

LITHUANIAN  
**DIALECTOLOGY**  
PROFILES:  
PROBLEMS AND  
FINDINGS





LIETUVIŲ KALBOS  
INSTITUTAS

LITHUANIAN  
**DIALECTOLOGY**  
PROFILES:  
PROBLEMS AND FINDINGS



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# Contents

PREFACE-----	6
DANGUOLĖ MIKULĖNIENĖ. ISSUES OF PERIODIZATION: DIALECTOLOGICAL THOUGHT, METHODOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL TURNS -----	8
VIOLETA MEILIŪNAITĖ. STABILITY AND DYNAMICS OF (LITHUANIAN) DIALECTAL NETWORK	38
JURGITA JAROSLAVIENĖ. METHODOLOGICAL DIVERSITY AND COMPLEXITY IN COMPARATIVE EXPERIMENTAL SOUND RESEARCH -----	50
RIMA BAKŠIENĖ. INSTRUMENTAL RESEARCH INTO THE QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOCALISM VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIALECT OF ŠAKIAI -----	70
VILIJĄ RAGAIŠIENĖ. NEW SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO STRESS RETRACTION IN THE EAST- EASTERN AUKŠTAITIAN SUBDIALECTS -----	85
ASTA LESKAUSKAITĖ. MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH INTO LITHUANIAN DIALECTS: TRADITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS -----	95
GINTARĖ JUDŽENTYTĖ-ŠINKŪNIENĖ. EXOPHORIC USAGE OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN ANAS [THAT] IN STANDARD LITHUANIAN AND SUB-SUBDIALECT OF VIDUKLĖ -----	113
VILIJĄ RAGAIŠIENĖ. WORK IN THE WORLDVIEW OF THE SOUTH-SOUTHERN AUKŠTAITIAN -	133
ASTA BALČIŪNIENĖ, VIOLETA MEILIŪNAITĖ. THE CONCEPT OF <i>JŪRA</i> [THE SEA] IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REGION OF AUKŠTAITIJA -----	146
DAIVA KARDELYTĖ-GRINEVIČIENĖ. A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE LITHUANIAN DIALECTOLOGY: THE CASE OF THE LOCATIVE -----	176
NIJOLĖ TUOMIENĖ. THE BORROWING DOMAIN IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN BORDER REGIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE -----	192
DALIA KISELIŪNAITĖ. PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH INTO THE KURSENIĖKU LANGUAGE OF THE CURONIAN SPIT -----	208
AGNĖ ČEPAITIENĖ. APPLICATION OF DIALECTOMETRIC METHODS IN RESEARCH ON LITHUANIAN DIALECTS -----	217
DAIVA ALIŪKAITĖ. THE NARRATIVE OF A NAÏVE ESTIMATOR OR THE SPREAD OF PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN LITHUANIAN DIALECT RESEARCH -----	249
LAURA BRAZAITIENĖ. RESEARCH ON PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN LITHUANIA: SUBJECTIVE DIALECTAL VARIATION OF LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AREA IN RELATION TO OBJECTIVE VARIATION -----	267
SUMMARIES -----	292

## PREFACE

The Lithuanian dialects and the research work conducted in this area have so far been relatively unknown to wider audiences, especially to our colleagues in other countries. Although recent years have witnessed an increasing number of Lithuanian dialectologists present their work abroad and become part of the global scientific community, information on the current research and the overall context of Lithuanian dialectology often remain on the periphery of public knowledge. So it is only natural that the sixth volume in the series “Problems of Language History and Dialectology”, a collection of articles titled “Lithuanian Dialectology Profiles: Problems and Findings”, aims to demonstrate a wide range of studies within Lithuanian dialectology.

The publication includes more than a dozen scientific articles on the periodization of Lithuanian dialectology (D. Mikulėnienė), the origins and evolution of dialectal network in Lithuania (V. Meiliūnaitė), the spectrum of experimental sound research (J. Jaroslavienė and R. Bakšienė), the features of Lithuanian accentual system (V. Ragaišienė), the development and future prospects of research on dialectal morphology (A. Leskauskaitė, G. Judžentytė-Šinkūnienė), the ethnolinguistic worldview and its analysis (V. Ragaišienė, A. Balčiūnienė and V. Meiliūnaitė), the cognitive studies of morphological categories (D. Kardelytė-Grinevičienė), the linguistic borrowing in peripheral sub-dialects (N. Tuomienė), the small language systems on the verge of extinction (D. Kiseliūnaitė), the application of dialectometric methods in studying Lithuanian language variants (A. Čepaitienė), and the progress of perceptual dialectology in Lithuania (D. Aliūkaitė, L. Brazaitienė). In other words, the aim of this selection is to review a wide range of language areas and the methods of study applied as well as to present both the traditional and the more recent trends and directions of dialectological research in Lithuania. We are very pleased that our colleagues from Vilnius University and Klaipėda University have also contributed to this publication.

This volume is produced in English and will be available online in order to facilitate wider access. We are therefore hopeful that this selection of articles will be valuable not only to the Lithuanian scientists and students as a concentrated introduction of new research, but also to our colleagues abroad who will gain a better understanding of the current activities carried out by the researchers of Lithuanian dialectal variants.

I am sincerely grateful to my colleagues at the Centre of Geolinguistics who helped identify any inconsistencies in these texts and suggested appropriate additions so the articles would make a comprehensive collection. I would also like to express special gratitude to my

colleagues Dr. Liene Markus-Narvila (University of Latvia) and Prof. Dr. Dalia Pakalniškienė (Klaipėda University) for reviewing this selection – their close observation allowed us to rectify any inadvertent mistakes and contributed to a better-structured publication. Thank you to the English language editor Audronė Kvietkutė and graphic designer Vytautas Zinkevičius.

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## **ISSUES OF PERIODIZATION: DIALECTOLOGICAL THOUGHT, METHODOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL TURNS**

*PERIODIZACIJOS PROBLEMAS:*

*TARMĖTYRINĖ MINTIS, METODOLOGINĖ PLĖTRA IR IDEOLOGINĖS KRYPTYS*

### **Abstract**

The periodization of the Lithuanian dialectology developed by the author of this article may be subject to discussion and evaluation in several cross-sections and in more than a single aspect depending on the criteria chosen. Hence, this article aims to systemically present the characteristics inherent to all periods of the Lithuanian dialectology which have been singled out. The author distinguishes three such characteristics – the territorial definability of a dialect, its markedness and its relation with the standard (or written) language. It should be noted that the afore-mentioned characteristics were first identified during the pre-dialectological period in the old grammars of the Lithuanian language. They have been recorded in some form by dialectologists throughout the whole period of the Lithuanian dialectology development and are still being traced today.

**KEYWORDS:** Lithuanian dialectology, geolinguistics, traditional dialect, subdialect, dialecticism, new dialectal derivation (regiolect, geoelect), dialectal feature.

### **Anotacija**

Straipsnio autorės sukurta lietuvių tarmėtyros periodizacija gali būti aptariama ir vertinama keliais pjūviais ir ne vienu aspektu. Nelygu kriterijai. Todėl šiame straipsnyje bandoma sistemiškai pateikti tuos bruožus, kuriais galima apibūdinti visus išskirtuosius lietuvių tarmėtyros laikotarpius. Išskirti trys tokie bruožai – tarmės teritorinio apibrėžtumo, žymėtumo ir santykio su bendrine (ar rašomąja) kalba. Pabrėžtina, kad jie pastebėti dar ikitarmėtyriniu laikotarpiu senosiose lietuvių kalbos gramatikose ir įvairiomis formomis kalbininkų fiksuojami iki mūsų dienų per visą lietuvių tarmėtyros raidą.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** lietuvių dialektologija, geolingvistika, tradicinė tarmė, patarmė, tarmiškumas, naujasis tarminis darinys, regiolektas, geoelektas, tarminis požymis.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The scientific paradigm of dialectology has been growing and developing in accordance with the universal laws of variation concept within the language science – language separation

(from other languages), language individuality, (self) value, etc. As far back as the period of the formation and the beginning of the Lithuanian dialectology it is possible to trace how the authors of the old Lithuanian language grammars had been purifying the object of dialectology until it was finally narrowed down to the classification of a dialect or dialects at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Lithuanian dialectology became an independent discipline of linguistics, i.e. the scientific paradigm acquiring analytical categories and scientific provisions.

As the research in the area of language variation has recently intensified in Lithuania, the need for systemic periodization of the Lithuanian dialectology has come into the foreground. Local descriptive summaries of dialects do not meet the public requirements and the old methodologies are not adequate to the new dialectological and dialectal formations. Intensive changes of dialectal variants, identified by the dialectologists, require ideological and methodological approaches, new to the Lithuanian dialectology. However, under the circumstances of change and even transmutation there is a need for a certain common “denominator” that would serve as a basis to compare the data from different periods, having appropriately located them on the timescale. Therefore, finding the criteria for the dialectological periodization becomes essential.

The stages of formation and development of the Lithuanian dialectology as a branch of linguistics, have indeed been set out in the recently published monograph by the author of this article, although not all of them are explicitly described (only the first part of the trilogy has been published, for more information, see Mikulėnienė 2018). Therefore, this article strives to provide systemic periodization of the Lithuanian dialectology and characterise each distinct period on the basis of identical criteria. This is expected to aid the development of an integral view on the Lithuanian dialectology on a timescale.

In order to achieve this aim, the following objectives have been established: 1) to familiarise the readers of the article with the periodization of the Lithuanian dialectology; 2) to identify the criteria common to all stages of the Lithuanian dialectology; 3) to describe the features of each period of dialectology up to the 21<sup>st</sup> century; 4) to evaluate the evolution of the Lithuanian dialectology within the whole historical context of the Lithuanian linguistics.

The article relies on the provisions of the linguistic historiography methods and critical analysis.

## **1. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRE-DIALECTOLOGICAL PERIOD**

The information on the pre-dialectological period, found in old Lithuanian language grammars dating back to the period between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is also important to the development of dialectology in general. This marked the formation stage

and the beginning of dialectology, which lasted from the first printed grammars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to approximately mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The old Lithuanian grammars exposed the rudiments of the Lithuanian dialectology: it is clear which dialectal features were specified by the authors of the old grammars and how they divided the territory of the Lithuanian language of the time in terms of dialects.

As during the period studied the area of the Lithuanian language did not belong to a single country, the dialects distinguished by the authors were specified on administrative-territorial basis. In general, the prevailing aspect in the grammars of the time was the territorial one, distinguishing one dialect out of other variants. For instance, Daniel Klein (Danielius Kleinas 1609–1666) designated the dialects of Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Proper (Pirmoji 1957: 405 etc.), the grammar by Theophylus Gotlieb Schultz (Teofilis Šulcas 1629–1673) and Christophorus Sepun (Kristupas Sapūnas 1589–1659) mentions the dialects of Žemaitians (also known as Samogitians, i.e. of the Duchy of Žemaitija (Samogitia), the Royal Lithuania, i.e. of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Ducal Lithuania, i.e. of the Duchy of Prussia (Compendium 1997: 66). The three main Lithuanian dialects – 1) Žemaitian (Samogitian), 2) the dialect of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and 3) the Prussian were also referred to by Philipp Ruhig (Pilypas Ruigys 1675–1749), relying on the grammar by Sapun (for more information, see Ruigys 1986: 147).

Numerous authors of the old grammars indicated one or more features typical of a certain dialect. Therefore, it can be concluded that back then a dialect was defined according to the markedness aspect. For example, a text written down by Klein clearly reflects the Aukštaitian pronunciation: “Residents of Vilnius region tend to speak hard, almost as the Bavarians and the Austrians of Germany speak German. [...] they say: *unt dungaus ir žiames bus žinklai* [= *unt dungaus ir žemės bus žinklai*] instead of *ant dangaus ir zėmes bus zėnkla* [= *ant dangaus ir žemės bus ženklai*]” (Pirmoji 1957: 406). Sapun was the first scholar to notice the Dzūkian (Southern and South-Eastern Aukštaitian) pronunciation – the pronunciation of the soft *d* consonant as *dz* (*zevas* “Dievas” [God]) in the dialect of the Royal Lithuania, whereas the soft *t* was pronounced as *c* (*cievas* “tėvas” [father]<sup>1</sup>), for more information, see (Compendium 1997: 76, 77–79). This was the first description of the dialects with the current Dzūkian pronunciation, namely the subdialects of the Southern Aukštaitians and the South-Eastern Aukštaitians.

It has been calculated that more than two dozen of various phonetic, morphological, derivational and lexical features have been explained in this way by the old grammars published

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<sup>1</sup> Erroneous example? Lithuanian dialects have a Dzūkian pronunciation feature only before *i* type vocalism. Old Lithuanian texts do not provide any more examples of such Belarusian Dzūkian pronunciation. For more information, see (Zinkevičius 1966, 141–146).

both in Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Proper (which at the time was part of the Tsarist Russian empire). These features were used by the authors to prove the diversity of the Lithuanian dialects, see more (Mikulėnienė 2018: 46–49). It is therefore safe to say that the dialectal variation of the Lithuanian language was not yet purified as a research object at the time and, due to the lack of material, authors of the early grammars were not able to specify which dialectal features were essential and could condition the diversity of dialects. Nevertheless, it is clear that some of these features (at least the vocal ones) remain unchanged, i.e. they are deemed the distinctive features of the traditional Lithuanian (sub)dialects.

The third feature exposed during the pre-dialectological period is of prescriptive nature, i.e. the distinction aspect of a certain dialect with regards to the relation of that variant with the written language of the time. Daniel Klein was the first to emphasise the importance of a single dialect as the basis for the written language. In his opinion, grammars have to be written for the written language, and those “[...] are wrong, who contemplate in the following manner: if a language has various dialects, no grammar laws can be identified. For instance, there exist a lot of dialects in the Greek language, namely Attic, Ionian, Dorian and Aeolian. Therefore, let us purify one dialect, which we hold to be most common and best of all [...]. Hence, let us develop laws and rules, but in the manner that other dialects are mentioned as well, in case they are different in any way” (Pirmoji 1957: 407). In the opinion of linguist Aldona Paulauskienė, it is absolutely possible that it was precisely this idea of the dialectal foundation shaped by Klein which was subsequently applied by Jonas Jablonskis in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the standard Lithuanian language (Paulauskienė 2006: 15).

The prescriptive trends of the spoken language on the basis of a single dialect are also evident in the grammar by Gottfried Ostermeyer (Gotfrydas Ostermejeris 1716–1800). This grammar is unique because of the author’s opinion that preachers have to follow “the pure dialect” which the Bible, the educational books and the psalms are written in (Neue 1791: 131). Thus, even the old grammars reflect the view that the value of a certain dialect directly depends on the “easiness” of its codification and how similar it is itself to the variant being codified.

These and other examples illustrate the fact that all the afore-mentioned and discussed aspects of dialect description – territory, markedness and prescription – are best reflected in the old grammars of Lithuania Minor. The area of Lithuania Proper (and especially its eastern part) was an undiscovered and underexplored land for most grammar authors. There were various reasons for this, the most likely being that there was an older and deeper tradition of academic grammar-writing in Lithuania Minor. Political conditions could have had a significant influence as well, with Lithuania Minor being a more integral, smaller administrative area and not so disintegrated from the dialectal (and linguistic) point of view.

## **2. PERIODIZATION DURING THE DIALECTOLOGICAL PERIOD**

The beginning of dialectology (as well as geolinguistics) as a scientific paradigm might be dated back to the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This period, from the author's point of view, met three prerequisite conditions for the scientific paradigm to further form and develop: 1) a map of the area of language variants with clear borders was developed (Kurschat 1876; Kuršaitis 2013); 2) a questionnaire was compiled in for collecting the dialectal material which contained most of the distinctive dialectal features (Вольтеръ 1886) and 3) the classification of dialects of a certain area was established (Барановский 1898); for more information, see (Mikulėnienė 2018: 9–13).

Having recognised these conditions as essential, the history of the Lithuanian dialectology can be divided into at least three stages, different not only in their duration but also in terms of methodologies and ideologies:

(1) the beginning of dialectology, the early and late pre-geolinguistic periods (the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 1930s, when the Lithuanian dialectology became an independent discipline);

(2) the early and late geolinguistic period (the 1940s until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; this period was characterised by the classification and illustration of dialects on maps as well as the the compilation of questionnaires and dialect atlases);

(3) the neogeolinguistic period (in Lithuania it emerged alongside the sociocognitive and perceptual dialectology at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century); for more information, see (Mikulėnienė 2014: 81–104; 2018: 10–12).

These above-mentioned stages of dialectology evolution are not characterised by strict chronology or very coherent order in terms of the timescale, i.e. the division is done mostly according to the attitudes, ideologies and methodologies of the researchers. Therefore, similarly to other countries, works dedicated to the different dialectology periods have been published simultaneously in Lithuania (Syrjänen 2012).

### **2.1. PRE-GEOLINGUISTIC PERIOD OF DIALECTOLOGY**

With the relatively accurate identification of the regional variation within the Lithuanian language came the need to better define and classify the inherent features (i.e. the features which made the dialects similar or different from others) and to define the (sub)dialect borders more precisely. The typology of the distinctive dialectal features of the future Lithuanian language dialectology emerged, which paved the way for later dialectal classifications.

Therefore, the pre-geolinguistic period is different from the pre-dialectological one in several ways. The list of the dialectal features in the works of the researchers of the time is more extensive and diverse. In addition, attempts were made to describe and (or) break down the Lithuanian dialects more systemically in accordance with the afore-mentioned features and to find for the most suitable dialectal variant to become the basis of the written Lithuanian language which was being formed at that time.

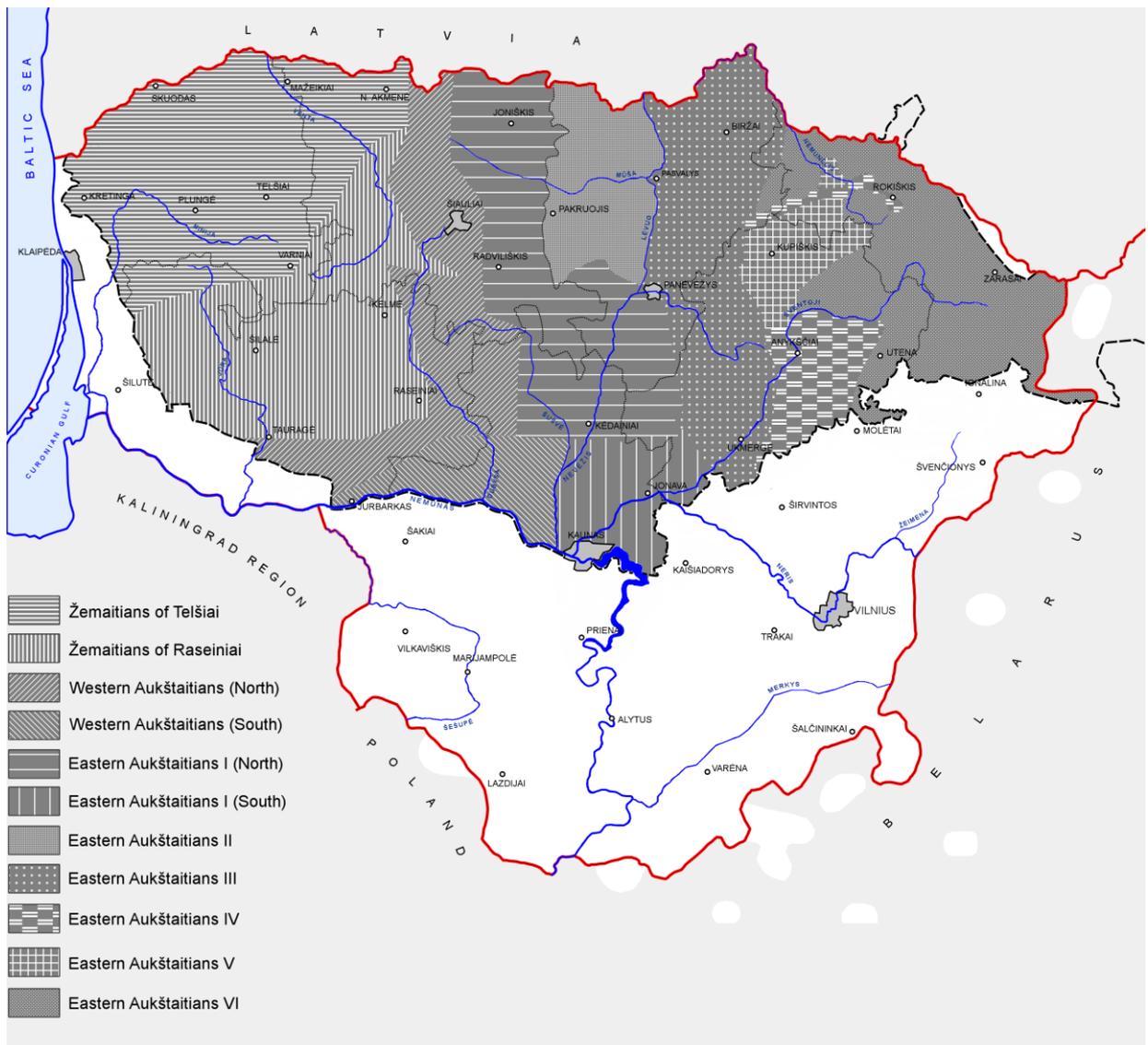
In this regard, the work of the Lithuanian dialectology pioneers, who contributed most to the rise of dialects as an independent object, such as Jonas Juška (Jonas Juszka / Juskiewicz 1815–1886), Antanas Baranauskas (Antoni Baranowski / Барановский 1835–1902), Kazimieras Jaunius (Kazimir Javnis' / Явнисъ 1848–1908) and Eduard Volter / Вольтеръ (1856–1941) has to be reviewed when discussing the history of the Lithuanian dialectology (see more, Mikulėnienė 2018: 128–135, 142–154, 167–196).

**TERRITORIAL ASPECT.** The research of the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is first and foremost related to the grammars of the pre-dialectological period with regards to the same administrative-territorial principle of dialect description. August Schleicher, who divided the Lithuanian dialects into the Aukštaitian and Žemaitian (Samogitian), was potentially first to foresee the faults of this principle: “Every Lithuanian of Russia is generally called a Samogitian, but this notion is inaccurate, as in the territory of Russia a Lithuanian (in the south) differs from a Samogitian (in the north), whereas only Lithuanians of Prussia residing in their small part of territory (in the south) are called Aukštaitians, in the north everybody speaks Samogitian. In Prussia, the border between these two dialects might be the Nemunas” (Schleicher 1856: 170–172; Schleicher 1856<sub>1</sub>: 31–32).

Jonas Juška, for instance, adhered to the administrative-territorial description principle. He divided the Lithuanian dialects according to the territories of the Lithuanian language area belonging to East Prussia and the Tsarist Russia, i.e.: 1) Prussian Lithuanian, 2) Samogitian, 3) Ariogalan and 4) Eastern Lithuanian (Juška 1861: 8; Mikulėnienė 2012; 2018: 128–134).

This is explicitly evidenced in the reconstructed dialect classification by Antanas Baranauskas, which included the major part of, but not the entire, Lithuanian language, i.e. the then Kaunas Governorate (Geržotaitė 2015; 2016: 39–55; Mikulėnienė 2018: 142–152). Therefore, the Western Žemaitians and the present-day dialect of Kaunas, which belonged to East Prussia at the time, as well as the Southern Aukštaitians (Dzūkians), which were beyond the boundaries of the Kaunas Governorate, were not part of this classification, although both were very well known to Baranauskas. On the other hand, it is obvious that Baranauskas' dialect classification does not rely solely on the administrative division (see Fig. 1). For example, the Eastern Aukštaitians were broken down into six (sub)dialects (the Eastern Aukštaitians I – the

Eastern Aukštaitians VI). This illustrates that Baranauskas succeeded in grasping the distinctive linguistic features of these subdialects.



**Figure 1.** Dialect classification by A. Baranauskas

The territorial aspect is also obvious in the dialectal descriptions of districts (Ukmergė, Kaunas, Raseiniai, Zarasai, Šiauliai and Panevėžys)<sup>2</sup> by Jaunius (Явнисъ 1890; 1891; 1892; 1894; 1895; 1897; 1898), which exalted the author as one of the most prominent researchers of the Lithuanian language dialects. Comparing the material of these descriptions with the map of the territorial-administrative breakdown of the Kaunas Governorate shows the fragmented picture of the Lithuanian language dialects distributed amongst the various districts of this Governorate and others. For instance, as many as seven different subdialects were spoken in the area of what was then Ukmergė district, whereas the North-Western Žemaitians of Jaunius’

<sup>2</sup> Jaunius did not publish only one dialect description – of the district of Telšiai.

classification resided in the large district of Telšiai, the western part of Šiauliai district, the parishes of Veiviržėnai, Endriejavas, Gargždai, Rietavas and Raseiniai district, the Palanga parish of the Courland Governorate, and others. It is clear that Jaunius could not “go beyond” the boundaries of the Kaunas Governorate in his descriptions. However, he did this in his own classification of the Lithuanian dialects, which already reflected the dialects of the whole area of the Lithuanian language. This was the very reason why the classification by Jaunius became the basis of the first scientific classification of the Lithuanian dialects by Antanas Salys.

**DIALECTAL MARKEDNESS ASPECT.** Researchers of dialects in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century started a more intensive search for the common features characteristic to a certain part of the Lithuanian language area rather than relying on accidental observation. The obvious change of dialectal features being discussed is clearly visible – from individual dialectal features, also reflected in the old grammars of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century sees more emphasis on more common features, inherent not a specific dialect, subdialect or sub-subdialect, but to a wider part of the Lithuanian language area. This is evident in the case of Schleicher, who identified dissimilar pronunciation of diphthongs *ie*, *uo* and archaic consonants *\*tj*, *\*dj* and stress attraction – as distinctive features of both dialects (Schleicher 1856: 170–172; Schleicher 1856<sub>1</sub>: 31–32).

The researchers of that time generally raised and juxtaposed phonetic features of various sub-subdialects, but did not limit themselves to the phonetic attributes alone. For instance, Jonas Juška simultaneously analysed differences in morphology, word formation and lexis. It can be concluded that he applied the three-layer classification model (*phonetics, morphology and word formation, lexis*) for his classification of dialects (Juška 1861: 8; Mikulėnienė 2012: 248–252; 2018: 112–115). This model did not have any continuation in later classifications of the Lithuanian dialects, but was consistently applied in various monographic dialect descriptions until as recently as the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The search for common features and those inherent to several sub-subdialects illustrates a certain stock-taking of dialectal features that began at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The main result of this stock-taking was the first questionnaire intended for the Lithuanian dialects, prepared by Eduard Volter (Вольтеръ 1886). It consisted of over 50 various linguistic questions in the same and coherent order: 20 questions related to phonetics, 20 questions dealing with morphology, and 11 questions on lexis. At the end of the booklet a respondent is earnestly asked to add a dialectal text (a fairy tale, a song or a legend) written down as precisely as possible, supplementing with folk sayings on speech, dialects and nicknames in other areas. In order to precisely record the dialectal text, it was recommended to use two alphabets (Russian-Lithuanian and Latin-Lithuanian), provided at the end of the booklet (Вольтеръ 1886: 11–12).

Volter's questions and comments allow to conclude that the level of dialectology knowledge the Lithuanians possessed at that time was relatively high. This is confirmed by the composition of the description by Jaunius, which totally corresponds to the order of the questionnaire by Volter: all his dialectal descriptions were composed by using the same principle – the phonetic features were described first, followed by the morphological and lexical features. Therefore, a general assumption might be made that the more dialectal features were spotted by the author, the larger the lasting value (both historic and scientific) of the (sub)dialect description by Jaunius.

During the pre-geolinguistic period, due to the influence of the Neogrammarian researchers, the attention was generally aimed at the sound system of a dialect and the first features conditioning a language variation were specified, see Table 1.

**Table 1.** Attitude of 19<sup>th</sup>-century researchers: distinctive and common features of traditional dialects

Distinctive and common phonetic features of traditional Lithuanian (sub)dialects	August Schleicher (1856)	Jonas Juška (1861)	Eduard Volter (1886)	Antanas Baranauskas (1898)	Kazimieras Jaunius (1890–1898)
dissimilar pronunciation of <i>ie, uo</i>	+	+	+	+	+
dissimilar pronunciation of <i>ė, o</i>				+	+
dissimilar pronunciation of <i>an, en</i>		+	+	+	+
dissimilar pronunciation of <i>*q, *ǵ</i>		+	(+)	+	+
Single-vowelling of diphthongs	+	+	+	+	+
open <i>e (ia)</i>		+	+	+	+
dissimilar pronunciation of <i>e</i> in front of a word			+	+	
retention of the old Baltic <i>*ā</i>			+	+	+
pronunciation of <i>o</i> as <i>a</i> ( <i>rotininkavimas</i> )			+	+	+
pronunciation of <i>ė</i> as <i>a</i> ( <i>dadinkavimas</i> )			+	+	+
<i>Murmamieji balsiai</i> reduced vowels in endings				+	+
pronunciation of short <i>i</i>			(+)	+	+
dissimilar pronunciation of ancient <i>*tj, *dj</i>	+	+	+	+	+
Consonant-hardening		+	+	+	+
etc.					

The table illustrates that two of the most important dialectal features, i.e. dissimilar pronunciation of *ie*, *uo* and the ancient consonant clusters *\*tj*, *\*dj* were identified by all the researchers of the Lithuanian dialects of that time. Therefore, since the times of the Schleicher grammar these features have been considered distinctive attributes between the Aukštaitian and the Žemaitian dialects. Other features set out in the table should be deemed the most common attributes of the Lithuanian (sub)dialects, indicating the singularity of a dialectal variant. However, it should be noted that in certain cases a feature can change its nomenclatural value: for instance, dissimilar pronunciation of *an*, *en* in the Aukštaitian dialects is to be considered a distinctive feature of the Aukštaitians, whereas in Žemaitian it is only a common feature, as the Žemaitians are traditionally classified into subdialects not on the basis of that, but of dissimilar pronunciation of *ie*, *uo*. Thus, in order to objectively assess the dialectal features, it is essential to identify against which (sub)dialect or (sub)dialects they are being assessed. A general presumption can be made that in the works of these authors almost the same phonetic features emerge as distinctive attributes – the difference lies only in their prioritization. For instance, Baranauskas separated the Žemaitians from the Aukštaitians primarily based on the dissimilar pronunciation of diphthongoids *ie*, *uo*, whereas in Jaunius' case it was the dissimilar pronunciation of *ė*, *o*. Therefore, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the entire inventory of distinctive and common features was already identified. It remained generally unchanged in the dialect classifications of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well. It illustrates the high level of dialectal variant distinctiveness of the time very well.

**PRESCRIPTIVE ASPECT.** This aspect finds its place in the research field of the pre-geolinguistic dialectology due to the rising, but not declared, efforts of some researchers to distinguish one dialect out of all the language variants of that time, which would be most suitable for forming the written Lithuanian language.

The first researcher to be mentioned is Juška and his notion of the Ariogala dialect. According to Juška, the dialect of Ariogala could not have been related solely to the geographic location of the dialectal area (the dialect by this name covers a substantially larger territory). Therefore, it was only a conditional (i.e. symbolic) name. It is Juška himself who best described his views on the relation between dialects and written language, stating that “the grammar of the Lithuanian language helps to consciously understand and use the Lithuanian language correctly; however, in order to be able to distinguish what is correct from what is incorrect, it has to possess the philological format and encompass all local sub-subdialects. At the same time, the priority needs to be attributed to the spoken Lithuanian language, not the written (bookish), which is currently still scanty, there are no grand masterpieces created in it and its use has not been established yet, though over a million local Lithuanians speak this language

of ancestors” (Juškevičius F.1-2182: 1). This quote allows the assumption that this dialect was chosen by the author as the basis for the written Lithuanian language. In selecting it, a weighty argument might have been a larger dialectal area and a bigger number of people speaking it. The same applies to the dialectal features described: the more similarity the dialect of Ariogala had with the sub-subdialect of Prussian Lithuanians, the more chances it had to become the foundation. With regards to its dialectal features, the dialect of Ariogala was the “transitional” dialect between the Žemaitians and the Eastern Lithuanians so it was very well suited to the mission envisaged by Juška.

The dialectological activities of Antanas Baranauskas must also be linked with the search for the basis of the written language. Baranauskas appeared in the discourse of the Lithuanian dialectology not as a “fellow-traveller”, amateur or an accidental language enthusiast, but firstly as a representative of the Lithuanian Catholic church, influenced by the conditions and necessities of that time. In his own words, he was going into the science of the Lithuanian language as much as was needed for the church of that time. After 1849, when the Žemaitian diocese spread into the eastern Lithuania and spanned the areas of not only the Žemaitian, but the Aukštaitian dialect too, the establishment of a single common written language in the context of a very fragmented diocese in terms of dialect became especially relevant (Šenavičienė 2004: 169). It is a great pity that his work has only recently started to attract attention and is studied more closely (Venckienė 2014: 269–294; 2015: 87–129). Evidently, this was the reason why Baranauskas was developing his own model of the polyphonic orthography, trying to best reflect the diversity of the Lithuanian dialects (so that everyone could read the written text in their own dialect). It is for this reason that Baranauskas’ Lithuanistic work has been appearing in the public discourse more frequently in recent years and is still creating added value. He should be assessed not in the light of basic, youthful admiration for the beauty of folk language or his personal interest in dialects, but as an activity necessary for the church and society of that time (Mikulėnienė 2015: 11–42).

In summary, it can be concluded that the Lithuanian dialectology formed as an independent discipline in the pre-geolinguistic period and already had a defined object of study as well as its own methodological approaches. The achievements of the time include inventory of the dialectal features, the questionnaire, the first dialectal descriptions and the classifications of Lithuanian dialects – all of which created favourable conditions for further development of dialectology in Lithuania.

## **2.2. GEOLINGUISTIC PERIOD**

The geolinguistic period lasted in Lithuania for almost a hundred years, from the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to the end of it. Historically its beginning can be linked to the

abolition of the Lithuanian press and language ban (in 1905) and the establishment of Lithuania as an independent state (in 1918). With regards to the history of the Lithuanian linguistics it almost coincides with the beginning of compiling material for and writing the Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (words for which started to be collected in 1902) and the establishment of the high school – High Course School (in 1920), which in 1922 transformed into the University of Lithuania (it became Vytautas Magnus University in 1930) in the interim capital Kaunas. The end of this period coincides with the first activities of the Institute of Lithuanistics (1939–1944). Up until that point the evolution of the Lithuanian dialectology has been inseparable from the academic perspective and the development of higher education. This period elevated not only Kazimieras Būga and Jonas Jablonskis, the classics of the Lithuanian linguistics, but several other scientists of international fame, such as Georg Gerullis (Jurgis Gerulis), Antanas Salys, Pranas Skardžius, Petras Jonikas, Juozas Balčikonis, and others. It can therefore be concluded that the early geolinguistic stage lasted throughout the whole period of the independence of Lithuania as a state, i.e. from 1919 to 1940.

The late geolinguistic stage included the entire second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Lithuania, having lost its independence, existed as a republic of the USSR (1940–1990). Due to the historic, economic and political conditions the dialectological (as well as linguistic in its general sense) activity of this period suffered a huge ideological pressure at least in its first decades: mass deportations to Siberia, nationwide collectivization and land reclamation substantially changed not only the economic and political, but also the linguistic (dialectal) landscape of Lithuania. The reform of higher schools, emigration of pre-war generation scientists abroad, strict censorship of scientific works, intensive Russification of all areas of life – these were the conditions which researchers of the Lithuanian dialects had to work in after the World War II. This period saw a continuous and consistent dialectological activity of Juozas Balčikonis, the dialectological work of Juozas Senkus and Elzbieta Mikalauskaitė. At least several generations of linguists grew up during the Soviet period. The first ones were Zigmas Zinkevičius, Juozas Aleksandravičius, Elena Grinaveckienė, Vladas Grinaveckis, Jonas Šukys, Vytautas Vitkauskas, Kazys Morkūnas, Aloyzas Vidugiris, etc.

The last decades of this period in the Lithuanian dialectology were marked with very intensive work done by Aleksas Girdenis, the founder of the phonological school, and his followers.

Despite the complexity and the ideological as well as methodological diversity of the geolinguistic period, it is related to the other stages in the Lithuanian dialectology by the same criteria: the territorial definition of a dialect, its markedness and its relationship with the

standard (or written) language. It is true that the realization of this criteria in the early and late periods had significant differences but there were common features as well.

### 2.2.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EARLY GEOLINGUISTIC PERIOD

This geolinguistic period in Lithuania can be described as a stage of systemic collection, accumulation and generalization of the dialectal material. This was first and foremost approached through lexicography: for instance, Jablonskis' (1922) interest in the dialects was expressed by editing, reviewing and correcting the unfinished dictionary of Antanas Juška, whereas Būga (1924; 1924<sub>1</sub>) was the compiler of the Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language, albeit he only managed to prepare his *Klausimų lapas 1–3* [*Question Sheets*] for questionnaires and published only the first notebook of the dictionary by the time of his death. Therefore, the clear dialectological research direction that formed in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was gradually becoming separate from the lexicographic one, as the course was being taken away from the single fact-to-fact synthesis. The period of the dialectal data generalization thus began, which was also the case all over Europe.

Researchers of the Lithuanian dialects of that period also relied on the dialectology methods widely accepted in Europe – questionnaire (Būga 1924; 1924<sub>1</sub>; Salys 1941), transcription (Gerullis 1930), cartographic (Niedermann 1919; 1923; 1945; Senn 1945: 31, 42). The first monographic dialect descriptions are published during this time (Gerullis, Stang 1933; Jonikas 1939).

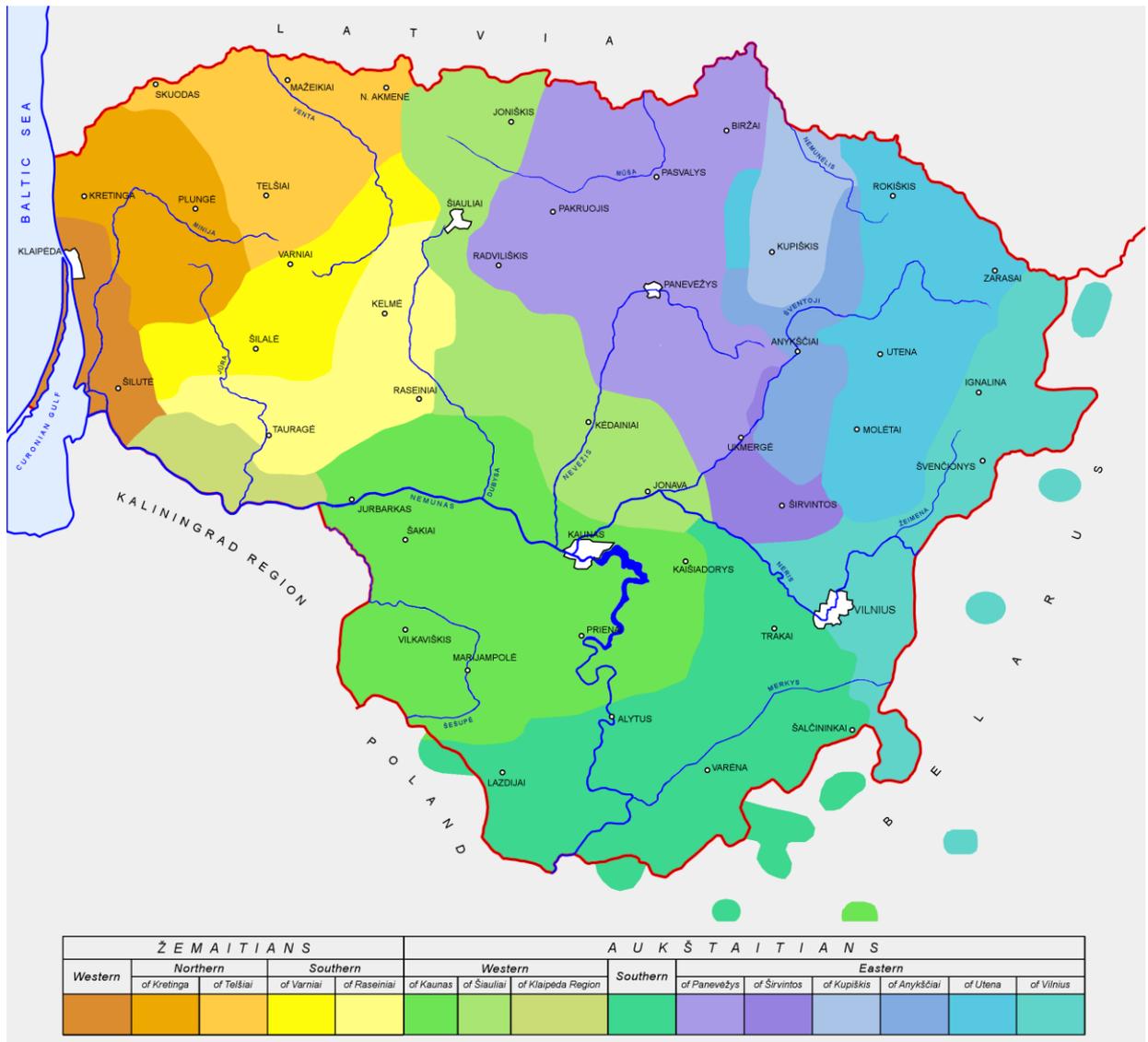
More and more favourable conditions for developing dialectology as a science appeared in the independent Lithuania. Experimental phonetics and word geography were formed as separate dialectology directions in the Institute of Lithuanistics, which had grown out of Vytautas Magnus University basis.

**TERRITORIAL ASPECT.** Inherited from the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, both classifications of the Lithuanian dialects – by Baranauskas and by Jaunius – were existing simultaneously during the early geolinguistic period. Nonetheless, these were somewhat reviewed and amended by later researchers (see Table 2), for more information, see (Geržotaitė 2016: 39–80).

**Table 2.** Early geolinguistic period: classifications of Lithuanian dialects

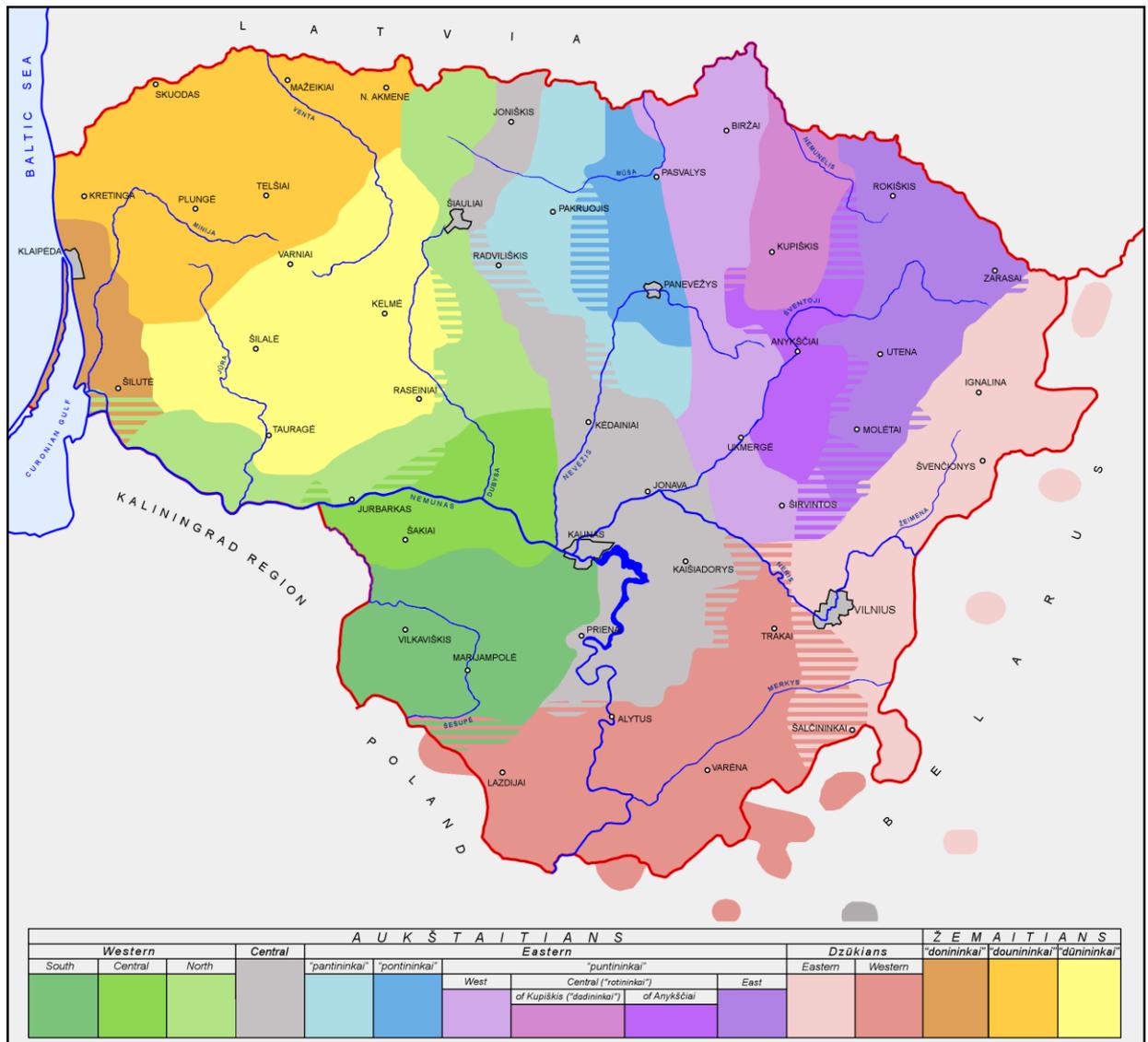
	Antanas Baranauskas (1898)	Kazimieras Jaunius (1911)	Jonas Jablonskis (1922)	Kazimieras Būga (1924)	Antanas Salys (1933)
Žemaitians	Žemaitians of Telšiai ( <i>telšiečiai</i> )	North-Western Žemaitians ( <i>šiaurės vakariečiai</i> )	Žemaitians of Telšiai ( <i>telšiškiai</i> )	North-Western Žemaitians ( <i>žiemų vakariečiai</i> )	Northern Žemaitians (“ <i>dounininkai</i> ”)
		South-Western Žemaitians ( <i>pietų vakariečiai</i> )	Žemaitians of Klaipėda ( <i>klaipėdiškiai</i> )		Western Žemaitians (“ <i>donininkai</i> ”)
	Žemaitians of Raseiniai ( <i>raseiniečiai</i> )	South-Eastern Žemaitians ( <i>pietų rytiečiai</i> )	Žemaitians of Raseiniai ( <i>raseiniškiai</i> )	South-Eastern Žemaitians ( <i>pietų rytiečiai</i> )	Southern Žemaitians (“ <i>dūnininkai</i> ”)
Aukštaitians	Western Aukštaitians ( <i>vakariečiai</i> )	Western Aukštaitians ( <i>vakariečiai</i> )	Western Aukštaitians ( <i>vakariniai</i> )	Western Aukštaitians ( <i>vakariečiai</i> )	Western Aukštaitians ( <i>vakariečiai</i> )
		Central Aukštaitians ( <i>viduriečiai</i> )	Central Aukštaitians ( <i>viduriniai</i> )		Central Aukštaitians ( <i>viduriečiai</i> )
	Eastern Aukštaitians ( <i>rytiečiai</i> )	Eastern Aukštaitians ( <i>rytiečiai</i> )	Eastern Aukštaitians ( <i>rytiniai</i> )	Eastern Aukštaitians ( <i>rytiečiai</i> )	Eastern Aukštaitians ( <i>rytiečiai</i> )
					Southern Aukštaitians (Dzūkians) ( <i>dzūkai</i> )

As mentioned before, the discrepancies between the classifications by Baranauskas and Jaunius were firstly conditioned by territorial differences. However, these were not essential, as both classifications retained their continuity: the tradition of Baranauskas’ classification was continued by Būga (Būga 1924: LII–LIX, whereas Jablonskis (1957 [1922]: 385–391) and Salys (Salys 1933: 21–34; 1935: 1–87; 1946: 1–67; 1992: 3–140) adhered to Jaunius’ classification of the dialects. In the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the tradition of the classification by Baranauskas and Būga was also adopted by Zigmas Zinkevičius alongside with Aleksas Girdenis (Girdenis, Zinkevičius 1966; Zinkevičius 1966: 13–17; compare Fig. 2 and Fig. 1).



**Figure 2.** Dialect classification by Z. Zinkevičius and A. Girdenis

Systematicity and scientific completeness were the features of Salys' classification: unlike the previous ones, his classification was thoroughly motivated and described (Salys 1933; 1935; 1946). It was the first time any classification of the Lithuanian dialects was reflected on a map (Salys 1933; see Fig. 3). All the afore-mentioned classifications generally adhered to the same distinctive features. For example, the separation boundary between the Žemaitians and the Aukštaitians in all of the classifications was identified on the basis of dissimilar pronunciation of the stressed word stem diphthongoids *ie*, *uo* and, as evidenced by both quantitative and qualitative analysis, it has remained largely unchanged since the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Geržotaitė 2016: 56–62; Mikulėnienė et al 2019: 289–290).



**Figure 3.** Dialect classification by A. Salys

Dissimilar pronunciation of diphthongoid *uo* in a stressed position (e.g. in the word *duona* [bread]) allowed Salys to assign the Žemaitians subdialects distinct names of *dounininkai* (pronouncing *douna*), *donininkai* (pronouncing *dona*), *dūnininkai* (pronouncing *dūna*). Salys distinguished the Aukštaitians based on their dissimilar pronunciation of former nasal vowels *q*, *ɛ* and mixed diphthongs *an*, *en*. The Central Aukštaitians were distinguished because of the characteristic hardening of *\*l̥e*, whereas the Dzūkians were identified as a separate Aukštaitian subdialect due to the pronunciation of soft consonant clusters *\*tj*, *\*dj* as soft *č*, *dz*. Salys classified the Eastern Aukštaitians in more detail on the basis of dissimilar pronunciation of the word *pantis* [clog] (dial. *pontis*, *puntis*) into *pantininkai*, *pontininkai*, *puntininkai*, as well as the words *ratai* (dial. *rotai* [wheels]) and *dėdė* (dial. *dada* [uncle]) – into *rotininkai* and *dadininkai*, according to the pronunciation of the stressed and unstressed vowel *o* – into *žadininkai* (cf. *žodis* [word], dial. *žadis*) and *žalininkai* (cf. *žolė* [grass], dial. *žalė*). Therefore, a general

conclusion can be made that all the features identified by the earlier researchers, were functioning as the distinctive ones within the classification by Salys (see Table 1).

The territorial aspect became essential whilst selecting the dialectal material for word geography. This dialectology course in Lithuania was prepared for particularly thoroughly, which is evidenced by the survey *Questionnaire 1* and the network of the residential points in the study created by Salys (Mikulėnienė 2013). During the World War II the educated society of Lithuania – the local intellectuals, teachers and students of gymnasiums – used this survey to collect materials. The material preserved in the Archive of the Dialects at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language shows the substantial amount of work that was being done at the time. Unfortunately, certain historical and political circumstances prevented completion of this work. During the Soviet period Salys was completely excluded from the public discourse due to his departure abroad.

**DIALECTAL MARKEDNESS ASPECT.** A need for a more detailed analysis of the Lithuanian dialects emerged during the early geolinguistic period. This marked the publishing of the first monographic dialect descriptions.

This work was being prepared for. For several years (1931–1933) the Ministry of Education organised free dialect study courses, where Georg Gerullis (Gerulis), professor of Leipzig University, gave lectures on the basics of dialectology and phonetic transcription to anybody who had committed to describing their native dialects. Promises were secured with signatures. There were many philologists among the attendees who would later become famous: Petras Jonikas, Elzbieta Mikalaukaitė, Izabelė Matusevičiūtė, Julius Būtėnas, Juozas Senkus, Napalys Grigas, Juozas Balčikonis, Bronislava Vosylytė, Zuzana Jonikaitė, Jonas Kruopas, Alfonsas Kalnius et al. The duration of the course was 3–6 weeks (for more information, see Morkūnas 2000).

The first volume of the *Dialects of the Lithuanian Language* series, the publication of which was initially commissioned by the Ministry of Education, was a monograph about the dialect of Lithuanian fishermen in Prussia (Gerullis, Stang 1933) published by Georg Gerullis together with Christian S. Stang. The second volume of the book is called *Pagramančio tarmė* [Dialect of Pagramantis] by Petras Jonikas (Jonikas 1939). The numeration of volumes is very important here: it confirms the foreseen continuation of the dialect description series.

