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THE LITHUANIAN PAREMIAS AT THE TURN OF 20th–21st CENTURIES:
TRADITION AND INNOVATION

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INTRODUCTION

In contemporary paremiology, ambivalent attitude towards the existing genre of paremias (Greek *paroimia* ‘proverb, saying, maxim’) and its adaptation in the modern changing social, political, and cultural conditions can be noted. Decline of the oral tradition, including paremias, has been the subject of discussions for considerable time already; it is commonly maintained that traditional paremias allegedly fall out of the modern communication, as their messages are irrelevant and out of place. This study in turn aims to support the opposite opinion regarding paremias as a living genre and arguing in favor of continuation of the old tradition, thus establishing the subject of Lithuanian paremiology as encompassing all the modern paremiological phenomena.

The Lithuanian paremiologists have been mainly engaged in research and publication of the old layer of paremias, while new paremiological phenomena, i.e. creation of anti-paremias and appearing of the new paremias, as well as usage of the traditional paremias in the modern contexts, have yet eluded due scholarly attention. Almost until the end of the 20th century, transformations of the traditional paremias and neologisms used to be regarded as less valuable in comparison with the old texts, the mass parodies of the traditional paremias being considered a sign of folklore degradation. The new constructions used to be eliminated from the subject of paremiology as atypical, unconventional, and unrepresentative. Yet it seems obvious that the former genre of colloquial language is still very much alive in the modern society, acquiring new manifestations and adapting to numerous spheres of the public life.

The subject of research includes the traditional paremias, used at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, transformations of the traditional paremias – the anti-paremias and the new paremias.

Aim of the research. The study aims at describing the general usage situation of the Lithuanian paremias at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, at determining its relationship with the old tradition, and at revealing the innovation of the modern paremiological phenomena. Besides, the author strives to demonstrate the systematic character of the new formations, rather than regarding them as a spontaneous or chaotic accumulation of newly created phrases. To the contrary, being a systematic phenomenon, it is liable to classification and diverse structural examination. It is also assumed that occurrence of

the new paremic formations in the corpus of Lithuanian paremias is a natural part of the global phenomenon, embracing creation of the new phrases by analogous means and for analogous functions. A considerable number of texts from this corpus has been absorbed from other languages and then adopted, naturalized in Lithuanian sphere of usage similarly to those originating on the Lithuanian linguistic and cultural ground.

To achieve this aim, the following **tasks** have to be performed:

- 1) summarizing the materials of the modern paremiological research and determining spheres of usage of the Lithuanian paremias;
- 2) describing structural, functional and semantic features, typical to the contemporary usage of paremias belonging to different categories, i.e. the traditional paremias, the anti-paremias and the new paremias;
- 3) comparing the Lithuanian paremiological phenomena to the international data.

The research methods. In the study, the analytic-descriptive method, the structural-semantic analysis and the comparative method are combined. The analytic-descriptive method is employed to characterize the general contemporary situation of the usage of the Lithuanian paremias as well as to determine spheres of their usage. The structural-semantic analysis is used to discern patterns of creation of the anti-paremias and to describe peculiarities of contents of all the categories of paremias. The comparative method is employed to find connections with paremic texts or individual paremias from other languages, as well as to compare the paremic neologisms with the traditional texts. Both synchronic and diachronic analysis is applied in this work. The synchronic perspective is relevant to describe the general contemporary usage situation of the Lithuanian paremias, as it allows treating the whole mass of currently used paremias as a whole, which is diverse in terms of origins, form, and length of existence. The diachronic analysis is applied to reveal changes in the development of paremias, to find embryos of the visual representation of the Lithuanian paremias, etc.

Originality of the work. This study is an analysis of the current actual paremiological phenomena and it makes good use of the possibility of detailed recording of the linguistic and paralinguistic contexts of the use of paremias, which is frequently missing in the research studies of the old layer of paremias. Thus, the whole spectrum of possible applications of the currently used paremias is demonstrated, as well as semantic and functional changes determined by the individual usage situation.

In order to present an exhaustive description of the contemporary use of Lithuanian paremias, the absolutely new kind of paremiological material was collected for the research purposes, namely, the Lithuanian anti-paremias and the new paremias. The accumulated Lithuanian anti-paremias are presented as an appendix to the dissertation with further view of publishing them as a separate collection.

The whole corpus of diverse paremias currently used in the modern society is investigated: from traditional texts to phrases quite distanced from the old paremias; also, their hierarchic functional system is worked out. This allows revealing the scope of changes that have taken place in the corpus of Lithuanian paremias until nowadays. Attention is paid to such modern means of expression, that have not yet been mentioned in Lithuanian paremiology, let alone analyzed, e.g. the visual expression of paremias.

Relevance of the work. Only in the course of the recent years the Lithuanian folklorists started collecting and investigating the modern folklore more actively, analyzing transformations taking place in the surviving traditional folklore, while adapting to the different social and cultural conditions, and attempting to reveal the attitude of the contemporary folklore user to the traditional knowledge. This dissertation launches the new kind of investigation in the Lithuanian paremiology, dealing with existence of paremias in the modern society. This work proves the modern paremiological phenomena to be the continuation of the old folklore tradition and a systematic phenomenon in terms of the global perspective. The research materials, especially the collection of anti-paremias presented in the appendix, and the research results are bound to interest paremiologists carrying on the comparative investigations as supplementation of the multilingual data in their disposal. The theoretical insights fill in to some extent the huge gap in the modern Lithuanian paremiology from the international research perspective. The issues raised in this study regarding publication of the new paremias and the anti-paremias, as well as their inclusion into the indices should attract the attention of paremiographers, perhaps encouraging them to revise the principles of editing those indices, adding the new paremias into the future collections and illustrative anti-paremias – into the typological descriptions.

The accumulated research data and the theoretical insights regarding the turning of a common utterance into a stable phrase should seem relevant to the researchers of phraseology, while the peculiarities of the modern usage of paremias as well as the shifts

in the world view expressed by them – to sociologists, researchers of culture and psychologists.

Sources. The majority of the material has been collected by the author specifically for the purposes of this research. The data was collected from periodicals of the last couple of decades and from other media (TV, radio), internet, and to a much lesser extent – from literary fiction. Collections of the Lithuanian Folklore Archives, the card-file catalogue of the Lithuanian proverbs and proverbial phrases, compiled at the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, the electronic database of the Lithuanian proverbs and proverbial phrases (www.aruodai.lt/patarles/), and the electronic data archive of the Department of Ethnology and Folkloristics, Kaunas Vytautas Magnus University (<http://etnologijadb.vdu.lt>) were also used, as well as the data collected in 2003–2004 by the students of the Department of Lithuanian Language, Vilnius University (lecturer Egidijus Zaikauskas), and the samples of paremias from studies by Rūta Marcinkevičienė and Laura Butkutė.

In total, 1500 variants of anti-paremias and 670 variants of the new paremias were accumulated for the research purposes (each individual fixation of a paremia is regarded as a variant).

