

I. RESEARCH ARTICLES

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DARBAS ‘WORK’
IN SELECTED LITHUANIAN DISCOURSES*

The study presents the Lithuanian linguo-cultural image of work (DARBAS) reconstructed from lexicographic and textual data. The lexicographic sources used are The Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (*Lietuvių Kalbos Žodynas, LKŽ*) and The Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian (*Dabartinės Lietuvių Kalbos Žodynas, DLKŽ*). The relevant definitions in the two dictionaries differ substantially and reflect, respectively, former and contemporary views on work. The lexicographic treatment contains elements of the rural understanding of work as a hard, arduous human activity, performed out of necessity but at the same time as something that brings joy and functions as the foundation of one’s life. The dictionaries also contains elements of Soviet ideology, especially an extolment of work and its superiority over people. To complement this view, data from a literary, ideological, legal, and journalistic discourse provide new means of looking at work. Descriptions of hard work as a fundamental human activity can be found in the writings of classic Lithuanian authors, such as Kristijonas Donelaitis, Dionizas Poška, and Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas. At the same time, literary descriptions have a distinct poetic flavour and foster the sense of ennoblement, as well as elevating workers as heroes. Ideological discourse reveals the patriotic sense of work, legal discourse revolves around the significance of the law. The most diverse is the treatment of work in journalistic discourse: it is a value, an honour, and a duty; it brings satisfaction if it is interesting; it may also be treated as a relatively effortless hobby.

KEY WORDS: work, Lithuanian discourse, literary discourse, ideological discourse, legal discourse, journalism

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1. Introduction

The view of work as a value that defines who we are is shaped by educational institutions with their role of preparing young people for adult life. The family, the school, the Church, and the media all exert a huge impact on a person's attitude to their surroundings. Work is of interest to many scientific disciplines: its various aspects are investigated in anthropology, palaeontology, history, sociology, and psychology. From the sociological and philosophical perspective, work is often portrayed as something that gives meaning to human life: occupational training and the ability to perform the tasks one has been assigned boost a person's self-esteem. It is assumed that the social position of a person is determined by their profession and the work they perform. The choice of the profession and the nature of one's job have a direct connection with the income of the individual and a direct bearing on their economic status.

In the teaching of the Catholic Church, work is a fundamental dimension of man's existence on earth; cf. Pope Francis: "Work [...] in its many forms – is proper to the human person. It expresses the dignity of being created in the image of God" (General audience, Paul VI Audience Hall, Wednesday, 19 August 2015, published in Pope Francis 2015). Pope John Paul II devoted the entire encyclical *Laborem Exercens* (1981) to work. In it, he states that ... man's dominion over the earth is achieved in and by means of work. [...] Man dominates the earth by the very fact of domesticating animals, rearing them and obtaining from them the food and clothing he needs, and by the fact of being able to extract various natural resources from the earth and the seas. (Ioannes Paulus PP. II 1981, ch. 5)

The practice of dominating over or subduing the earth is even more vividly manifested through the land cultivation and the transformation of the earth's products for human use. Thus agricultural work is the primary field of economic activity:

Man has to subdue the earth and dominate it, because as the "image of God" he is a person, that is to say, a subjective being capable of acting in a planned and rational way, capable of deciding about himself, and with a tendency to self-realization. As *a person, man is therefore the subject of work*. (Ioannes Paulus PP. II 1981, ch. 6)

The position of the Church is echoed in a commentary on the encyclical posted on the website bernardinai.lt: "Jei pasiseka pasirinkti darbą pagal savo gyvenimo svajonę, atsiveria galimybė daugiau ar mažiau save atrasti ir realizuoti" [If we are lucky enough to choose a job in accordance with our

life’s dreams, it will open the possibilities, to a greater or lesser extent, of self-discovery and self-fulfilment] (accessed Dec 5, 2016).

Work is also a kind of duty. In some views, work and marriage are the two domains that frame, give meaning to, and actually constitute the whole life of an adult human. Freud finds love and work to be the most important spheres of human life, prerequisite for success.

2. Lithuanians and work

The qualities that Lithuanians attribute to work as a type of activity locate at the extreme ends of a variety of scales: good – bad, hard – light, prestigious – disreputable, well-paid – poorly-paid, etc. More often than not, however, work is treated as a duty necessary to provide for the family and to meet one’s own needs.

