele, aukseli, sidabrėli, nevaikščiok po mano atšlaimėlj Švnč*;

b) kinship terms or words referring to close acquaintance, e.g. *kūmas* ‘vilkas’ (‘wolf’), *kūma* ‘lapė’ (‘fox’), *bičiulė, bičiulienė* ‘meška’ (‘bear’);

c) words that denote high social standing, e.g. *ponas, ponaitis* ‘velnias’ (‘devil’);

d) words that denote good, positive characteristics of the body and character, e.g. *labutis* ‘velnias’ (‘devil’);

e) endearment names according to a typical action or function, e.g. *vibždutė, kirbždutė* ‘utėlė’ (‘louse’);

f) names related to the place of habitation, e.g. *pabaliukas*, *lobelis* ‘velnias’ (‘devil’);

g) names of other creatures that are pleasant, beautiful and not dangerous, e.g. *stirniukas* ‘blusa’ (‘flea’).

2) enigmatic euphemisms which occur due to similarity related to:

a) bodily composition, especially zoomorphic features, e.g. *skeltanagis* ‘velnias’ (‘devil’);

b) various types of physical inadequacy or incapacity, e.g. *kumpasis*;

c) colour or fur/hair, e.g. *juodasai*, *rainasis*;

d) place of habitation or appearance, e.g. *raistinis*;

e) character traits, e.g. *piktasis*, *blogasai*;

f) typical actions or functions, e.g. *gaudadūšis*, *nuoganda*.

3) euphemisms determined by a certain language level:

a) lexical euphemisms:

I) one of the epithets of a mythological character, e.g. *Kad tave raistinis paimtų!*;

II) another derivative or compound, e.g. *Kad kur skeltanagai nujotų!*;

III) a borrowing which is typically considered to be “more beautiful” than the forbidden word, e.g. *Biasas nemato!*;

IV) some milder pejorative, cf. *Eik tu po bieso raišo!* and *Eik tu po ubago raišo!*;

V) a word that has the opposite meaning, an antonym, e.g. *O kad tave aniuolai!*;

VI) a word that bears a figurative meaning, especially a name of the place of habitation of a character, e.g. *Kad tave raistas priglaustų!*;

VII) another part of speech used instead of a noun, usually a pronoun or an adverb, e.g. *Lekia kaip anas su tabaku!*;

VIII) sometimes a whole phraseological unit or saying may be used euphemistically; it can be a component of a verbal or an adjectival comparison, e.g. *Šmėkštelėjo kaip pelkės ponaitis.*

b) phonetic euphemisms:

I) the first syllable of a euphemism corresponds to the first syllable of the taboo, e.g. *Suk tave batai* (cf. *bala*);

II) a few sounds of the substitution and the forbidden word correspond, e.g. *Nè kelmo nežinau* (*velnio*);

III) a euphemism and the forbidden word have the same initial sound, e.g. *Jis pinigų turi gyvą vėtrą Krš* (cf. *gyvą velnią*).

c) derivative euphemisms, e.g. *Kad tave balas!*

ANIMALS

Snake. All in all, 218 snake euphemisms have been found. Having divided the collected data according to semantic features, they can be further subdivided into the following classes: *names according to appearance* (colour, body measurements, body parts, their peculiarities, similarity to metals, and similarity to things); *names according to the place of habitation*; *names according to character traits* (bad, allegedly good); *names according to typical action(s)* (way of movement, sounds made); *names according to the severity of (snake) bite*; *names related to animals* (to birds, other animals); *names related to plants*; *names related to people* (people's proper names and other names); *phonetic and onomatopoeic names*; *names related to blindness*; *borrowings and various other names*.

With respect to structure *snake* euphemisms are divided into one-word euphemisms, phraseological and compound euphemisms. One-word euphemistic names for a snake can be derivative, built using various other means of word formation, e.g. *urviñé* Km (: *urvas*), *margùlè* Vlk, Rdš (: *margas*) or ways of word composition, e.g. *geležiniauodėgė* Ktk (: *geležinė* and *uodega*). More seldom are one-word euphemisms that have a figurative meaning, such as *pántis* Nj, Lb, *varlýté* Rk. Also infrequent are phraseological names *šviesýja žvaigždėlė* Ml, *geležinė kirmėlė* Ml. Complex compound names are formed by means of reduplication: *pakaĩnė pakalnėnė* Dg, *dryžà padryžà*.

From the functional point of view euphemistic *snake* substitutions are complimentary and enigmatic. In the usage of complimentary euphemisms a snake can be referred to by 1) traditional names of endearment, *auksėli* Švnč, *medùte* Sariai; 2) kinship terms, *mótina músu* LU 219, *motinėlė žieminėlė* TDr IV 179, 3) words that refer to high social standing, e.g. *pỹkčiū karaliėne* LU 219, *karaliėnė liepsnóta* Šmn; 4) words that name positive bodily features or character traits, e.g. *margùkė* Rtn, *dryžuotùkė* Mrk, *gerùtė* Sv, *ramùtė* Šmn; 5) endearment names related to action, e.g. *šnypštùkė* Mrk, *čiūžu čiūžutė* Vlž; 6) names according to the place of habitation, e.g. *žemenėlė metelėlė* Švnč; 7) names of other creatures that are pleasant, beautiful and not dangerous, e.g. *varlýté* Rk, *kregždýté* Antš.

Since the semantic classification proved to be the most suitable and all-encompassing, it was used as the basis in describing euphemistic snake names.

Euphemistic substitutes for a *snake* can be motivated by its colour. Perhaps closest to the objective reality are snake euphemisms which are derivationally related to the adjective *júodas* ('black'): *juodóji* Sariai, *juodùtè* On. Euphemisms *margùlè* Vlk, Rdš, *marǵinè* Šauk, *rainóji* Plng, *drỹžè* Mrk emphasise the parti-coloured pattern of the skin of a snake. Sometimes slugs are referred to by the usage of words that denote the features of large cattle's skin or fur, therefore one can find such snake names as *šëmùtè* Šmn, *žalmařgè* Tj.

There are a few euphemistic substitutes to refer to a snake the main motivational features of which are bodily measurement: *ilgātè* Trgn, Slk, Tvr, *ilgóji* Rdm, Dsn, Š, Ktk, *biznóji* Krsn. The motivation of these euphemisms is related to the length of the animal or, conversely, its shortness ((*biznas* 'short'). More frequent names to refer to dangerous reptiles are related to body parts and their typical features: *raguõčè padraguõčè* Ml; *geležiniauodègè* Ktk; *smailavuodègè* Ds; *gyvātè žalčiadañtè* On. Due to their similarity to some object a snake both in colloquial language and in folk can be called *lazdìnè* Dv, *pántinè* Dbk, Km, *verpstìnè* Tvr, *pántis be mǎzgo* Vb.

A large part of enigmatic euphemisms are related to its place of habitation: *žemìnè* Ml; *žemìnè pažemìnè* Ml; *motinèlè žieminèlè* TDr IV 179; *purvìnè* Švnč; *krúminè* Kls; *raĩstinè* Mrk.

Various character traits are ascribed to snakes. They can be bad, negative, allegedly positive, related to the desire to please some dangerous animal. The first group to present are enigmatic euphemisms: *piktà papiktà* Ml; *piktùkè* Alv; *blogà blogýbè* Svirkos; *nelabóji* Mžš; *ledokà* DrskŽ (lenk. *ledaka* „pikta, nedora, niekam tikusi“). This group of euphemisms includes both purely Lithuanian (*blogà blogýbè*, *nelabóji*), and borrowed lexis, including Polonisms and Byelorussian borrowings as well as hybrid derivatives (*ledokà*, *ledokóji*, *ledõkèlè*, *negadnója*). A totally opposite meaning lies in complimentary euphemisms *ramùtè* Šmn (: *ramus* ('calm')) and *gerùtè* Sv (: *geras* ('good')). Such names of endearment – mellioratives – are used to appease a snake and reduce its anger.

Another group of euphemistic substitutions for *snake* are names according to action(s). With regard to meaning they are divided into two subclasses: 1) names according to the way of movement; 2) names according to the sounds made. The first group includes the following euphemisms: *šliaũžas* Šlč; *prakeiktàsis šliũžas* LU 175;

slankà Lc; *skraiduõlè* Sariai; *šúolinè* Švnč; *šmeižmè* Jnš. They are all formed from verbs or their derivatives: *šliaužas*, *šliužas* (: *šliaužti* ('to slither')), *slankà* (: *slinkti* „šliaužti“ ('to slither')), *skraiduõlè* (: *skraidyti* ('to fly')), *šúolinè* (: *šuoлис* ('a leap')), *šmeižmè* (: *šmeižti* „vikriai bėginėti ('to flutter deftly'), *landžioti*, *šmaižioti*“ ('to snoop')). The second sub-group includes such euphemisms as: *šnypštėklė* LTR; *šnvpštėlė* J, Ggr, Užv; *čiūžė* Krs; *šlamu šlamutė* Vlž. All examples that belong to this subgroup are derivationally related to their base verbs which refer to different sounds: *šnypštėklė*, *šnvpštėlė* (: *šnypšti* ('to sizzle')), *čiūžė* (: *čiūžėti* „šlamėti“ ('to rustle')), *šlamu šlamutė* (: *šlamėti*).

An important role in the nomination of reptiles is played by their relationship between other animals which are typically less dangerous. They include “bird-related” complimentary euphemisms: *lakštutė* Sariai; *žylaitė* Lš; *kregždýtė gražióji* Antš; *vištà* Mrc; *putukė* Vlk; *graži paukštýtė* JnšM. Dangerous reptiles are called by the name of a specific bird species, such as *lakštutė*, *žylaitė*, *kregždýtė gražióji*, *vištà*, or a more abstract substitute, e.g. – *paukštýtė*. It is interesting to note that the metaphorical direction of such euphemisms is *animal* → *animal*, which is quite a rare case and there are not numerous examples in this type of euphemism motivation.

Anthropomorphised snakes are also subject to social hierarchy. As a result, they are referred to by words that denote high social standing. One can also encounter the use of kinship terms or names of high social rank for euphemistic purposes: *karāliau li[e]psnátas* LU 191; *gyvāčių Viėšpatas* LU 191; *karalíenė liepsnóta* Šmn; *mótina mūsu* LU 219; *žiemienė mótina* Švnč. Reference to a snake as a queen is a universal cultural representation which is characteristic to many nations. Due to the animal's alienation from human environment it was ascribed the throne of a sovereign of an alternative domain. According to folklore researchers, the king of snakes is one of the few mythological characters that are typical to almost all Baltic or Slavic ethnic traditions.

There is another group of euphemisms the motivation of which lies in certain phonetic characteristics. They include words which are derivationally related to interjections and various rhyme words: *gimbātė* Šts; *gembātė* IM1850, 35; *kiřpšinas* Šts; *čiončė* Č; *žvižinė* Žb; *caņgė* VšR, KzR. One kind of phonetic adaptations of the word *gyvātė* ('snake') are Samogitian *gimbātė* and *gembātė*. *Gembātė* most probably appeared due to euphemisation by having transformed the word *gyvātė* as a result of its similarity

to a popular Samogitian word *gėmbė* „kablys“ (‘hook’). Both words are phonetically close, whereas a snake is somewhat similar to a wooden hook used by Samogitians to hang clothes. A clearly phonetic euphemism is *kiřpřinas*: it is a word that occurred as a result of euphemisation, the “prototype” of which is *kiřminas* „gyvatė“ (‘snake’). It is possible to conclude that *kiřpřinas* is “a euphemism of a euphemism”. The word *čiončė*, which is most probably of an onomatopoeic origin may phonetically be related to *čĩnčė* Užp, Km, Ant „pikčiurna, zyzla“ (‘a shrew, a fury’). The same dialect has also proved to contain a euphemistic snake name *žvižĩnė*, cf. the interjection *žvižvylgt* Krř which is formed by means of reduplication and which denotes a quick glance or glittering of the eyes. A snake is an animal that tends to shine and glitter. The euphemism *caņgė* does not have a clear origin. Possibly, the reptile is called by this name because it tends to attack and bite suddenly, cf. interjection *caņgt* „cvankt, taukřt“, which denotes a strike, slap, or tap. Part of euphemistic substitutes belong to the class of borrowed lexis. Borrowed names of the reptile that play a euphemistic function are not numerous: *gad gadica* Ml; *zmiejà* řvnč; *žalesnykas matusnykas* řvnč; *kreicàtaras* Sg.