The published monographic descriptions have a common characteristic in terms of their content composition: they were compiled as descriptions of dialect microsystems of phonetics, morphology, word formation, etc. In other words, they were published as grammars to reflect the whole structure of the dialect under description – its phonetics, accenting and its grammatical structure. The descriptions usually start with a map and a record of the

geographical spread of the dialect. All dialectal examples are transcribed, supplemented with a glossary of dialect words and a list of actual names (place names and personal names) at the end of the book. By describing all Lithuanian dialects in this manner, the expectation was to end up with a complete picture. Unfortunately, the implementation of this project was interrupted by the World War II. During the post-war period this monographic course of dialectology continued for a while but failed to become full-scale in the end.

**PRESCRIPTIVE ASPECT.** *Litauische Dialektstudien* (Leipzig, 1930) by Gerullis appeared even before the first dialect description. This paved the way for the comparative Lithuanian dialectology. For the first time in history the author applies the Copenhagen transcription to Lithuanian sounds as well as strives to experimentally define the Lithuanian accents and, most importantly, reveals not only the uniqueness of each dialect, but also their relationship with the written Lithuanian language of that time. The author was doing it consistently and provided the transcribed examples of the written language first (Gerullis 1930: 5):

### Sprachproben.

<i>Kaip Jōnas Jablōnskis rāšo- mosios kalbōs garsūs tāria.</i>	<i>kaĩ.p jō.nas jablō.nskĩs rā- šo.mo.šo.s kalbō.s garsūs tā.rā</i>
<i>Vaiko akiniai.</i>	<i>βaĩ.ko akĩnėĩ.</i>
<i>Sāko vaikas tėvui :</i>	<i>sā.ko βaĩ.kas tė.βui</i>
<i>– Tēte, nupīrk mán akinius,</i>	<i>tē.ti nupĩr.k má.n ā.kĩnĩus</i>
<i>– nóriu skaityti.</i>	<i>nó.rũ skaiĩ.ti</i>
<i>– Geraĩ, – atsākė tėvas, –</i>	<i>geraĩ. atsā.kę tė.βas nu-</i>
<i>*nupīrksiu, tik vaikiškus.</i>	<i>pĩr.kšũ tik βaĩ.kĩškus</i>
<i>Iř nupīrko tėvas *sūnui ele-</i>	<i>iř. nupĩr.ko tė.βas sũ.nui</i>
<i>mentōriũ.</i>	<i>elementō.rũ</i>

Each dialect is illustrated with narrations which had been translated and transcribed. For instance, this story illustrates the dialects of *rytiečiai pirmieji pietiečiai* (“Easterners the first Southerners”) and *vakarų žiemiečiai* (“Western Northerners”) (Gerullis 1930: 53, 25):

<i>vaĩ.ka akulō.řei<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>vaĩ.ka akulō.řei<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>sā.ka vaĩ.kas tė.βu</i>	<i>sā.ka vaĩ.ks tė.βui</i>
<i>tē.tē nupĩr.k má.n akulō.řus nó.rũ skaiĩ.t</i>	<i>tā.tē nupĩr.k má.n akulō.řũs nó.rũ skaiĩ.t</i>
<i>ęerai. atsā.kę tė.βas nupĩr.kšũ tik vaĩ.kĩškus</i>	<i>ęer,ai atsā.kę tė.βus nupĩr.kšũ tik vaĩ.kĩškus</i>
<i>iř nupĩr.ka tė.βas sũ.nu lementō.ři</i>	<i>iř (und i) nupĩr.ka tė.βus sũ.nui lemeñ.tō.řũ</i>

Therefore, not only the dialecticism of each dialect was revealed, but it was also “measured” in terms of the written (standard) Lithuanian language: readers had an opportunity

to both see how the Lithuanian dialects differed from each other as well as how far apart each of them was from the written language of that time.

This juxtaposition of dialectal examples against the written language for the first time witnessed the prestige of the written Lithuanian language as a generally accepted language variant as well as its certain superiority over the dialects. The dialectal variants were left for the domain of colloquial language.

It should be noted that, having taken over Jablonskis' examples of the written language, Gerulis did not borrow his dialect classification and remained loyal to the classification introduced by Baranauskas. Supposedly, this choice was conditioned by a thorough description of the Eastern Aukštaitian dialect features by Baranauskas (Барановскій 1898) and the dialectal texts collected by him (Specht 1920; 1922), which could be verified.

### **2.2.2. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LATE GEOLINGUISTIC PERIOD**

Following the changes in the historical and political circumstances after the World War II, the Lithuanian dialectology needed at least several decades to recover. When Vytautas Magnus University was closed and Kaunas retained only the technological sciences, the linguistic and dialectological activities moved to Vilnius – the Vilnius University and the Institute of the Lithuanian Language (subsequently – the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and Literature). As the majority of well-known scientists of that time had emigrated, the most urgent task at the time was to prepare a new generation of experts.

All humanitarian sciences, including dialectology, had to be re-oriented in accordance with the standards and requirements of the USSR. 1950s saw the rise of Zigmantas Zinkevičius, Juozas Aleksandravičius, Elzbieta Mikalauskaitė, and others – the generation of dialectologists educated by the linguists who had not left Lithuania previously, such as Juozas Balčikonis, Juozas Senkus and others. The new generation in turn “brought up” dialectologists Aleksas Girdenis, Kazys Morkūnas, Elena Grinaveckienė, Vladas Grinaveckis, Aloyzas Vidugiris, Vytautas Vitkauskas, etc. It is due to the efforts of these linguists that preserving the continuity of the inter-war Lithuanian dialectology became possible and this work could carry on despite the new political conditions.

During this period *The Instruction for the Material Collection for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* was prepared (Instrukcija 1954<sub>1</sub>, 1958<sub>2</sub>). All the works of that period, especially the ones dating back to the first decades, contained the unavoidable ideological-political “superstructure” (cf. the first sentence in the Preface of the Program: “the conference of linguists and dialectologists of the Lithuanian SSR, held at the beginning of 1951, bearing in mind that J. V. Stalin deemed local (or territorial) dialects as playing a very important role in

the language science, recommended speeding up works of the dialectological research and especially the preparation of the dialectological atlas, alongside with other works in the area of the Lithuanian language. Dialectological atlases are developed by most Soviet nations, this work was and is spurred by the development of the Atlas of the Russian language. Inspired by this example, the Lithuanian nation undertook this work”<sup>3</sup> (Programa 1951: 3). Phrasing like this, whilst demonstrating political loyalty, constant reliance on the Russian linguistic work and the involvement of Russian linguists into the linguistic activity of Lithuania, was the main safeguard allowing for the work to continue. Albeit even these did not always protect the linguists from personal constraints and/or persecution.

Three volumes of the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* were published: *Lexis* (LKA 1977), *Phonetics* (LKA 1982), *Morphology* (LKA 1991). So the essential work of the Lithuanian linguistics lasted for more than two decades. In the process of mapping the dialectal material, the network of residential points created by Salys was used. Hence, even if the public acknowledgement of Salys’ legacy was not possible at the time, a certain continuity of his work was retained.

The territorial aspect of the spread of dialectal phenomena can be observed clearly in another fundamental dialectological work – *Lithuanian Dialectology* (1966) by Zigmantas Zinkevičius (1925–2018) representing the course of historical dialectology. This work describes not just the spread of the dialectal phonetic and morphologic features, illustrated by 75 maps, but also provides valuable material for the historical analysis of their development. In terms of the extent and quality of this analysis, the work differed from the monographs of similar scope published during that period, for instance, in Latvia (Rudzīte 1969; 1998) or Poland (Dejna 1973). This monograph truly paved the way for the forthcoming research into the history of the Lithuanian language. The history of phonetics of the Žemaitian dialect (Grinaveckis 1973) published after a few years did not make a significant impact on the Lithuanian dialectology.

A substantial impact with regard to the areal Lithuanian language dialects was made by the students-Lithuanists of that period, who wrote a vast amount of thesis and course papers on the topics of the native dialect materials. The list of references in Zinkevičius’ *Lithuanian Dialectology* alone mentions over 270 student names – these are listed alongside the areas where most of the data had been collected (Zinkevičius 1966: 521–530). Some of the students, having defended their PhD dissertations, became renowned dialectologists: 1952 – Vladas Grinaveckis,

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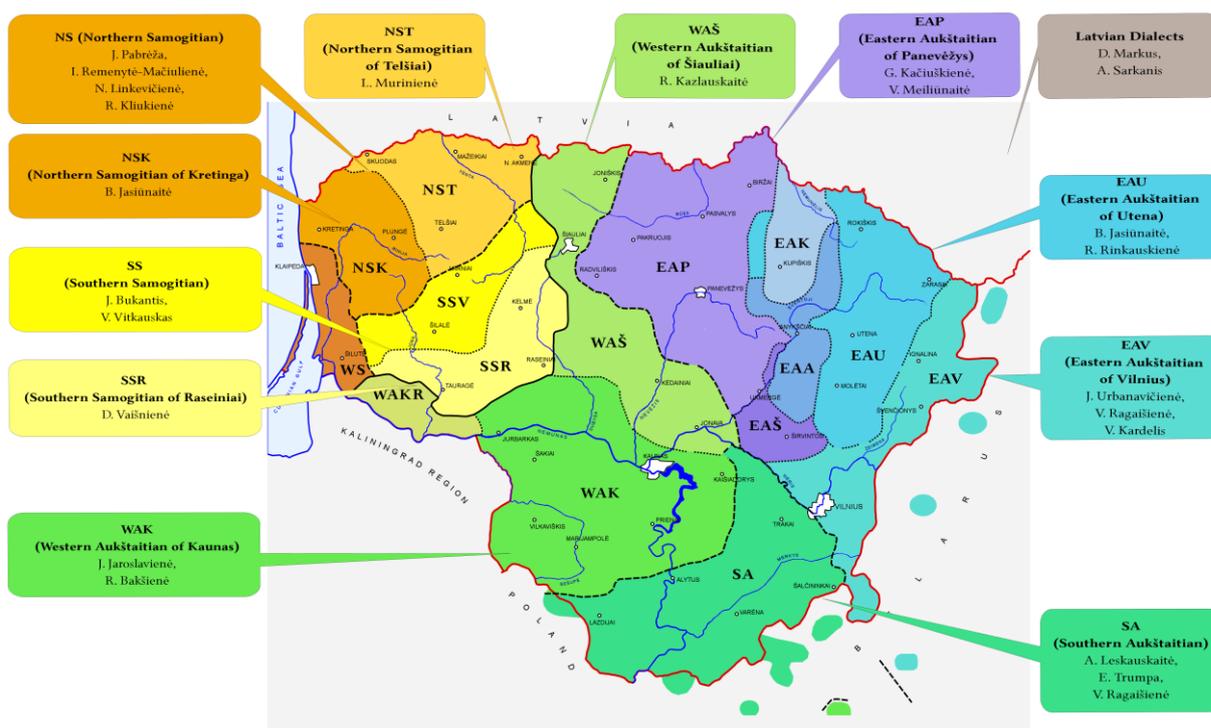
<sup>3</sup> „1951 m. pradžioje įvykusi Lietuvos TSR kalbininkų bei dialektologų konferencija, turėdama galvoj, kad J. V. Stalinas kalbos moksle vietiniams, arba teritoriniams dialektams skiria labai svarbų vaidmenį, rekomendavo šalia kitų lietuvių kalbos darbų spartinti dialektologinių tyrinėjimų ir ypač dialektologinio atlaso rengimo darbus. Dialektologinius atlasus rengia daugelis tarybinių tautų, tam darbui pradžią ir pavyzdį davė ir duoda rusų kalbos atlaso rengimas. Tuo pavyzdžiu darbo imtis ryžosi ir lietuvių tauta“ (Programa 1951: 3).

1956 – Elena Šopaitytė-Grinaveckienė, 1959 – Juozas Aleksandravičius, 1961– Kazys Morkūnas, Jadvyga Kardelytė, 1962 – Aldona Jonaitytė, etc.

**DIALECTAL MARKEDNESS ASPECT.** The period in question was marked with the preparation of monographic descriptions of individual dialects. As a standalone topic, the descriptive direction (*Description of Lithuanian Language Dialects*) was specified in the working plan of the Institute of the Lithuanian language for the years 1946–1950 (Mikulėnienė 2008: 21; 2013: 75). It continued from then on. It can therefore be concluded that the authors of the older generation (such as Aleksandravičius, Jonas Šukys, Jonaitytė, Kardelytė, Aloyzas Vidugiris, Vytautas Vitkauskas and others) essentially adhered to the traditions of the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Most of them also published monographic descriptions.

However, the largest flock of dialectologists was brought up by Aleksas Girdenis (1937–2011), the establisher of the phonological school of the Lithuanian dialectology. He was prominent not only because of his principles of structuralism, but also due to the new concept of language and speech (content and aspect of a sign) he adhered to, distinguishing between synchrony and diachrony, paradigmatics and syntagmatics, and application of new research methods in dialectology – distributional analysis and binary distinctive principles of dichotomous phonology. It should be emphasised that neither Girdenis nor his disciples could completely avoid the traditional provisions and attitudes inherited from the Neogrammarian times – for example, the informants were being selected in accordance with the NORM criteria, whilst the dialects were mostly being analysed by native-speaking researchers of their respective dialects, see Fig. 4.

The school of Girdenis substantially broadened the boundaries of descriptivism, applying precise machine calculation methods (subsequently computer) to the experimental dialectal phonetics. Initially, variational statistical methods were relied upon but later the programs (NIJOLĖ, ZITA, VIDA) developed by the instructor himself came into use. As seen in Fig. 1, the phonological principles of Girdenis' school and the afore-mentioned methods of experimental phonetics served as the basis for the analysis of almost all living (sub)dialects. Sadly, Girdenis did not publish the comparative phonology of the Lithuanian dialects.



**Figure 4.** Students and followers of Aleksas Girdenis

In the interest of research, the dialect centre is strictly separated from the periphery. The main focus was on the dialect centre as this was the point where the realised phonological system of a dialect could come near its perfection. This, in turn, had to be reflected in sources, such as dialectal texts and dictionaries. Hence, while publishing these sources, corrections of proofreading and editorial kind as well as clipping of the dialectal texts or other forms of “cleaning” were not uncommon. Excessive editing was relinquished only at the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when during the editing of the Dieveniškiai dialect texts, editors tried to consider not only the dialect system but the individual features of its speakers, too.

This principle was consistently followed in the “Chrestomathy of the Lithuanian dialects” (LKTCh 2004), as well as in the subsequent compilations of dialectal texts published by the Institute of the Lithuanian Language. The published text compilations are aimed at various reader groups. Over 20 volumes of dialect texts have been prepared. *The Dialects for School* is intended for educational purposes, therefore every collection of texts includes not only the dialectal texts, but also their versions transcribed and transposed into Standard Lithuanian, a brief description of a dialect, fragments of educational articles and interesting tasks prepared by teachers-methodologists. Each book of *The Dialectal Textbooks* series starts with a thorough linguistic study about the dialect, transcribed texts are supplemented with comprehensive comments. All the volumes of this series are accompanied with compact discs.

A total of 13 dialect dictionaries have been compiled to date. They are all slightly different and they represent either one dialect or several neighbouring dialects. Although during the preparation of the first dialectal dictionary the focus was only on the dialectal lexis and the standard language words were provided in a separate alphabetical list, all subsequent dictionaries are attributed to the category of comprehensive dictionaries: they render all the words in the alphabetic order. The recent publications are different from earlier ones not only in the composition of their entries, but in the abundance and diversity of illustrative material as well.

### **2.3. THE BEGINNING OF THE NEOLINGUISTIC PERIOD: EVOLUTION OF TRADITIONAL DIALECTOLOGY**

With the changing historical and political conditions, the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century signals a new pace of research in the area of local linguistic (*resp.* dialectal) variants. This is related not only to the emergence of new dialectological trends in Lithuania, but also with the changed attitude of local communities towards their own local language. The newly independent Lithuania joined the European Union and NATO – the developments viewed positively by the public, who were in turn encouraged to preserve their cultural, historic and linguistic heritage.

All this conditioned the development of the multimodal research model of linguistic variants which started the replacement the descriptive dialectology with the multimodal dialectology, encompassing not solely the collection and research of linguistic data, but also the analysis of the linguistic landscape, sociocultural networks of local residents, as well as the research of their opinions towards the local language. This research paradigm, totally new in Lithuania, will facilitate linguists in forecasting change prospects of both the linguistic phenomena and the Lithuanian language in general. The new research model of dialectal variants provides favourable conditions for the latest dialectology trends, such as dialectometry, perceptive dialectology, etc., to take root in Lithuania.

**TERRITORIAL ASPECT.** The monitoring of the dialectal areas carried out at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century enabled linguists to identify the real situation of local (*resp.* dialectal) variants, i.e. to distinguish the living and the disappearing points of the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language, and to move the extinct ones to the adjacent areas close in the linguistic aspect (LTG 2014). From 2011 to 2013, a thorough qualitative analysis of the local language was carried out in these points.

During the last decade the quantitative dialectology methods have started to be applied. This allowed linguists not only to comprehensively analyse the dialecticism of the areas selected, but also to objectively look at all three classifications of the Lithuanian dialects in terms of the qualitative paradigm: to discuss their pros and cons as well as to clarify their weaknesses. Applying the tools of the computer program *Gabmap*, the quantitative research provides a more versatile and detailed view of the Lithuanian language dialects, which also refines the dialect classifications and explains classification decisions as well as identifies the territories requiring additional linguistic research (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019). For instance, the quantitative research revealed that the subdialect of Western Aukštaitians of Šiauliai is not only the transitional one between the Žemaitian and the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, but is also very inconsistent (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 123–137). Therefore, more research is needed in order to find reason for this inconsistency.

The quantitative analysis of traditional dialectal features confirms the multi-layer nature of the Aukštaitian area. It comprises two dialectally strongest zones, reflecting new dialectal formations shaped at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the western formation, corresponding to the dialectal content of the West-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect with its centre in Panevėžys, and the eastern one which corresponds to the dialectal basis of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect with its centre in Utena (LTG 2014: 257–266; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 160–230). True, with regards to dialecticism, this is the only firm basis, whereas the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Anykščiai, Kupiškis and Vilnius are not (or are only partly) attributed to the centre are deemed to be the transitional dialectal variants.

The quantitative analysis of the Žemaitian area revealed that the northern and southern parts of the dialectal area are linguistically very different. The Northern Žemaitians are considered a homogeneous subdialect (no essential differences were identified between the subdialects of Telšiai and Kretinga), whilst the area of Southern Žemaitians is dialectally divisible: it splits not only into the subdialects of Varniai and Raseiniai but displays certain dialectal duality within the subdialects themselves (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 259–270).

Although different terminology has been used throughout the classification process of the Lithuanian dialects, certain consistency is present, based on the qualitative phonetic (phonological) features: despite particular asymmetry of the dialect classifications in terms of *time and place*, the quantitative analysis confirmed the validity of the classifications of the Lithuanian language dialects discussed.

**DIALECTAL MARKEDNESS ASPECT.** The scope of the research on dialectal markedness has also expanded. Currently, it encompasses not only the traditional Lithuanian dialects, but other transitional local variants as well. Part of them have formed in local communities on the

basis of local languages (Belarusian, Polish or Russian of Old Believers). This encourages a discussion on the formation of new, i.e. secondary variants of the Lithuanian language (Mikulėnienė 2018<sub>1</sub>).

Across the whole area of Lithuania new dialectal formations – regiolects – are being formed based on the traditional Lithuanian dialects. Their territories approximately match the ethnographic regions of Lithuania. Also, the zones of geolects seem to retain the strongest degree of dialecticism (LTG 2014: 257–266; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 311–313). It is worth noting that the economic situation in these areas is the main the factor conditioning the future of the new dialectal formation .

**THE PRESCRIPTIVE ASPECT.** During the formation of the regiolects in the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the functions of the local language have also expanded: it not only remained a variant of the spoken language, but also acquired some features of a written language, which is especially true in the case of dialectal writing.

Mass media – local radio or television, printed press, internet, community websites or Facebook accounts – contribute to the spread of local language variants significantly. Thus, a certain self-prescriptive trend of local language variants can be perceived across the entire country. It is precisely this trend that would be (is) interesting to evaluate from the perspective of dialectological history, for instance, in order to compare the similarities and differences between the movement away from a dialect towards the standard language and the movement away from the standard language, which is above all marked with the effort to record the dialectal code, towards a dialect – to what extent attempts to record dialecticism generally affect dialecticism.

**PRESCRIPTIVE ASPECT.** As the historical, political and ideological conditions changed, five decades leading up to the restoration of Lithuania's independence were marked with intensive Russification and Lithuania lived under the conditions of bilingualism. The Lithuanian language was retained in the middle and high schools as well as in the area of culture. The Russian language was present in all areas of the official and public life (as the facts of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century illustrate). However, during the time of political and ideological warming, Lithuania started seeing increasingly intensified processes of researching and standardising the Lithuanian language, teaching it in all tiers of the educational system, as only the codified standard Lithuanian language could withstand the immense impact of the Russian language. This was the basis for the emergence of the error-and-correction area of Standard Lithuanian – the language culture, encompassing all levels of Standard Lithuanian.

Due to all the reasons present and absent herein, the dialectal variants of the Lithuanian language remained on the margins of Standard Lithuanian. Although school textbooks mention dialects as folk language and the source of Standard Lithuanian, in reality they were treated as a feature characteristic only to the old and uneducated rural population. The use of dialect was therefore not considered *comme il faut*. There is evidence provided by the people of older generation on how the “more active” teachers would forbid speaking the dialects not only during their classes, but during breaks as well. Therefore the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century marks the point when the hierarchical relationship between the Lithuanian dialects and the Standard Language settled. Linguists themselves contributed to this attitude towards dialects, when assessing the dialectal material researched from the perspective of language correctness.

## CONCLUSIONS

Several periods can be distinguished in the language variability research: these are related to the conscious evolution of dialectological thought, the methodological development and the ideological turns. However, with the individual contents of the dialectological discourse in mind, one can speak about a certain overlap of these periods and their reiteration. For instance, with regards to the objective (temporal) periodicity, the neolinguistic period can be represented in the light of the dialectological discourses inherent to the geolinguistic period.

All three aspects of dialectal description, i.e. territorial, dialectal markedness and prescriptive, have in one way or another remained relevant to the Lithuanian dialectology up to the present day. Nevertheless, the administrative-territorial area distribution is not the circumstance which could be the factor to underestimate the dialect knowledge and understanding of the authors of grammars dating back to the pre-dialectological and pre-geolinguistic period, as the object of their descriptions was not the borders of (sub)dialects but their uniqueness.

Nomenclature of regional variability has almost always been related to the administrative location nominations: both at the outset of the Lithuanian dialectology and during the present period of modern dialectology. It can be concluded that in this case the paradigmatic turning point has not occurred.

It should be noted that during the different periods of the Lithuanian dialectology the observation of dialectal markedness only densifies, the stock of dialectal characteristics gets richer and its systematicity is gradually exposed. However, under the conceptual assessment, the discourse of dialectal markedness is one of the most sustainable keynotes both at the dawn of dialectology, and during the stages of paradigm establishment and evolution.

The inclusion of the prescriptive aspect into the dialectology discourse has at all times been significantly affected not only the dialectological thought, but in the long run “programmed” the algorithm of erroneous attitude, i.e. to measure a dialect from the standard language perspective.

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## STABILITY AND DYNAMICS OF (LITHUANIAN) DIALECTAL NETWORK

(LIETUVIŲ) TARMŲ TINKLO KONSTANTOS IR KINTAMIEJI

### Abstract

The history of the network connecting the regional variety areas (hereinafter: RVAs) of the Lithuanian language began in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The network, consisting of almost 800 RVAs, was comprehensively explored in the period between the 1950s and 1960s, and the data was used for scientific publications in both Lithuania and abroad. However, in the course of over five decades, numerous social, demographic, cultural, etc. changes have taken place. Therefore, the paper focuses on the changes in the Lithuanian dialects and dialect studies based on the monitoring of the RVAs in the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* in the 2010s. Upon comparing the initial and the revised situation, one can argue that the network has been maintained by over 70 percent. However, in the course of the monitoring, given the changed lifestyle of the society, the dialect ceased to be regarded as a closed system, unaffected by other linguistic systems. This modified approach inevitably led to changes in how the respondent is perceived. In addition to the linguistic criteria, the respondent's education, mobility, social relations as well as the prestige of their native dialect became equally important. The latter element is also organically linked to the important role of the regional authorities in maintaining regional sustainability. Based on varying social status and unequal demographic indicators, strong and weak dialects were identified. In addition, a viability scale of the dialectal area was developed, with RVAs ranging from viable to extinct. Thus, a systematic monitoring of the RVAs not only helped identify significant changes in dialectal speech, but also stimulated the development of dialectology and the inclusion of new research directions and methods.

**KEYWORDS:** dialect, network of regional variety areas (RVAs), interaction of language systems, local prestige, regional sustainability.

### Anotacija

Lietuvių kalbos punktų tinklo istorija prasideda dar pirmoje XX a. pusėje. Šis tinklas, susidedantis iš beveik 800 punktų, išsamiai tirtas 6–7 XX a. dešimtmečiais, jo duomenimis naudotasi rengiant kitus lietuviškus ir tarptautinius mokslinius leidinius. Vis dėlto per daugiau kaip pusę amžiaus įvyko gausių socialinių, demografinių, kultūrinių ir pan. pokyčių. Todėl šiame straipsnyje aptariami lietuvių tarmių ir tarmėtyros pokyčiai atlikus Lietuvių kalbos atlaso punktų stebėseną antrajame XXI a. dešimtmetyje. Palyginus pirminę ir peržiūrėtą padėtį, pasakytina, kad tinklas išlaikytas daugiau nei 70 procentų. Vis dėlto tyrimo metu, atsižvelgus į pakitusį visuomenės gyvenimo

būdą, tarmė nustota vertinti kaip uždara, kitų kalbinių sistemų neveikiama sistema. Pakitus šiam požiūriui neišvengiamai atsivėrė kitoks pateikėjo vertinimas. Svarbūs tapo ne tik kalbiniai kriterijai, bet taip pat ir išsilavinimas, mobilumas, socialiniai ryšiai, gimtojo tarminio varianto prestižas. Su prestižu organiškai siejasi ir regioninių institucijų pastangų išlaikyti regionų tvarumą būtinybė. Dėl skirtingo socialinio statuso, nevienodų demografinių rodiklių išskirtos stipriosios ir silpnosios tarmės, taip pat sukurta tarminės vietovės gyvybingumo skalė – nuo gyvybingo iki sunykusio tarminio punkto. Taigi sisteminga tarminių punktų stebėseną ne tik leido nustatyti reikšmingus tarminio kalbėjimo pokyčius, bet ir paskatino tarmėtyros raidą bei naujų tyrimo krypčių ir metodų įtraukimą.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** tarmė, punktų tinklas, kalbinių sistemų sąveika, vietos prestižas, regiono tvarumas

*Genesis and evolution of the Lithuanian language network of regional variety areas (RVAs).*

Researchers into the history of dialectology tend to divide this field of science in Lithuania into several main periods. The earliest studies and the pre-geolinguistic period (late 19<sup>th</sup> century through to the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), by means of insightful studies of individual regions or specific language levels, formed the basis for the geolinguistic period, covering most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (for more details see Mikulėnienė 2018: 11; Mikulėnienė 2014: 81–104). The latter period is exceptional in at least two respects. First, the whole territory of the Lithuanian dialects was consistently and systematically researched (i.e. the research was not limited to the national administrative borders; it included the Lithuanian language varieties spoken outside Lithuania at that time: in Belarus, Poland, and Latvia). Second, in the early stage of the geolinguistic studies of Lithuanian dialects, common questionnaires were developed and the territory of the Lithuanian language was divided into the so-called RVAs, which allowed researchers to collect and publish data consistently, using a uniform research methodology and covering the whole geographical territory.

It is important to note that Antanas Salys was the first to compile a comprehensive map of the Lithuanian dialect studies through the development of a “geography of words” questionnaire intended for studies of animal and plant names as well as their distribution. Despite the outbreak of the Second World War, during the period of 1941–43, answers to the questionnaire were recorded in about 1,500 places (cf. Mikulėnienė 2013: 74; Mikulėnienė 2014: 93, see also her article in the present collection).

Later, a somewhat revised network was used by the researchers at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language to prepare the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* (hereinafter: ALL). In 1950, a *Programme of Material Collection for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* was developed, and after testing it in expeditions, a decision was made to prepare an appendix the *Instruction for the Material Collection for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* (1954). For about 15 years, the material was collected using the *Instruction* in accordance with the questions formulated in

the *Programme*. Over 800 residential areas were researched (704 RVAs in Lithuania and 13 outside the country were identified in the prospective map of RVAs)<sup>1</sup>. According to the researchers-dialectologists, despite the official statements that the material had been collected in accordance with the *Programme*, it was obvious that the compilers of the *ALL* relied on both previously collected dialect material and also “on the network of the residential areas of the Lithuanian dialect speakers, developed by Salys and his assistants in the 1920s and 1930s” (Mikulėnienė 2014: 97; see also her article in the present collection). The network was also used for other geolinguistic research, such as the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*: since the 1960s, the material from 42 locations in Lithuania has been collected and processed (at least 30 of them coincided with the RVAs in the *ALL*).

A new stage in the network research began with the decision to prepare the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*<sup>2</sup> together with the Latvian colleagues. For this *Atlas*, a common network of living Baltic languages was prepared, covering the RVAs marked in the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* and the *Atlas of the Latvian Dialects (Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants)*.

Thus, in the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, researches had to rely on the network of the Lithuanian RVAs prepared in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and never substantially updated, while the above-mentioned publications actually reflected the situation of the dialects in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Over 60 years, the political, social, cultural, and demographic situation in Lithuania and beyond its borders has changed. Therefore, the researchers at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language have set themselves an ambitious goal: to check the current situation of the Lithuanian dialects and to collect material from all the RVAs in the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language*<sup>3</sup>.

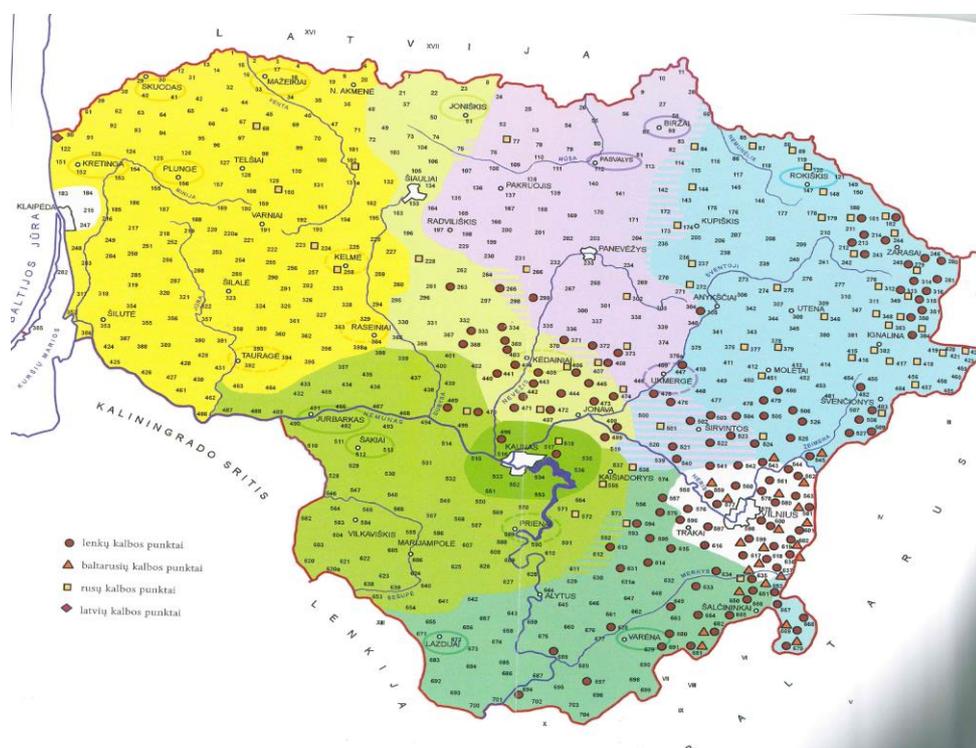
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<sup>1</sup> The RVAs were numbered from the top of the map, from left to right, in ascending order; the southern-most RVAs of the Lithuanian language in present-day Poland and Belarus were also included. A total of 718 RVAs were marked in the territory of the Lithuanian language: 704 areas in the territory of the Lithuanian Republic with Arabic numerals, and 13 areas abroad, with Roman numerals.

<sup>2</sup> *Baltų valodu atlants. Prospektas / Baltų kalbų atlasas. Prospektas / Atlas of the Baltic languages: A Prospect*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūts, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2009. *Baltų kalbų atlasas. Leksika 1: Flora / Baltų valodu atlants. Leksika 1: Flora / Atlas of the Baltic Languages. Lexis 1: Flora* (CD). Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2012; also Mikulėnienė, Danguolė, Stafecka, Anna (sast./sud./ed.). *Baltų Baltų valodu atlants. Leksika 1: Flora / Baltų kalbų atlasas. Leksika 1: Flora / Atlas of the Baltic languages. Lexis 1: Flora*. 2nd revised and supplemented edition. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> An EU-supported project was implemented under Measure VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-V *Support to Research Activities of Scientists and Other Researchers* (Global Grant), Priority 3 *Strengthening the Capacity of Researchers* of the Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013. The project sought to achieve the following objectives: 1) to inspect all 735 RVAs in Lithuania and 15 RVAs abroad (to identify the extinct RVAs as well as the new ones, wherever appropriate); 2) to optimise the network of the RVAs to be further explored; 3) to develop a common methodology for the research into sociolinguistic and geolinguistic dialects; 4) to collect control digital audio recordings from the RVAs of the optimised network (at least 6x1,5 hours from each RVA) and to create an open archive (with Internet access) of the sound recordings of 21<sup>st</sup> century Lithuanian dialects; 5) based on those recordings, to carry out a primary phonetic analysis which would help to specify the boundaries of dialects and subdialects; and 6) to carry out a primary analysis of the data of the sociolinguistic and geolinguistic dialects.

Attention should be paid to the changes in the linguistic map of Lithuania. During the preparation of the *ALL*, the material in some areas was not collected, because the areas were dominated by the population communicating in other languages: Russian, Belarusian, or Polish. The aim of the new study was not to leave any "blank spaces" and to find out how the Lithuanian language varieties had taken root in places where the Slavic and the Latvian languages were traditionally predominant. For potentially the first time in the Lithuanian dialectology, the relationship between the local Lithuanian population and the traditional non-Lithuanian communities was explored. As noticed, in the vicinities of Vilnius, Kėdainiai, and Zarasai, traditional interaction amongst the Polish (established mainly through manor culture), Russian (brought mostly by the Old Believers who had come to Lithuania to avoid religious persecution in the Russian Empire), and the local Lithuanian language varieties was taking place. Unlike the Polish and Russian languages, which had spread over a fairly large area, the areas traditionally inhabited by *Gudai* (Belarusians) were much more compact, located mainly in the eastern part of Vilnius district and around Šalčininkai, i.e. quite tightly along the current border of the Republic of Lithuania, north of Kretinga (see Fig. 1).

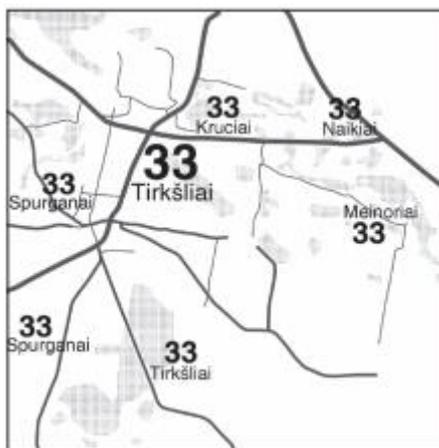


**Figure 1.** A network of other languages areas (quoted in Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2014: Map XIV)

The analysis of those multilingual contacts allowed for a broader view of the preconditions for the formation and development of the Lithuanian language varieties. Moreover, due to

different social status of the speakers of individual languages and the attitudes of the communities themselves, the directions of competitive dominance varied in different areas. Thus, the first essential methodological shift was not to leave any unexplored areas, because in the present-day Republic of Lithuania, the Lithuanian language dominated the entire public discourse.

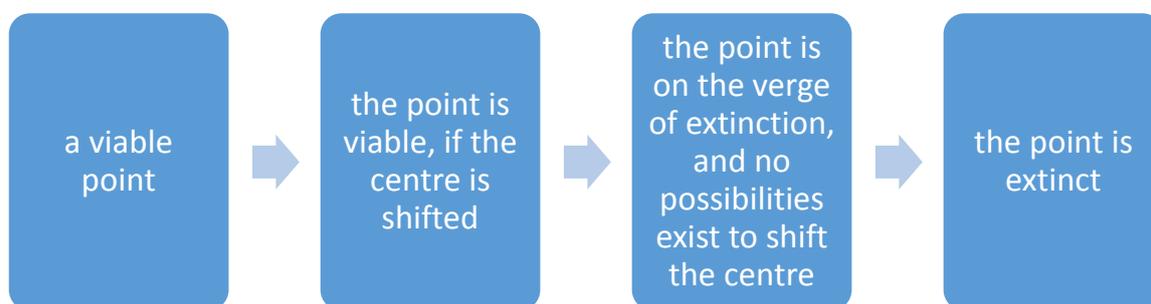
*The concept of an RVA in the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language.* From the beginning of Antanas Salys' scholarly works, an RVA was perceived as a composite unit. Although the name was assigned to a single administrative unit, such as a village / settlement / town / city, linguistically identical and geographically close localities tended to adjoin it (see the structure of an RVA in Fig. 2).



**Figure 2.** An example of Tirkšliai RVA (quoted in Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė, 2014: 117)

It should be noted that the demographic potential, the socio-economic attractiveness and the role of the settlements within a specific region were the variables which depended on several factors. The existing network of the RVAs remained as if "having frozen" the situation of the 1950s and 1960s. In 2011, when the network monitoring began, the fact of the socio-demographic evolution of the settlements was clearly confirmed. Therefore, a scale was developed to define the viability of specific RVAs (see Fig 3). At the extreme ends of the scale were the obviously viable and the obviously extinct RVAs, with two transitional stages between them: (1) the RVAs within which the weights of social values had redistributed and the areas therefore remained viable with only the centre shifting to another settlement in the broadest sense, and (2) the areas where the demographic development was clearly negative, and therefore not only had the centre weakened but the area also lacked a peripheral element which could

take over dominance. In other words, a certain minor variety of a dialect either had a consistent continuity or not.



**Figure 3.** RVAs viability levels

The RVA review showed that, based on the data of 2014, 68 percent of the Žemaitian and 73 percent of the Aukštaitian RVAs were considered to be viable, i.e. boasting positive development trends. Those were the areas where a natural generation change was observed and major socio-economic and cultural needs were being met. Most importantly, the majority of these RVAs retained the same administrative centres. Regarding the subdialects the viability of which was maintained by changing the centre of the RVA, greater dynamics was observed in the western part of Lithuania, in Žemaitija: social and cultural weight shifted to another place nearby in 22 percent of the viable RVAs. In Aukštaitija, the figure amounted to a little over 12 percent. One of the reasons for such difference may be the fact that smaller administrative units were predominant in Žemaitija, whereas seven out of ten large Lithuanian towns were located in Aukštaitija (only two in Žemaitija, with Šiauliai not assigned to any of the dialect areas because of the dividing line passing through it). The greater dynamics of social weight was characteristic specifically of smaller administrative units: schools, post offices, or institutions providing medical services where several smaller villages were often merged. However, the viability of an RVA cannot be directly equated with its dialectal viability.

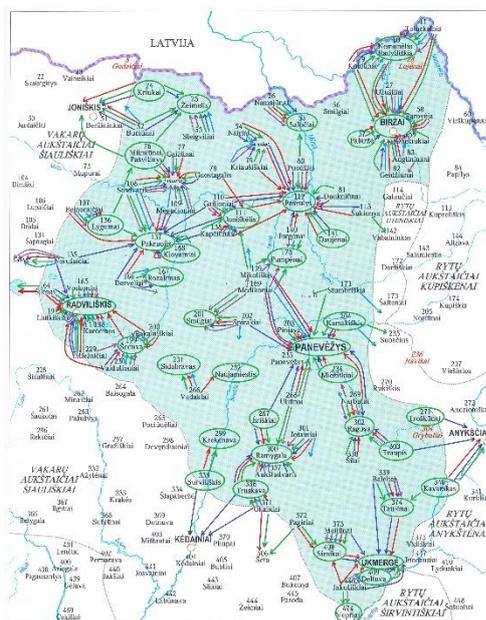
*The (dialectal) viability of the RVA.* During the monitoring of the RVAs of the ALL, four possible stages of the RVA viability were identified. Dialectal speech is usually associated with a sedentary population group concentrated in one relatively defined area (see, e.g., the definition developed by David Crystal and published online at Encyclopedia Britannica at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/dialect>). Consequently, more intensive migration and mixing of populations of different origins have a significant impact on the traditional (sub)dialects. Thus, in assessing the dialectal viability of the RVAs, the number of local people in a given area was also taken into consideration. It turned out that in some areas, mostly distinguished by their recreational attractiveness, people who had come from elsewhere and

acquired properties and land predominated. They usually stayed for a longer time during the holiday season or came only on weekends. Although a certain population of "indigenous" people was formed this way, it was completely ineffective from a dialectal point of view. Those seasonal "natives" usually brought the needed supplies from their permanent residences; in other words, they almost did not take part in the social life of the area, did not affect the language of the locals, who were already scarce in numbers, and did not experience the effect of the local language variety themselves.

One significant historical exception is the so-called Klaipėda Region, which, after the end of the First World War in 1919, was separated from Germany and handed over to the rule of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Although the coastal territory was officially connected to Lithuania in 1923, it existed as a separate administrative element until 1939. The region stood out due to the dual composition of its population: the Lithuanians and the Germans lived there side by side. This dichotomy formed both the unique dialect of the local population, i.e. the so-called Western Žemaitian, and a distinctive self-image: the local Lithuanians preferred to call themselves Klaipėdians, the residents of Klaipėda, thus emphasising the linguistic and religious (with Protestantism as the majority faith) differences from the representatives of other Lithuanian regions. The situation changed dramatically after the Second World War, when most Germans had to leave their homes and move out. Nastazija Kairiūkštytė, who researched the population of Klaipėda Region, identified four newly formed groups: 1) a small group of local residents; 2) a small group of repatriates (also old residents); 3) newcomers from other areas of the USSR; and 4) the largest group of emigrants from other parts of Lithuania (Kairiūkštytė 1995: 350–352). Thus, an extremely ethnically mixed population was formed in the post-war period. Moreover, some of its members did not speak the traditional Western Žemaitian dialect. Due to increasing assimilation and the indigenous local residents passing away, the subdialect became inevitably less used. As witnessed by the findings of the historical research, "most of the older generation of indigenous residents <...> spoke to each other in the dialect of the region <...>, but those born after the war hardly used that dialect", although some of them knew it (for more details see Kraniauskienė, Pocytė, Leiserowitz, Šutinienė 2019: 397).

Another aspect of the RVA's potential to preserve the vernacular was the intensity of the socio-economic networks. In evaluating the RVA and its linguistic identity, much attention was paid to the analysis of contacts. It was important to find out how local people met their socio-economic needs, in other words, to establish the extent of contacts with other settlements and whether those settlements belonged to the same dialectal area. It was clear that intensive contacts with the economically / culturally stronger administrative units, representing other local language varieties, inevitably led to changes in the original local variety. Therefore, in the

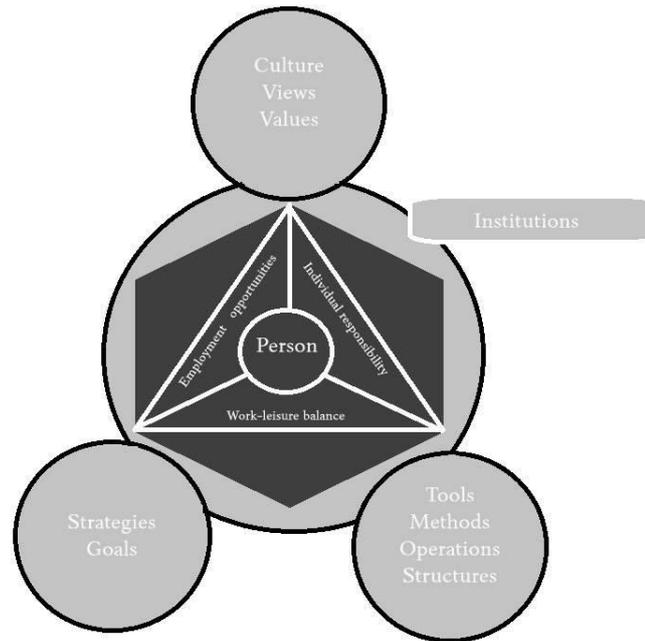
long run, a promising trend of drawing maps of the socio-cultural networks emerged (see an example of such a map in Fig. 4).



**Figure 4.** A map of socio-cultural networks of Panevėžys inhabitants, prepared by Agnė Čepaitienė (quoted in Čepaitienė 2016: 142)

During the discussion on the RVA viability, another opposition was revealed. In terms of the number of dialect speakers, consistent generational change, and the social weight as well as prestige, it proved productive to divide all traditional dialects into strong and weak ones. Under competitive relationships, the weak subdialects tended to take over the features of the strong ones quite easily.

The introduction of social variables inevitably led to the links with the social sciences and considerations of the cultural and identity sustainability of regions. In order to maintain and strengthen it, additional, non-linguistic variables needed to be introduced which could enhance the prestige of the individual regions and promote the viability of local language varieties. The study of regional identity and sustainability was based on a sustainable human governance model, developed on the basis of Zaugg research. In that model, the fulfilment of various needs of an individual played an important role as a guarantee that the region would be able to keep the current residents and attract new ones (for more details see Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 182–184).



**Figure 5.** The model of sustainable human governance in a region (based on Zaugg, Thom 2001)

***The concept of respondent and its transformation.*** Due to the changes in the national, linguistic, and demographic situation in Lithuania, the respondents also naturally changed. In addition, the attitude towards the dialect has changed fundamentally.

During the preparation of the *ALL*, a dialect was perceived as a separate and, in a sense, isolated linguistic system, the changes in which were equated with extinction. Thus, respondents were sought whose dialects would have been affected as little as possible by other language systems. Consequently, the NORM (non-mobile older rural male) criterion was used. However, such static perception of a dialect was rather limited. First of all, it reflected only the language variety used by a relatively small group of population and therefore pre-determined the results to be obtained. Of course, such research is also valuable but it is important to define the goals of the research and the material to be collected. If the oldest possible dialect is sought, it is worth looking for representatives of the older generation who travelled little, were married to a person of the same dialect, had received little formal education, and preferably did not speak other languages. In case the researcher was interested in the current situation, the change in dialectal features, their mixing, and the results of the dialectal code competition, younger respondents (representatives of the middle-aged or younger generation) were needed (for more details see Kardelis 2013: 29). Therefore, it was only natural that, when revising the network of the RVAs of the *ALL* and their viability, it was very relevant to capture the data of all

generations, all social strata and, if possible, all varieties of traditional local languages. With that goal in mind, the data was naturally collected from a wider range of respondents: the younger (under 30), middle-aged (31-49), and older (50 and over) generations were interviewed. The rural areas were extremely difficult when trying to talk to the younger generation – these areas were usually populated with older people who had stayed there while others moved to the socio-economic centres of attraction (larger administrative units) seeking a better quality of life. Moreover, children were excluded from the study field. Although some researchers considered children to be unsuitable respondents due to their language skills being underdeveloped (for more details see Thomas Ballmer's opinion: Chelliah, Reuse 2011: 168), in the present research, children were excluded mainly for legal reasons (to record a child's speech, a written consent from the parent or guardians was required).

During the interviews, great attention was paid to the description of the respondent's nationality, education, mobility, and attitudes towards dialectal speech. It is worth mentioning that, when describing the respondents, their nationality was evaluated from two angles – the official one (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, etc.) and the one the respondents themselves identified with. In the latter case, the list of possible options would expand, as it could also include regional affiliation (an Aukštaitian, a Žemaitian, a Sudovian, etc.). This particular variable was directly linked to the attitude towards dialectal speech in general: the relationship with the local language variety tended to be more positive in the case of individuals whose identification with the ethnographic region was more positive (Balčiūnienė, Meiliūnaitė, Rinkauskienė 2019: 216, 242).

As observed, the linguistic characteristics and inclinations of different generations were significantly different. In a collective portrait of an older generation respondent, the following features stood out: little formal schooling, low migration (mostly within the local region area), and mostly engaged in agricultural activities or crafts, with intellectual occupations relatively rare. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the middle-aged generation was a relatively high level of education; they were frequently engaged in intellectual or similar activities and boasted considerable mobility experience. Another distinct feature of this generation was the fact it had matured with the dominance of Standard Lithuanian in all public domains and it therefore usually experienced the convergence and alignment of dialectal features with Standard Lithuanian. Naturally, people of this age bracket were most active in the formation of new, regional constructs, i.e. regiolects. The language of the respondents of the young generation was probably the most variegated. It was relatively difficult to summarise: certain parallel language varieties were discovered, displaying the distinct dominant features of the local dialect combined with the ones where the local dialect was reflected only by faint features.

Perhaps the greatest influence on such an arrangement of generations was exerted by the Soviet system of education, which made the middle-aged generation form the notion that dialectal speech was beyond the normative language and should therefore be seen as a secondary, often avoidable, variety of the language. The dialectal inclinations of the younger generation were also shaped by the fact that grandchildren socialised with their grandparents for relatively long periods of time, with grandparents providing childcare when parents went to work. This way the older generation passed on the characteristics of their language, often rich in dialectal features, to their grandchildren.

The main conclusions drawn after the monitoring of the RVA network identified in the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* are as follows:

1. Upon revision of the RVAs identified in the *ALL* and evaluation of their prospects, it can be concluded that about 70% of the traditional RVAs have positive prospects for further development in both Žemaitija and Aukštaitija. Strengthening these prospects requires a conscious action from local authorities in promoting the socio-economic attractiveness of the region and enhancing the prestige of the local identity.

2. In an effort to determine the strength of dialectal speech between the respondents of different generations, the representatives of the middle-aged generation (31–49 years old during the monitoring process) were found to display the most pronounced convergence of dialectal speech and normative language. This contributed significantly to the formation of larger regional constructs, i.e. regiolects.

3. Although the individual RVAs might have been relatively homogeneous in terms of the local population, and simultaneously in terms of the spoken local language variety, the linguistic picture of the total territory of Lithuania is generally quite diverse. Better education and greater opportunities for mobility led to the expansion of dialectal areas and the formation of larger constructs – regiolects and geolects.

4. Due to the change in how a dialect was being viewed, currently seeing it as an open rather than closed language system, the dialectological research started including aspects of sociolinguistics and social sciences, which were directly related to the sustainability of the regional linguistic and cultural identity.

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**METHODOLOGICAL DIVERSITY AND COMPLEXITY IN  
COMPARATIVE EXPERIMENTAL SOUND RESEARCH**  
*METODOLOGIJŲ ĮVAIROVĖ IR SUDĖTINGUMAS LYGINAMUOSIUOSE  
EKSPERIMENTINIUOSE GARSŲ TYRIMUOSE*

**Abstract**

This article discusses the complexity and importance of methodological diversity in the comparative experimental research conducted over the past five years on the sounds of the contemporary standard Baltic languages. Some of the most recent non-comparative studies on the sounds of Standard Lithuanian are also considered. In addition, significant comparative instrumental studies in the field of the Lithuanian dialectology are reviewed to highlight the main methodological trends, benefits, and challenges to consider.

The material, methods and goals of comparative studies vary: the peculiarities of methodological issues and the complexity of experimental research depend on the aims and the scope of the study. This is important in a number of ways: when comparing the selected results (data) and material of different languages or different (sub)dialects; developing new terminology; looking for opportunities to apply the International Phonetic Alphabet to the sounds of the Lithuanian dialects; providing the vowel and consonant classifications based on different methodologies; identifying the need for further theoretical perspectives, innovative methods and research aspects; setting new goals; updating the practical benefits and requirements of such experimental studies as well as the availability of audio recordings on national and international level, while considering the rapidly changing technologies and accessibility of the sound research (results, records) on the internet for creating advanced digital resources and databases as well as the artificial intelligence tools.

**KEYWORDS:** Standard Lithuanian, Lithuanian dialects, dialectology, experimental phonetics, phonology, sound, phoneme, vowel, consonant, pitch accent.