The well-known Lithuanian poet Justinas Marcinkevičius, whose views are consistent with the teaching of the Catholic Church, poeticises work, treating it as a moral norm. In his 2011 book *Dienoraščiai ir datos* [Diaries and Dates], he writes:

Let’s try to treat life as a duty. As a duty of a person to another person, a duty of an individual to society and of society to individuals, a duty of the sun to the earth, of parents to their children, of a worker to work, as our duty to truth and fidelity, a duty of the scientist to science, as fidelity and duty of the poet to poetry, as a duty to goodness and beauty, to the country, to the present day and the day after that, as a duty to a tree and a bird. (from an interview at republika.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)¹

Nowadays, however, young people have a more pragmatic view of work:

Today, hardly anyone is inclined to say that work, which takes up the lion’s share of our lives, is their most meaningful aspect. The nature of economics and industry, with their notion of “workforce”, is such that they alienate persons from their work. Humans are isolated from and alien to the results of their own work – they have no contact with those results, so that work itself is alien to humans. Work does no longer lead to self-fulfilment and satisfaction of personal needs – it is merely a duty, an obligation. In addition, because of the impersonal attitude towards work, hidden under the terms *workforce*, *specialist*, or *company reputation*, humans experience increasing difficulty in building and expressing their identity through work. (Baranovas 2011: 2; transl. K.W.-D.)

Nevertheless, being very hard-working people, Lithuanians *are* capable of enjoying the results of their work, regardless of whether they see it as a duty or a routine. This is a very deeply entrenched attitude, cf. some uses of the word *darbas* from several Lithuanian dialects:²

¹ http://www.republika.lt/lt/naujienos/kultura/portretai/jmarcinkevicius_rodokur_eiti_kai_paklysti/print.1

² There are four major dialects of Lithuanian, as well as several subdialects.

- (1) *O tai darbo žmogus, visą dieną kaip bitelė pluša.* [This is a busy man, working all day like a bee.] (Šaukėnai, Kelmė district municipality)
- (2) *Šiandie darbo turim iki ausų.* [Today, we are up to our ears in work.] (Marijampolė)
- (3) *Pasisodink tą šniūrą braškių, tada turėsi darbo lig akių ir uogų.* [Plant a patch of strawberries and get your fill of work and berries.] (Ramygala, Panevėžio region)
- (4) *To darbo tai pilnos akys, negali apsigint.* [All this work makes you see double, you cannot defend yourself.] (Alvitas, Vilkaviškio region)
- (5) *Be darbo ilgu.* [You feel wistful when there's no work.] (Slavikai, Šakių region)
- (6) *Jis visada paskendęs darbuose.* [He is always immersed in work.] (Šunskai, Marijampolė County)
- (7) *Jau žiemą kulti – tai paskutinis darbas.* [In the winter, there's threshing – this is the last job.] (Ramygala, Panevėžio region)
- (8) *Kad visuomet darbuose, tai nė pasakos nerūpi.* [As he works all the time, he doesn't care about anything, even fairy tales.] (Geistarai, Vilkaviškio region)
- (9) *Dabar iš darbų turim tik suart.* [Now the only work left to do is ploughing.] (Pociūnėliai, Radviliškio region)
- (10) *Vasarą darbuose visi nušilę, nuplūkę.* [In the summer, everyone at work is hot and sweating.] (Panevėžys)

As these examples show, for an ordinary Lithuanian person work is a routine, a simple physical activity they cannot and do not want to avoid: Lithuanians are not accustomed to idling the hours away, and there is so much work that there's no end to it (2, 3, 4, 6, 9). Work is hard, exhausting (1, 7, 10), a person who is overburdened with work does not care and may not even remember about other matters (8), but a person who is used to working, cannot live without work (5). Thus, hard work usually receives positive valuation: a diligent, hard-working person is compared to an ant or a bee, which, in folk culture, only have positive connotations (bees and humans are alike – they both *valgo* 'eat' and *miršta* 'die', while all the other living beings *ėda* 'gobble' and *dvesia* 'die (of animals)'). These aspects of work have been perpetuated in folklore or entrenched in derivatives of the lexeme *darbas* (e.g. *darbas žmogų puošia*, lit. 'work decorates man'; *darbštus kaip bitutė* 'busy as a bee'; *darbštus kaip skruzdė* 'busy as an ant'), which, however, are not in focus in the present paper.