The defended statements. 1. If folklore tradition is considered to be a continuous process, including aspects of both continuity and change, the usage of paremias at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries should be regarded as a natural part of this process, which, firstly, has preserved the majority of features characteristic to the old usage, while secondly, has acquired new features and new means of expression. The main indication of the living folklore tradition of paremias is the need and capacity of the modern man to use paremias. 2. The anti-paremias and the new paremias have common features of form, contents and functions with paremias belonging to the old layer. 3. Creation of the anti-paremias and occurrence of the new paremias are phenomena determined by the processes of development taking place in the genre of paremias, rather than accidental or spontaneous phenomena. 4. Changes occurring in the corpus of Lithuanian paremias (a particularly relevant genre in the human daily life) are determined by both internal (developments of paremias) and external (social, historical, communicational) factors. 5. Occurrence of the new paremic formations in the corpus of Lithuanian paremias is part and parcel of the global process.

Structure of the work. The work consists of the introduction, four chapters, conclusions, the bibliography, the lists of publications on the dissertation theme and the appendix: “Dictionary of Anti-paremiias”.

I. PRECONDITIONS FOR RESEARCH ON THE CONTEMPORARY FUNCTIONING OF PAREMIAS

In this chapter, the most important works by foreign paremiologists on contemporary usage of paremiias are surveyed, as well as those discussing, describing and systematizing the structural-semantic features and functions of the anti-paremiias and the new paremiias. The most significant collections of paremiias in other languages are introduced, at the same time drawing attention to the necessity of publishing not only the traditional paremiias, but also the new ones, and discussing possibilities of their publication. The concept of folklore tradition as a basis for the long-term existence of paremiias is also discussed. The concept of *paremia* is elucidated, introducing the short sayings that are defined by it in the present work. The peculiarities of the contemporary spread of paremiias are described, the features of the long-term development of the traditional paremiias are discerned and their connections with the contemporary paremiological phenomena are revealed; also, functional hierarchy of the traditional paremiias is presented.

1. Paremiias as part of the folklore tradition

Two aspects of folklore tradition are particularly emphasized in this work: i.e. the traditionality as a totality of the most typical, defining features of *paremia*, and tradition as a continuous process comprising aspects of both stability and change. The concept of folklore tradition as combination of both stability and innovation is the starting point for describing the current usage of paremiias and introducing the new paremiological phenomena as a follow-up to the canonic usage of paremiias.

When attempting to define *paremia* in terms of demonstrating its singularity against the background of common colloquial phrases singled out in the flow of speech, traditionality is indicated among the most important features of *paremia*, although not necessarily being pointed out; sometimes, an aspect of traditionality that seems relevant to the researcher is simply indicated. For some paremiologists, traditionality means certain stability of some indications of content and form; for others, the means of usage

and existence; while for yet others, the aspects of spread. In this work, the complex notion of traditionality is employed, i.e. comprising the most typical and stable indications of form (syntactic, lexical, phonetic), artistic image (metaphoric, imagery), and usage (spread, popularity, age, means of oral dissemination).

The innovation is understood as the new expressive means of paremias, new spheres of usage, not common for the old layer of paremias, and new features determined by the contemporary usage, e.g. the new functions and the specific modern wording.

2. The concept of paremia. Contemporary paremias

The concept of **paremia** was chosen as a broader one, comprising not only *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases*, but also other short sayings related to them: some *situational sayings*, *formulas of etiquette*, *phraseological units*, *aphorisms*, *maxims*, and *literary quotations*. In this work, all the stable expressive phrases used from ancient times until nowadays, including their canonic and modern expressions, are labeled as paremias. The choice of a broader concept was encouraged by the tradition of Lithuanian paremiography not to separate proverbs and proverbial phrases, publishing them together, along with traditional comparisons and some phraseological units. Besides, recently it ceased to be required to separate proverbs and proverbial phrases from other genres of short sayings, like situational sayings and formulas of etiquette. It is advisable to jointly describe the above mentioned types of sayings, although belonging to separate genres of short sayings, because of their similar characteristics: e.g. traditional contents and form, idiomatics, formal stability and similar usage. In this chapter, all the short sayings making up the category of paremia are introduced, the relationship between disciplines of paremiology and phraseology is briefly discussed, and inclusion of individual sayings of definite authorship into the sphere of research is substantiated.

In the course of the research, the existence of three kinds of paremias at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries was established: namely, the *traditional paremias*, the *anti-paremias* and the *new paremias*.

As *traditional paremias*, those belonging to the old layer, or canonic paremias, are defined (the attributive *traditional* does not carry any qualitative value here).

The *anti-paremias* are purposefully created formations, based on the traditional paremias, when new form and / or new content are created by use of structural and /or semantic means. The term *anti-paremia* in this work equals the term *anti-proverb* of the

international paremiology (cf. German *Antisprichwörter*, Russian *антисловицы* (*антипоговорки*), Hungarian *antiproverbiumok*).

The *new paremias* comprise new paremic phrases of diverse origins and with any extent of dissemination that have in the course of the recent decades enriched the corpus of Lithuanian paremias. The research works by foreign paremiologists are introduced, the publications surveyed, and the questions of terminology are discussed here.

3. The modern contexts and shifting spread of paremias

The research works carried out by the foreign paremiologists testify to the exclusive vitality of paremias and to their high adaptability in almost all the spheres of contemporary life. According to the Lithuanian data, paremias are indeed used frequently and very willingly. But obviously, in comparison with global modern usage practices, not all the spheres of life are equally favored by the Lithuanian paremias. The most popular spheres of functioning of the Lithuanian paremias include common speech and journalism, as well as advertising and various spheres of entertainment. Since ancient times paremias are also popular in Lithuanian fiction.

The usage and spread of paremias were most dramatically affected by two shifts taking place in their tradition: the appearance of *writing* and the onset of the *modern mass media*. The history of publication of the Lithuanian paremias from ancient writings to popular educative publications of the 19th–20th centuries, textbooks and finally, periodicals is introduced in respective sub-chapters of this chapter. The influence of the mass media on the paremiological phenomena is investigated. The modern means of communication have greatly affected the speed of spreading of the national paremias and resulted in overall distribution of the translated paremias and those in the foreign languages.

Visualization as modern means of expression of the paremias is also introduced in the dissertation. The visual rendering of paremias, harmonization of text and image have ancient traditions in numerous countries, but in Lithuania, no data regarding visualization of paremias was hitherto available. According to the preliminary research carried out for the purposes of this dissertation, as the first instances of combining the text and the image, covers of the three editions of the textbook by K. Skabeika (1909, 1915, and 1916) *Kas skaito rašo – duonos neprašo* [‘Who Reads and Writes Does Not Ask for Bread’] should be regarded. At the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, several main

spheres of combining the image and the text of paremias can be discerned: paremias tend to be employed in the visual commercials, caricatures, comics, selected as titles for the photos and pictures, applied for greetings and various other postcards, published in the illustrated collections, and the visual aspect of paremias is highlighted in the education programs. Two kinds of visual expression of the paremias can be discerned: 1) combining of text and image; 2) the text itself being used as an image (the text as subject of visualization). The text and image of paremia can be combined in several ways: a) the message of the paremia corresponds to the image; b) the artistic image of paremia corresponds to the visual image; c) the paremia and the image are related by artistic means and symbols.

4. Peculiarities of development of content and form of the traditional paremias as prerequisites to the modern tendencies

This chapter presents a summary survey of the long-time investigations into development of the traditional paremias performed by the Lithuanian paremiologists, relating their insights regarding the tendencies of this development with the contemporary paremiological phenomena. Analysis of the classical repertoire of the Lithuanian paremias has highlighted the following tendencies in their development: 1) narrowing or widening of the semantic field; 2) demetaphorization of the artistic image; 3) appearance of antithetic versions; 4) increase of the comical effect; 5) appearance of the extended versions or shortening of the paremias; 6) appearance of the contaminations; 7) a tendency of enhancing the artistic effect of the poetic images in proverbs by means of phonic organization of phrases.