Toad. 122 euphemistic toad names were found in Lithuanian dialects and folklore. Negative treatment of the toad in folk culture and the popularity of its name in pejorative lexis determined the large number of its euphemistic substitutes. Only a small number of euphemistic substitutes for a toad have a clear semantic or derivational motivation. The majority of them are phonetic transformations, i.e. the so-called phonetic euphemisms. As a result euphemistic toad names have first been divided into two large groups: semantically or derivationally motivated and phonetically motivated euphemisms. The first group was further subdivided into *names according to the place of habitation, names according to appearance, names according to typical behaviour, names according to character traits, other names*. The second group of phonetic and other types of euphemisms were subdivided according to the phonetic changes in the first syllable: *rup-*; *ruk-*; *rud-*; *rep-*; *rop-*; *rip-*; *raup-*. There is a small group of shortenings which include words that have undergone reduction.

The group of euphemisms the motivation of which lies in the place of habitation includes *pamatĩnė varlė* Smn, Mrs; *pamatĩnė* řk, Kn, řtk, Vrn, Rs, Mrs; *pamatĩnė gegutė* Kdn. Another group of semantically motivated euphemisms are toad names according to its appearance: *řařúota varlė* Dsn; *pampuřkà* Vrn; *rupióji varlė* Brsl; *raibùkė* Plut. The

majority of toad euphemisms are related to the roughness of its skin, i.e. the bumps of the skin. Another group of enigmatic euphemisms is motivated by characteristic actions or functions: *kvaňké* Skr; *kiùké* Klvr, Šts, Ms; *kùkùžé* Lbv, Srd, Ll, Gs, Krok, Alk; *greitùké* Sdr. *Kvaňké* and *kùkùžé* are names motivated by the sounds that toads make, whereas *kiùké* and *greitùké* are motivated by the way of movement. Another group of euphemisms refer to a toad's character traits: *piktóji varlě* NdŽ, *negerà varlé* Klm; *piktoarlé* Vdk, Pln, End.

Other toad euphemisms were analysed with respect to phonetic changes and different aspects of word formation. Sometimes phonetic and word formation phenomena are so closely connected that it is difficult to decide which of them determined the transformation of a word/words. In the long run, a phonetic transformation can acquire a totally normal derivational motivation, e.g. *rùdspangé* Jrb has the lexical meaning “rupūžé” (‘toad’), whereas the derivational meaning is “ta, kurios akys rudos” (‘the one whose eyes are brown’). The first group may subsume euphemisms with the initial element *rup-*. Part of such euphemisms have a clear element *rùpk-*: *rùpké* NdŽ, Ss, Grd, Kv, Erž; *rùpkis* Kv, Vkš, Skr, Jdr; *rùpkena* NdŽ, Krž, Stl; *rùpkus* Up, Vn. The most popular among them is euphemism *rùpké*, while other variants with the same stem such as *rùpkis*, *rùpkus* are less common.

Other euphemistic substitutes for this amphibia include the element *rup-*: *rupūžiañtas* Bt; *rùpé* Ndž; *rùpšas* Trg; *rùpšé* Vn; *rupšà* Bt; *rùpšius* Prk; *rùpšké* Skr; *rupšnà* Snt; *rùpšena* Skdv; *rùpšina* Kl; *rupéika* Ll; *rupéiké* Alk; *rùpečka* Krok, Gs; *rùpungé* Plv; *rupěžé* Ndž, N; *rùpilé* Vvr, Kal; *rùplenda* Skdv, Erž, Kv; *rùplendis* Skdv. Some of them are clear derivatives of the word *rupūžé*: *rupūžiañtas* – with the suffix –*antas*. A more complicated case is the euphemism *rùpé*, treated as a shortening of the word *rupūžé*. The existence of such shortenings shows that the element *rup-* may be considered as an independent root. Other morphemes are added to it to form new words. This is a way for many new euphemisms for a toad, e.g. derivatives *rùpšas*, *rùpšé*, *rupšà*, *rùpšius*, formed from *rup-* with the suffix –*šas* (cf. *vargšas*). Some cases are a result of compounding: *rùplenda*, *rùplendis* most probably were formed with *rup-* and verb *lenda* (‘to get into, enter’). It is important to note that the formation of euphemisms with the element *rup-* was determined more by derivational rather than phonetic factors.

Meanwhile euphemisms with the initial component *ruk-* have all undergone phonetic changes. As can easily be understood phonetic changes of these euphemistic substitutes started with the insertion of the consonant *k*, which is evident in the examples of *rukpūžė* and *rukpuižė*. Later, the consonant *š* is inserted into the forbidden word and as a result, euphemism *rùkšpūžė* is created. Further development may be of two types: 1) an erroneous derivational association of the word *rùkšpūžė* and the adjective *rūgštus*, the variant *rùkštūžė* is created; 2) due to the similarity of the labial sounds *p* and *m*, the word *rùkšpūžė* was transformed into *rùkšmūžė*. The supposed derivational link with the verb *myžti* ('to piss') resulted in the development of the Samogitian word *rùkšmyžė* and its other close variants. These new words clearly bear a derivational meaning and are considered to be compound words.

There are a few *toad* euphemisms with the initial component *rud-*: *rùdspangė* Jrb; *rùdkūžė* Kv; *rudgūžė* Grl; *rùdmėšė* Gs. This subgroup also includes the euphemism *rùčkė* Lkš, Gs, which is likely to derive from the word *rùpkė*. These euphemisms might have been determined and motivated by the brown colour of their body, their shape and other bodily peculiarities.

Another class of euphemisms found in the research data were with *rep-* as their initial constituent: *rèpkė* Grl; *repèkė* Alk; *rebèkė* Brš; *rèpetkė* Smn; *repetìnė* Skr; *repèčkė* KzR; *repečkà* Všt, *repùčkė* Brb; *repežė* Šlčn; *rèpežis* Šts; *rèbežė* Grš; *bebėžė* Alk; *repėka* Šln. Due to sound change all these euphemisms are considered to belong to the category of phonetic euphemisms.

The class of phonetic euphemistic transformations of the forbidden word *rupūžė* with the initial elements *rop-*, *rip-*, *raup-* is not numerous in examples. Euphemisms *ropūžė* Pls and *ropùlė* Dbč appeared as a result of an inaccurate derivational link between the word *rupūžė* and the verb *ropoti* ('to crawl'). *Rìpkė* Slnt, Rt, Lkv, Krtn, Nv is a clear phonetic transformation of the word *rùpkė*. *Rimpùžė* Šlčn is most probably a product of the contamination of the words *rupūžė* and *rimpuoti* „rèplioti“ ('to crawl, to creep'). Euphemisms *raupūžė* An and *raupežė* SD425, Snt, N could have occurred due to supposed derivational link of the word *rupūžė* and words with the root *raup-* such as *raupai*, *rauplės* ('bumps, warts').

The rest of the euphemisms which include *ūžė* Lk; *nùžė* (*núžė*) Mc, J; *pūžė* Lk, Skr; *rùpū* Plv, Vv clearly belong to the class of shortenings. In the case of the given

examples of euphemisms morphemes do not play an important function whereas their formation is based on the initial part of the word *rupū-* or its ending: *ūžė, pūžė*, which may also involve the insertion of an additional consonant: *nužė, nūžė*.

Wolf. There have been 23 wolf euphemisms found in the data. They can be divided into complimentary and enigmatic euphemisms. The majority of the euphemisms are traditional names of endearment: *devynbalsė* Rdm; *kumelinė lakštiņgala* Slv; *kumelinis lakštiņgalas* Snt. Another group of complimentary wolf euphemisms consists of kinship terms or words that denote close acquaintance: *bičiūlis* Dbč; *kūmas* Grv, Švnč.

The class of enigmatic euphemisms is more numerous. The largest group of them is motivated by the animal's bodily structure. The most notable traits to motivate euphemism formation must have been the wolf's size and leanness: *žāgaras* „didelis, liesas, senas vilkas“ ('a large, lean, old wolf') Kp; *žiōgris* Bgs, Šr; *žiōgras* Rk. There is a euphemism which was formed based on some features of the wolf's fur: *kukūožis* Srj. Most probably this euphemistic substitute is related to the second meaning of the word *kukūožis* which is „susivėlėlis, kūtvėla“ ('sb/sth with shaggy, dishevelled hair/fur') Lzd. Probably due to fur density and its shagginess, a wolf was called a shaggy-hair. There are also euphemisms that are related to the place of habitation or frequent occurrence: *laukinis* Dbk, Lš, Vlk, J, Užp; *laukis* JJ. Euphemisms may also denote typical behaviour and function: *ūitena* Smn, Dbč; *uitina* Rod; *atžagariokas* Šmn, *nėganda* Vlk.

Šuvà ('dog') is the only name which belongs to the class of euphemisms motivated by their similarity to other entity/item or creature or by naming a forbidden animal by using a name of a different non-dangerous animal. The reasons of drawing a parallel between a wolf and a dog may lie in a few factors. Most probably this euphemism may be explained by the belief that wolves are the greyhounds of St. George.

An exceptional case is the euphemism *šalapōkas* Lzd. It may be a transformation of a Polish borrowing *szalaput* which means „vėjavaikis, padauža, lengvabūdis“ ('a scatterbrain, rascal, scallywag'). This may hold evidence especially due to the fact that Lithuanian already has a borrowing *šalapūtas* meaning „kas niekus daro, lengvabūdis, vėjavaikis, padauža“ ('someone who plays pranks, a rogue, a romp').

The euphemism *Jokūbas* (James, Jacob) deserves a separate discussion. Its appearance could have been motivated by different reasons. This name might have been very popular during a certain period and it was taken in order to refer to a wolf. Another explanation why it appeared as a euphemism can be related to mythology. People charmed by witches and wizards are said to wander in the body of a wolf as long as someone guesses their name. It is therefore possible to maintain that calling a wolf by a person's name shows their belief that a wolf is going to turn to a human being and the cattle will not suffer. Another possible explanation lies in the fact that wolves teach their pups in the period of July and August, whereas the 25th of July is the day of Saint James the Apostle. Shepherds could have noticed the correspondence and named the wolf by the Saint's name.

Louse. Louse euphemisms are relatively rare (11 examples were found). Perhaps it has been determined by the fact that it is a very small animal. Even in contemporary Lithuanian there is a simile/comparison "as small as a louse". Only three complimentary euphemisms are used to refer to these unpleasant creatures. The first one is a name of endearment according to characteristic behaviour or function: *vibždūtė* Varn. The formation of this euphemism derives from the verb *vibždėti*, *vibžda* (*vibždi*), *vibždėjo* 1) 'to crawl, to move, to wiggle'; 2) to be full of wiggling, crawling, moving animals or people; 3) presence of many moving, wiggling, crawling creatures. Two other euphemisms belong to the group of "generally pleasant, beautiful, non-dangerous creatures or things": *pilki Dievo gyvulėliai* Kp; *stirniukas* Klov.

Enigmatic euphemisms can be divided into three groups. The first group includes euphemisms that were motivated by colour: *baltóji* Dglš; *juodkuprė* LTR; *keršóji* Alk. The second contains euphemisms the motivation of which lies in typical behaviour or actions: *gnyžėlė* Tvr, *bràškė* Brt. The third group subsumes euphemisms that are motivated by the similarity to another thing or creature or just names that refer to other non-dangerous creature or thing: *baltóji kiaūlė* Vaižg.

There are a few euphemisms that are difficult to ascribe to any one category, i.e. *karkālė* KlvrŽ, ir *šioškė* Grv. *Karkalė* should be linked to the verb *apkarkaliuoti* „apnarplioti gumulais, karkalais“ ('to mesh with bundles, slobber'). It means that a louse is a creature that lays something like buds or bundles onto a human being (most probably nits). The word *šioškė* can be associated with the meaning of the word *šiošė*

„lukštas, kevalas, luobelė“ (‘shell, husk, shuck’). Since the euphemism derives from Gervėčiai, it is possible to assume that it is an adopted Slavic tradition to associate lice with grains and crumbs.