References to work are also found in historical records:

- (11) *Senus mažus **darban** varė.* [Old and young were all forced to work.] (*JLd* 1954: 210)
- (12) *Nesirupink mano sunkiais **darbeliais**.* [Do not worry about my hard work.] (*JLd* 1954: 31)
- (13) *Nuo sunkių **darbelių** žiedelis rūdėja.* [A ring darkens from hard work.] (*StnD*:12)
- (14) *Jeį **darbą** savo rankelių valgysi, pašlovintas būsi.* [If you eat the fruit of the labour of your hands, you will be blessed.] (*MŽ* 1992: 424)

Work features here as an obligation, a duty (11), despite the fact that hard work is referred to with diminutives (12, 13, 14). In all the examples above, the dominant notion is ‘hard work’. In colloquial expressions, the word *darbas* is used in several meanings:

- (15) *Bitės parlekia su **darbu**.* [The bees are returning with the harvest (their day’s work).] (Veliuona, Jurbakas district municipality)
- (16) *Spinta didelė, bet **darbas** nė šuniui nevertas.* [The wardrobe is big, but the job is not worth a dog.] (Joniškis, Joniškis district municipality)
- (17) *Kai šitą [laikrodį] nugyvensiu, tai kitą vėl pirksiu to pačio **darbo**.* [As soon as this (watch) breaks down, buy a new one of the same make.] (Pilviškiai, Vikaviškis district municipality)
- (18) *Kai pašoka, jaunoji suriš a savo **darbo** juosta.* [When they have danced, the young girl will tie (him) with a belt of her own making.] (Dieveniškės, Vilnius County)
- (19) *Apsiūtas savo **darbo** siūlu.* [Trimmed with threads of (her) own making.] (Lazdijai, Lazdijai district municipality)
- (20) *Namų **darbo** rūbai geriau ir velėjas.* [Homemade clothes are easier to wash.] (Sudeikiai, Utena County)

In these examples, the word *darbas* refers to the results of work (15), the specific products of work (16), the quality of the work done (16, 17, 20), and the method through which an item has been made or produced (18, 19). It can therefore be said that in dialects and historical language records, the Lithuanian *darbas* has quite a diverse range of meanings: it is used to designate both the quality of work as well as trouble, drudgery, and toil.

It should be noted that *darbas* and *dirbti* (both meaning ‘work’) are not old words inherited from Proto-Indo-European and their original meaning probably was not associated with burden. According to Smoczyński (2007), *dirbti*, *dirbu*, *dirbau* are related to the Latvian *dirbt*, meaning ‘to run fast’ or, paradoxically, ‘walk slowly (stroll, saunter)’. The meaning ‘hard work’, according to the Lithuanian etymologist Mažiulis, appeared later, probably for social and psychosocial reasons, and was borrowed from other languages: it exists in the Latvian *strādāt* (borrowed from Russian), in dialectal Lithuanian *prociavoti* (from Polish), in the Prussian **gevin(a)tvei* ‘to work hard’ (a loan-word) and **delatvei* ‘to work, act’, cf. Lithuanian *dirbti* ‘to work, act’ (prusistika.fff.vu.lt; accessed Dec 12, 2015).

The meaning ‘to work hard’ is in the Lithuanian language expressed with the largest number of synonyms: *plušėti* ‘to fag, to toil’, *triusti* ‘to toil away’, *prakaituoti* ‘to sweat’, *prakaitą lieti* ‘to sweat’ (Antanas 2002); the nominal ‘hard work’ also has the greatest number of antonyms: *atilsis* ‘rest’, *poilsis* ‘recreation’, *gulejimas* ‘lying down’, *nedarbas* ‘unemployment’, *švente* ‘a feast, a holiday’, *tingejimas* ‘laziness, idleness’ (Ermanytė 2003).

3. Work in literary discourse

In the history of Lithuanian literature, there have been three distinguished authors who have devoted particular attention to human work: Kristijonas Donelaitis, Dionizas Poška, and Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas.