5. Function

In order to further describe the functioning of paremias at a definite period, functions of the Lithuanian paremias belonging to the classical repertoire have been systematized in this chapter. Principles of textual analysis and contextual research have been attempted to combine in the dissertation, maintaining that majority of paremias can be characterized by certain stability of semantical content, i.e. the most common indication of content, while actually used paremias can be realized in various aspects, acquiring situational meanings. Paremias are maintained to have the so-called typical “inner” functions (pedagogical, didactical, patriotic, and psychotherapeutic), while performing contextual functions in individual situations. The most general function of paremias, as

linguistic elements, is communicative. As a genre of folklore, paremias perform several main paradigmatic functions: assertion of tradition (i.e. keeping and transmission of tradition, asserting the power and authority of tradition, instructing how to use it); normative (the collective evaluation, establishing of the world view); enhancing of the sense of unity (establishing the sense of belonging to the community, providing psychological comfort). Depending on their contents and expression, paremias perform the asserting-generalizing (related to the world view), evaluating (complimentary, reprehensive) and prescriptive (pedagogical, didactical) functions. The stylistic function is characteristic to all the paremias, yet in relation to the individual paremia and the circumstances of its use, this function may be more or less pronounced. In case of social interactions, paremias perform the general function of solving the conflicts. The concrete contextual functions of paremias are determined by purpose and circumstances of their usage.

II. THE TRADITIONAL PAREMIAS

1. The possibilities of applying the traditional paremias in the modern contexts

According to the collected data, two ways of usage of the popular traditional paremias at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries may be discerned: namely, the canonic usage, when traditional, untransformed texts are used, and the creative (free) one, when the traditional texts are transformed. In this chapter, the canonic, the customarily varying usage of paremias (shortening, extending, the syntactic and lexical variation, etc.) is described, along with such rather close creative means of expression, as allusion to or rephrasing of the paremias; also, paremia as means of textual composition. According to the analysis, the syntactic constructions, grammar and lexical means of the traditional paremias that are used nowadays are much simpler and more familiar to the modern man than those of the old usage. The tendency of creative applying of the paremias is obvious as well.

2. Spheres of usage and functional peculiarities

Among the most important peculiarities of the contemporary usage of paremias, the transfer of the traditional paremias from the colloquial language into almost all the layers (spheres) of the modern communication should be considered. According to the analysis, traditional paremias are still being used in the daily speech and the corresponding

contexts, in which their functions have not been significantly altered; they are used in various ways in journalism, somewhat less – in advertising and hardly at all – in the official political rhetorics. Traditional paremias happen to occur in the sphere of entertainment as well: this is a feature of their contemporary usage. In journalism and advertising, traditional paremias are first of all employed to draw the addressee's attention; nevertheless, the function of representing the tradition that is typical to these paremias, is particularly important in these spheres. The declining didactical value of paremias should also be noted.

III. THE ANTI-PAREMIAS

The usage of paremias in the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century is special in terms of the extent of transformations of the traditional paremias, i.e. creation of the anti-paremias, which has perhaps never been witnessed in the course of the whole development of the Lithuanian paremias. This is due to democratization of language, abolishment of censorship, the common attitude to traditional folklore and other factors, including the inherent flexibility of the genre of paremias and their capacity of adapting to the changing linguistic, social, political and cultural surroundings. In the dissertation, the international character of this phenomenon, i.e. creation of the anti-paremias, is revealed, supplying concrete facts to substantiate the intercultural connections, as well as influence of the other, particularly the Russian and the English-speaking cultures on the contemporary corpus of the Lithuanian paremias.

Semantics and functioning of the anti-paremias reveal diverse motives of transformation of the paremias and different extent of the connection with the basic utterance: sometimes the traditional text is transformed in order to illustrate certain issue, and the act of transformation is just the means and not the point, while sometimes the transformation of paremias is a goal in itself, when distortions of the text are meant to achieve comical effect, or the traditional idea is turned upside down in order to create the new content. Paremias illustrating the situation are usually inseparable from the context of their usage, most frequently preserving the most general meaning of the basic paremia, and just making it more relevant and definite. Such paremias should be regarded as variants of the basic paremia. Self-purporting transformation of the traditional text is a creative and entertaining process. The anti-paremias created that way are more

independent in comparison with the variant-like anti-paremiias, and the most successful of them can turn into separate paremiias. Part of them is created by individual authors, while others are results of folk creativity, published on internet websites or in the special columns of newspapers and magazines.

1. Patterns of creating the anti-paremiias

The Lithuanian anti-paremiias are created by means of structural patterns and semantic means of transformation. A way of external altering of the form of the basic paremia is considered to be the structural pattern of transformation. The Lithuanian anti-paremiias are created by use of the following structural patterns: 1) *altering*, or substitution, 2) *distraction*, 3) *addition*, 4) *contamination*, 5) *imitation*. As semantic means, the wordplay based on lexical polysemy and homonymy, paronymy and contextual synonymy of the traditional paremiias and the anti-paremiias or their fragments, the double semantic actualization are considered. Structural changes are often combined with semantic means. In creation of the anti-paremiias, principle of the defeated expectancy is also important.

In the dissertation, the composition of the anti-paremiias is surveyed according to the scheme of the structural patterns, along with introducing the semantic means of transformation and discussing the changes in the contents of the anti-paremiias. Among the most popular ways of creating the Lithuanian anti-paremiias, the quantitatively equal lexical substitution, substitution of one half of the paremia, and extending of the traditional paremia by comment or reference should be named.

2. Spheres of usage and functional peculiarities

The journalism is the sphere in which the anti-paremiias are most abundantly created; besides, here they are used for various purposes: e.g. for actualization of different ideas, expression of social and political satire. Thanks to their stylistic suggestion, the anti-paremiias are excellent means to draw the addressee's attention. Data regarding usage of the anti-paremiias in everyday speech is unfortunately scarce, yet obviously, in this sphere the main intention of their usage is emphasizing of the personal exceptionality. The anti-paremiias are numerous in the internet commentaries, where they are most often used as laconic expressions of the author's views. It should be noted, that transformations existing on internet are more often than others characterized by cynical expressions of world view, statements of cruel reality, usage of vulgar lexis. In the

Lithuanian commercials, unlike the international ones, paremias are infrequent. They are used for stylistic purposes, or associated with traditional ages-old wisdom. The majority of anti-paremias are used for entertainment purposes exclusively. The anti-paremias combined with visual, musical elements and existing in internet media are characterized by a particularly pronounced phatic function.

III. THE NEW PAREMIAS

In this chapter, the new stable utterances that hitherto have almost eluded collection and publication, yet because of peculiarities of their form, contents and usage should be regarded as paremias, are introduced.

1. How and when the new utterance turns into paremia. Peculiarities of genre

The new paremia can be indentified by comparison with a traditional paremia, when certain similarities and differences can be found. In this research, new utterances that have acquired certain independency and stability of contents and form, as well as the characteristic features (like typical syntactic structures, the generalizing, evaluating character, artistic image created on the basis of trope, etc.) are attributed to paremias. The notion of “novelty” here includes both the temporal dimension (the new paremias have spread comparatively recently and are comparatively short-lived so far) and the singularity of contents and form of a particular utterance, i.e. the artistic image created by modern means and different from that of the traditional paremias, and specific wording. Part of the new paremias is shorter and formally simpler, than the traditional ones. Usually they are devoid of the artistic image and can only be understood literally. The main reasons for them to become stable utterances, as well as causes of their spread, on the one hand, include certain gap from the situation of their occurrence, and on the other hand, – the associative connection with it.

