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JEWISH STEREOTYPES IN THE SAMOGITIAN DIALECT WORLDVIEW

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ABSTRACT
In the early through to mid-20th century (before the Second World War), the Jewish population in Samogitian towns was quite abundant; they were generally business owners, and therefore there could have been various relationships between the rural Samogitian farmers and the urban Jews. The paper analyses the material of dialectal texts (recorded in the 1980s through to 2010s) from the ethnolinguistic perspective to find out how the Samogitian attitude towards Jews is reflected in the Samogitian linguistic worldview. The study focuses mainly on the methodology of the Lublin Ethnolinguistic School, in particular in terms of the view that language is directly related to culture, identity, and remembrance. The research revealed that the Jewish ethnic stereotype in the Samogitian linguistic worldview was quite positive, while especially negative evaluation was related to the context of religion.

KEYWORDS: ethnolinguistics • ethnic stereotype • stereotypical trait • Jewish • Samogitians

One nation's view of another is an important factor in ensuring the success or failure of communication between them, especially since most countries in the world have citizens belonging to different ethnic groups. Despite the prevalence of democratic principles in modern Western societies, different views on ethnic minorities persist in the dominant groups (Kasatkina and Leončikas 2003: 26–27). Lithuania is not an exception. Presently, the relationships between the Lithuanian and Jewish ethnic groups are problematic primarily due to the Holocaust during the Second World War,[1] when out of 153,700 Jewish people who lived in Lithuania in 1923 (given the census data) only about 24,700 remained in 1959 (ibid.: 39), while in 2011, in accordance with the census data, merely 3,050 Jews lived in Lithuania (TMD). It should, however, be emphasised that the relationships of this small Jewish diaspora with Lithuanians are affected not only by the tragedy of the Holocaust, but also by the stereotypical images of Jews formed over centuries:[2] they may be accurate or inaccurate, based on emotions or prejudices or on positive or negative experiences, yet they used to affect, and are affecting, the coexistence of the two different nations. Since ethnic stereotypes are reflected in language, an ethnolinguistic analysis can provide a more complete picture of how members of one nation stereotypically accept members of another nation and how existing ethnic stereotypes support or hinder their coexistence.

In recent years, the relevance of research on ethnic stereotypes has been testified to not merely by its abundance, but also by the fact that researchers in various fields are interested in this topic, and various research methods and approaches are applied.[3] The work of ethnolinguistics explores the stereotypes of representatives of diverse nations, yet special attention has been paid to the analysis of the stereotypical images of Jews,[4] since before the 20th century that diaspora was quite abundant in different countries. According to ethnologist Laimutė Anglickienė (2007: 447), "the otherness of the religion, the way of life, a specific social class system, the anthropological type, and particularly the isolation of their communities was observed in every country where they used to settle".

The aim of the present paper is to reveal a minimally generalised view of the stereotypical features of Jews as recorded in the linguistic worldview of Lithuanian Samogitians. Since the territory of Lithuania is still heterogeneous in terms of dialectology and ethnoculture (it consists of different ethnographic regions, see Figure 1), and the Jewish stereotype in Lithuanian culture has been studied in detail from various perspectives,[5] it was merely the people of the Lithuanian ethnographic region of Samogitia, who still speak the Samogitian dialect and have maintained a number of cultural and identity differences, who have been chosen for the present research: their view on Jews unfolds in the worldview of the Samogitian dialect.
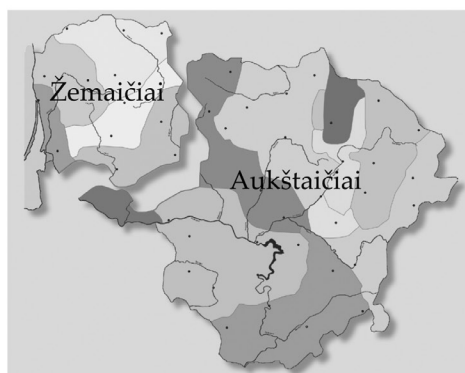
DIALECTS   ETHNOGRAPHIC REGIONS

Figure 1. Comparison of dialectological and ethnographic division of Lithuania (quoted in Meiliūnaitė 2013).

In-depth studies of the reflections of Samogitian–Jewish relationships in the mid-20th century are also relevant because, before the First World War, "Jews predominated in almost all towns of the Samogitian diocese, they were arendators, craftsmen, small traders, coachmen, or inn-keepers" (Vareikis 2002: 91), etc., while Samogitians lived in rural areas and generally engaged in agriculture. Thus, the choice to examine the attitudes of Samogitians, and not of Lithuanians in general, is for the following reasons: a) from the ethnolinguistic point of view, Samogitians' attitudes towards Jews have not been more widely analysed, although the historical and cultural identity of the region of Samogitia (see Figure 1) has been universally recognised (for example Kalnius 2007); b) until the mid-20th century, Telšiai, Kretinga, and other Samogitian cities and towns were Jewish socio-cultural and economic centres[6] and their diaspora in Samogitia was quite large, therefore the texts may testify to certain aspects of Jewish–Samogitian communication not recorded in other Lithuanian regions; c) as evidenced by historical research, "antipathy towards Jews was undoubtedly very strong in historical Samogitia" (Staliūnas 2015: 254), and some outstanding 19th century Lithuanian cultural figures who considered themselves Samogitians, such as Simonas Daukantas or Motiejus Valančius[7], expressed quite open criticism of Jews in their work (for more detail, see Vareikis 2000: 34–35), therefore it can be hypothesised that, due to the influence of these authorities, a rather negative attitude towards Jews may have taken root in the Samogitian worldview.