Let us begin the analysis with Donelaitis's poem *Metai* [The Seasons] – the most outstanding piece of 18th-c. Lithuanian didactic writing. Donelaitis was a parson and felt an obligation to oversee the morality of his parishioners, whom he tried to educate by relating to the type of work associated with each season of the year and stressing that, being assigned to humans through God's decree, work must be done without unnecessary interruptions and regardless of the weather:

- (16) *Nugi dabar, į dievišką žiurėdami ranką
 Judinkimės pamaži nuolatai nusitvert savo **darbus**.
 Ir nepabūkim, kad išgirsim darganas užiant.
 Ar kad orai mus daugysk visoki nugandins!*
 [So meanwhile, while we gaze at God's benignant hand,
 Let's move on and prepare ourselves for heavy work,
 And let's not be alarmed on hearing lashing rains,
 Or when the gales and storms will try to harry us.]

Donelaitis devotes much attention to the process of working itself, trying to convey the mood that accompanies work. In the times described, work occupied most of a peasant's life, who would put his heart and soul into it. In the spring, there was sowing, with hopes for a good harvest. Summer was an especially difficult time, as it often involved work without respite. In the summer, serfs would sag under the burden of toil (one part of the poem is actually titled *Summer Toil*): the collecting and spreading of manure, haymaking, harvesting cereals, broad beans and peas, picking nuts and mushrooms. By describing the spreading of manure, Donelaitis shows that the Lithuanian peasant was committed to work and did his duty in a timely and conscientious manner, even when it was the hardest and filthiest of jobs. In the countryside, people used to spend all their time out of doors – it is only during the long winter evenings that work was done at home by the lamplight. Winter work was less onerous but it was monotonous. On the positive side, work made peasants stronger: they never complained of “gentlemen's” diseases.

The characters in Donelaitis's poem are divided into two groups: the positive *viežlybieji* (from Rus. *vezhlyvi*, lit. ‘well-behaved’) and the negative *nenaudeliai* (lit. ‘ne'er-do-well’). The villains, Plaučiunas, Dočys, Slunkius and others, are antisocial, dangerous, and contentious; they incite others

to engage in dishonest behaviour, drunkenness, and gluttony. One of the village baddies, a smart aleck and a sluggard called Slunkius (the very word *slunkius* is synonymous with *sluggard*, *shirker*, see *LKŽ*), says:³

- (17) *Ak! kad būt ilgiaus žiema pas mus pasilikus,
Ir kad vis miegot mums būtuų sviete paskirta!
Ogi dabar, žėlėk Dieve! jau vasara randas
Ir **darbuų** naš tas nusitvert vėl ragina rengtis.
[Oh, that we were sent here just to eat, drink, and sleep!
But now, Lord, pity us, the summer time draws near
And summons us take up unwelcome loads of toil.
I wish the winter had remained a longer while.]*

Slunkius’s monologue stands in contrast to Pričkus’s words encouraging his fellow villagers to get ready for work:

- (18) *Bet juūs, viežlybi kaimynai, juūs, gaspadoriai
Su grečnomis gspadinėms, mums nereik nusigėdėt,
Kad mes, būriškus jau vėl nusitverdami **darbus**,
Mėšlus rausim ir laukus iydirddami vargsim.
[But you, good neighbours, men of home and family
You, stalwart breadwinners with sweet and gentle wives
We need not be ashamed of irksome farming work:
The pitching of manure, the digging in the soil.]*

Donelaitis clearly shows which of the peasants should be followed as role models – he himself adores only those peasants who work. Work is life’s basic road sign, an unavoidable duty. The author admires the *viežlybieji* (the good peasants) because they truly respect and love work. They hurry to work, even if they haven’t managed to eat their breakfast or get dressed properly, just to be on time. They do all their work conscientiously and responsibly; they toil without sparing themselves.

The poem *Mužikas žemaičių ir Lietuvos* [The Samogitian and the Lithuanian Peasant], written in the early 19th c. by Dionizas Poška (Dionizy Paszkiewicz), reads like a condensed version of Donelaitis’s *The Seasons*: it shows the work of a serf and his toil in different seasons of the year, accentuating the enormity and the incessant nature of this work:

- (19a) *Pons taria: “Garbė dievui, darbymets praėjo”. [The Master says: “Glory to God, the busy season has passed”].*
 (19b) *Mužike! kitaip sakai: naujs darbs prasidėjo. [And you, Peasant, you say otherwise: new work has just begun.]*

³ English translation by N. Rastenis, available at www.balticsealibrary.de (accessed Jan 20, 2017).