The paremia-like utterances, which are characterized by certain features of paremias, yet do not become popular, are noted down and collected as potential paremias, testifying to the living tradition of creating paremias according to certain stable patterns.

When deciding if a paremia-like utterance should be attributed to the genre of paremias, additional arguments should be taken into consideration: e.g. the existing transformations of the utterance in question and addition of the typical framing phrases, characteristic to the traditional usage.

2. Genesis: types of the new paremias

In the dissertation, the following genetic types of the new paremias are discussed: those deriving from the anti-paremias; translations; slogans; quotations; phrases of established authorship; and utterances similar to the traditional paremias.

3. Spheres of usage and functional peculiarities of the new paremias

In the everyday speech and similar contexts, the usage of the new paremias is essentially similar to that of the traditional ones. The most striking difference can be noted between the proverb-like and the proverbial phrase-like new paremias (including those categorized as situational sayings and formulas of etiquette). The most important functions of the proverb-like new paremias are the semantic ones, while of the others, the stylistic function. The new paremias are abundant in journalism, the internet information portals, and individual comments. Here, along with other functions, they especially frequently perform the nominative and the representative functions. In advertising, similarly to journalism, the new paremias are used as stylistic spicing of texts and as means of drawing the addressee's attention. When utterances belonging to the new paremias and similar to the traditional proverbs are employed, one is inclined to believe that paremias are handy to advertising also because of the main folkloric function of the traditional paremias, namely, that of enhancing the sense of reliability and universality. Among functions of genre, all the new paremias are characterized by function of providing sense of unity and community, although the notion of community is different in various categories of the new paremias: whenever paremias absorbed from the other languages are used, the sense of unity is related to the global community, whenever the Latin sentences are cited, perhaps it is related to certain educated community, and when new situational sayings are inserted, it is the common experience of the state, society and nation that is borne in mind. In case of the new paremias, functions and intentions of usage are much more determined by the situation of the usage, the verbal and the extra-linguistic context, than in case of the traditional paremias.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The empirical materials accumulated for the purposes of this dissertation and analysis of the contemporary functioning of the Lithuanian paremias encourage broader treatment of the subject of paremiology, than has hitherto been accepted by the Lithuanian folkloristics: not only the classical paremias belonging to the old layer should be regarded as paremias, but also their diverse modifications and the new paremia-like utterances. The corpus of Lithuanian paremias is regarded as the constantly changing and renewing one.

2. The collected abundant data proving the capacity of the modern people to appropriately use and adequately understand and appreciate paremias testify to the vitality of the genre of paremias and the natural character of their usage. At the turn of the 20th–21st centuries the corpus of paremias in use comprises three main types of the utterances: the traditional paremias, the anti-paremias (transformations of the traditional paremias) and the new paremias.

3. Collection and analysis of the data enabled discerning of the most general **peculiarities of usage** of the contemporary Lithuanian paremias:

1) In the modern society, the oral folklore tradition of paremias is closely related to the written one. Paremias live and spread both orally and in writing. The spread of paremias is especially greatly affected by the modern technologies, which accelerate the processes of spread and turning of the certain utterances into paremias.

2) Paremias have crossed from the everyday speech into numerous spheres of contemporary communication. They are most frequently used in journalism, colloquial language and similar contexts; being somewhat more rarely adapted for the purposes of advertising. The exceptional feature is the usage and creation of paremias for the entertainment purposes. Paremias are never used in strictly professional, scientific texts or information; and their usage in the Lithuanian political rhetorics is rather scarce.

3) Usage of paremias in the modern society is rather unrestricted and creative, characterized by a sufficient degree of improvisation. Nowadays not only the appropriate

choice of the paremias is important, but also their smart, funny and inventive adaptation. An assumption can be made, although requiring further statistic investigation to be proved, that at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries the tendency of creative adaptation, improvisation and modification of paremias in order to turn them into more clear, distinct and funny illustrations of particular situations is more pronounced than the proclivity towards their usage in traditional form. The capacity of creative adaptation of the paremias testifies to the surviving folkloric competence of the users.

4. The Lithuanian paremias used in the course of the two recent decades are diverse in terms of form, contents, and origins. All those types of utterances, i.e. the traditional paremias, the anti-paremias and the new paremias are attributed to the same genre because of their common paremia-like features, including both peculiarities of form, contents and usage. Considering the short and simple form of a significant amount of the new paremias and the virtual absence of the common paremic features in them, e.g. the typical syntactic structures, means of phonic organization, metaphoric images, etc., the main reason for attributing those utterances to paremias lies in their breach with the original situation, as such utterances acquire independent character and can be used in any contexts. The intentions of their usage are similar to those typical to the subtypes of paremias, i.e. the proverbial phrases, situational sayings, and formulas of etiquette.

5. The **traditional paremias** are still abundantly used at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, but their former typical syntactic constructions, the grammatical and lexical forms are increasingly replaced by simpler syntax, more common contemporary grammar and lexis. The traditional paremias are frequently used in somewhat modified form.

In the colloquial language and similar contexts, usage of the traditional paremias has not particularly changed in terms of function, except for the diminished didactical value and weakened argumentation. In journalism and advertising, paremias are most frequently employed as means of drawing the addressee's attention, although their function of representing the tradition is very important for these spheres as well. The entering of traditional paremias into the entertainment sphere is also an important feature of the contemporary usage.

6. Creation of the **anti-paremiias** is a particularly vivid feature of the contemporary usage of Lithuanian paremiias. The anti-paremiias form a link between the paremiias inherited from the old tradition, and the new paremiias. Every anti-paremia contains an allusion to some traditional paremia, forming the basis for the successful realization of the transformation in question.

Part of the paremiias, most frequently the contextual ones are close to the traditional paremiias in terms of their form, meaning and functions, and therefore should be regarded as lexical or syntactic variants of the traditional paremiias. But others, having in the process of transformation acquired completely different artistic image and consequently – the different meaning, have become rather distanced from the traditional paremiias. The latter ones can easily turn into new, individual paremiias.

The majority of the Lithuanian anti-paremiias are created by means of lexical substitution. In terms of relationship with the traditional paremiias, such anti-paremiias vary from the ones semantically very close to the traditional paremiias and adhering to the laws of the traditional variation to completely distanced ones that should be attributed to the category of the proper anti-paremiias. Among other frequent means of creating the anti-paremiias, substitution of one half of the paremia and extension of the traditional paremia could be named. Quite a number of paremia-like utterances are created by simple imitation of the traditional paremiias.

Having surveyed the earlier research on the development of the traditional Lithuanian paremiias and analyzed the patterns of creating the anti-paremiias, it can be safely stated that rather than being an exceptionally modern phenomenon, the latter embody the continuation of the centuries-long tradition. Since the oldest instances of using the paremiias, of which any data is available, until nowadays, certain changes taking place in the form and contents of paremiias may be noted: e g. altering of the semantic field, increasingly frequent usage of paremiias in the literal sense, enhancing of the comical effect, and appearance of the expanded versions. These aspects of the long-term development correspond with the means and patterns of creating the anti-paremiias.