**Anotacija**

Straipsnyje, aptariant naujausius fundamentinius lyginamuosius dabartinių bendrinių baltų kalbų garsyno ir koartikuliacijos instrumentinius tyrimus, nepamirštant ir nelyginamųjų darbų – naujų reikšmingų instrumentinių bendrinės lietuvių kalbos balsių ir garsų sąveikos tyrimų, glaustai nagrinėjama metodologijos įvairovė, tam tikros metodikos pasirinkimo niuansai ir eksperimentinio tyrimo sudėtingumo priežastys pastaruosius dešimt metų. Taip pat apžvelgiami svarbūs lyginamieji lietuvių tarmių garsyno (prozodijos elementų) instrumentiniai tyrimai, dėmesį kreipiant į jų reikšmę, metodologinius ypatumus ir tolesnes perspektyvas.

Tiriamosios medžiagos ir metodikos bei tikslų ir uždavinių lyginamiesiems instrumentiniams tyrimams pagrindimas ir pasirinkimas įvairuoja – tai itin susiję su tyrimo apimtimi ir specifika, lyginamųjų kalbų ar tarmių inventoriumi ir funkcinio relevantiškumo teorijomis, galimybėmis rinktis ir naudotis naujausiomis kompiuterinėmis garsų analizės ir statistikos programomis, teikiama praktine nauda ir pan. Abejonių nekelia, kad lyginamieji garsų tyrimai, preciziškai taikant objektyvius instrumentinius ir statistinius metodus, itin pravartūs lyginant skirtingas kalbas ar (pa)tarmes, mokant(i)s tų lyginamųjų kalbų ar tarmių, analizuojant tarties įvairovę, pritaikomumą medicinoje, kuriant (įtvirtinant) terminus, renkantis tarptautinius fonetinės abėcėlės atitikmenis fonemų alofonams, pagal pasirinktus kriterijus skirstant skirtingų kalbų ar (pa)tarmių garsyno inventorius ir t. t. Kalbamieji lyginamojo pobūdžio tyrimai itin vertingi numatant pažangesnes teorines ir metodologines perspektyvas ir naujų pažangių metodų poreikį bei naudą, naujų tyrimo aspektų svarbą, galimą praktinę naudą, tyrimų medžiagos ir įrašų prieinamumą ir pasiekiamumą sparčiai besikeičiančiame technologijų amžiuje nacionaliniu ir tarptautiniu lygiu, praktinį pritaikomumą tiriant tarties variantiškumą ir kuriant elektroninius išteklius (pvz., tarmynus, rekomenduojamas pavyzdinės tarties ir kalbų mokymo, garsų atpažinimo priemonės, baltų kalbų ir tarmių susistemintų garso įrašų bazes ir kitokias priemones internete tolesniems moksliniams ir kitokiems aktualiems tyrimams) akademinėi bendruomenei ir plačiajai visuomenei.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** bendrinė lietuvių kalba, lietuvių tarmės, dialektologija, eksperimentinė fonetika, fonologija, garsas, fonema, balsis, priebalsis, priegaidė.

## INTRODUCTION

The last decade in the Lithuanian linguistics can be characterised by the selection of material and the choice of modern instrumental and statistical methods as well as the scope and goals of comparative experimental sound research, according to the objectives and the complexity of the study.

One of the main aims of this paper is to review the methodological diversity, challenges and the most important trends in the comparative experimental research on the sounds of the standard Baltic languages. The second goal is to overview the most significant comparative instrumental studies in the field of the Lithuanian dialectology – they are discussed to highlight the methodological peculiarities in order to identify any requirements for further research, to set new goals, etc. To provide an even broader perspective, some of the recent non-comparative instrumental studies of the Lithuanian sounds are also considered.

In every language or dialect its native (dialect) speakers are best capable of identifying with hearing and perception of the functionally relevant elements of that language or dialect. In fact, in all the cases described in this article, the Lithuanian researchers of the experimental studies are native speakers who are specialising in experimental phonetics and/or dialectology as well as geolinguistics. They are also investigating and comparing the sound systems and other features of the contemporary Baltic languages or the Lithuanian (sub)dialects.

Accordingly, the Latvian vowels and consonants were investigated by native Latvian phoneticians.

The practical benefits of such studies and the availability of audio recordings should be highlighted, considering the importance of assisted language learning, the examination of standard language norms, recommendations, pronunciation tendencies, the importance in medicine, developing tools and instruments for language technology and artificial intelligence, innovations and perspectives of theories and methods.

## **FUNDAMENTAL COMPARATIVE RESEARCH OF VOWELS AND CONSONANTS IN STANDARD BALTIC LANGUAGES**

The Lithuanian and Latvian languages belong to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European language family, the group of the Eastern Baltic languages. Throughout many years the languages have not evolved in the same manner, therefore, alongside the similarities between these languages, substantial differences have also developed, determining or able to determine the existence of different phonemic inventories. For example, nowadays each contemporary Baltic language has the opposition of long and short vowels, an abundance of diphthongs, a system of pitch accent, etc. However, while Latvian has a fixed stress, a large subsystem of palatal consonants, the Lithuanian language displays a variable stress, secondary palatalization and the phonological opposition of palatalised and non-palatalised consonants. This kind of opposition between the palatalised and non-palatalised consonants as well as a developed system of pitch accent within the same language, is typologically rare nowadays. The Lithuanian language is therefore considered the most archaic language which has the least changed structure of all the living Indo-European languages (cf. Endzelynas 1957; Bonfante 2008; Poliakovas 2008; Stundžia 2014; Dini 2019; Jaroslavienė, Urbanavičienė, Grigorjevs, Indričane 2019; Gelumbeckaitė & Pakerys 2020; etc.).

Over the past few years, several modern comparative studies into the sounds of standard Baltic languages appeared in the Baltic linguistics and were based on similar principles as well as the experimental and statistical methods. Two of such studies are considered to be fundamental (published in 2019): two collective scientific monographs *Baltų kalbų garsynas XXI a. pradžioje: Balsių ir garsų sąveikos instrumentinis tyrimas* [Sounds of the Baltic Languages in Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century: An Instrumental Study on Interaction of Vowels and Sounds] and *Baltų kalbų garsynas XXI a. pradžioje: Priebalsių instrumentinis tyrimas* [Sounds of the Baltic Languages in Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century: An Instrumental Study of Consonants] were published with available records by the native Lithuanian and Latvian phoneticians Jurgita Jaroslavienė, Jolita Urbanavičienė, Juris Grigorjevs, Inese Indričane on the [website](#) of the Institute of the

Lithuanian Language (see Jaroslaviėnė, Urbanaviėienė, Grigorjevs, Indriėėnė 2019 and Urbanaviėienė, Indriėėnė, Jaroslaviėnė, Grigorjevs 2019; also see the following related publications in Lithuanian, Latvian or English: (vowels) Grigorjevs, Jaroslaviėnė 2015a; 2015b; (consonants) Indriėėnė, Urbanaviėienė 2015a; 2015b; 2017; (consonants) Urbanaviėienė, Indriėėnė 2016a; 2016b; (vowels) Jaroslaviėnė 2017; (consonants) Urbanaviėienė 2019; etc.<sup>1</sup>).

Extensive empirical material of the above-mentioned fundamental comparative monographs (and the above-mentioned related comparative publications) consisted of recordings of native speakers with flawless pronunciation adhering to the norms of Standard Lithuanian or Standard Latvian. The acoustic characteristics of the Lithuanian and the Latvian sound systems were investigated simultaneously using the same methods and equipment which allowed a reliable comparison of phonetic inventories of both languages. Analysis of the sounds of Standard Lithuanian and Standard Latvian was mostly performed by using the same free-license sound processing and analysis software program *PRAAT* developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink. The material for research of sounds was recorded using the same digital high-resolution audio recorders and head-set microphones.

Vowels produced in zero context #V#<sup>2</sup> and (a)symmetric CVC, CVCV syllables as well as the prevocalic consonants<sup>3</sup> were read 3–5 times by 12 Lithuanian and 12 Latvian native speakers: 6 male and 6 female in each of the groups, aged 20–50 years. All participants had faultless articulation, their pronunciation met the norms of Standard Lithuanian/Standard Latvian. The standard language was considered as a standardised variety of language, used for the purpose of public life and culture<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Also compare earlier provided comparative experimental research by Lidija Kauėėnienė (2010; 2012; etc.) on the vowels of the standard Baltic languages (for more references, see Jaroslaviėnė 2019 and in above-mentioned fundamental collective monographs).

<sup>2</sup> In the publications, the need to record, study and compare the spectral structure and quantity of the Lithuanian and the corresponding Latvian vowels produced in zero context using the same research methods, was explained as follows: the vowels produced in zero context (in isolation) have not yet been studied and compared using the same methods and equipment which would permit a reliable comparison of phonetic inventories (quality similarities and differences) of both languages. Besides, a comparison of the spectral characteristics of the isolated Lithuanian and Latvian vowels will create a base for further comparative research of the sounds (particularly the allophonic variation of the phonemes because the qualitative variations of vowels depend on the adjacent sounds and other factors) in both contemporary Baltic languages. It might provide an opportunity to find out if analysing isolated vowels may allow to define universal distinctive acoustic features, i.e. the information, which might be important for the description of the sound system of any language (Grigorjevs, Jaroslaviėnė 2015a; Jaroslaviėnė, Urbanaviėienė, Grigorjevs, Indriėėnė 2019; etc.).

<sup>3</sup> The Lithuanian and Latvian consonants were analysed in prevocalic positions (compare spectrograms in Fig. 1–4), in isolated sequences of CVC type, where C stands for a Lithuanian or Latvian consonant and V stands for a short or a long Lithuanian or Latvian vowel.

<sup>4</sup> All the informants speak not only the standard language, but also one or more dialects and foreign languages. For more information about the Lithuanian regional variation, language norms, standard language and other related questions see in the following scientific and applied or popular studies: Mikulėnienė et al. 2014; 2019; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė, Ćėpaitienė, Gerėotaitė 2017; Kazlauskienė 2018; Miliūnaitė 2018; 2019; Dini 2019; Gelumbeckaitė, Pakerys 2020; etc.

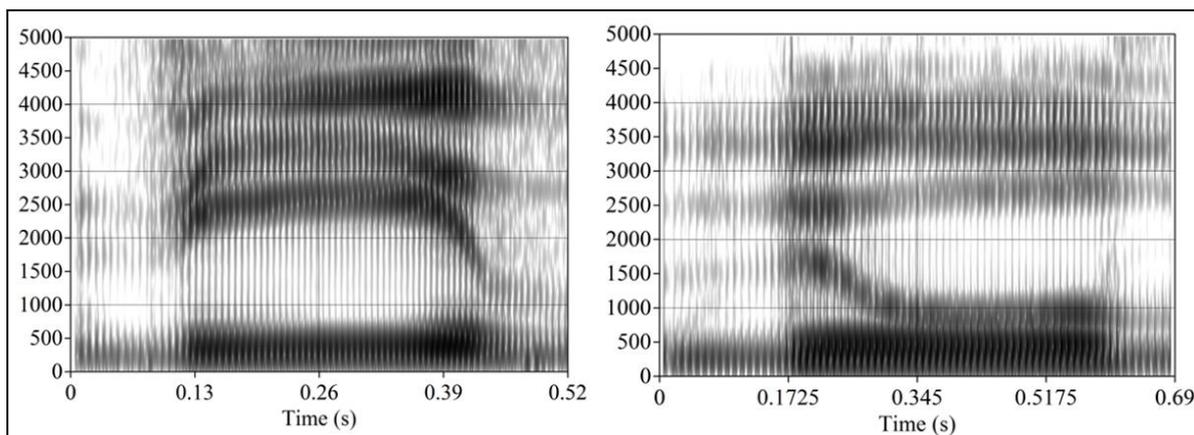
One of the challenges while preparing the material for the comparative sound research was the fact that Standard Lithuanian and Standard Latvian each have a different number of consonants: the Lithuanian language has 45 consonantal phonemes (because of palatalization), while Latvian consists of 26 consonant phonemes.

In order to examine the quantitative and qualitative similarities and differences of short and long vowels, the results were analysed and compared based on different aspects. For example, to study the qualitative vocalic features, the purest excerpt (steady state) of the Lithuanian and Latvian vowels was measured to determine the frequency values (in Hertz) of the first four formants, the fundamental frequency (in Hertz) and the duration (in milliseconds). *MS Excel* was used for further evaluation of the experimental data: for example, the statistical means (in barks or Hertz), the standard deviation (in Hertz), the coefficient of variation (in %), the confidence intervals (in Hertz), and the range of lowest and highest values (in Hertz) were calculated. Also, the values of the effective second formant (in bark units) were determined by a formula proposed by Bladon and Fant (1978). Its calculations include not only the frequencies of the first two formants, which generally determine the main acoustic characteristics of vowels, but also the frequencies of the third and the fourth formants and the fundamental frequency. Also, it is assumed that a psycho-physical representation of the vowel systems considers the peculiarities of human hearing better (cf. Grigorjevs 2013; Iivonen 1987).

In total, approx. 50,000 segments (units) were analysed for studying vowels, consonants and the phenomena of coarticulation in standard Baltic languages. Mean value was calculated as the average of all realizations of the sound<sup>5</sup>. For the spectral analysis of the Lithuanian and Latvian sonorants, as in the case of vowels, the first step was to obtain greyscale spectrograms for the segments under study (with the max. frequency of the 5000 Hz, cf. Fig. 1–4). For each sonorant the following were measured: the formants in the steady state (the middle part) (in Hz),  $C \rightarrow V$  transition, i.e. the onset frequency and the middle frequency of the second formant of the consonant and its adjacent vowel as well as its dynamics, and other values.

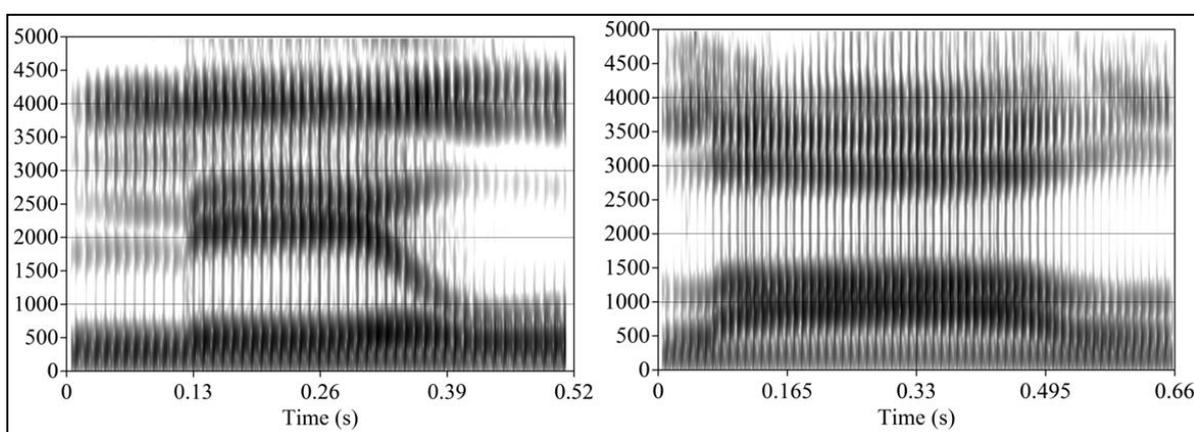
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<sup>5</sup> To achieve statistical reliability, the data was obtained by summing up all realizations of the sound (from all speakers). The quantity or qualitative features of each sound in each language were measured no fewer than 30 times.



**Figure 1.** [ʊ̯i̯ʊ̯] pronounced by Lithuanian

**Figure 2.** [ʊ̯u̯ʊ̯] pronounced by Lithuanian

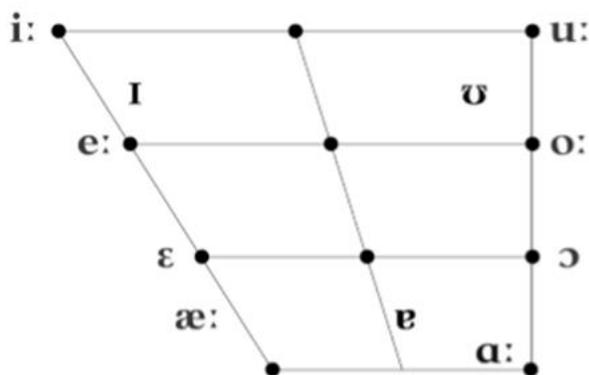


**Figure 3.** [l̯e̯:l̯] pronounced by Lithuanian

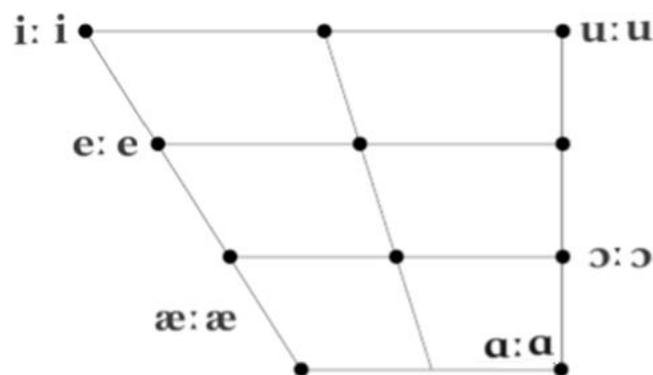
**Figure 4.** [l̯ɑ̯:l̯] pronounced by Lithuanian

One of the main objectives of such comparative sound studies (based on the results of the two fundamental monographs mentioned earlier and some other related publications) was to describe on the same principles and with the same methods the spectral characteristics of the Lithuanian and Latvian vowels and consonants and to compare their main distinctive features. Another important task was to explain the choice of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) equivalents for the Lithuanian and Latvian phonemes showing similarities and differences of common vowel and consonant classifications of both standard languages. It is well known that the IPA system is very useful in comparative linguistics: it is an internationally recognised set of phonetic symbols designed to represent and analyse the sounds of any language in the world through the articulatory features of the sounds they represent (IPA 2015). And so it was important to check and discuss the choice of the IPA equivalents for the Lithuanian and Latvian vowels and consonants and show the main differences of the IPA equivalents of both contemporary Baltic languages. To see the exact IPA equivalents which were chosen to use for

the Standard Lithuanian and Standard Latvian vowels produced in zero context, compare the following Fig. 5 and 6.



**Figure 5.** The IPA symbols used for the monophthongs of Standard Lithuanian



**Figure 6.** The IPA symbols used for the monophthongs of Standard Latvian

The comparative analysis shows that different IPA symbol equivalents for some similar monophthongs of the contemporary Baltic languages have been chosen not accidentally but because of closely related and quite different acoustic qualities as well as not identical production and auditory features of vowels (for example, especially Lithuanian [ɔ: ɪ ɛ ɐ ʊ] and corresponding Latvian [ɔ: ɪ æ ɑ u] are produced quite differently). If produced in zero context, the Latvian short monophthongs tend to have the same or very close acoustic quality as the corresponding long monophthongs, while the Lithuanian short monophthongs display the effect of the acoustic centralization, if compared with the corresponding long ones<sup>6</sup>.

The classification of the Lithuanian and Latvian consonants according the IPA in the recent comparative papers (for example, see Urbanavičienė, Indričāne, Jaroslavienė, Grigorjevs 2019) is based upon the articulatory features of consonants which are grouped according to three main criteria: 1) voicing; 2) manner of articulation; and 3) place of articulation. To describe the system of consonants in Lithuanian, these three criteria are not sufficient and an additional criterion is needed: 4) palatalization, which distinguishes the palatalised and non-palatalised consonant phonemes (the palatalised Lithuanian consonants, following the conventions of the IPA, are represented by adding to the symbol of a consonant a modifying symbol, a superscript symbol for palatal approximant *j*, for example /b<sup>j</sup>/, /p<sup>j</sup>/). Problematic

<sup>6</sup> One more challenge was to show similarities and differences of common vowel and consonant classifications of both Baltic languages when describing phonological interpretation of the Lithuanian /iɛ uɔ/ and /e/; also cf. functional and articulatory interpretation of /ɐ/ and various Lithuanian and Latvian consonants in the following studies: Jaroslavienė, Urbanavičienė, Grigorjevs, Indričāne 2019, Urbanavičienė, Indričāne, Jaroslavienė, Grigorjevs 2019, also cf. Pakerys 2003; LG 2006; Girdenis 2009; 2014; Stundžia 2014; Grigorjevs, Jaroslavienė 2015b; Kazlauskienė 2018; also cf. Laua 1997; LVG 2013; Markus, Bonda 2014; Grigorjevs 2016; etc.

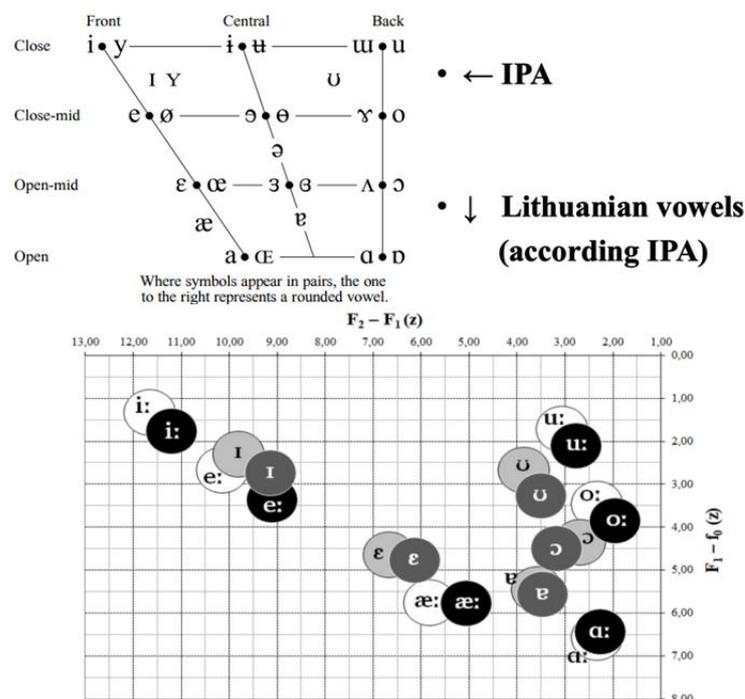
cases in the classification of the Lithuanian and Latvian consonants and variation of terms are also summarised and provided in the afore-mentioned fundamental monographs and other related publications. In order to provide a joint articulatory classification of the Lithuanian and Latvian consonants, according to the place of articulation, six groups of consonants were identified: labial, dental, alveolar, palatal, palato-velar and velar consonants. According to the manner of articulation, the consonants of both languages are divided into plosive, fricative consonants, and affricates, while sonorants are divided into frictionless continuants (approximants), nasal, lateral consonants and trills. According to voicing, the consonants of both languages can be either voiced or voiceless. The feature of palatalization is used only in the classification of the Lithuanian consonants (for this reason, the inventory of consonant phonemes of Lithuanian is almost twice as big as that of the Latvian language); in Latvian this distinction does not serve as a criterion of differentiation and does not have a phonological status.

The efficiency of the method for the classification of the Latvian and Lithuanian plosives, according to their place of articulation, was tested and the description published by researchers Indričāne and Urbanavičienė in 2015 (also see Urbanavičienė, Indričāne, Jaroslavienė, Grigorjevs 2019). The researchers concluded that by the spectral shape it is impossible to classify all the Latvian and Lithuanian plosives according to the place of their articulation. In Latvian it is possible to separate the bilabials and the dentals (diffuse flat or falling spectrum) from the palatals and the velars (compact spectrum). In Lithuanian it is possible to distinguish both the palatalised and the non-palatalised bilabials (diffuse flat spectrum) vs. the non-palatalised dentals and the voiced palatalised dental [dʲ] (diffuse falling spectrum) vs. the voiceless palatalised dental [tʲ], palato-velars and velars (compact spectrum).

The Lithuanian and Latvian obstruents, like other consonants, have been studied in the phonetic context of all short and long monophthongs of Standard Lithuanian /ɪ, ɛ, ɐ, ɔ, ʊ, i:, e:, æ:, α:, o:, u:/ and Standard Latvian /i, e, æ, α, ɔ, u, i:, e:, æ:, α:, ɔ:, u:/ (as mentioned previously in this paper, the recorded material consisted of isolated CVC syllables). The researchers Urbanavičienė and Indričāne draw attention to the fact that the Lithuanian and Latvian obstruents can be divided into two groups: the more coarticulated obstruents – labials and velars and the less coarticulated obstruents – dentals, alveolars and palatals/palato-velars. Velars are the most coarticulated obstruents in both Baltic languages whereas the Latvian palatals and the Lithuanian palato-velars are least affected by coarticulation. It can be concluded that locus equations are more useful as descriptors of coarticulation than as a method used for determining the place of articulation.

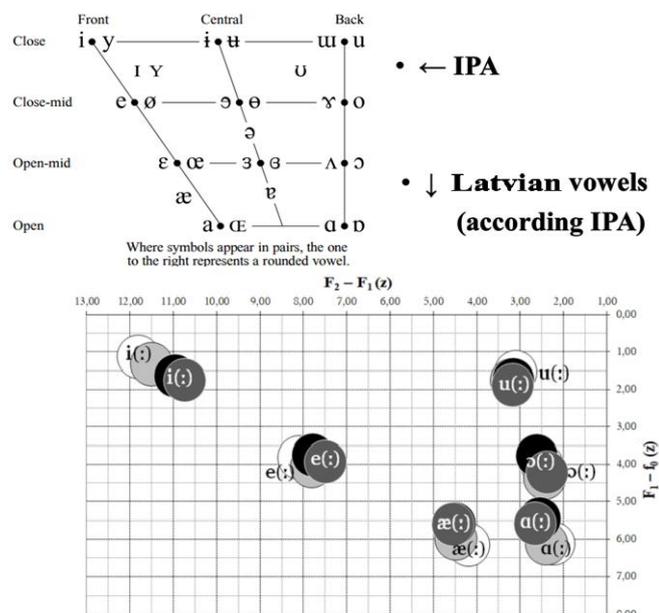
In order to characterise the Lithuanian and Latvian vowel systems and to compare the female pronunciation data to the male data, the procedure of interspeaker normalization was performed and the tonotopic distances were calculated. After the transformation to the psychophysical units and using values of tonotopic distances, the difference between the placement of the male and the female data points was reduced to a great extent. Also, the obtained data was compared to the data of previous researchers. The mean data, acquired by the phoneticians Grigorjevs and Jaroslavienė on the Lithuanian and Latvian speakers, shows similar tendencies generally corresponding to those acquired in other studies. The vowel classifications therefore follow the same pattern.

As already mentioned in this paper, it was concluded that the main differences in acoustic quality appear because of different production of the short and some long Lithuanian and corresponding Latvian vowels. To characterise the vowel systems of both contemporary Baltic languages in order to choose as accurate IPA symbol equivalents as possible, the researchers calculated the tonotopic distances between the fundamental frequency and the first formant ( $F_1-f_0$ ) and between the first and the second formant ( $F_2-F_1$ ) (cf. Fig. 7 and 8). It is well known that the first of these distances is closely related to the sound openness vs. closeness, and the second - to its frontness vs. backness (Miller 1989; Ladefoged, Maddieson 2002; etc.).



**Figure 7.** International Phonetic Alphabet chart and the mean data of the Lithuanian monophthongs plotted in the psycho-physical plane (in bark units) for normalization using tonotopic distances between  $F_2$  and  $F_1$  and between  $F_1$  and fundamental frequency  $f_0$ : *black circles represent long vowels produced by male speakers, white circles represent long vowels produced by female speakers, dark grey circles represent short vowels produced by male speakers, light grey circles represent short vowels produced by female speakers. Female data are normalised by  $k=17\%$ .*

In order to obtain a more detailed comparison of the general tendencies in the relations between the Lithuanian and the corresponding Latvian long and short monophthongs pronounced in zero context, according to the mean values of the first three formants, the following acoustic parameters were also calculated: flatness, compactness, tenseness, and graveness (see Jaroslavienė, Grigorjevs, Urbanavičienė, Indričāne 2019; also see Grigorjevs, Jaroslavienė 2015a; 2015b; Jaroslavienė 2015). The researchers draw attention to the fact that, according to the principles of the IPA system and the variable acoustic qualities and auditory features of the Lithuanian and Latvian monophthongs, national classifications (three-fold distinction by vowel height and two-fold distinction by vowels frontness or backness) differ from the articulatory international system (four-dimensional distinction by vowel height and three-dimensional distinction by vowels frontness or backness). The graphical representations highlight the peculiarities of the vowels production in similar Lithuanian and Latvian monophthongs. The largest difference in quality was observed between the Lithuanian and Latvian short vowels (the Latvian short vowels are similar in quality to their long counterparts); also, the Lithuanian [æ:], [ɛ] and [e:], [o:] are much more close and higher than the corresponding Latvian [æ:], [æ] and [e:], [ɔ:], although the relationship between the systems of long Lithuanian and corresponding long Latvian vowels as well as the systems of short Lithuanian and short Latvian vowels follow a similar pattern: vowels are categorised according to the same or similar distinctive features.



**Figure 8.** International Phonetic Alphabet chart and the mean data of the Latvian monophthongs plotted in the psycho-physical plane (in bark units) for normalization using tonotopic distances between  $F_2$  and  $F_1$  and between  $F_1$  and fundamental frequency  $f_0$ : *black circles represent long vowels produced by male speakers, white circles represent long vowels produced by female speakers, dark grey circles represent short vowels produced by male speakers, light grey circles represent short vowels produced by female speakers. Female data are normalised by  $k=21\%$ .*

The studies confirm that the registered values of relative duration support the hypotheses that the distinction between long and short Latvian monophthongs is mainly based on the relative duration, but between the long and short Lithuanian monophthongs they are based on combined cues of the formant structure and the relative duration. The duration ratio of short and long vowels both in Lithuanian and Latvian is about two. The differences in duration are reliable and statistically highly significant.

A conclusion is made in the afore-mentioned fundamental monographs and other related publications that the long and short Lithuanian [i: e: æ: ɪ ε] and the Latvian [i: e: æ: i e æ] are regarded as *front* vowels and the Lithuanian [ɑ: o: u: ɐ ɔ ʊ] as well as the corresponding Latvian [ɑ: ɔ: u: ɑ ɔ u] are regarded as *back* vowels. According to the tongue height and the varying degrees of mouth openness (the distance between the tongue and the palate), functionally, the long and short Lithuanian and Latvian have *high* ([i: u: ɪ ʊ] and [i: u: i u]), *mid* ([e: o: ɔ] and [e: ɔ: e ɔ]), and *low* ([ɑ: æ: ɐ ε] and [æ: æ ɑ: ɔ]) vowels accordingly. According to the position of the speaker's lips, the Lithuanian [o:], [u:], [ɔ], [ʊ] and Latvian [ɔ:], [u:], [ɔ], [u] are *labial* (rounded) sounds, and all the remaining vowels are *non-labial* (unrounded). The symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet for the Lithuanian and Latvian sounds were not chosen randomly but considering the acoustic and articulatory features of sounds and their functional significance as well as the attitudes toward their use, which are prevalent in the traditional Lithuanian and Latvian grammars as well as discussed in most recent works.

The researchers observed that the Lithuanian and Latvian velar and labial consonants are most sensitive to the coarticulatory effects, while the dental consonants of both languages, as well as the Latvian alveolar, palatal and the Lithuanian palatalised consonants are hardly affected by coarticulation at all. The Lithuanian voiceless alveolar consonants are more sensitive to the influence of the vowels in their phonetic environment, while the voiced alveolar consonants themselves affect the quality of the adjacent vowels.

## **NEW EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH INTO VOCALISM OF STANDARD LITHUANIAN**

In 2020, a new doctoral dissertation (an experimental study) was defended on the following topic: “Variants of vocalism in Standard Lithuanian: an experimental study of qualitative characteristics” (Ledichova 2020a; also see 2020b). The research centred around the main allophones of the long and short vowels in Standard Lithuanian resulting from the coarticulation of adjacent sounds. In order to make the results of this study more widely available to other researchers, the standardised universal International Phonetic Alphabet was used in the dissertation. The research material consists of two parts: the vowels in natural

Lithuanian words (mostly two-syllable ones), and the vowels in artificial words. According to the researcher, (2020a: 291, 292), the compilation of the artificial word list was straightforward because the accent did not need to be considered. When compiling the base of natural words, every effort was made to use the analysed vowels between consonants from the same place of articulation. The vowel quality was measured between the labial, nasal, dental, and velar consonants to identify any variation in the qualitative characteristics (considering the processes of labialization, nasalization, fronting and backing). The quality of the vowel variants in natural and artificial words was compared to the characteristics of isolated vowels which reflected extreme natural articulation. The material for the experiment was collected in Vilnius: samples included 4 native speakers (2 male, 2 female) from the Western Aukštaitian dialect area who have faultless articulation, their pronunciation met the norms of Standard Lithuanian. Each speaker read the given words 3 times. The recorded words were further analysed by using the computer software program PRAAT. The formant values of the first 4 formants of the allophones were identified, also the formant values of the onset, steady state and the end of the vowel were measured (results were rounded to 10 Hz). The acoustic parameters were calculated according to the values of first three formants. A total of more than 25,000 segments were investigated. To compare the results of the male and female pronunciation, data normalization was provided. The graphical representation was provided in both the traditional acoustic F2/F1 space (in Hertz) and the psychoacoustic space (in bark units according to the formula of Bladon and Fant (1978). Ledichova (2020: 232–240; 298–306) concludes that the qualitative characteristics of the following vowels [ɑ: o: u: ɛ ɔ ɔ̃] of Standard Lithuanian are most affected by coarticulation.

Other significant experimental studies on the Lithuanian consonants during the last decade should also be mentioned: see Leskauskaitė, Ambrazevičius 2012; Dereškevičiūtė 2013; Ambrazevičius, Leskauskaitė 2014a; 2014b; etc.

## **INSTRUMENTAL ANALYSIS OF SOUNDS IN LITHUANIAN DIALECTS**

The last researcher to review the main problems, methodological issues, and trends of instrumental investigations in the Lithuanian dialectology was Rima Bakšienė in her article “Tendencies and Problems of Instrumental Analysis of Sounds in Lithuanian Dialectology” (see Bacevičiūtė 2009) and her oral presentation “Trends and Problems of Instrumental Investigations in Lithuanian Dialectology” at the [Atlas Linguarum Europae \(ALE\) Symposium](#) (see Bakšienė 2019b). Bakšienė emphasises that the experimental research on the Lithuanian dialectal sounds intensified at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when most of the PhD students of the famous Lithuanian phonologist prof. [Aleksas Girdenis](#)

(1936–2011) were carrying out their research. As the biggest proportion of all instrumental investigations has been carried out by prof. Girdenis' students, it is possible to speak about the Lithuanian school of phonologists-instrumentalists, the representatives of which use similar methods and principles in their work. Although the number of instrumental investigations into dialects has recently decreased slightly, their popularity in the Lithuanian linguistics is still evident today. Bakšienė points out that investigations of the relevant units of vowel and the prosodic systems of the Lithuanian dialects form the largest part of the current instrumental investigations. Phonological interpretations, based on the results of experimental sound research, are the most significant feature of the Lithuanian phonology school created by prof. Girdenis. However, not all the subdialects are getting equal attention from phonologists or dialectologists instrumentalists (Bacevičiūtė 2009; Bakšienė 2019b). To reiterate, there are two main dialects in the Lithuanian language – the Aukštaitian and the Žemaitian (also known as Samogitian). These are further divided into fourteen subdialects (cf. Fig. 9).

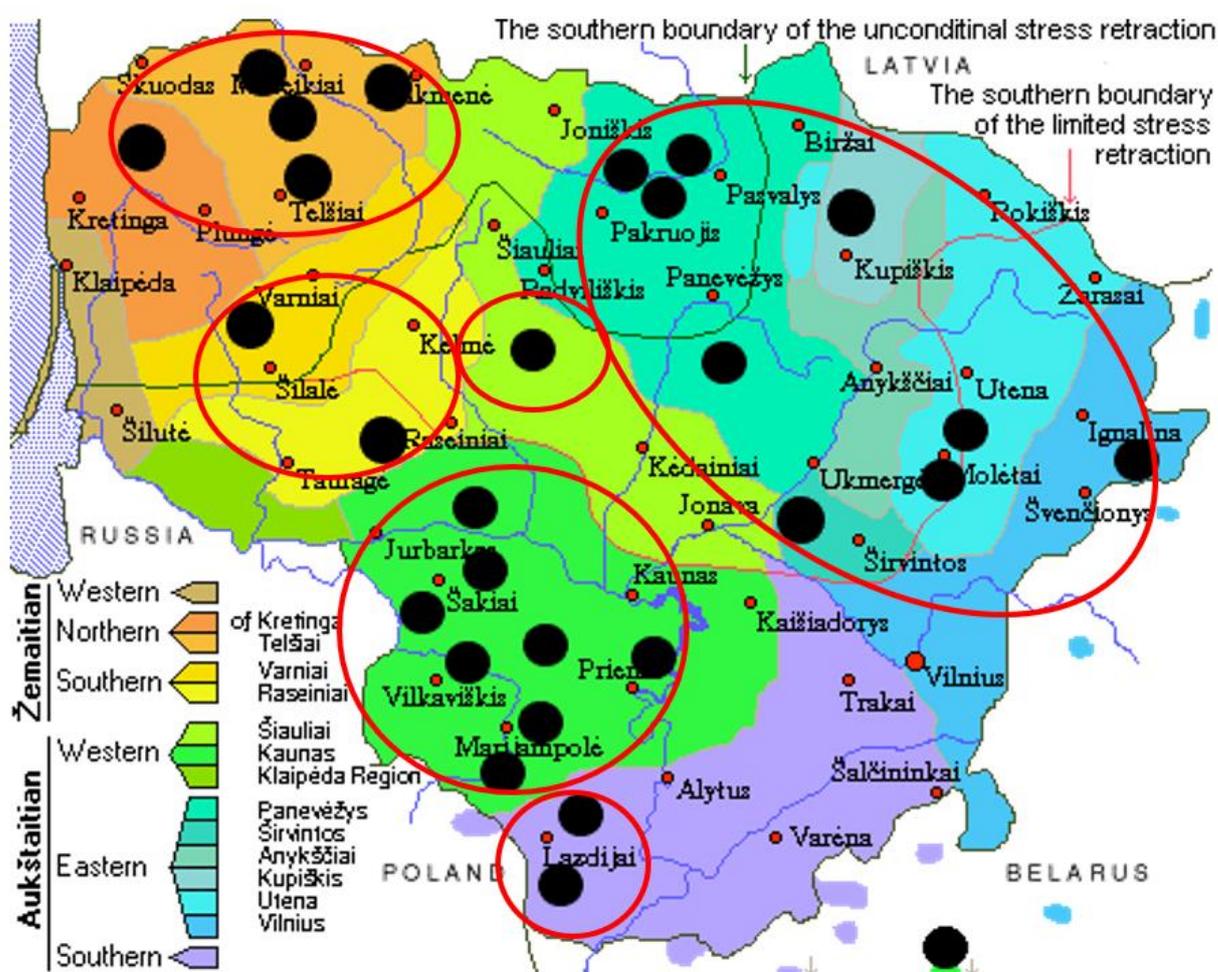


Figure 9. Geography of investigations (by Rima Bakšienė 2019b)

Over the past few years, the analytical work on the sounds of the Lithuanian subdialects is mostly performed by using the sound processing and analysis software program *PRAAT*. The description of qualitative features of vowels is usually based on the spectrum analysis on the values of frequencies of the first three or sometimes two formants and dynamics of change. It is important that other principles of analysis are also used in these studies and any differences have to be taken into consideration when comparing and interpreting the results provided by different researchers. Also, the evaluation of the qualitative features of the isolated vowels is made by comparing them with the quality of the Daniel Jones' Cardinal Vowels. The duration analysis consists of measuring the absolute duration, calculating ratios of the duration and statistical assessment of samples. The main tone (fundamental frequency) and intensity of vowels are also studied. Principles applied in the analysis of stress and pitch accents are also similar in many works: the influence of stress and pitch accent on a change in the duration, quality of vowels, features of the main tone and intensity are investigated. Almost all the authors investigate short and long vowels in the accented and unaccented positions. The acoustic features of consonants have also been investigated (Bacevičiūtė 2009; Bakšienė 2019b). In addition, the criteria for selecting informants should be considered – the speech of the oldest and most settled informants (so-called NORM criterion) was mainly considered as the object of research in traditional dialectology. The recorded material of 3–5 speakers is most frequently analysed in the works of recent years. This number is sufficient for any instrumental investigations where a socio-linguistic change is not studied (Bakšienė 2019b).

The researcher Bakšienė highlights the following problems in conducting the instrumental analysis: “difficult sound segmentation, uneven estimation of the sound terminations; differing methodologies and comparison of the research results made in different periods; calculation of absolute values but not their ratios; the relation of instrumental phonetics and phonology objects – the sound features determined with the instrumental methods cannot be considered independent phonologically, their phonologic interpretation must be based on the auditive analysis” (Bacevičiūtė 2009).

## **RECENT COMPARATIVE EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES IN LITHUANIAN DIALECTOLOGY**

Current instrumental investigations focus mostly on the relevant units of vowels and the prosodic systems of the Lithuanian dialects (Bakšienė 2019b). Bakšienė is one of the researchers who are highly interested in the prosodic peculiarities as well as the quantitative and qualitative features of sounds in some of the Lithuanian subdialects. Over the past decade the researcher has published several significant comparative experimental (and auditory) studies on the

Western Aukštaitian subdialects of Kaunas (Bakšienė 2014; 2016a; 2016b; etc.)<sup>7</sup>. One of the latest comparative research works (Bakšienė 2016a) is dedicated to the pitch accent variation in the subdialect of Marijampolė (the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas) in comparison with the pitch accents of the subdialects of Šakiai and Prienai which have been studied previously by different researchers. The main goal of the comparative study was to identify the characteristics of the pitch accent in the Marijampolė subdialect as spoken in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century and to measure the vitality of accentual opposition compared to other subdialects. The identification of the pitch accent characteristics was based on experimental (instrumental and auditory) methods of sound research; the analysis covered the parameters of length, pitch, intensity, and quality of all types of long-syllable centres – vowels (monophthongs and polyphthongs), diphthongs, and semi-diphthongs. Analysis was provided by the PRAAT software, and further calculations (average of values obtained, maximum and minimum values, percentages) were done and diagrams drawn using MS Excel (Bakšienė 2016a: 176, 177). Substantial overview of earlier studies of pitch accent in Standard Lithuanian and its dialects is also provided in the study. Bakšienė (2016a: 191–192) concludes that the “[a]nalysis of the accentual system of different subdialects of Kaunas region has shown that even though this subdialect is traditionally regarded as being closest to the standard language, it is not homogeneous in itself and has preserved deep dialectal characteristics. <...> The variance of attributes of prosodic system units on a territory limited to one subdialect once again bears testimony to the difficult evolution history of our [Lithuanian] dialects and prompts further questions about the identity, integrity, and differential attributes of dialectal units which exist in the current dialectological classification of the Lithuanian language. It is quite likely that once we examine the deep layers of all subdialects which testify to the century-old boundaries of the old tribes and ethnic groups, we should be able to chart a somewhat different map of our [Lithuanian] dialects.”

A comparative analysis on the acoustic features of monophthong tones in the Lithuanian and Latvian dialects is published by Evaldas Švageris (2015a) in his doctoral dissertation and his scientific article “Significance of correlation between the acoustic features in the Lithuanian tone distribution” (2015b) in which the researcher attempted to identify which measurable prosodic features contributed to the audible distinction of the Lithuanian syllable tones. The material for the research was collected from the Northern Žemaitian dialect of the Lithuanian language. The mathematical method applied in the study demonstrated a considerable influence

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<sup>7</sup> Also, there are several articles published on the opportunities of applying the International Phonetics Alphabet to the sounds and pitch accents in the Lithuanian dialects (cf. Bakšienė 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; Bakšienė, Čepaitienė 2017a; 2017b.).

of vowel duration on the relative pitch velocity. It was concluded that “the circumflex can be defined as a level tone with relatively slower pitch movement, and the acute, steep, rude tone with more intense tonal velocity”.

In the paper (the historical survey and the experimental investigation) on pitch accents of the monophthongs in the subdialect of Utena (the Eastern Aukštaitian) Švageris (2018) tackles the question of whether there is an acoustic basis for the pitch accent distinction in the subdialect of Utena. He concludes that there is no theoretical or experimental background for the functionality of pitch accents of long vowels in this subdialect: the prosodic system of the eastern dialects of the Aukštaitian undergoes a change towards pitch accent elimination.

A researcher Urbanavičienė investigated the prosodic features (pitch accent) in the subdialect of the Eastern Aukštaitians of Vilnius (2015).

## CONCLUSIONS

There are several fundamental comparative studies (collective monographs and other publications) on the sounds of the standard Baltic languages which use modern experimental and statistical methods and are based on the same principles. These studies employ the same set of principles to define the qualitative and quantitative attributes of the standard Lithuanian and Latvian languages and to describe studies on the interaction between vowels and consonants, highlighting the differences and similarities relevant to the research on the typology of both languages.

Investigations of the relevant units of vowel and the prosodic systems of the Lithuanian dialects form the largest part of the current instrumental investigations. Since the biggest proportion of all instrumental sound investigations has been carried out by the students of the Lithuanian phonologist prof. Aleksas Girdenis (mainly PhD students, such as Daiva Atkočaitytė (Vaišnienė), Rima Bacevičiūtė (Bakšienė), Jurgita Jaroslavienė, Genovaitė Kačiuškienė, Lidija Kaukėnienė, Rūta Kazlauskaitė, Asta Kazlauskienė, Regina Kliukienė, Asta Leskauskaitė, Violeta Meiliūnaitė, Lina Murinienė, Edmundas Trumpa, Jolita Urbanavičienė and others) at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a traditional Lithuanian school of phonologists-instrumentalists, whose work is based on similar methods and principles, should be noted. Phonological interpretations, based on the results of experimental sound research, are the most significant feature of the Lithuanian phonology school.

All studies described in this article consolidate the Lithuanian terminology of the acoustics of language or dialect, apply the methodology of instrumental sound and pitch accent research, which is in some cases new to the Lithuanian linguistics and will introduce the traditional school of the Lithuanian phonetics and phonology into the global context of

comparable research. Such experimental investigations build the foundation on which further instrumental studies of the standard Baltic languages and dialects may be continued to reveal other important aspects and perspectives. The investigations described in this article could potentially be expanded by including other positions of vowels and consonants, by considering the informant's place of birth, age, etc. Comparative experimental studies help highlight the differences and characteristics of the phonemic inventories, the prosodic features of different languages or dialects, the nuances of possible phonetic and phonological classifications, the universal distinctive features of sounds, even the peculiarities of the empirical material and the methods used in the studies, possible aims of the experimental analysis, and other aspects. New instrumental scientific and practical research could increase the Lithuanian sound methodological innovations and set clearer prospects for any future investigations.

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## INSTRUMENTAL RESEARCH INTO THE QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOCALISM VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIALECT OF ŠAKIAI

*INSTRUMENTINIS ŠAKIŲ ŠNEKTOS VOKALIZMO VARIANTŲ KOKYBINIŲ SAVYBIŲ  
TYRIMAS*

### Abstract

This article aims to analyse the more pronounced positional and combinatory vowel variants used in the subdialect of Šakiai, which is part of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas. The analysis is conducted by using instrumental methods with the following vowel positions selected for research to allow the most accurate characterisation of the different areas of the subdialect: 1) stem-accented long vowels [e:], [o:], positional length vowels [ɛ:], [æ:] and polyphthongs [ɪɛ], [ʊɔ]; 2) stem-unaccented long vowels [e:], [o:] and polyphthongs [ɪɛ], [ʊɔ]; 3) unaccented long vowels of close endings [e:], [o:]; 4) stem-accented short vowels [ɪ], [ʊ]; 5) first components of acute semi-diphthongs [æ:]R, [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R; 6) first components of circumflex semi-diphthongs [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R.

Based on the results of the instrumental research, the articulatory and acoustic characteristics of the most important variants of the Šakiai subdialect are described in more detail. The studied variants of vocalism in an unstressed position undergo a slight qualitative reduction, but most of the natural qualitative properties of vowels are preserved. A very pronounced adjustment of some vowel elements to the surrounding phonetic context was recorded. According to the preliminary research data, the combinatory vowels variants are more pronounced than the positional ones in this subdialect.

**KEYWORDS:** Lithuanian dialects, Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas, vocalism, allophone, instrumental sound analysis.

### Anotacija

Straipsnyje instrumentiniais metodais analizuojami Šakių šnektos, priklausančios vakarų aukštaičiams kauniškiams, ryškesnieji poziciniai ir kombinaciniai balsių variantai. Tyrimui pasirinktos balsių pozicijos, leidžiančios tiksliausiai charakterizuoti skirtingus kauniškių patarmės arealus: 1) kamieno kirčiuoti ilgieji balsiai [e:], [o:], padėtinio ilgumo balsiai [ɛ:], [æ:] ir polifongai [ɪɛ], [ʊɔ]; 2) kamieno nekirčiuoti ilgieji balsiai [e:], [o:] ir polifongai [ɪɛ], [ʊɔ]; 3) uždaryjū galūniū nekirčiuoti ilgieji balsiai [e:], [o:]; 4) kamieno kirčiuoti trumpieji balsiai [ɪ], [ʊ]; 5) tvirtapradžių dvigarsių pirmieji dėmenys [æ:]R, [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R; 6) tvirtagaliū dvigarsių pirmieji dėmenys [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R.

Remiantis instrumentinio tyrimo rezultatais, tiksliau apibūdinamos Šakių šnektos svarbiausiųjų variantų artikuliacinės ir akustinės charakteristikos. Nustatyta, jog tirtieji vokalizmo variantai nekirčiuotoje pozicijoje patiria nestiprią kokybinę redukciją, tačiau dauguma balsių prigimtinių kokybės savybių išsaugoma. Užfiksuotas labai ryškus kai kurių balsinių elementų savybių kitimas priklausomai nuo aplinkinio fonetinio konteksto. Pirminiais tyrimo duomenimis, šnekte ryškiau pastebimi kombinaciniai negu poziciniai tirtųjų balsių variantai.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** lietuvių tarmės, vakarų aukštaičiai kauniškiai, vokalizmas, alofonas, instrumentinė garso analizė.

**Introduction.** At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the attention of the Lithuanian dialectologists turned to the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas. Some dialectal texts from various districts were published together with their descriptions (ŠŠT 2006; GAT 2008; JAT 2013; DAT 2019), the dialectal attitudes of the speakers were analysed (Dabašinskienė, Dagilytė 2013; Bakšienė 2015; 2019; Geržotaitė, Čepaitienė 2016 etc.) applying the theory of perceptual dialectology (see Aliūkaitė etc. 2017: 31–64), and several dictionaries of the Kaunas subdialect were released (ZnŽ 2003–2006; KzRŽ 2008–2009). The phonetics of separate subdialects of Kaunas was also studied using the current instrumental sound analysis tools (Bacevičiūtė 2004; Jaroslavienė 2010; Bakšienė 2016 etc.). However, until recently the main focus of the analytical research into the sounds of the Lithuanian dialects has been solely on the basic phoneme allophones with the secondary ones often left out<sup>1</sup>. Many studies of instrumental phonetics have attempted to put the combinatory and positional variants of the vowels<sup>2</sup> aside in order to identify the most characteristic features of the basic allophones. In the fundamental works of the Lithuanian dialectology, phoneme variants are mostly described relying solely on the human ear. For instance, while arguing that many northern Lithuanian subdialects are characterised by reduction of unaccented inflexion vowels, hardly any detail is provided on which qualitative features are retained better and which tend to fade or disappear altogether. Similarly, the description of phonetic subdialects is usually limited to the statement that long vowels in unaccented inflexions are reduced to short or half-long but there is no discussion on what happens to their quality (cf. Zinkevičius 1966: 115–117; 1994: 99–101; LKT 1970: 26, 28; LKA 1982: maps No. 32, 38, 47, 48, 56, 57; LKTCh 2004: 39 etc.).

The **goal** of the article is to research the more important positional and combinatory vocalism variants of the Šakiai subdialect by using the instrumental sound analysis methods and to evaluate the change of their qualitative properties in different prosodic positions. The positions and variants of vowels selected for this research are expected to be the most significant

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<sup>1</sup> According to the theory of phonology, the basic allophone is one which has a wider and freer distribution and occupies more positions (Girdenis 2003: 71–72).

<sup>2</sup> In the article the combinatory variants are determined by the interaction of adjacent sounds, whereas the positional variants are the ones which appear due to the influence of prosodic elements (see Pakerys 2003: 35–37).

in differentiating the area of the Kaunas subdialect<sup>3</sup>, based on the phonetic features described in theoretical works.

