

**9**  
**THE REPRESENTATION**  
**OF THE BELARUSIAN LANGUAGE**  
**IN CONTEMPORARY BELARUSIAN LITERATURE**

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It is a conventional wisdom that Belarus has a weak national consciousness and undeveloped ethno-linguistic identity. On the other hand, it is a rare case that the presence or absence of ethno-linguistic identity of a nation has such a tremendous geopolitical significance, as in the present Belarus. This chapter tries to elucidate a thorny path towards a Belarusian ethno-linguistic identity, based on an analysis of the contemporary situation of national language in Belarusian literature.

From the linguistic point of view, Belarus would seem to be the most Russified country among the former Soviet republics. Most Belarusian people, of course, know Belarusian, but speak Russian in daily life. They respect Belarusian as the language of the nation, but prefer Russian as a means of verbal communication. In Minsk one can see many Belarusian words on the street signs and billboards, but one hears only Russian in people's conversations. While in major bookshops like "Dom Knigi" the Belarusian literature section equals in size those of Russian or other foreign literatures, in book markets, which are more subject to economic pressure, it is difficult to find books written in Belarusian. Such writers as Boris Akunin, Viktor Pelevin and Murakami Haruki are as popular in Belarus as in Russia. The linguist N. B. Mechkovskaia argues that what is dominant for Belarusian is not "the major linguistic function" (as a communicative means), but "the ethnic function" (as a symbol which unifies a nation and distinguishes it from others).<sup>1</sup>

Here I will offer a general view of the linguistic situation in Belarus with some statistics. I will focus on the difficulty of writing novels in Belarusian, caused by the unreality of conversation scenes; the use of Russian words in Belarusian texts; and references to the Belarusian

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<sup>1</sup> N.B. Mechkovskaia, "Iazykovaia situatsiia v Belarusi: Etnicheskie kollizii dvuiazychiia," *Russian Linguistics* 18: 3 (1994), p. 308.

language. At the same time, I will examine the future of Belarusian literature by discussing a rock musical with its multilingual text, indecent “neologisms,” and Belarusian popular literature.

**THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN BELARUS  
BELARUSIAN, RUSSIAN, AND THE MIXED  
LANGUAGE “TRASHANKA”**

According to Table 1, 74 percent of the Belarusian population regard Belarusian as their mother tongue on the one hand, but, on the other, only 37 percent really use it at home. People of Belarusian nationality show the same tendency. In addition, Table 1 tells us that Belarusian is less spoken in cities (in the capital Minsk only 13 percent of the population use it at home), while it is used more in the rural areas.

TABLE 1. LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION  
BASED ON THE 1999 CENSUS (PERCENTAGE)

	Mother tongue		Language usually spoken at home	
	Belarusian	Russian	Belarusian	Russian
Total	73.7	24.1	36.7	62.8
Minsk	61.9	36.7	12.9	86.9
Urban population (including Minsk)	66.9	31.1	19.8	79.8
Rural population	89.2	8.3	74.7	24.5
Belarusians	85.6	14.3	41.3	58.6
Russians	9.1	90.7	4.3	95.7
Poles	67.1	16.2	57.6	37.7
Ukrainians	14.3	42.8	10.2	83.5
Jews	17.1	77.0	3.8	95.7

*Source: Itogi perepisi naseleniia Respubliki Belarusi. 1999 god, Vol. 1 (Minsk, 2000), pp. 214-219.* According to this census, the population of Belarus is 10,045,000. In terms of nationalities: Belarusians – 8,159,000 (81.2%), Russians – 1,142,000 (11.4%), Poles – 396,000 (3.9%), Ukrainians – 237,000 (2.4%) and Jews – 28,000 (0.3%). 6,962,000 people (69.3%) live in the urban areas, 3,084,000 (30.7%) in the rural.