Other animals. Perhaps other animals did not use to look very threatening or repulsive and neither were they so important or sacred (except for the bear), because there are only a few euphemisms related to them. They are related to a pig, fox, cricket, and worm. 15 euphemisms in relation to other animals were found in the research material. To name some of them enigmatic euphemisms are used whereas others are referred to by complimentary words.

Enigmatic euphemisms that refer to a **pig** can be divided into two groups. One consists of euphemisms motivated by the bodily composition which includes such examples as *ilgaveidė* Rs; *ilgaaušė* Žvr, whereas the second group consists of euphemisms motivated by a typical behaviour or actions: *bizdė*.

Enigmatic **fox** euphemisms are motivated by characteristic behaviour and functions: *čiuženutė* Jrb; *čiužė čiuželaitė* J; *čiužūnaitė* JD 212; *čiužinėle* Lnk. These euphemisms emphasise the fox’s tendency to walk in a careful and slow manner by observing the surroundings - *čiužinėti* „vaikštinėti“ (‘to pace, walk about’). The root *čiuž-* should be associated with the verbs *čiužti* „čiuožti, šliaužti“ (‘to slide, slither’) or *čiužinti* „palengva, su šiūruojančiu garsu velkant kojas, eiti, šliaužti“ (‘to walk by making shuffling sounds as a result of dragging the feet’). A fox is only referred to by one complimentary euphemism, which denotes kinship or close acquaintance: *kūmà* Mrk.

Kinship or close relationship is signified in some **bear** euphemisms: *bičiulienė* JD 965; *bičiulė* Sln. A euphemism appeared due to certain social circumstances. A name to refer to a human on the basis of social relationships mapped onto animals. The word *bičiulis* has three meanings in the Lithuanian Language Dictionary (LKŽ), but in this case the first meaning is the most relevant: „kas su kitais turi bendras bites“ (‘somebody that keeps bees together with somebody else’). Bičiuliai (‘fellows’) used to share honey, beehive and bees. The initial ways of beekeeping were called *drevinė* (from the word *drevė* (‘hollow’)) and *kelminė* (from the word *kelmas* (‘stump’), i.e. when a hive lives in a hollow (*drevinė*) or in hives made from stumps (*kelminė*). Such beehives used to be kept in forests and honey it was very common that bears would

come and take the honey from a hive. As a result, a human being and a bear used to share the honey in the same way as with another human being, therefore a bear is also called *bičiulienė*.

The complimentary euphemism *svėčias* is used to refer to a cricket. This euphemism also belongs to a group of words that denote kinship or close acquaintance. Another cricket euphemism is of an enigmatic character which appeared due to its typical action/behaviour: *muzikañtas* Rd.

There is only one enigmatic euphemism to refer to a **worm**. Its motivating element is not so much the similarity to some other object or entity but rather the essence of its existence: *gývas dáiktas* Svn.

HUMAN BEING

Clothes. 17 euphemisms related to clothes were found. One of the most numerous represented groups of euphemisms is a way of referring to an open trouser flies. Another large group consists of phrases which are used to tell that someone's underwear is visible. A few euphemisms were found to refer to torn clothes. There are other euphemisms to say that garments are inside out or smeared. Apart from items of clothing, some euphemisms refer to footwear. The ones found refer to untied or loose shoelaces.

An open trouser fly is euphemistically referred to in reference to the door and gates, i.e. with objects which may also be open: *atarà váistinė* Ant; *uždarýti var̃tvoietę „užsisegti kelnes“* ('to fasten one's trousers') End. The motivation of euphemisation may lie in a certain action, e.g. looking: *paštynykas žiūri* Sug; *baltgalvė véiza par sprāgą* End. These are sayings in which part of a naked body seen through the gap between clothes or untucked clothes are figuratively referred to as a person or an animal.

Euphemisms which denote sticking out underwear are a type of etiquette formulas: *subatà išlindusi pro pėnyčių* NdŽ; *per penktādienį matýti ketvirtādienis* Pg; *pėnyčia mātosi pro sėredą* Vks; *iš po píetryčių subatà kýšo* Ml. These formulas are used to encourage someone to take care of their appearance, to look properly, decently.

Of a peculiar character are euphemisms that denote torn clothes. There were three examples encountered of this type: *senóvej ménuō* Ad; *mėsininkas žiūri pro audėjos*

lángq Jrb; *subinė laukùs lója* Grg, Šts. The euphemism *mėsininkas žiūri pro audėjos lángq* means that a man's genitals can be visible through the trousers' fly.

Euphemisms in relation to shoes are a more peripheral subgroup because they belong to footwear but since footwear is part of people's clothing, they are discussed in this section. Two euphemisms that were found are used to indicate that one's shoelaces are loose: *kumėlė/arklỹs avižosė* Pg, Pc; *arklỹs pasilėido* Brs. Loose shoelaces resemble a horse strap or chain which drags along the ground.

Bodily secretions and excretions. Faeces. The section includes not only reference to human but also animal excrements. There is no sufficient grounds to analyse them separately since only 12 examples of this type of euphemisms were found.

A dog's faeces are called *akmeñs žiedas* (lit. 'stone ring'). Most probably such a phrase is used because of similarity. When excrements dry in the sun, they turn white and solid and are similar to stones.

Manure is referred to by using the euphemism *árklio áuksas* (lit. 'horse gold') Rd. The word *áuksas* ('gold') is most likely used here due to the valuable properties of manure as fertilisers. The same analogy most probably also lies behind the euphemism *naktinis áuksas* ('night gold'), yet the word 'night', presumably, refers to the colour of the tabooed object. Another interpretation is also possible: such a saying may be a reference to human faeces that are taken outside in the morning.

The question '*Stram̃palo a nenóri?*' refers to an offer to get a cat's excrements (*stram̃palas*) when someone is irritatingly insisting to get something. The word *stram̃palas* can be associated with the first meaning of the word *stram̃pas* which is „medžio gabalas, storas pagalys“ ('a piece of wood, a thick stick'). This euphemism most probably occurred due to the similarity between cats' excrements to a short, thick wooden stick. The colour factor may also be at play as an additional interpretation of the motivation.

In general, a piece of faeces may be called *stribilinkiù* Sml; *strim̃bilu* Pc; *strubulunkù* NdŽ; *strululunkiù* J. Euphemisms are most probably associated with such aspects of a physical form as shortness and thickness.

By asking the question: *Ar neturi tik soėčio klyne, kad taip raitaisi?* (lit. 'Haven't you got a guest in your pants that makes you wiggle so much?') one can inquire if there has not been an unfortunate incident of a discharge of faeces into their pants. The

euphemism *svėčias* ('guest') Grž is used here. This is an unpleasant phenomenon which is expressed by an anthropomorphic metaphor. In a similar vein, a cow's faeces may be referred to as *tetà* ('aunt'). If we assume that this euphemism derives from shepherds' language, we can make an assumption that it is based on the fact that shepherds, especially younger ones, used to hold their feet in the warm excrements of cows to get their feet warm. *Tetà*, on the other hand, may be a reference to the size and thickness of the excrements.

In comparing Lithuanian and English euphemisms we can see certain similarity, i.e. the motivational basis of the euphemism lies in the existence of a real person: *Richard* and *atvažiavo Gabalis* (this euphemism refers to the act of defecation).

Horse apples is an American euphemism used to refer to a horse's faeces, especially when they fall on an asphalted road and make the form of a pile which reminds a pile of apples of a fruit seller's shelf (Holder 2003, 217). This euphemism can be compared to the Lithuanian *arklio auksu* ('horse gold') and *žirniai* ('peas'). Similarity may also be found in the euphemism *blynas* ('pancake') which refers to a cow's faeces (Holder 2003, 291). The Lithuanian language also possesses a euphemism *blynas* which denotes excrements of a cow.

The motivation of another American euphemism for excrements – *hooky* – most probably lies in the similarity of the shape of the two referents. Similarly, in Lithuanian the words *stribilinkis*, *strubulunkas*, *strululunkis*, *strim̃bilas* used as faeces euphemisms are also related to the boundedness and crookedness of the tabooed object.

Vomiting. All euphemisms that refer to vomiting are enigmatic. 46 such euphemisms were found all in all. One of the most numerous types of enigmatic vomiting euphemisms is represented by examples when the name of one organ is used instead of another organ. In this case instead of directly referring to the stomach or intestines reference is being made to the heart: *širdis šlykštinas* J; *širdis pŷksta* Kv, Vkš, Vg, Jrb; *širdis spelgia* Šd. A similar euphemism is *dūšià susisùko* Mž, N. Soul, spirit, stomach, heart are closely related therefore it should not be surprising that in the above-given euphemisms vomiting may be associated with the spirit leaving the body or loss of part of one's soul. For example, the Marind-anim tribe that lives in New Guinea localise the soul in the chest, stomach or heart.

Another large group of enigmatic euphemisms for vomiting is motivated by its similarity to other things due to mutual features. The first to mention in this group are sayings motivated by the similarity of the action made or function performed by another creature. The majority of euphemisms in this group are related to goat and goatskin: *óžius rékinti* Žem; *óžius pjáuti* Erž; *óžkenas sprandýti* Trk; *óžī/óžkeną tampýti* Trk. Most probably part of these euphemisms occurred as a consequence of a few factors: similarity between the sound of vomiting and a goat bleating; the supposed similarity between the smell of vomit and the smell of a goat. Another group of euphemisms is motivated by such factors as typical bodily reactions and processes that occur when vomiting such as cramps, convulsions and spasms.

The group of euphemisms motivated by the comparison with other phenomena includes examples in which vomiting is equated to defecation, whereas mouth is compared to the anus. The group includes such euphemisms as: *šikną užvadúoti* Dkš; *bùrna šiktie* Grv. The euphemistic expression *bùrną plėšti* (lit. ‘to tear the mouth’) Šts most likely denotes severe vomiting, which may feel like tearing one’s mouth. The euphemism *tvoràs dažýti* (lit. ‘to paint fences’) Jrb is different from the ones discussed above. When vomiting on a fence a person may smear it, therefore it is compared to painting. Other euphemisms are related with extremely severe vomiting, when the internal organs are taken by spasms: *òdurius išveĩsti* DrskŽ; *žárnas ištasýti* Slk. There are euphemisms which refer to a lump in one’s throat, when they feel nausea: *koserėjė áuga* Rod; *burnà priáugo* Brb.

A few euphemistic substitutes for vomiting are considerably more different than the ones discussed previously. One of them includes mention of Lucifer, i.e. the usage of a Biblical name of a creature: *Liucìpierį léisti nuo lenciũgo* Zr. In dialectal phraseology the image of the devil is commonly associated with a more modern beverage, i.e. vodka. In general, devil is considered to be the creator of vodka. Owing to that, it is possible to make a likely assumption that the euphemism actually refers to vomiting caused by vodka.

Flatulence. Euphemisms that indicate flatulence and passing gas are rather numerous (31), but there is no classification provided of this type of euphemisms. One of possible reasons may lie in the fact that it is very difficult to classify them according to their motivation. All the euphemisms encountered are enigmatic, and three groups

can be distinguished according to their meaning. The first group denotes flatulence in general, the second highlights a certain peculiarity of this process, whereas the third group indicates circumstances of this natural process. This class also includes euphemisms which are used to refer to a person who passes gas.

The first group is the most numerous. It includes only verbs which denote the action of passing gas as well as phrases to refer to it. This subgroup is most numerous represented by such euphemisms which include a noun which denotes: 1) a person (*nėbylį pro duris išléisti Šk*); 2) animal (*šėšką paléisti Snt*); 3) a plant or its part (*vežimą vėksuų užvėžti Ds*); 4) the name of an entity/item (*šōblę tráuiklioti Ggr*); 5) the name of a mythical creature/character (*piktą dvasią paleisti Plt*).