The vocalism of the Šakiai subdialect has already been studied by instrumental methods (see Bacevičiūtė 2004: 158–199; 2005). However, as mentioned previously, only the basic allophones have been systematically analysed so far – the quality of the vowels in accented syllables in the middle of a word has been described in detail. The material of this research, on the other hand, is focused on six vowel positions: 1) stem-accented long vowels [e:], [o:]<sup>4</sup>, positional length vowels [ɛː], [æː] and polyphthongs [ɛɛ], [ɔɔ]; 2) unaccented stem long vowels [e:], [o:] and polyphthongs [ɛɛ], [ɔɔ]; 3) unaccented long vowels [e:], [o:] of closed inflexions; 4) stem-accented short vowels [ɪ], [ʊ]; 5) first components of acute semi-diphthongs [æ]R, [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R; 6) first components of circumflex semi-diphthongs [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R. The data from the dialectological sources suggests that the above-mentioned positions and the units of vocalism used in them allow researchers to most accurately describe and differentiate not only the subdialects of Kaunas, but many other Lithuanian subdialects, too. These are the deep dialectal properties, the so-called secondary and tertiary features, common in larger dialectal areas but difficult for the ordinary users to identify. These properties therefore usually remain stable during the emergence of new dialectal formations. The weak dialectal features often become the basis for the classification of large regiolects (Taedelman 2005: 233–248; for more see: Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 46–47).

Each position is illustrated with three words commonly used in the subdialect. When choosing the words, an attempt was made to have the examined vowel in the words between the voiceless consonants and in an analogous phonetic environment, the front vowels before the palatalised consonants were most often studied<sup>5</sup>, while the back vowels – in front of non-palatalised ones, and so on. Short phrases were formed containing words which were as close to the actual ones as possible. The word researched was in the middle, emphasised by a logical stress. On the advice of the informers, the phrases were arranged in random order, they were not transcribed but were written down in basic characters. Examples of such phrases are: *daug skuta tų bulvių* [peals many of those potatoes]; *ilgai puošei tą eglę* [it took you a long time to decorate that tree]; *eidavom basos tada* [we would walk barefoot then]; *gerai šertą paršą pirkau* [I bought a well-fed pig]; *jis gražaus stoto buvo* [he was a man of fine physique], etc. A set of 57

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<sup>3</sup> The analysis of the variants of the Šakiai subdialect is part of a broader study which will cover the entire Kaunas dialect. Therefore, it was important to select the units of the vowel system used in many subdialects and most accurately characterising the separate areas of the subdialect.

<sup>4</sup> The transcribed sound units in the article are presented in the IPA (see more IPA 2020). For transcription of the Lithuanian subdialect sounds in the IPA symbols, see (Bakšienė, Čepaitienė 2017; Bakšienė 2019a).

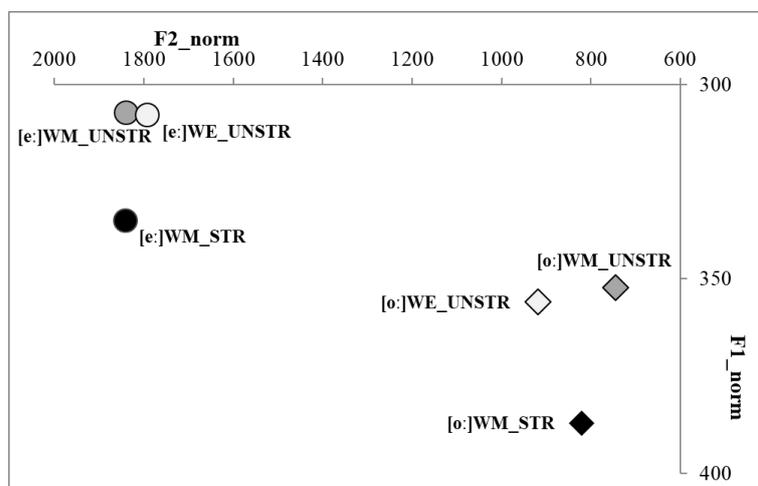
<sup>5</sup> Except for the cases needed for the research a variant of the front vowel in front of a non-palatalised consonant, e.g.: [ˈkæpɑ] ‘bakes’, [ˈkɪtas] ‘another’ etc.

phrases was compiled. The material is recorded by three male informants born and permanently living in the small town of Šakiai and the village of Lukšiai in Šakiai district. The average age of the presenters is about 58 years, they have a good command of the local subdialect and use it regularly.

The research **methodology** follows the usual steps in any instrumental work: the recorded material is transferred to the computer memory, the necessary voice segments are cut out by the computer sound processing and analysis program PRAAT and the values of the three first formants (F1, F2, F3) are measured. In most cases, the values of the formants in the middle part of the sound were calculated, considered to be the characteristic value of the formant. Only the sounds of variable articulation (vowels [ɛ̃], [æ̃] and polyphthongs [iɛ̃], [ʊɔ̃]) were divided in half and the averages of the beginning and the end of the middle part of the formants were calculated in the analogous way. In order to eliminate the individual voice characteristics of the speakers, the data of the formants was normalised as much as possible on the online vowel normalization platform NORM (Thomas, Kendall 2007) using the method of Boris Lobanov (1971) before further measurements were calculated. This is considered to be one of the most effective methods in eliminating any differences in the formants' values caused by the anatomy or physiology of the speakers. At the same time, it sufficiently preserves the qualitative properties of the vowel related to the different regional dependence of the speakers (Adank et al. 2004). Furthermore, the normalised data was processed in Excel: the summarised data on the formants of each variant under research was calculated and the vowel trapezoids corresponding to the XY chart were drawn in the third quarter of the coordinate system, placing the F2 values on the x-axis and the F1 values on the y-axis. In addition, the indices of the segments' compactness (C), diffuseness (df), tonality (T), flatness (fl) and tenseness (t) were calculated according to the methodology of Raymond Piotrovskij (1960).

**1. Variants of the [e:] and [o:] vowels.** In different morphological and accent positions, the equivalents of the vowels [e:], [o:] in the Lithuanian dialects are possible the most variable (see LKA 1982: maps No. 27, 29, 31, 33, 35–40). Although in dialectal classifications these vowels are not considered to be the main distinguishing feature, they are undoubtedly important in differentiating the Lithuanian subdialects. Researchers of modern geolinguistics believe that the pronunciation of the vowels [e:], [o:] is a weak but very stable feature that will be of the utmost importance classifying new dialectal formations (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 47). The dialectological descriptions published so far emphasise that in the Šakiai area analysed, as in almost the entire area of the Kaunas subdialect, the stressed vowels [e:] and [o:] in the word stem are pronounced very tense, close, they stand out in terms of their quality, the long duration and so on. This was also discussed in the earlier works, where these vowels were

described relying solely on the sense of hearing (LKA 1982: 44, 53) as well as in works based on the results of the instrumental research; sometimes due to their acoustic properties they are even mentioned among the high vowels (Bacevičiūtė 2004: 165–167). The pronunciation of these vowels, which is characteristic of the Kaunas subdialect, was considered a standard of quality and aspiration even for the representatives of Standard Language. However, [e:], [o:] allophones in other positions of the word have barely been studied to date. Many of the works on the Šakiai subdialect, usually based solely on hearing, are limited to the statement that in unaccented stem syllables and close inflexions<sup>6</sup> they are shortened to half-length, not mentioning their quality at all (cf. ŠŠT 2006: 17, 20; GAT 2008: 17–19).



**Figure 1.** Variants of the [e:] and [o:] vowels

The instrumental sound analysis revealed very clearly the changes not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the vowels [e:] and [o:] in different positions in the word (see Fig. 1, Table 1). The differences between the accented and unaccented vowels were most pronounced and most stable in the values of the first formant. For both

accented allophones, those values are much higher, so the vowels in this position are much more open. The values of F1 in unaccented positions do not differ much from one to another; in both cases the unaccented vowels at the end of the word (of close inflexions) seem a little more open. Therefore, in an unaccented position (in the stem and close inflexions) the qualitative reduction of the vowels [o:] and [e:] is primarily related to the vertical shift of the position of the tongue – the unaccented vowels become much more close. The values of the second formant, related to the vowel backness, tend to be less changeable in the positions researched. The unaccented vowels of the close inflexions moved more to the centre, therefore, the front [e:] in this position tends to be retracted a little, and the back [o:] tends to become advanced a little more clearly. However, the horizontal distance between the different vowel

<sup>6</sup>In the Šakiai subdialect in open inflexions, [e:], [o:] correspond to the short [ɪ], [ʊ] in open inflexions in the subdialect of Šakiai, therefore this position was not included in the research.

variants is relatively small, and the change of the properties of a vowel row in unaccented positions is much milder<sup>7</sup>.

The calculated indices also confirm the qualitative reduction of unaccented variants. The vowels of the accented and unaccented positions are most reliably differentiated by the compactness index – accented [e:] and [o:] are more compact than unaccented. This is most likely directly related to the fact that they are more open, which has already been discussed. While evaluating the allophones of unaccented positions as diffuse, it should be noted that the most diffuse of all are the unaccented vowels in the middle syllables of the word. They are also distinguished by significantly higher values of tonality indices – the front [e:] in this position has the highest timbre, whereas the back [o:] is of the greatest flatness. The latter acoustic features undoubtedly correspond to the more front/more back articulation of the variants compared to the vowel in an accented position. The tenseness indices vary; this property should not be relevant when describing the reduced variants of the vowels [e:] and [o:].

**Table 1.** Normalised data of the formants of the vowels [e:] and [o:] and qualitative indices

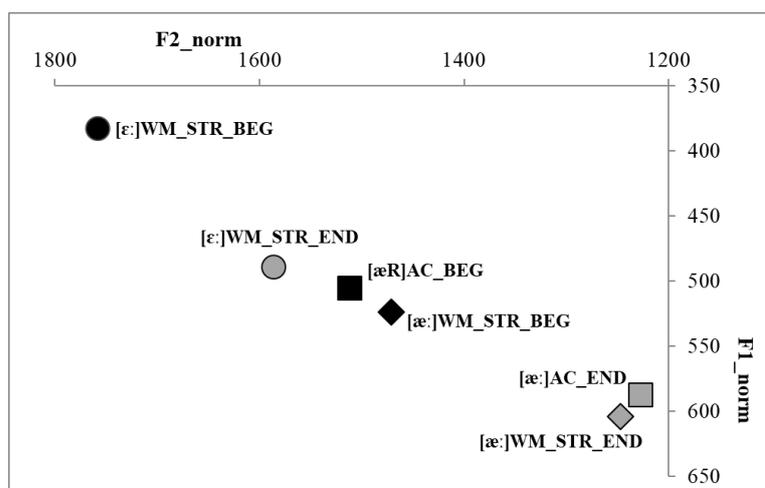
Vowel	Position	F1_norm	F2_norm	F3_norm	df	C	T	fl	t
[e:]	WM_STR	335	1841	2381	1506	763	628	109	625
	WM_UNSTR	307	1839	2440	1532	751	655	109	592
	WE_UNSTR	308	1792	2320	1484	755	653	110	664
[o:]	WM_STR	387	819	2161	794	865	-96	113	1133
	WM_UNSTR	352	746	2110	902	862	-125	114	1292
	WE_UNSTR	356	919	2100	725	838	53	113	1125

**2. Variants of the [ɛ̣] and [æ̣] vowels.** These variants are important in differentiating the areas of the Kaunas subdialect. The pronunciation of the low front vowel greatly depends on the phonetic environment of the subsequent syllable. In the central part of the subdialects of Kaunas, mostly in the area called the Zanavykai subdialect, in the position before a palatalised consonant (—Ĉ) a more close variant [ɛ̣] is usually pronounced, while before a non-palatalised (—C) it is much more open [æ̣]<sup>8</sup> (see ŠŠT 2006: 24–25; GAT 2008: 20–21). The variants are very distinct, and their differences are easily perceived both by ear and by recording with

<sup>7</sup> The fact that the quality of the vowels researched changes in a vertical direction when they become shorter in the dialect is clearly shown by the equivalents of the open inflexions: [e:], [o:] and [i], [ʊ]; besides the quantitative features, they also differ in tongue elevation, although their backness remains the same.

<sup>8</sup> In the article, while analysing the dialectal material, the positional length vowels are considered to be half-long in all positions, although in the Standard Language they are treated as long (see Pakerys 2003: 24–25). Their phonological status as long vowels is also questionable in standard speech, as they do not have the main functional properties of a long vowel – the opposition of the acute and circumflex accents (cf. Girdenis 2003: 196).

instrumental methods (see Bacevičiūtė 2004: 165–167). However, the pronunciation is not the same in the entire area of Kaunas. In the eastern part, in all cases an open [æː] is pronounced, while in the western-most subdialects, in the neighbouring Paprūsė region, there is a tendency to pronounce a narrow [ɛː] in all the cases just as in Suvalkija (LKA 1982: map No. 11; cf. Markevičienė 2001: 34–35; Senkus 2006: 65; Jaroslavienė 2010: 135). Listening to the dialectal records, it was noticed that the pronunciation of the corresponding diphthongs also varies greatly in the area of the Kaunas subdialect. Therefore, a decision was made to include it in the study as well.



**Figure 2.** Variants of vowels [ɛː] and [æː]

The articulation of the vowels [ɛː] and [æː] is very unstable, so the quality of their beginning and end was analysed separately (see Fig. 2, Table 2). It is clear from the figure that both variants studied as well as the beginning and the end of each sound are different. At the beginning of the pronunciation, all the vowels are characterised by

significantly higher F2 and lower F1, therefore, they are much more front and close, whereas at the end they are strongly retracted and open. It is a natural process that can be heard, but the accommodation of sounds is not the same in both positions. The beginning and end of the vowel [ɛː] are separated by a slightly larger vertical distance, and both [æː] variants are characterised by a more obvious horizontal shift. In addition, while listening, the variant [æː] seems to be of a much more unstable articulation, whereas the instrumental examination showed a marked shift in the articulation of both sounds. The vowel [ɛː] in — Ć position is very far from both [æː] variants at the beginning and the end. In works on dialectology, when descriptions are made only relying on listening, usually only an unequal degree of the openness of the variants discussed is indicated and it is emphasised that their end is especially different, and it directly depends on a non-palatalised or palatalised consonant. The instrumental analysis shows that they are also different by more front / more close articulation, and the difference persists throughout the duration of pronunciation. The two studied variants [æː] have become naturally closer to each other but their differences have also been recorded. The [æː] in an acute

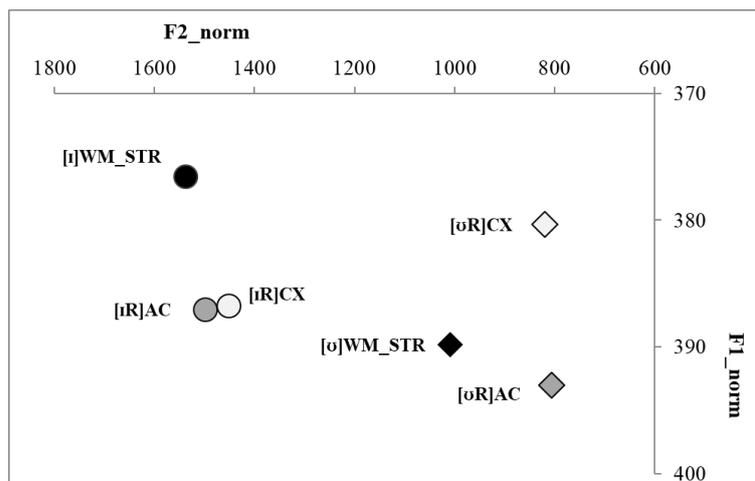
diphthong is slightly close and has a more pronounced articulation (slightly more front at the beginning and more back at the end) compared to the positional [æː].

The tendencies discussed are confirmed by the qualitative indices. The first part of all sounds is more diffuse, has a much higher timbre, the second part is more compact, the timbre is low. Most qualitative indices also show a marked change in articulation, with the values very different at the beginning and the end of the sound. The variants researched are also clearly differentiated by the degree of the tenseness of the organs of speech: the vowel [ɛː] is much tenser at the beginning, while both [æː] are tenser at the end.

**Table 2.** Normalised data of the formants of the vowels [ɛː] and [æː] and qualitative indices

<b>Vowel</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>F1_norm</b>	<b>F2_norm</b>	<b>F3_norm</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>fl</b>	<b>t</b>
[ɛː]	WM_STR_BEG	383	1758	2320	1375	785	541	109	555
	WM_STR_END	490	1586	2247	1096	827	359	108	349
[æː]	WM_STR_BEG	524	1471	2287	947	842	257	108	266
	WM_STR_END	604	1247	2216	643	881	65	108	641
[æː]R	AC_BEG	506	1511	2167	1005	836	319	108	350
	AC_END	588	1227	2219	639	878	62	109	642

**3. Variants of the vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ].** Short vowels are slightly less representative of differentiating the areas within the Kaunas subdialect. The accentuated short stem vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] in the position before a non-palatalised consonant are included in the study because they vary most of all in the area of the Kaunas subdialect. In most of the subdialect, except for the north-eastern edge, they are not lengthened, but in the north-western subdialects, which are close to the Žemaitian area, they are pronounced more open (see LKA 1982: map No. 19; Bacevičiūtė 2004: 189–197; ŠŠT 2006: 23–24; GAT 2008: 21). In the subdialects of Kaunas the vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] are also unequally realised in semi-diphthongs. Traditionally they are not lengthened in acute diphthongs, but in the works of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially in the experimental ones, the argument is made that these vowels are pronounced half-long, but they are more open (for more see Bacevičiūtė 2005). In the subdialects where the circumflex is pronounced in a continuous manner, [ɪ] and [ʊ] of similar quantity and quality are also pronounced in circumflex diphthongs (for more see Bakšienė 2014).



**Figure 3.** Variants of the vowels [ɪ], [ʊ]

The quality of the vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] is very different in all investigated positions (see Fig. 3, Table 3). The front [ɪ], used as an independent vowel differs more from the corresponding diphthong elements in the values of the first formant and in the vertical shift of the tongue – it is much closer, whereas the formants of the

diphthong are more open. This tendency confirms the statements made in earlier research about the qualitative lengthening in the Kaunas subdialect area, when the component [ɪ] is very open in both acute diphthongs and those with a continuous pitch accent. The second formants of the [ɪ] variants compared differ very little; the elements of the diphthongs are only slightly more retracted than a separate vowel. The vowel [ɪ] in all three positions is generally characterised by very low F2 values located at an approximate border of 1500 Hz, which is considered to distinguish between the front and back vowels (see Girdenis 2003: 231).

The variants of the vowel [ʊ] are localised in the figure in a slightly different order. The separate vowel and the corresponding elements of the diphthongs are more clearly distinguished by the values of the second formant and a horizontal articulation shift. As in the case of [ɪ], the separate vowel [ʊ] is more front, and the elements of the diphthong are more back. By the values of the first formant the diphthong [ʊ] with a continuous pitch accent is more distinct – it is characterised by a much more pronounced degree of closeness than the other variants.

With regards to the acoustic properties, the qualitative indices show a very clear difference between the independent vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] and the elements of corresponding diphthongs. The variants researched are most clearly differentiated by diffusivity and timbre pitch: the vowel [ɪ] is significantly more diffuse and has a higher timbre than the corresponding diphthong elements, whereas [ʊ] has less diffusivity, but also a much higher timbre than the elements of the diphthongs.

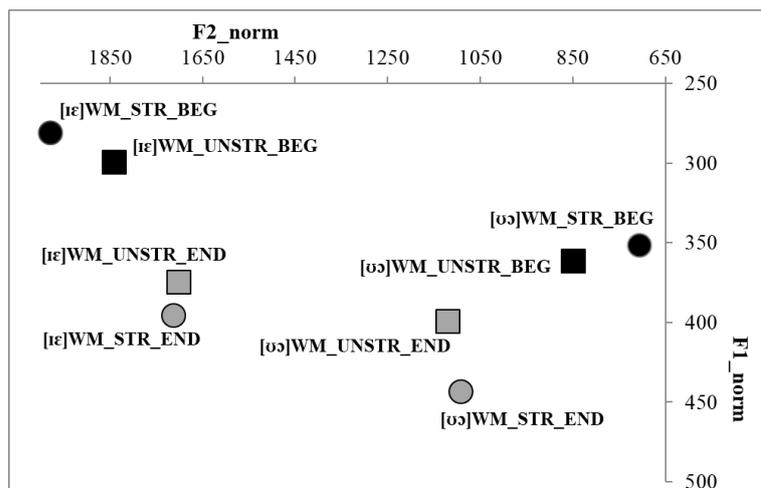
**Table 3.** Normalised data of the formants of the vowels [i] and [ɔ] and qualitative indices

Vowel	Position	F1_norm	F2_norm	F3_norm	df	C	T	fl	t
[i]	WM_STR	377	1536	2209	1159	794	452	110	450
[i]R	AC	387	1497	2309	1110	799	399	110	307
	CX	387	1451	2207	1064	803	392	110	455
[ɔ]	WM_STR	390	1008	2014	618	842	112	112	1088
[ɔ]R	AC	393	807	2112	800	869	-105	113	1188
	CX	380	820	2097	800	862	-74	113	1203

**4. Variants of the polyphthongs [iɛ] and [ɔɔ].** The so-called polyphthongs, or gliding diphthongs, [iɛ], [ɔɔ] are also characterised by a large number of equivalents in the Lithuanian dialects. They have long been considered by researchers to be amongst the most important sounds for differentiating the Lithuanian dialects, as shown by the fact that authors such as Antanas Salys, Kazimieras Jaunius, Zigmas Zinkevičius, and Aleksas Girdenis based their classification work on them. Barely any variations of [iɛ] and [ɔɔ] in accentuated positions were recorded<sup>9</sup> in the area of the Kaunas subdialects as an Aukštaitian subdialect, but these sounds have not been systematically researched by instrumental methods. Their quality, as is the case with all other members of the vocalism system, is potentially different in many subdialects of Kaunas. The data of dialectological descriptions suggest that [iɛ] and [ɔɔ] in unaccented positions undergo little variance in the Kaunas subdialect, only the north-eastern area bordering the subdialects of Šiauliai stands out - there they correspond to other sounds (see LKA 1982: map No. 64, 66). However, this situation was also recorded relying only on hearing, as no instrumental research has been conducted. All long members of the vowel system experience stronger or weaker quantitative (probably also qualitative) reduction in non-accented positions in many Kaunas subdialects, therefore [iɛ], [ɔɔ] should be no exception.

The polyphthongs of the accentuated position of the Šakiai subdialect have already been studied by instrumental methods. The previous study analysed how their quality is affected by the position against the non-palatalised/ palatalised consonant and the pitch accent. Then it was found that [iɛ] and [ɔɔ] have very unstable articulation, there is no clear boundary between the first and second components, and there are even several transitional sounds in the middle (for more details, see Bacevičiūtė 2004: 188). However, variants in an unaccented position have not been instrumentally analysed so far.

<sup>9</sup> Except for a small area in the eastern part where [ɔɔ] is pronounced as [ɔɑ] (LKA 1982: 66; Markevičienė 2001: 37).



**Figure 4.** Variants of the polyphthongs [iɛ] and [ʊɔ]

The accented and unaccented [iɛ] and [ʊɔ] variants are quite symmetrically arranged in the space of the system of coordinates (see Fig. 4). In both positions, the beginning and end of the sounds differ markedly, although the articulation shift of the unaccented sounds is clearly less pronounced. It is obvious that in the unaccented

syllables [iɛ] and [ʊɔ] are not monophthongised in the Šakiai subdialect and the diphthong-like sounds are retained.

The beginning of both variants of the polyphthong [iɛ] stands out by relatively high F2 and low F1 values; the sound has front articulation and is close. The articulation of the unaccented beginning of [iɛ] is naturally shifted somewhat to the centre, but the difference is not significant. In both cases, in terms of the values of the formants, it could be considered closer to a short [ɪ] than to a long [i:] in the subdialect (cf. Šakiai subdialect isolated [i:] F2 – 2280 Hz, [ɪ] – 1900 Hz; see Bacevičiūtė 2004: 160). This was probably due to the chosen prosodic research position, i.e. only the sounds with continuous circumflex non-acute pitch accent were chosen for this analysis. The accented and the unaccented endings of [iɛ] differ even less, only the difference F1 is more significant here, whereas F2 almost completely overlaps. The polyphthong has been studied in the position before a palatalised consonant, therefore the endings of its both variants are similar in quality to the closed vowel [ɛ̟] in the subdialect; in an unaccented position it is even more closed.

The relations between the variants of the polyphthong [ʊɔ] are very similar. The beginning of the accentuated position [ʊɔ] is characterised by a pronounced retracted articulation and closeness. The averages of its initial formants are similar to the long [u:] in the subdialect (cf. Šakiai subdialect isolated [u:] F2 – 720 Hz, [ʊ] – 930 Hz; see Bacevičiūtė 2004: 160). The initial sound of the unaccented position [ʊɔ] is also naturally shifted towards the centre, but it is also clearly of posterior articulation and close. At the end, the variants differ most markedly in their openness, an unaccented sound being a little further away from the accented one. In terms of the data of the formants, both sounds resemble the open [ɔ] of the subdialect (cf.: Šakiai subdialect isolated [ɔ] F2 – 1140 Hz; see Bacevičiūtė 2004: 160).

The calculated qualitative indices allow for an even more accurate characterization of the variants studied. The beginning of the accented [iɛ] and [ʊɔ] has more pronounced natural acoustic properties: the sounds are more diffuse and tenser, the beginning of the accented [iɛ] is of a higher timbre, while [ʊɔ] is of lower, flatter nature. In the end, both accented variants are more compact, with a lower timbre than the corresponding unaccented sounds.

**Table 4.** Normalised data of the formants of the polyphthongs [iɛ] and [ʊɔ] and qualitative indices

Vowel	Position	F1_norm	F2_norm	F3_norm	df	C	T	fl	t
[iɛ]	WM_STR_BEG	281	1978	2577	1697	733	733	109	774
	WM_UNSTR_BEG	300	1840	2412	1540	748	670	110	628
	WM_STR_END	396	1712	2380	1316	790	493	109	436
	WM_UNSTR_END	375	1700	2291	1325	785	527	109	534
[ʊɔ]	WM_STR_BEG	352	706	2088	942	870	-169	115	1354
	WM_UNSTR_BEG	362	849	2028	789	850	-8	114	1261
	WM_STR_END	444	1092	1998	648	852	128	111	966
	WM_UNSTR_END	400	1118	1889	718	835	219	112	1093

**Conclusions.** Based on the results of this instrumental research and comparing them with the data of earlier work, it is possible to more accurately define the articulatory and acoustic properties of the most important variants of the Šakiai subdialect.

1. The long vowels [e:] and [o:] in unaccented syllables undergo not only quantitative (previous works indicate that in unaccented syllables they are realised as half-long), but also qualitative reduction. In terms of their articulation, the variants in different prosodic positions are most clearly characterised by a vertical shift of the tongue – in unaccented positions [e:] and [o:] are much closer than the accented ones in all the cases researched. Very few changes in the horizontal tongue shift (backness) in different positions were recorded. The corresponding acoustic feature that best distinguishes these variants is compactness in relation to diffusivity: accented position variants are more compact, in unaccented position they are more diffuse. Unaccented vowels [e:] and [o:] in the middle syllables experience a more pronounced vertical qualitative reduction.

2. Both vowels [ɛ:] and [æ:] are characterised by diphthongs' articulation throughout the pronunciation. Their initial sounds are much closer and front (acoustically more diffuse and of higher timbre respectively), while their ends are more open and back (acoustically more compact and of lower timbre). The variant [æ:] differs from [ɛ:] not only in the openness of the end sound (as has been argued in earlier work), but also in a much more back articulation throughout all the duration of pronunciation. The second formant of the vowel [æ:] at the beginning of the sound is concentrated in the spectrum at a border of 1500 Hz, while at the

end it is much lower, so it could hardly be considered a front vowel – it is clearly a central vowel.

3. The short vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] of the subdialect in the position before a non-palatalised consonant are not characterised by the extreme lateral articulation of the vowel backness. Although in this position they have traditionally been described as more open variants, instrumental research has shown a more pronounced horizontal rather than vertical tongue shift in combination with the adjacent sounds. The quality of the separate vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] is clearly different from the corresponding elements of a diphthong.

4. The polyphthongs [ɪɛ] and [ʊɔ] in unaccented positions preserve the quality of diphthong articulation well enough, they do not become monophthongs.

Finally, it should be noted that the researched vocalism variants of the Šakiai subdialect undergo a slight qualitative reduction in an unaccented position and most of the inherent properties of vowels are preserved. However, a very pronounced influence on some vowel elements of the surrounding phonetic context has been recorded. The preliminary data of the research suggest that the combinatory rather than positional variants of the vowels researched are more pronounced in the subdialect.

#### **List of Abbreviations:**

AC - acute sound

AC\_BEG – beginning of an acute sound

AC\_END – end of an acute sound

C – compactness

CX – circumflex sound

df – diffuseness

F1\_norm – normalised first formant

F2\_norm – normalised second formant

F3\_norm – normalised third formant

fl – flatness

T – tonality

t – tenseness

WE\_UNSTR – unstressed sound of the end of a word

WM\_STR – stressed sound of the middle of a word

WM\_STR\_BEG – beginning of the stressed sound of the middle of a word

WM\_STR\_END – end of a stressed sound of the middle of a word

WM\_UNSTR – unstressed sound of the middle of a word

WM\_UNSTR\_BEG – beginning of an unstressed sound of the middle of a word

WM\_UNSTR\_END – end of an unstressed sound of the middle of a word

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## NEW SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO STRESS RETRACTION IN THE EAST-EASTERN AUKŠTAITIAN SUBDIALECTS

*NAUJAS SISTEMINIS POŽIŪRIS Į KIRČIO ATITRAUKIMĄ RYTINĖSE RYTŲ AUKŠTAIČIŲ ŠNEKTOSE*

### Abstract

The article analyses the phenomena of stress retraction in the East-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of the Lithuanian language. The basis for this research consists of two written sources: the 1860s–1880s texts from the subdialects of Kupiškis and Anykščiai, published in *Litauische Mundarten gesammelt von A. Baranowski* by German linguist Franz Specht and printed in Leipzig, as well as the 1950s–1960s descriptions of these subdialects, included in the Archive of the Dialects at the Geolinguistics Centre of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language. The objectives of the article are to describe the formation of stress retraction in these subdialects in as much detail as possible, to determine the stress retraction laws which may have been present in the area at the time the original material was recorded, to reveal the areal spread of this phenomenon, and to discuss any changes and causes of stress retraction.

**KEYWORDS:** intensive conditional stress retraction, double-peaked stress, syllable, subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis.

### Anotacija

Remiantis rašytiniais šaltiniais – Leipcige vokiečių kalbininko Franco Špechto leidinyje *Litauische Mundarten gesammelt von A. Baranowski* publikuotais XIX a. 7–9 deš. anykštėnų ir kupiškėnų tekstais ir Lietuvos kalbos instituto Geolingvistikos centro Tarmių archyve saugomais XX a. 6–7 deš. šių šnektų aprašais – analizuojami kirčio atitraukimo reiškiniai rytinėse rytų aukštaičių patarmėse. Straipsnyje siekiama kiek galima išsamiau aprašyti kirčio atitraukimo formavimąsi rytinėse rytų aukštaičių patarmėse, nustatyti, kokie kirčio atitraukimo dėsniai galėjo veikti šiuo laikotarpiu jų plote, atskleisti reiškinio arealinį paplitimą, aptarti kirčio atitraukimo pokyčius ir jų priežastis.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** intensyvesnis sąlyginis kirčio atitraukimas, dviviršūnis kirtis, skiemuo, anykštėnų ir kupiškėnų patarmės.

The phenomena of stress retraction in the eastern subdialects of eastern Aukštaitija – the area around Anykščiai and Kupiškis – have been studied in a fragmented way until now. Scientific literature only includes data on the nature of stress retraction and the acute or circumflex accents (Zinkevičius 1966: 36, 38, 41; LKT 35; Ažusienienė 1982: 23–30; LKTCh 144, 153; Gotjo 1990: 24–25; Vidugiris 1997: 303–304; Markevičienė 2001: 15–18, 25–26; 2004: 39–45; Vosylytė 2007: XV; Vaštakaitė 2010: 61; RAA 36–37; Balčiūnienė, Mieliūnaitė, Rinkauskienė 2019: 118). The texts, collected in Antanas Baranauskas' native Anykščiai region in the 1860s–1880s and published in the first volume of the 1920 book *Litauische Mundarten gesammelt von A. Baranowski* (hereinafter: *Litauische Mundarten*) have been researched by linguists in more detail (Stundžia 1989: 434–442; Ragaišienė 2015: 166–210)<sup>1</sup>. Based on the texts in this publication and the data of the 1950s–1960s manuscript sources available in the Archive of the Dialects at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, changes in the accentuation system of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Kupiškis (Ragaišienė 2018: 176–203) have been described. However, there is still a considerable lack of comparative research on the stress system of the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis. The scientific publications, discussing the features and tendencies of accentuation, are also scarce.

**Objectives, material, and method of research.** This paper is the first-ever attempt to analyse stress retraction by comparing the data from the two East-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects. A systematic study of the phenomenon was based on the written sources in the publication *Litauische Mundarten* (the 1860s–1880s texts from the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis<sup>2</sup>) and the 1950s–1960s description of these subdialects. Summarising the material published in these texts, the data was found to be sufficient in order to assess the formation of stress retraction in the area covering the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis. This conclusion is reinforced further by the fact the above-mentioned sources reflect the accentuation features of the researched subdialects relatively well.

The aim of the article is to describe in as much detail as possible the stress retraction in the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis, to discuss the accentuation phenomena from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1950s and 1960s and to reveal its areal spread.

Both subdialects presently belong to the area of limited stress retraction – according to the more intensive conditional stress retraction laws in the area, the stress is retracted from the short final syllable to the long syllable preceding it (LKT 35; LKTCh 144, 153).

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<sup>1</sup> The analysis of these texts is based on the extensive correspondence between Antanas Baranauskas and Hugo Weber (see Almanauskis 1930: 60–102).

<sup>2</sup> Antanas Baranauskas, professor at the Kaunas Seminary, organised a group of his students to collect dialect texts during the period circa 1867–1884. The texts were later sent to German linguist Hugo Weber.

The study employed the geolinguistic, statistical, comparative and internal reconstruction methods.

### **Stress retraction phenomena in the texts of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of the 1860s–1880s**

Material from almost the entire area of the Kupiškis subdialect (see Fig. 1) can be found in the publication *Litauische Mundarten*. The texts recorded come from five parishes: Kupiškis (174)<sup>3</sup>, Skapiškis (176) and Čedasai (86–87)<sup>4</sup> subdialects (R<sub>5</sub>) and from the subdialects of Salamiestis (143) and Skapiškis (176)<sup>5</sup> of Vabalninkas (Vabalnykas) parish and Papilis parish(84). The published texts of the Anykščiai subdialect were recorded only in two parishes – from the subdialects of Anykščai (305) and Subačius (235). Geographically, the material of Kupiškis is presented from different parts of the area, while the Anykščiai texts come only from the northern area (see Fig. 1)<sup>6</sup>.

It is very likely that the accent from the short final syllable was being retracted to the long syllable preceding it almost across the entire area of the Kupiškis subdialect in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cases of stress retraction were found in all texts of this subdialect, for example: *dýwus, ýra, waĩkus, wiuĩkus, kápurálas, diėna, kioũlas, szaĩta, kaĩtu, eĩnu, eĩni, júoda, baĩsus, ruĩkas, žódžu, pónu, szwiėsi, gáĩli, waĩdu, piĩ'kis, miėsti, taĩba, liĩksmu, džaũksmus, weĩku, laũkus* etc. (1–4, 12, 17, 23, 26, 32, 34, 114)<sup>7</sup>. However, the frequency of accent retraction in the area of the studied subdialect seems to have been different (see Fig. 1). The highest number of cases of stress retraction was found in the texts from Papilis (100%), Kupiškis (almost 95%) and Čedasai (81%) parishes. Significantly fewer cases were found in the stories told by the people of Salamiestis (about 43%) and Skapiškis (only 25%) of Vabalninkas' (Vabalnykai) parish (Stundžia 1989: 436; Ragaišienė 2015: 176–177, 180–183; 2018: 181).

In Baranauskas' time, the situation seems to have been different in the area of the Anykščiai subdialect. In the texts from the parish of Subačius, the accent is regularly retracted from the short inflexion to the long syllable, for example: *džaũksmu, kaĩtus, aũkas, koplytėlas, wiėtas, laũži, žmôna, kiř'wju, laĩki, miėstus, wiėni* (p. 104–109). In areas surrounding Anykščiai

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<sup>3</sup> The numbers of the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language points (settlements) are indicated in brackets (see LKA I 21–30; for more, see Geržotaitė 2015: 147–149, 156–165).

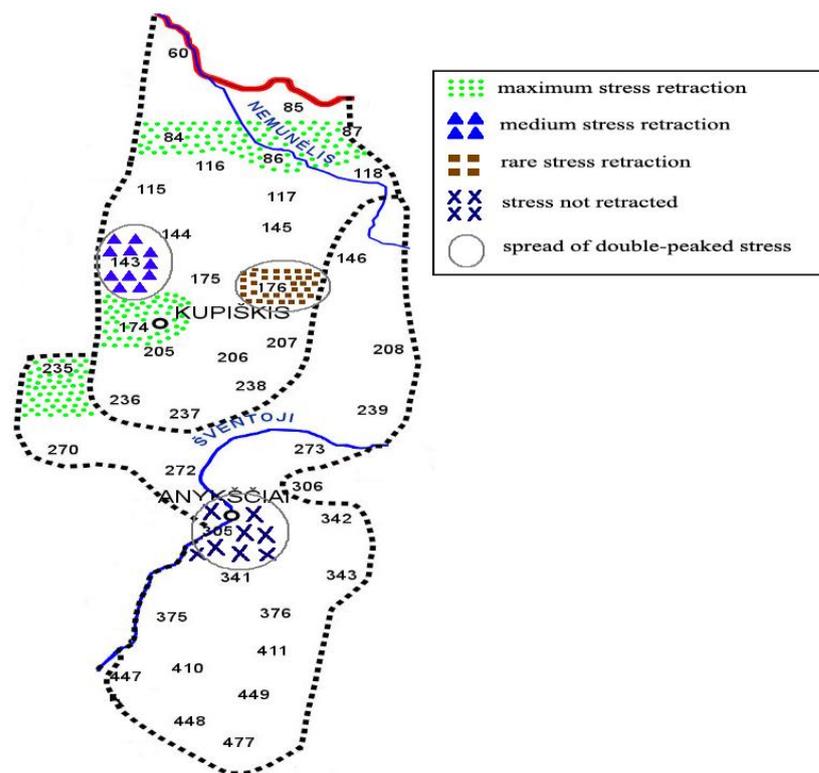
<sup>4</sup> The texts were probably recorded in the residential areas under points 86–87 of the LKA.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that these texts, like the texts of Skapiškis, were recorded from the same parish of Skapiškis, but in different places. The possibility that the boundaries of the parish may have changed cannot be ruled out (see Ragaišienė 2015: 180, footnote 54). Ž. Markevičienė (2011: 306) attributed the texts from Skapiškis to those of Kupiškis.

<sup>6</sup> In the parishes of both subdialects, two to six short stories were recorded.

<sup>7</sup> In brackets, the pages taken from the publication *Litauische Mundarten*.

the stress retraction process was not taking place during the period studied, e. g., *gwoltù*, *yrà*, *žmogùs*, *turtùs*, *žodzùs*, *baisù*, *gailù*, *patiekà*, *Szioulùs* (p. 36–47).



**Figure 1.** The nature of stress retraction in the texts of the subdialects of Kupiškis and Anykščiai collected by Antanas Baranauskas

Thus, in the 1860s–1880s stress retraction in the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects seems to have been of uneven intensity. Quite naturally, the accent was probably retracted only in the northern part of the Kupiškis area and in the Subačius subdialect bordering the subdialect of Anykščiai (see Fig. 1). This process was irregular on the eastern edge of the Kupiškis subdialect. In the rest of the area of both subdialects, the stress retraction was probably still emerging.

The formation of stress retraction is also confirmed by the notation of the secondary stress in the penultimate long syllable of the words, e.g.: *bāltà*, *jomìs*, *sūnùs*, *bīednì*, *numīr'sì*, *gaspadōriùs*, *karūnà*, *karūnù*, *pōnùs*, *slūgà*, *n'ērà*, *pīrmà*, *barōnkàs*, *du žodzù*, *krēsli*, *pīnktà*, *tārbà*, *tōkià*, *wāř'tì*, *līngwà*, *knīgù*, *kārtùs*, *szwīntàs*, *trūmpà*, *pīlnì*, *kārtì*, *studīntùs*, *sūnùs*, *pīrsztùs*, *griōūsmù* ect. (p. 1, 4, 14, 16–21, 28, 31–34, 36–47). The scientific literature suggest that in these cases a special transcription mark indicates the type of secondary stress, i.e. “double-peaked” stress (Stundžia 1989: 435; Ragaišienė 2015: 174–175; 2018: 182–184)<sup>8</sup>. As can be seen from the above examples, the same transcription mark was used to denote the secondary

<sup>8</sup> For the term “double-peaked” stress, see more Girdenis, Rosinas 1976: 194, 20 išn.; Girdenis 1978: 75–76.

stress of both acute and circumflex long syllable, cf. *sūnùs* ir *žōdzù*. Undoubtedly, the mark of secondary stress consists of two symbols:  $\smile$ , which indicates that the syllable is long, and  $-$ , which indicates that the third mora is emphasised<sup>9</sup>. This assumption is primarily supported by Baranauskas' description of the circumflex with two marks  $\smile -$  and the transcription of the accented forms with the primary and secondary stress, cf. *tūr̃gus* ir *smēr̃tìs* (Alminauskis 1930: 72–74)<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, in the texts studied not only is the first component of the “double-peaked” stress marked, but the accent of the long syllable is also indicated, which, as seen in the given examples and the system of marks used, is a circumflex. The fact that the retracted stress in the subdialects of Kupiškis and Anykščiai is circumflex by nature is demonstrated by the rather frequent notation of circumflex instead of acute in the root of the word to which the stress is retracted from the short inflexion, e.g.: *gýwi* (cf. sing. ending. *gýwu*, p. 30), *kôrius*, *baĩta* (cf. sing. ending. *bólta*, p. 7), *šaĩta*, *liētus* (p. 1, 2, 4, 23)<sup>11</sup>. Baranauskas pointed out that the retracted stress of the singular nominative forms of the words *sunùs*, *gałwà*, *burnà* was circumflex, but not acute accent, which could be expected by the initial stress, cf. the singular accusative forms *súnų*, *gáłwų*, *búrņų* (Барановский 1898: 35).

In the eastern subdialects of eastern Aukštaitija, where stress retraction had not yet taken root, the “double-peaked” stress could have been of different strength<sup>12</sup>. The double marking of the stress, cf. *rodàs* / *rōdàs* can indicate that the penultimate long syllable – the first component of a “double-peaked” stress – could have been heard as both weaker and stronger (cf. Stundžia 1989: 435; Girdenis 2003: 263)<sup>13</sup>. A strong “double-peaked” stress eventually might have given an impulse to retract the stress from a short ending to the penultimate long syllable, cf. *gaspadoriùs* → *gaspadōriùs* → *gaspadôrius* (cf. Ragaišienė 2018: 184).

The texts of Baranauskas are likely to demonstrate the interaction between the two phenomena in the area of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is obvious that a wave of the “double-peaked” stress first travelled in the north-south direction, followed by the slow-moving stress retraction (see Fig. 1).

<sup>9</sup> As Baranauskas said “dėdamì smagūmą ne ant pirmōsios, bet ant treczōsios wałandōs jilgūmo” [putting the stress not on the first but on the third length of the hour] (see Alminauskis 1930: 72).

<sup>10</sup> Baranauskas was convinced that the acutus is characterised by the emphasis on the first mora to which the middle one is adjoined cf. *lōva*, while the circumflex is characterised by the emphasis on the third mora to which the middle one is also adjoined, cf. *pōnas* (see Барановский 1898: 22–23).

<sup>11</sup> Only a few words with acute accent in the long syllable, e.g.: *júoda*, *wiena* (p. 23, 24). In the subdialects of Kupiškis, both words are the third stress paradigm (Voslytė 2010: 87; 2013: 779).

<sup>12</sup> A similar situation today is typical of the neighbouring Utena subdialect (Urbanavičiūtė-Markevičienė, Grinaveckis 1992: 12; Markevičienė 1999: 16; Urbanavičienė 2006: 224).

<sup>13</sup> This assumption is partly supported by the idea expressed by Baranauskas in one of the letters to Hugo Weber meaning that sometimes the unaccented syllable of a word is as though accented, “tarytum skambėtų *kiŗwiù*, *kiŗwiùs* [as if *kiŗwiù*, *kiŗwiùs* was heard]” (Alminauskis 1930: 95; Stundžia 1989: 435). Baranauskas was convinced that a word could have only one accented syllable (Alminauskis 1930: 95).

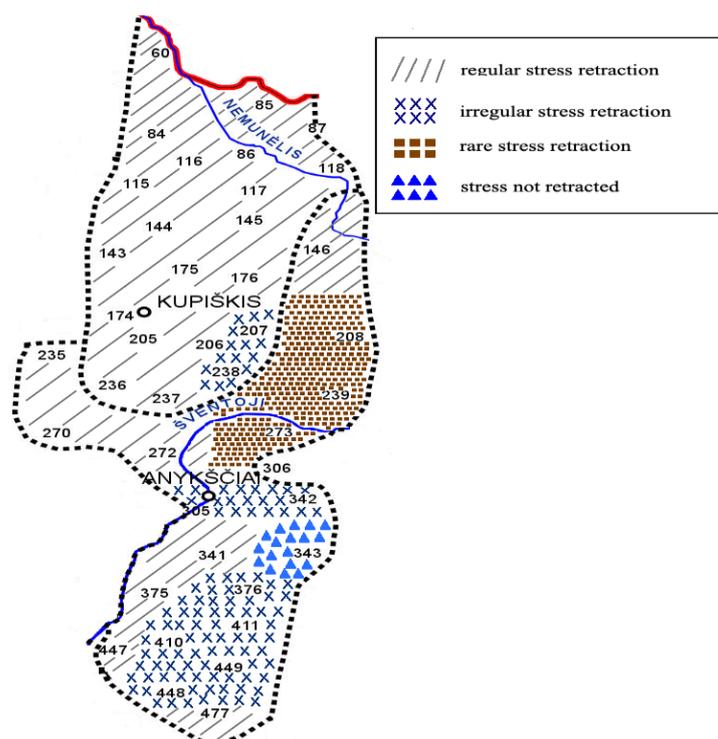
This assumption is based on the relationship between the forms with retracted stress which was retained in the ending and the “double-peaked” stress in the texts studied. In the stories of the residents of Kupiškis and Čedasai parishes, where the stress was regularly retracted, few examples of “double-peaked” stress retraction were recorded. Most of the cases discussed were found in the texts of the residents of Skapiškis parish, which had a relatively rarely retracted stress during the time of Baranauskas. In these areas the phenomenon was probably the most intense during the period studied. In the Anykščiai subdialect, where the stress was not yet retracted, the cases of the “double-peaked” stress amounted to about 60 percent. It is possible that there the phenomenon had not yet taken root in the 1850s and 1860s. Therefore, the isolated cases of the “double-peaked” stress occurring in the northern subdialects of Kupiškis, where the stress was regularly retracted, probably show the tendencies of strengthening stress retraction in this area.

#### **Stress retraction phenomena in the texts of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects in the 1950s and 1960s**

While collecting the material for the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* in the 1950s and 1960s, almost all settlements (points) belonging to the area of the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis were studied and their dialect descriptions were provided (see Fig. 2)<sup>14</sup>. A comparative analysis of the manuscript sources testifies to the different nature of stress retraction in these subdialects. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the stress was already being regularly retracted from the short end syllable to the long syllable preceding it in the entire area of the Kupiškis subdialect. Two relatively small areas in the north and south-east, where certain subtle distinctions of stress retraction were recorded, should be distinguished (see Fig. 2).

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<sup>14</sup> The handwritten source of the point consists of the presentation of the researched areas, the linguistic features of the subdialect and the presenters, as well as the transcribed texts. The archive contains 23 sources (about 500 pages) from 18 points in the Anykščiai subdialect and 23 sources (about 860 pages) from 20 points in the subdialects of Kupiškis.



**Figure 2.** Nature of stress retraction in the manuscript sources of the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis in the 1950s and 1960s

In the northern part of the area, i.e. Kupreliškis (115)–Einoriai (116)–Pandėlys (117), the secondary stress on the inflexion next to the retracted stress has also been retained, e.g.: *aĩn,ù*, *aĩg,às*, *diēn,à*, *kaĩb,à*, *kaĩt,ù*, *kaĩt,ùs*, *kiŗv,ù*, *liēk,ì*, *m.ɔ.kĩkl,à*, *nesupruĩt,ù*, *niēk,ùs*, *piĩk,à*, *prakeĩkt,à*, *razuĩn,à*, *sũn,ùs*, *supĩlt,ì*, *šĩmt,us*, *vaĩt,us*, etc. (see Fig. 2). It cannot be ruled out that at least some of these cases may bear witness to the existence of the “double-peaked” stress in the northern part of the Kupiškis subdialect area in the 1950s and 1960s, which is even more the case in the southern part of the Anykščiai subdialect area and in the neighbouring subdialect of Utena, where it has been maintained until now (Markevičienė 1999: 16; 2001: 15–16; Urbanavičienė 2006: 224).

On the south–eastern edge of the Kupiškis subdialect area, i.e. in the subdialects of Juodpėnai (207) and Šimoniai (238), the stress seemed not to have been retracted regularly during the period under study. The material in the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* also shows that the tendencies of stress retraction in this area may have been different from the entire area of the subdialect. In this source, the south–eastern edge of Kupiškis, to which both subdialects belong, is assigned to the area of weak conditional stress retraction (LKA I, map No. 1; cf. Fig. 2). The descriptions show that the stress retraction of conditional stress may have been more intense, if somewhat sporadically, in the subdialects during the 1950s and 1960s. The stress was being retracted to the long syllable, which was based not only on the monophthongs *ie*, *uo*, but

also on long vowels, diphthongs or double vowels, e.g.: *aĩni, duřni, laũkus, piėtus, řeĩma, řĩrdis / darpřti, darpřtus, laikũ, vienà* (Juodpėnai, 207), *aũkřta, juodi, liėtus, meřga, piřřtu, sũnus, viėni / řaukřti, viėni* (řimonys, 238). Long syllables of retracted stress have a circumflex like in Baranauskas' texts (cf. Kazlauskas 1968: 26; Ragaiřienė 2018: 187).

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the stress was also being retracted throughout the area of the Anykřčiai subdialect, but not consistently or regularly. According to the description of the material, the area of the Anykřčiai subdialect can be divided into two larger parts, where the intensity of the phenomenon was different. In the northern part of, except for the small area of Verksnionys (208)–Svėdasai (239)–Mičionys (273), the stress was being retracted quite regularly from the short inflexion to the long syllable preceding it (see Fig. 2).

A more complicated situation seems to have been in the southern part of the Anykřčiai area. During the 1950s–1960s the stress from the short syllable was being rarely retracted to the final long syllable in some subdialects, while in others it happened quite regularly. It seems that the stress was not being retracted only in the subdialect of Skiemoniai (343). A regular stress retraction was recorded in the area Kurkliai (341)–Kničiškiai (375)–Juodausiai (447). It can be said that in the small-scale manuscripts of these subdialects, forms which retracted stress were not found. In other subdialects of this area, the intensity of the phenomenon was different. In the texts of the subdialects of Anykřčiai (305), Rubikiai (342) and Dapkũniřkės (376), the forms which retracted the stress made up almost 90 percent<sup>15</sup>. The stress was also quite regularly retracted in the Kiaukliai (477) subdialect, which borders the area of weak conditional stress.