**TABLE 2. "WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK IN YOUR DAILY LIFE?"  
(PERCENTAGE)**

	Russian	Both languages	"Trashanka"	Belarusian
Total	40.3	21.9	32.4	4.5
Minsk	60.6	23.4	11.8	3.4
Regional capitals	66.0	15.7	16.2	1.3
Medium-sized cities	50.5	21.8	24.8	2.7
Small cities	35.4	26.5	34.1	3.5
Villages	16.8	21.3	52.5	8.1

*Source:* Michitaka Hattori, *Hushigi no kuni, Berarusi* [The Wonderland of Belarus] (Tokyo, 2004), p. 139. This table sums seven opinion polls by the Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies (IISEPS) from November 1997 to July 2000.

Table 1 does not take account of the existence of the Belarusian-Russian mixed language, "Trashanka." According to Table 2 (based on surveys by an independent organization), the most popular language in the rural areas is neither Russian nor Belarusian, but "Trashanka." In the countryside eight percent and in the cities only four percent of the population use Belarusian in their daily life. It is remarkable that a slightly higher proportion of the population of Minsk is Belarusian-speaking than in other main cities, which may be explained by the presence of the nationalistically-minded intelligentsia in the capital city, who consciously choose to speak in their mother tongue.

**"TRANSLATION BY THE AUTHOR"  
OR THE LANGUAGE THEY SPEAK IN FICTION**

**YONEHARA MARI, OL'GA MORISOVNA'S IRONICAL RHETORIC<sup>2</sup>**

You should be taking this more seriously. What do you think are the first Russian words spoken by the children from non-Russian regions?

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<sup>2</sup> Yonehara Mari, *Origa Morisobuna no hango-hou* [Ol'ga Morisovna's Ironical Rhetoric] (Tokyo, 2002), p. 15.

“Ass” or “fuck you” wouldn’t be so bad. Those kids who can’t even say “thank you” and “hello” in Russian, they say “rotten balls,” “The other guy’s dick always looks bigger”! And even “You son of a bitch”! Oh, it’s dirty, it’s shameful. I’ve said such words for the first time in my life. I thought Russian kids had taught them those words. But in fact the dance teacher in our school is responsible for all this! You, the person in charge as the principal, should attend the lessons of Ol’ga Morisovna!

This quotation is from a translation of a Japanese novel, but the scene is set in a Russian international school in Prague. Almost every character in the novel (including the Japanese heroine) must be speaking in Russian. So the quoted part of the conversation, in which a Russian language teacher is complaining about her pupils’ favorite indecent words, is in fact “translation by the author” from Russian to Japanese.

ULADZIMIR KARATKEVICH, “THE LITTLE BALLERINA”<sup>3</sup>

- Больш ніколі не танцуйце лебедзя, - глуха сказаў ён, - Вам нельга.	“Never dance the Swan any more”, he said quietly, “You must not.”
- Чаму?	“Why?”
- Вам нельга гінуць. Нават на сцэне. Вы поўная жыцця, сонца, вы шчырная да гэтага неба і гэтых людзей. І я не ведаю, ці прыходзяць калі-небудзь дрэнныя думкі ў вашу галоўку.	“You mustn’t be killed. Even on the stage. You are full of life and the sun, you are so true to this sky and this people. I don’t know, whether evil intentions ever come into your pretty head.”
- Часам прыходзяць	“They do sometimes.”
- Не веру, - сказаў ён.	“I don’t believe you,” he said.

<sup>3</sup> *Karatkevich U.S. Маленькая балерына // Творы. Мінск, 1996. С. 403.*

This quotation is from a novel written in Belarusian, but the scene is set in Moscow, where Stalin and the heroine of the novel are having a romantic conversation. We must imagine their actually spoken words in Russian. It is quite natural for authors to translate some conversations, if the scenes are set in foreign countries or some foreign characters appear there. In this paper I tentatively call such examples “translation by the author.”

THE 20TH TALE, “GAZAVIK (THE GAS FITTER),”  
FROM “DAMAVIKAMELON” BY ADAM GLOBUS<sup>4</sup>

Калі Газавік са стажорам выйшаў з кватэры, дык закурыў і сказаў:	When Gazavik got out from the flat with his apprentice, he had a cigarette and said:
-Адразу відаць, што ў хаце няма гаспадара.	“I soon saw that her husband wasn’t home.”
-Лепш бы мы грошы і віно ўзялі, - у тон працягнуў стажор.	“We should have taken the money and the wine,” the apprentice chimed in.
-Слімак! – сказаў Газавік і ўдарыў стажора кулаком у патыліцу.	“You coward!” - Gazavik said and struck the apprentice with his fist on the back of the head.