As these ethnic groups were separated not only by their respective religions, customs, and languages, but also by places of residence and lifestyles, this had to be a particularly important factor for the formation of stereotypical images.

Thus, the aim of the paper is to identify the stereotypical traits of Jews, as recorded in Samogitian texts, and their evaluation. It aims to find out which aspects of Jewish evaluation may be 'preserved' in Samogitian memory, based on analysis of linguistic data from dialectal texts (the spoken discourse).[8]

The object of the current research is fragments of dialectological texts, both published and unpublished, recorded during dialectological folklore expeditions in the period of 1992 to 2015 (altogether 70 units), which reflect the Samogitians' view on

Jews. The fragments of the texts in question containing recorded Jewish ethnonyms have been published in various publications or kept in Klaipėda University archives. The research material does not include text fragments in which the *žyd-* root words naming a representative of the Jewish people (*žydas* is the Lithuanian word for Jew) are used in a neutral, denotative meaning (i.e. which merely name Jews as representatives of the Jewish people) and do not provide any information about Samogitians' attitudes towards them (non-informative for the aim of the research). Conversely, the object of the research includes lexical units that are indirectly related to the ethnonym (metaphors, etc.), yet provide significant information about the stereotypical characteristics of Jews.

The research uses a descriptive analytical method and the grammatical and semantic methodology of analysis, based on the interpretative logic of the research and the methodological approach of ethnolinguistics and cognitive linguistics.

THEORETICAL PREMISES

The studies of stereotypes, defined in quite different ways, were inspired by the methodological approach of the science of sociology, which promoted the development of a separate field of research in ethnic stereotypes[9] used as the basis by representatives of ethnolinguistics.

Aspects such as stereotype and its linguistic sign, stereotype and cognitive semantics, or the cognitive structure of stereotype and ways of conceptualising linguistic reality proved to be particularly important for the linguistic research of stereotype (Panasiuk 1998: 90; Bartmiński and Panasiuk 2001: 374–377). The concept of linguistic stereotype is very widely understood in the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin: "stereotyping encompasses the whole picture of the world – both the image of the thing and the human" (Bartmiński 1997: 12). The concept of ethnic stereotype used in the paper defines the research object and narrows the scope of the concept of a linguistic stereotype. In terms of the scope of the image of an ethnic stereotype, we adhere to the premise that language may reveal a subjectively predetermined 'image' of representatives of the nation in question, encompassing its characteristic features because, to quote Aloyzas Gudavičius (2000: 41), "language, as one of the possible interpretations of the environment, reflects the attitude of its speakers towards the environment in a certain way". Anna Wierzbicka (1991: 16) emphasised the method for decoding the language in which certain images are encoded: "Language is an integrated system where everything 'conspires' to convey meaning: words, grammatical constructions and various 'illocutionary' devices". Therefore, in the studies of an ethnic stereotype, both the lexical, grammatical, and semantic levels are important. However, in the studies of ethnic stereotypes, the focus has been not only on linguistic and mental stereotypes, which shape the 'image' of national cultures and "act as ethnocultural identifiers" (Tołstaya 1998), but also on the relationships between the linguistic and extralinguistic stereotypes.

Contemporary researchers of stereotypes emphasise the diversity of stereotypes as a result of culture and socialisation: they can be accurate and inaccurate, positive and negative, and also neutral (Myers 2008). The emotional aspect of ethnic stereotypes has

been highlighted by a number of ethnolinguists, emphasising the predominance of a negative character: "stereotypes go hand-in-hand with negative emotions" (Łaskievicz 2017: 161), yet not totally ruling out the existence of neutral stereotypes (ibid.: 166; Krawiec 2012: 54–55). Given the premise that ethnic stereotypes can be positive, neutral, and negative, the paper seeks to identify to which type of scale the stereotypical traits of Jews, identified in the analysed text fragments, can be attributed. Basically, the character of ethnic stereotypes related to the evaluation of other nationals can be based on dual naming: emotional or rational. Emotional naming, expressed in lexemes or their combinations of positive or negative semantics, correlates with positive or negative evaluation (positive and negative stereotyping). Rational naming is related to neutral evaluation (neutral stereotyping), which only names or describes a certain characteristic of a person of Jewish nationality (see Figure 2).
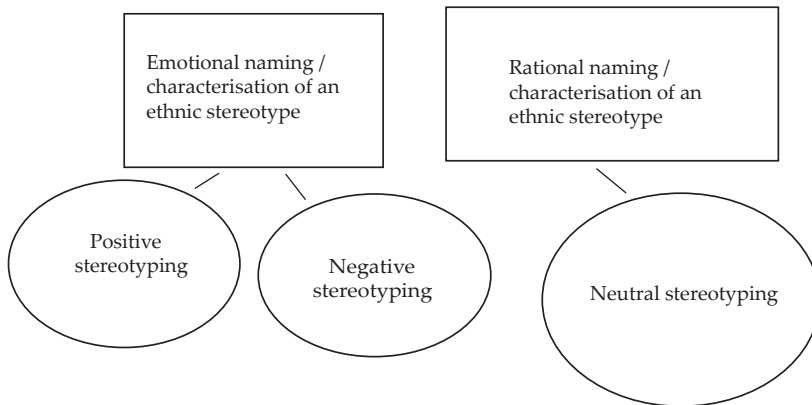

Figure 2. Correlation of the types of stereotyping and linguistic expression.