In the surroundings of Balninkai, Lyduokiai, Źelva and řeřuoliai, forms which retracted the stress, amounted to about two thirds e.g.: *piřĩki, sũ.nus* (besides *sũnaũs*), *kaĩtra / řviesà, darřbĩ, ģirdũ, mērgà* (Balninkai, 411); *sũ.nus, bló.ģi, mó.tka, per ruņkas, viėna, řmó.na, skũ.ra, řiřtus, rũ.bus, meřga, razuřni / ainũ, ainĩ, sunkũ, mergà, kartũ, raitĩ* (Lyduokiai, 410); *rũ.bus, liėtus, rózus, řauĩlus, ģalva slóbnna, vĩeni / dungũs, miņkà, nērà* (Źelva, 449); *ģiva, vařdu, mēsa, andarókus / sunkũ, skalnà, ģalvà* (řeřuoliai, 448). Thus, the stress retraction in this area had not yet taken root during the period under study. It is likely that the forms which retract the stress from the inflexion were used interchangeably with the cases of inflexional stress. This can at least partially explain the different intensity of the stress retraction rules in the adjacent subdialects of Źelva (449), řeřuoliai (448) and Kiaukliai (477) (see Fig. 2).

In summary, it can be stated that the 1950s–1960s manuscript sources testify to the formation of a more intense conditional stress retraction rule in the area of the subdialects researched. During that period, the phenomenon, which was already established in the Kupiřkis

<sup>15</sup> In the texts of the Anykřčiai subdialect, slightly more non-retracting forms were found than in the points of Rubikiai and Dapkũniřkės. True, the dialectal texts of the latter are smaller than those of Anykřčiai.

area, continued in the north-south direction and spread in the Anykščiai subdialect area (for more details, see Ragaišienė 2018: 185–187; 2020: 222). It cannot be ruled out that the formation of accent retraction in the dialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis may have been significantly influenced by the Selonian substrate (Zinkevičius 2006: 30, 73).

### Conclusions

A comparative analysis of Antanas Baranauskas' texts of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the written sources from the 1950s–1960s shows the development of stress retraction as a phenomenon in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis. The more intense rule of conditional stress retraction was formed relatively late and over a longer period of time in the eastern subdialects of eastern Aukštaitija. The research allows for several important assumptions. First, the innovative wave of the "double-peaked" stress and the subsequent stress retraction from the northern part of the area, where this phenomenon was rather regular, could have moved towards the eastern edge not earlier than the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, the formation of the stress retraction rule was very uneven in the subdialects researched. In the Kupiškis area and the northern part of the Anykščiai area, stress retraction could have been finally formed only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the southern subdialects of Anykščiai, this process had not yet taken root in the 1950s and 1960s and might have worked on the principle of interaction: in some subdialects the stress retracting forms could have prevailed, while in others only certain forms maintained it.

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## MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH INTO LITHUANIAN DIALECTS: TRADITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

*LIETUVIŲ KALBOS TARIŲ MORFOLOGIJOS TYRIMAI: TRADICIJOS IR ATEITIES  
PERSPEKTYVOS*

### Abstract

The article briefly discusses the development of morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects from the beginning of Lithuanian dialectology to the end of the 2010s. The main focus is on the research in this branch of linguistics, the methodology as well as the most important ideas and the most significant works. During the period between the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of World War II, any morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects was based on the principle of documentation and the Neogrammarian methodology. 1944 marks the start of a new tradition in Lithuanian dialectology when descriptive and areal linguistic research methods become widely-used and the methodology of natural morphology is applied. This is also the aspect, according to which the Lithuanian dialects start to be compared to each other. The emergence of a new direction of dialectology in Lithuania at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century prompts discussion on further direction of morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects as well as its theoretical and methodological provisions.

**KEYWORDS:** Lithuanian dialects, morphology, word formation, development, change, research trends.

### Anotacija

Straipsnyje glaustai aptariama lietuvių kalbos tarmių morfologijos tyrimų raida nuo lietuvių dialektologijos formavimosi pradžios iki XXI a. antrojo dešimtmečio pabaigos. Pagrindinis dėmesys kreipiamas į šios lingvistikos šakos tyrimų kryptis, metodologiją, svarbiausias idėjas ir reikšmingiausias darbus. Nuo XIX a. iki Antrojo pasaulinio karo pradžios lietuvių kalbos tarmių morfologijos tyrimai rėmėsi dokumentavimo principu ir jaunagramatiškąją metodologija. Nuo 1944 m. pradėta kurti nauja lietuvių dialektologijos tradicija, todėl įsitvirtino deskriptyvinis ir arealinis lingvistinis tyrimo metodai, imta taikyti natūraliosios morfologijos metodologija. Be to, šiuo aspektu tarmės imtos lyginti tarpusavyje. Naujosios dialektologijos krypties atsiradimas Lietuvoje XXI a. pradžioje skatina diskutuoti, kokia kryptimi, kokiomis teorinėmis ir metodologinėmis nuostatomis vadovaujantis bus atliekami tolesni lietuvių tarmių morfologijos tyrimai.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** *lietuvių kalbos tarmės, morfologija, žodžių daryba, raida, kaita, tyrimų kryptys.*

## Introduction

In order to find the origins of the morphological structure of Lithuanian dialects one should refer to the first grammars of the Lithuanian language which appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Proper. These works were intended to meet the practical needs of the time such as teaching aid for priests, and had a tendency to standardise (Mikulėnienė 2018; Kardelis 2018: 31–36). Dialects were one of the main sources for *Grammatica Litvanica...* (1653) by Daniel Klein (Danielius Kleinas), printed in Latin, and its German précis *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum* (1654). The author gives examples of and lists differences between the speech of the inhabitants of Klaipėda, Kuršiai, Tilžė, Ragainė, Įsrutis, Žemaitija (also known as Samogitia), Vilnius and Kaunas. Many important features of grammatical structure, which have disappeared or are still present in some dialects, were recorded in these grammars, and attempts were taken to establish some principles of systematising the material (noun declensions, verb conjugations, etc.) (PLKG). The *Compendium Grammaticae Litvanicae* (1673), written by Theophylus Gotlieb Schultz (Teofilis Šulcas) and published by Christophorus Sepun (Kristupas Sapūnas), is also based on many language facts from the dialects of Žemaitians (*Samogitiae*), the Royal Lithuania (*Lithvaniae Regalis*) and the Ducal Lithuania (*Lithvaniae Ducalis*). This grammar has many similarities with earlier grammars; however, there are many clear differences, e.g. the classification of noun, adjective, etc. declension, verb conjugation and uninflected parts of speech are not the same (SŠG). The dialectal aspects of grammatical systems are also included in later grammars in a similar manner: Paul Friedrich Ruhig's (Povilas Frydrichas Ruigys) *Angangsgründe einer Littauifchen Grammatik* (1747), Gottfried Ostermeyer's (Gotfrydas Ostermejeris) *Neue Littauifche Grammatik* (1791), and Christian Gottlieb Mielcke's (Kristijonas Gotlybas Milkus) *Anfangs=Gründe einer Littauifchen Sprach=Lehre* (1800), etc. Since dialectology does not exist as a separate independent object in old grammar books, but is included in the cognitive discourse on the Lithuanian language, it is not possible to speak of a systematic grammar or the Lithuanian dialect grammar, either. In the old grammars of Lithuania Proper around mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (*Universitas Lingvarum Litvaniae*, 1737; Kazimieras Kristupas Daukša's *Trumpa kalbomokslea ližuv'o lietuviško*, around 1795–1865; Kalixt Kossakowski's *Grammatyka języka żmudskiego*, 1832, etc.) the Lithuanian dialects are given considerably less attention than those of Lithuania Minor and only to the degree of describing the basis of the Lithuanian written language (Subačius 2001; Mikulėnienė 2018: 18–43). In these books the grammatical features of authors' local subdialects as well as those of the neighbouring or more distant (sub)dialects are recorded.

The tradition of researching the morphology of Lithuanian dialects is inseparable from the main turning points in Lithuanian dialectological thought. Lithuanian dialectology began to develop as an independent discipline as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century and moved along similar lines as the Western dialectology. However, following the Second World War, the Lithuanian dialectology moved away and took its own path due to certain political and social circumstances. Contemporary researchers point out three stages in the development of Lithuanian dialectology, but in doing so they rely on slightly different criteria. According to Danguolė Mikulėnienė (2018: 11), the beginning of dialectology and the early and late pre-geolinguistic period (the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 1930s), the early and late geolinguistic period (the 1940s until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) and the neogeolinguistic period (the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century) are to be distinguished. Vytautas Kardelis (2018: 52–60) argues that it is more appropriate to distinguish between the paradigms of traditional dialectology (1816–1990), structural dialectology (from 1966 to the present) and new dialectology (from 2014 to the present), especially in the light of linguistic interests.

The goal of this article, applying the descriptive method, is to briefly discuss the development of morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects from the beginning of Lithuanian dialectology to the end of the 2010s. The main focus is on the research in this branch of linguistics, the methodology as well as the most important ideas and the most significant works.

### **Formation and continuation of traditional research on dialectal morphology**

Traditional research on the morphology of Lithuanian dialects has gone through several chronological stages. The first stage should be considered to be the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1918, when historical-comparative linguistics was formed and the methodology of language research proposed by Neogrammarians became established in Lithuanian dialectology (Mikulėnienė 2018; Kardelis 2018: 52). During this period, the main objective of the researchers was to collect empirical material, systematise it, and provide descriptions of individual dialects.

August Schleicher and Friedrich Kurschat laid the foundations for the traditional morphological study of the dialects. They continued the work begun by Daniel Klein, Christophorus Sepun, Gottfried Ostermeyer and other predecessors, elaborated on the issues and developed the standardization of written Lithuanian in Lithuania Minor.

Schleicher was the first to provide a comprehensive systematic scientific description of Lithuanian grammar. He based his research on the Aukštaitian dialect of the East Prussian Lithuanian. The famous German linguist discussed morphology in a broad sense in two chapters of his *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache* (1856) – *Wortbildung* and *Flexion*. Schleicher described

the formation of Lithuanian words only in general terms, as he considered this issue to be broad and complex. In the *Flexion* chapter, the scholar focused on noun and verb inflection. Meanwhile adverbs and inflectional parts of speech (conjunction, particle, preposition, interjection and onomatopoeic interjection) were completely excluded from *Handbuch*. In his research Schleicher relied not only on the forms he had heard himself, but also on those mentioned in earlier grammars and old texts. He was especially interested in the disappearing features of Lithuanian morphology – the consonant stem of nouns, the athematic verbs and others (Schleicher 1856: 86–254; Sabaliauskas 2008: 37).

Kurschat's book *Grammatik der Litauischen Sprache* (1876) was another important publication for the researchers of comparative linguistics and other scholars of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well to those who standardised the Lithuanian language. *Grammatik* aimed to provide the whole structure of the Lithuanian language and its diversity in as much detail as possible (Kuršaitis 2013). Kurschat, therefore, based his research not only on the southern subdialect of the Western Aukštaitian of East Prussia, but also on data from different localities within a large Lithuanian language area (Telšiai, Klaipėda, Kretinga, Šiauliai, Anykščiai, Kupiškis, Zarasai, Merkinė and others). Writing about morphological issues, Kurschat focused on the word inflection, classification, grammatical categories, and the origin of inflection, comparing them with those of other languages (Latvian, Polish, German, etc.). It should be noted that the author of the Lithuanian language grammar also provided the variants of the forms which were then used in the southern subdialect of the Western Aukštaitian of East Prussia but they did not correspond with the language norms proposed by Kurschat. Examples of other forms widely used in various Aukštaitian and Žemaitian subdialects were given separately. Meanwhile, this study substantially supplemented the respective work conducted by Schleicher.

Some of the later scholars studying the dialects of this period bypassed any morphological issues or were only interested in some of the more striking features<sup>1</sup>. For instance, in his small grammar *Kalbos lėtuviszko lėžuwo ir lėtuviszkas statraszimas arba ortograpija* [Lithuanian Dialects and Lithuanian Writing, or Orthography] Jonas Juška drew attention to several differences between inflection of nouns, adjectives and verbs ([Juska] 1861: 38–40), see Table 1.

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<sup>1</sup> For further information on the dialectological studies during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Mikulėnienė 2018 and the literature provided there.

Morphological Feature	Eastern Lithuanians	Other Lithuanians
Singular nominative of masculine nouns	<i>Skajtlis</i> [number] <i>Pūdžis</i> [potter] <i>Amžis, omžis</i> [age]	<i>skajtlus,</i> <i>pūdžus,</i> <i>amžus, umžus</i>
Verbs, 1 <sup>st</sup> person, subjunctive mood	<i>Ejczė</i> [I'd go] <i>Kalbėczė</i> [I'd speak] <i>Pasakīczė</i> [I'd say]	<i>ejczau,</i> <i>kalbėczau,</i> <i>pasakīczau</i>
Pronominal adjectives	<i>Auksztasaj</i> [the high] <i>Didisai</i> [the great] <i>Gražusaj</i> [the beautiful]	<i>auksztasis,</i> <i>didisis,</i> <i>gražusis</i>

**Table 1.** Some of the differences in the morphology of Lithuanian dialects mentioned by Juška

Antanas Baranauskas, an outstanding figure in Lithuanian linguistics of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, while providing the classifications of the Lithuanian dialects in his work *Замѣтки о литовскомъ языкѣ и словарь* [Notes on the Lithuanian Language and a Dictionary], indicated a number of dialectal morphological features. For instance, he noted that some nouns in the Eastern subdialects may differ in gender, the personal pronouns *jis* [he], *ji* [she], *jiė/jōs* [they] are characterised by the suppletive paradigm (singular and plural nominative is respectively *ānas, anà, ānys/ānos*), the supine form survived, while the Žemaitian dialect has its own past frequentative tense of the verb that is formed with the present forms of the auxiliary modal verb *liuobėti* [like, get used to, have a habit], which is not characteristic of the Aukštaitian dialect (Барановскій 1898: 60, 69).

Kazimieras Jaunius, one of Baranauskas' followers, in his *Грамматика литовскаго языка* [Grammar of the Lithuanian Language] and other works<sup>2</sup> studied more extensively the classification of Lithuanian dialects, the issues of phonetics and prosody, while combining the synchronic and diachronic approaches. Equally significant and far-sighted were his interpretations on the various phenomena of morphology and morphonology (Явнисъ 1911). Nevertheless, it should be noted that this researcher did not have adequate theoretical and methodological knowledge, therefore his descriptions of the forms of words, the relationships between them, the systems and inflection paradigms were fragmentary, non-systematic.

In general, the most important reason why Juška, Baranauskas, Jaunius and other researchers did not provide more detailed descriptions of morphology is the lack of empirical

<sup>2</sup> For more see Mikulėnienė 2018: 182–196 and Jaunius' descriptions of the dialects indicated there.

material. Jonas Jablonskis and Kazimieras Būga did not take on this task either – they were satisfied with observations on some of the more specific morphological subjects of Lithuanian dialects which caught their attention.

During the interwar period (1918–1941), the documentation and description of dialectal data continued according to the atomistic methodology of the Neogrammarians. During this period, dialectologists also slightly expanded their knowledge on the morphology of the Aukštaitian and Žemaitian dialects.

Georg Gerullis (Jurgis Gerulis) and Christian S. Stang focused on the inflection of noun, pronoun, adjective and verb in their study *Lietuvių žvejų tarmė Prūsijoje=Das Fischerlitauisch in Preussen* [The Dialect of Lithuanian Fishermen In Prussia] (1933). The descriptions of these speech parts were supplemented with notes on the variability of individual grammatical cases or personal forms, the relationship between the phonetic phenomena and a certain morphological category, and so on. However, other parts of speech (numeral, adverb, preposition and conjunction) were only touched upon briefly.

Another linguist, Antanas Salys, also applied similar principles in his book *Lietuvių kalbos tarmės* [Lithuanian Dialects] (1935), writing about the grammatical system and categories of the Žemaitian dialect. Salys observed that the denominative case inflections in this dialect were strongly influenced by the phonetic changes of the word endings; different case inflections appeared. He wrote remarks about the stability and decline of some forms (e.g. the dual number), discussed their origins and evolution, and compared them with the respective forms of standard language of that time.

During the mentioned period, Jan Otrebski and Petras Jonikas also took part in researching the morphology of the Lithuanian dialects. Otrebski supplemented the knowledge of this field of grammar with descriptions of the characteristic morphological features of the Karališkės village of Tverečius area, while Jonikas described the characteristic morphological features of the Pagramantis subdialect (Otrebski 1934; Jonikas 1939).

After the Second World War, Lithuanian linguists, who were no longer able to maintain the existing contacts with Western linguistics or establish new ones, needed to revive the tradition of Lithuanian dialectology. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century research into the Lithuanian dialect morphology was mostly conducted in several main directions:

- 1) attempts were made to summarise all available facts on the Lithuanian dialects<sup>3</sup>;

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<sup>3</sup> Facts on the Lithuanian dialectal morphology were also incorporated into the research of comparative historical grammar and other linguistic trends.

2) certain microsystems of individual subdialects were analysed (e.g. the noun of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Utena);

3) descriptions elaborating the essential morphological features of a dialect or subdialect, or systematic ones of separate subdialects were given;

4) various morphological aspects, problematic issues of the origin of forms and evolution were researched from the traditional atomistic point of view; research was carried out to determine the causes of certain form variations.

The most comprehensive and systematic picture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century grammatical systems of Lithuanian dialects is presented in two fundamental volumes – Zigmąs Zinkevičius' *Lietuvių dialektologija* [Lithuanian Dialectology] (1966) and the third volume of *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* [Atlas of the Lithuanian Language] (1991).

Zinkevičius systematised the linguistic facts on Lithuanian dialects and morphology gathered over several decades and was able to present a comprehensive picture based on the principles and methods of structuralism. Zinkevičius also commented on the origin of certain morphological phenomena and even demonstrated the distribution of some forms in the Lithuanian language area by using diagrams (e.g. the inflection of the singular dative case of *a*-stem nouns). He also researched various further issues in his later work.

The *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language*, the data for which was gathered under the *Programme for Material Collection to Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* (LKA MRI), reflects the direction of research in areal linguistics. It presents a more detailed picture of noun and verb inflection and spread as well as the variety of inflections. However, other features, such as declension of adjectives, pronouns and participles, are not discussed in such a detailed way. According to the editors of the *Atlas*, they were aiming to demonstrate the influence of Standard Lithuanian and the neighbouring subdialects. The *Atlas* also sought to clarify other changes in the structure of subdialectal morphology and its evolution.

It should be noted that certain dialectal changes and the spread of some linguistic phenomena, which is not quite clear, prompted the appearance of new questionnaires for fact collecting: *Kalbos faktų rinkimo programa* [Programme for Collecting Language Facts] (1983), *Lietuvių kalbos tarmių ir jų sąveikos tyrimo programa. Morfologija* [Programme for Researching the Lithuanian Dialects and Their Interaction: Morphology] (1995). The latter was much more comprehensive than its predecessors. Unfortunately, collecting morphological data under the two programmes mentioned was not successful since the recorded material only came from certain localities and not the entire country.

There are only several relatively detailed systematic synchronous descriptions which examine all parts of speech morphologically. They have been made using a descriptive method

and are well illustrated with empirical material. These works focus on the most endangered Lithuanian subdialects of Belarus – Gervėčiai, Zietela and Lazūnai (Kardelytė 1975: 39–114; Vidugiris 2004: 123–337; Vidugiris 2014), and reflect the diachronic considerations. The studies emphasise the surviving rare archaic forms as well as the features of modified morphological systems, the changes of which were induced by the internal development of the subdialects and the Slavic languages. The description of the morphology in the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Klaipėda region is based on the written language of brothers Vilius and Maksas Gaigalaičiai (Kaukienė 1997). This work analyses certain structural and derivational features of nouns and adjectives, verbs and uninflected parts of speech and grammatical categories. Brief descriptions of more prominent morphological features are provided in the textbooks of various Aukštaitian and Žemaitian subdialects<sup>4</sup>.

From 1944 to the present day, a number of scientific articles and other works have been published about separate synchronic and diachronic issues of the Lithuanian dialectal morphology. Needless to say, the evolution of the Aukštaitian and Žemaitian nouns, inflection and derivation, the variability of their forms, the development of flexions and similar aspects have been studied most extensively by linguists<sup>5</sup> but the adjective<sup>6</sup>, pronoun<sup>7</sup>, verb<sup>8</sup> and other parts of speech<sup>9</sup> have been researched very little in this respect. It can be assumed that initially there were intentions to consistently examine the morphology of individual subdialects. This would be evidenced, for example, by the work of Juozas Senkus (1958; 1959; 1960; 1960a; 1961; 1962; 1968; 1972), in which various inflected and uninflected parts of speech of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas are analysed. However, a subsequent shift away from this direction of research towards the analysis of specific problems relevant or attractive to dialectologists can be observed. Areas such as the peculiar past frequentative tense of the Žemaitian subdialect or the inessive and illative relationship in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Vilnius are studied more commonly.

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<sup>4</sup> See: Mikulėnienė, Morkūnas 1997: 17–30; Markevičienė 1999; Markevičienė 2001; Leskauskaitė 2006: 40–65; MAT 35–41; ŠŠT 34–41; MŠT 43–69; ŠT 48–54; Tuomienė 2008: 55–75; DūAT 31–36; DuAT 25–33; MoAT 25–32; Bakšienė, Vaišnienė 2014: 52–53; LzŠT 27–33; SŠT 58–77; LpŠT 28–39; AAT; DAT 2019: 33–39.

<sup>5</sup> For more on the morphological features of nouns in the Lithuanian dialects see: Grinaveckienė 1959; Kardelytė 1959; Morkūnas 1959; Jonaitytė 1960; Girdenis 1963; Eidukaitienė 1963; Morkūnas 1964; Lipskienė, Vidugiris 1966; Morkūnas 1969; Vidugiris 1969; Rosinas 1971; Rosinas 1974; Morkūnas 1989; Rinkauskienė 1997; Rinkauskienė 1998; Rinkauskienė 1999; Aleksandravičius 1999; Tuomienė 2001; Garšva 2002; Rinkauskienė 2003; Rinkauskienė 2004; Leskauskaitė 2005; Leskauskaitė 2005a; Markevičienė, Markevičius 2005; Tuomienė 2005; Leskauskaitė 2008; Tuomienė 2008; Kardelytė-Grinevičienė 2008; Tuomienė 2009; Tuomienė 2010; Leskauskaitė 2012; Leskauskaitė 2015; Švambarytė-Valužienė 2019, etc.

<sup>6</sup> See Kardelytė 1961; Jonaitytė 1967; Šliavas 1974; Vidugiris 1974; Baužytė-Motiejūnienė 1989; Vidugiris 1997; Rinkauskienė 2004a; Švambarytė-Valužienė 2019.

<sup>7</sup> See: Kardelytė 1961; Jonaitytė 1967; Rosinas 1971; Tuomienė 2018.

<sup>8</sup> See: Vitkauskas 1961; Vidugiris 1964; Grinaveckienė 1974; Judeikienė 1997; Kiseliūnaitė 1998; Balčiūnienė 2014; Lubienė, Pakalniškienė 2015; Švambarytė-Valužienė 2019.

<sup>9</sup> See: Jonaitytė 1967; Markevičius, Markevičienė 2018.

## Reflections of structuralism

Structuralism formed in Western Europe and the USA at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its main principles were laid down by the Swiss scholar Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). The later branches of structuralism such as the Prague or Copenhagen (glossematics) traditions, descriptivism, generativism and other schools, undoubtedly reached Lithuania as well. However, in reality, the Lithuanian dialectological research has little connection to the original structuralism and its theory (Kardelis 2018: 57–58). The morphological studies of the Lithuanian dialects are based only on the theoretical principles and methodology of natural morphology.

In the 1970s, German and Austrian linguists Willi Mayerthaler, Wolfgang Dressler and Wolfgang U. Wurzel laid the foundations for a new field of research – natural morphology – which aims to account for morphological preferences on the basis of extralinguistic motivations<sup>10</sup>. This trend is based on three (partially conflicting) sub-theories: a) universal naturalness (or markedness), which focuses on cognitive and semiotic principles; b) typological naturalness (or adequacy); and c) language-specific naturalness (or language adequacy, semiotic functionalism), which elaborates on what is normal in the potential system of a specific language (Mayerthaler 1981; Wurzel 1984; Dressler 1985; Dressler 1985a: 321–334; Wurzel 1985: 165–183; Dressler 1987: 267–281; Wurzel 1987: 59–95; Mayerthaler 1987: 25–58; Mayerthaler 1988; Dressler 1988: 199–208). In other words, “both the structural tendencies of languages in general, and the specific processes of change in individual languages, are explained in part by the operation of hypothetically universal laws of naturalness” (Matthews 2014: 239). Natural morphology also puts special emphasis on the interface between morphology and other linguistic and non-linguistic components. Dressler and Wurzel introduced several principles on the evaluation of language naturalness: system congruity (compatibility), inflectional class stability, uniformity and clarity, constructive iconicity, phonological iconicity, optimal size of word forms (2–3 syllable), indexicality, typological consistency/logicality. Lieselotte Anderwald (2009), Max W. Wheeler (1993), Laurie Bauer (2003), Klaas Willems, Ludo De Cuyper (2008) and other linguists also discussed the naturalness of morphological processes. This theory certainly has its shortcomings, which is why its supporters came under criticism. For example, it is observed that the works of Wurzel, Dressler and other linguists developing the theory of natural morphology often emphasise

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<sup>10</sup> The theory of natural morphology was inspired by David Stampe’s theoretical approach to phonology (see more Stampe 1969; Stampe 1979; Galeas 2001: 7; Dressler 1989: 109–117; Dressler 2009: 33–39).

analogy and reanalysis, but very little is said about the importance of grammaticalization (Stolz 1992; Aronoff, Shidhar 1998: 179–189).

In Lithuanian linguistics, the theory of natural morphology was applied and developed by Aleksas Girdeņis and Albertas Rosinas (Girdeņis, Rosinas 1977: 338–345). These linguists argue that traditional research methods are not sufficient because they do not allow researchers to reveal, for instance, the natural classification of interaction between the different stems and declension types, taking into account the similarities of the noun's gender and forms. The methods employed in this research opened more opportunities and new areas of analysis<sup>11</sup>. Initially, both Rosinas and other Lithuanian scholars based their research on the above-mentioned theory, discussing the synchronic and diachronic issues of the noun declension system in Standard Lithuanian, old written Lithuanian records and the Latvian language (Rosinas 1994; Zavadskaitė–Ivanauskienė 2000; Savickienė, Kazlauskienė, Kamandulytė 2004; Rosinas 2005; Pakalniškienė, Šarkytė 2012). Later, the theory of natural morphology was also introduced into studying children's language.

The principles of natural morphology started to be applied in Lithuanian dialectology only at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Based on these principles, the noun declension systems of the North-Eastern Aukštaitian of Širvintos, the Western Aukštaitian of Šiauliai (Joniškis subdialect), the North-Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys and the Southern Aukštaitian (Varėna subdialect) were described (Markevičius 2006; Markevičius 2008; Markevičius 2009; Kaikarytė 2010; Karaciejūtė 2012; Karaciejūtė 2011; Karaciejūtė 2012; Karaciejūtė 2013; Karaciejūtė 2014; Kurkauskienė 2016). In addition to discussing the structural features of the noun system, the inflection classes and their paradigms, stability and productivity, these studies also focused on constructional iconicity of case forms, horizontal (inflectional) and vertical (form) syncretism of the forms and inflections as well as its causes, the natural hierarchy of inflection classes, the issue of grammatical gender and form and others subjects. The aforementioned aspects of research often help to substantiate the diachrony of word forms and systems in the Lithuanian dialects. For instance, the exact structure of noun declension in the North-Eastern Aukštaitian of Širvintos was formed due to the elimination of inflectional asymmetry: the inflections of all cases and all stems became univocalic with the the plural inessive and illative being the only exceptions; the Southern Aukštaitians use more variants of noun number and gender than the Eastern Aukštaitians of Širvintos and the Western Aukštaitians of Šiauliai. Comparison of the paradigms of inflectional forms has shown that there

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<sup>11</sup> Adelė Valeckienė (1998: 319) offered insights similar to the theory of natural morphology about the noun inflection system in the Lithuanian language. In classifying nouns by the stem, she took into account the similarities between the paradigms.

are far more syncretised cases, non-iconic, and counter-iconic forms in the North-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Panevėžys than in Standard Lithuanian. It gives rise to the tendency of shifting from three (masculine, feminine and mixed) to two (masculine and feminine) declension types.

It should be noted that the above-mentioned research is fragmentary – so far only a few separate areas of the Aukštaitian dialect have been studied, without any research into the Žemaitian dialect. Moreover, the afore-mentioned research focused only on the inflectional system of the noun, but the adjective, verb and other parts of speech did not attract the interest of researchers of dialectal morphology. However, it is likely that more studies based on the methodology of natural morphology will be carried out in future together with constructive discourse on various theoretical and methodological aspects.

### **Conclusions**

As can be seen from this brief overview, during the period between the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of World War II, any morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects was based on the principle of documentation and the Neogrammarian methodology. 1944 marks the start of a new tradition in Lithuanian dialectology when descriptive and areal linguistic research methods become widely-used and the methodology of natural morphology is applied. This is also the aspect, according to which the Lithuanian dialects start to be compared to each other.

The evolution of the global linguistic thought prompts researchers of various scientific branches to search for new trends and methods. The emergence of a new direction of dialectology (or neogeolinguistics) in Lithuania at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century prompts discussion on further direction of morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects as well as its theoretical and methodological provisions. The research carried out over the past decade is incredibly important as it shows that rapid change in traditional dialects also affects their morphology, although it is more difficult for language users to notice it (cf.: Lubienė, Pakalniškienė 2015: 266; Rinkauskienė 2018: 213–222). This is where comparative morphological research into the dialects of the Baltic languages could be beneficial. Various computer programmes and tools could be employed to systemise the material of the Lithuanian dialects and to analyse any changes in their morphological systems. Dialectometry and various statistical methods could be particularly suitable for this purpose.

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## EXOPHORIC USAGE OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *ANAS* [THAT] IN STANDARD LITHUANIAN AND SUB-SUBDIALECT OF VIDUKLĖ

*RODOMASIS ĮVARDIS ANAS ŠNEKAMOJOJE LIETUVIŲ KALBOJE IR VIDUKLĖS ŠNEKTOJE: EGZOFORINĖS VARTOSENOS ATVEJIS*

### Abstract

The paper examines the use of the pronoun *anas* [that] in Standard Lithuanian and in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė. The aim of this research is to investigate whether the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is, in fact, the opposite of the pronoun *šis* [this] and to show that the “distal” meaning of *anas* [that] (in relation to the speaker) is becoming increasingly rare in face-to-face communication, with the Lithuanian language users presently attaching a slightly different meaning to this word.

The study of the spoken Lithuanian language revealed that: 1) the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is hardly ever used in the spoken Lithuanian language to indicate or localise distal entities; 2) the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] in the spoken language is likely to acquire an additional meaning of clarification (concretization); 3) the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is almost always replaced by the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] in face-to-face communication.

Similarly, the data obtained from the sub-subdialect of Viduklė confirms that the speakers of this sub-subdialect do not use the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] to identify distant objects/people, either. Instead, a distant referent-object is indicated by the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that]. The lexeme *anas* [that] was found to be used as a personal pronoun *jis, ji* [he, she] only in one context.

**KEYWORDS:** demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that], exophoric usage, Lithuanian dialects, spatial deixis, Standard Lithuanian, sub-subdialect of Viduklė.

### Anotacija

Šiame straipsnyje tiriama įvardžio *anas* vartosena šnekamojoje lietuvių kalboje ir Viduklė pašnektėje, aiškinamasi, ar kalbamasis žodis iš tikrųjų sudaro opoziciją su įvardžiu *šis*. Pagrindinis tikslas – parodyti, kad tiesioginėje komunikacijoje įvardžio *anas* reikšmė ‘tolimasis’ (kalbėtojo atžvilgiu) yra nublankusi ir lietuvių kalbos vartotojai šiam žodžiui susteikia kiek kitokį reikšmės atspalvį.

Atlikus šnekamosios lietuvių kalbos tyrimą nustatyta, kad: 1) rodomasio įvardis *anas* šnekamojoje lietuvių kalboje beveik nevartojamas; 2) rodomasio įvardis *anas* šnekamojoje kalboje veikiausiai įgyja papildomą tikslinimo

(konkretinimo) reikšmę; 3) rodomąjį įvardį *anas* tiesioginėje komunikacijoje beveik visada keičia rodomasis įvardis *tas*.

Ištyrus Viduklės pašnektės duomenis nustatyta, kad apklaustieji informantai tolymiems subjektams / objektams įvardyti taip pat nesirenka rodomojo įvardžio *anas*. Toli nuo kalbamosios situacijos esantys referentai įvardijami įvardžiu *tas*. Vieninteliame kontekste užfiksuotas žodis *anas* buvo pavartotas kaip asmeninis įvardis ‘jis, ji’.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** egzoforinė vartosena, lietuvių kalbos tarmės, rodomasis įvardis *anas*, šnekamoji lietuvių kalba, Viduklės pašnektė, vietos deiksė.

## Introduction

The aim of this research is to review the situations where the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] occurs in exophoric usage and to define its meaning in more detail. While the previous studies of the Lithuanian demonstratives *šis* [this] and *tas* [that] (Judžentytė 2017; 2018a; 2018b) allowed the assumption that *anas* [that] is potentially disappearing from the ternary system of the Lithuanian demonstrative pronouns (based on spoken Lithuanian), the current research is intended to focus mainly on the demonstrative *anas* [that] in different varieties of the Lithuanian language, i.e. the Standard Language and one of its dialects.

The electronic dictionary *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian] (<http://lkiis.lki.lt/>, hereinafter: DLKŽe), provides the following definition of the pronoun *anàs, anà*: “a demonstrative pronoun; the other one, not this one (denotes a distant thing in terms of space and time)”. The examples given in the dictionary are (DLKŽe):

(1) *Duok man **anã** knygà, ne šitã.*

[Give me **that** book, not this one.]

(2) ***Anõj** pusėj upės.*

[On the **other** side of the river.]

(3) ***Anaĩs** metais.*

[**Last** year.]

The electronic dictionary *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language], (<http://lkz.lt>, hereinafter: LKŽe), provides a similar definition of the pronoun *anàs, anà* (pron. demons., pl. *aniẽ, anõs*; du. *anuõdu (aniẽdu, anuõdu, anùdu), aniẽdvi (anuõdvi)*): “1. the other one, not this one (points to an object or a person at a distance, compared to the other similar object or person); 2. “not this one (taking into consideration indefinite time in the

past)”. As the second meaning has no connection to the concept of place, only a small number of examples are provided to illustrate the first meaning (for more examples, see LKŽe):

(4) *Anàs [vaikas] visiem geriau patinka už šituos išdykėlius.*

[The **other** [child] is loved more than these naughty ones.]

(5) *Gykis į aną lauką, čia nėra kas èst.*

[Take the herd to the **other** field, there’s nothing to eat here.]

(6) *Jis atvažiavo iš anòs pusės.*

[He came from the **other** side.]

(7) *Anà šalis (vyro pusė) jau atvažiavo.*

[The **other** side (husband’s relatives) have arrived.]

Extensive research on the pronoun *anas* [that] in Standard Lithuanian was first conducted by Albertas Rosinas (1996: 57–59), who claimed that this pronoun belonged to the system of demonstrative pronouns, it belonged to the space (spatial) deixis and was a “distal” pronoun. In this ternary system, *anas* [that] functions as a deictic pronoun and is opposed to the “proximal” member *šis, šitas* [this]. In some contexts, the pronoun *anas* [that] can be replaced by the pronoun *tas* [that], because the latter can be used to indicate both a proximal (near the speaker) and a distal (not near the speaker) entity in Lithuanian. In Rosinas’ opinion, *tas* [that] has a neutral meaning and does not indicate any distance, therefore, it functions as a substitute in this ternary deictic system.

At the end of Rosinas’ research, all the semes of the pronoun *anas* [that] were listed: “deictic”, “unemphatic”, “different”, “demonstrative”, “direct”, “distant”, “non-proximate (far)”. Rosinas therefore finally identified the precise position of the pronoun *anas* [that] in the whole system of the Lithuanian pronouns (see Figure 1):

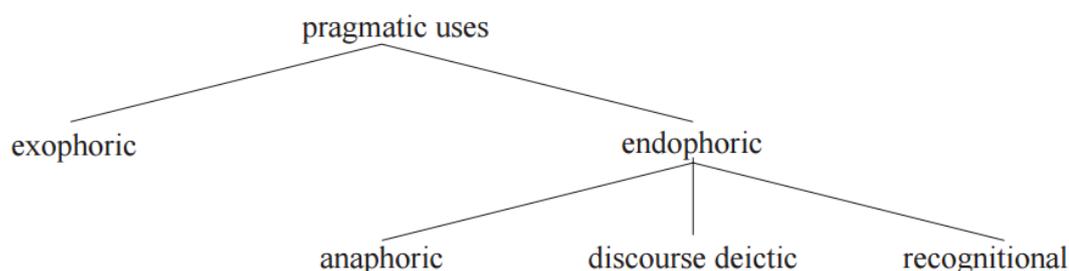


Therefore, the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] was captured as *tas*, *ta* (proximal)/*anas*, *ana* (distal) in only two of the Žemaitian sub-subdialects – Viduklė and Rūgaliai (Rosinas 1982: 141). This conclusion feeds into the scope of the current study – the Standard Lithuanian language and the Žemaitian subdialects possessing the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that], more specifically, the case of the Viduklė<sup>2</sup> sub-subdialect.

The paper consists of the following parts: (1) a brief overview of the theoretical background and the methods applied; (2) the analysis of results, followed by conclusions and the list of references.

### 1. Theoretical background and methods

**Exophoric use.** According to Holger Diesel, besides the syntactic and semantic functions, the demonstratives also serve specific pragmatic functions (Diesel 1999: 2). Pragmatic uses can be two-fold – exophoric or endophoric (Diesel 1999: 94) (see Figure 2). Referring to Halliday and Hasan (1976), Diesel uses the term “endophoric” to name three subcategories: the anaphoric use, the discourse deictic use and the recognitional use.



**Figure 2.** The pragmatic uses of demonstratives

Exophoric demonstratives focus the addressees’ attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors. These demonstratives have three distinctive features: they involve the speaker as the deictic centre; they indicate the deictic contrast on a distance scale; and they are often accompanied by a pointing gesture (see Table 1).

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<sup>2</sup> A little town located in Raseiniai district.

**Table 1.** Pragmatics

<i>Use</i>	<i>Reference</i>		
<b>Exophoric</b>	<b>(i) <i>Emphasis</i></b>	<b>(ii) <i>Contrast</i></b>	<b>(iii) <i>Precision</i></b>
anaphoric	emphatic	contrastive	precise
discourse deictic	non-emphatic	non-contrastive	vague
recognitional			

**Deictic systems across the world.** From the point of view of the deictic centre (speaker), pronominal deictic systems can be expressed by either proximal (immediate) or distal demonstratives, such as *this* (close or relatively close to the speaker) and *that* (distant from the speaker or non-proximal, sometimes relatively close to the addressee) (Huang 2014: 193). In the example ***This house looks bigger than that one*** the demonstrative pronoun *this* indicates the house which is closer to the speaker, and *that* indicates the house which is some distance away from the speaker. This system is universally applied across the world (Diesel 2013; Huang 2014).

A number of languages use a basic ternary system with a three-way contrast between the proximal member, the medial member and the distal member (extremely far from the speaker and/or addressee) (Huang 2014: 193). This three-term system is called “distance-oriented”. It is a speaker-anchored (Levinson 2004) or distance-centric system (Hanks 2011), where the medial member locates a place, related to the deictic centre (mostly the speaker) (Huang 2006: 152–154). For instance, in Scottish English *this* means “close to the speaker”, *that* takes the middle position, and *yon* is the distal member of the system.

There are certain languages, on the other hand, where these three terms can identify proximity to the speaker, proximity to the addressee and the distance from both the speaker and the addressee (Huang 2014: 196). In this case, the middle term denotes the location which is close to the addressee. For instance, according to the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS<sub>e</sub>), in Japanese *kono* means “close to the speaker”, *sono* – “close to the addressee”, and *ano* – “some distance away from the speaker and the addressee” (WALS<sub>e</sub>).

Some languages contain demonstratives with 4- and 5-way distinctions on the proximal-distal dimension (Huang 2006: 154–156). Such systems are mainly found in three regions: North America (Koasati, Maricopa, Navajo, Tlingit, Quileute), Africa (Hausa, Iraqw, Somali, Malagasy), and the Pacific region (Kambera, Paakantyi, Asmat) (WALS<sub>e</sub>).

Lastly, certain languages stand out with their one-term deictic system. According to *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, one-term systems occur quite frequently in Africa (Supyire, Koyraboro Senni, Koromfe, Kera) but they are also found in Europe (German, French) and Meso-America (Mam) (WALS). Out of all the world languages only 6 do not express the distance contrast. For instance, the French sentence *Passe-moi ce seau, s'il te plait* could be understood in several ways: 1) “give me this bucket, please” or 2) “give me that bucket, please”. It depends on the exact context. For this reason, the afore-mentioned French demonstrative *ce* is distance-neutral. Usually, such systems are supplemented by two-term systems of deictic adverbs of place (Huang 2014: 192–193), as seen in the Žemaitian examples given by Rosinas. This situation can also be illustrated with a German example where the deictic contrast between two referents is expressed by adding the adverbial demonstratives *hier* (proximal) and *da* (distal) to the neutral forms: *Das Bild hier gefällt mir besser als das da* [I like this picture better than that one (over there)] (Diessel, 2013).

In comparison, the Lithuanian proximal/distal (binary) opposition can be expressed with three members: *šis* [this], *tas* [that] and *anas* [that] (Rosinas 1996: 57–59):

1. *šis*, meaning “deictic”, “unemphatic”, “identical”, “demonstrative”, “direct”, “distant”, “proximal”;
2. *tas*, meaning “deictic”, “unemphatic”, “identical”, “demonstrative”, “direct”, but “non-distant”;
3. *anas*, meaning “deictic”, “unemphatic”, “different”, “demonstrative”, “direct”, “distant”, and “non-proximate (far)”.

Rosinas explains in another study that complicated deictic systems are typical of the early stages of language evolution but they tend to get simplified over time (Rosinas 1988: 53). It seems this is the case with the Lithuanian language (Standard Lithuanian). Thus, the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] loses its place in the system and becomes a neutral pronoun with regards to the distance with the binary proximal/distal opposition routinely expressed by remaining demonstrative pronouns *šis* [this] or *anas* [that].

**Methods of data collection.** In order to study the exophoric use of demonstratives, samples of face-to-face communication in the natural environment of the interlocutor are required. According to Nick Enfield: “As meanings of demonstratives are context-bounded, it is necessary to verify their use in spontaneous interaction” (Enfield 2003: 83). Therefore, the material needed for research is multimodal data. The only appropriate way of collecting such data is video recording (Querol-Julián, Fortanet-Gómez 2014: 81; Mittelberg 2014: 229).

Empirical research is largely dependent on asking the right questions so the method of qualitative interviewing was employed in the current study. There are three types of interviews

typically used in active research: 1) an open-ended interview, 2) a semi-structured interview, and 3) a structured interview. The most commonly used type is the semi-structured interview because it in itself combines the structured and unstructured interview: “The researcher, for example, knows what topics need to be covered and to a large extent what questions need to be asked (though this does vary), so a degree of comparison is possible. However, at the same time, the interviewer needs to allow sufficient flexibility to probe some aspects in depth and, where necessary, to let the respondent lead in much the same way as in an open interview” (Richards 2009: 185).

As demonstratives usually appear in contexts where it is necessary to refer to the location relative to the location of the interlocutor in the speech event, the following questions/requests were pre-prepared:

1. To describe the surrounding environment (neighbourhood, current place of living, etc.): *Who lives there? What did the village look like before? Who lived here previously? How can I get to the centre? What do you think about this environment?*, etc.

2. To describe the people (in pictures, in actual environment, in the past, etc.): *Do you have many people in this village? Who lived here previously? What jobs do they have? What do you think about them?*, etc.

When necessary, the interviewer could react to different situations and ask additional questions, such as *Which one? Where?*, etc.

The participant in the dialogue responded by describing the objects as seen from his/her point of view. The demonstrative use, where a speaker refers directly to something physically evident in their surroundings, is exophoric.

The interviews took place across different locations. The data for the research on Standard Lithuanian was gathered in the Cathedral Square of Vilnius, with participants being interviewed in various spots around the Square. The respondents were facing mostly the same objects they were asked to refer to.

The next phase of the research took place in Viduklė and its surroundings. The interviews were recorded both indoors and outdoors. During all the interviews the location of the speaker (informant) and the addressee (person who made the video) remained unchanged: the informant was behind the video camera and the speaker was in front of him/her.

**Participants and material.** 20 participants (8 male, 12 female), all native Lithuanian speakers aged 20–23, were interviewed during the first stage of the recording (at the Cathedral Square). 59 videos were produced, each 1–2 minutes long (in total about 80 minutes of video material). All the participants were students and they all gave their consent to participate and be video-recorded.

10 participants (1 male, 9 female), all originally from Viduklė and its surroundings and aged 55–89, took part in the second stage of interviewing. 85 short videos were produced (in total 65 minutes of video material). All of the interviewees gave their consent to participate and be video-recorded.

The age criterion was not relevant in this study as the deictic words and their systems are considered to be universal.

**Method of data analysis.** The data collected was subsequently decoded, transcribed and analysed. Particular attention was given to the use of the demonstrative *anas* [that] in NP<sup>3</sup>. Another important factor was the deictic gesture (see McNeill 1992, 78–81; Levinson 2004), which is normally used to specify the meaning of the demonstrative.

The material was analysed and divided into two groups: a) contexts in which the Lithuanian demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is used; and b) contexts in which other Lithuanian demonstrative pronouns are used instead of *anas* [that].

In order to interpret the reasons why the same demonstrative pronoun may be used to denote both the near and the distal entities, the 2010 research by Samir Omar Jarbou was referred to.

## **2. Analysis of demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] in exophoric use in Standard Lithuanian and Viduklė sub-subdialect**

### **2. 1. Demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] in Standard Lithuanian**

#### **2. 1. 1. Contexts in which demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is used**

As stated in the Introduction to this article, the Lithuanian pronoun *anas* [that] belongs to the system of demonstratives pronouns. *Anas* [that] is a “distal” pronoun used to indicate that the referent is located far from the speaker’s point of view. In addition, *anas* [that] is a member of the proximal (*šis, šitas*) [this]/distal (*anas*) [that] opposition (Rosinas 1996: 58–59).

Out of the entire collected data, only one dialogue, containing the Lithuanian pronoun *anas* [that], was recorded:

(8) S1<sup>4</sup>: *O už Katedros, yra kalnas.*

[And behind the Cathedral, there is a hill.]

S2: *Kuris, kuris? Kuris kalnas?*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Noun Phrase.

<sup>4</sup> S1 – the first speaker, S2 – the second speaker.

<sup>5</sup> The question was thrown into the context as several hills were in the background – the Gediminas Castle hill, the Hill of Three Crosses and others.

[Which one, which one? Which hill?]

S1: *Va, **anas**. Tai ten yra Gedimino pilis viršuje.*

[Over there, **that one**. Gediminas Castle is on top of it.]

S2 chose the so-called distal pronoun *anas* [that] to point at the Gediminas Castle due to the question of S1 *Kuris kalnas?* [Which hill?]. It seems that this particular pronoun was selected in order to specify the hill. To clarify, S2 referred to many entities at the same distance as the hill during the same conversation, but the main choice in these latter descriptions was the demonstrative *tas* [that]. When S1 thinks that the referent is not visible to S2, S1 uses the so-called distal pronoun *anas* [that] together with a pointing hand gesture. The purpose of this combination (*anas* + hand gesture) is to draw attention, to define, to be specific and precise.

### 2. 1. 2. Contexts in which demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is replaced by other pronouns

The analysed data indicates that participants in most of the recorded dialogues managed to communicate without using the demonstrative Lithuanian pronoun *anas* [that] for describing distal referents. It is important to remember that in Standard Lithuanian *anas* [that] tends to refer to distal entities, while *tas* [that] is the so-called neutral member and does not carry any meaning of distance. Nevertheless, it is the latter demonstrative pronoun that all other informants generally used to refer to distal entities, as shown in the below examples and Figure 3:

(9) S1: *Ką manai apie žmones, kuriuos matai?*

[What do you think about the people you see?]

S2: *Taip. **Tie** žmonės skuba iš po darbų arba dar tik namo.*

*Arba į kažkokius užsiėmimus.*

[Yes. **Those** people are rushing after work or just heading home. Or to some activities.]



**Figure 3.** The pronoun *tie* [those] followed by a gesture in reference

- (10) S1: *Ar gali apibūdinti žmones?*  
 [Could you describe the people you see?]  
 S2: **Tiedu** žmonės neturi skėčio.  
 [**Those two** people don't have umbrellas.]
- (11) S1: *Ką manai apie pastatus?*  
 [Could you describe the buildings you see?]  
 S2: **Tas** pastatas žiauriai aukštas. **Tai** yra bokštas. **Tas** pastatas irgi žiauriai didelis. **Tai** yra katedros pastatas.  
 [**That** building is really tall. **That** is a tower. **That** building is also huge. **That** is the Cathedral building.]

In examples (9), (10) and (11) the participants chose the demonstrative pronoun *tas* (*tie*, *tiedu*, *tai*) [that, those] to indicate distal objects or people, e.g. *tie žmonės* [those people], *tiedu žmonės* [those two people], *tas pastatas* [that building], etc. Each time the demonstrative was followed by a gesture that specified the location of the object/person precisely.

It is apparent from the researched material and the given examples that the participants of this study did not feel they needed to use the so-called distal Lithuanian pronoun *anas* [that] in their conversations. There can be several reasons for that: 1) the pronoun *tas* [that] already functions as the main distal pronoun in spoken Lithuanian; 2) the deictic system used is simpler due to its correlation with the systems of the deictic adverbs *čia* [here]/*ten* [there] in face-to-face communication (exophoric use).

In many conversations the deictic adverbs of place act as a supporting system, i.e. speakers refer to entities by using the demonstrative pronouns as well as the deictic adverbs:

(12) S1: *Ką manai apie pastatus?*

[Could you describe the buildings you see?]

S2: **Tas** pastatas žiauriai aukštas. **Tai** yra bokštas. **Tas** pastatas irgi žiauriai didelis. **Tai** yra katedros pastatas. Ten yra kažkokia statula, neaišku, nežinau kokio. Ten yra kažkoks ministerijos pastatas, bet tiksliai nežinau, kurio. O **štai tas** pastatas yra geltonas ir tai yra kažkoks viešbutis.

[**That** building is really tall. **That** is a tower. **That** building is also huge. **That** is the Cathedral building. There is some kind of sculpture over there, it is not clear, I do not know what it is. There is a building over there of some ministry, but I do not know precisely which one. And **that** building is yellow, it is some hotel.]

In example (12) the switch between the two deictic systems is obvious. While describing the buildings, the second participant uses the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] first, and then substitutes it by a purely deictic adverb *ten* [there] before finally returning to the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that]. In Lithuanian, the purely deictic adverb of place *ten* [there] usually indicates distal entities (from the physical point of view). The afore-mentioned switch therefore seems logical as both of these words refer to distal objects. This is another proof that the pronoun *tas* [that] has not fallen out of the system but is used with the meaning of “distal”.

There are many contexts showing that speakers may sometimes choose to use other lexical items to specify the location instead of using the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that]:

(13) S1: *Ar gali papasakoti apie žmones, kuriuos matai?*

[Could you describe the people you see?]

S2: **Tos** mergaitės atrodo labai išsiblaškiusios ir nežino, kur joms eiti, **tos** mergaitės, atrodo, daro kažkokį eksperimentą. **Tos** kalbasi. O **tie** va žmonės toli tiesiog eina tyliai.

[**Those** girls seem to be very distracted and do not know where to go, **those** girls, it seems to me, are conducting some experiment. **Those** are talking. And **those** people far away are just walking quietly.]

As seen from the given context, the second participant tries to locate the people within the space and they understand that the distance varies. But instead of using the pronoun *anas* [that], which could help them express the distal object/person, they choose to say *O tie va žmonės toli...* [And those people far away...]. The demonstrative pronoun *tie* [those], in combination with the adverb of place *toli* [far away], expresses the distal location.

To sum up, the main reason for the demonstrative Lithuanian pronoun *anas* [that] potentially falling out of the system (if that is indeed the case) and being substituted for the

demonstrative *tas* [that] could be the existing deictic system of adverbs of place. As this latter system consists of two members (*čia* [here] as a proximal member and *ten* [there] as a distal member), speakers find it easier to use the same system of demonstrative pronouns by analogy.