Similarly to that of Donelaitis, Poška's primary goal is to glorify the serf, the doer of all the farm work. A man of work (Poška's *mužikas* 'peasant') is extolled as the creator of all material, spiritual, and cultural values. At the same time, his poverty and slavish life subjected to lawless treatment are described.

But then comes the antithesis, announced already in the first line of the poem:

- (20) *Dalele ž monių brangi, vienok paniekinta*
*Iš kurio **darbios** rankos žemės vaisiai krinta!*
 [A dear folk, though too often scorned,
 From whose hard-working hands come the fruits of the earth!]

It is supported by the entire poetic content of this work. The peasant (*mužikas*) understands that he is "the true master of life – the producer of all social goods, the creator of all values" (Girdzijauskas 2001: 621):

- (21) *Mužike! rašiau **darbus** pagal mano galeės.*
„Netiesa: tai tikt yra darby mano dalys,
Kurias tiktai nugraibei kaip verėne taukus:
O kas gi tuos išskynė pievas, dirvas, laukus?
Kas sausomis padarė tas pelkes bedugnes?
Kas akmenis suskaldė su gelžiu per ugnis?
 [...]
 Kas pastatė tas baltas trobas mūrinyčias,
Iš plytų ar iš akmens blizgančias bažnyčias?
Kas tuos žemčūngus, auksus, sidabrus nupelno?
Vis tai kruvins prakaitas ir mužiko delna”.
 [Peasant, I am strong and audacious in my words.
 “Nay, but you only mention a part of the work, and not all our toil,
 Like a cook, who skims off the fat.
 Now say, who sows the patches, who gathers crops during the harvest?
 Who removes these marshes, muds and swamps?
 Who splits stones without fire and steam?
 [...]
 Who builds the white town houses,
 And eternally lasting churches from brick and stone?
 And who supplies your country with gold and silver?
 Why, this whole bloody toil is the work of the peasant's hands”].⁴

⁴ Translated into English from the Polish translation by Julia Wichert-Kajrusztisowa (in Stoberski 1973).

Despite the similarities between the two poems, Poška's and Donelaitis's attitudes to peasants' work differ considerably. In both authors, peasants are portrayed in a positive light, they respect and love work, they toil, sparing no efforts – but in Poška their work is portrayed as slavish and exhausting. Even though a *mužikas* produces marvellous goods, he does not feel the joy of it – instead, he complains and cries.

The views on work of the 20th-c. writer, Reverend Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas, come close to those expressed by the Catholic Church. In his writings, work is extolled. Tumas-Vaižgantas's descriptions of work are wrapped in memories of the past, stories and sayings. Most interesting in this regard is the novel *Pragiedruliai* [Rays of Hope]. Indeed, all the people work hard and work a lot; this is forced labour, but some do it out of habit, others out of duty. However, for Napalys Šešiavilkis (the protagonist in the book) work is a source of happiness; he willingly gets up earlier than others and does more work than others. Work is part of his life, his happiness, rather than a burden. This is a man who takes delight in everything, e.g. in the spring haymaking or in the choosing of the scythe, and his zeal for work attracts others:

- (22) *Therefore, hired workers from the Šešiavilkis family never want to go anywhere without Napalys. Walking together, they looked at this handsome young man with a fair complexion, listened to his unending talk and did their work as if it were easy, without getting bored or discouraged. . .*

In the novel, the work performed by Napalys is ennobled, portrayed in a poetic manner – the author accentuates the young man's strength, the value of his work, its beauty and usefulness:

- (23) *Being in the prime of his life and in good health, Napalys did his work in the farmyard with the same fervour with which he always undertook any new job. His ability to do everything simply perfectly aroused admiration. . . Whistling, singing or chatting merrily, Napalys ploughed the field, mowed the hay, threshed the crop, pitched the manure, and did it all just as well as the hired workers. And even better, because he worked with more patience and perseverance.*