In the identification of stereotypical traits, attention has been paid to the criterion of their frequency, i.e. a trait attributed to a particular individual is considered characteristic (stereotypical) of that nation only when repeated. It should be noted that ethnic stereotypes are not always accurate, as some people lack the experience of direct communication with representatives of other nations; moreover, sometimes information about foreigners has been obtained from various sources which may be incorrect.

Thus, the research material has been analysed by discussing the specificity of linguistic expression and relating it to historical and socio-cultural data. In identifying the stereotypical traits of Jews recorded in the linguistic worldview, not only the semantic characteristics of the ethnonyms and the lexemes describing them (lexical and cognitive semantics, semantic environment), but also the derivative relations of ethnonyms have been analysed, i.e. the semantic characteristics of the derivatives have been explored,[10] which enables us to see the scope and evaluation of the entrenchment of stereotypical features in the consciousness of the language users. Both semantic and grammatic data are important in determining the evaluation of ethno-stereotypical traits, for example the comparative degree suffix of an adjective indicates a higher degree of evaluation of a stereotypical trait. The article also adheres to the typical standpoint of ethnoliguistics of the last decade that no research in the area of humanities can be separated from the

paradigms of culture, language, identity, or remembrance (see Figure 3), and that the ethnic stereotypes entrenched in the linguistic worldview can provide a deeper understanding of intercultural communication.
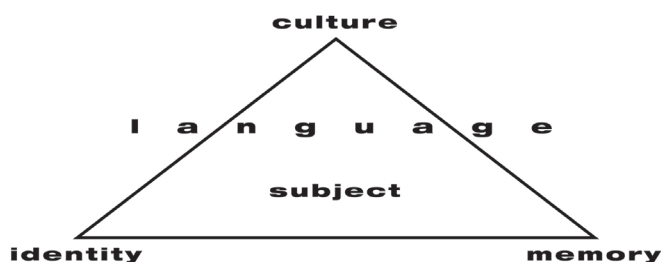

Figure 3. Matrix of ethnolinguistic research (quoted in Chlebda 2013: 33).

EXPRESSIONS OF JEWISH STEREOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN SAMOGITIAN DIALECTAL TEXTS

Excerpts from the studied dialectal texts indicate that the main narratives of Samogitians about Jews related to the aspects of business, trade and monetary relations as well as religion and traditions. The contexts of neighbourhood, appearance, and education were mentioned less frequently. Thus, it is these contexts that served as the basis for the formation of Jewish stereotypes as reflected in Samogitian narratives.

Most of the text presenters were direct witnesses who used to live next to Jews before the Second World War. The occupation of Lithuania by Nazi Germany in 1941 meant the beginning of the Jewish genocide: Jews were subjected to hard labour, and some Lithuanians also began to terrorise them. Thus, after the Holocaust, abundant Jewish communities in Samogitia ceased to exist, and locally Samogitians no longer have direct contacts with Jewish people. Few presenters shared their relatives' (parents, grandparents, etc.) reminiscences about the Jewish people who lived in the neighbourhood. All the informants were of the older generation, as the aim of the researchers was to analyse only the texts that conveyed direct experiences of the relationships with Jews relevant to the research period (early to mid-20th century). We must emphasise that a number of the recorded narratives have the same informant presenting different or even contradictory evaluations of the Jewish people or their own standpoint on the subject. Therefore, the study of the evaluation of stereotypical characteristics can only show the trends of positive or negative stereotyping.

Professional Activity, Financial Situation, and Place of Residence

Excerpts from the dialectal texts explored[11] testify to the frequent use of the ethnonym *žydija* ('Jewry') in Samogitia, which described the places inhabited by a large number of Jews, cf. "In Laukuva, all the Jewry (lived) around the church" (LKŽe). The word

denoted only the abundance of people of this nationality, but did not convey the emotional evaluation of the presenters.

The most frequently recorded images in the dialectal texts were those of a Jewish trader, businessman, shopkeeper, or craftsman, often indicating a specific Samogitian town or township (Darbėnai, Kretinga, Telšiai, Kražiai, Žemaičių Kalvarija, etc.) where they used to live: "We had many Jews in Darbėnai. They had their own shops." (L. V., b. 1930, KUTR 94);[12] "Only Jews and [...] each cottage housed a shop, and every Jew had some or other craft, they were craftsmen" (P. D., b. 1931, KUTR 203). The diminutive form of *nameliai* ('a small house'), *parduotuvelė* ('a small shop') indicates rather the size of the building than Samogitians' attitude. Jewish craftsmen were indirectly compared to Samogitian farmers, emphasising that Jews were not farmers: "They were mainly traders, they had fabric shops, well, all kinds of shops" (Judžentytė and Marcišauskaitė 2017: 100). The Jews engaged in crafts or businesses, but not in agriculture, were by Samogitians generally evaluated neutrally: both the structures of ethnonyms and syntax indicate rational description with certain inclination toward positive evaluation implied by use of the diminutive form.