If compared to the traditional or the new paremiias, the anti-paremiias can be characterized by a much more pronounced entertainment function. In the everyday speech, paremiias are primarily used to demonstrate the speaker's exceptionality and

smartness. However, in journalism, as well as in the topical comments on internet, more than in other spheres, the content of the anti-*paremias* is of particular importance. By using the transformed utterance, the situation in question can be much more precisely and accurately illustrated and the user's position more vividly expressed.

Among the differences of usage between the anti-*paremias* and the traditional *paremias*, the emphasis on the individual personality, quite frequently overshadowing the sense of unity and community, created by the traditional *paremias*, could be named.

7. The category of the **new *paremias*** comprises *paremia*-like utterances of various origins, having spread in the course of the several recent decades. The majority of them have not hitherto been regarded as *paremias* nor included into *paremic* indices. The notion of “novelty”, if compared to the “traditionality” of the old *paremias*, comprises not only the temporal dimension, but also the altered peculiarities of content and form: e.g. expressions of the world view, new imagery, and specific wording. In the course of the recent decades, the corpus of Lithuanian *paremias* was most significantly enriched by translated *paremias*. Quite a number of new *paremias* originate in the sphere of the mass culture. If compared to the traditional or translated *paremias*, the latter can be characterized by a shorter and simpler form.

In comparison with the traditional *paremias*, the new ones are much more cosmopolitan. In their case, the function of preservation and representation of tradition is much fainter, only maintained as a certain need of expressing one's thoughts, appreciating the situations and adorning the speech with stable utterances. Nevertheless, the stylistic (stylistic-entertaining) function of the new *paremias* is particularly strong. The new *paremias* are used to assert, to evaluate, to generalize, and only rarely – to order. The ordering intention of usage can be determined by the peculiarities of context.

8. Formation of the corpus of the Lithuanian *paremias* at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries was influenced by certain external factors. Changes in the ways and forms of communication resulted in more rapid dissemination of *paremias* and affected the spread of such utterances that would have hardly ever spread around only by oral or written means. Aspects of anonymity and authorship of utterances in question grew increasingly more relative. The current corpus of the Lithuanian *paremias* was also significantly

influenced by the social, economical and cultural developments in the society, as well as by linguistic interactions. The considerable influence of the Russian language is obvious in the translated paremias, adopted since the Soviet times, as well as in the abundant anti-paremias, recently absorbed from Russian. Since Lithuanian independence, very strong influence of the English language can be felt. The active process of modifying the traditional paremias is a result of increasing democratization of the language and the growing influence of the youth speech, as well as of the general cultural developments. The traditional paremias, the anti-paremias and the new paremias reflect the diversity of the contemporary values.

9. The sufficient amount of systematized empirical Lithuanian data and the extensive research carried out by the foreign paremiologists enables the author to conclude that innovative Lithuanian paremiological phenomena are part and parcel of the global process. Both Lithuanian and contemporary international paremias have penetrated into various spheres of communication and have come to be used for similar purposes; creation of the anti-paremias is performed according to similar or identical structural patterns and by use of analogous semantical means; the corpus of paremias is constantly enriched with utterances from various spheres of the modern life.

10. The accumulated data reflecting the contemporary usage of paremias opens up the new perspectives for further paremiological, as well as for the broader interdisciplinary research, including cultural studies, sociology, psychology, and linguistics. Analysis of the contents of the contemporary paremias, as reflections of the social identity, world views, and mentality seems especially promising. By examining types of the individually used paremias, the situations of their usage and the extent of their modification it is possible to attempt revealing the individual relationship with tradition as promoter of the basic values, analyzing personal psychological features, assessing personal need for self-expression and self-realization, by way of which establishing of the personal individuality indicates the altered perception of one's *self* in the society. The further research could prove or deny the assumption that contemporary paremias present the reflection or result of the general cultural tendencies: i.e. the priority of impression,

expression and image against contents, value, and stability; and overshadowing of the verbal expression by the visual one.

The global character of innovative transformations encourages debating the general social and cultural tendencies, the cultural identity, and resistance (or submission) to the external influences. Considering the global character of the innovative phenomena, their similarities and differences in various cultures encourage investigations of both the relationship of the speaker with the paremia itself (the weight of its argument earlier and now, here and abroad) and the linguistic aspects of the paremic expression, as well as the peculiarities of reasoning.

The cognitive research of Lithuanian paremias seems very promising, including dealing with such issues as solely mental existence of non-verbalized paremias, reasons for memorizing and using paremias without understanding their meaning, and the notion of the “folk wisdom” from the point of view of the modern humans.

LIETUVIŲ PAREMIJOS XX–XXI A. SANDŪROJE: TRADICIJA IR INOVACIJA

Santrauka

Disertacijoje tiriamos XX–XXI a. sandūroje lietuvių vartojamos paremijos, kurios yra įvairios amžiaus, kilmės, formos požiūriu. Šiuo tyrimu siekiama pagrįsti nuomonę apie paremių žanro gyvybingumą ir senosios tradicijos tęstinumą, įtvirtinti visus šiuolaikinius paremiologinius reiškinius apimančią lietuvių paremiologijos objektą, ieškoma pakitusios paremių vartosenos priežasčių ir prielaidų.

Darbo objektas – XX–XXI a. sandūroje vartojamos tradicinės paremijos, antiparemijos ir naujosios paremijos. Dviejų pastarųjų dešimtmečių ribos pasirinktos kaip sutartiniai, formalūs atspirties taškai.

Tikslas ir uždaviniai. Darbe siekiama aprašyti bendrą lietuvių paremių vartosenos situaciją XX–XXI a. sandūroje, parodyti ją kaip senosios paremių vartojimo tradicijos tąsą ir atskleisti šiuolaikinių paremiologinių reiškinių inovatyvumą. Be to, norima parodyti, kad naujieji dariniai nėra spontaniškai, stichiškai kuriamų posakių sanaka, o sisteminis reiškinys, kur galima klasifikacija ir įvairiopa struktūrinis nagrinėjimas. Taip pat siekiama parodyti, kad naujų paremiškų darinių radimasis lietuvių paremių fonde yra natūrali dalis tarptautinio reiškinio, kai nauji posakiai kuriami analogiškais būdais, atlieka panašias funkcijas; dalis tekstų yra perėję iš kitų kalbų ir prigiję, įėję į vartoseną, kaip ir kilusieji iš lietuvių kalbos ir kultūros dirvos.

Šiam tikslui pasiekti keliami tokie **uždaviniai**: 1) apibendrinti šiuolaikinių paremiologinių tyrimų medžiagą ir nustatyti lietuvių paremių vartojimo sritis; 2) aprašyti šiuolaikinei vartosenai būdingus skirtingų kategorijų paremių – tradicinių paremių, antiparemių ir naujų paremių – struktūrinius, funkcinis bei semantinius požymius; 3) palyginti šiuolaikinius lietuvių paremiologinius reiškinius su kitų tautų duomenimis.