As mentioned above, the use of Belarusian is limited even inside the country. In this quotation the dialogue between the gas fitter and his apprentice is written in Belarusian. This choice of language seems unnatural or, at least, exceptional. “Damavikamelon” consists of 66 short tales and almost all are set in cities. The title of each tale is the occupation of the main character, such as “Gazavik (the gas fitter),” “Deputat (the parliamentarian),” “Prybiral’nik (the sanitation worker),” “Masavik (the maestro),” “Manekenshchytsa (the model),” “Rabaunik (the robber),” and even “Damavik (the spirit of the house)” and “Liftavik (the spirit of the lift).” Since it is unconceivable that all the characters from very

<sup>4</sup> Глобус А. Дамавікаamelon // Тэксты. Масква, 2000. С. 321.

different social classes would be speaking in Belarusian, at least some part of the novel must be “translation by the author” from Russian (or “Trashanka”) to Belarusian.

The predominance of Russian and “Trashanka” in daily life in Belarus makes it somewhat difficult (psychologically and aesthetically) for novelists to write only in Belarusian. Especially conversation scenes in fiction would seem unnatural, as if translated from a foreign language. In this sense the “safe genres” that ensure linguistic realism in a work are limited to: (1) historical novels, since here Belarusian appears to be more realistic; (2) village novels, because Belarusian is relatively more spoken in the rural regions; and (3) novels about World War II, a genre with a mixture of characteristics of both the historical and the village novel.<sup>5</sup> Actually these genres account for a major part of Belarusian prose literature in the 20th century: for example, U. Karatkevich and U. Arlou (historical novels), I. Ptashnikau and I. Melezh (village novels), and V. Bykau and A. Adamovich (war novels).

All the characters must be some kind of nationalistically-oriented intellectuals for a piece of contemporary urban fiction to be written only in Belarusian or else it must be unnatural “translation by the author” as in the urban short stories in “Damavikamelon.”

### THE UNEQUAL SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO LANGUAGES, OR WHEN ARE RUSSIAN WORDS INSERTED IN BELARUSIAN TEXTS?

*“WHERE DID OUR ANCESTORS COME FROM?” ULADZIMIR ARLOU<sup>6</sup>*

Накіроўваючы на нашу зямлю ўсё новыя і новыя войскі, цар наказваў ваяводам на сваім шляху ўсё паліць і разбураць, а каб болей панішчыць – назад ісці іншымі	Sending more and more new armies to our land, the tsar ordered his commanders to burn and destroy everything on their way, and to return by a different route so as to devastate even
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<sup>5</sup> Arnold McMillin, *Belarusian Literature in the 1950s and 1960s* (Köln, 1999), pp. 139-171. These three categories are used by McMillan in the analysis of prose genres in the 1960s.

<sup>6</sup> *Арлоў У.А. Адкуль наш род. Вільня, 2000. С. 84.*

<p>мясцінамі. Захаваліся пісанья ў Маскву граматы ваяводы Трубяцкога, дзе ён паведамляў цару: <u>“Вокруг Слуцка велели мы все выжечь, а идучи дорогою до Слонима, села, и деревни, и хлеб, и сено по обе стороны жгли и людей побивали, и разоряли совсем без остатку, а в Клецке в городе людей побили всех».</u> Сваімі рабункамі ворагі давялі народ да страшнага голаду.</p>	<p>more places. The report sent to Moscow by the commander Trubetskoi is preserved, in which he told the tsar: <u>“We commanded that everything around Slutsk be burned, on the road to Slonim we fired villages and hamlets, and corn, and hay on both sides, and killed people, and razed every habitation to the ground, while we killed everyone in the city of Kletsk.”</u> The enemies brought terrible famine to the people.</p>
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Popular historical novelist Arlou uses Russian words only one time in his juvenile historical textbook “Where Did Our Ancestors Come from?” In the quotation above he describes the invasion of what is now Belarusian territory by the Grand Duchy of Moscow in 1655 and quotes a report, written to the tsar by a Muscovite commander. But the quotation is not written in seventeenth century Russian. The invader’s words, translated into not Belarusian, but contemporary Russian, give the latter language a negative image. It is a fact that Belarusian territory lost a large percentage of its population in the war in the middle of the seventeenth century, but the description in this quotation makes the reader feel the horror more deeply because it has echoes of Soviet historical discourse about brutal acts by Nazi armies (especially in Belarusian territory) which here are those committed by Muscovite armies.