Jewish traders are usually remembered as generous, hospitable, and ready to give goods on credit:

> And that Jew would say "Take it on credit. You'll repay it when you can." And my Dad would buy things only from him." (L. V., b. 1930, KUTR 94)

> "He said to go and borrow from the Jew. And the latter never asked when you would repay the debt or the like, he just asked how much you needed, while the priest refused to bury... So, Jews were very good." (S. G., b. 1933, KUTR 123)

The linguistic expression in the excerpts (the recorded hypocoristic diminutive derivative of the Jewish ethnonym *žydelis* or syntactic structures, such as *buva dideliai geri žydai* 'Jews were very good', indicate a positive stereotyping of the Jewish trader. In some cases, however, there were also rather negative evaluations of them. They were considered to have been cheats: "And those Jews [...] they were real cheats [...] as you went shopping, they were great cheats. They would foist no-good fabrics on you and take good money." (J. G., b. 1917, KUTR 115) The latter case indicated perhaps the most negative evaluation in all the collected material. It expressed an unfavourable attitude through several different linguistic and stylistic means: repetition (real cheats), a verb with a negative connotation (foist on), the choice of the dialectal adverb *dikčiai* ('very') as more intense than the neutral *labai*, and a contrastive structure (no good fabrics – take good money). The use of the past frequentative tense (would cheat, would foist on) implied repeated disappointment. Such a concentration of expressive means to demonstrate negative evaluation was very rare (as was the negative evaluation in general).

More often, however, Jewish traders were depicted as friendly and enterprising, thus they were evaluated positively: "He got on well with Jews, my Dad did, and he went to fairs to trade horses with Jews [...]. In general, Lithuanians would get on very well with Jews." (V. K., b. 1925, KUTR 158)

In the case of Jewish traders and craftsmen, their financial status was quite rarely mentioned. Several texts testified to their having been rich: "Jews have always been rich" (G. P., b. 1928, KUTR 204), or poor:

> Oh, Jews were very poor. [...] A Jewish pedlar would come, he would buy the hides of calves, some small things he would buy. (J. A., b. 1917, KUTR 17)

> And their life was, compared to how our people live now, the life of Jews was much poorer (Judžentytė and Marcišauskaitė 2017: 97).

The texts illustrate a positive image of Jewish townspeople and emphasised good relationships with them through use of the verb *sutardavom* ('we lived in concord/agreed well'). Their difference from Samogitians was also emphasised – Jews were urban and not rural people: "We would get on well. You know, they were people of town." (V. V., b. 1920, KUTR 94); "People communicated with Jews mainly in townships, in rural administrative centres, it was there that Jews mainly had their trade" (A. J., b. 1925, KUTR 113).

The image of a Jewish employer conveyed in narratives was mainly associated with positive evaluation. The stereotypical characteristics of a generous and kind employer were recorded:

> Young girls in towns served in Jewish homes, and well, they used to say that it was better in Jewish homes (A. J., b. 1925, KUTR 113).

> Well, [somebody] said..., and (they) paid very well, and the food was good [...]. And she served there for several more years. (S. P., b. 1920, KUTR 50)

The generosity of the pay is enhanced by the two adverbs next to the verb *didliai gerai* ('very well'), where the adverb *didliai* ('very') has a greater intensity than its neutral counterpart *labai*. The phrase emphasises that Jews were considered extremely generous.

On reviewing the recorded stereotypical traits, we can argue that, in general, Samogitians saw the entrepreneurship of urban Jews as positive, although the trait quite obviously drew a distinction between Jews and Samogitians who were mainly engaged in farming. The ethnic stereotype of a generous, hospitable, and friendly Jewish tradesman or businessman predominated. Neutral evaluation of the representatives of the profession was recorded less often. Were we to analyse the intensity of positive evaluation, it could be noted that the evaluation scale was quite wide, from extremely high intensity, often expressed by the positive denotative meaning of an adjective or a verb that was strengthened by an adverb (*labai* 'very [much]', *dideliai geri* 'very kind', *lietuviai sugyvena* 'Lithuanians get on well'), to medium intensity due to the identification of the positive deeds of Jews (*davė ant borga* [paskolino] 'gave on credit [lent]', *ir dovenų, ir pyrago* 'both gifts and food').

The accuracy of the above stereotypical traits (Jews were enterprising, engaged in trade, they lived in cities and towns, used to lend money, and did not know how to farm) was also confirmed by historical data. In 1795, the Russian Empire annexed Lithuania (except for the lands belonging to Prussia), and in the same year, the Pale of Settlement was introduced: Jews were prohibited from living in villages and working the land, which also applied to Jews in Lithuania. For this reason, "most of the Empire's Jews settled in cities. Their main occupations included trade, crafts, and lending money. Even after the prohibition had expired, most Jews further engaged in the aforementioned activities." (Simutytė 2014: 40)

Jews professing a religion different to that of Samogitians were quite often viewed negatively. The context of religion and traditions in the fragments of Samogitian texts is related to the widespread stereotypical view of Jews as ritual murderers and scorners of Christians (texts testified quite abundantly and in detail that the Jews allegedly abducted Christians – especially children – because they needed Christian blood to perform their religious rituals). To quote respondents, "Jews murdered Lithuanians; they would kill people; people would say that the blood was needed to anoint the eyes of Jewish first-born children in order for them not to stay blind" (M. D. K, b. 1910, KUTR 79); "Jews kidnapped and/or murdered children" (P. M, b. 1934, KUTR 238; K. A. G., b. 1922, KUTR 173). The view must have been supported by the negative view of Lithuanian Catholics on Jews taken over from the 19th century, which, according to Vygantas Vareikis (2000: 33), was "an anti-Jewish tradition inherited from the Middle Ages (myths of ritual murders, popular with rural communities; accusations of deicide)". This statement is confirmed by the fact that the explored fragments in which Jews were presented as kidnappers or murderers had nothing to do with reality: their linguistic expression revealed that the source of those stereotypes was rumours and the lack of direct experience of communicating with Jews. The narratives in the third person and the past tense *šnekėjo / sakydavo / baugindavo* 'he/she would say/speak/intimidate', or phrases such as *juk aš pats nemačiau* 'after all, I have not seen it myself', indicate that the presenters themselves were not the sources of such information.