Tumas-Vaižgantas offers a poetic description of a “concert of scythes” before haymaking and of the haymaking itself in *Gondingos krašte* [Gondinga's Country]: work is hard, but the images of work are bright, filled with the sunshine, the smell of grass, and the breeze. Work, according to Tumas-Vaižgantas, is a source of joy and health, an activity that elevates and ennobles people. It is not coincidental that the chapter of the novel entitled “Napalys darbus dirba” [Napalys does his work] is compulsory reading in

Lithuanian schools. Other Lithuanian writers do not devote so much attention to work in their writings, but in one way or another, the theme of work constantly recurs in Lithuanian literature. Writers describe the characteristic features of work:

- (24) *Esame darbo mes broliai, klauso mūs erdvės ir toliai.* [We are brothers at work, spaces and distances are listening to us.] (Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas)
- (25) *Bene darbas rūpės jam dirbti.* [Is it just work that will matter to him.] (Žemaitė (Julija Beniuševičiūtė-Žymantienė))
- (26) *Visus darbus ji nudirbo, darbas rankose jai tirpo.* [She has done all her work; she is a demon for work.] (Salomėja Nėris)
- (27) *Kas dar prispaustų prie darbo, supliukštų jos lašiniai.* [If someone forced her to work, she would lose some of her fat.] (Jonas Jablonskis)
- (28) *Prasidėjo lauko darbai.* [Work in the fields has begun.] (Antanas Vienuolis)
- (29) *Lengvo rankų darbo nemoka – nei siūti, nei megzti.* [She cannot (even) do simple manual work – she can neither sew nor knit] (Žemaitė)
- (30) *Kad žmogus ir numiršta, darbai gyvena.* [Even if a man dies, his work lives on.] (Jonas Jablonskis)
- (31) *ŽMOGUI visada mieliau dirbti darbą, negu atlikti pareigą.* [It is always more pleasant for a man to do work than to do duty.] (Justinas Marcinkevičius)
- (32) *Jei iš viso yra pašaukimas, tai kilniausias pašaukimas yra darbas.* [If there exists a thing called vocation, then work is the most honourable vocation.] (Justinas Marcinkevičius)
- (33) *Į darbą, broliai, vyrs į vyrą, šarvuoti mokslu atkakliu!* [Let's get to work, brothers, hand in hand, armed in the armour of science!] (Maironis (Jonas Mačiulis))
- (34) *Kambario nuotaika, ramybė, knygos – geriausi darbo draugai.* [The mood in the room, tranquility, books – work's best companions.] (Petras Cvirka)

The examples show that work is presented in Lithuanian literature primarily as a kind of physical activity (26–29) and a result of this activity (30). The works of 20th-c. authors feature the concept of intellectual work (33, 34). Interesting work, performed with love, is never a burden: it is a natural activity that becomes people (24, 31–32). Work is a vocation (32) and people who work together form circles of brotherhood (24).

The basic aspects of work identified in excerpts from historical language records, dialects and literature, are arranged in *LKŽ* into the following definitions:

1. 'purposeful, socially useful human activity requiring mental or physical effort; an occupation, activity, effort';
2. 'what is being (has been) performed, made, or done';
3. 'the quality or a method of execution, production'.

The focus of the present article is work in the first of these senses.

4. Ideological discourse

Work in the first sense given in *LKŽ*, 'socially useful human activity', often appears in ideological discourse, which represents an understanding of this concept characteristic of peasant communities:

- (35) *President Smetona: Kokia gi yra toji pareiga? Ji yra mokytis, auklėtis ir išėjus mokslą dirbti naudingas **darbas** tėvynei.* [What exactly is this duty? It is to learn, educate oneself, and after completing one's education, to perform valuable work for the homeland.] (in Edintas 1990)
- (36) *A Signatory of the Act of Independence of Lithuania, Z. Vaišvila: Tai buvo **darbas** vardan Lietuvos Tautos akivaizdoje.* [This was work done in the name of Lithuania and in the face of the Nation.] (laisva-slaikraštis.lt; accessed Dec 18, 2017)
- (37) *President Grybauskaitė: Kiekvieno diplomato pareiga – **darbas** Tėvynei ir šalies žmonių interesų gynimas.* [It is the duty of every diplomat to work for the good of the homeland and in the interest of the people of our country.] (15min.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)
- (38) *The film director Ibelhauptaitė: Mūsų **darbai** turi pasakyti, ar Mylime Tėvyne.* [Our work should attest to the fact that we love our homeland.] (Meeting of World Lithuanian Youth 2015)