Paléisti dūlį Kt is one of the more interesting euphemisms. The noun *dūlis* has numerous meanings, e.g. it may refer to a tool to smoke bees (cf. *dumtūvę paléisti*), or a mist-like spirit (*piktą dvasią paleisti*), and fog, mist, etc. This euphemism was found to be used in Keturvalkiai, therefore most probably the equated meanings of the noun *dūlis*¹ here are (1. Fog, mist; 2. Thick smoke coming from a fire or flames; 3. Smoke for bee smoking); 4. Something that has rotten, decay), which are spread in that area. The most important meaning in this case is that of “smoke”.

Another group which denotes passing gas consists of verbs: *apsivėjúoti Bsg*; *léisti Lp, Ds*; *užstūmti Ėr*. In addition to them, there are euphemisms which highlight the intensity of passing gas: *rūmsčioti* „pirsčioti“ (‘fart repeatedly’) *Vlk*; *užvėžti* „smarkiai pagadinti orą“ (‘to blow off severely, to fart heavily’) *Mžk, Kvr, Sml, Alv*. Finally, the circumstances of the process of passing gas are indicated by the usage of the euphemisms *subinė į nakvynę prāšosi* „kai susiperdžiama vakare“ (‘when one passes gas in the evening’) *TDr*; *šnāpštą vėžti* „miegant gadinti orą“ (‘to pass gas while sleeping’).

The euphemism *atvažiavo Gabalis Nv* is peculiar because Gabalis is a surname of a real person. The person used to clean toilets. It is especially interesting that nobody remembers who that person was but the euphemism has remained and is still used.

The English language possesses euphemistic phrases with the words *wind* or *air*: *break wind*, *let off wind* (a shorter version forma *let off*), *pass air*. These English euphemisms can be compared with similar Lithuanian euphemisms: *apsivėjúoti, léisti*.

Defecation. Euphemisms that refer to defecation (40 examples all in all) are classified into different groups according to their meaning. The first and most

numerous group includes euphemisms which signify defecation in general. Similarly to the case of flatulence, they may be divided into phrasal euphemisms one-word euphemisms, i.e. verbs. Phrasal euphemisms include the following examples: *arkliū pažiūrėti* Dkš; *kėlnes išvėrsti* Alk; *laūką atreikalauti* Šts; *šėmis vėrčia duris* Lkč; *voverę dóbti* Gž. As one can notice, a few cases include a figurative use of words to denote faeces: *voverė šėmis*, *žalias*. Most probably, the most significant element is the colour of the mentioned animals and their hair/fur.

Verb-based euphemisms which denote defecation, include the following examples: *apsireikalauti* Ss; *laukinėtis* KlvrŽ, Škn, Vks, Skd; *leñgointis* Grž.

Another large group of euphemisms includes euphemisms that denote not so much defecation in general but rather diarrhoea: *devintañ vainikan* „sunkiai viduriuoti“ (‘to have severe diarrhoea’) Ds; *į Tirkšliùs ir Trýškius važiuoti* VP37; *liñksmą šikną gáuti* „pradėti viduriuoti“ (‘to start having diarrhoea’) Dkš; *plónu bėgimù sīrgti* Šts. The opposite of diarrhoea, constipation, is referred to by the euphemism *spiróklis užbrindo* Slnt.

The English language contains numerous euphemisms for defecation, whereas the main difference in comparison to Lithuanian is that part of English euphemisms can be used to denote both urination and defecation. Diarrhoea that strikes a person in Egypt may be denoted by the euphemisms *Cairo crud* and *gippy tummy*. The euphemism *Spanish tummy* indicates that the process of diarrhoea started particularly in Spain, whereas *Napoleon’s revenge* is used to refer to a situation in which British tourists start suffering from diarrhoea in France. Such euphemisms have not been encountered in Lithuanian but they may be compared so some Lithuanian examples such as *į Tirkšliùs ir Trýškius važiuoti*, although its motivation is of a different nature.

English also possesses a politeness formula which is used when one apologises themselves in order to go to defecate. The American version is the expression *to mail a letter*, whereas the British one is *to post a letter*. Such phrases used for politeness purposes are also characteristic to the Lithuanian language, e.g. *óro pasižiūrėti*, *arkliū pažiūrėti* etc.

Urination. Euphemisms for urination (24 were found in the data) are divided into two groups with respect to meaning: 1) euphemisms that denote the process of urination; 2) euphemisms that denote some circumstances of urination. The first group

may formally be divided into phrases and one-word euphemisms. The former includes such cases as: *árklius girdyti* Brs; *bulvelės suñkti* Brs; *kraūjq nulėisti* Alk; *kukuliūs nusuñkti* Alk; *núolydj nulėisti* Varn; *truñpas reĩkalas* Stak. The motivation of some euphemisms is very clear, which is based on similarity between urine and other liquid substances and, as a result, urine can be equated to them. Similarly to producing some other liquid, urine can be referred to by some actions on relation to liquids, e.g. *bulvelės suñkti; kraūjq nulėisti, kukuliūs nusuñkti*.

In addition, the process of urination may be referred to by the usage of the following euphemisms: *ćiurćiurć/ćiurćiùkas* Gs; *pipėti* Kkl; *prišvilpti* End. The first two euphemisms are used to denote urination, their motivation is based on sound imitation. In other words, repetition of an onomatopoeic sound refers to the flow and sprinkle of the liquid. The euphemism *pipėti*, most probably, is derivationally associated with the interjection *pipỹ*.

Four euphemisms denote more than just urination. They are used to emphasise certain circumstances of the urination process. One can use the euphemistic expression *apivarai pasilėidžia* Grž when, as a result of drinking a large amount of liquids a person has to go to urinate frequently. The expression reflects the conceptualisation of a human body as a container which, before urinating was “tied up”, whereas now the closed “container” is being “untied” and results in pouring out its contents.

Similarly to Lithuanian, the motivation of urination euphemisms in other languages is also very transparent, it is usually based on similarity between urine and other liquids, therefore the same actions can be performed with urine as with other liquids, e.g. *drain off, siphon the python, leak, make room for tea, make water, pass water, void water, run off, slash, empty out, odpryskać się; pućić kropelki*. The given English and Polish euphemisms can be compared with the Lithuanian examples *bulvelės suñkti, kraūjq nulėisti, kukuliūs nusuñkti, numėsti vādenj, vandeniùkq nulėisti*.

Both in Lithuanian and in English there are euphemisms with lexical units that denote natural objects: *árklius girdyti, arkliũ pažiūrėti* and *gather a daisy, pick a daisy, kill a snake, shoot a lion*. Apart from the above-given English euphemisms, this category also includes *look at the garden, see the rose bed, and find a tree*.

Similarities may be also found in words typically used in children's speech which have become euphemisms, e.g. the English euphemisms *wee* and *pee* are similar to the Lithuanian euphemistic words *pipỹ* or the Polish one *siusiu*.

Nasal secretions. Euphemisms for nasal secretions are not numerous. Typically they are phraseological names: *maũmas leñda* Ds; *ùbagas lãzdq káišo* Gršl; *žỹdai leñda* Grv, Arm, Lp, Všn. *Maũmas* is a dialectal word that signifies a bogeyman or a bugaboo. There is nothing surprising that nasal mucus is referred to by the word *ubagas* ('a pauper, a pauper'), because paupers are unwanted, they are not welcome and neither are snots. The visible part of a flowing mucus is metaphorically called *lazdà* ('stick') or *kójos* ('legs'). As may be noticed, the motivation of these euphemisms lies in the fact that the lexical items as elements constituting these euphemisms denote unpleasant objects, just like the visible nasal mucus. The usage of the word *žỹdas* ('a Jew') is most probably present in these sayings due to the fact that this Semitic people used to be treated as different from others and thus foreign, strange and therefore also unwelcome and mocked at. Jews used to differ from Lithuanian in almost all aspects of life including religion, ethnicity, customs, social class, anthropology, and language.

Buttocks. There are many more enigmatic euphemisms than complimentary ones to refer to buttocks. All in all, there were 79 euphemisms in relation to this body part. Only one name of endearment was found in the data. The euphemistic substitute refers to a close acquaintance, more precisely, a kinship term, i.e. *tetùlè* Ds. There are more terms of kinship used for the euphemistic purposes: *dédienè* Brt ir *ciõcè* Mrs.

A rather large group of enigmatic euphemisms for buttocks consists of names that are *based on the appearance of the body part and its comparison with other things*. In addition, it is possible to distinguish a group of euphemisms which consists of *alternative names for buttocks*. The first and most numerous represented class consists of euphemisms which are motivated by the appearance of the buttocks or its other features, therefore it is often associated with different things: *dũlè* Gs, Grš, Br, Gl; *gìrna* Arm; *kérpè* Pl; *kẽpalas* Šv; *piestà* Ktk; *raukà* Skr; *skeltumà* Dkk.

The motivation of other enigmatic euphemisms includes not only the features of appearance but also its certain other features which allow it to be associated with some other things: *añtras gãlas* ('the other end') Rs; *dũgnas* ('bottom') Trš, Skdv, Jnš; *storgalỹs* Lk. So, buttocks are referred to as *antras galas*, because there is also also the

first end, i.e. mouth, it is also called *dugnas* ('bottom') because it is the lower part of the body, moreover, it is also a body part the characteristic of which is its width, therefore the euphemism *storgalỹs* is used.

The second group of euphemisms is *motivated by characteristic actions or functions* of buttocks: *birbizà/birbisà* Ds; *liũlẽ* Užv; *minkštà vietà* V. Bub; *puřpẽ* Arm; *raumẽnẽ* Skr; *sẽdỹnẽ* Ūd, Šll, Brž; *skeltóji* Ml; *zirzỹnẽ* Tv. Quite many of the euphemisms that belong to this group occurred because buttocks is the body part on which people sit (*sẽdỹnẽ*). Euphemisms with a similar motivation are also existent in Polish, for example, *siedzenie*. Even more euphemisms appeared on the basis of sound similarity, i.e. the sound that is made when passing gas: *birbizà/birbisà*, *puřpẽ*, *zirzỹnẽ*. The euphemisms *liũlẽ* can be used as a reference to loose and flabby buttocks. The euphemisms *minkštà vietà*, *raumẽnẽ*, *skeltóji* and the like are also rather transparent since they are related to typical features of this part of the body.

Sexual intercourse and genitals. Names for sexual intercourse. It is rather difficult to classify euphemisms for sexual intercourse into narrower categories, therefore they are discussed individually. First of all, euphemisms that refer to sexual intercourse should be divided into at least two categories, i.e. one-word euphemisms and phraseological units. Phraseological euphemisms include the following examples: *aĩt liesõs kumẽlẽs jóti* Pt; *lyberĩ atidũoti* „pirmà kartà turẽti lytiniũ santykiũ su mergina“ ('to have a sexual intercourse with a girl for the first time') Šk; *mẽdũ kopinẽti* P. Cvir. A euphemistic phrase *lyberĩ atiduoti* should most probably be associated with the name of a payment, tax *lyberis* „javũ mokestis, javũ duoklẽ, pyla“ ('crop tax, grain contribution'). The phrase *medũ kopinẽti* is most likely to have occurred due to the similarity between a hollow tree and female sexual organs.

Sexual intercourse may also be referred to by the following euphemisms: *grũstis* Dv; *iřnakvóti* End; *krũřti* Šll; *kũltis* J, Dbk; *mĩnkyti* Skr. These euphemisms are most often used when referring to animals, especially birds, however, they may also be used to denote human sexual intercourse. Some euphemisms are clearly based on similarity between sexual intercourse and some other action.

Female genitals. There are quite many euphemisms (about 40) to refer to female sexual organs. Three of them are ascribed to the category of complimentary euphemisms: *řeřkinẽlis* J; *řiauřeriũkas* Sml; *voverỹtẽ* Ndž. The rest of the cases are

enigmatic euphemisms which may further be subdivided into: 1) euphemisms that occurred as a result of some characteristic action, function or feature; 2) comparison with something else due to similar features.

The first group includes such euphemisms as *knìpé* Rt, Kv, Škn; *mìžé* J, Kv, Grg, Sd; *pìzè* Pns, Vlk, Skr, Krkl. Most probably, the euphemism *pisa* (: *pìso*) FrII146 should also be ascribed to this class. It is a euphemism that is associated with the euphemism *pìsti* ‘santykiauti; šlapintis (to have sex; to urinate)’ (LKŽ). The euphemism *pìzè* is a cognate of the pejorative word *pizdà, pyzdà* (LKŽ).