A separate group of narratives consists of fragments in which Samogitians, remembering their childhood, emphasised their fear of Jews, especially associated with the kidnapping or killing of children:

> After all, Jews kidnapped children, murdered children. [... They] would say that Jews were murdering children. And we were really afraid of Jews, and when our parents were away, Ruta and I would hide under the barn. (K. P., b. 1932, KUTR 202)

> And [they] blamed [Jews], [they] would say, and even intimidate us, whether it was true or not [...], that Jews would kidnap children. […] Well, and the blame was put on Jews. (P. D., b. 1931, KUTRF 276)

The presenter used the verbs *grobė* ('grabbed, kidnapped') and *pjovė* ('murdered', 'cut throats'), which contained the seme of violence instead of the more neutral *gaudė* ('caught'), *kėsinosi į gyvybę* ('encroached on somebody's life'). The examples demonstrated that the stereotypical view of Jews as child murderers or kidnappers was based on the heard legends that adults or other children would use to intimidate young children.

Thus, in the narratives, the ethnic stereotype of the Jewish murderer, kidnapper or torturer of children or Christians, which had nothing to do with reality, had been entrenched in the Samogitian consciousness (especially in the consciousness of children) for quite some time and passed down from one generation to the next. We must emphasise that this image of a kidnapper, murderer of children and Christians (with emphasis placed on the fact that Christian blood was necessary for Jewish religious rites) was shared with other nations. The 'international' character of the stereotype was also evidenced by Slavic dialectological material, which captured the same plot lines as

the Samogitian examples (Belova 2018: 172–174). As mentioned in the narratives, children experienced a sense of fear, sometimes even panic (hiding or running away when seeing Jews) related to this image. But it is important that no narrative recorded directly calling Jews names with negative connotations such as murderer or kidnapper.

Samogitians' views on the faith of Jews was not entirely negative. Quite a few of the dialectal texts said that Jews were very religious and sincerely adhered to Judaism-related customs:

> I very much wanted to see how that Jew said his prayers, what he was doing. The Jew used to say his prayers at the window. And, well, he wrapped the [*tefillin* i.e. leather straps] around his arm, and around his head, and started praying at the window. I would get close to the window and would not leave him in peace. He would go to another window. He would go to another window, and I would follow him. And I kept tormenting the Jew so that he did not finish his prayers. (Lubienė and Leskauskaitė 2020: 157)

In this fragment, several linguistic and stylistic means were used to emphasise the amazement at the Jew's active prayer and his desire not to have the prayer interrupted (polysyndeton, a verb with a connotative meaning *apsivarė* 'wrapped [abundantly]', and a word combination *davai melstis* 'started praying' implying intensity).

In this text, the informant recounted the curiosity-evoking Jewish prayer process in detail and admitted having interfered with it, despite the praying man's attempts to continue. This and other examples show that Jewish religiosity was accepted tolerantly, therefore we can argue that it was viewed neutrally or even positively. The texts also revealed that some Samogitians were afraid of infidel Jews and did not want to have anything to do with their religious rites, yet Samogitian children were not afraid of well-known Jews living in the neighbourhood and even helped them perform religious rites, for example lighting or blowing out ceremonial candles.

> For every Sabbath, everyone baked their own bread, and there was water and flour. [...] And in the evening they asked to put out [the candles]. [Were they not allowed to work?] No, [...] and to light that stove there, the stove where everything was prepared, where everything was prepared from the evening [...]. We just needed to strike a match, and the fire would start. We would go there, and we would not be afraid, because we were neighbours. (Judžentytė and Marcišauskaitė 2017: 98)

Moreover, a positive view of Jewish religiosity is further proved by the following examples in which infidel Jews were considered both good people and also deserving of great respect because of their faith: "Adults were also good Jews. The Jews were so holy that they could not carry their [...] prayer books [...]. Catholics had to carry them, and they gave us buns, sweets, and we would carry prayer books." (I. R., b. 1932, KUTR 84) The informant used the phrase *tokie šventi* ('so holy') to describe Jews. In the Lithuanian language, the word *šventas* ('holy', 'sacred') is also used in the meaning of 'having a very noble purpose' or 'causing great respect' (LKŽe). The meaning is further enhanced by the pronoun *tokie* ('such') which describes the abundance of the characteristics denoted by the adjective.

Jewish religiosity and traditions of a different nature than those of Samogitian Catholics were observed and identified with spells: *anie burtų daug turėjo*[13] 'they had lots of

spells' (Babickienė et al. 2007: 217). In this case, the evaluation of a Jew practicing spells is neutral, because the rational naming is recorded (Jewish wedding customs are discussed), and the evaluative character of the lexeme spells is not indicated.