*“THE RETURN IN RADIOACTIVITY,” LEANID LEVANOVICH<sup>7</sup>*

<p>Крама была зачынена, на дзвярах бялеўся аркуш пареры. “Сыноч, зірні, што там напісана”, - сказаў Сцяпан сыну. Сяргейка спрытна пабег, замільгали ногі ў старых чаравічках – валёнкі ён зняў з радасцю.</p>	<p>The shop was closed, a sheet of paper on the door showed white. “My son, go and see what is written there”, S’tsiapan said to his son. Siarheika ran lightly, his feet in old shoes came into sight on and off. He had cast off his felt boots with pleasure.</p>
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<sup>7</sup> Левановіч Л.К. Вяртанне ў радыяцыю. Мінск, 1997. С. 118.

<p><u>Ма-га-зин закрыт на переучет</u> – гучна чытаў ён.</p> <p>“Няўжо закрылася наша крама назусім?” – сумна падумаў Сцяпан, павярнуў на мост цераз ручай. Сын дагнаў яго, пайшоў побач.</p>	<p>“Closed for stock...tak...ing,” he read it aloud.</p> <p>“Has our shop been closed forever?”, S'tsiapan thought sadly, and turned to the bridge over a stream. His son caught up with him and they walked side by side.</p>
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Even those who always speak Belarusian cannot avoid contact with Russian (or “Trashanka”), the superior language in daily life everywhere in Belarus. In this sense Belarusian is surrounded by other languages and exposed to a hostile exterior. The novel “The return in radioactivity,” quoted above, is set in a village polluted by the Chernobyl accident. The characters speak Belarusian, while the paper on the shop’s door is written in Russian. On the one hand Russian words inserted unexpectedly into Belarusian texts suggest the outside world, where another language has achieved a dominant place. Some irresistible exterior force (like nuclear accidents) may be represented by the Russian language. On the other hand the characters actually speak Belarusian, that is to say, there is no “translation by the author.” Non-Belarusian quotation in novels makes the Belarusian-speaker’s world naked and vulnerable, while a certain realism is secured by the texts being written in Belarusian.

### THE HIGH FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE TO THE BELARUSIAN LANGUAGE ITSELF IN BELARUSIAN LITERATURE

#### “THE WOLF HOLE,” VASIL BYKAU<sup>8</sup>

<p>Яна была куды старэйшая за салдата, мела жвавы і востры позірк з-пад цёмных, не памаляваных броваў; на яе вуснах таксама не было прыкметна слядоў</p>	<p>She was far older than the soldier, had persistent and piercing eyes under dark, non-dyed brows. No trace of lipstick could be seen on her mouth too, which seemed not</p>
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<sup>8</sup> Быкаў В.У. Баўчыная яма. Мінск, 2001. С. 109-111.



<p>памады, і яны здаваліся не надта выразнымі на худаватым твары. Вольная манера гаворкі і <u>не беларуская мова давалі зразумець, што жанчына не тутэйшая, - хутчэй за ўсё з горада</u>. Але як яна апынулася тут? Што ёй трэба?</p> <p>(...) - А сякеры няма? – папыталася жанчына, (...)</p>	<p>so conspicuous on her thin face. The free style of her speech and <u>non-Belarusian language showed that she was not a local woman, but from a city in all likelihood</u>. How did she come to be here, though? Why did she need it?</p> <p>(...) “Do you have a hatchet?” the woman asked him, (...)</p>
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Novelists who write in Belarusian frequently refer to their language itself. The prose piece “The Wolf Hole,” quoted above, describes people living in the uninhabitable Chernobyl zone. In the quotation there is a mention that a new female stranger’s speech is non-Belarusian. Although it is evident from the context that she speaks in Russian, it is more important here that she does not speak in Belarusian. So her words, written in Belarusian, must have been “translated by the author” from Russian. The fact that Belarusian-speaking people are relatively few in reality causes authors writing in Belarusian to mention consciously the language which characters use in their novels.