The notion of patriotism clearly emerges from these examples. Work becomes an abstract concept composed of numerous minor, specific actions. By performing those small tasks, a person contributes to the welfare of the state and the consolidation of statehood. This notion is often found in special-occasion and propaganda speeches, especially by political activists, as well as in leaflets distributed during election campaigns. This understanding of work is characteristic of a pro-national stance: work is mentioned in the context of the homeland as a source of prosperity.⁵

In the context of ideology, one cannot neglect reference to Soviet discourse, in which work for the good of the society was the pivotal element of the doctrine. This is evident in the examples cited in *LKŽ*:

- (39) *Fizinis ir protinis **darbas** yra visų medžiaginių ir kultūrinių vertybių šaltinis.* [Physical and mental work is the source of all material and cultural values.]
- (40) *TSR Sąjungoje **darbas** – kiekvieno darbingo piliečio pareiga ir garbės dalykas.* [In the Soviet Union, work is a duty and a matter of honour for every citizen fit for work.]
- (41) *Didelis **darbas** dirbamas kolūkiams elektrifikuoti.* [Great work is being done: the electrification of collective farms.]

⁵ The patriotic aspect of work is common to various cultures; recall for example John F. Kennedy's famous words from his 1961 Inaugural Address: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country".

These examples show that the Soviet authorities elevated work to the level of honour and duty; they promoted physical work as being equally important as intellectual work. Soviets portrayed work as a source of social welfare, certainly being aware of the ideological falsehood of the notion vis-à-vis reality.

5. Work in modern journalism

The views of contemporary Lithuanians on work are best summarised in the following entry from the Internet site bernardinai.lt:

- (42) *Psichologijos požiūriu žmogaus santykis su darbu gali būti trejopas: darbas dėl pinigų, darbas dėl karjeros, darbas kaip pašaukimas.* [From the psychological point of view, there are three types of attitude people have towards work: they work for money, they work to make a career, and they work because work is their vocation.] (bernardinai.lt; accessed Dec 10, 2015)

Other comments posted on the Internet provide more detailed descriptions of various aspects of work:

- (43) *Nors sergantys žmonės turėtų gulėti lovoje ir sveikti, apklausos rezultatai parodė, kad daugumai žmonių darbas yra svarbesnis nei sveikata.* [Although patients should stay in bed and recover, the results of the survey showed that for most people work was more important than health.] (delfi.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)
- (44) *Tai, ką turi dabar, šis lietuvis susikūrė sunkiu darbu.* [What they have now, the Lithuanians have earned through hard work.] (delfi.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)
- (45) *Lietuvis darbe jaučiasi puikiai, jei dirbti įdomu, darbovietė finansiškai stabili, o santykiai su viršininku yra geri.* [A Lithuanian feels great at work, when the work is interesting, the job is financially stable, and the relations with the manager are good.] (lzinios.lt; accessed Dec 15, 2015)
- (46) *Man darbas yra kaip savotiškas hobis, kuriam reikalingi aktoriniai sugebėjimai ir nuolatinė improvizacija.* [Work, for me, is a kind of hobby which requires acting skills and constant improvisation.] (regionunaujienos.lt; accessed Dec 18, 2015)
- (47) *Iš jų daugiau kaip pusė mano, kad teismai išmano savo darbą.* [The majority of them are of the opinion that the courts are doing their job well.] (tiesos.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)
- (48) *Vienas darbas yra visiška mano aistra, mano kelias, mano gyvenimo prasmė (gelbėjimo gyvybes), tačiau už jį mažai moka. Kitas darbas man atrodo nuobodus, kankinantis, monotoniškas (nors daug kas atiduotų viską, kad turėtų toki[2DB?] puikų diplomą), aš jame tikrai nesu laiminga, bet ... už jį gerai moka.* [One of my jobs is my great passion, my chosen path, the meaning of my life (I save people's lives), but it is low-paid. My other job seems boring, tedious, monotonous (though many would give anything to have such a beautiful diploma); I'm really not happy doing this job, but ... it is well-paid.] (delfi.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)