## 2. 2. Demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] in Viduklė sub-subdialect

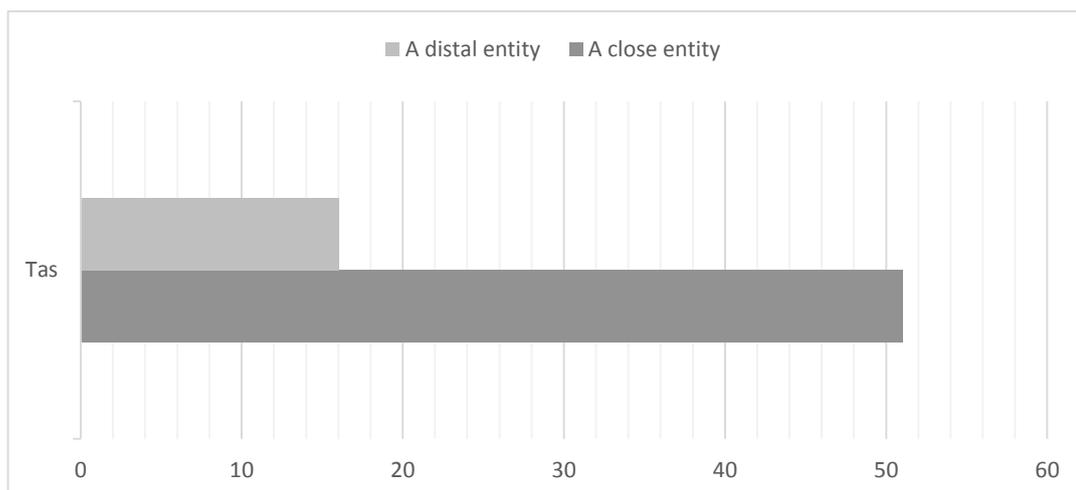
Contrary to the expectations of the researchers, the distal demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] did not appear in the material collected from the sub-subdialect Viduklė, either. While referring to distal entities, local speakers were routinely choosing the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that], as seen in the examples below and Figure 4:

- (14) S1: *Mes čia eidavom link kapinių tuo keliu.*  
[We used to go towards the cemetery **that** way.]
- (15) S1: *Jis gyvena tame name.*  
[He lives in **that** house.]



**Figure 4.** The pronoun *tuo* [that], followed by a hand gesture

According to Rosinas (1982), distal referents are indicated by the demonstrative *anas* [that] in this sub-subdialect. However, the current data shows different results (see Graph 1):



**Graph 1.** The use of demonstrative *tas* [that] in Viduklė sub-subdialect

As seen in Graph 1, the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] indicates close entities (see also examples (16), (17), (18), (19) and Figures 5, 6, 7, 8). This observation coincides with Rosinas' statement that the nearby objects/people are identified by using the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė (Rosinas 1982).

- (16) S1: **Tie** *krūmai*.  
[**These** bushes.]
- (17) S1: **Tas** *miškiuks, kur yra*.  
[Where **that** little forest is.]
- (18) S1: *O kokie šuniukų vardai?*  
S2: **Tas** *yra Reksas, o tas – Rikis*.  
[**That** one is Rex, and **that one** – Rikis.]



**Figure 5.** The pronoun *tie* [those] when referring to proximal objects, followed by a gesture



**Figure 6.** The pronoun *tas* [that] when referring to distal objects followed by a gesture

- (19) S1: *Kas čia tokios?*  
 [Who are they.]  
 S2: *Ta Beišienė, o ta – Butkienė.*  
 [**That one** is Beišienė, and **that one** – Butkienė.]



Figure 7. The pronoun *ta* [that] when referring to proximal object followed by a gesture



Figure 8. The pronoun *ta* [that] when referring to proximal object followed by a gesture

As shown by the above examples (16), (17), (18) and (19), the degree of closeness varies. David Kemmerer (1999) has performed several experiments indoors. Before the study, he defined the distance in the common observation centre of interlocutors as follows: *near space* was considered more or less accessible at arm's length, whereas *far space* included everything outside of this range. There are no definitions available of the near/far space outdoors as all the experiments were performed inside a room. Only later Kenny Coventry et al. (2008) showed in their experiments that the space can be expanded by using an additional tool (a 70 cm wand) to identify objects. Therefore, example (19) illustrates the actual situation-of-utterance when

the speaker points to a referent very close to them by choosing the demonstrative pronoun *ta* [that] in both cases.

Example (18) needs to be explained in a wider context. Before the conversation turned to the dogs, the speaker also referred to the sheep right behind the barn by choosing the deictic adverb expressing proximity:

- (20) S1: *Avys yra čia pat – už tvarto.*  
[The sheep are **right here** – behind the barn.]

The two dogs the speaker is pointing to are even closer to the speaker in comparison to the sheep, yet the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] is chosen.

Examples (16) and (17), together with Figures 5 and 6, are the appropriate contexts for referring to nearby entities. The bush and the little forest are understood as being close and for this reason the utterance *už to slenksčio* [behind this doorstep] was used in the same interview. The door to the next room is seen in both pictures. It is even closer to the speaker than the referents. However, the demonstrative *tas* [that] is being used as well. In other words, *tas* [that] is utilised as the proximal demonstrative pronoun both in this context and in this sub-dialect.

While discussing the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that], used to express proximity and distance in different contexts, Jarbou's ideas could be employed. Based on William Hanks' research (Hanks 1990; 2009), Jarbou developed the concept of *accessibility*. He explains the accessibility of the referents by stating that when identifying objects/people, the speaker takes into account the location of the addressee and assesses whether the speaker is more or less available to them (Jarbou 2010: 3088). In his research, Jarbou focuses on the field of vision and the visibility of the referent. According to him, *high accessibility* of the referent indicates the speaker's belief that the referent is already recognisable or that the addressee will easily recognise it based on well-known contextual circumstances (Jarbou 2010: 3084). *Low accessibility* of a referent is perceived as the speaker's belief that, at the time of the presentation, the addressee does not have enough contextual hints to identify the speaker. In this case, the speaker makes an effort to have the addressee identify the referent at a particular point in the speech.

If *tas* [that] in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė is used as a proximal, the speaker identifies the road in example (14) as the only one of its kind and recognises it as highly assessable. On the other hand, the impact of Standard Lithuanian on this dialect is evident and, as a result, the demonstrative pronoun in its common use is perceived to express the distance as well. However, this paper is not intended to analyse the reasoning behind a particular choice of

demonstrative pronouns. Instead, the focus of this study is to have a more formal look at the use of the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] (if it is used at all) in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė. If this pronoun is indeed used by the speakers in this area, the meanings it acquires are investigated too.

Understandably, the best context for such analysis would be a contrasting one (see the empirical research by Tóth et al. 2014). It would clearly show which of the demonstrative pronouns is used as a proximal pronoun and which acts as a distant one. Unfortunately, such contexts were not recorded, except for the one already presented in example (19), where two women are identified by the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that]. The difference here is that both women in the photo are equidistant from the interlocutors of the conversation.

However, the word *anas* [that] was recorded in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė once:

- (21) S1: *Tai kokį aviliuką reikia pastatyti.*  
[Some beehive needs to be built.]  
S2: *Nelys **anos**. Čia buvo atnešę tokią dėžę, kad įstų.*  
[They do not get inside. They did bring some box for them to get in.]  
S1: *O tai žiemą jos neišala?*  
[And they don't freeze in the winter?]  
S2: *Ne. Sulenda **anos**, kai dvejos lubos yra. Kai šitos lentikės yra.*  
[No. **They** get in, when there is double-ceiling. When these little planks are there.]

The context reveals that the speaker uses the lexeme *anas* [that] as a personal pronoun, i.e. the meaning is obvious “they” (a feminine plural form). The example is interesting for other reasons, too – the demonstrative pronoun *šitas* [this] in the utterance *Kai **šitos** lentikės yra* [When **these** little planks are there] is used as well. The latter demonstrative is used to identify the planks behind the interviewer. Although distant, they are still visible, the only kind of this type of object (see more in Jarbou 2010). However, this is more of an exception than a trend in this sub-subdialect. On the other hand, recent examples clearly show that the sub-subdialect of Viduklė is a very interesting object of research and there is further scope to refine the original data.

## Conclusions

This study aimed to review the meanings of the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] in face-to-face communication (exophoric use) and to determine which of the distal

demonstrative pronouns (*tas* [that] or *anas* [that]) is used more frequently in Standard Lithuanian. Further intention was to verify the only other area (apart from Rūgaliai, according to Rosinas) where the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] was used – the sub-subdialect of Viduklė. The main idea was to examine the meanings which occur in different contexts.

The study of Standard Lithuanian showed that: 1) the occurrence of the pronoun *anas* [that] in face-to-face communication is very rare; 2) the pronoun *anas* [that] has acquired new aspects of meaning (it specifies, highlights, gives more detail about the location). However, more contexts are certainly needed for further analysis. To collate this information through natural dialogues is a rather challenging task; 3) the pronoun *tas* [that] usually functions as the main distal pronoun; 3) the pronoun *anas* [that] has possibly fallen out of the deictic system of demonstrative pronouns (assuming the system consists of three members in the current Lithuanian language).

The researched material of Viduklė sub-subdialect has raised more questions than answers. Only one example of the so-called Žemaitian usage of the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] – i.e. as a personal pronoun – was recorded during the research. All other contexts, observed in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė, show that the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that] dominates when spatial deixis is being expressed. It can identify both close and distal entities. The terms of accessibility should be excluded from this discussion as the Lithuanian deictic system is potentially becoming a one-term system. On the other hand, such conclusion is prevented by the use of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *šitas* [that]. One thing is clear: in order to investigate the actual situation and to understand the various influences on these linguistic processes, the sub-subdialect of Viduklė needs to be studied further.

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## WORK IN THE WORLDVIEW OF THE SOUTH-SOUTHERN AUKŠTAITIAN

### *DARBAS PIETINIŲ PIETŲ AUKŠTAIČIŲ PASAULĖVAIZDYJE*

#### **Abstract**

The paper discusses the attitude to work held by the residents of the South-Southern Aukštaitian area and describes their working activities. The material extracted from the *Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects* is used as the basis for this paper.

The research draws on the methodology of Jerzy Bartmiński, who represents the Lublin School of Ethnolinguistics, as well as the work of several Lithuanian and Russian ethnolinguists.

An in-depth analysis of the *Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects*, which includes examples of words in current usage as well as certain permanent collocations, revealed the main semantic aspects associated with the concept of *darbas* [work]. These are: the mental aspect (forges one's character, forms values and inclinations); the social aspect (maintains and strengthens family relations as well as the relationships with other people); the physical aspect (requires considerable physical strength, affects one's health); the everyday life aspect (provides material well-being and comfortable living); and the biological aspect (ensures living conditions). The analysis of the dialectal discourse shows the differences between the archaic and the contemporary approaches. It also highlights the changes taking place in one's material as well as spiritual life.

The research resulted in the identification of the main features the South-Southern Aukštaitians associated with the concept of *darbas* [work], when talking about chores and the daily activities. The findings revealed that work was considered an important personal (and social) physical activity which occupied the central place in one's life and took up most of one's time, shaped one's character and values. Work is the basis for one's life and well-being, one's duty and purpose, it also secures good relationships amongst family members and within the wider society.

**KEYWORDS:** work, person, dictionary of dialects, South-Southern Aukštaitians, ethnolinguistics.

#### **Anotacija**

Straipsnyje remiantis „Pietinių pietų aukštaičių šnektų žodyno“ medžiaga aptariamas pietinių pietų aukštaičių areale gyvenančio žmogaus požiūris į darbą, aprašoma darbinė veikla.

Atliekant tyrimą remiamasi Jerzjo Bartmińkio, atstovaujančio Liublino etnolingvistinei mokyklai, metodologija, taip pat lietuvių ir rusų etnolingvistų darbais.

„Pietinių pietų aukštaičių šnektų žodyne“ pateiktų gyvosios vartosenos pavyzdžių ir sustabarėjusių žodžių junginių analizė išryškina pagrindinius sąvokos *darbas* semantinius aspektus – psichinį (ugdo charakterį, formuoja vertybes ir polinkius), socialinį (saugo ir stiprina šeimos ryšius, žmonių tarpusavio santykius), fizinį (reikalauja daug fizinių jėgų, turi įtakos žmogaus sveikatai), buitinį (sudaro sąlygas materialinei gerovei, tvarkingam gyvenimui) ir biologinį (užtikrina egzistavimo sąlygas). Tarminio diskurso analizė parodo archajiško ir šiuolaikinio požiūrių skirtumą, atskleidžia vykstančius materialinio ir dvasinio gyvenimo pokyčius.

Atliktas tyrimas leidžia pateikti pagrindinius sąvokos *darbas* požymius, kuriuos pietiniai pietų aukštaičiai turi galvoje kalbėdami apie darbus ir kasdienę darbinę veiklą:

darbas – svarbi asmeninė (ir visuomeninė) fizinė veikla, kuri užima pagrindinę vietą žmogaus gyvenime, atima beveik jo visą laiką, formuoja žmogaus charakterį ir vertybines nuostatas, jis yra gerovės ir gyvenimo pagrindas, žmogaus paskirtis ir pareiga, gerų santykių šeimoje ir visuomenėje garantas.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** *darbas, žmogus, tarminis žodynas, pietiniai pietų aukštaičiai, etnolingvistika.*

In recent years, the dictionaries of the Lithuanian dialects have been receiving an increasing amount of attention from the local ethnolinguists. Analysing the data in these dictionaries, researchers seek to reconstruct the lexicographical view of the world in the Lithuanian language. Based on the material included in such dictionaries, images around the various fragments of the linguistic and cultural reality, as well as certain objects and phenomena can be described.

One of the most interesting subjects in the dialectal dictionaries is the notion of a person, his or her activities and their surroundings. To date, relatively little attention has been paid in the linguistic literature to analysing specific concepts in the Lithuanian dialectal discourse. Only the conceptualisation of *person* has been discussed more extensively in the dictionaries of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas (Sakalauskienė 2018: 167–188). Drawing on the material of the *Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects*, a rather basic picture of the people living in the area of these subdialects has been presented (Ragaišienė 2019: 52–67). The material of the subdialectal dictionaries has also been employed for analysing values in the Lithuanian worldview (Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017) and explaining the concepts of *kalba, tauta, valstybė* [language, nation, state] (Smetonienė, Smetona, Rutkovska 2019).

The data obtained from the dictionaries of subdialects reveal the thinking of particular communities which speak certain dialects and their views on the surrounding world (cf. Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017:9. Comprehensive dictionaries of dialects are intended to provide as much illustrative material as possible. In most cases, the editors of these dictionaries, while illustrating a particular word, often present the entire worldview of this community by providing almost all available data, without selecting certain specific and unique

cases of usage (cf. Zabarskaitė 2019). Therefore, of all the linguistic sources available, dictionary entries can potentially provide more information about the person and their surroundings as well as reveal the on-going changes in their material and spiritual life. For this reason, a dialectal dictionary is considered a cultural text (cf. Sakalauskienė 2018: 169).

### Objectives, material and methods of research

The aim of the article is to reveal the essential aspects of the concept *darbas* [work] and to describe the Southern Aukštaitians' attitude to work, based on the lexicographical data from the *Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects*.

The research material was selected from the two-volume *Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects* by Asta Leskauskaitė and Vilija Ragaišienė (Vol I was published in 2016, Vol II in 2019)<sup>1</sup>. The dictionary is based on the audio material collected in the southern part of Varėna district at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Around 500 hours of recordings were taken from 70 villages in the area, all of varying size (see Map). The dictionary is supplemented by the data from the handwritten and printed sources of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century stored in the Archive of the Dialects at the Geolinguistics Centre (Institute of the Lithuanian Language).



**Map.** Area of the South-Southern Aukštaitian subdialects where the material for research was collected

<sup>1</sup> The dictionary consists of over 1,500 pages.

All sentences containing the word *darbas* and its derivatives are included in the study. In order to reveal the Southern Aukštaitians' approach to work, sentences including the words *dirbti ir darbuoti* were also taken into consideration. Quite often the words *darbas*, *dirbti*, *darbuoti* [work, to work] illustrate the meanings of other words. Therefore, this research is not limited to the lexicographical articles of the words in question<sup>2</sup>. Examples of words denoting various human activities (*austi*, *grybauti*, *grybavimas*, *sėti*, etc. [to weave, to pick mushrooms, mushroom-picking, to sow]) are also reviewed. The core of the material researched is about 500 sentences<sup>3</sup>.

While collecting the data, a particular attention was given to the permanent collocations. Proverbs (sayings, proverbs), idioms and comparisons reveal the values held by the community living in the southern area of the Southern Aukštaitian. They also show certain rules of behaviour and how other people may react to them. (cf. Zaikauskienė 2010: 64; 2011, 98–99; Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017: 34). This is particularly the case with the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect (also known as Dzūkian) spoken by the people who live in the southernmost area of southern Aukštaitija, where the worldview, customs and everyday life are reflected in a melodic, rich and archaic way (Leskauskaitė, Ragaišienė 2016: VII). The material of the dictionary reveals the harmony between human and nature which has formed over several centuries in the community which has historically lived in a rather isolated and closed environment.

The research draws on the methodology of Jerzy Bartmiński, who represents the Lublin School of Ethnolinguistics, as well as the work of several Lithuanian and Russian ethnolinguists (Bartmiński 1990, 109–127; Gudavičius 2000; Шифрицова 2005: 334–339; Papaurėlytė-Klovienė 2007; Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2014, 71–102; Rutkovska 2016, 1–30; Smetona, Smetonienė 2016: 101–116; Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017; Kazlauskaitė 2018, 1–27; Sakalauskienė 2018, 167–188; Tołstojowa 2018: 15–30; Smetonienė, Smetona, Rutkovska 2019 etc.).

### **Lexicographical meanings of the words *darbas* [work] and *dirbti* [to work]**

In the South-Southern Aukštaitian, the word *darbas* [work] is used in four literal meanings: (1) the physical or mental activity of working to produce or attain a result; 2) service, position in an institution, company or other place for which remuneration is paid; 3)

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<sup>2</sup> Researchers have pointed out that research on concepts and their meanings cannot be based solely on the analysis of lexeme definitions. It is necessary to examine all the data in the dictionary (cf. Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017: 31, 35).

<sup>3</sup> The given illustrations only include abbreviations of place names. The volume and page number are not provided because the same sentence can illustrate the meaning of multiple words in both Volume I and Volume II.

performance; 4) action, behaviour. The dictionary mostly contains sentences that testify to the first, i.e. the main meaning (nearly 40). The second meaning of the word is also based on a substantial number of examples (about 20). The sentences illustrating the third and fourth meanings are scarce (two and one, respectively).

For the Southern Aukštaitians work is their livelihood and the true meaning of life, e.g.: *raikia dirbt, be darbo niekas neduoda* Mrc [we have to work; nobody will give you anything without work]; *jei nedarbuisim, tai iš ko mes gyvensim, turim darbuic* Mrc [if we don't work, then how will we live, we need to work]; *Dziewas sutvėrė žmogų darbuic, ne gulėc* Drž [God created humans to work, not to be idle]; *jei aš dirbsiu tai turėsiu, o tu kap nedirbi, tai gali neturėt* Mrc [if I work, I will be well-off, but if you don't work then you may have nothing]. Work shapes people, forges their character traits, e.g.: *mano broliai ne pijokai<sup>4</sup>, ne ultojai<sup>5</sup>, nug mažų dzienu prispausci prieg darbu* Dbč [my brothers are neither drunks nor lazybones; they have worked hard since their childhood]; *mes vaikai iš mažutukės, mes pripratį kelcis, pripratį dirbc* Kš [us, children, are used to getting up, used to working from our childhood].

The dictionary material reveals an archaic approach to work – the highest value being the physical work of rural people, e.g.: *mokslo nepriėsi, reikia darbu dirbc* Knv [you cannot fill your stomach with knowledge, you need to work]; *jei gaspadorus nedarbuit, tai ir miestas neturėt ko valgyc* Kb [if farmers don't work, then townspeople will not have anything to eat, either]. The South-Southern Aukštaitians, especially when referring to the past, tend to emphasise the importance of being able to do agricultural work and household chores. The dictionary is full of sentences relating to things created with one's own hands, e.g.: *ir švarkai buvo savo darbo* Knv [their jackets were also handmade]; *(žoles) reikia rinkc ir degtini užpilc kaimišku, savo darbo* Knv [(herbs) have to be gathered and soaked in vodka you've made]; *žmonės iš rankų savo darbo gyveno* Pnč [people earned their living with their own hands]; *savo rankom darė muilų* Kb [made soap with their own hands]. Those who can do various jobs deserve respect, e.g.: *nebuvo to darbo, kad jis būt nedaris* Mrc [there was no job he could not do]; *paci sėjau, paci akėjau, paci viską dariau, ir visko mokėjau* Kš [I sowed, I harrowed, I did everything myself and I knew how to do anything]. The dictionary contains a wealth of data on daily housekeeping, housework, tools and machinery. The dictionary introduces the cycle of villagers' work from the beginning of spring to the end of winter, e.g.: *ir vasarų buvo darbai, ir žiemų buvo darbai* Pnč [there was

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<sup>4</sup> The Slavism *pijokas*, -ė (Pol. *pijak*, Bel. *пiяк*) is used in subdialects in the meaning *girtuoklis* (LKŽe) [a drunk]. The Southern Aukštaitian subdialects display many Lithuanian and other examples (Polish, Belorussian, Russian and German) of language usage that testify to the contacts between these languages (see Leskauskaitė 2006: 397; Sakalauskienė 2006: 222; Vaičiulienė 2013: 173–203; Ragaišienė 2018: 71–83).

<sup>5</sup> The loanword *ultojus* (cf. Bel. *гультай*, Pol. *hultaj*) is used in the entire area of the Southern Aukštaitian subdialects with the meaning *tinginys, dykaduonis, veltėdis* (LKŽe) [lazybones, parasite, sponger].

work in the summer, and there was work in the winter]; *kap an žemės gyveni, tai viskas reikia dzirbc* Mrc [while you are alive, you have to work]. There are many names assigned to people according to their occupation or job: *artojas* [ploughman, who ploughs, works the land]; *eigulys* [forest ranger]; *kailidirbys, -ė* [furrier]; *kalvis* [blacksmith]; *krauleidys, -ė* [one who draws out blood for therapeutic purposes]; *kūlėjas, -a* [thrasher]; *mezgėjas, -a* [knitter]; *pečnykas* [stove builder]; *šienapjovys, šienapjūvys* [hay maker]; *žuvautojas, -a, žuvinykas* [angler, fisherman], etc.

The South-Southern Aukštaitians conduct most of their work with love, willingly and quickly, e.g.: *aš be darbo nenoru būc* Mrc [I don't want to be without work]; *nera uždarbių, kad būt uždarbiai, tai pas mus žmones papratį, nebijo darbo* Zrv [people earn nothing; if only one could earn money, our people are used to work, they don't shy away from work]. They especially like to pick mushrooms, gather berries, hunt and fish, e.g.: *mylėjom vuogauc po tuos raistus* Mrc [we loved to gather berries in these marshes]; *šitoj dukra tai kap žvėralė ir vuogauc, ir grybaus* Mrc [this daughter likes to pick berries and mushrooms, just like a little wild animal]; *ir dziedas buvo medžiotojas, ir tėvas labai medžiotojas buvo, paliavoc<sup>6</sup> ajo* Mrc [my husband was a hunter, and my father was a great hunter, went hunting]; *jis ribokas<sup>7</sup> buvo, žuvautojas* Krv<sup>8</sup> [he was a fisherman, went fishing]. However, there are few sentences in the dictionary which refer to work as celebration or a joyful, rewarding activity, e.g.: *mano mylimiausias darbas buvo grybavimas* Kb [mushroom picking was my most-loved work]; *kap žmogus gali kiek, tai tadu kruci* (t. y. *dirbinėji*) *sau, ir smagu* Mrc [if you can do something, then you do, and it's good]; *aust tai buvo svajonė, labai mylėjau aust* Pvc [weaving was my dream; I loved to weave]. This is also demonstrated by the study on the concept of work in various discourses. The joyous and celebrational aspects of work are only revealed by the usage of antonyms - “rest” and “do nothing” (Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017: 155).

Fundamentally, this view is determined by the realisation that work is a necessity, a given which ensures the human existence. In addition, day-to-day work is very hard, demanding a lot of physical strength and is time consuming, e.g.: *darbas ir darbas, vieny pagynėjai* (t. y. *pabaigėi*), *kitas cia jau randas* Zrv [there's nothing but work; you finish work, but something else crops up]; *nebuvo nei vienos va laisvos minutės, kad būtai be darbo* Zrv [there was no free time, you had to work every minute]; *aš tai cik darbuosa buvau priremta visas gyvenimas* Zrv

<sup>6</sup> The loanword *paliavoti* (Pol. *polować*) is used in dialects in the meaning *medžioti* [to hunt] (LKŽe).

<sup>7</sup> The Slavic loanword *ribokas* in dialects is most often used in the meaning *žvejys, žuvautojas* [fisherman, angler] (LKŽe).

<sup>8</sup> Hardly anyone else knows more about the natural resources and secrets than the South-Southern Aukštaitians – *mūs tai visas gyvenimas miškas* Mrc [forest is our whole life]. The dictionary has a number of entries for the names of mushrooms, berries, fish, their phonetic and derivative variants, diminutives, e.g.: *čipokas, lydeka, lydekaitė* [pike]; *spalgena, spanguolė* [cranberry]; *umėdė, umedė, ūmėdė, umedaitė, umėdukė* [russula]; *žaliuokė, žaliuoklė, žaliuotė* [green mushroom], etc. It is significant that most of the recorded data is related to mushrooms and their habitats, mushroom processing, preserving for winter use, etc.

[all I had to do was work all my life]; *rankoves pasraitok, sijonų paskaišok, ir tada ciktai darbuosa* Rud [roll up your sleeves, tuck in your skirt, and then get down to work]; *per vasarą dirbi dirbi dirbi, ir galo nėra* Mrc [you work and work throughout the summer and there is no end to work]. Women, who were not only responsible for keeping the house in order but also had to contribute to the farm work done by men, worked especially hard all the time, e.g.: *as vaikus auginau, saimynikavau, ir vyriškus, ir moteriškus darbus darau* Škl [I looked after our children, did household chores, did all the jobs that men and women do]; *vyrai turėjo savo darbus, o moterys viską dirbo* Mrc [men had their jobs, while women did everything] (cf. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė 2008: 177–180). Elder children of the family also had to work hard, e.g.: *namuose visokius darbus dirbau, aš vyrausia buvau, man buvo sunkiausia* Mrc [I did all household chores, I was the eldest, I had to work hard]. Hard work can exhaust one's strength, one can fall ill, e.g.: *aš apsirgau nuo labai sunkių darbų, ir mėčiau, ir viską* Mrc [I fell ill from hard work, cleaned the cattle shed, did everything]; *mano vyras dirbo, dirbo ir buvo insivaris vėžį* Mrc [my husband worked and worked and fell will with cancer]; *va daktarai, nelipni (liga) sakė, šita nug darbų* Mrc [well the doctors said it was not catching, this 'rheumatism' was from work]. The dictionary contains a number of illustrative sentences graphically portraying the hard physical work and people who do or used to do it, e.g.: *žantas mažu kiek apsimuš darbais, tai padės kiek* Mrc [the son-in-law will do his work, then he will help]. The person who has worked long and hard is described as *išdirbo rankas* [his arms are aching from work], e.g.: *dabar (duonos) neužminkytau, ba rankos išdirbtos* Krv [now I won't be able to knead the bread (dough) as my arms are aching]. Many idioms are used to define a hard-working person, such as *kaip juodas jautis* [as a black ox; keep one's nose to the grindstone], *diena naktis dirba* [works day and night], e.g.: *aš dirbau kaip juodas jaucis* Mrc<sup>9</sup> [I worked hard like a black ox]; *dirbo ir dirbo, diena naktis jos dirbo* Kš [they worked and worked, they worked day and night]. A hard-working person is also compared to a horse, e.g.: *po dzvidešim metų sukūrėm šeimų, reikėj dzirbtie, arkljo metų dzvidešim gyvenom* Mrc [we got married when we were twenty; we had to work, worked like horses for twenty years].

Not only can work be difficult, but it is sometimes meaningless too and does not guarantee the material well-being, e.g.: *iš to darbo jokios naudos nepateko, niekas in rankas, viskas an svetimų* Zrv [it's no use working; you get nothing, all went to others]; *dirbo dirbo žmonės ir naudos neturėjo* Dbn [people worked hard and did not get anything]; *tadu dirbom beveik kaip dykai* Mrd [then we both worked almost without pay]. The following proverbs also refer to hard

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<sup>9</sup> Other lexicographical sources also show that in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialects a hard-working person is compared to an ox or a horse (Vosyltė 2014: 21, 155–158; LKŽe).

work (sometimes even meaningless): *durnų*<sup>10</sup> *darbas myli* Šm [work loves a fool]; *tai matai, koki mes durni buvom, kiek žmogų užduodam darbo* Mrg [so you see what fools we were doing so much work]. It should be noted that examples of meaningless work in the dictionary are scarce. It gives the impression that meaningless, useless work can be the result of some unfavourable circumstances which are beyond human control.

The dictionary reveals the importance of work for people's social relationships. It is very important for the residents of the South-Southern Aukštaitian area to work for themselves, on their own farm, e.g.: *manį nejima akvata*<sup>11</sup> *darbuic an svetimos šeimos* Zrv [I am not willing to work for a strange family]; *kur tu eisi (dirbti) kažkur kitur, kad savo darbo gana* Rud [you don't go to work for others, there's so much to do at home]. Working and living together strengthens and maintains family ties, e.g.: *jiej kartu viską dirba* Pvč [they do everything together]; *būdo tėvas, būdo šašuras, tai is paskelia ryti ir iskirsto darbus* Mrc [father or father-in-law would get up early and distribute work]. The analysis of the dictionary material reveals a patriarchal family model – decisions are made by the man (father, spouse etc.), while the woman has to take care of the house, the children, and so on, e.g.: *(tėvas) padalina darbus visiems, viskas* Mrc [(father) assigns tasks for everyone, and that's it]; *vyras aina darban, o žmona lienka su vaiku* Mrd [the husband goes to work, while the wife stays with the child].

In today's society, work is no longer an obligation, e.g.: *dabar nori dirbk, nori nedirbk* Pvč [now you can either work or not work]; *seniau varė darban žmonis* Mrc [before they made people work]. The South-Southern Aukštaitians are not always willing or able to take up work. Unwillingness to work is determined by two things – health/lack of strength or laziness, e.g.: *sveikatos neturim darbuic* Mrc [we have no strength to work]; *pirma dirbo daug daugiau kap dar, ba žmonės sveikesni buvo* Drž [before people worked much harder than now, as they were healthier]; *anksciau džiaugėmės, kad darbų turėjom, ne tep kap dabar visi darbo bijo* Mrc [before we were happy if we had work, not like now, everyone shuns work]; *jis cingėjo dirbt, tas jau žmogus* Mrc [he was too lazy to work, he is just like this]. People who do not want to work, and who avoid work are called *tinginiai, ultojai* [idlers, slackers], e.g.: *jis buvo labai cinginys, labai darbuic cingėjo* Mrd [he was a slacker, he shunned work]; *ultojai turėj aic dirbt, cingi necingi* Rud [idlers had to work, whether they wanted to or not]. Sometimes the entire family tended to avoid working, e.g.: *buvo labai cinginių šeima* Mrd [they were a family of idlers]. The dictionary material illustrates another aspect – the differing generational approaches to work. People of older generations are more hardworking than young people, e.g.: *dar jaunimas, taigi jiej visi prie*

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<sup>10</sup> The Slavic words *durnas*, *-a*, *durnius* (cf. Bel. Дурны, Rus. Дурацкий) are used with the meaning *kvailas*, *-a*, *kvailys*, *-ė* [fool/foolish] in the dialects.

<sup>11</sup> The Slavic loan work *akvata* (Bel. ахвота) most often means *noras* [wish].

*tinginio* Mrc [now young people, they all are lazybones]; *dabar toki jauni, kap jie nedzirba, kap jie cingi* Mrc [nowadays such young people, how they shun work, how lazy they are]; *jauni cingi darbuic, tai jie daugiau rėkia, kad negerai* Aš [young people are lazy, they often complain that everything is bad]. Good-for-nothings also have additional negative character traits – they are often prone to stealing and/or abusing alcohol, e.g.: *gerc myli, ale dirbt cingi* Dbč [loves to drink, but shuns work]; *dabar taigi šiciej visi ultojai darbo neieško, bet ciktai taip va banditauna, plėšikauna* Mrc<sup>12</sup> [nowadays all those idlers do not look for work, they just steal and rob]. While speaking about what people do and the way they live, the past and the present are constantly compared – *anksčiau, pirma, tadu / dar, dabar, darties* [earlier, then, before / now, at present], e.g.: *medzj vežė arkliais, anksčiau žmones dirbo daugiau kap dabar* Kb [timber was taken home by horses; earlier people used to work much harder than now]. This comparison clearly shows that in the past things were better and more genuine – people worked hard and were happier, healthier and kinder, e.g.: *pirma sunkiai gyveno, daug dirbo, bet žmonės geresni buvo* Mrc [before people's lives were hard, they worked hard, but they were kinder]. This attitude is influenced by the old mythological world, the mysteries of the Catholic faith, and the present-day realities which are intertwined in the worldview of people who live in the South-Southern Aukštaitian area.

### Derivatives from the word *darbas* [darbas]

*The Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects* contains nine derivatives with the root *darb-*, e.g.: *darbelis, darbingas, -a, darbštus, -i, darbinykas, -ė, darbymetė, darbovietė, darbadienis, bedarbis, -ė, savadarbis, -ė*<sup>13</sup> [little job, able to work, hard-working, worker, busy working time, workplace, work day, unemployed, hand-made]. Out of these, two compound words are rather new to the subdialects – *darbovietė* [workplace] and *darbadienis* [workload] (the amount of work done per day; in use until 1966).

The diminutive word *darbelis* refers to the task at hand being little and insignificant but carrying positive emotional connotations, e.g.: *jau mano darbeliai padaryci, aš cik noru pagulėc,*

<sup>12</sup> Hard drinking, use of alcoholic beverages, just as laziness is a great problem, e.g.: *[vyrai] be gėrimo negali būc, turi būc išgėrj ir gana* Jsk [(men) cannot live without alcohol, they need to drink and that's it]. There are a lot of sentences showing that the number of drunks is increasing in the villages, e.g.: *pirma nebuvo tokio gėrimo, neturėj žmones už kų gert* Grb [earlier people did not drink that much; they didn't have money to spend on drinks]; *dabar smarkiai jau geria jau žmonės, neturi an duonos, o prageria* Mrc [now they drink hard, people don't have money for bread, they spend it on drinks]. Women drink too – not just the men, e.g.: *vyrai cik geria ir keikias lakiodami* Jsk [men only drank and swore idling around]; *įvairių moteriškių yra, kitos geria* Dbč [there are different women, some drink].

<sup>13</sup> This number of derivatives is considered to be significant. Some commonly used words have rather fewer derivatives in the dictionary. For example, the nouns *žmogus* ir *žmonės* [person and people] have only four derivatives – *žmogelis, žmogėlis, žmoneliai* ir *žmogžudys* [little person, little people and a murderer] (Ragaišienė 2019: 53). There are only one or two illustrative sentences with these words in the dictionary.

*pasėdėc* Rud [my little jobs are finished, I only want to lie down, to sit]; *ogo šitiek darbėlių buvo, vaikėliai* Mst [my kiddies, there were so many little jobs to be done] (see Gudavičius 2000, 136). The compound word *darbymetė* [busy time] also has a positive connotation: it is the time when there is much work, a busy season; it is formed from the words *darbas* and *metas* [work and time].

The words *darbštus*, *-i*, *darbingas*, *-a* and *darbinykas*, *-ė* are important for the analysis of the concept *darbas* so they should be discussed separately. The meanings of *darbštus*, *-i* [hard-working] and *darbingas*, *-a* [able to work] reflect the use of work and show the South-Southern Aukštaitians' positive attitude to labour, e.g.: *lietuviai labai darbštūs* Kš [Lithuanians are hard-working]; *tėvai buvo darbštūs, tvarkingi, nelaidokau tėvulis* Kš [parents were hard-working, decent people, father didn't drink]; *marci labai darbšči i labai graitai* Mrc [the daughter-in-law is hard-working and works fast]. The people of southern Aukštaitija (the ethnographic region of Dzūkija) who live in the forests, as illustrated by the following sentences, are constantly rushing, always in a hurry, they are very hard-working, e.g.: *aš visur va bėgte bėgte* Mrc [I am always rushing]; *aš tai bėgau i bėgau, neturėjau kadu su vaikais būc* Mrc [I was always in a hurry, had no time to spend with my children]; *parlaki namo, kųsnį burnon ir vėl darban laki* Mst [you hurry home, take a bite and back to work again]. It is no coincidence that a hard-working person is compared to the hardest working animated creature – *bitė* [bee], e.g.: *kam gi sako: darbšti kap bitė* Pvč [it's not for nothing that people say: busy as a bee]; *bitė yra darbštus padaras kap žmogus* Dbč [the bee is as diligent as a human]. When a person is compared to an ant, it is likely that their speed and diligence are being described, e.g.: *kap jų šaima nuvažiuoja grybauc, vaikai kap skruzdelės pasklinda po miškų* Kb [when their family go to the woods to pick mushrooms, their children spread like ants in the forest].

A hard-working and able-bodied person is not only rich, he or she is also a decent human being who gets along with other family members, e.g.: *ką žmogus buvo darbingas, darbštus ir meilus savo šeimai, savo vaikam, tai neblogiausia gyveno ir pirmiau* Mrc [the man was able-bodied, hard-working and a good father, and they lived well]; *o kokis buvo tėvas darbštus, tvarkingas, švarus* Škl [father was a hardworking, tidy, clean person]; *labai skirtingas buvo žmonių gyvenimas, vieni labai gražai gyveno, kurie darbštūs žmonės* Mrc [people's lives were different; some lived very well, those who were hard-working]. It is obvious that the South-Southern Aukštaitians consider work as a great value which ensures a good life and maintains family ties (cf. Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017, 163–165).

A hard-working person (who liked work, did not idle) was called *darbinykas* [worker], e.g.: *tai va dar kiek kaiman tą verandy, tai vis jo ir jo padaryta, tokis buvo darbinykas* Mrc [all the porches that are in the village were built by him; he was such a hard worker]; *jy labai darbujo*

*tepgi, ji labai daug dirbo, darbinykė buvo moteriškė, darbujo* Mrc [she was a hard-working woman]; *aš buvau ir ne ultojus, darbinykė buvau* Zrv [I was not a slacker, I was a hard worker]. The dictionary also carries the derivative *bedarbis* [unemployed] which reflects the present day realities of life and should be considered as an antonym of the word *darbinykas*, e.g.: *sūnus bedarbis buvo* Dbn [son was unemployed]; *šitas sūnus bedarbis, ir Alytun butų turi, ir dar už butų raikia mokėc* Mrc [this son is unemployed, he has a flat in Alytus, has to pay the bills].

The analysis performed shows that the afore-mentioned derivatives may reveal the speaker's attitude towards certain things or phenomena, may demonstrate their positive or negative assessment, or emphasise the emotional relationship of the person with the world around him or her. (cf. Sakalauskiene 2018, 182).

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### List of Abbreviations:

- Aš – Ašašinkai, Varėna district  
 Dbč – Dubičiai, Varėna district  
 Dbn – Dubininkas, Varėna district  
 Drž – Darželiai, Varėna district  
 Grb – Grybaulia, Varėna district  
 Jsk – Jauskai, Varėna district  
 Kb – Kabeliai, Varėna district  
 Knv – Kaniava, Varėna district  
 Kš – Kašėtos, Varėna district  
 Mrc – Marcinkonys, Varėna district  
 Mrd – Mardasavas, Varėna district  
 Mrg – Margionys, Varėna district  
 Mst – Musteika, Varėna district  
 Pnč – Panočiai, Varėna district  
 Pvč – Puvočiai, Varėna district

Rud – Rudnia, Varėna district  
Škl – Šklėriai, Varėna district  
Šm – Šumas, Varėna district  
Zrv – Zervynos, Varėna district

**Other abbreviations**

Bel. – Belorussian  
Pol. – Polish  
Russ. – Russian

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## THE CONCEPT OF *JŪRA* [THE SEA] IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REGION OF AUKŠTAITIJA

### *JŪROS SAŲOKOS FUNKCIONAVIMAS AUKŠTAITIJOSE ETNOGRAFINIAME REGIONE*

#### Abstract

The paper explores from an ethnolinguistic point of view the concept of *jūra* [the sea] and the specific characteristics of its linguistic expression in the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija. This region almost coincides with the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect variants. It is obvious that due to the geographical and political position of the region as well as its insignificant economic connections to the sea (the Aukštaitians historically did not earn their living from sea fishing or sea trade), the linguistic realisation of this concept is rather poor. As evidenced by the linguistic data, the lexeme *jūra* has not been attested in all the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects. Moreover, examples of use demonstrate that the sea is perceived as *mystical / alien / threatening, related to the work / military activities of sons / young people or the place where they perish*. The lexeme often denotes 'a large body of water' and is used synonymously with the lexeme *mārios* 'a large body of (fresh) water'. Its figurative meaning of 'a lot of something' is particularly rare. In addition, some subdialects did not display any derivatives (e.g. diminutives *jūrėlės*, etc.) or adjectives (*jūrinis*, etc.) of the lexeme at all. The Aukštaitians tend to use the lexeme *mārios* more frequently: its system of meanings is essentially synonymous with that of the lexeme *jūra*. Derivatives of the word *mārios* are also scarce in the colloquial Eastern Aukštaitian. The diminutive *marėlės*, found in folklore, is commonly used in collocation *jūrės marėlės*.

Based on the linguistic data, the paper concludes that in the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* can sometimes be used as absolute synonyms because the distinctive semantic attribute of 'salty water' is neutralised. We can therefore argue that language users in the region of Aukštaitija have retained the traditional concept of *jūra* which is older than the one established in Standard Lithuanian.

**KEY WORDS:** ethnolinguistics, lexeme, concept, linguistic worldview, ethnos, Aukštaitija, (sub)dialect.

## Anotacija

Straipsnyje etnolingvistiniu aspektu analizuojami *jūros* sąvokos kalbinės raiškos ypatumai Aukštaitijos etnografiniame regione, beveik sutampančiame su rytų aukštaičių šnektų plotu. Akivaizdu, kad dėl geografinės ir politinės padėties, taip pat menko ekonominio susisaistymo su jūra (aukštaičiai nesivertė žvejyba jūroje ar prekyba jūros keliais) kalbinė šios sąvokos realizacija yra gana skurdi. Kalbiniai duomenys rodo, kad leksema *jūra* paliudyta ne visose rytų aukštaičių patarmėse. Be to, vartojimo pavyzdžiai rodo, jog jūra yra suvokiama kaip *mistinė / svetima / grėsminga, susijusi su jaunuolių darbine / karine veikla ar jų žūtis, vieta*. Ši leksema džen. reiškia 'didelį vandens plotą' ir yra vartojama kaip leksemos *mārios* 'didelis (gėlo) vandens telkinys' sinonimas. Ypač retai vartojama perkeltine reikšme 'ko nors daugybė'. Kai kuriose patarmėse nepaliudyta ir šios leksemos vedinių (pvz.: nefiksuojami nei deminutyvai (*jūrėlės* ir pan.), nei būdvardžiai (*jūrinis*) ir pan.). Aukštaičiai dažniau vartoja leksemą *mārios*. Jos reikšmių sistema iš esmės sinonimiška leksemai *jūra*. Žodžio *mārios* vedinių šnekamojoje rytų aukštaičių kalboje taip pat nedaug. Deminutyvas *marėlės* paliudytas tautosakoje, dažniausiai vartojamas samplaikoje *jūrės marėlės*.

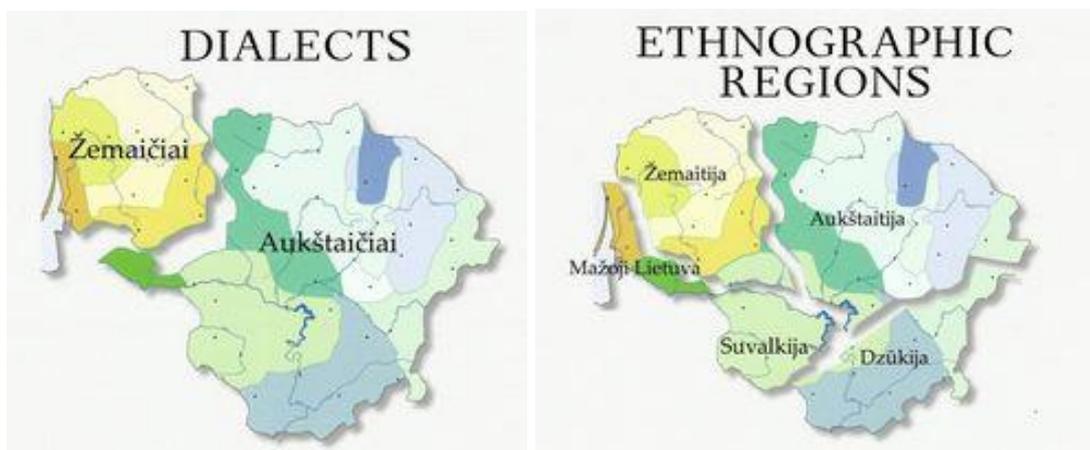
Taigi straipsnyje remiantis kalbiniais duomenimis, daroma išvada, kad leksemos *jūra* ir *mārios* Aukštaitijos etnografiniame regione kartais gali būti absoliučiais sinonimais, nes neutralizuojamas skiriamasis 'sūraus vandens' semantinis požymis. Vadinasi, galima teigti Aukštaitijos etnografinio regiono atstovus išlaikius tradicinį konceptą, kuris senesnis nei įsitvirtinęs bendrinėje kalboje.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** etnolingvistika, leksema, konceptas, kalbos pasaulėvaizdis, etnosas, Aukštaitija, (pa)tarmė.

Ethnolinguistic research, revealing the perception of the world as realised in language by individual nations and cultures, is relevant to contemporary linguistics. In other words, an ethnolinguistic aspect of research opens up an opportunity to reveal the similarities and differences in the worldviews of a nation. To quote Marija Zametalina, "the linguistic picture of the world represents a huge multi-layer "mosaic substance", each component of which calls for close attention and meticulous detailed description" (Заметалина 2002: 89). According to Aloyzas Gudavičius, "language, as one of the possible interpretations of the environment, reflects the speakers' attitude to the environment in a specific way" (Gudavičius 2000: 41) and thus reveals the nation's view of the world. However, even in the same language consisting of different dialects, certain differences and specific details in the perception of the world, as realised in different dialects, can be recorded. Therefore, without the detailed studies of varying dialects, some parts of the picture representing the linguistic world can only be understood rather superficially, without revealing the multilayered nature of the examined segment.

Traditionally, the territory of Lithuania is perceived as rather heterogeneous and is usually divided based on two different characteristics - linguistic and ethnographic. According to the traditional classification of Lithuanian dialects, the country can be linguistically divided into two large groups of dialects - the Eastern dialects (Aukštaitians) and the Western dialects (Žemaitians, also known as Samogitians). The ethnographic division is somewhat more intricate

and is based not only on the linguistic aspect but also on other cultural elements in a much broader sense (clothing, food, folklore traditions, etc.). As the latter classification covers a wider range of attributes, it is more popular with general public, easier to understand, and often much more acceptable. Therefore, the terms Aukštaitians and Žemaitians can be understood in two ways – linguistically and ethnographically (see Fig. 1).



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

As shown in the maps, the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects almost coincide with the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija, which is separated from Žemaitija by a transitional strip of the Western Aukštaitian dialect of Šiauliai. It should be noted that a number of dialectological works describe this area as very heterogeneous, with markedly different northern and southern parts. The northern zone is more closely related to the subdialect versions of Southern Žemaitians (i.e. the western area), while in the southern zone a mixture of Eastern and Western Aukštaitian subdialects is recorded (a stronger relationship with the eastern part of Lithuania is felt, for more details see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 136–137). The subdialect of Šiauliai is not within the scope of this article. Instead, the authors will focus exclusively on the dialectal variants which exist to the east of Šiauliai.

Despite the general trend for subdialects to grow larger and approach the boundaries of traditional ethnographic regions, the language, especially the native variant of the dialectal speech, reflects the long-standing traditions and experiences of local life. In other words, the long-term culture of remembrance, reflected in various spheres of language use, captures a multi-layered relationship between the past facts and the present situation (for more details see Peltonen, Salmi-Niklander 2007: 4). Therefore, the expressions of language retained to this day inevitably reflect the most important changes in the lifestyle, history, and other essential aspects of existence of the inhabitants of a given region.

It is an obvious fact that the sea, as a significant component of the world, is important to the life of many states and nations from the economic, cultural, logistical and other points of view, so examining how the concept of the sea is realised in different languages can be particularly informative. It allows for observing the specific mentalities, differences and similarities between the nations as well as revealing the significance of certain objects of reality, their perception and even the degree of their cognition. The relevance of the concept of the sea is substantiated by the abundance of linguistic research. The linguistic expression of the concept of the sea from an ethnolinguistic viewpoint in Latvia has been described in detail by Benita Laumane (Laumane 2013); the significance of this concept to the Ukrainian mentality and culture has been analysed by Yryna Golubovska (Golubovska 2015: 67–80), while Marina Valencova (2015a: 154–166, 2015b: 154–166) explored the realisations of the lexical units denoting the concept of the sea in the Slavic dialects. Data on the contemporary Russian language have been studied by Olga Potapova with the aim of identifying the lexico-semantic field of the concept of the sea and its associational surrounding as fragments of the Russian worldview (Potapova 2012: 139–145).

Very little fundamental research has been focused on the concept of the sea in Lithuania. It is usually analysed as part of researching other concepts, e.g. as a component of the concept of water (Rutkovska, Smetona, Smetonienė 2017: 65–85), or when examining conceptual metaphors of politics and economy, based on the image of the sea (Budvytytė, Jurgaitis 2015, 98–112). The expression of this concept in Lithuanian dialects has not been examined in greater detail. Some of the work in the area includes the study of the origin and forms of lexemes denoting the sea which are commonly used in the dialects (Kaukienė, 1998: 5–14). Certain dialectal forms have also been referred to by Laumane, who compared them with the data of the Latvian language (Laumane, 2013: 13–23). These studies support the view held by ethnolinguists that even a lexeme can be perceived as a source of information about an ethnic group (Kasharnaya 2008: 19–20<sup>1</sup>). This provision provides the foundation for the present paper, which outlines the studies conducted on the lexical and semantic (encompassing lexical and cognitive semantics) expression of the concept of the sea in the eastern part of Lithuania (Aukštaitija) in order to reveal the Aukštaitian perception of the sea. As argued by Anna Wierzbicka, all levels of language are important to this type of research: "Language is an integrated system, where everything 'conspires' to convey meaning: words, grammatical constructions and various 'illocutionary' devices [...]" (Wierzbicka 1991: 16). However, linguistic facts cannot be separated from historical, geographical and cultural realities.

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<sup>1</sup> Access online: <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/more-v-russkoy-mifologicheskoy-kartine-mira> [viewed on 25 August 2016].

In the case of Lithuania, it should be noted that the western part of the country, Žemaitija (especially the Western and some of the Northern Žemaitians) has access to the sea, and numerous cultural aspects related to this concept function here naturally and have been realised in the linguistic worldview, e.g. the names of winds (of particular importance to the people who earn their living from fishing) (Gudelis 1998; Kiseliūnaitė 2001), etc. For the Aukštaitians<sup>2</sup>, especially those in the eastern part of the region, the sea did not gain any importance until as late as the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was due both to the geographical and political situation and the lack of direct economic links with the sea. The majority of the Aukštaitians did not engage in sea fishing (they were fishing in lakes<sup>3</sup>), farmers led a sedentary way of life and only a small part of the Aukštaitians made their living by trading: "Most of the scattered small villages emerged in the royal woods of Aukštaitija in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The soil in these areas was unsuitable for agriculture; a lot of income came from forest trade or fishing, and crafts flourished. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, tar, resin, ash, and charcoal were produced in large quantities as exports to Prussia" (RATKTA 2009, 5). Thus, for several centuries the only trading contacts with the Baltic coastal region were very fragmented.