“DEATH IS A MALE,” ADAM GLOBUS<sup>9</sup>

<p>Няўжо і надалей беларус будзе думаць, што Бог пачуе толькі, як па-польску ці па-расейску да Яго звяртацца? Таму і надпісы на помніках і крыжах у нас адпаведныя: ці па-заходняму, ці па-ўсходняму. <u>А па-тутэйшаму толькі ў паэтаў</u>. Вось і яшчэ адзін даказ, што беларус – паэт.</p>	<p>Will Belarusians think in future that God will listen to them only if they address Him in Polish or Russian? So the epitaphs on grave-stones and crosses in our country are also appropriate: written in the western or the eastern tongue. <u>Only those of poets are in the local language</u>. That’s one more evidence that Belarusians are poets.</p>
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In this passage from “Death Is a Male,” which consists of various thoughts and episodes about death, the narrator also refers to the

<sup>9</sup> Глобус А. Смерць – мужчына // Тэксты. Масква, 2000. С. 249-250.

Belarusian language. He argues that Belarusians are poets, because only poets use Belarusian. This declaration can be interpreted in two ways. The unpopularity of the Belarusian language is exposed ironically, while the beauty of the rarely used language is compared to poetry. Authors writing in Belarusian often refer to their language itself, which makes their works self-conscious, as in the case of "Death Is a Male."

**THE ROCK MUSICAL "NARODNY ALBOM"  
AND THE LITERARY POTENTIALITIES  
OF THE MULTILINGUAL WORLD**

"Narodny Albom (The National Album)" is a rock-musical, which is set in Western Belarus during the Soviet-Polish War (1919-1920) and the rule of Poland (1921-1939). Although "Narodny Albom" has never been performed as a drama on the stage, the concert and the album of the songs, which featured many famous rock musicians (such as Liavon Volsky), were a great success. In comparison with literature, film and other categories of contemporary Belarusian art, rock music sung in Belarusian has gained more popularity especially among the youth.

It is worth mentioning from a linguistic viewpoint that besides 21 Belarusian songs "Narodny albom" includes two Russian, one Polish, one Yiddish and even two "Trashanka" songs (see Appendix). Some of the actors' spoken lines are also written in Russian and "Trashanka." The chaos of the linguistic situation reflects the confused national identity of Belarusians in the musical: one acts as a Polish spy, another expects Soviet tanks to come, a third goes to battle for another nation's independence, to name but a few. All the Belarusian characters lack clear national identity, but they are full of vitality. So some "cheerful nihilism" can be felt throughout the work.

It is possible to suppose that the unpopularity of the language may limit authors writing in Belarusian in their choices of materials. However, this also implies that when it describes the multilingual actuality directly (without "translation"), Belarusian literature can acquire certain special potentialities.