As these examples show, contemporary Lithuanians understand work in many different ways: as a value, a matter of honour, a duty; a person feels good when doing interesting work (45); work is a hobby which does not require great effort (46); work is based on skill and competence (47); work is hard (44); it may be the meaning of one’s life, although low-paid (48); work can be boring, tedious, monotonous, but highly paid (48). Some of the advertisements found on job websites offer writing services (the sale of “written work”). Generally, advertisements give prominence to the same features of work: well-paid, interesting, high-quality, suitable:

- (49a) *Ieškau gerai apmokamo darbo.* [I’m looking for a well-paid job.]
 (49b) *Gal kas žinote gerą darbą, kur moka gerus pinigus?* [Does anyone know of a job for good money?]
 (50) *Stūlome įdomų darbą jaunam, komunikabiliam vaikinui.* [We are offering an interesting job for a young man with good communication skills.]
 (51) *Rašau bakalauru ir kitus baigiamuosius darbus, parduodu rašto darbą ir t.t.* [I write BA theses (lit. works) and other dissertations (works), I sell written work, etc.]

However, the semantics of work found in such texts requires a separate study.

6. Legal discourse

Legal discourse is unique in that it concerns the relationship between a person and the state, as well as the relationships between people subject to legal regulations:

- (52) *Kyla klausimas: ar darbas gali būti tik žmogaus teisė, ar gali būti ir pareiga? Atsakymųių šių klausimų galima rasti to paties LR Konstitucijos 48 str. 3 ir 5 dalyse bei kituose tarptautiniuose teisės aktuose.* [The question arises whether work can be solely a person’s right, or whether it can be their duty? The answer to this question can be found in article 48, sections 3 and 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and other international legal acts.] (jurisprudencija.lt; accessed Dec 10, 2015)
 (53) *Visuomenei naudingas darbas – visuomeninio darbo forma; viena iš pagrindinių nuteistųjų pataisymo ir perauklėjimo priemonių.* [Socially useful work – a form of social work; one of the basic methods of correctional education of a condemned person.] (*Pataisos darby kodeksas* – Code of Correctional Work)

In legal discourse, there emerges a new semantic area connected with work as a human right (52), not only a duty. The human right to work as the basis of existence, prosperity, and self-esteem is guaranteed by the Lithuanian Labour Code, enacted in 2002. Work for the good of society,

which is given prominence in legal discourse, has little in common with the definition of work in *LKŽ* (cf. 53). Nor does the definition of *darbas* in *DLKŽ* (2006) embrace this semantic area:

1. 'physical or mental activity';
2. 'an occupation, service, or trade';
3. 'a product of work';
4. 'a method of production or quality of production or performance';
5. 'behaviour, an act, a deed'.

As follows from this set of definitions, the basic meaning of work as an activity remains unaltered; however, the dictionary also contains some new explications of *darbas*, such as 'product of work', 'behaviour', 'an act, a deed' (these meanings will be analysed in a separate study).

7. Conclusion

The analysis of the concept of DARBAS in different Lithuanian discourses presented in this article is far from complete. The full picture can only be reconstructed on the basis of more extensive material, including derivatives, idioms and maxims, as well as insights from interviews, surveys, and questionnaires. A study designed to include such linguistic data will answer the question of how work was understood by Lithuanians in the past and how it is understood today. Only when these questions are answered, can a cognitive definition of DARBAS be reliably proposed.

It should be noted that Lithuanians subscribe to the idea of work professed by the Catholic Church, i.e. work as an obligation and the basis of human existence: such a poeticising vision of work is most fully presented by the poets Donelaitis and Tumas-Vaižgantas. Probably, the Lithuanians' love for work has developed under the influence of the Church, the family, school, and literature – it is a product of upbringing and education.

This picture, however, is anything but static. The greatest impact on the way contemporary Lithuanians perceive work is exerted by the media and specialised discourses, such as legal discourse, which is why new semantic associations of work appear in the Lithuanian language, such as those with patriotism or as a human right.

translated by Klaudia Wengorek-Dolecka

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