However, the contact between the Aukštaitians and the Baltic coastal region intensified during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the country was under the occupation of the Tsarist Russia and the forbidden Lithuanian press was being routinely transported from Karaliaučius (now Kaliningrad). In addition, other seas and even oceans as objects of reality became increasingly more relevant to the Aukštaitians from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, because "over half a million Lithuanians emigrated to North America in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. [...] Like many other Central and Eastern Europeans, Lithuanian emigrants were mostly poor and poorly educated (53% of the Lithuanians who came to the United States in the years 1899 to 1914 were illiterate) rural people with not very high cultural needs. Some of them managed to save money and return home within a few years – statistically about 20% of the Lithuanian emigrants re-emigrated"<sup>4</sup>. Before the First World War, a large proportion of these emigrants were young men fleeing military service in the Imperial Russian Army. This is confirmed by the fact that, according to the nationality of the conscripts who did not report to the conscription points of the Army in 1908, Lithuanians took "second place among all the nations of the Empire (23 percent of those who did not arrive), lagging only behind the Jewish

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<sup>2</sup> This does not include the Western Aukštaitians who belonged to Prussian Lithuania. The Curonian Lagoon and the Baltic Sea occupied an important place – economic and cultural – in the lives of these people.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on fishing in lakes, see Bertašiūtė, Rasa, Vasiliauskaitė, Vitalija, Žumbakienė, Gražina, Bortkūnas, Rolandas, Norvaišaitė, Neringa. *Rytų Aukštaitijos tradicinė kaimo architektūra* [Traditional Rural Architecture in Eastern Aukštaitija]. Vilnius: „Petro ofsetas“, 2009: 4–5.

<sup>4</sup> *Lietuviai pasaulyje* [Lithuanians in the World] / prepared by Daiva Dapkutė. Online access: <http://www.iseivijosinstitutas.lt/lietuviai-pasaulyje> [viewed on 18 May 2016].

conscripts" (for more details, see Botyrius, 58). The young men who failed to escape military service served either in the Russian Navy or fought in the Crimean War in 1853–1856.

However, based on the historical data, it can be argued that the sea became increasingly important in the life of every Lithuanian (and correspondingly, of every Aukštaitian) only from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. During the interwar period (in 1935), the Lithuanian Navy was established (although it boasted a single warship *President Smetona*).

When Lithuania regained Klaipėda after the Second World War, some Aukštaitians moved to settle down in the seaport. They either went there for study and work, or were fleeing the deportation to Siberia: "The 1945 settlement plans for the region of Klaipėda show that the first settlers came to the rural areas of the Klaipėda region mainly from Žemaitija (the districts of Kretinga, Tauragė, Telšiai, Raseiniai, and Šiauliai) as well as from the individual regions of central and south-eastern Lithuania (the districts of Ukmergė, Kaunas, Utena, Alytus, and Lazdijai" (Safronovas 2009: 90). During the Soviet era, some young Aukštaitian men did their military service in the Soviet Navy. Starting in the 1950s – 1960s, middle-aged / younger generations of Aukštaitians were enjoying the opportunity to relax at the seaside. In contrast, the older-generation Aukštaitians (mostly farmers, born in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or the early 20<sup>th</sup> century), who were engaged in agriculture (small-scale farming) and were leading a settled way of life, never saw the sea (especially women). So it was only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that saw the Aukštaitians come into closer contact with the sea. As representatives of individual Lithuanian dialects had different territorial and cognitive relations with the sea, the authors of the paper hypothesised that the Eastern Aukštaitians, who had no direct access to the sea for many centuries and led a rather settled way of life, had a very limited lexical and semantic field of expression for the concept of the sea. Consequently, the Aukštaitians may have formed a unique concept of the sea, different from that of the Žemaitians. This opinion has also been expressed by Kavolis, who argues that "not all technical Lithuanians participate in Lithuanian culture" (Kavolis 1993: 63), i.e. part of them participate in the culture of the Žemaitians, the Aukštaitians, or a certain social group, the localisation of which is obviously assisted by the verbal expression, too.

The object of the paper is the lexical units expressing the concept of *the sea* in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects (see the area of Aukštaitija in Fig. 1). In order to reveal the specifics of the realisation and semantics attached to the lexical units denoting the concept of *the sea*, the data of the contemporary Lithuanian language and other (sub)dialects have also been taken into account.

In order to identify the specifics of the linguistic realisation of the concept of the sea in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, we tried to overview the sea-denoting lexemes recorded in

the Lithuanian language. Based on the lexicographic, folkloric, and the published texts in the dialects, we sought to establish which lexical units realised the concept of the sea in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects. Upon analysing the lexico-semantic field of these lexical units, any synonymous expressions, and the degree of relevance, the types of sea metaphorisation in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects were discussed.

**The material** has been collected from the following electronic dictionaries: *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language] (LKŽe), *Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of Standard Lithuanian] (BLKŽe), and *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian] (DLKŽe), *Lietuvių kalbos tekstynas* [Corpus of the Lithuanian Language] (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas>). The below listed dialect dictionaries have also been used: *Kupiškėnų žodynas* [Dictionary of Kupiškis Subdialect] (I, III, IV), *Lazūnų tarmės žodynas* [Dictionary of Lazūnai Dialect] (1985), *Dieveniškiai šnektos žodynas 1* [Dictionary of Dieveniškiai Subdialect Variant 1] (2005), *Zietelos šnektos žodynas* [Dictionary of Zietela Subdialect] (1998), *Kaltanėnų šnektos žodynas* [Dictionary of Kaltanėnai Subdialect Variant] (2009), *Daukšių krašto žodynas* [Dictionary of Daukšiai Region] (2002), *Vidiškių šnektos žodyno* [Dictionary of Vidiškiai Subdialect Variant] (2014), and others. Some of the material used for the paper came from the following published spontaneous speech recordings: *Rytų aukštaičiai uteniškiai* [Eastern Aukštaitians of Utena] (2010), *Rytų aukštaičiai anykštėnai* [Eastern Aukštaitians of Anykščiai] (2013), *Rytų aukštaičiai kupiškėnai* [Eastern Aukštaitians of Kupiškis] (2010), *Rytų aukštaičiai vilniškiai* [Eastern Aukštaitians of Vilnius] (2010), *Mielagėnų apylinkių tekstai* [Texts of Mielagėnai Area] (2006), *Šiaurės rytų aukštaičiai vilniškiai* [North-Eastern Aukštaitians of Vilnius] (2006), *Molėtų apylinkių tekstai* [Texts of Molėtai Area] (2019), *Rytų aukštaičiai panevėžiškiai* (2014) [Eastern Aukštaitians of Panevėžys] and *Kupiškėnų, uteniškių ir panevėžiškių paribio šnektos XXI a.* [Peripheral Subdialects of Kupiškis, Utena and Panevėžys in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century] (2019). The following texts from literature originally written in dialect were also used: Algirdas Vaitiekūnas' *Gimtinās žemāj* [In the Homeland] (2013), Regina Katinaitė Lumpickienė's *Udeniu ugniu žalynais* [Through Water, Fire, and Grass] (2013), and Vladas Braziūnas' *Saula prė laidos* [Before the Sunset] (2008). The research material was expected to represent the widest possible diversity of styles and areas of use within the linguistic realisation of the concept of the sea. Because the above-mentioned sources were prepared at different times and for different purposes, they varied in dialect recordings (more or less word-for-word transcription or simply phonetic re-writing). To maintain the originality of the sources, the examples in the text have been rewritten in the original forms with the analysed lexemes or their combinations underlined. The translation is provided in square brackets.

## Lexical units denoting the concept of *jūra* [the sea] in Lithuanian

Even though the range of lexemes representing the concept of the sea in Standard/contemporary Lithuanian and in other Lithuanian dialects is not part of this study, a brief overview of these means of expression and the etymology of the lexemes will provide a more comprehensive overview of the specific characteristics associated with the lexical expression of the concept of the sea in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect.

In contemporary Lithuanian, the concept of the sea is denoted by several lexemes. In Standard Lithuanian, the lexeme *jūra* (n) is recorded (1), its first meaning being 'a very large natural body of salty water in contact with the ocean': the Baltic Sea (BLKŽ<sup>e5</sup>); however, in the contemporary Lithuanian language and its dialects, the concept of the sea has several additional linguistic expressions. In the *Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian*, in addition to the lexeme *jūra*, meaning 'a large area of salty water in contact with the ocean': *the Baltic, the Black Sea*, a *plurale tantum mārios* is recorded, the first meaning of which (although with the reference that this meaning has been recorded only in folklore and in dialects) is 'the sea': *mārios* (2) 1. flkl. dial. Sea: *mārių krantas* [the sea-coast]. *Už jūrelių, už marėlių nulijo, nusnigo* (song) [Over the seas, across the lagoons the rain fell, the snow fell] (DLKŽ<sup>e6</sup>). The second and third meanings of the lexeme, i.e. 2. geogr. 'a lagoon, a bay, separated from the sea by a spit': *Kuršių mārios* [the Curonian Lagoon]; 3. 'a huge reservoir': *Kauno mārios* [the Kaunas lagoon, recorded in the DLKŽ<sup>e</sup>, demonstrate that *mārios* in contemporary Lithuanian denotes a large body of fresh water. This shows that in Standard Lithuanian (especially in certain types of discourse, such as journalism), these two lexemes cannot be considered as absolute synonyms.

Both the above-mentioned lexemes are frequently used in contemporary Lithuanian and are widespread throughout the area of the Lithuanian language. The data of the corpus of the Lithuanian language (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas>) testify to the lexeme *jūra* being used in various discourses, however, in the `spoken language is quite rare (see Table 1).

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<sup>5</sup> <http://bkz.lki.lt/>

<sup>6</sup> <http://lkiis.lki.lt/>

Part of the corpus	Total number of words	Query	Number of use	Number of words in analysed sources
Fiction	15 765 554	jūra	626	778 782
Non-fiction	19 322 341	jūra	477	598 893
Administrative literature	13 625 715	jūra	391	794 685
Journalism	86 497 837	jūra	410	278 442
Spoken language	447 396	jūra	7	4 048
	140 921 288	jūra	1 911	2 454 850

**Table 1.** Areas of use of the word *jūra* in Lithuanian

The trends in the use of the *mārios* lexeme in Lithuanian are similar (see Table 2), although the number of times it has been used is lower compared to the *jūra* lexeme.

Part of the corpus	Total number of words	Query	Number of use	Number of words in analysed sources
Fiction	15 765 554	marios	77	993 560
Non-fiction	19 322 341	marios	55	565 428
Administrative literature	13 625 715	marios	22	337 744
Journalism	86 497 837	marios	93	291 685
Spoken language	447 396	marios	0	0
	140 921 288	marios	247	2 188 417

**Table 2.** Areas of use of the word *mārios* in Lithuanian

It is clear that in contemporary Lithuanian the two lexemes in question show certain differences in use. However, it is only in Standard Lithuanian that the difference in their main meanings becomes very distinct: *jūra* usually denotes a body of salty water in contact with the ocean, while *mārios* denotes a large freshwater body other than a lake. In colloquial speech, dialects, and folklore the two lexemes *jūra* ir *mārios* are often used synonymously and both can refer to a large body of salty as well as fresh water.

The data of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* (LKŽe<sup>7</sup>), on the other hand, indicates that the lexeme *jūra* (as well as the *é*-stem noun *jūrė*) is more often used in the region of Klaipėda and in the area of the Žemaitian subdialect (see Map 1): *jūra* 1. Part of surface waters of the earth, a large area of salty water: *Nu Juodosios jūros iki Žemaičių (Baltijos) jūros* [From the Black Sea to the Žemaitian (Baltic) Sea] S.Dauk. *Kilst iš jūros debeselis, sulys man šienelis* [A cloud is rising from the sea, my hay will get wet] KlpD37. *Įpuolė rožė į jūrą* [A rose fell into the sea] JD491. *Į jūrą (į jūros pusę) apsiūkusi, ar lys?* [(The sky) towards the sea is overcast, will it rain?] Grg. *Jūra lipo į laivą (audra buvo)*. [The sea was getting into the boat (a

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.lkz.lt/>

storm was raging)) Plng. *Išėjo iš jūros puiki merga* [A beautiful maiden came out of the sea] BsMtII185. *Gulėjo jis (gintaras) jūros maurūse* [It (amber) lay in the seaweeds] S.Dauk. However, some examples of the folk songs included in this entry raise a question if perhaps the noun *jūra*, used in these songs, actually means 'a large body of water': *Jojau dieną, jojau naktį, nėkur gero neprijojau jūros [v]andinelio žirgeliui girdyti* [I rode through day and night, and nowhere came close to the sea water to give my horse a drink] D7. *Siuntė mane matušėlė jūros [v]andinelio* [Mother sent me to get some sea water] D34. Of course, if we assess these songs from a poetic point of view, we might perhaps imagine horses and humans drinking salty water. However, it cannot be categorically ruled out that the above-mentioned lexemes are naming a large body of fresh water rather than the sea.

The LKŽe also includes a *plurale tantum jūrės* of a different morphological structure (as well as *jūros, jūrios*) f.Sg. (1), its area of use covers mainly the region of Klaipėda (the area of the Western Žemaitian and the Western Aukštaitian subdialects) KII50, LsB306, K.Būg; SD155, KlG70, MŽ337, N, see *jūra* 1: Seasickness BŽ32. *Aš ne antelė per jūres plaukti* [I'm not a duckling to sail over the seas] J.Jabl. *Jūrės paliovė užusios* [The seas ceased to roar] KI130. *Parbėg laivelis jūrėms marelėms* [The ship is coming home from the seas, the lagoons] JD66. *Jūres nenersiu, mares neplauksiu* [I will not dive into the seas, I will not sail across the lagoons] JD514. *Liūliuo[ja] jūrės marelės* JD719 [The seas, the lagoons are choppy]. *Leidžia močiutė ... už jūrių marelių* [Mother marries [her daughter] off over the seas, the lagoons] JV789. *Išleido dukrytę už jūrių marelių* [[Mother] married her daughter off over the seas, the lagoons] KlvD14. ♦ a sea-bull EncII930 'Fish of the northern Baltic Sea (*Cottus quadricornus*): *O ir sugavo dyvnai tinkleliais du jūrių veršiukėliu* [Oh and [they] suddenly caught two sea-bulls in their fishing nets] KlvD37.

Very often the lexeme has been used together with the word *mārės (jūrėms mārėms)* or its diminutive derivatives (e.g. *jūrės marėlės, jūrių marėlių*). In Švenčionys (eastern Aukštaitija, see Map 1) a collocation was recorded in a folk song, consisting of two *pluralia tantum jūros marėlės*: *Sėsk, mergele, čalnelin – plauksim jūras mareles (d.)* [Get into the boat, young maiden, and we shall sail into the seas lagoons] (song) Švnč. (LKŽe). As confirmed by the LKŽe material, the lexeme *jūra, -ės* has been recorded rather rarely in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect.

In the Lithuanian sub-dialects other lexemes of various morphological structures, such as *mārios, mārės, marià, mārė* have been used more frequently than the lexeme *jūra, (jūrės)*. Although the lexemes *marià, mārė* in the singular were recorded only in the region of Klaipėda, the lexeme *mārios* in plural were found in all the Lithuanian dialects: *mārios* f. Pl. (2) 1.Lex61, MŽ434, Žž *jūra: Ar esi matęs marias (jūres) užaujančias?* [Have you seen the lagoons (seas)

roar?]) J.Jabl. *Ant vidurio mărių vanduo nesusilaiko (negali nurimti)* [The water in the middle of the lagoon will not calm down] Dkš. *Į jūrelių dugnelį ... įpuoliau: gelbėk mane, bernužėli, aš jau marių martelė* [I sank to the bottom of the seas: rescue me, young man, or am I already the daughter-in-law of the lagoon?] JD948. *Pavasarij potvynio metu Nemunas pakyla ir apsemia visą slėnį tarsi marios* [In the spring, during the flood the Nemunas rises and floods the whole valley like a lagoon] P.Cvir. *Tinklą leidžia mariosn* [The fishing nets are being thrown in the lagoon] DP377. (With a figurative meaning): *Kaip Ventos neįžengiamais miškais Žemaičiai skyrėsi nuo Kuršių, taip Dubysos girios buvo tokios pat marios (neperžengiami, skiriantieji plotai) nuo Aukštaičių* 'Just as the Žemaitians were different from the Curonians in their impenetrable forests of the Venta River, so the Dubysa woods, like lagoons (impenetrable, separating areas), differed from the Aukštaitian ones] A.Vien. *Ta dienele jau mariosan (praėjusi diena negrįš)* [The day is already deep in the lagoon (the bygone day will never return)] Ml.

One example from Rodūnia (a Lithuanian-speaking "island" in Belarus): *Kad ne marios, tai ir Amerikon nueitai!* Rod. [If it wasn't for the lagoons, you could even walk to America!] (LKŽe) indicates that the word *marios* could mean not only the lagoon but also the ocean. This illustrates that the range of meanings of this lexeme in the area of the Lithuanian language is quite wide.

Based on the discussed examples, it would be possible to conclude that in the dialects of the Lithuanian language (folklore and colloquial language), *jūra* and *marios* function as synonyms, and their relationship is especially distinct in the collocations *jūros (-ės) marios / jūrėlės marėlės*, etc. The semantic closeness of these two lexemes, which predetermined the formation of the above-mentioned collocations, is also supported by another collocation recorded in folklore, *laūmė rāgana*, a "negative fairy-tale character of the feminine gender": *Laumė ragana pikčiausia / Nekeptos duonelės klausia*<sup>8</sup> [...]. [The angry witch-sorceress is asking for non-baked bread]. The latter collocation, frequently found in the Lithuanian fairy tales, was probably formed due to the fact that the separate lexeme *laūmė* "a mythological creature" and *rāgana* "an evil witch, sorcerer" came to be considered as synonyms after Christianity had taken root and the functions of these two mythological creatures merged. Therefore, an assumption can be made that the semantic and formative aspects of the collocation *jūros / jūrės mārės* are of the same type as the collocation *laūmė rāgana*.

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<sup>8</sup> Kostas Kubilinskas. *Bebenčiukas ir kvailutė*. Access online: [http://www.ltvirtove.lt/pasakos.php?lt=bebenciukas\\_ir\\_kvailute](http://www.ltvirtove.lt/pasakos.php?lt=bebenciukas_ir_kvailute)

## Etymological data

The interrelationship between the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* can also be substantiated by etymological data. Although Wojciech Smoczyński (1982: 215) argued that Balts have replaced the old IE word for the 'sea' which can still be discerned in the Old Slavic *morje*, Goth. *marei* (Germ. *Meer*), and Lat. *mare*, some etymologists tend to disagree with his opinion. They believe that the Proto-Indo-European homeland was not close to the sea, and therefore the words derived from the \**mer-* root in the proto-language were used to denote a large lake. "Later, as Indo-Europeans migrated, they reached the seashores in the west and the south. Then the said form took on a new meaning; however, the older one was not completely forgotten either", e.g. Old High Germ. *mari*, *meri* 'the sea'; yet in the Old English *mere* meant also 'a lake, a pond' (for more details, see Meid 1982b, 94–96). Consequently, it can be argued that the polysemy of the lexeme *marios* has been maintained in the Lithuanian dialects and folklore, yet abandoned in Standard Lithuanian.

The lexeme *jūra*, according to Carl Darling Bucke, is cognate with Sanskrit *vār-*, *vāri* 'water (of all kinds)'; Tocharian A *wār*, B *war* 'water'; Avestan *vār-* 'rain; rainwater'; Old Norse *ūr* 'rain, rainwater'; Avestan *vairi-* 'lake, sea', Greek οὐρον, and Latin *ūrīna* 'urine' that were derived from the IE root \**wer-* (Bucke 1949: 35, 37). Subsequently, the meaning of this word was also quite broad (any water). This is substantiated by the data of the Lithuanian language: the name of the river *Jūra* and the lexeme *jūra* ('a wet, swampy place, wetland, pool') sharing the same root.

As proved by the overview of the etymological data, it can be assumed that by using the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios*, Lithuanians simply meant a large body of water, which accounts for their synonymy. Later, when the need arose to distinguish between the sea and other bodies of water, the difference in the meanings of these lexemes began to form, which is presently obvious only in Standard Lithuanian.

In order to find out the specific characteristics of these lexemes in the Aukštaitian area and compare them with the above-presented observations, the data of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects will be comprehensively overviewed.

### 1. Lexical units denoting the concept of *jūra* [the sea] in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects

The concept of the sea has not been particularly relevant to the Eastern Aukštaitians. This is confirmed by the fact that the concept was completely missing from some of the dialectal texts included in collections such as *Texts of Molėtai Area*, (2019), *Eastern Aukštaitians of*

*Panevėžys* (2014) or *Texts of Mielagėnai Area* (2006). *Jūra* [the sea] was used in some of the other dialectal texts and dictionaries, although not on many occasions. The concepts of *ežeras* [lake] and *upė* [river] were recorded much more frequently and were mentioned in various dialectal texts<sup>9</sup> more often. However, despite the rather scarce use of lexemes representing the concept of the sea, it seems relevant to discuss its characteristics in the worldview of the traditional Eastern Aukštaitian dialects.

### 1.1. Lexical realisation of the concept of *jūra* [the sea]: lexical units and their semantics

In the Aukštaitian dialect (it is worth remembering that it covers a wider area than the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija), the concept of the sea is expressed by the lexemes *jūra*, *mārios*, and *vanduō*, as well as the collocation *jūros mārios* the morphemic structure of which varies in different subdialects. Frequency of use and the significance of these lexemes across the different subdialects also vary. It is worth noting that individual concepts are characterised by different degrees of active use depending on the lifestyle of people living in a particular region. Therefore, in the Daukšiai variant of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect, spoken mainly in the ethnographic region of Suvalkija (also known as Sudovia), these lexemes are likely to have been used very rarely because neither the lexeme *jūra* nor the lexeme *mārios* have been recorded in the *Dictionary of Daukšiai Region* (DKŽ 2002). The same applies to the dictionaries of Lazūnai (LTŽ) and Kaltanėnai (KŠŽ) subdialect variants, neither of which includes the lexeme *jūra*.

As demonstrated by the data, the lexeme *jūra* (usually Sg.) in most Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects has been used less frequently than the lexeme *mārios*. This may be explained by competition between the two words - the lexeme *mārios* could have ousted its synonym *jūra* from active use. However, the use of the lexeme *jūra* in these subdialects has intensified in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This may have been caused by the influence of Standard Lithuanian, in which the concept of the sea is realised specifically by the well-established lexeme *jūra* (vertical relations). Moreover, in the eastern part of Lithuania only a comparatively small segment of the population earn their living from activities related to large bodies of water so their exact classification is not particularly relevant to the people of the area. The "novelty" of some cases of the recorded lexeme *jūra* is also confirmed by the contexts it is used in. The lexeme is used to refer to the younger generation of Kupiškis or Vidiškiai: *pàc jėūni.[s] 'su-nus po 'ju.ru. važi'nė-jæ* [the youngest son travels by sea] Svn. (KŽ 2: 95); *jú.ram laivou tækæ plãũkĩ* [I happened to sail across

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<sup>9</sup> *Molėtų apylinkių tekstai* [Texts of Molėtai Area]. Ed. by R. Rinkauskienė, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2019, and other.

the sea] (VŠŽ 2014: 259); to the holiday place: <...> *par atostogas iš Vilniaus visi nulākēm Palungon. Vietų pergulat' mum dōvā mokyklās klasioj, o dienas laisdavom pre jūrai, katro tēp visiem patinka* [During the holidays we all rushed from Vilnius to Palanga. We were allowed to sleep in a school classroom and spent our days at the seaside which everyone enjoyed very much] (Vaitiekūnas 2013: 3), to a large body of water: *tì jū-ras mat\_netó-li | dāūk tū-visó-ku vandenū* [there, the seas were close, so many various kinds of waters] (VŠŽ 2014: 259); or to the Second World War: *vo.kę.tĩ.s jæu 'ži:dus raštóvo. | kĩ.šę. laivaņ kæuraņ ir lá.ida. 'ju.rɔ.n* Plvn. [Germans arrested Jews, put them on a leaking ship and sent them off to sea] (KŽ 2010: 576). All these recorded cases reflect events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

However, we cannot claim that the Eastern Aukštaitians did not have the lexeme *jūra* at all. The hydronyms *Jūrupis*, *Jūrpis* (a river in Troškūnai, Anykščiai district)<sup>10</sup> presuppose the use of the lexeme by the Aukštaitians. However, according to Kazimieras Būga, "in ancient times it used to denote not the genuine seas (Meer), but only the large continental lakes (Binnensee), which could eventually subside and transform into *jaura*, i.e. swamp, bog" (Būga 1959: 275). This idea of Būga is also supported by folklore. The lexeme *jūra* is attested in the songs of the Eastern Aukštaitians (although not too abundantly): *Plaukiau per jūrą, / Per dunojėlį, / Priplaukiau rūtą / Ir lelijėlę* [I crossed the sea, / and the Danube, / and I came to the rue / And to the lily' (the song was recorded in Panevėžys district, AM 1990: 331). Although the above example does not allow us to draw firm conclusions on the semantics of the lexeme – *jūra* can mean both the sea (Meer, See) and a large body of water in this context – it undoubtedly belongs to the lexicon of the Eastern Aukštaitians.

The lexeme *mārios* (usually Pl.) has been recorded in all Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects but its morphological structure and the grammatical categories are different: *mārios* / *mārės* (Pl.) / *marià* (Sg). This lexeme has been recorded in all areas of use – in the domestic sphere of colloquial speech, in folklore, and in hydronyms (a reservoir formed by the dam across the Lėvuo River in Kupiškis is called *Kūpiškio mārios*, another one by the dam across the same Lėvuo River in Panevėžys is called *Ekrāno mārios*, etc.). Incidentally, it should be emphasised that the afore-mentioned hydronyms are the official names of these reservoirs, and therefore their use is not limited to the dialectal code.

Particularly numerous examples of this lexeme have been attested in folklore. In narrative folklore, *mārios* can mean the afterworld: [...] *plāūke per marės ilga-uodė.gė. | šviņ.ta \*mari.ja pribú.k* [...] [a long-tailed one was swimming across the lagoon, Holy Mary, please appear]<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For more details, see Vanagas, A. *Lietuvių hidronimų etimologinis žodynas* [Etymological Dictionary of Lithuanian Hydronyms]. 1981, Vilnius: „Mokslas“, p. 139.

<sup>11</sup> An excerpt from the Eastern Aukštaitian of Vilnius incantation against snakebite.

(ŠRAV 2006: 94), cf. *Āny nuvēj pas maràs, ir stóu pirkēlē durimì mārump* [They went to the shore of the lagoon, and here was a hut with its door facing the lagoon] Psl. (LTŽ 1985: 156), assistance coming from a miraculous object, a mystical place: *abru.'sę.li. pa'klɔ k | pazdariz dī.dala.s mǎr'ɔ.s | ú.pa.s* (obs.) [just spread a towel, and a large lagoon will emerge] Skp., or a place of death: *Svotai apsidžiaugė, visi sumačkėjo į laivą, bet kai tik laivas įplaukė vidurin marių, virvės nutrūko ir visi svotai prigėrė* (MP 1985: 87) [The matchmakers rejoiced, and they all boarded the ship; but as soon as the ship reached the middle of the lagoon, the ropes broke and all the matchmakers drowned] (MP 1985: 87).

Folksongs particularly emphasise the meaning of *mārios* as a mystical, marginal place, incomprehensible to the human mind and disobedient to human will: *žali títai su'lu.žɔ. | gí.l'ɔ.s mǎr'ɔ.s uš't'ví.no.* (d.) [Strong bridges broke down, / and deep lagoons flooded] Skp. VD 280 (KŽ: 774); *Kad mon atiduotų tėveliukas dolių / Ošiai išvažiuočia už juodųjų morių* [Should my Daddy give me my dowry / I would go over the black lagoon] (KS 1958: 303); *Aisiu aš laivelin, plauksiu in marias, / Gal ir aš priplauksiu jaunas dieneles* (d.) [I'll get onto the boat and sail out into the lagoon; maybe I'll come across the days of my youth] (d.)(RAV 2010: 198); *Unksti rytėlio / Prieš zorių, prieš zorių / klykia gulbala unt morių* [Early in the morning / Before the dawn/ The swan was honking / On the lagoon] (AM 1990: 119); *Ir prijoja uošves dvarų / Un marių krunte(lia)* [And [they] rode to the mother-in-law's estate/ On the shore of the lagoon] (AM 1990: 180); *Unt marių kruntelia / Besėdinčių / Kaip žalių lindrėlių / Siūbuojančių <...> Kaip pilkų gegiučių / Kukuojančių / No marių putas / Begraibunčių - Močiute mano, / Širdele mano, Virdur jo dvaro / Mėlynos marios / Aš išmieruosiu / Marių dugnelį / Ir išskaitysiu pilkus žvirgždelius* [Sitting on the shore of the lagoon / And swaying like a reed <...> Singing like a grey cuckoo / And touching the foam of the lagoon – oh Mother mine, / My dear heart, / In the middle of his estate / There's a blue lagoon, / I shall measure / The bottom of the lagoon, / I shall count / The grey pebbles there] (AM 1990: 181); *Oi kas man paklos, Kas man pataisys / Ant marių<sup>12</sup> patalėli, / Ant marių patalė(li)?* [Oh who will make me / My bed on the lagoon?] (AM, 1990: 185). Moreover, the meaning of the lagoon as the opposite to land is revealed: *Par gilias marias, / Par undenėlius / Jau tava mielas grįžta* [Over the deep lagoon, / Over the waters / Your beloved is coming back] (AM 1990: 385); *sù'dž'u-si patì kaip*

<sup>12</sup> The fact that *marios* in the present song denotes a large water body (most probably a lake) is indicated by the lyrics: *Jojau per tiltų, tiltus dundėja, Žirgelis pasverdeja* [I was riding over the bridge, the bridge rumbled, and my horse staggered]. The possibility of relating the bridge to the lake is reflected in another song: *Padirbsiu tiltų / Par ežerėlių, / Lunkysiu mergytį / Kas vakarėlių* [I'll build a bridge/ Over the lake/ And will come to see my girl/ Every evening] (AM, 1990: 187), or cf. two versions of one song: *Un krašta marelių / Rymojau rymojau, / Baltas rankelas / mazgojau mazgojau* [I was resting /On the shore of the lagoon/ And was washing/ My white hands] and *Ant ežerėlio / Rymojau rymojau, / Baltas rankelas / mazgojau mazgojau* (AM 1990: 198) [I was resting/ At the lake/ And was washing/ My white hands].

*mǒ.r'u. nindrá.la* [You will wither like a reed of the lagoon] (KŽ: 774); *aš næ untá.la. par maràs plāukr'* (d.) [I am not a duckling to swim over the lagoon] JT 439 (KŽ 2012: 243).

In colloquial Eastern Aukštaitian, *mārios* usually means the opposite of land – a large body of water (both the sea and a body of fresh water): *susodī.nɔ. laĩva.n | ir' i.šplaukē [m]ma'rɔ.s* [they boarded the ship and sailed out to the lagoon] Skp. (KŽ: 774); *á.nas in má.řu. dí.rba | tē.vas až má.řu. tì.kur vajævó.jæ.* (KŠŽ: 161) [He works at sea. Dad fought in the war somewhere on the other side of the lagoon (overseas)]; *ar tū nebijó.si par mařus plāũkĩ* [Won't you be afraid to sail across the lagoon]' (VŠŽ 2014: 372); *an mā.ru. (j)is plá.uk'o.ja | su.nar'ũ.užd'eg'imas no.g vá.n'din'o* [He sails across the lagoon | his joint inflammation comes from the water].

The concept of the *sea* in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Kupiškis is also expressed by the lexeme *vanduõ* [water] meaning a 'large body of water': [*tétè*] *vadi.nɔ. jũ. (motiną) va'ž'uoť amė.rikɔ.n\** | *bá.t 'ji.nai bi'jɔ.jɔ. vá.n'de.n'ɔ. ir' nævaz'ž.vɔ* '[Father] invited their [mother] to go to America, but she was afraid of the water and did not go' Kpr. (KŽ 4: 617). The lexeme may therefore denote both the sea and the ocean, in other words, any particularly large body of water.

To conclude, the Aukštaitians have more than one lexeme to express the concepts of the sea and the ocean. Usually they replace each other rather easily and are close to being absolute synonyms. The meaning of all these lexemes is much broader than the meaning of the sea, a 'large body of salty water'. Incidentally, according to Valencova's research, the word *more* [the sea] in the Slavic languages is also usually perceived as a 'large body of water' (Valencova 2015b: 163–164). Regarding the use of the lexemes denoting the sea, it is obvious that the Aukštaitians tend to use the lexeme *mārios* more often than other lexemes expressing the concept of the sea.

## 1.2. Types of derivatives and the specifics of their use

The collocation *jūros (-ės) mārios; jūros (-ės) merėlės* of Aukštaitian subdialects is used in folklore. In fairy tales it usually means a miraculous, mystical, menacing afterlife: *už jūrų marių* [over the seas lagoons], e.g. *Tai ir susitarė tėvai išvažiuoti už jūrių marių, o dukterį čia vieną palikti* [Then the parents decided to go over the seas lagoons (overseas) and to leave the daughter here alone] (MP 1985: 85); this meaning has been recorded in a riddle: *'ju.ru. mǒ.r'u. paũkšta. pɔ. smakrũ pakištà 'gvɔ.ltu šaũkæ* [a bird of the seas lagoons, when placed under the chin, screams loudly] JT 106 (KŽ: 96).

In the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect variant of Vidiškiai, the idiom *už jūrų marių* [very far] is illustrated by a single sentence: *baĩsu bú.va sú.nu išlá.iš(t) tãp tó.li | už jũ.ru má. řu (i*

Ameriką) [It was terrifying to see the son off so far, across the seas lagoons (to America)]. Its meaning presupposes not merely the long distance, but also the boundary with another/ alien world, which has been adopted from folklore.

In the Aukštaitian subdialects, very few derivatives of the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* can be found. Some subdialects or subdialect variants included no derivatives of the lexeme *jūra* (or its diminutives (*jūrėlės*, etc.), no adjectives (*jūrinis* 'marine', etc.), and no nouns (*jūrėvis* or *jūrininkas* 'seafarer') at all.

The diminutive *jūrėlės* has only been attested in several Aukštaitian songs: *Per girėlį perskridau / Per jūrėles perplaukiau, / nesuradau vainikėlia / nei žaliųjų rūtėlių* [I flew over the woods, I sailed across the seas, and I did not find either a wreath or the green rues] (AM 1990: 265).

The Eastern Aukštaitians use a prefixed derivative *pajūrỹs* [the seaside: a place by the sea, sea shore], however, it is seldom used; thus, e.g., in the *Dictionary of Kupiškis Subdialect*, it is illustrated by a single sentence: *šĩ.tõ. mad bí.ržõ.z\* dí.rba | õ. brõ.næ\* dabař išvaž'õ.võs paju.rĩñ* [That one works in Biržai, and Bronė is now gone to the seaside] SIm. (KŽ 3: 22), and was also found in a fairy tale recorded in Utena district: *Išsigando ponas, laksto pajūriu, barasi ant Andriaus...* [The nobleman was frightened; he was running around the seaside and scolding Andrius] (MP 1985: 131).

In the texts of the Utena and Širvintos subdialects, a nominal derivative–*nomen agentis* has been recorded: *jūr-(i)nykas, -ė: nu.te.vė.li.s má.na. rú.siškai gæ.raĩ kalbė.jæ | màt tan\_\*leningrà.di á.nas | tarná.va kařúomenæĩ | kranštá.ti bú.va. | jú.rni.ku á.nas | su\_šitaĩs rú.sais* [A seafarer: well, my dad spoke Russian fluently. He did his military service in Leningrad, was in Kronstadt as a seafarer with those Russians] (RAU: 60); *cici.leš\** (Cecilijos) *brõ-lis pãulũ.kus\* nú.mire | jú.rinikuš bú.væ || negirdė.tæ | kad bó.bæ jú.rini.ke bú-tu* [Cecilija's brother Pauliukas died, he was a seafarer. That's unheard of – for a woman to be a seafarer] (VŠŽ 2014: 259). In the subdialects of Kupiškis and Širvintos, the derivative has not been attested and the concept is instead expressed by a loanword *marė.kas* (*mariãkas*): *cici.leš\** (Cecilijos) *brõ-lis pó.vilus\* | tàs kur marė.kus | nú.mire* [Cecilija's brother Povilas, the one who was a seafarer, died] (VŠŽ 2014: 372).

Derivatives of the word *mārios* in colloquial Eastern Aukštaitian are also rare. In the *Dictionary of Kupiškis Subdialect*, a prefix *pa-* derivative *pamarỹs* [the coast of the lagoon] is illustrated by a single sentence: *võ.saru. geræũ | išėĩni laukañ | pa'bu.vi | pa'sę.di | nuveĩnu un põmari. | ataĩnu | tai vĩ.z'gi turĩ ir a[ž]siję.mĩ.mu.* [It is much better in the summer, I go outside, stay there, sit for a while, go to the coast of the lagoon, come back, so I have a nice distraction' Plvn., and another ending-of-the-stem derivative *pamarė* (KŽ 3: 44) is not illustrated by a

sentence. This derivative was also recorded in the subdialect variant of Molėtai: *Karaliūčia skareles pamarỹ velėjo* (obs.) Strn. (LKŽe) [The princess washed her headscarves on the coast of the lagoon] (obs.) Strn. (LKŽe).

The suffix *-el-* diminutive derivative *marėlės* has been attested merely in folklore: *Už du šimtu mylelių, mylelių / už giliųjų marelių* [Two hundred miles away, on the other side of the deep lagoon] (the song is well known in a rather large area of Aukštaitija, see AM 1990: 116, 627); *Plauksma mes gi abudu, abudu / par galias marelas, abudu* [We both shall sail / We both, across the deep lagoon] (the song was recorded in Anykščiai district, see AM 1990: 172); *Kai aš skridau per girelę / Girelė palinka, / Kai aš skridau per mareles, / Mareles pildijau* [When I was flying over the woods, / The trees bent, / When I was flying over the lagoon, / I filled it [with my tears]] Širvintos district; AM 1990: 345). The semantics of the said diminutive is related to the meaning of a water body as a reservoir: the depth and size of the reservoir has been emphasised, and the meaning of an alien boundary has also been recorded. The meaning of the sea as a body of salty water has not been recorded.

More frequent was the use of the diminutive *marėlės* in the collocation *jūrės marelės* (DŠŽ): *Už jūrių marelių / Nauja karčemėle* / [on the other side of the seas lagoons, / there is a new inn...] (AM 1990: 216), which also denotes a boundary separating one's own and alien worlds.

In the Aukštaitian songs, a suffix *-už-* diminutive derivative *maružės* has been attested: *Tame upely, / Tame sraunajam / Plaukė juodas laivelis <...> / Laive sėdėtie, / Irklą turėtie, Po maružės plaukytie* [In that river, / In that stream, / A black boat was sailing <...> / Sitting on the boat, / Holding an oar, / sailing into the lagoon] (AM 1990: 364, 365). Derivatives of that particular suffix are not typical of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, therefore the song must have come from Prussian Lithuania, as also testified to by its prevalence ("The song enjoys the greatest popularity in the south of Lithuania, it was known in Prussian Lithuania, and somewhat fewer variants come from Aukštaitija" (AM 1990: 696)) It is important to emphasise that the lexeme *maružės* in this text does not mean the sea: it simply denotes a large body of non-flowing (not of a river) water.

A suffix *-ėl-* plural diminutive derivative *vandenėliai* of the lexeme *vanduō* [water], recorded in folk songs, denotes a certain large water area, a boundary separating a safe (that of one's parents) and unsafe (that of the husband's) domains: *Nudaviau dukrutį / Nudaviau vaikutį / už šimto mylių, už žalių girių / Už didžių vandenėlių* [I married off my daughter, / I married off my child / Hundreds of miles away, behind the reed woods / Across the vast waters] (AM 1990: 328); *Par galias marias, / Par undenėlius / Jau tava mielas grįžta* [Over the deep lagoon, / Over the waters / Your beloved is coming back] (AM 1990:

385). In that case, the meaning of the lexeme is also very broad: it could potentially denote a lagoon, a lake, or even the sea.

An untypical suffix *-už-* derivative *vandenūžiai* (cf. *marūžės*) has been recorded in other versions of the same song see p. 11, which may have come from Prussian Lithuania: *Tiktai ji moka, / Žvejo dukrelė, / Vandenužiais plaukytie*. [Only she can, / a fisherman's daughter, / sail the waters] (AM 1990: 364, 365). In this case, the lexeme denotes a large body of water.

Upon overviewing the productivity, usage, and semantics of the various derivatives, it can be argued that a small number of the derivatives of the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* suggests the concept of the sea having not been particularly relevant to these subdialects. In most cases the derivatives express the archaic meaning of these lexemes as 'a large body of water' which represents a mystical, unfamiliar, and dangerous afterlife reality. However, a possible intensification in the relevance of these derivatives is also noticeable in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects. This can be attributed to the historical, territorial, and mobility changes which started to take place in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century within the Lithuanian population .

### 1.3. Lexical and cognitive semantic similarities and differences of the lexemes denoting the concept of the sea

As mentioned above, the lexeme *jūra* quite frequently denotes just 'a large body of water' in the traditional Aukštaitian subdialects. For that reason, the residents of Kupiškis can use it as a synonym of the lexeme *mārios* (a large artificial water body): *nù tai jìš čėnai iš aliza'vieč'u. aci'kė.li.s | tì kur tũ. kũ.piš'k'ɔ.\* 'ju.ru. kė.b' dí.rbɔ. | t'viŋ'kė. | tai jìs' ti ir pa'puolɔ*. [Well, he moved here from Alizava to where the Kupiškis Sea was formed, so then he got there] Slm. (KŽ 2: 96). The lexeme with that meaning can have either a positive and / or neutral connotation: *šėštadė.ni. p're. 'ju.rɔ.s vesė.l'ɔ.s kupiš'kė.nu. se'ni.bina.z bú.vɔ*. [On Saturday, there was an ancient Kupiškis wedding party by the sea] (KŽ 2: 96). Moreover, the first meaning of the sea, indicated in the *Dictionary of Kupiškis Subdialect*, as a 'large area of salty water in contact with the ocean' is questionable, as none of the illustrative examples confirm these features. Therefore, the meaning of the lexeme should be defined not on the basis of the attribute 'salty water area in contact with the ocean', which in most Aukštaitian dialects has effectively not been reflected at all, but on the basis of the attribute 'a large body of water'.

Upon overviewing the linguistic expression of the concept of *jūra* in the Aukštaitian area in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several cognitive definitions of it can be identified.

Most frequently, *jūra* is perceived by the Aukštaitians as alien / menacing, related to the work / military activities of sons / the kin, and the place of perishing.

A menacing, frightening reservoir of water: *kai̇ pamataũ 'ju.ru. | tai vi̇.su. 'ku.nu. nu.pilæ tɔ.k[s] š'ur̥pas* [When I see the sea, my whole body shivers] Slm. (KŽ 2: 95).

An alien place: *jũ.rni.ku á.nas | su\_šitais rú.sais* [he was a sefarer with those Russians] (RAU: 60).

A route related to the work activities of the kin: *pàc jæũni.[s] 'su.nus po 'ju.ru. važi'ne.jæ* [The youngest son travels the sea].

A place related to the work / military activities of the kin: *jìs ir paraš'ũ.t'ni.ku bú.vi.s | ir 'ju.ru. dú.gni. ži̇.nɔ. vi̇.su. | ir' žũ.vi. gáuda. <...>* [He was a parachutist / and knows the entire bottom of the sea, and he is catching fish] (KŽ 2: 95); *baiĝáũ | kaip\_čè letũ.viškai vadĩ.na | kũ.rsus jáunũ.ju. kariniñ.ku. [...]* || *nu\_ká. | idũ mu ir\_šá.uręi | \*kandalá.kšɔ.i | p̥re \*baltš\_šɔs jũ.rɔs* [I did a course (how do you say it in Lithuanian) for young officers [...]. Oh well, it is interesting in the north, too, Kandalaksha by the White Sea] (KUPPŠ 2019: 260); *ši̇.tɔ. mad bí.ržɔ.z\* dí.rba | ɔ. brɔ.næ\* dabař išvaž'ó.vus paju.rin̥* [That one now works in Biržai, and Bronė is now gone to the seaside] Slm. (KŽ 3: 22).

The sea perceived in this way is usually viewed by the Eastern Aukštaitians either negatively or neutrally. This can primarily be explained by the fact that the object is little known and is therefore considered as unreliable, dangerous, or, in other words, alien.

Therefore, based on the speakers' worldview as reflected in their language, the lexical meaning of *jūra* in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects could be defined as follows: 'a large body of water where various work and military activities are carried out and near which one rests'.

In the dialectal pieces of poetry of the Eastern Aukštaitians, *jūra* is depicted as a certain interesting and attractive object (in a sense, perceived in the same way as in folklore): a marginal space, unknowable to man (cf. the collocations recorded in fairy tales *jūros (-ės) marios, devynios jūros* 'seas lagoons, the nine seas'):

šiaũrès' Dievs

dydel's voĩdva èš Svàlios ožliedava pievs  
è no liepos vèršũnès' stebédavas Dievs  
kòkio dydelə žũvè sokũrès'

èje sũkorè, sũkes' è láides' on šiaũrè  
atsirádès' par klaĩdo, par žiaũrè  
jam atrode tas voĩdva, lèg jũros

nesėbaigiant's – par Løven', par Mūšo

plaūke žòve raudónom akym:

– Tėve mūsų<sup>13</sup>

(SPL 2008<sup>14</sup>)

The sea is also depicted as a place which the narrator himself/herself has not seen<sup>15</sup>, yet is able to tell about this object of reality. A contemporary approach to the sea is revealed by personification, in which the perception of the sea as a living creature is presented (it can walk):

Žmones suveina in jį pasklausyt

kaip anas posakaja

apie jūrų

ragis niekas tek daug

apie jų nežina

ir niekas teip jas

nepažįsta

anas vis posakaja ir posakaja

kol atšlaimi

suošia jūra

(atajus ja žodžių pasimt?)

a anas vis posakaja ir posakaja

anas nigdi nemate

jūras<sup>16</sup>

(UUŽ: 12)

The fact that, around the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the Eastern Aukštaitians started to associate *jūra* with a resting place, is confirmed by attested linguistic data: *o dienas laisdavom pre jūrai, katro tēp visiēm patinka* [and we used to spend our days by the sea which everyone enjoyed very much' (Vaitiekūnas 2013: 3). When the sea is perceived in this way, its evaluation

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<sup>13</sup> God of the North. / Big waters from the Svalia River would flood the meadows; / and from the top of the linden tree, God watched in amazement, / what a big fish he had created. / Whirlpools were swirling, swirling and falling north. / The water seemed to Him to have emerged by mistake, too cruelly, / and never ending up to the sea. In the Lėvuo, in the Mūša Rivers, / a red-eyed fish was swimming: /– Our Father (underlined: A.B.).

<sup>14</sup> <http://vladas.braziunas.net/taxonomy/term/99>

<sup>15</sup> This is also attested by historical data.

<sup>16</sup> *People get together at his place to listen to him telling about the sea. It seems nobody else knows so much about the sea and nobody else knows it so well. He speaks and speaks, until the sea murmurs in his backyard, maybe having come to collect his words. And he goes on and on, although he has never seen the sea* (underlined: A.B.).

tends to change. In this case, it is no longer seen as a menacing and uncontrollable element, but is viewed more positively. On the other hand, *jūra* is also recorded as a place of rest in an Aukštaitian fairy tale: – *Einam, Andriau, prie jūros pagulėti, – jis [ponas] sugalvojo Andrių jūron įstumti* [Andrius, let's go and lie by the sea, – he [the nobleman] came up with the idea to push Andrius into the sea] (MP 1985: 131), although this pleasant action, as proved by its semantic environment (to push into the sea), hides a threat: Andrius is to be drowned. The storyline is not very old. However, it retains the archetypal concept of the sea as the afterlife. Therefore, it can be assumed that the more archaic the text, the more menacing and mystical the concept of the sea is.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, under the influence of Standard Lithuanian and due to the change in the lifestyle of the Eastern Aukštaitians, even the members of the older generation started differentiating between the meanings of the lexemes *mārios* and *jūra*, i.e. the lexemes are no longer considered to be absolute synonyms. This is also encouraged by the relevance of the juxtaposition of these objects as resting places, as the Aukštaitians can rest both by the sea and by the artificial reservoirs. The juxtaposition reveals some differences in how the older generation of Aukštaitians view recreation near water bodies. For example, the text of the Eastern Aukštaitians from Kupiškis confirms that *Kūpiškio mārios* is considered by the elderly rural inhabitants to be a better place for recreation, while the seaside in Palangà is associated with a resting place intended solely for city dwellers: *ši.tan \*palangõn ð.gi kadu\_gi dabař | kai\_visi žemàs aciẽma.m | kadu\_gi cã bavažúosi \*palangõn tõn || kadu\_gi bã\_r cẽ.s. || k.ķ. mę.šć.ńi.s | ɔ.má.s tai || va\_dabař \*kú.piškõ. bú.v. \*la.võ. señaũ | ɔ.dabař \*kú.piškõ. m.ř.s || ję.gu turi\_minu.ti. cẽ.s. | nu\_tai ir\_namę. sa(u)v.łgi.t ir\_vi.ru | ir\_vaikõm išvi.řsi || ję.gu turi\_minu.ti. cẽ.s. | nuvę.jæi | aci.gulai | kad\_ir\_š.łtas ð.ras | tai\_nusi.nešei k.iliñus | ařsikli\_jei | k.õ.jæs i.řkišei | g.łvu. i.řkišei | ir\_gulã.k atã.ji.s || h.õ. | kãz\_gi atvažúojæ iš\_\*palangõ.s | niẽkas neži.n. | ar\_tu cã vi.sas nú.daktas | ař\_nè || k.õ.j.s tik ir\_galva m.õ.t.s || tai\_vã | tai\_gerá.usæs ir\_cẽ.sas || [To that Palanga when now, when we recovered our land, when can we go to that Palanga. When can we find the time. Maybe some townspeople, while we... Now that there is the Kupiškis Lagoon, if you have some free time (well, at home you cook for yourself and the husband, and the children), and if you have some free time, then you go there, lie down. Even if the weather is cold, you take a fur coat, cover your legs, put out your head, and stay lying. And whoever comes from Palanga, nobody knows, if you got tanned all over, or not. Only legs and the head are seen. And that's that, that's the best time] (RAK: 65). The discourse reflects a negative view held by the members of the agrarian culture towards any form of recreation near any body of water.*

However, as shown by the previous examples of usage, the meanings of the lexemes *mārios* and *jūra* in the traditional Aukštaitian subdialects do not differ much and were potentially perceived as synonyms until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is evidenced by the meaning of the lexeme *mārios*, identical to that of the lexeme *jūra* and recording the same attributes, associated with the work / military activities of sons / the kin: *á.nas in má.rũ. dí.rba* 'he works at sea'; *tė.vas až má.rũ. ti kur vajėvó.jæ.* [father fought somewhere on the other side of the lagoon] (KŠŽ: 161).

The lexeme *vanduo* [water] with the meaning of 'the sea, the ocean' is also perceived as an alien / menacing domain: *bá.t 'ji.nai bi'jɔ.jɔ. vá.n' de.n'ɔ. ir' nãvaž'ó.vɔ.* [But she was afraid of water and therefore did not go there] Kpr. (KŽ 4: 617).

Although the concept of the sea as a 'large body of water', expressed by different lexemes, is quite similar, there are certain differences that emerge in the semantic surrounding of these words. The features of the *mārios* lexeme are revealed in the most comprehensive way, because the texts indicate the colour of the lagoon: *Kad mon atiduotų tėveliukas dolių / Ošiai išvažiuočia už juodųjų marių* [Should my Daddy give me my dowry, I would go to the other side of the black lagoon] (KS 1958: 303). The fact that the object of reality named by the lexeme *mārios* was known to the Aukštaitians and was important to them is confirmed by its inclusion in collocations related to: vegetation (the reed)<sup>17</sup>: *sù'dž'u.si pati káip mó.r'u. nindrà.la* [you will wither like a reed of the lagoon] VD 280; fauna (fish): *Žuvim reikia upės, ežero ar marių* [Fish need a river, a lake, or a lagoon] JT310 (LKŽe), (swan): *klykia gulbala unt marių* [the swan is honking on the lagoon] (AM 1990: 119); ship: *Sėsčia laivėse, plaukčia mares* [I would board the ship and sail into the lagoon] NS965; a natural element (storm): *Išsikėlė iš marių vėtreliš ir užmušė tą jauną bernelį* [A storm rose from the lagoon and killed that young man] LTR (Dkšt.).

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<sup>17</sup> A reed in the songs is usually a plant of the shore of a lake or a river bank, e.g. *Siūruoja nindrele / Ant ežerėlia, / Ant čysta vandenėlia* [The reed is swaying / On the lake, / On clear water] (AM 1990: 284).