In dialectal texts, a negative evaluation of an infidel Jew was especially strongly expressed through various linguistic means. The negative description of the behaviour was emphasised by the direct expression of an emotional relationship through the verb *nekentė* 'disliked', which was strengthened by the adverb *tiek* 'so much' with a higher intensity than its neutral equivalent *labai* 'widely', such as: "What the Jews would do to Christians. They hated Christians so much because of Christ. At night, all Jews peed into a vessel [...] so that Lithuanians would drink that urine." (P. M., b. 1934, KUTR 238) On the other hand, the positive evaluations of Jewish religiosity recorded in the dialectal texts witnessed how a negative view on infidels was not prevalent. As for the accuracy of this ethnic stereotype, we can conclude that the positive and neutral stereotyping indicate deeper knowledge of the Jewish religion and traditions, while the negative stereotypical traits are inaccurate because they are based on legends that were quite firmly entrenched in the Samogitian consciousness.

The Neighbourhood

In the context of the neighbourhood, the image of a Jewish friend, a close acquaintance, was quite often recorded in the dialectal texts: "I lived in a Jewish neighbourhood, and I was friends with young Jews" (V. N., b. 1936, KUTR 67). This example shows a positive ethnic stereotype as friendly or close (a non-stranger). Especially friendly relationships between Jews and Samogitians were disclosed through comparison of relationships between Samogitians and Lithuanians: "We got on well with Jews [...] Now with Lithuanians we do not get on so well." (A. V., b. 1919, KUTR 118) The neutralisation of the distinction between 'our own' and 'alien' was evidenced by examples showing that Jews were not different from Samogitians, as seen in comparative structures *kaip ir mes* ('like us'), *kaip savo vaikui* ('like to his own child'), and the phrases *mumis mylėjo* ('they loved us'), and *buvom draugai* ('we were friends') in the following examples.

> They were the same children as us. The Jews would come and say, like to their own child: "Here [...], have an apple." [...] our relationships with Jews were good. (A. V., b. 1919, KUTR 118)

> I had Jewish friends. [...] We were friends, the Jews loved us. (V. N., b. 1936, KUTR 67)

In some cases, Samogitians provided a generalised picture of good relations with Jews, which was no longer associated merely with the regional Samogitian border, but covered the whole of Lithuania: "[With Lithuanians] Jews got on very well. It was very good when Jews were here, it was very good." (K. Ž., b. 1911, KUTR 56) A particularly positive evaluation of Jews was revealed by emotionally coloured ethnonyms (hypocoristic diminutive derivatives *žydukai*, *žydelkikės*), constructions expressed by adverbs *dideliai*, *gerai*, *labai*; *dideliai gerai* (synonymic expressions for 'very' or 'very much') + a verb with a positive connotation: "My mother was very good friends with those Jewish girls, I remember" (J. L., b. 1931, KUTR 7). The image of the Jewish neighbour was

inseparable from their hospitality: "No visitor will leave without tea. Everyone will be offered food." (Judžentytė and Marcišauskaitė 2017: 98)

An image of an unfriendly Jewish neighbour was evidenced, however, very seldom (in only four texts): "We did not get on with Jews. [...] With Jewish kids we did not get on well." (I. R., b. 1932, KUTR 84)

The texts also witnessed how Samogitians regarded Jews as an object of ridicule, a laughing stock, although the same texts show that relationships with Jews were normal and quite active: "The relationships with Jews were very normal. Well, still Samogitians held Jews [...] to a bit of mockery [...], in stories, jokes [...] about those Jews, such things happened, yet the communication with Jews was active." (A. J., b. 1925, KUTR 113) In this case, it is difficult to establish the evaluation of the stereotypical trait 'a laughing stock' as less valuable because the evaluation scale is very wide, including positive (the relationships were very normal), neutral (communication with Jews was active), and low intensity negative (Samogitians subjected Jews to light mockery) evaluations.

Appearance and Intellectual Qualities

The narratives recorded the distinguishing features of a Jewish man – tall, with a beard and a long nose:

As far as I know, a Jew with a beard used to come to our place (B. G., b. 1926, KUTR 27).

The Jew Dalgis was a big, big man, with a long [...] nose, girdled with a rope [...]. He would come, a big man with a beard, tall. (E. P., b. 1934, KUTR 220)

Jews with beards were going there (P. U., b. 1922, KUTR 191).

The dark complexion was reported not merely in the texts. Its importance was witnessed by some Samogitian lexicon recorded in the LKŽe, such as the names of mushrooms with the component *žyd-* (for more details, see Lubienė 2015: 160; ŠRDŠŽ 1976: 454). Generally, the narratives were predominated by a neutral evaluation of the stereotypical Jewish appearance, although children's fears of Jews' looks were also recorded; therefore, the scale of neutral evaluation may approach that of negative evaluation.

Interestingly, the narratives did not discuss the appearance of Jewish women (accounting for only about 10% of examples). Although when mentioned their friendliness is usually highlighted.

In the explored dialectal texts, the intellectual qualities of Jews were mentioned quite rarely. Only a few examples were witnessed, commenting on the intelligence of Jews: "He was such a very intelligent Jew" (D. P, b. 1934, KUTR 220). The stereotype of the educated Jew was also rarely recorded, as there was no specific naming with reference to their education. The characteristics of Jewish writing and reading were usually noted, which were different from those of Lithuanian, such as "they read and write in a different way [...], the other way round" (O. K., b. 1934, KUTR 80). Here the differences are accentuated by the use of two different contrasting adverbs *antraip* ('in a different way') and *priešingai* ('the other way round').