Tyrimo metodai. Darbe derinami analitinis aprašomasis, struktūrinės-semantinės analizės ir lyginamasis metodai. Analitinis aprašomasis metodas pasitelkiamas aprašant bendrą šiuolaikinę lietuvių paremių vartojimo situaciją ir paremių taikymo sritis. Struktūrinė-semantinė analizė taikoma skiriant antiparemių kūrimo modelius, aprašant visų kategorijų paremių turinio ypatumus. Lyginamasis metodas pasitelkiamas ieškant

šasąj su kitų kalbų paremiškais tekstais bei konkrečiomis paremijomis, taip pat lyginant paremių naujadarus su tradiciniais tekstais. Darbe taikoma ir sinchroninė, ir diachroninė analizė. Sinchroninis žiūros taškas reikalingas aprašant bendrą dabartinę lietuvių paremių vartosenos situaciją, jis leidžia į šiuo metu vartojamų paremių masyvą žvelgti kaip į kilmės, formos, gyvavimo amžiaus požiūriu įvairialypę paremių visumą. Diachroninė analizė pasitelkiama stengiantis nustatyti paremių raidos pokyčius, ieškant lietuvių paremių vaizdavimo užuomazgų.

Tyrimo naujumas ir aktualumas. Šis tyrimas – paremių gyvavimo modernioje visuomenėje tyrimų pradžia lietuvių paremiologijoje. Pateikiama įrodymų, jog šiuolaikiniai paremiologiniai reiškiniai yra senosios folklorinės tradicijos tąsa ir sisteminis reiškinys tarptautiniu mastu. Tiriamoji medžiaga ir kaip disertacijos priedas pateikiamas antiparemių žodynėlis bei gauti rezultatai turėtų būti įdomūs lyginamuosius tyrimus atliekantiems paremiologams ir papildyti jų turimus įvairių kalbų duomenis. Teorinės išvalgos bent kiek užpildo lietuvių šiuolaikinių paremiologinių tyrimų spragą tarptautiniame kontekste. Darbe keliami klausimai dėl naujų paremių bei antiparemių publikavimo ir įtraukimo į paremių sąvadus turėtų atkreipti paremiografų dėmesį ir galbūt paskatintų sąvadų rengėjus peržiūrėti ir pakoreguoti jų rengimo principus ir ateityje sąvadus papildyti naujosiomis paremijomis, o tipologinius aprašus – iliustratyviomis antiparemijomis.

Šis darbas – dabar realiai gyvuojančių paremiologinių reiškinų tyrimas, kuriuo išnaudojama galimybė išsamiai fiksuoti lingvistinį ir paralingvistinį jų pavartojimo kontekstą, ko dažnai pasigendama tiriant senąjį paremių klodą. Iš tyrimo matyti, kaip smarkiai iki mūsų dienų pakito lietuvių paremių fondas. Atkreiptas dėmesys į tokius naujus paremių raiškos būdus, kurie lietuvių paremiologijoje ne tik netirti, bet ir neminėti, pavyzdžiui, vizualinė paremių raiška.

Darbe teikiami pavyzdžiai ir išvalgos apie paprastos frazės virtimą pastoviuoju posakiu galėtų būti aktualūs frazeologams, o aprašytieji šiuolaikinės paremių vartosenos ypatumai, paremijomis reiškiamos pasaulėžiūros pokyčiai – sociologams, kultūrologams ir psichologams.

Šaltiniai. Diduma medžiagos autorės sukaupta specialiai šiam tyrimui. Duomenys rinkti iš pastarųjų dviejų dešimtmečių spaudos ir kitų žiniasklaidos priemonių (televizijos, radijo), interneto, šiek tiek ir iš grožinių kūrinių. Naudotasi Lietuvių

tautosakos rankraštyno rinkiniais, LLTI Patarlių ir priežodžių kartoteka, elektroniniu sąvadu „Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai (www.aruodai.lt/patarles/), VDU Etnologijos ir folkloristikos katedros elektroniniu duomenų archyvu (<http://etnologijadb.vdu.lt>). Panaudoti VU Lietuvių kalbos katedros studentų 2003–2004 m. surinkti duomenys (dėst. Egidijus Zaikauskas), Rūtos Marcinkevičienės, Lauros Butkutės tyrimuose skelbti paremių pavyzdžiai.

Tyrimui sukaupta 1500 antiparemių ir 670 naujų paremių variantų (variantu laikoma kiekviena paremijos fiksiacija).

Ginamieji teiginiai. 1. Folklorinę tradiciją suvokiant kaip nuolatinį procesą, apimančią tiek pastovumo, tiek kaitos aspektus, XX–XXI a. sandūros lietuvių paremių vartoseną laikytina natūralia šio proceso dalimi, viena vertus, išlaikusia didumą senosios vartosenos požymių, antra vertus, įgijusia naujų ypatybių ir naujų raiškos formų. Svarbiausias gyvos paremių folklorinės tradicijos požymis – šiuolaikinio žmogaus poreikis ir mokėjimas vartoti paremijas. 2. Antiparemių ir naujosios paremijos turi bendrą formą, turinio bei funkcinių požymių su senojo klodo paremijomis. 3. Antiparemių kūrimas ir naujų paremių radimasis yra ne spontaniškas, atsitiktinis, bet paremių raidos procesų nulemtas reiškinys. 4. Lietuvių paremių fondo kaitą lemia ne tik vidiniai (paremių raidos), bet ir išoriniai (socialiniai, istoriniai, komunikaciniai) veiksniai. 5. Naujų paremiškų darinių radimasis lietuvių paremių fonde yra tarptautinio reiškinio dalis.

Darbo struktūra. Darbą sudaro įvadas, keturi skyriai, išvados, literatūros sąrašas, publikacijų disertacijos tema sąrašas ir disertacijos priedas „Antiparemių žodynelis“.

Skyriuje „Šiuolaikinio paremių funkcionavimo prielaidos“ apžvelgiami svarbiausi užsienio paremiologų šios srities tyrimai ir pristatomi svarbiausi kitų kalbų antiparemių rinkiniai; aptariama folklorinės tradicijos, kaip paremių ilgalaikio gyvavimo pamato, sąvoka; aiškinama paremijos sąvoka ir pristatomi trumpieji pasakymai, kuriems darbe ši sąvoka taikoma; aprašomi šiuolaikinės paremių sklaidos ypatumai; išskiriamos ilgaamžės tradicinių paremių raidos tendencijos ir ieškoma jų sąsajų su šiuolaikiniais paremiologiniais reiškiniais; pagal hierarchinę sistemą aprašomos tradicinių paremių funkcijos.

Skyriuje „Tradicinės paremijos“ tiriama iki šių laikų išlikusių tradicinių paremių vartoseną šiuolaikiniuose kontekstuose, pristatomos kūrybiško jų taikymo galimybės, aprašomos vartojimo sritys ir paskirtys.

Skyriuje „Antiparemių“ išskirti formalieji struktūriniai antiparemių sukūrimo modeliai (substitucija, pridėjimas, atėmimas, kontaminacija, paremių imitavimas) ir semantinės priemonės, nustatytos antiparemių vartojimo sritys ir aprašyti jų funkciniai ypatumai.

Skyriuje „Naujosios paremijos“ pristatyti beveik iki šiol nerinkti ir neskelbti nauji pastovieji posakiai, kurie dėl savo formos, tyrinio ir vartosenos ypatumų laikytini paremijomis. Šiam tyrimui iškirtos tokios genetinės naujų paremių rūšys: naujosiomis paremijomis virtusios arba virstančios antiparemių; vertiniai; šūkiei; citatos; žinomos autorystės posakiai; į tradicines paremijas panašūs posakiai.