The second group includes metaphorical euphemisms which equate female genitals with other items or even animals as a result of (assumed) similarities: *geldālè*, Kv; *kikirỹkai* Krkl; *kũšỹs* Čb, Vlk, Pn, Šts; *pùtè* Krsn, Kn, Ssk, Srv, Grž; *štiš* Vks; *vištà* Grj, Sml, Ut; *vyžà* Plš.

Euphemisms *vištà* Gr, Grj, Sml, Ut and *pùtè* Krsn, Kn, Ssk, Srv, Grž are discussed together. The meaning of the word *putè* is a ‘hen’. A hen is most probably referred to as *putè* as a result of the fact that the sound for calling hens is the interjection *put*. By the way, in Belorussia, female sexual organs are also referred to by the word *кырбуа*. If an interjection generally used to call hens is used as a euphemism for female genitals, it is also possible to euphemise other phenomena by the use of the interjection *štiš*, generally used to whisk away the birds.

Male genitalia. Euphemisms for male genital are more numerous (60 were found in the research data) than those for female sexual organs. The first class presented consists of complimentary euphemisms since they most probably are distinct due to their suffixes: *lakstũčiai* NdŽ; *skiviriukai* Nj, Sml. Both euphemisms are used to refer to testicles. The first expression is motivated by a certain feature, whereas the second euphemism should be associated with the word *skivoytas* ‘atplėštas ar atplyšęs gabalas, atplaiša, skarmalas’ (‘a torn piece of sth, a splint, rag’) or *skivirlys* ‘mėsgalys’ (‘a piece of meat’).

Enigmatic euphemisms for male genitalia are more numerous in comparison to complimentary ones. The largest group consists of names which occurred as a result of associations with other items due to similar features, peculiarities, functions, or actions. Differently from euphemisms for female genitals, euphemisms for male sexual organs may be divided into clearly delineated groups. These euphemisms may be: a)

motivated by external similarity and b) motivated by other features. The first group includes the following examples: *benāgis* Kal, Arm; *būkis* Skr; *kañkalas* Ndž; *krēpšas* DrskŽ; *kulē* Kv; *mākas* Lkž; *pim̃palas* Vdžg, Vdk; *vārpa* Vlk, Šn.

The first group the euphemism of which are motivated by the similarity between male genitalia and other objects that the euphemistic words literally refer to is very numerous represented. Conversely, the second group, which includes euphemisms that refer to male sexual organs by names of other objects the motivation of which is not very clear is represented by a lower number of examples. This group involves such euphemism as *añtras gālas* Sd; *gýveras* J („įrankis, padargas“ (‘a tool, an instrument’) (LKŽ)); *rýkas* LPĮ III 219 („padargas, įrankis, instrumentas; reikmuo“ (‘a tool, a device, an instrument; a utensil’) (LKŽ)); *tà vietà* Rdn, Krš. These euphemisms may be compared to Polish euphemisms *instrument*; *interes*; *kudłaty interes*; *członuś*; *kolega*; *kolega z dołu* etc. None of the euphemisms in Lithuanian and Polish mentioned above have a clear motivation in comparison to the ones in the first group (names according to the form or function) and their motivational basis may only by assumed or guessed.

Male sexual organs may also be referred to by some animals names: *pelė* (‘mouse’) Plv; *várna* (‘crow’) J. Reference to male genitalia by bird names is also evidenced in Polish, e.g. *ptaszek*; *żuraw*. The motivation of the euphemism *pelė* is most probably based on the animal’s small size and softness. This is a way to refer to a boy’s genitals, which is illustrated by the following example: *Žiūrėk, vaikuti, tavo peliukė matyti*.

Based on the fact that the euphemism *čìuris* Plng, Skd is associated with the interjection *čiuř* and its first meaning „kartojant nusakomas skysčio tekėjimas, tryškimas“ (‘its repetition denotes the flow and sprinkle of a liquid’), it is possible to distinguish a fourth class of euphemisms which were born based on a characteristic action, function or feature. A similar euphemisms which refer to female sex organs, i.e. *čiūrynė* which, similarly to *čìuris* is based on one of the functions of sexual organs, i.e. urination. In Polish there are also euphemisms with the same motivation, e.g. *siusiak*, *sisiak*, *pisior*.

Diseases. The most frequent among all disease euphemisms (22 were found in total) are euphemistic references to menstruation. Their inclusion into this category is relative since period is a natural part of a woman’s life. Euphemisms for other diseases

include *gumtas* „gumbas, vidurių liga“ (‘gastritis, bowel disease’) Prng; *põniška ligà* „hemorojus“ (‘haemorrhoids’) End; *prastoji ligà* „sifilis“ (‘syphilis’). End. The euphemism *gumtas* is a phonetic euphemism, i.e. the first syllable of the euphemistic term (*gumtas*) and the tabooed word (*gumbas*) corresponds. The euphemism *põniška ligà* „hemorojus“ is based on the belief that haemorrhoids is caused by such factors as sitting for a long time, therefore, people who do not work hard (such as rich men and the nobility) are most likely to have the disease. Syphilis may also be referred to as *prastoji liga* because of a widespread folk belief that the disease is mainly related to adultery.

Lithuanian euphemisms related to menstruation may be divided into two groups, i.e. euphemisms that refer to the period itself as a phenomenon and euphemisms that refer to the process of menstruation. Euphemistic substitutions for menstruation include the following examples: *baltì žiedaĩ* K; *bóby diēnos* LKŽ; *negālė* Pnd; *raudonėji žiedaĩ* Ss; *raudonóji ligà* Plk; *svečiaĩ* Vlk. In order to euphemise the fact that a woman has their period, the expression *sàvo rykq turėti* N or a verb *sĩrgti* Krš, End is used.

The basis of euphemisation lies in the names of clothes or pieces of cloth, which include Lithuanian examples such as *drapānės, rūbiniai, skalbiniaĩ, skarìnės*, and the English *rag(s) on*. In addition, it is possible to compare such euphemisms as *negālė, sĩrgti* in Lithuanian with the English words *ill, poorly* since they are all based on the conceptualisation of period as a disease. Correspondence may also be found between euphemisms that are based on red colour: *raudonėji žiedaĩ, raudonóji ligà* and *baker flying, captain is at home, flag is up, road is up for repair*. It is also possible to draw a parallel between euphemisms *svečiaĩ* and *caller, friend has come* which indicate temporality and recurrence.

Giving birth, delivery. In total there were 35 delivery euphemisms found in the data. Delivery euphemisms can be divided into three groups: *euphemisms denoting delivery, euphemisms that denote delivery aid* and *euphemisms that refer to birth*.

The most numerously represented is the category of euphemisms that denote delivery. Most of them are associated with household and daily activities and items: *akėcios suĩro* Ds; *pėčius pėrsprogo* Krš. This group also includes other euphemisms that have similar semantics: *bóba sugriùvo* Kp; *subyrėti* Trgn.

The other group of delivery euphemisms, which more numerous consists of euphemisms one constituent of which denote the action of carrying or fetching: *parněšti vaĩkq* Lnk; *sterblėjė parsinėšti*. Delivery may also be related to a disease. A successful delivery tends to be associated with a positively evaluated disease: *džiaũgsmo ligà sĩrgti* Smal. An untimely delivery or miscarriage is typically conceptualised as a negatively assessed disease, e.g. *išsisĩrgti* Pnd, Ml, Sl, Ob, Kp.

The group of euphemisms to refer to the delivery aid are metaphorically motivated by the image of “catching” the baby in different ways: *vaikùs gáudyti* Rdm; *sučiùpti* Lk; *sugróbti* LzP.

Birth euphemisms constitute quite a large group of substitutes. They can be further subdivided into those that indicate that *a child was brought by someone, that a child was received in some other ways* and that *a child arrives from some distant place*.

The most frequent domestic explanation of where a baby has come from is explaining that it was brought by a stork: *gañdras àtnešė*. The image that a baby is taken from water is an older version in comparison to the stork imagery, however, the latter is more popular in contemporary society. A similar euphemism is *àtnešė bobulė* Kp. Children can also be “received” from other sources, e.g. *ràsti kopũstuose*. A baby can also be purchased (*nupĩrkti* Źb) or a child can simply fall out of the pouch (*iš sterblėš iškrìsti* Krš).

Birth can also be euphemised by associating it with an arrival from a distant place. The simplest euphemism is *atvažiùoti* Alv. (‘to arrive’). Another euphemism where arrival from a distant place is associated with birth is *čigõnai susikráustė* Kp. An interesting conceptualisation of distance is witnessed in the following euphemisms: *iš Amėrikos parvažiùoti* (‘to arrive from America’) Kt, *amerikõnas àtplaukė* (‘an American has arrived’) Kp. As a symbol of distance and mystery the image of a country was chosen. It is possible to state that these euphemisms are not very old but they reach as far back as the first wave of the emigration to America in the 19th century.

Giving birth is a phenomenon that belongs to taboo of all cultures, for example, in English there are quite many euphemisms in relation to childbirth from conception to delivery. Delivery may be associated with discharge and dropping/tossing (*drop, cast, throw* compared to *išsisĩrgti, išsimėsti* (used in referring to animals)). Birth may also be euphemised by the expression *happy*, which in Lithuanian would correspond to

the euphemisms *džiaũgsmo ligà sīrgti*. A few euphemisms are similar to the Lithuanian euphemism *ràsti kopũstų lýsvėje*: *gooseberry bush* and *parsley bed*. There are parallels between Lithuanian euphemisms *subyrėti*, *bóba sugriuvo*, *akėcios suiro*, *pėčius pėrsprogo* and Russian *растряслась*, *рассыпалась* „subyrėjo“ (‘to shatter’), Byelorussian *раскидалась* „išsimėtė“ (‘to scatter’), Czech *rozvalila se* „sugriuvo“ (‘to collapse’).

Dying. 181 euphemisms for dying were found in total. The first group consists of euphemistic substitutes which are based on *comparing death to a journey*. The second category is *motivated by certain other features* – the lying position of a dead body, closed eyes, burial in the ground. The third group is *motivated by the belief that a person dies having heard a calling* (usually by religious figures or characters) or that after death the body is separated from the soul. The rest of the euphemism do not belong to any of these groups.

The first large group to refer to death consists of euphemisms which include the motifs of a journey, travelling and going/walking (motion verbs). Their motivation is clear since death is metaphorically conceptualised as leaving this world and travelling to another one. This group includes such euphemisms as: *añt kalnũ važiúoti* Dg; *ĩ pakalñę eiti* Vn; *ĩ sàvo žẽmę važiúoti* Rdn; *ĩ smiltýnq eiti* Jrb; *ĩ tã svietaq nueiti* Dglš, Grv; *Lopetĩnskiui sù Grabĩnskiu pareiti* Trk. These euphemisms typically include motifs related to Biblical characters and God (*sù Dievù*, *ĩ Abraomq*, *ĩ Adomẽlj*, *pàs Diẽvq*, *pàs põnq Diẽvq*, *priẽ põno Diẽvo*), as well as the motif of the soil in which one lies after death (*ĩ sàvo žẽmę*, *ĩ smiltýnq*, *ĩ žẽmę*, *põ žemè*, *põ veléna*, *põ velénomis*, *ĩ viẽtq nueiti*).

The euphemistic saying *ĩ šárkų bažnýčiq važiúoti / eiti* most probably is based on the fact that cemeteries usually are full of crows and magpies. It is important to note that in traditional culture a magpie in general is close to the mythical world of death. The occurrence of a magpie may not only mean a guests’ visit but also death. Some faiths have different beliefs in relation to the occurrence of a magpie which depend on the place the bird lands on. If it perches on a fence, it means that matchmakers are going to visit the house, if it perches on a dry tree, it means somebody is going to die.