To sum up, one can argue that the discussed dialectal texts were predominated by positive stereotypical characteristics of the enterprising, kind, generous, hospitable, friendly, and intelligent Jew, repeated in various contexts. Fewer negative stereotypical traits (cheat, evil, unfriendly, murderer or kidnapper) were recorded, and less frequently, in different contexts (see Table 1). Although Silvija Papaurėlytė-Klovienė's (2010: 1) study of ethnic stereotypes of foreign nationals indicated that "usually in the worldview of language more attention is paid to negatively evaluated things", the discussed examples did not confirm the statement. Samogitians had quite a positive view of Jews. Such distribution and evaluation of stereotypical ethnic traits must have been predetermined by the intensity and nature of communication between Samogitians and Jews. Most of the positive contacts occurred in the areas of trade, neighbourhood, and personal relationships. The religious theme was controversial: Samogitians valued and respected Jewish religiosity, but the religion itself and the related customs seemed extremely unacceptable to Samogitians. It is clear that this context was more often characterised by an extremely intense scale of negative evaluation.

Table 1. Jewish stereotypical traits in Samogitian narratives.[14]

The context	Positive stereotypical characteristic	Neutral stereotypical characteristic	Negative stereotypical characteristic
Profession or occupation, financial situation	Traders (sellers and buyers), craftsmen, money lenders: Enterprising Good Generous Hospitable Friendly Rich Employers: Generous Kind	Non-farmers (businessmen, shop-keepers, craftsmen) Urban/non-rural dwellers	Traders: Cheats Indigent
Neighbour-hood	Friendly, in good relationships with Samogitians Attentive to their own and Samogitian children Hospitable	A laughing stock	Unfriendly Not getting on with Samogitians
Religion and traditions	Good Holy Very religious infidels Strict adherents to their traditions		Murderers, kidnappers and torturers of Christians: they hated Christians, performed ritual actions, murdered and kidnapped children, behaved in an incomprehensible and intimidating way

Personal and intellectual qualities	Good Moral Intelligent Educated		Different
Appearance		Tall Bearded Long-nosed Dark complexion	

The analysis of the characteristics of linguistic expression revealed that the informant narratives accounted for the behaviour of Jews in specific situations, and therefore the evaluation emerged not so much from the connotations suggested or implied by particular words but rather from the context of specific actions (for example *gerai mokėjo* 'they paid well'). When speaking about specific cases, adjectives or adverbs of direct meaning could be inserted into the narrative, with the evaluation forming the main content of the word, (for example *bagotas* 'rich', *biednas* 'poor', *vargšas* 'miserable', *šventi* 'holy', *dikčiai* 'very much', *dideliai* 'greatly'); less often those were verbs: *sutarti* 'to get on well', *sugyventi* 'to get on', *apgauti* 'to cheat', *grobti* 'to kidnap'. Very few words were used where the evaluation was implied by the connotative meaning. Positive emotional evaluation was expressed by diminutive forms of the names of Jewish people (*žydukas, žydelkikė*) and their whereabouts (*nameliai, parduotuvėlė* hypocoristic forms of the lexemes *namai* 'home' and *parduotuvė* 'a shop'). It should be noted, however, that the ethnonym *žydelis* formed with a diminutive suffix may imply irony. Negative evaluation was conveyed by several verbs denoting a more intense action than their neutral counterparts (*grobė, pjovė vaikus* 'kidnapped children and cut their throats'). However, it has to be remembered that the research material consisted of spoken texts, and therefore they contained stylistic figures typical of this variety of language, for example repetition, including polysyndeton, used to reinforce the different views of informants: surprise at the strange rites, being impressed by a better way of life, the desire to single out a particular physical feature, etc.

Thus, the dialectal texts proved that Samogitians had maintained a negative attitude towards the adherents to Judaism, taken over from the Middle Ages, as scorners or even murderers of Christians. The stability of that negative ethnic stereotype (having survived for quite a long time) was predetermined by the ignorance of the Jewish religion and traditions. On the other hand, it is important to emphasise that all the informants belonged to the older generation. The view of the younger generation of Samogitians on Jews can have changed due to the changes in political, socio-cultural, and other circumstances. Recent research in ethnic stereotypes indicated that Lithuanian youth took a positive view of Jewish ingenuity, intelligence, and diligence, of which "the trait of intelligence was the most stable", moreover, they no longer attributed "significant negative traits to Jews" (Antinienė and Lekavičienė 2016: 157–158).

CONCLUSIONS

Upon exploring 70 Samogitian dialectal texts we can argue that the images of Jewish stereotypical traits have been formed by associating them with certain contexts and themes, and that the scale of evaluation of Jewish stereotypical characteristics includes positive, neutral, and negative evaluations. In various contexts, the stereotypical characteristics of Jews are revealed in several fundamental semantic aspects: socio-cultural (enterprising, mobile, rich or poor, lending money, non-farmers, townspeople), psychocultural (believers, pious, torturing, murdering, kidnapping Christians), psychosocial (friendly, hospitable, benevolent), and physical (tall, bearded). Positive stereotypical characteristics of a good, enterprising, friendly, generous, hospitable Jew predominate, which indicates that Samogitians were quite tolerant of the Jewish nation. The negative stereotyping of an infidel Jew – murderer or torturer of Christians and kidnapper of children – is related to long-standing myths, the entrenchment of which testifies to the religious differences between Samogitians and Jews having been one of the main factors that separated Samogitian and Jewish ethnic groups and encouraged an intolerant view of Jews.

The analysis of the characteristics of linguistic expression revealed that the informants were talking about specific situations that portrayed the behaviour of Jews positively or negatively, and therefore the linguistic expression was comparatively neutral; words or word combinations with connotative meanings or stylistic figures were rare. Positive or, less often, negative evaluation became evident from words intended to evaluate certain objects or phenomena. This can be accounted for by the fact that the informants tried to matter-of-factly describe (inform) how they saw Jews; on the other hand, this way of presentation can be determined by the norms of Samogitian communication, characterised by restraint and avoidance of public and emotional expression of evaluation.