IŠVADOS

1. Disertacijai sukaupia empirinė medžiaga ir šiuolaikinio lietuvių paremių funkcionavimo tyrimas skatina paremiologijos objektą traktuoti plačiau nei iki šiol lietuvių folkloristikoje: paremijomis laikytinos ne tik klasikinės senojo klodo paremijos, bet ir įvairios jų modifikacijos bei nauji paremiški posakiai. Lietuvių paremių fondas vertintinas kaip nuolatos kintantis ir atsinaujinantis.

2. Surinkti gausūs duomenys, įrodantys, kad šiuolaikinis žmogus geba tinkamai pavartoti reikiama paremią ir, savo ruožtu, adekvačiai ją suvokti ir įvertinti, liudija paremių žanro gyvybingumą ir paremių vartosenos natūralumą. XX–XXI a. sandūroje vartojamų paremių fondą sudaro trijų pagrindinių rūšių posakiai: tradicinės paremijos, antiparemių (tradicinių paremių perdirbiniai) ir naujosios paremijos.

3. Surinkus ir aprašius duomenis, išryškėjo bendrieji šiuolaikinės lietuvių paremių vartosenos bruožai:

1) Sakytinė, liaudiškoji paremių tradicija nūdienos visuomenėje susilieję su rašytine. Paremijos gyvuoja ir plinta tiek žodžiu, tiek raštu. Paremių sklaidai ypač didelės įtakos turi šiuolaikinės technologijos – jos paspartina paremių plitimo, taip pat posakio vartojimo paremija procesus.

2) Paremijos iš šnekamosios kalbos yra perėjusios į daugelį šiuolaikinės komunikacijos sričių. Dažniausiai paremijos vartojamos publicistikoje, šnekamojoje

kalboje ir į šnekamąją kalbą panašiuose kontekstuose, rečiau pritaikomos reklamoje. Išskirtinis bruožas – paremių vartojimas ir kūrimas pramogine intencija. Griežtai dalykinio, mokslinio ir informacinio pobūdžio tekstuose paremijos nevertojamos, visai menkai taikomos lietuvių politinėje retorikoje.

3) Paremijos šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje vartojamos laisvai ir kūrybiškai, ryšku improvizacinis elementas. Šiais laikais svarbu paremią ne vien tinkamai pavartoti, bet ir pritaikyti išradingai, šmaikščiai, sąmojingai. Svarstyta prielaida, kuriai patvirtinti reikia tolesnio statistinio tyrimo, jog XX–XXI a. sandūroje tendencija paremijas taikyti kūrybiškai, improvizuoti ir paremią modifikuoti taip, kad ji aiškiau, konkrečiau, sąmojingiau iliustruotų tam tikrą situaciją, yra ryškesnė, nei polinkis pavartoti paremią tradicine forma. Gebėjimas paremijas taikyti kūrybiškai liudija išlikus folklorinę kompetenciją.

4. Pastaraisiais dviem dešimtmečiais vartojamos lietuvių paremijos yra įvairios formos, turinio, kilmės požiūriu. Visus šiuos posakius – tradicines paremijas, antiparemijas, naująsias paremijas – vienam žanrui priskiriame dėl juos vienijančių paremiškų požymių – tiek formos ir turinio, tiek vartosenos ypatumų. Kadangi dalis naujųjų paremių yra itin trumpos ir paprastos, neturi įprastinių paremijos požymių – būdingų sintaksinių struktūrų, garsinės organizacijos priemonių, metaforinio vaizdo ir pan., svarbiausias motyvas šiuos posakius laikyti paremijomis yra jų atotrūkis nuo atsiradimo situacijos: tokie posakiai įgyja savarankiškumo ir imami vartoti bet kokiuose kontekstuose. Jų pavartojimo intencijos atitinka paremijos porūšių – priežodžių, situacinių posakių, etiketo formulių – vartoseną.

5. **Tradicinės paremijos** XX–XXI a. sandūros visuomenėje vartojamos vis dar gausiai, tačiau seniau būdingas sintaksines konstrukcijas, gramatines formas, leksiką keičia paprastesnė sintaksė, nūdienai įprastesnė gramatika ir leksika. Tradicinės paremijos dažnai vartojamos bent kiek modifikuotos.

Šnekamojoje kalboje ir jai analogiškuose kontekstuose funkcinio požiūriu tradicinių paremių vartoseną nėra ženkliai pakitusi, tik sumenkėjusi jų didaktinė vertė, argumento svoris. Publicistikoje ir reklamoje paremija dažniausiai pasitelkiama kaip priemonė adresato dėmesiui atkreipti, tačiau šioms sferoms taip pat labai svarbi tradicijos reprezentavimo funkcija. Tradicinių paremių atėjimas į pramogų sritį – šių laikų paremių vartosenos savybė.

6. **Antiparemių** kūrimas – itin ryškus šiuolaikinės lietuvių paremių vartosenos bruožas. Antiparemių yra jungiamoji grandis tarp paremių, perimtų iš senosios tradicijos, ir naujų paremių. Kiekvienoje antiparemių glūdi aliuzija į kurią nors tradicinę paremią – tai sėkmingos perdirbinio realizacijos pamatas.

Dalis antiparemių – dažniausiai kontekstinės – forma, reikšmė ir funkcijomis yra artimos tradicinėms paremioms, jos laikytinos leksiniais ar sintaksiniais tradicinių paremių variantais. Kitos, dėl pokyčių įgijusios visai kitokį meninį vaizdą, o drauge ir kitą reikšmę, nuo tradicinių paremių labai nutolusios, gali virsti naujomis savarankiškomis paremiomis.

Daugiausia lietuvių antiparemių sukuriama leksinės substitucijos būdu. Pagal santykį su tradicine paremią šitaip sukurtos antiparemių įvairuoja nuo tradicinei paremią semantiškai itin artimų, atitinkančių tradicinio varijavimo dėsnius, iki visiškai nutolusių, priskirtinų tikrųjų antiparemių kategorijai. Kiti dažni paremių kūrimo būdai – pusės paremių substitucija ir tradicinės paremių pailginimas. Nemažai paremiškų posakių sukuriama tiesiog imituojant tradicines paremiąs.

Apibendrinus ankstesnius lietuvių tradicinių paremių raidos tyrimus ir išnagrinėjus antiparemių kūrimo modelius, matyti, kad pastarieji nėra išimtinai šių laikų reiškinys, o veikia šimtmečius trukusios raidos tęsa. Nuo pat senosios paremių vartosenos, apie kurią turima duomenų, iki mūsų laikų konstatuojami tam tikri paremių formos ir turinio pokyčiai: semantinio lauko kitimas, dažnesnis paremių vartojimas, suprantant jas tiesiogine reikšme, komiško stiprėjimas, išplėstinių versijų radimasis. Šiuos ilgaamžės raidos aspektus atitinka antiparemių kūrimo būdai ir priemonės.

Antiparemioms labiau negu tradicinėms ir naujosioms paremioms būdinga pramoginė funkcija. Šnekamojoje kalboje antiparemiomis visų pirma siekiama pademonstruoti savo išskirtinumą, sąmojingumą. Publicistikoje, taip pat teminiuose interneto komentaruose, labiau nei kitose srityse, svarbu antiparemių turinys. Perdirbtu posakiu konkrečiau ir taikliau iliustruojama norima situacija, juo aiškiau išreiškiamas vertinimas.

Vienu iš antiparemių ir tradicinių paremių vartosenos skirtumų laikytina tai, kad tradicinėmis paremiomis sukuriama bendrumo ir visuotinio pojūtį antiparemiuose dažnai persveria asmens individualumo teigimas.