The imagery of journeys and travelling is closely related to bidding farewell and separation from this world: *sù šiuõ pasáuliu atsisvėikinti / pėrsiskirti* LTR; *sù tuõ pasáuliu skirtis* Kdn. One can notice a clear opposition between *šis* (‘this’) and *tas* (‘that’). The pronoun *šis* “is used as an adjective in reference to a topic or issue which who in spatial

terms is close or familiar to the speaker; it is used as a noun to indicate something already known or mentioned (usually a person, animal or thing)”, whereas the pronoun *tas* is used as an attribute to refer to a person, animal or a thing; “it is used as an attribute to put an emphasis on the person, animal or a phenomenon being talked about” (LKŽ). As can be seen, in some cases euphemisms may convey the meaning of a certain distance from reality and the pronoun *tas* which has a more neutral meaning, is used instead.

The second group of euphemisms that refer to death consist of examples which are motivated by certain characteristics of dying. The most obvious is the lying position of a dead body. This group includes the following euphemisms: *añt lentōs būti / išsitiēsti / atsigūlti* Mrj, N, Sld, End; *ĩ suolēlio krikštą atsigūlti* Tvr. Certainly, another feature of dying has also been noticed, i.e. one’s eyes closed forever: *akis deñgti sù lentà* Krš; *Diēvas užmērks akis* Alks. The imagery of a burial and a grave also gave rise to the occurrence of many euphemisms. Usually they include the noun *žemė* (‘ground, soil’) and its synonyms: *ĩ molynę sulįsti* Vn; *smēlio užsibērti añt akių* J. Ap; *trīs aršinūs žēmės gáuti* Grž.

The third group consists of euphemisms motivated by certain beliefs. One of them is the belief that when a person dies, their soul leaves the body. The soul itself is being referred to by the borrowing or its other synonyms: *dūšią išléisti ĩ añtrą pasáulį* Krš; *sielą atidúoti Diēvui / Viēšpačiui Žem.*

The fourth group of euphemisms includes sayings with the reference to the “culprit” him/herself the motivation of which most probably derives from the borrowed name of a shovel, i.e. *lopeta*: *Lopetinskis / Lopetinskas: Lopetĩnskas siúlo pridōtką* “greit mirs” (‘a death is soon to come’) Skr; *Lopetĩnskis priē subinēs* “laikas mirti” (‘it is time to die’) DūnŽ. Most probably the motivation of these euphemisms is related to the burial by placing the dead body into the ground hole, which is dug with a shovel or spade. The euphemism *sēną lópetą apžēninti* Lp also includes the motif of a spade.

Similar euphemisms are also present in other languages, e.g. *pójśc do Abrahama na piwo* in Polish and *važiuoti pas Abraomą alaus gerti* in Lithuanian; or *iš šiō pasáulio iškeliáuti* and *iš svieto išēiti* and the Polish euphemism *przejechać na tamten świat*.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Having carried out the analysis of euphemisms it is possible to claim that nominal and verbal euphemisms are related by their semantics, however, the classification of nominal euphemisms is not suitable to classify verbal euphemisms. The analysis of nominal euphemisms led to the distinction of the following classes which are most numerous represented: endearment names; kinship terms or words referring to close acquaintance; words that denote high social standing; names of other creatures that are pleasant, beautiful and non-dangerous; names according to bodily composition; typical actions or functions; character traits; place of habitation or occurrence. Verbal euphemisms are most conveniently analysed having divided them into one-word euphemisms and phrasal euphemisms.

2. Essentially all animal names can be both complimentary and enigmatic. The largest number of animal-related euphemisms are those referring to a snake. In general, as far as animals are concerned, evaluative associations of the same animal in different languages may be different. The same animal may be evaluated differently by sedentary farmers, by nomads or by hunters of primitive tribes.

2.1. The analysis of snake names shows that the basis of appearance-motivated euphemisms lies in its external features such as colour, body measurements or form, features of body parts, similarity to another object. From the point of view of function, the most frequent are enigmatic euphemisms. As regards word-formation, the most numerous are derived words, which include derivatives and compounds (which are less frequent). Nomination reflects the mentality affected by myths (*raguočė padraguočė*), various beliefs (*skraiduolė, skraiduolinė paskraiduolinė*). Part of snake euphemisms derive from names of objects that symbolise reptiles in traditional ethnic culture. Euphemisms that are motivated by other factors than appearance reveal that in referring to a snake, equally frequent are names which are based on the place of its occurrence and habitation, character and typical behaviour. From the functional perspective these are also enigmatic euphemisms. Most common euphemisms are suffixal derivatives. The factor motivating euphemism formation is reality: encountered with a snake, a human being ascribed certain behavioural features and noted typical places that are most typical for snakes to show themselves.

2.2. Euphemistic toad names commonly are phonetic transformations of different types and therefore they are clearly distinct from other euphemistic animal names. Such transformations are usually used in different dialects of the Lithuanian language as softer, embellished pejoratives. In some cases a word is not only embellished but it also acquires a clearer negative connotation (*rukšmyžė*). Presumably, the established pejorative function is the key factor of the high number of such phonetic transformations as well as their constant change.

2.3. The wolf is in many ways similar to the snake, although its euphemistic names are not as frequent. Both the wolf and the snake share similar chthonic characteristics. Wolf euphemisms are both complimentary and enigmatic. They include traditional names of endearment which are used with the aim of pleasing the wolf or secretly mocking it as well as kinship terms or words denoting close acquaintance. The largest group of enigmatic euphemisms consists of euphemisms which are motivated by the animal's bodily structure. The most noticed features seem to be the size and leanness of the wolf.

2.4. Lice euphemisms are composed in the same way as euphemistic names of other animals. They are motivated by such features as their typical behaviour or function or their names are replaced by other names of non-dangerous creatures or words that denote other items. In addition, their motivation may also be based on the colour, typical behaviour of the louse or its similarity to another item or creature.

2.5. To refer to other animals, both enigmatic and complimentary euphemisms are also used. Pig euphemisms are motivated by a certain feature of the animal's body (the length of the muzzle, its specific ears) or sound that it produces (passing gas). A fox is referred to by euphemisms that emphasise the way of its movement or names of kinship. A bear and a cricket are usually named by euphemisms which indicate kinship or close acquaintance. To refer to a cricket, one may also use an enigmatic euphemism motivated by typical behavioural features. Worm euphemism has the same basis, i.e. it is a living being. Both Lithuanian and Slavic bear euphemisms are names that indicate kinship or close acquaintance, however such euphemisms are not numerous today since bear euphemisms which used to exist in the Baltic-Slavic-Germanic areal are currently used as ordinary names.

3. Euphemisms used to refer to a human being and their environment are mostly related to etiquette. These euphemisms are impossible to describe according to one system since some of them are nominal, whereas others are verbal. Nominal euphemisms are similar to those of animals, i.e. they are complimentary and enigmatic. Such a way of classification are not suitable for verbal euphemisms and, as a result, they are classified into one-word euphemisms and phrasal euphemisms. Euphemistic names of a human being are numerous which is determined by the fact that in the development of the urban culture, the old religion and farmer mentality are disappearing and their place is taken by etiquette as well as new objects of reality. Of all euphemisms used to refer to a human being and their environment, most notable of those that denote delivery and giving birth and death euphemisms. The basis of these euphemisms is still religious taboo.

3.1. There are not many euphemisms to refer to items of clothing. In essence they are formulas of etiquette which have become euphemisms. These are didactic euphemisms which are related to etiquette, cleanness, and tidiness. Those areas which are related to something that is not pronounced loudly are euphemised. They include certain parts of clothes (trouser fly), sticking out undergarments, inside-out or unclean clothes, untied or loose shoelaces etc.

3.2. Faeces (both those of humans and animals) words are euphemised based on their similarity to some other objects.

3.3. Euphemisation of vomiting includes referring to other organs, usually the heart; vomiting may also be equated to other processes due to similarity (a similar action or function).

3.4. Most distinct among euphemisms of flatulence are those in which the procedure of passing gas is being referred to. It may be substituted by individual verbs and phrases.

3.5. Defecation euphemisms are very similar to those of flatulence in that most of them denote the process of defecation itself. Similarly, they may be expressed by verbs and phraseological units. The specificity of this group is determined by the subcategory of euphemisms for diarrhoea.

3.6. Urination euphemisms either refer to the process of urination or describe its certain circumstances.

3.7. Euphemisms for nasal secretions typically are expressions which refer to liquid-like substances that run or stick out from the nose. The appearance of the image of a Jew in such euphemisms most probably was determined by the nation's unfamiliarity, different appearance and customs rather than unpleasant connotations related to this nation.

3.8. To refer to the buttocks almost no complimentary euphemisms are used. The majority of buttocks euphemisms are motivated by the appearance or other features of this body part, therefore this part of the body is associated with various items. There are quite many substitutes which are motivated by typical actions or functions and the sound produced when passing air.

3.9. Sexual intercourse euphemisms do not require a wider context since the basis of their motivation is similarity of intercourse to other actions.

3.10. The group of euphemistic substitutes of sexual organs consists of names according to typical action, function or feature or equation with some other item that has a similar feature.

3.11. The largest part of diseases euphemisms consists of substitutes for menstruations although their ascription to this category is only partial.

3.12. Euphemisms for giving birth include three main euphemised issues: delivery, delivery aid and birth. The most numerous is the category of euphemisms for delivery. Their motivation may be based on associations with household items, disease and even time. Delivery aid euphemisms indicate the association between the arrival into this world and water as well as reference to some kind of catching a child. Birth euphemisms have become explanations of where babies come from: *gandras (bobulė) atnešė, rastas kopūstuose* etc. In addition, euphemisation has been affected by social factors, for example, emigration (*iš Amerikos parvažiuoti*).

3.13. The most important place in the group of euphemisms for dying is occupied by the imagery of a journey into the other world. Almost all euphemisms include the motifs of soil/ground, place of the burial, Biblical characters, God, and attributes of a burial.

4. The analysis of the collected data reveals that there are cases when the euphemism itself is euphemised. Often an older euphemism is replaced by a newer one. The phenomenon of taboo functions as the crucial factor that determined the old

names of a snake, bear and other animals in the majority of Indo-European languages. The old name of a snake in Lithuanian is *angis*, while that of bear is *lokys*. It means that the words *gyvatė* ('snake') and *meška* ('bear') are euphemisms. The discussion of other words to refer to these animals includes euphemisms of euphemisms. An older euphemism may coexist with its newer version but the new one is used more frequently and more widely. The same process is noted in the explanation of childbirth euphemisms. The euphemistic imagery of getting a baby from water is older whereas the version that a baby was fetched by a stork is newer.

5. Euphemisms used in other countries are close to Lithuanian ones in their linguistic expression and imagery since the principle of taboo is universal. The greatest similarity is manifested in cases when the euphemised topic has mythical or religious basis (Polish *pójść do Abrahama na piwo*, Lithuanian *važiuoti pas Abraomą alaus gerti*). More differences are present in cases of euphemisation related to etiquette, neatness, and the occurrence of the urban culture. A greater amount and variety of data could disclose different conclusions and tendencies. There are similarities which allow making an assumption that euphemisms may be borrowed not only as lexical units but also as elements of cultural context, e.g. syphilis in different languages is euphemised similarly (pl. *francuska choroba*, ru. *французский насморк*, ang. *malady of France*, kro. *francuska bolest*).

LIETUVIŲ KALBOS EUFEMIZMAI: RAIŠKA IR MOTYVACIJA

Santrauka

Darbo objektas, temos aktualumas, tyrimo metodika ir problematika.

Darbo objektas – lietuvių kalbos eufemizmai. Disertacijoje analizuojami tik su gyvūnais ir su žmogumi susiję eufemizmai. Gyvūnų skyriuje nagrinėjami ne visų gyvūnų eufemizmai, o tik gyvatės, vilko, utėlės, rupūžės, kiaulės, lapės, meškos, svirplio, kirmėlės, nes daugelio kitų gyvūnų eufemizmus yra nagrinėjusi B. Jasiūnaitė.