BELARUSIAN INDECENT SLANG NEOLOGISMS  
AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF POPULAR LITERATURE

*"THE RETURN IN RADIOACTIVITY," LEANID LEVANOVICH<sup>10</sup>*

<p>“Што за жыццё, тваю маць... Ні рабіць, ні адпачыць па-людску нельга. Ні выпіць, ні закусіць. Ні бабу прылашчыць... Пракляты Чарнобыль! Жілі б мы з Верай, як людзі. Свая хата, вёска родная. Бесядзь з малых гадоў любая. І рыбу лавіў, і грыбы збіраў. А цяперыцька нельга.(...)”</p>	<p>“What a <u>fucking awful</u> life... You can’t either work or rest like a humanbeing. Not to drink, not to eat. Not to caress a woman... Hateful Chernobyl! I wish we were living with Vera like other people. Our own house and our home village. I love the village of Besiadz’ from my childhood. I would catch fish and gather mushrooms. Now that is forbidden too.”</p>
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Some people insist that originally Belarusian did not have any indecent slang. According to them, indecent slang in the present Belarusian was mainly borrowed from Russian. The chairperson of the Belarusian Language Society, Aleg Tursau, proposes excluding all “mat” slang with Russian origin from Belarusian.<sup>11</sup> One can see many indecent slang words in Belarusian literary works. For example, abusive words (“tvaiau mats”) in the quotation above are certainly very close to the equivalent Russian words. For those who know Russian “mat” words well, it is easy to guess the unprinted word in the indecent poem, quoted below.

*"HOW BELARUSIANS ARE ENGED IN SEX,"  
RYHOR BARADULIN<sup>12</sup>*

<p>У цыганкі хвартух новы,</p>	<p>The gipsy woman has a new apron,</p>
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<sup>10</sup> Левановіч Л.К. Вяртанне ў радыяцыю. С. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Турсаў А. Месца і роля рускай мовы ў грамадскім жыцці Беларусі // БЕЛАРУСІКА. 2001. № 19. С. 244-247.

<sup>12</sup> Рыгор Барадулін. Як беларусы сэксам займаюцца // www.svaboda.org

<p>А ў цыгана <u>х... дубовы</u>.</p>	<p>And the gipsy man has a <u>hard d*** like an oaktree</u>.</p>
<p>Хвартух новы не парвецца,</p>	<p>The new apron can't be torn.</p>
<p><u>Х... дубовы</u> не сагнецца.</p>	<p><u>The d*** like an oaktree</u> can't be snapped off.</p>

“Popular literature” written in Belarusian is not highly developed because the readers always regarded it as a lowbrow genre and they can read it in Russian if they wish. Some people around the literary magazine “ARCHE” try to create pornography in Belarusian, like the example quoted below.

*THE 9TH TALE, DAMAVIK (THE SPIRIT OF HOUSE)-3  
FROM “DAMAVIKAMELON” BY ADAM GLOBUS<sup>13</sup>*

<p>Праз акно спальнага пакоя мне было цудоўна відаць мноства ваших палавых актаў. Мне спадабаўся сваім тэмпераментам партнёр, і <u>чэлес</u> у яго нармальных памераў.</p>	<p>Many times I had a marvelous view of you having sex through the window of your bedroom. I took a fancy to your male partner by my own fever. His <u>cheles (penis)</u> is normal size.</p>
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The advocates for the creation of Belarusian pornography actively use native Belarusian slang words, which are not part of most people’s vocabulary. Most such words were probably found in ethnolinguistic materials. For example, the list of “Forgotten Slang” quoted below was collected in the 1970s in Belarusian villages.

<sup>13</sup> Глобус А. Дамавікамелон. С. 295.

*“THE FORGOTTEN SLANG. THE TOP 100,”  
LUBOU SZATALAVA AND ULADZIMIR KATKOUSKI<sup>14</sup>*

Entry	Explanation in Belarusian	English translation/explanation
Абібок абіг’ал ані’быль апівош ашалотак байсял’ць бздур	Гультай, лайдак, лезабок боўдзіла, тупы чалавек чорт, шайтан п’яніца ненармальн чалавек казаць абы-што дзівацтва, бык, глупства	lazy-bones, idle, slothful moron, dumb ass devil drunkard lunatic, crazy person to talk bullshit bullshit, stupidity

Adam Globus, who is often called “the Father of Belarusian pornography,” is the most famous author in this school and applies these indecent words cleverly. In the quotation below the actor and the actress seem to play lovers, but in fact their unfamiliar words mean the opposite. Using uncommon slang consciously, the author satirizes the unfamiliarity of Belarusian language drama for those who have no practical need for Belarusian in their daily life.