7. **Naujųjų paremių** kategorijai priskirtini per pastaruosius kelis dešimtmečius paplitę įvairios kilmės paremiški posakiai. Dauguma jų iki šiol paremijomis nelaikyti ir į paremių sąvadus neįtraukti. „Naujumo“ sąvoka, palyginti su senųjų paremių „tradiciskumu“, reiškia ne vien laiko matmenį, bet ir pakitusias turinio bei formos ypatybes: pasaulėžiūros raišką, naujus įvaizdžius, specifinę leksiką. Lietuvių paremių fondą pastaraisiais dešimtmečiais bene gausiausiai papildė verstinės paremijos. Nemažai naujųjų paremių randasi masinės kultūros sferoje. Jos, palyginti su tradicinėmis ir verstinėmis paremijomis, yra trumpesnės, jų forma paprastesnė.

Lyginant su tradicinėmis, naujosios paremijos yra kosmopolitiškesnės. Jų tradicijos saugojimo ir reprezentavimo funkcija kur kas blankesnė, išlaikoma poreikiu mintis reikšti, situacijas vertinti, kalbą puošti pastoviaisiais posakiais. Itin ryški stilistinė (stilistinė-pramoginė) naujųjų paremių funkcija. Naujosiomis paremijomis teigiama, vertinama, apibendrinama ir tik retais atvejais nurodoma. Nurodomoji pavartojimo intencija gali atsirasti dėl tam tikro konteksto.

8. XX–XXI a. sandūros lietuvių paremių fondo susiformavimui įtakos turėjo tam tikri išoriniai veiksniai. Pakitus komunikacijos būdams ir formoms, pakito paremių sklaidos tempas, atsirado galimybė paplisti tokiems posakiams, kurie vien sakytiniu ar rašytiniu būdu nebūtų paplitę. Itin reliatyvus pasidarė posakio anonimiškumo ir autorystės aspektas. Nemenkai dabartinį lietuvių paremių fondą paveikė socialinė-ekonominė ir kultūrinė visuomenės raida, taip pat kalbų sąveika. Rusų kalbos įtaką liudija nuo tarybinių laikų prigijusios verstinės paremijos, taip pat pastaruoju metu gausiai iš rusų kalbos perimamos antiparemijos. Atgavus nepriklausomybę, pasijuto itin stipri anglų kalbos įtaka. Aktyvus tradicinių paremių modifikavimo procesas sietinas su kalbos demokratėjimu ir stiprėjančia jaunimo kalbos įtaka, visuotinėmis kultūrinėmis tendencijomis. Tradicinės paremijos, antiparemijos ir naujosios paremijos atspindi nūdienos vertybinių nuostatų įvairovę.

9. Pakankama suklasifikuotų empirinių lietuviškų duomenų sanakaupa ir gausūs užsienio paremiologų tyrimai leidžia daryti išvadą, kad inovatyvūs lietuvių paremiologiniai reiškiniai yra dalis visuotinio tarptautinio proceso. Ir lietuvių, ir kitų šiuolaikinių visuomenių vartojamos paremijos yra perėjusios į įvairias komunikacijos sritis, kur yra vartojamos panašiais tikslais; antiparemijos kuriamos pasitelkus tokius

pačius ar panašius struktūrinius modelius, išnaudojant analogiškas semantines priemones; paremių fondas nuolat pasipildo modernaus gyvenimo sričių posakiais.

10. Sukaupti šiuolaikinės paremių vartosenos duomenys atveria naujų perspektyvų tiek tolesniems paremiologiniams, tiek platesniems kitų disciplinų – kultūrologijos, sociologijos, psichologijos, lingvistikos – tyrimams. Itin perspektyvi atrodo šiuolaikinių paremių turinio, kaip visuomenės identiteto, pasaulėžiūros, mentaliteto atspindžių, analizė. Per tai, kokias paremijas, kokiose situacijose, kiek modifikuotas vartoja individas, galima bandyti atskleisti jo santykį su pačia tradicija, kaip pamatinių vertybių teigėja, nagrinėti asmens psichologines savybes, išvelgti saviraiškos ir savęs įtvirtinimo poreikį, kai savo individualumo teigimas liudija pakitusį žmogaus „savęs“ visuomenėje suvokimą. Tolesni tyrimai galėtų patvirtinti ar paneigti hipotezę, jog šiuolaikinės paremijos yra bendrųjų kultūrinių tendencijų atspindys ar pasekmė: išpūdis, raiška, vaizdas svarbiau už turinį, vertę, tvarumą; vizualumas svarbiau už verbalinę raišką.

Inovatyvių transformacijų visuotinumą tarptautiniu mastu skatina mąstyti apie bendrąsias sociokultūrinės tendencijas, kultūrinį tapatumą, atsparumą (arba neatsparumą) išorinėms įtakoms. Turint omenyje inovatyvių reiškinių tarptautiškumą, jų panašumai ir skirtybės įvairiose kultūrose skatina gilintis tiek į kalbančiojo santykį su pačia paremija (jos argumento svorį anuomet ir dabar, čia ir svetur), tiek į lingvistinį paremių raiškos aspektą, tiek į mąstymo ypatumus.

Perspektyvūs galėtų būti kognityviniai lietuvių paremių tyrimai – kaip vien mintyse gyvuoja neverbalizuotos paremijos, kodėl paremijos išsimenamos ir vartojamos nesuprantant jų prasmės, kas šiuolaikiniam žmogui yra „liaudies išmintis“.

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Dalia Zaikauskienė was born in 1968 in Vilnius. In 1986–1992 she studied at Vilnius University, graduating from the Faculty of Philology. In 1997–2007, she was as a member of paremiology research group at the Department of Folk Narrative, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore. In 2007–2011, she was a doctoral student in Humanities, Philology, Folklore at Vilnius University and the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore.

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LLTI dirbo kapitalinio leidinio „Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai“ (t. I 2000, t. II 2008) rengimo grupėje (už „Lietuvių patarlių ir priežodžių“ I tomą autoriams 2001 m. suteikta Lietuvos mokslo premija). Nuolatos dirbo patarlių ir priežodžių sisteminimo darbu, dalyvavo konferencijose, yra skaičiusi paskaitų, organizavusi seminarų. Paskelbė mokslinių paremiologijos srities straipsnių, parengė straipsnių enciklopedijoms, trumpųjų pasakymų publikacijų. Į lietuvių kalbą yra išvertusi užsienio folkloristų darbų, parengusi naujų užsienio paremiologų darbų anotacijų. Dalyvavo keliose mokslinėse programose ir projektuose: Lietuvių kalbos komisijos finansuotoje programoje *Lietuvių patarlių ir priežodžių kompiuterinė duomenų bazė* (1998–2005); LVMSF remtoje programoje *RaSa: Lietuvių dvasinės kultūros raiškos: etnologijos, kalbos ir istorijos šaltinių elektroninis sąvadas* (2003–2004); Lietuvių kalbos komisijos finansuotoje programoje *Elektroninis lietuvių patarlių ir priežodžių tipų katalogas* (2006–2007); Lietuvos valstybinio mokslo ir studijų fondo ir Lietuvos mokslo tarybos remtame VDU ir LLTI bendrame projekte *Tradicijų tęstinumas ir kaita šiuolaikiniame lietuvių folklore: tyrimai ir sisteminimas* (2008–2010).

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