Eufemizmų tyrimų Lietuvoje nėra daug, tačiau esama atskirų straipsnių apie šiuolaikinius eufemizmus (Marcinkevičienė 1998) arba tam tikras eufemizmų grupes, pvz., grafinius eufemizmus (Kudirka 2012). Šiek tiek eufemizmai aptarti ir juridinėje retorikoje (Koženiauskiene 2006, 2009) bei retorikoje (Koženiauskiene 2001). Plačiausiai lietuvių kalbos tradicinius eufemizmus yra ištyrusi B. Jasiūnaitė (2001, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2012). Jos darbuose aptariamos eufemijos problemos, terminai, nagrinėjimo ir klasifikavimo galimybės, taip pat sporadiškai aptariami kai kurie eufemistiniai gyvūnų pavadinimai, su žmogaus aplinka ir pačiu žmogumi susiję eufemizmai. Disertacijos autoriaus eufemizmai nagrinėti keliuose straipsniuose (2013, 2014; 2013 straipsnis kartu su B. Jasiūnaite). Darbų, išsamiau nagrinėjančių tradicinius gyvūnų ir su žmogumi bei jo aplinka susijusius eufemizmus ir lyginančių juos su kitų kalbų eufemizmais, labai nedaug, todėl tai aktualus tyrimas, leidžiantis apžvelgti vieną iš nepastoviausių leksikos klodų, atveriantis kelią lietuvių kalbos eufemizmų raidos tendencijų tyrimams.

Apie eufemizmo terminą ir tabuistinius dalykus yra rašę Gaivenis, Keinys (1990), LKE (1999). Tabu ir lingvistinio tabu sąsajas su eufemija aptaria S. Karaliūnas (1997). Būtina paminėti J. G. Frazerį (1936), kurio knygoje surinkta gausi medžiaga apie įvairių tautų tabu, pateikiami eufemizmų pavyzdžiai, taip pat S. Freudą (2010), kurio knygoje tabu nagrinėjamas psichoanalizės metodu ir pateikiami tabu, eufemizmų pavyzdžiai. Apie substitutų reikšmę senųjų gyvūnų pavadinimų nykimui yra rašę ir lietuvių, ir slavų mokslininkai (Трубачев 1958, Būga 1959, Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984). Žymus amerikiečių lingvistas L. Bloomfieldas (1969) irgi yra atkreipęs dėmesį į eufemizmų vartojimą. Eufemizmų vartojimą šnekamojoje kalboje tyrė A. Dąbrowska (1992), B. Kuna (2005). A. Dąbrowskos straipsnyje be eufemizmo termino

apibrėžimo ir eufemizmų analizės pateikiamas ir nedidelis lenkų kalbos eufemizmų žodynėlis. Eufemizmus grožinėje kroatų literatūroje yra aprašęs T. Lemacas (2010). Problemas, klasifikaciją ir terminą kroatų kalboje aptarė B. Kuna (2007), ispanų kalbos – R. Melvyn, R. Hammond (2011), rusų – Л. Крысин (2000). Apie eufemizmų problemas, vartojimą, eufemizmo terminą ir eufemizmų klasifikavimą rašyta ne vieno mokslininko (Ларин 1961, Видлак 1965, Бенвенист 1974, Москвин 2001, Жельвис 2001, Stepanovas 2003). Atskirai reikia paminėti žodynus, kuriuose pateikiami eufemizmai tik kaip leksikos dalis (Grose 1796, Neaman, Silver 1990, Ayto 2000, Rawson 2003, Partridge 2007) ir žodynus, kuriuose eufemizmai pateikiami su platesne kultūrine, etnolingvistine medžiaga (Holder 2003, „Славянские древности“ (СД 1995–2012)). R. W. Holderio eufemizmų žodyne yra apie 70 teminių sričių: kūno dalys, melas, politika, rasė, fiziologiniai veiksmai, vogimas ir kt. Žodyne pateikiami ne tik patys eufemizmai, bet ir jų motyvacija. Vertingas žodyno įvadinis straipsnis. Retorikos žodyne „Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik“ (1996) pateikiama trumpa eufemizmų istorijos apžvalga nuo Antikos iki XX a.

Autorių mintys apie eufemizmų problemas, jų sąsajas su tabu, eufemizmų klasifikavimą, eufemizmo terminą plačiau aptartos skyriuje „Tabu. Lingvistinis tabu. Eufemija.“. Aptariant eufemizmus remiamasi tautosakos ir mitologijos medžiaga, kuri leidžia paaiškinti eufemizmų atsiradimą ir motyvaciją.

Disertacija parašyta aprašomuoju ir lyginamuoju metodais. Aprašomasis metodas taikytas, nes tai pirmas darbas, skirtas apskritai eufemizmams aptarti. Darbe naudotas ir lyginamasis metodas. Jis nėra pagrindinis ir medžiagos lyginimui nėra daug, tačiau lyginant su kitų kalbų medžiaga išryškėja eufemizacijos bendrumai ir skirtumai.

Iš lietuvių kalbos empirinės medžiagos sudaryta 2000 žodžių duomenų bazė ir apibrėžus, kas yra eufemizmas (apibrėžimas pateiktas skyriuje „Tabu. Lingvistinis tabu. Eufemija.“), tyrimui atrinkti 994 eufemizmai. Į disertaciją nepakliuvo tarminiai žodžiai (pvz., žemaičių *krupis*, kuris funkcionuoja kaip normalus žodis vietoj *rupūžės*), žargonžodžiai (jie primena eufemizmus, bet jų funkcija skiriasi), pejoratyvai, disfemizmai ir žodžiai, kurie bendrinėje kalboje atlieka eufemizmo funkciją, bet funkcionuoja kaip normalus žodis (pvz., *šlapintis*). Nepakliuvusios į disertaciją žodžių grupės yra vertos atskirų tyrinėjimų ir diskusijų dėl jų priklausymo eufemizmams.

Pagrindinė problema buvo nusistatyti, kas yra eufemizmas. Pirmiausia reikėjo apibrėžti, kas tai yra, o tai padaryti nebuvo paprasta, nes visi mokslininkai eufemizmus apibrėžia taip, kaip atskiriems tyrimams reikia. Apibrėžus, kas yra eufemizmas ir atrinkus reikiamą medžiagą, iškilo jos klasifikacijos klausimas. Pasirinkta plačiausia ir daugelio mokslininkų nuomones atspindinti klasifikacija. Tačiau ji tinka tik vardažodiniams eufemizmams. Kadangi disertacijoje nagrinėjami ne tik vardažodiniai eufemizmai, bet ir veiksmažodiniai, teko ieškoti jiems tinkamo nagrinėjimo būdo. Apsistota ties semantiniu klasifikavimu, bet tai reiškia, kad kiekvieno veiksmažodinių eufemizmų skyriaus klasifikacija skiriasi.

Darbo tikslai ir uždaviniai. Darbo **tikslas** – surinkti, suklasifikuoti ir išanalizuoti lietuvių kalbos tradicinius gyvūnų ir su žmogumi ir jo aplinka susijusius eufemizmus. Remiantis papildoma medžiaga, nustatyti galimą eufemizmų motyvaciją, kiek įmanoma palyginti lietuvių kalbos eufemizmus su kitų kalbų eufemizmais.

Šiems tikslams įgyvendinti keliami tokie **uždaviniai**:

1. Paruošti tyrimui atrinktus lietuvių kalbos gyvūnų ir su žmogumi bei jo aplinka susijusius eufemizmus;
2. Suklasifikuoti surinktus eufemizmus pagal labiausiai jiems tinkamus principus;
3. Išanalizuoti eufemizmų semantines bei darybines ypatybes;
4. Nustatyti galimą eufemizmų motyvaciją, atsižvelgiant į eufemizmų darybą, semantiką, etnokultūrinį kontekstą;
5. Palyginti lietuvių kalbos eufemizmus su turima kitų kalbų medžiaga.

Ginamieji teiginiai:

1. Vardažodiniai ir veiksmažodiniai eufemizmai klasifikuotini skirtingai, bet išlaikant pagrindinius klasifikavimo principus: pagal raišką eufemizmai skiriami į vardažodinius, veiksmažodinius ir frazeologinius ar sudėtinius eufemizmus; pagal motyvaciją eufemizmai dažniausiai atsiranda dėl veiksmų, garsų ar išvaizdos panašumų.
2. Lietuvių kalboje eufemizuojami įvairūs tikrovės reiškiniai: nuo gyvūnų iki žmogaus kūno sandaros ar jo gimimo, mirties.

3. Esama panašumų tarp dalies lietuvių kalbos ir kitų kalbų eufemizmų, tačiau esama ir skirtumų, kurių atsiranda dėl tautų skirtingo vystymosi ir pasaulio kategorizavimo ypatumų.

Teorinė ir praktinė darbo vertė. Disertacijoje atliktas tyrimas, paremtas gausia ir reprezentatyvia medžiaga, jis papildo lietuvių kalbos eufemizmų tyrinėjimus, yra aktualus lietuvių kalbos etnolingvistikos darbams. Darbo rezultatai būtų naudingi sinchroninės ir diachroninės leksikologijos tyrimams, be to, tyrimo medžiaga galėtų būti pritaikyta leksikografijoje ir vertimo teorijai bei praktikai. Disertacijoje surinkta ir į vieną vietą sudėta didelė dalis teorinių žinių apie tabu, eufemizmus, jų klasifikacijos būdus. Surinkta medžiaga ir daromos išvalgos gali paskatinti išsamesnius tyrinėjimus, tad disertacija gali būti pagrindas straipsniams, bakalauro ir magistro darbams rašyti.

Darbo struktūra. Darbą sudaro teorinė ir tiriamoji dalys. Pastaroji skirstoma smulkiau pagal konkrečius eufemizuojamų objektų pavadinimus.

1. Įvadas. Jame pateikiamas darbo aktualumas, temos iširtumas, tikslai ir uždaviniai.
2. Teorinė dalis, kurioje aptariamos tabu, lingvistinio tabu ir eufemijos sąajos, išsamiai nagrinėjamas eufemizmo termino varijavimas skirtingų mokslininkų darbuose ir eufemizmų klasifikacija.
3. Tiriamoji dalis:
 - (1) pirmoji dalis skirta gyvūnų pavadinimų eufemizmų analizei. Čia aptariami gyvatės, rupūžės, vilko, utėlės ir kitų gyvūnų pavadinimų eufemizmai;
 - (2) antroji dalis skirta žmogaus, jo aplinkos reiškinių pavadinimų eufemizmų analizei. Čia aptariami drabužių, kūno išskyrų, užpakalio, lytinio santykiavimo ir lyties organų, ligų, gimdymo, mirimo pavadinimų eufemistiniai substitutai.
4. Išvados, šaltinių ir literatūros sąrašas.

Taip pat pateikiamas santrumpų sąrašas ir lietuvių kalbos eufemizmų rodyklė.

Empirinė disertacijos medžiaga. Lietuvių kalbos empirinė medžiaga rinkta iš visų LKŽ tomų (1941–2002), „Sisteminio lietuvių kalbos žodyno“ (1987), LKA pirmojo (leksikos) tomo (1977) ir tautosakos tekstų. Eufemistinių pavadinimų pasitaiko pasakojamojoje tautosakoje (pasakose, sakmėse), nemažai jų rasta gydomosios magijos tekstuose – vadinamuosiuose užkalbėjimuose (ypač daug gyvatės eufemizmų). Jie

paskelbti rinkinyje „Lietuvių užkalbėjimai: gydymo formulės“ (2008), kurį parengė Daiva Vaitkevičienė. Kaip parankinis naudotas ir kitas tos pačios autorės parengtas darbas „Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai. Elektroninis sąvadas“ (2005). Slavų kalbų medžiaga paimta iš rusų užkalbėjimų rinkinio (P33 1998), etnolingvistinio žodyno „Славянские древности“ (СД 1995–2012) ir kai kurių mokslinių publikacijų (Левкиевская 1993; Zavyalova 1998). Lenkų kalbos medžiaga imta iš Anos Dąbrowskos studijos (1992). Anglų kalbos medžiaga rinkta iš R. W. Holderio žodyno „How not to say what you mean“ (2003).

Darbo aprobavimas. Remiantis disertacijos medžiaga buvo publikuoti šeši straipsniai (žiūrėti publikacijų sąrašą), skaityti pranešimai dviejose tarptautinėse mokslinėse konferencijose, skaityta viešoji paskaita.