*THE 7TH TALE, MASAVIK (THE MAESTRO)  
FROM “DAMAVIKAMELON” BY ADAM GLOBUS<sup>15</sup>*

- Ты мая <u>далігойла</u> , магнітафонным голасам сказаў актор і шырока раскінуў рукі.	“You are my <u>dalihoila (dirty woman)</u> ,” the actor said with a voice like a tape recorder and reached out his hands.
- Ты мой <u>абізгал</u> , - акторка стала на дыбачкі і выструнiлася.	“You are my <u>abizhal (dumb ass)</u> ,” the actress stood on tiptoe and stretched out.

In the magazine “ARCHE” such erotic literature as “The Dead Man” by Georges Bataille and the Kamasutra were translated into

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.pravapis.org/art\\_top100.asp](http://www.pravapis.org/art_top100.asp)

<sup>15</sup> *Глобус А. Дамавікамелон. С. 288*

Belarusian using this revived slang.<sup>16</sup> Such indecent “neologisms” give a certain artificial impression, but offer the possibility of developing a new area for Belarusian literature.

## CONCLUSION

It is difficult to say that the Belarusian language and Belarusian literature have a bright future. Some positive policies advantageous to the language were adopted by the government only at the beginning of the 1990s and the potential number of readers for Belarusian literature is slowly diminishing. However, even if there were only five percent of the population who use Belarusian in their daily life, five percent of ten million people would be a sufficient number as a social and cultural entity.

Literary works are influenced and limited by the languages in which they are written, and languages, in turn, are changed and enriched by the prose and poetry which are created using them. Interesting writing can draw potential readers to the Belarusian language. I will continue to focus on how such new literary tendencies, as are seen in Belarusian rock music and the pornography of Adam Globus influence the linguistic situation of the younger generation in Belarus.

### APPENDIX: “NARODNY ALBOM”, МІХАЛ АНЕМПАДЫСТАУ АНД ЛІАВОН ВОЛСЬКІ<sup>17</sup>

RUSSIAN SONG: “АТЬ-ДВА ЛЕВОЙ!” (LEFT, LEFT, LEFT-RIGHT-LEFT!)

Выходите, привечайте, С хлебом-солью нас встречайте, Обнимайте, целуйте, Мы свои, вы так и знайте.	Come out and greet us, Welcome us with bread and salt, Embrace us, give a kiss, We are friends, know it please.
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<sup>16</sup> Смятрычэнка С. Камасутра // ARCHE. 2000. № 5. С. 129-152; Жорж Батай. Нябожчык // ARCHE. 1999. №4. Пераклад з Французскай Міколы Шакеля; <http://arche.home.by/index.html>

<sup>17</sup> Анемпадыстаў М. і Волскі Л. Народны Албом. Беласток, 2000.

*POLISH SONG: "JA ŚPIEWAM PO POLSKU" (I SING IN POLISH)*

<p>Ja jestem po prostu samotnym aktorem, /Słuchajcie mnie rano, słuchajcie wieczorem, /Słuchajcie mnie w nocy, słuchajcie, słuchajcie, /Ja kocham was mocno, i wy mnie kochajcie.</p>	<p>I'm only a lonely actor, /Listen to me in the morning, listen to me in the evening, /Listen to me at night, listen, listen please, /I love you passionately, so love me please.</p>
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*TRASHANKA SONG: "НАДЗЕНЬКА" (NADZIENKA)*

<p>Ой, дзевачкі беларускія, Не ўлюбляйцеся ў ваенных рабят, Бо ваенныя ўсе жанатыя, У заблужджэньне прыводзяць дзяўчаты. Адна дзевушка – раскрасавіца, Празывалася Надзэй яна, Улюбiлася у ваеннага, Но ня знала, што дома жана.</p>	<p>Oh, Belarusian girls, Don't fall in love with soldiers, For all soldiers have their wives, They lead girls astray.  A girl, a regular beauty, Whose name was Nadzia, Fell in love with a soldier, But didn't know about his wife at home.</p>
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*YIDDISH SONG: "LOMIR ZIX IBERBETN" (LET'S MAKE PEACE WITH ME)*

<p>Lomir zix iberbetn, iberbetn,  Štel dam samovar, Lomir zix iberbetn, Zaj že nit kejn nar.</p>	<p>Make peace with me, peace with me, I'll serve you with a samovar. Make peace with me. We will not play the fool.</p>
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