The predominant ethnic stereotype of the enterprising businessman, devout Jew or bearded Jewish man in Samogitian narratives is also characteristic of other Eastern European nations, which before the Second World War also lived in close proximity to the Jewish diaspora. Other stereotypical Jewish traits recorded in the texts reveal the trend of stereotyping related to ethnocentrism and typical of most European nations, with their own cultural and social system seen as good and appropriate, and the systems of other nations considered negative.

Stereotypical characteristics of the Jewish woman were verbalised very rarely (in about 8% of cases). Emphasis was placed on their friendliness. We can assumed that the image of the Jewess, seldom verbalised in linguistic situations, is related to her less active socio-cultural relationships with the representatives of the Samogitian nation than those of male Jews. This is related to the social structure of Lithuanian society, in which men occupied dominant positions in public life until the mid-20th century.

The stereotypical traits assigned to Jews provide information not only about the evaluated, but also about the evaluating, nation. It is probable that Samogitians emphasised the entrepreneurship, generosity, and strong faith characteristic of Jews because these were their own aspirations.

1 In Lithuania, the discourse on the relationships between Lithuanians and Jews is multifaceted, and still alive. Much attention has been paid to the issues of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and through their analysis historians have revealed the problems of Lithuanian–Jewish relationships (Vareikis 2000; Buchaveckas 2009; Vitkus 2010; Simutytė 2014, etc.).

2 Jews settled in ethnic Lithuanian lands in "the early 14th century" (Truska 2015: 17).

3 Particularly worth noting are the studies in the fields of psychology (Antinienė and Lekavičienė 2016; Yip 2016), ethnolinguistics (Goldberg-Mulkiewicz 1999; Bartmiński 2007; Belova and Petrukhin 2008; Belova 2018; Čižik-Prokaševa 2020), linguistic culturology (Papaurėlytė-Klovienė 2010), and psycholinguistics (Armstrong 1996).

4 For more information, see Cała 1992; Anglickienė 2003; 2004; 2006; 2011; Lukošiūtė 2012; Belova 2018; Belova and Petrukhin 2008.

5 The stereotype of the Jew was thoroughly explored in the context of Lithuanian folklore (Anglickienė 2003; 2004; 2006; 2011; Lukošiūtė 2012, etc.) and in contemporary journalism (Beresnevičiūtė and Nausėdienė 1999; Frėjutė-Rakauskienė 2009: 19–44).

6 In the studies of Jewish ethnic stereotypes, Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz (1999) emphasised the importance of the regional aspect. She revealed the cultural differences between Jews in individual regions of Poland in the 19th through to the first half of the 20th century. According to Russian ethnolinguist Ol'ga Belova (2018: 171), with the disappearance of one or another ethno-confessional community, the image of the Other or the 'alien' tends to lose its regional characteristics and becomes increasingly more generalised, preserving only the most general (universal) features of the 'alien' in the folk understanding.

7 Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864) was a Lithuanian/Samogitian historian, writer, and ethnographer, the author of the first book on the history of Lithuania written in Lithuanian. Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875) was a Catholic Bishop of Samogitia, historian, and one of the best known Lithuanian/Samogitian authors of the 19th century. These two personalities communicated and cooperated especially actively between 1850 and 1855 when Daukantas lived at Motiejus Valančius' place in Varniai, the 19th century cultural and religious centre of Samogitia. Although works by the two authors reflected their critical view of Jews, they were not presented as the source of primordial evil.

8 We explored unpublished (dialectal records kept in archives) and published dialectal texts, recording the evaluation of the representatives of the Jewish people (Babickienė et al. 2007: 216; Judžentytė and Marcišauskaitė 2017: 98–100; Lubienė and Leskauskaitė 2020: 157).

9 The term 'ethnic stereotype' has a Lithuanian version of a 'national stereotype' ' The present paper uses the term of ethnic stereotype, although it has been criticised as redundant in psychology studies, since the structure and model of ethnic stereotypes are not unique and therefore indistinguishable from any other stereotype (Taylor and Aboud 1973). However, the term has taken root in contemporary studies of psychology, sociology, and ethnolinguistics. The paper adheres to the view that a cultural stereotype is a broader concept, which may include the concept of an ethnic stereotype, therefore, the specificity of our research is better revealed by the term of an ethnic stereotype with a narrower meaning.

10 Thus, for example, diminutive suffix derivatives from the ethnonym Jew(ess), denoting "the same or at least the same kind of thing as the basic word, but usually of a different size (more often smaller, rarely larger) or at least indicating the emotional evaluation of the subject (from admiration to disgust)" (DLKG 1996: 87; LKE 1999: 130) is an informative source for exploring the aspects of the Jewish ethnic stereotypical 'image'.

11 Here and afterwards, the samples will be presented solely in the English translations, due to the emphasis being on the content rather than on the linguistic characteristics of the quotations.

12 The initials of the informants' personal names, the year of birth, and the number of the manuscript are provided.

13 The excerpt comes from a text provided in phonetic transcription. The presented fragment of a sentence from the text was transposed by Asta Balčiūnienė.

14 This is qualitative research, and therefore accurate statistical data have not been presented in the table. We sought to identify the prevailing trends of stereotyping, which are not related to accurate statistics.

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