Išvados:

1. Atlikus surinktų eufemizmų analizę galima konstatuoti, kad vardažodinius ir veiksmožodinius eufemizmus sieja semantika, tačiau vardažodinių eufemizmų klasifikacija veiksmožodiniams eufemizmams netinka. Analizuojant vardažodinius eufemizmus, nustatytos šios gausiausios grupės: maloniniai kreipiniai; giminytės terminai arba artimą pažintį reiškiantys žodžiai; žodžiai, kuriais nusakoma aukšta socialinė padėtis; šiaip malonių, gražių, nepavojingų padarų ar daiktų pavadinimai; pavadinimai pagal kūno sandarą; būdingus veiksmus ar funkcijas; būdo ypatybes; gyvenamąją ar rodymosi vietą. Veiksmožodinius patogiausia aptarti suskirsčius į vienažodžius ir žodžių junginius.

2. Iš esmės visi gyvūnų pavadinimai gali būti ir komplimentiniai, ir enigmatiniai. Daugiausiai esama gyvatės eufemizmų. Apskritai, kalbant apie gyvūnus pasakytina, kad to paties gyvūno vertinimas skirtingose kalbose gali būti skirtingas. Vienaip gyvūną vertins sėslūs žemdirbiai, kitaip klajokliai ar pirmykščių tautų medžiotojai.

2.1. Gyvatės pavadinimų analizė rodo, kad išvaizda motyvuojamų eufemizmų pagrindas yra išorės bruožai: spalva, kūno matmenys ar forma, kūno dalių savybės, panašumas į kitą objektą. Funkcijos požiūriu tai dažniausiai enigmatiniai eufemizmai. Darybos požiūriu tarp jų daugiausia išvestinių žodžių – vedinių ar (rečiau) dūrinių. Nominacijoje atsispindi ir mitinė mąstysena (*raguočė padraguočė*), įvairūs tikėjimai (*skraiduolė, skraiduolinė paskraiduolinė*). Daliai gyvatės eufemizmų pradžia

davė pavadinimai daiktų, simbolizuojančių roplius tradicinėje etninėje kultūroje. Eufemizmuose, motyvuotuose ne išvaizdos, galima matyti, kad gyvatei įvardinti vienodai dažnai vartojami pavadinimai, atsiradę dėl jos rodymosi, gyvenamosios vietos, būdo ir atliekamų veiksmų. Funkcijos požiūriu tai irgi yra enigmatiniai eufemizmai. Dažniausiai eufemizmai yra priesagų vediniai. Paskata eufemizmui atsirasti yra tikrovė: žmogus, susidūręs su gyvate, jai priskyrė tam tikrus elgesio bruožus, atkreipė dėmesį į tai, kur paprastai sutinkamos gyvatės.

2.2. Rupūžės pavadinimų eufemizmai dažnai būna įvairūs fonetiniai perdirbiniai ir tuo aiškiai skiriasi nuo kitų eufemistinių gyvūnų pavadinimų. Tokie perdirbiniai paprastai ir toliau vartojami skirtingose lietuvių tarmėse kaip švelnesni, padailinti pejoratyvai. Tam tikrais atvejais žodis ne pagražinamas, bet įgauna ryškesnę neigiamą konotaciją (*rukšmyžė*). Matyt, nusistovėjusia pejoratyvine funkcija aiškintina ir tokių fonetinių perdirbinių gausa, ir nuolatinis jų kitimas.

2.3. Vilkas daug kuo primena gyvatę, nors jo eufemizmų daug mažiau. Ir vienam, ir kitam gyvūnui būdingos panašios chtoninės savybės. Vilką įvardijantys eufemizmai yra komplimentiniai ir enigmatiniai: esama tradicinių maloninių kreipinių, kuriais norima įsiteikti vilkui arba jį paslėptai pašiepti ir giminystės terminų arba artimą pažintį reiškiančių žodžių. Didžiausia enigmatinių eufemizmų grupė apima eufemizmus, atsiradusius dėl gyvūno kūno sandaros: matyt, labiausiai pastebimas buvo vilko dydis ir liesumas.

2.4. Utėlės eufemizmai susikurti taip pat, kaip ir kitų gyvūnų: pagal būdingą veiksmažodį ar funkciją arba tiesiog taikomi nepavojingų padarų ar daiktų pavadinimai. Taip pat jie gali būti atsiradę dėl utėlės spalvos, dėl šiam gyvūnui būdingo veiksmo arba panašumo į kokį nors daiktą ar padarą.

2.5. Kitiems gyvūnams įvardinti taip pat vartojami ir enigmatiniai, ir komplimentiniai eufemizmai. Kiaulės eufemizmai atsiradę arba dėl tam tikros gyvūno kūno ypatybės (ilgo snukio, savitų ausų) arba dėl jos leidžiamo garso (bezdėjimo). Lapė įvardijama eufemizmais, nusakančiais jos judėjimo būdą ar nurodančiais giminystės ryšį. Meška ir svirplys dažniausiai įvardijami eufemizmais, nurodančiais giminystės ryšį arba artimą pažintį. Svirpliui pavadinti vartojamas ir enigmatinis eufemizmas, atsiradęs dėl atliekamo veiksmo. Kirmėlės eufemizmas remiasi jos pačia esme – tai gyvas daiktas. Tiek lietuvių, tiek slavų meškos eufemizmai nusako giminystę arba artimą pažintį,

tačiau pačių eufemizmų šiandien yra nedaug, nes kadaise egzistavę meškos eufemizmai baltų – slavų – germanų areale dabar vartojami kaip įprasti įvardijimai.

3. Žmogaus ir jo aplinkos objektų eufemizmai labiau susiję su etiketu. Šių eufemizmų aprašyti pagal vieną sistemą neįmanoma, nes vieni yra vardažodiniai, kiti veiksmažodiniai. Vardažodiniai eufemizmai yra panašūs į gyvūnų – t.y. komplimentiniai ir enigmatiniai. Veiksmažodiniams eufemizmams toks klasifikavimas neįmanomas, todėl jie skirstomi į vienažodžius ir žodžių junginius. Žmogaus eufemizmų daug, nes plintant miesto kultūrai, senoji religija, žemdirbiška pasaulėžiūra nyksta ir jų vietą užima etiketas, naujos realijos. Iš visų su žmogumi ir jo aplinka susijusių eufemizmų labiausiai išsiskiria gimdymo ir mirties eufemizmai. Šių grupių eufemizmų pagrindas vis dar yra religiniai tabu.

3.1. Drabužių eufemizmų nėra daug. Jie iš esmės yra etiketo formulės, tapusios eufemizmais. Tai didaktiniai eufemizmai, susiję su etiketu, švara, tvarkingumu. Eufemizuojama tai, kas susiję su garsiai neįvardijamu dalyku, t.y. tam tikrų drabužių dalių pavadinimai (praskiepas), išsipešę apatiniai, išvirkšti, nešvarūs drabužiai, atsirišę batų raišteliai.

3.2. Išmatų (tiek žmonių, tiek gyvūnų) pavadinimai eufemizuojami pagal jų panašumą į ką nors.

3.3. Eufemizuojant vėmimą vietoj vieno kurio organo vartojamas kitas – dažniausiai širdis, arba vėmimas sugretinamas su kitais dalykais dėl panašumo (panašus veiksmas, funkcija).

3.4. Tarp oro gadinimo eufemizmų ryškiai išsiskiria tie, kuriais tiesiog nusakomas oro gadinimas. Šis procesas įvardijamas ir pavieniais veiksmažodžiais, ir žodžių junginiais.

3.5. Tuštinimosi eufemizmai panašūs į oro gadinimo: daugiausia tų, kurie nusako patį tuštinimąsi. Jie gali būti ir atskiri veiksmažodžiai, ir žodžių junginiai. Savitumo šiai grupei teikia atskira viduriavimo eufemizmų grupė.

3.6. Šlapinimosi eufemizmai arba nusako patį šlapinimąsi, arba apibūdina kokias nors jo aplinkybes.

3.7. Snargliavimosi eufemizmai paprastai yra frazeologizmai: jais įvardijami nemalonūs, iš nosies lendantys, tekantys dalykai. Eufemizmuose žydas greičiausiai

atsirado ne dėl nemalonių asociacijų, o dėl tautos svetimumo, skirtingos išvaizdos, papročių.

3.8. Užpakaliui pavadinti beveik nevartojami komplimentiniai eufemizmai. Daugiausia užpakalio eufemizmų motyvuoti išvaizdos ar kitų jo bruožų, todėl ši kūno dalis siejama su įvairiais daiktais. Nemažai esama ir tokių substitutų, kurie motyvuoti būdingų veiksmų ar funkcijų, garso, kuris pasigirsta gadinant orą

3.9. Lytinio santykiavimo eufemizmai nereikalauja platesnio konteksto, nes motyvacijos pagrindas – veiksmų panašumas.

3.10. Lyties organų eufemizmai – tai pavadinimai pagal būdingą veiksmą, funkciją ar ypatybę arba gretinimai su kuo nors kitu, turinčiu panašią ypatybę.

3.11. Didžiausią ligų eufemizmų grupę sudaro mėnesinių eufemizmai, nors jos prie ligų priskirtinos tik iš dalies.

3.12. Gimdymo eufemizmų grupėje išryškėja trys pagrindiniai eufemizuojami dalykai: gimdymas, pagalba gimdant ir pats gimimas. Daugiausiai esama su gimdymu susijusių eufemizmų. Jie gali būti siejami su buities daiktais, liga, net laiku. Pagalbos gimdant eufemizmai rodo vaiko atėjimo į šį pasaulį sąsają su vandeniu, taip pat tai, kad vaikai yra kokiais nors būdais gaudomi. Gimimo eufemizmai yra tapę paaiškinimais, iš kur atsiranda vaikai: *gandras (bobulė) atnešė, rastas kopūstuose* ir t.t. Eufemizacijai įtaką yra padarę ir socialiniai veiksniai, pavyzdžiui, emigracija (iš *Amerikos parvažiuoti*).

3.13. Mirimo eufemizmuose ryškiausią vietą užima kelionės į kitą pasaulį vaizdinys. Beveik visur kartojasi žemės, laidojimo vietos, bilinių personažų, Dievo, laidojimo atributų motyvai.

4. Išanalizavus turimą medžiagą galima konstatuoti, kad tarp eufemizmų pasitaiko atvejų, kai eufemizuojamas pats eufemizmas. Dažnai senesnę eufemizmą išstumia naujesnis. Remiantis tabu reiškiniu aiškinamas senųjų gyvatės, meškos ir kitų gyvūnų pavadinimų išnykimas daugelyje indoeuropiečių kalbų. Senasis gyvatės pavadinimas yra *angis*, meškos – *lokys*. Vadinasi, žodžiai *gyvatė, meška* yra eufemizmai. Aptariant kitus šių gyvūnų pavadinimų eufemizmus, jau aptariami eufemizmo eufemizmai. Senesnis eufemizmas gali egzistuoti greta naujesnio, bet naujesnis vartojamas daug dažniau ir plačiau. Taip yra atsitikę su vaikų atsiradimo aiškinimais.

Vaizdinys, kad vaikas gautas iš vandens, yra senesnis, o kad jį gandrai atnešė - naujesnis.

5. Kitose pasaulio šalyse vartojami eufemizmai savo raiška ir įvaizdžiais artimi lietuviškiems, nes tabu principas yra visuotinis. Daugiausiai esama panašumo, kai eufemizuojami dalykai turi mitinį, religinį pagrindą (len. *pójsć do Abrahama na piwo*, liet. *važiuoti pas Abraomą alaus gerti*). Skirtumų atsiranda tuomet, kai pradami eufemizuoti dalykai, susiję su etiketu, tvarkingumu, miesto kultūros atsiradimu. Turint daugiau ir įvairesnės medžiagos išvada galėtų būti ir kitokia. Esama panašumų, kurie leidžia daryti prielaidą, kad eufemizmai gali būti pasiskolinti ne tik kaip leksiniai vienetai, bet kaip kultūrinio konteksto elementai, pvz., sifilis skirtingose kalbose eufemizuojamas panašiai (len. *francuska choroba*, ru. *французский насморк*, ang. *malady of France*, kro. *francuska bolest*).

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