Semantic attributes of collocations of the examined lexemes	Lexeme <i>jūra</i>	Lexeme <i>mārios</i>	Collocation <i>jūros mārios / jūros marelės</i>	Lexeme <i>vanduo</i>
<b>Mystical afterlife, a marginal place</b>	+	+	+	+
<b>Menacing, alien sphere</b>	+	+	+	+
<b>Place of work activities</b>	+	+	–	–
<b>Place of military activities</b>	+	+	–	–
<b>Place of perishing</b>	+	+		
<b>A living being</b>	+	–	–	–

**Table 3.** The differences in the semantic attribute expression of the examined lexemes

The fact that the Eastern Aukštaitians do not clearly distinguish between the meanings of the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* has been confirmed by several illustrative sentences referring to certain professions linked to working at sea, e.g. *nāras* 'a diver': *Kaip tas nāras, su telefonu marių gilumon pasinėręs, marių dugnio daiktus peržiūri ir apsaiko* [The diver, who dives with his phone to the depth of the lagoon, looks at the things on the bottom and tells about them] A.Baran. (LKŽe); *jūrininkas* 'a seafarer': *nu\_te.vė.li.s má.na. rú.siškai gæ.raĩ kalbė.jæ | māt tan\_\*leningrā.di á.nas | tarná.va kařúomenæj | kranštá.ti bú.va. | jú.rni.ku á.nas | su\_šitais rú.sais* [Well, my dad spoke Russian fluently, as he did his military service in Leningrad, was a seafarer in Kronstadt with those Russians] (RAU: 60), etc.

The use of the word *jūra* in the figurative meaning of 'a large quantity of something' is particularly rare in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects: only the KŽ has recorded a sentence *tĩ mat 'ju.rɔ.z ga'ni.klɔ.s | ale vĩ.s mat lakamstoa* [There are seas of pastureland, and that is relish] SIm. (KŽ 2: 96); *kb\_cukrĩ.nĩ li.gu turĩ | teĩp traškĩ.na | kad\_ró.das jú.ru izgæřtum* [when you have a sugar disease (diabetes), you are so thirsty that you feel like you could drink the sea] (VŠŽ 2014: 259), yet this meaning is more often expressed by the lexeme *mārios*: *paspėšu | padarĩ.su | gi\_da\_má.res.laiķa* [I'll manage, I'll do it, we still have a lot of (literally, lagoons of) time] (VŠŽ 2014: 372). The system of metaphorisation of the lexeme *mārios* is similar to that of the lexeme *jūra*, since the transfer of meaning is based on the seme 'very much'. However, the idiom recorded in the KŽ *mārios lāšas* [a drop in the lagoon] confirms the opposite transfer of the meaning 'very little', not seen in the case of the lexeme *jūra*.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. The concept of the sea (a body of salty water) in the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija, essentially coinciding with the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, is inseparable from the concept of the lagoon (a large body of fresh water). In other words, the differences between these bodies of salty and fresh water are not relevant to the Aukštaitians in principle and have therefore been neutralised. This is confirmed by the linguistic expression of both concepts whereby the lexemes *jūra*, *mārios*, *jūros (-ės) mārios*, *vanduō*, etc. can all be used to denote either a body of salty water or a body of fresh water.

2 The Eastern Aukštaitians can name a body of fresh water (e.g. a reservoir formed by a dam) using two lexemes (*jūra* and *mārios*), even though the official name of the body includes the lexeme *mārios* (*Ekrano marios*, *Kupiškio marios*). Both of these lexemes can also mean a body of salty water, i.e. the sea, which proves that the Aukštaitians have used these lexemes synonymously for many centuries.

3. A lower number of the lexeme *jūra* recorded in the area covering the Eastern and Southern variants of the Aukštaitian subdialects can be explained by the competition between the synonyms *jūros* and *mārios*. The use of the lexeme *jūra*, which has been increasing since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, is associated both with the greater mobility of the population (at present, many Aukštaitians holiday by the sea or are working /studying in the port town of Klaipėda, etc.) as well as the influence of Standard Lithuanian. We can assume that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the semantic differences between the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* in the Aukštaitian subdialects will probably be the same as in Standard Lithuanian (*jūra* denoting a body of salty water, and *mārios* - a body of fresh water).

4. The lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* denoting the concept of the sea as well as their derivatives are used in various discourses and styles, while the collocations (*jūros mārios*, etc.) have been recorded only in folklore. The lexeme *vanduō* also denotes the concept of the sea / the ocean in the Aukštaitian dialect, however, due to its polysemy, this meaning is not implied as often as in the case of other lexemes.

5. The cognitive definition of the sea in the Aukštaitian subdialects could be as follows: the sea is the gateway to the world of the dead or a mystical alien world, a menacing and uncontrollable element, or a place for rest and work. The definition has some differences from Standard Lithuanian. Therefore, we can argue that the language users of the region of Aukštaitija have retained a traditional concept, older than that reflected in Standard Lithuanian. In most Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, salty water as an attribute of the sea has not been

recorded, although this attribute is included in the meaning definition of the lexeme *jūra* in various dictionaries (LKŽe, KŽ, etc.).

6. In the Eastern Aukštaitian dialect, the metaphorisation of lexemes denoting the concept of the sea has not been developed, and usually metaphors are based on the opposition of the attributes very much / little.

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AM – See References and Sources.

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AM – *Aukštaičių melodijos* [Aukštaitian Melodies]. Ed. by Laima Burkšaitienė, Danutė Krištopaitė. 1990, Vilnius: Vaga.

BLKŽe – *Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of Standard Lithuanian] / editorial board: D. Liutkevičienė (editor-in-chief), G. Naktinienė, R. Petrokienė, D. Svetikienė, K. Vosylytė, J. Zabarskaitė. Programmer V. Satkevičius. – <http://bkz.lki.lt>

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D – Simono Daukanto *Dajnes Žiamaitių* [Žemaitian Songs' by Simonas Daukantas]. 1846, Petropilie.

d. – a song

Dkš – Daukšiai, Marijampolė Municipality.

Dkšt – Dūkštas, town in Ignalina District.

DKŽ – *Daukšių krašto žodynas* [Dictionary of Daukšiai Region]. Ed. by V. Labutis. 2002, Vilnius: Alma littera.

DLKŽe – See References and Sources.

DP – Postilla Catholica. Tái est – Izguldimas Ewangeliu kiekvienos Nedelos ir szwętes per wissús metús [The Catholic Postil, That Is a Lay Out of Gospels for Every Week and Feast of the Entire Year]. Per Kúnigá Mikaloiv Davkszą Kanoniką Mednikų, iz łękiszko pergúldita Su walá ir dałaidimu wíreusúiu. Wilniui, Drukárnioi Akadēmios Societatis Iesv, A. D. 1599.

DŠŽ – See References and Sources.

EncII – Lietuviškoji enciklopedija [The Lithuanian Encyclopaedia]. I–IX. Kaunas, 1933–1940, vol. II.

geogr. – geography

Germ. – German

Goth. – Gothic

Grg – Gargždai, Klaipėda District.

- J – Antano Juškos *Lenkų-lietuvių žodynas (Słownik polsko-litewski)* [Lithuanian –Polish Dictionary], 1897, 1904, 1922.
- J.Balt. – Juozas Baltušis (1909–1991), Lithuanian author.
- J.Jabl. – Jono Jablonskio (1860–1930), Lithuanian linguist.
- JD – Lietuviškos dainos užrašytos par Antaną Juškevičę [Lithuanian Songs Written Down by Antanas Juškevičius]. I–III. Kazanė, 1880–1882.
- JT – Kazimieras Šaulys. Juodžiūnų tarmė. Rankraščio kopija, perduota Adelaidės pensininkų klubo [The Dialect of Juodžiūnai. A copy of a manuscript, handed over by the Adelaide Pensioner Club]. 1988.
- JV – Lietuviškos svotbinių dainos, užrašytos par Antaną Juškevičę ir išspaudintos par Joną Juškevičę. [Lithuanian Wedding Songs, written down by Antanas Juškevičius and published by Jonas Juškevičius]. Petropylė ..., 1883.
- K. Kub. – Kostas Kubilinskas (1923–1962), Lithuanian children's poet.
- K.Būg. – Kazimieras Būga (1879–1924), Lithuanian linguist.
- KI – Deutsch–littauisches Wörterbuch von Friedrich Kurschat. Halle.
- KII – Deutsch–littauisches Wörterbuch von Friedrich Kurschat. Halle. Vol. II.
- KIG – Grammatica Litvanica ... primūm in lucem edita à M. Daniele Klein, Pastore Tils. Litv. ... Regiomonti, Typis et sumptibus Johannis Reusneri, Anno ... (1653).
- KlpD – *Klaipėdiškių dainos* [Songs From the Residents of Klaipėda]. 1908, Vilnius, p. 37.
- Klv – *Prusijos lietuvių dainos* [Prussian Lithuanian Songs]. Collected by Vilius Kalvaitis, 1905, Tilžė.
- Kpr – Kupreliškis, Biržai District.
- KS – Dulaitienė–Glemžaitė, Elvyra. *Kupiškėnų senovė* [Olden Times of Kupiškis]. 1958, Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla
- KŠŽ – See References and Sources.
- KUPPŠ – See References and Sources.
- KŽ – See References and Sources.
- Lat. – Latin
- Lex – Lexicon Lithuanicum. (17<sup>th</sup> century manuscript of the former Karaliaučius (now Kaliningrad) Archive).
- LKŽe – See References and Sources.
- LsB – Die Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen von August Leskien. Leipzig, 1891.
- LTR – Lietuvių tautosakos rankraštynas [Codex of Lithuanian Folklore].
- LTŽ – See References and Sources.
- Ml – Mielagėnai, Ignalina District.
- MP – See References and Sources.
- MŽ – Kristijono Gotlybo Milkaus parengtas ir išleistas Lietuvių–vokiečių ir vokiečių–lietuvių kalbų žodynas (*Littauisch-deutsches und deutsch-littauisches Worterbuch*, 1800 m. [Lithuanian–German and German–Lithuanian Dictionary compiled and published by Christian Gottlieb Mielcke].
- N – Wörterbuch der Littauischen Sprache von G. H. F. Nesselmann. Königsberg, 1851.
- NS – Lietuvių dainos ir giesmės šiaur–rytinėje Lietuvoje Dr. A. R. Niemi ir kun. A. Sabaliausko surinktos [Lithuanian Songs and Hymns in north-eastern Lithuania, collected by dr. A.R. Niemi and Fr. A. Sabaliauskas]. – *Annales Academiae scientiarum Fennicae*. Ser. B. Vol. VI, 1911.
- OG – Jano Otrębskio (Jan Otrębski) Rytų lietuvių tvėrečėnų tarmė (Wschod-niolitewskie narzecze twereckie), II dalis Gramatika (Gramatyka) [Eastern Lithuanian Dialect of Tvėrečius, Part 2, Grammar]. 1934.
- P.Cvir. – Petras Cvirka (1909–1947), Lithuanian author.
- Plng – Palanga, a seaside town in Klaipėda District.
- Plvn – Palėvenėlė, Kupiškis District.

Psl – Pasaliai, Vija District, Belarus.  
RAA – See References and Sources.  
RAK – See References and Sources.  
RATKTA – See References and Sources.  
RAU – See References and Sources.  
RAV – See References and Sources.  
Rod. – Rodūnia, Rodūnė, a township in Western Belarus, close to the border of Lithuania, on the Rodūnia River.  
rš. – collected writings.  
S.Dauk. – Simonas Daukantas' (1793–1864) collected writings.  
SD – Konstantinas Sirvydas' (Širvydas) *Dictionarium trium linguarum*. Vilnius, 1629.  
sf. – substantivum femininum.  
Slm – Salamiestis, Kupiškis District.  
SPL – See References and Sources.  
Svn – Suvainiškis, Rokiškis District.  
ŠRAV – See References and Sources.  
Švnč – Švenčionys, town in Vilnius District.  
UUŽ – See References and Sources.  
VD – A. Vireliūnas. Kupiškėnų dainos. – Tauta ir žodis. III–IV kn [Songs From the Residents of Kupiškis – Nation and Word] Books 3–4'  
Vrn – Varėna, town in Alytus District.  
VŠŽ – See References and Sources.  
ZŠŽ – See References and Sources.  
Žž – Žiežmariai, Kaišiadorys District.

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## **A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE LITHUANIAN DIALECTOLOGY: THE CASE OF THE LOCATIVE**

*KOGNITYVINIS POŽIŪRIS LIETUVIŲ DIALEKTOLOGIJOJE: LOKATYVŲ  
ATVEJIS*

### **Abstract**

The article presents some initial attempts to apply the methods of cognitive semantics to the Lithuanian dialectology in examining the semantics of the inessive and illative cases in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect. The article provides a concise description of the results and other aspects of the analysis of locative constructions expressed via the inessive and illative cases applying the principles of cognitive semantics of meaning, the theory of categorization and the prototype theory. The article presents four cognitive domains of the meaning of locative inessive and illative constructions which have been identified by examining the linguistic data from the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius, focusing on the physical domain, the domain of events, the domain of states and the social domain. In addition, the article also shows that the semantic analysis of the cognitive domains enables researchers to raise different hypotheses pertaining to the competitive use of the locative inessive and illative constructions not only in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius but also in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect.

**KEYWORDS:** cognitive semantics, dialectology, Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius, Southern Aukštaitian, inessive, illative.

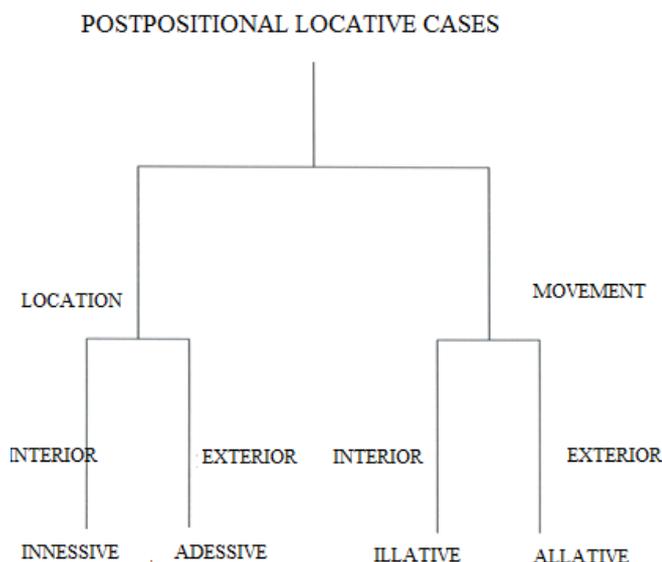
### **Anotacija**

Straipsnyje pristatomi pirmieji bandymai lietuvių dialektologijoje taikyti kognityvinės semantikos metodus, tiriant inesyvo ir iliatyvo linksnių semantiką rytų aukštaičių vilniškių ir pietų aukštaičių patarmėse: glaustai pateikiami esminiai kognityvinės semantikos reikšmės interpretavimo principais, kategorizacijos ir prototipų teorijų metodais paremto lokatyvinių inesyvo ir iliatyvo konstrukcijų tyrimo aspektai ir rezultatai. Straipsnyje pristatomos keturios prototipinės pažintinės lokatyvinių konstrukcijų sritys, išskirtos išanalizavus rytų aukštaičių vilniškių patarmės duomenimis: fizinė, įvykių, būsenos ir socialinė. Tyrimas taip pat parodo, kad semantinė pažintinių sričių analizė leidžia kelti prielaidų dėl konkuruojančios lokatyvinių inesyvo ir iliatyvo konstrukcijų vartosenos ne tik rytų aukštaičių vilniškių, bet ir pietų aukštaičių patarmėje.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** kognityvinė semantika, dialektologija, rytų aukštaičiai vilniškiai, pietų aukštaičiai, inesyvas, iliatyvas.

## 1. Introduction

The system of the locative in the Lithuanian dialects is becoming simplified. Of the four postpositional locative cases, only the inessive and illative remain (see Fig. 1).



**Figure 1.** Dendrogram of the Postpositional Locative Cases in Old Lithuanian (Rosinas 1995: 54)<sup>1</sup>

The inessive, also called the internal locative of being or simply locative, is used in the whole territory of Lithuania and denotes position or location within. This general meaning arises in contexts referring to being or moving in a limited space and flat surface or in the adjacency of other things (Ambrasas 2006: 261). The inessive is one of the main expressions of location in Standard Lithuanian and the dialects.

Traditionally, the illative, or the internal locative of motion, denotes the direction of motion into something or destination (Zinkevičius 1966: 200; Ambrasas 2006: 262). It is only used in the area of the Southern and Eastern Aukštaitian<sup>2</sup> (Zinkevičius 1966: 200–202; LKTCh 82; 105; 127; 144; 153; 163).

The inessive and illative cases and their relations have only been mentioned briefly in the descriptions of general inflectional systems of the Lithuanian subdialects. The inessive and illative cases (like all other members of the inflection paradigm) are usually analysed as a morphological category in dialectological works (Markevičius 2009: 39–46; Kaikarytė 2010:

<sup>1</sup> Inessive (where?) – *būti miške* [to be in the forest], *būti miškuosu* [to be in the forests]; Adessive (where?) *būti Dieviop* [to be near to God], *būti žmonėspi* [to be near to people]; Illative (to where?) – *eiti miškan* [to go into the wood], *eiti miškuosun* [to go into the woods]; Allative (to where?) *eiti miškop(i)* [to go to the wood], *eiti darbump* [to go to the woods] (Zinkevičius 1980: 253–263; Rosinas 1995: 53–76).

<sup>2</sup> The Illative is used around the line of Simnas-Jieznas-Jonava-Raguva-Pavevėžys-Pasvalys-Papilys (according to Zinkevičius 1966: 200–201). This data needs to be revised.

25–27; Leskauskaitė 2006: 41–42; 2009: 46; 2012: 81–90; 2016: 60–61): sections of lexeme paradigms are analysed, only the cases themselves are described, whereas their usage contexts are not analysed<sup>3</sup>. However, the semantics of locative cases has not been explored extensively, therefore it is an important research incentive to describe and examine the semantic aspect of the locative cases in the Lithuanian dialects. The theory of cognitive semantics (Langacker 1986, 1987, 1991; Lakoff, Johnson 2003) yields wider opportunities to explore the locative cases in new perspectives. There are several studies which employ the methods of cognitive semantic to analyse and describe the semantics of locative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius (Kardelytė-Grinevičienė 2014; 2015; 2018). The purpose of this article is to provide a brief overview of the results and other aspects of some initial dialectological studies based on authentic dialectal data that addresses the semantics and relations of the locative inessive and illative constructions by applying the methods of cognitive linguistics.

The tasks of this article are: 1) to describe four semantics domains of the locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius which were divided using cognitive semantics methods; 2) to discuss the competitive use of the locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect.

## 2. Data and Methods

This article discusses the semantics of locative inessive and illative constructions in two Lithuanian subdialects: the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect<sup>4</sup> (see Fig. 2).



**Figure 2.** The Map of the Lithuanian Dialects

<sup>3</sup> This concept of research is based on the structural oppositions of cases and its essential principle is one case – one meaning (Nekrasova 2002: 25–27; DLKG: 68; Paulauskienė 1983: 183; 1989: 25).

<sup>4</sup> The study of the semantic domains of the Southern Aukštaitian has not been performed. The data of the Southern Aukštaitian is used only in the analysis of cases of competitive usage.

The empirical material for this research was collected from about 90-hour audio recordings from a database of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius<sup>5</sup> and the texts of the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect, namely A. Leskauskaitė's "*Kučiūnų krašto šnektos tekstai*" (2006) [Texts of the Kučiūnai Subdialect], A. Leskauskaitė's "*Marcinkonių šnektos tekstai*" (2009) [Texts of the Marcinkonys Subdialect] and A. Leskauskaitė's "*Seirijų šnektos tekstai*" (2016) [Texts of the Seirijai Subdialect].

The empirical material showed that in the semantic analysis of locative cases an important role is played not only by locative cases but also by other elements. The locative cases should not be treated as isolated morphological markers but rather as open semantic structures. Therefore, the research focus is not limited to the inessive and illative cases but also encompasses the minimal construction (the illative or inessive + a verb) marking location and, if possible, the utterance and its narrower or wider context. The terms *locative inessive* and *locative illative construction* are used in the research<sup>6</sup>, for example:

inessive construction →	(1)	<i>žmogus</i>	<i>gyvena</i>	<i>mieste</i>
		personNOM.SG	livePRS.3	townIN.SG
illative construction →	(2)	<i>žmogus</i>	<i>važiuoja</i>	<i>miestan</i>
		personNOM.SG	goPRS.3	townIL.SG

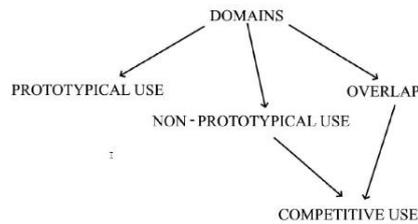
The semantics of the locative inessive and illative constructions were analysed and described within the framework of cognitive semantics. The semantic types of these constructions were identified using the methods of categorization and the prototype theory. The locative constructions from the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and from the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect are exemplified in parallel by using the distributional and comparative methods.

### 3. Domains of the Locative Inessive and the Locative Illative Constructions

The locative inessive and illative constructions of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius were described and analysed according to the following scheme (see Fig. 3):

<sup>5</sup> www.baze.vilniskiai.eu

<sup>6</sup> For more on the terms *locative inessive* and *locative illative construction*, see: Carling 2000: 30; Kardelytė-Grinevičienė 2014: 22–24; 2015: 155.



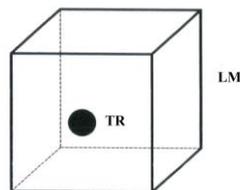
**Figure 3.** The Scheme of Locative Inessive and Illative Constructions Analysis

The locative inessive and illative constructions classified in research according to the types of containers are analysed within the framework of the prototype theory (Rosch 1978: 27–48; Taylor 1995). The constructions are considered as representative of the prototypical and non-prototypical meanings and they are attributed to several semantic domains (Langacker 1987: 149–151; 1991: 3–4; Lakoff 1987: 63; 147–154). The classification of constructions into semantic domains is based on the domain matrices of the “external” locative cases in Estonian and the locative cases in Komie (Vainik 1995; Kuznetsov 2012). Four domains of the locative inessive and illative constructions will be presented in this article, namely: the physical domain, the domain of event, the social domain, and the domain of states (according to Vainik 1995; Kuznetsov 2012)<sup>7</sup>.

### 3.1. Physical Domain

Abundant empirical material on the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius illustrates the category of the physical domain. The container of the physical domain possesses a topologically marked physical region that comprises the trajector or shows its movement. Prototypical examples of the physical domain include spatial scenes in which the landmark is:

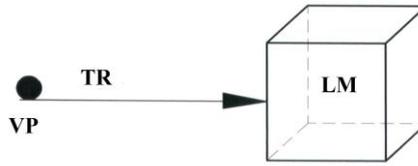
- i) situated in a three-dimensional physical container (see Fig. 4).



**Figure 4.** The Prototypical Scheme of the Locative Inessive Constructions in Physical Domain (Vainik 1995: 58)

- ii) moving into a three-dimensional container or is being placed into it (see Fig. 5; Frawlei 1992: 254–255; Vainik 1995: 58).

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed study of the locative inessive and illative constructions of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius see: Kardelytė-Grinevičienė 2014; 2015: 153–174.



**Figure 5.** The Prototypical Scheme of the Locative Illative Constructions in Physical Domain

The analysis of the material on the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius shows that the physical domain features 8 semantic types of the locative inessive and illative constructions.

3.1.1. *Location inside a building.* The locative constructions refer to location inside a building, where the container performs the function of a building for living in, a farm building, a building of public use, a church building, for example:

- |                             |                 |                           |               |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| (3) <i>tuose</i>            | <i>namuose</i>  | <i>viename</i>            | <i>name</i>   |
| thisIN.PL                   | houseIN.PL      | oneIN.SG                  | houseIN.SG    |
| <i>gyveno</i>               | <i>keturios</i> | <i>šeimos</i> (Panižiškė) |               |
| livePST.3                   | fourNOM.PL      | familyNOM.PL              |               |
| (4) <i>vienas</i>           | <i>buvo</i>     | <i>pas mus</i>            | <i>atėjęs</i> |
| oneNOM.SG                   | bePST.3         | to weACC.SG               | comePTCP      |
| <i>namuosan</i> (Kaneišiai) |                 |                           |               |
| houseIL.PL                  |                 |                           |               |

3.1.2. *Location inside a container.* The locative inessive and illative constructions refer to location inside a container. The prototypical cases illustrating location inside a container can be represented by a three-dimensional landmark which has clear boundaries and is hollow, a trajector denoting a mobile physical object and a stative verb marking the relationship between the landmark and the trajector in the locative inessive construction and a dynamic verb in the locative illative construction (Kuznetsov 2012: 112; Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1996: 543).

3.1.2.a. *A container made of hard or soft substance* is of changeable dimensions and therefore is not always easily defined. The size of this container depends on the trajector or its quantity. The capacity of the container is increasing when there are objects inside and is decreasing when the objects are removed:

- |                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| (5) <i>sėdi</i>  | <i>bačkelėj</i> (Mažėnai) |
| sitPRS.3         | barrelIN.SG               |
| (6) <i>pilam</i> | <i>dėžėn</i> (Vingiriai)  |
| throwPRS.1.PL    | boxIL.SG                  |

(7) <i>turiu</i>	<i>terbelėj</i> (Mielagėnai)
havePRS.1.SG	sackIN.SG
(8) <i>prisidėjo</i>	<i>kepurėn</i> (Dainiai)
putPST.3	capIL.SG

3.1.2.b. Containers used as *means of transport* are found in both subdialects. They can be either closed or open:

(9) <i>važiuodavo</i>	<i>karietoj</i> (Mielagėnai)
goPST.3	carriageIN.SG
(10) <i>sukrovė</i>	<i>vežimuosan</i> (Didžiasalis)
loadPST.3	cartIL.PL

3.1.2.c. *A container as a flat/flat-surfaced object.* The lexemes *lova* [bed], *stalas* [table], *suolas* [bench], *lėkštutė* [saucer], although denoting flat objects, may also be conceptualised as containers when used in the locative inessive and illative constructions, for example:

(11) <i>guli</i>	<i>lažėj</i> (Mažėnai)
liePRS.3	bedIN.SG
(12) <i>padedam</i>	<i>lovon</i> (Smilginiškė)
putPRS.1.PL	bedIL.SG

3.1.3. *A location under some physical object.* The lexemes expressing this semantic type of container have a common seme of ‘being below something’, for example:

(13) <i>guli</i>	<i>palovėj</i> (Vingiriai)
liePRS.3	bedIN.SG
(14) <i>įlindo</i>	<i>palažėn</i> (Vingiriai)
getPST.3	bedIL.SG

In most cases, these containers have two physical boundaries (top and bottom). Other boundaries can be imagined on the basis of the contours of the object under which the trajector is placed (Hottenroth 1991: 19). Prototypical examples of location under some physical object clearly illustrate the concept of INSIDE.

3.1.4. *A location inside a substance.* The physical domain also includes spatial scenes in which the trajector is represented by an object or a person and the landmark is substance:

(15) <i>baloj</i>	<i>išsimaudė</i> (Vingiriai)
marshIN.SG	bathePST.3
(16) <i>nusviedė</i>	<i>balon</i> (Dindos)
throwPST.3	marshIL.SG

To sum up, the location of the trajector inside a substance actualises the concept of DEPTH.

3.1.5. *A location inside parts of body:*

- |                     |                         |                            |
|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| (17) <i>sqnarei</i> | <i>kojosu</i> (Gilūtos) |                            |
| jointNOM.PL         | legIN.PL                |                            |
| (18) <i>ausysun</i> | <i>pelenų</i>           | <i>prideda</i> (Paliesius) |
| earIL.PL            | ashGEN.PL               | putPRS.3                   |

In this case the metaphorical use is more common than the direct function of a physical container (especially in the case of the lexemes *akis* [eye] and *galva* [head]):

- |                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| (19) <i>smertis</i> | <i>akyse</i> (Šiūlėnai)   |
| deathNOM.SG         | eyeIN.PL                  |
| (20) <i>nelįsk</i>  | <i>akysun</i> (Paliesius) |
| not getIMP.2        | eyeIL.PL                  |

3.1.6. Metaphorically motivated locative inessive and illative constructions refer to *location in publications*:

- |                          |                             |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (21) <i>laikraščiuos</i> | <i>buvau</i> (Guntauninkai) |
| newspaperIN.PL           | bePST.1.SG                  |

Location expressed by the lexemes denoting publications (*knygose* [in books], *laikraščiuose* [in newspapers]) can be realised only by the inessive constructions.

3.1.7. The locative inessive and illative constructions also express *location in flora*:

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (22) <i>sėdi</i>   | <i>medy</i> (Mažėnai) |
| sitPRS.3           | treeIN.SG             |
| (23) <i>krūman</i> | <i>deda</i> (Mažėnai) |
| bushIL.SG          | putPRS.3              |

3.1.8. Indicating a location in *the topographical and geographical regions or landscape* (covered or open) is relatively common:

- |                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (24) <i>buvo</i>      | <i>Ignalinoj</i> (Ažušilė) |
| bePST.3               | IgnalinaIN.SG              |
| (25) <i>išvažiavo</i> | <i>Lenkijon</i> (Ažušilė)  |
| goPST.3               | PolandIL.SG                |
| (26) <i>buvo</i>      | <i>kaime</i> (Vosiūnai)    |
| bePST.3               | villageIN.SG               |

(27) <i>nueidavo</i>	<i>kituosan</i>	<i>kaimuosan</i> (Pašaminė)
goPST.3	anotherIL.PL	villageIL.PL
(28) <i>gyvena</i>	<i>miškuos</i> (Ažušilė)	
livePRS.3	woodIN.PL	
(29) <i>veda</i>	<i>miškuosun</i> (Pajuodupis)	
takePRS.3	woodIL.PL	
(30) <i>pastato</i>	<i>dirvone</i> (Stanislavavas)	
putPRS.3	fieldIN.SG	
(31) <i>puola</i>	<i>bėgti</i>	<i>dirvonan</i> (Kaneišiai)
startPRS.3	runINF	fieldIL.SG

This above section provided some of the prototypical examples of the locative inessive and illative constructions of semantic domains. In addition, non-prototypical use of the locative inessive constructions can also be found in the data of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius. The empirical material showed that non-prototypical use of the locative inessive constructions in question is determined by the dynamic verbs. If the spatial scene occurs in a building or a place of larger dimensions, the locative inessive constructions may contain not only stative but also dynamic verbs which define the relations between the trajector and the landmark<sup>8</sup>, for example:

(32) <i>pirkioj</i>	<i>šoki</i> (Mielagėnai)
houseIN.SG	dancePRS.2.SG
(33) <i>užblūdijau</i>	<i>miške</i> (Ažušilė)
get lostPST.1.SG	woodIN.SG

Non-prototypical expression of the locative illative construction is apparent if the relationship between the trajector and the landmark is expressed by various verbs which refer to the action of hitting, thrusting, beating, for example:

(34) <i>tada</i>	<i>vilkas</i>	<i>šoko</i>	<i>įsibėgėjęs</i>	<i>davė</i>
thenADV	wolfNOM.SG	jumpPST.3	runPTCP	hitPST.3
<i>šiton</i>	<i>bačkelėn</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>sudaužė</i>	<i>bačkelę</i> (Mažėnai)
thisIL.SG	barrelIL.SG	and	breakPST.3	barrelACC.SG

These spatial scenes mark the non-prototypical relationship between the trajector and the container, which implies that the trajector is not placed inside the container but only touches it thereby actualising the concept of SURFACE.

<sup>8</sup> Such usage is also typical of the Southern Aukštaitian.

It can be concluded that the locative illative and inessive constructions are largely determined by the features of the verb. The verb defines the relationship between the participant of the spatial scene and the dimensional interpretation of the container.

### 3.2. Event Domain

The analysis of the empirical material on the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius shows that the physical domain is not isolated from other domains but is in fact related to them. An overlap between the domains of event and time is very common<sup>9</sup>. The locative constructions in the researched subdialect frequently encode participation in events or processes and refer to the event domain that lacks dimensional features:

- (35) *labai ramu būdavo šokiuos* (Pašaminė)  
 veryADV quietADV bePST.3 danceIN.PL
- (36) *kariuomenėn paėmė* (Vingiriai)  
 armyIL.SG takePST.3

Location in the event domain is based on conceptual metaphor: the spatial relations between a physical container and a trajector are transferred to an abstract domain. Non-prototypical use of the locative constructions is displayed by metonymic expressions.

The event domain encoded by the locative inessive and illative constructions retains the meaning of location in contexts showing an overlap with the physical domain. In individual examples, the event domain quite often includes the markers of time. If utterances evoke several domains, the event domain dominates when the concept of EVENT is actualised.

### 3.3. Social Domain

The distinctive feature of the social domain is the animacy of the landmark. The landmark should be expressed by the lexeme referring to a community or organization. This domain is not characterised by any dimensional features:

- (37) *kažkada gyvenome šeimoje, vyras buvo,*  
 onceADV livePST.1.PL familyIN.SG husbandNOM.SG bePST.3
- ir vaikai maži* (Mėčionys)  
 and childNOM.PL smallNOM.PL

<sup>9</sup> The time domain is not discussed in these studies. Its semantic characteristics require a separate study, because the inessive and illative constructions can denote not only localization, but also the temporal relations in the Lithuanian subdialects.

(38) <i>ištrūkau</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>fronto,</i>	<i>perėjau</i>	<i>kiton</i>
escapePST.1.SG	from	frontGEN.SG	movePST.1.SG	anotherIL.SG
<i>kuopon</i> (Mažėnai)				
unitIL.SG				

The dialectal material shows that location in the social domain is conceptualised metaphorically, whereby the abstract - not purely locative - spatial relations are being actualised. Only in individual cases, when the overlap between the social and the physical domains occurs, the aspect of location becomes more prominent. The social domain tends to overlap more commonly than the physical domain. The number of examples illustrating the overlap is not finite because it can be extended depending on the context.

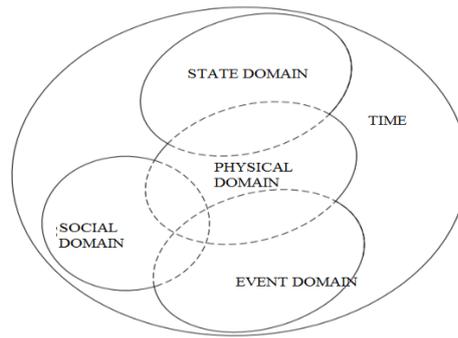
### 3. 4. State Domain

The main distinctive feature of various expressions ascribed to this category is the reference to a change of state. In the state domain, the physical dimensions of the container do not really exist, but the relations between the trajector and the landmark are encoded by similar structures as in the case of the physical domain. The constructions illustrating this domain denote going into a certain state or being in it:

(39) <i>įbrido</i>	<i>žmogus</i>	<i>skolosna</i> (Bėčiūnai)		
getPST.3	manNOM.SG	debtIL.PL		
(40) <i>tik</i>	<i>pensijon</i>	<i>išėjo</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>apsirgo</i> (Stanislavavas)
just	retirementIL.SG	goPST.3	and	fall illPST.3

The projection of the state domain is based on conceptual metaphor. Only in individual instances when the state domain overlaps with the physical domain the aspect of location is actualised.

The analysis of the locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius suggests that the overlap between the domains contributes to their interaction. Most common are overlaps between the physical domain, the event domain, and the time domain. The relations between the domains can be illustrated in the following matrix (see Fig. 6).



**Figure 6.** The Matrix of the Locative Inessive and Illative Constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian Subdialect of Vilnius

The conditions for the overlap of the cognitive domains are contextual information, encyclopaedic information, and polysemy.

#### 4. Competitive Use of the Locatives

The semantic analysis of the material on the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius reveals not only the semantic potential of each construction, but also the relationships between these constructions. Such relationships realised the competitive use of the locative inessive and illative constructions. Competitive usage is especially widespread in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect (Leskauskaitė 2006: 41–42; 2009: 46; 2012: 81–90; 2016: 60–61). There are two types of competitive use observed in the empirical material of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect:

i) Locative inessive constructions consisting of a verb, a pronoun or an adjective and a noun in which one of the components of the construction competes with another component. The noun component is prototypically expressed by the inessive, while the pronoun or adjective is expressed by the illative instead of the inessive form, for example:

(41) <i>tėvas</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>tame</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>buvo,</i>
fatherNOM.SG	stillADV	thatIN.SG	warIN.SG	when	bePST.3
<i>dar</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>kare,</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>tan</i>	
stillADV	thatIL.SG	warIN.SG	not	thatIL.SG	
<i>kur</i>	<i>praėjo,</i>	<i>bet</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>kare</i>	(Rimaldiškė <sup>10</sup> )
which	passPST.3	but	thatIL.SG	warIN.SG	
(42) <i>puode</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>emaliuotan,</i>	<i>seniau</i>		
potIN.SG	thatIL.SG	enamelledIL.SG	beforeADV		

<sup>10</sup> This area belongs to the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius.

	<i>kubiliukai</i>	<i>buvo</i>	<i>tokie</i>	<i>maži</i> (Stanislavavas <sup>11</sup> )		
	tubNOM.PL	bePST.3	such	smallNOM.PL		
(43)	<i>tan</i>	<i>kaime</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>buvo</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>viena</i>
	thatIL.SG	villageIN.SG	and	bePST.3	still	oneNOM.SG
	<i>ragana</i> (Miškiniai <sup>12</sup> )					
	witchNOM.SG					
(44)	<i>namas</i>	<i>tuščias</i>	<i>buvo,</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>tan</i>	
	houseNOM.SG	emptyNOM.SG	bePST.3	so	thatIL.SG	
	<i>name</i>	<i>šėrė</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>laikė</i> (Briniai <sup>13</sup> )		
	houseIN.SG	feedPST.3	and	keepPST.3		

Such competitive use is typical of both subdialects but is more frequent in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius.

ii) There are illustrations of competitive use of the inessive and illative forms in the locative phrases (*noun + verb*), for example:

(45)	<i>tuosna</i>	<i>namuosna</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>apsigyveno</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>šeima</i> (Bėčiūnai <sup>14</sup> )
	thatIL.PL	houseIL.PL	and	settlePST.3	with	familyAB.SG
(46)	<i>gal</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>Lietuvoj</i>	<i>šitokia</i>	<i>mada</i>	<i>ateis</i> (Vingiriai <sup>15</sup> )
	maybe	and	LithuaniaIN.SG	such	trendNOM.SG	appearFUT.3
(47)	<i>ir</i>	<i>šviesa</i>	<i>visa</i>	<i>būna</i>	<i>pirkion</i> (Zervynos <sup>16</sup> )	
	and	lightNOM.SG	allNOM.SG	bePRS.3	houseIL.SG	
(48)	<i>trys</i>	<i>vaikai</i>	<i>mokykloj</i>	<i>eina</i> (Kučiūnai <sup>17</sup> )		
	threeNOM.PL	childNOM.PL	schoolIN.SG	goPRS.3		

Such competitive use is extremely common in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect. In such cases both the inessive and the illative constructions can denote a place as well as direction. The static or dynamic character of the spatial scenes is not shown by the locative cases but by verbs.

The competitive use of the locative constructions can be motivated by their almost identical semantic environment (both types of construction can encode the same domains) and the semantic dominance of the verb. It is quite difficult to say why in some cases the inessive

<sup>11</sup> This area belongs to the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius.

<sup>12</sup> This area belongs to the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect.

<sup>13</sup> This area belongs to the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect.

<sup>14</sup> This area belongs to the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius.

<sup>15</sup> This area belongs to the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius.

<sup>16</sup> This area belongs to the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect.

<sup>17</sup> This area belongs to the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect.

or illative constructions are generalised<sup>18</sup>. This aspect still needs to be investigated more extensively.

## 5. Conclusions

(1) The analysis of the semantic types of the locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius reveals that prototypically the inessive constructions denote being in a physical container, while the illative constructions mark movement to a destination which is in a closed or open container. Both the inessive and illative constructions primarily express location in various buildings and containers.

(2) The locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius prototypically encode the physical domain. The event domain, the social domain and the state domain expressed by the locative inessive and illative constructions do not refer to a physical location but display metaphorical use.

(3) The non-prototypical use of the locative inessive and illative constructions under examination is determined by two factors – the characteristics of the container and the verb marking the relation between the trajector and the landmark.

(4) Almost identical semantic environment of the locative inessive and illative constructions and the semantic features of the verb can be determining a motive of competitive use in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect. The locative illative and inessive constructions are largely determined by the features of the verb which in turn defines the relationship between the participant of the spatial scene and the dimensional interpretation of the container.

(5) The competitive and prototypical use of the inessive and illative constructions reflects the processes taking place in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect. It can be assumed that the competitive use in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect is starting to occupy the position of prototypical usage (unlike in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius). More detailed studies are needed to confirm this assumption.

## List of Abbreviations

ACC – Accusative

AB – Ablative

ADV – Adverb

EA – Eastern Aukštaitian

FUT – Future

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<sup>18</sup> For more on competitive use of locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect, see: Kardelytė-Grinevičienė 2018: 266–292.

GEN – Genitive  
IL – Illative  
IMP – Imperative  
IN – Inessive  
INF – Infinitive  
LOC – Locative  
NOM – Nominative  
PL – Plural  
PRS – Present tense  
PST – Past tense  
PTCP – Participant  
SA – Southern Aukštaitian  
SG – Singular

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## THE BORROWING DOMAIN IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN BORDER REGIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE

*SKOLINIMOSI ERDVĖ PIETRYTINIAME LIETUVIŲ KALBOS PARIBYJE*

### Abstract

Drawing on contemporary dialectological material from the Lithuanian “islands” of the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect in Belarus (Voranova district [Вораново]) between the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this article analyses the current borrowing domain amongst several languages functioning in the area. The primary goal of this study is to reveal the main aspects of interference between the local varieties of Belarusian and Polish as well as the passively-used Lithuanian language. The linguistic processes are examined at apparent time: the current language of several generations of informants is studied and compared. The fact that all the informants spoke fluently and used two or even more languages interchangeably, easily alternating them during conversation, should be taken into account.

The paper analyses the following aspects of changes taking place in the above-mentioned borrowing domain: 1) the lexical and morphological borrowings of contact origin within the Lithuanian dialect; 2) the adequacy issue in the semantic expression of calques in the Lithuanian subdialects; 3) the appearance and penetration of foreign syntactic constructions in the Lithuanian language.

The article also discusses the emergence of the borrowing asymmetry which is amongst the last signs of the decline of the Lithuanian language. This is a process where the easier movement of words is happening only in one direction – into the Lithuanian language, while other elements of Lithuanian are being decreasingly less adapted. The semantic expression of calques and loanwords of the Lithuanian subdialects is particularly affected by these changes significantly. The reasons for the convergence of the language variants operating in the Voranova area are treated sociolinguistically in this study, which explains why the soft consonants used in the Lithuanian dialect are also pronounced softly by the informants who speak the local Slavic languages. Other examples of phonetic changes were recorded, such as cases of consonant confusion, atypical of the Belarusian and Polish language variants, which are likely to be examples of the Lithuanian language substrate. The study confirms the significant influence of Lithuanian, currently used only passively, on the articulation of present-day Slavic languages.

Another example of language convergence analysed in the article is the gradual spread of foreign syntactic constructions within the Lithuanian dialect. The research reveals that prepositions *ant* [on], *dėl* [due to], *į* [to(wards)], *po* [under], which are often used in the Lithuanian subdialect, acquire new meanings when in

combination with certain grammatical cases. Many of these meanings are based on examples from the neighbouring Slavic languages, therefore they are often foreign to the Lithuanian language.

**KEYWORDS:** border regions of dialect, Southern Aukštaitian dialect, local variant of Belarusian dialect, variant of Polish language, lexical borrowing, phonetic and syntactic interference, language contacts.

### **Anotacija**

Straipsnyje, remiantis XX a. pabaigos – XXI a. pradžios šiuolaikine dialektologine medžiaga iš pietų aukštaičių patarmei priklausančių lietuviškų salų Baltarusijoje (Varanavo r., brus. Вора́ново), analizuojama dabartinė areale funkcionuojančių kelių kalbų skolinimosi erdvė. Svarbiausias šio tyrimo tikslas – atskleisti pagrindinius vietinių baltarusių ir lenkų kalbų atmainų bei pasyviai vartojamos lietuvių kalbos interferencijos aspektus. Kalbos procesai nagrinėjami stebimuoju laiku: tiriama ir lyginama dabartinė kelių kartų informantų kalba. Omenyje turėtinai tas faktas, kad visi tirtieji kalbėtojai gerai mokėjo ir pramaišiuai vartojo dvi ar net kelias kalbas, laisvai kaitaliojo jas pokalbių metu.

Darbe analizuojami šie trys minėtoje skolinimosi erdvėje vykstančių kitimų aspektai: 1) kontaktinės kilmės leksikos ir morfologijos skoliniai lietuvių šnektose; 2) lietuvių šnektų vertinių ir skolinių semantinės raiškos adekvatumo problema; 3) svetimų sintaksinių konstrukcijų radimasis ir skverbimasis į kalbą.

Vienas iš paskutiniųjų čia aprašomo lietuvių kalbos nykimo požymių yra skolinimosi asimetrijos radimasis: žodžiai ima vis lengviau pereidinėti tik viena kryptimi – į lietuvių kalbą, o kiti lietuvių kalbos elementai imami vis mažiau adaptuoti. Itin pakinta lietuvių šnektų vertinių ir skolinių semantinė raiška.

Varanavo apylinkėse funkcionuojančių kalbų atmainų suartėjimo priežastys šiame tyrime traktuojamos sociolingvistiškai, o tai paaiškina, kodėl lietuvių šnekte vartojamus minkštuosius priebalsius informantai taip pat taria ir kalbėdami vietinėmis slavų kalbomis. Fonetikos reiškinių kaitos pavyzdžių esama ir daugiau: užfiksuota baltarusių ir lenkų kalbų atmainoms nebūdingų priebalsių painiojimo atvejų, kurie, tikėtina, yra lietuvių kalbos substrato pavyzdžiai. Tyrime įrodomas labai svarbus dabar jau pasyviai vartojamos lietuvių kalbos poveikis dabartinių slavų kalbų artikuliacijai.

Dar vienas iš straipsnyje analizuojamų kalbų suartėjimo pavyzdžių yra laipsniškas svetimų sintaksinių konstrukcijų plitimas lietuvių šnekte. Tyrime konstatuojama, kad tiriamojame lietuvių šnekte dažnai vartojami prielinksniai – *ant*, *dėl*, *į*, *po* – junginyje su linksniu įgauna naujų reikšmių. Daugelis tų reikšmių yra atsiradusios kaimynų slavų kalbų pavyzdžiu, todėl lietuvių kalbai dažnai yra svetimos.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** paribio arealo šnektas, pietų aukštaičių patarmė, baltarusių tarmės variantas, vietinė lenkų kalba, leksikos skoliniai, fonetinė ir sintaksinė interferencija, kalbų kontaktai.

### **Introduction**

The object of the research described in the article is the past or currently-ongoing process of the Lithuanian language decline in several Lithuanian “islands”<sup>1</sup> in north-eastern Belarus. The process is facilitated by borrowing from the Slavic languages, the end result of which

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<sup>1</sup> The article uses the terms of the subdialects of the Southern Aukštaitian border region and the Voranāva “islands”, which are not yet established, but in the opinion of researchers, they are suitable for describing the areas of the Lithuanian language outside the territory of the Lithuanian state (for more details, see Kardelis 2014, 2015 ([www.lietuviukalba.lt](http://www.lietuviukalba.lt)); Tuomienė 2018: 113–116).

should be qualified as the death of the language, as described by Dressler (Dressler 1988: 184–192).

The domain of borrowing is variable and heterogeneous in terms of both time and territory. Lithuania's current south-eastern border with Belarus was established relatively recently. For several centuries Vilnius was known in the whole region as a strong economic, cultural, educational and religious centre, generated by the inhabitants of a much larger area which stretched further to the East. During the hundreds of years of its existence, several languages were used in Vilnius – Lithuanian, Belarusian, Ruthenian, Polish, and later Russian. These complex processes lasted for a long time and had a significant impact on more than one country. Therefore, a unanimous opinion amongst scientists on the treatment of these languages is still lacking – the issues are constantly being politicised in one aspect or another. This article follows the concept of the Polish linguist and scholar Halina Turska (1901–1979)<sup>2</sup>.

The linguistic and sociolinguistic situation on the Lithuanian language “islands” in Belarus is identified by the researchers as a domain of intensive contact and mass borrowing (cf. Чекман 2017: 387–415; Судник 1975 et al.). Intensified borrowing appears in one of the contact languages due to very strong cultural and even social pressure exerted by the speakers of another language, which in turn leads to particularly significant structural changes in one of the languages – the receiving language. The pressure exerted can be so great and pervasive that eventually the entire structure of another language is taken over. In such cases, borrowing is not occasional or accidental; therefore, it is appropriate to apply the concept of interference here: just like light waves in physics, language phenomena in linguistics are summed up and a certain amount is obtained. In other words, manifestations of linguistic interference occur when bilingual language speakers, through repeating elements of foreign languages in their own language often, eventually master speaking them so well that these languages start being used as substitutes for the native language. This is exactly how this interference was described by Weinreich (1979: 64–71): he stated that when two languages are used alternately, there are cases of mixing them, which occur when elements of the other language that a person knows and speaks, penetrate, i.e., interfere with the same person's language.

### **1. Research object, goal, material and methods**

The main goal of this study is to reveal the aspects of interference between the dominant local Slavic languages – Belarusian and Polish – and the passively-used Lithuanian at the lexical

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<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the concept in English see: Kalėdienė, Laima. *On Origin of Polish-Speaking Areas in Vilnius Region*, in: Kalėdienė, Laima (comp.). *Valerijus Čekmonas: kalbų kontaktai ir sociolingvistika*, [Valerijus Čekmonas: Language Contacts and Sociolinguistics], Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2017, 947–964.

level, partly also the morphological, phonetic and syntactic levels, taking into consideration the fact that all speakers are fluent in several languages and alternate these languages during the conversation.

Thus, this study seeks to look at the borrowing domain in the following three aspects:

1) the lexical and morphological borrowings of contact origin within the Lithuanian subdialect;

2) the adequacy issue in the semantic expression of calques and loanwords in the Lithuanian subdialects;

3) the appearance and penetration of foreign syntactic constructions in the Lithuanian language.

The study is based on the contemporary dialectological material between the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century from several Lithuanian “islands” of the Southern Aukštaitian dialect in Belarus: Asava (Bel. Асава), Nevašiai (Bel. Нявошы), Nočia (Bel. Нача), Paaradnė (Bel. Парародна), Plikiai (Bel. Плікі), Ramaškonys (Bel. Рамашканцы); Rodūnia (Bel. Радунь), and Žirmūnai (Bel. Жырмуны]<sup>3</sup>. These are represented by points VI (Voranava, Nevašiai), VII (Nočia) and VIII (Rodūnia, Plikiai) in the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language.

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<sup>3</sup> From the geolinguistic point of view, it would be expedient appropriate to combine these disappearing Southern Aukštaitian subdialects into one Voranava subdialect as they are very similar in terms of dialectal characteristics, differing only in a few phonetic characteristics. Besides, there are two or three villages left where some subdialects remain and the Lithuanian is spoken by only a couple of individuals. There is still a category of those who still understand but do not speak Lithuanian – from three to five representatives of the oldest generation may live in villages.



**Map.** Southern Aukštaitian dialect with continuation in Belarus – Lithuanian “islands” of Voronava district. The Map is taken from the *Chrestomathy of Lithuanian Dialects* (compiled by Edmundas Trumpa).

Audio recordings of the Lithuanian language included in the Archive of the Dialects at the Lithuanian Language Institute were used, as well as recordings in the Lithuanian and the local Slavic languages from the author's personal audio library, as well as several published collections of dialectal texts.

The language processes described in the article were researched at apparent time<sup>4</sup>: the current language of informants of different ages is studied and compared. Conditionally senior (80 years and older) and middle-aged (about 60 years) generations are distinguished by their language (for more information on Voronava dialect speakers, see Tuomienė 2008: 38–45, 2010: 17–20, cf. Meiliūnaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 125, Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė, Jaroslavienė, Judžentytė, Leskauskaitė, etc. 2014: 159–163; 168–173). The local residents of the relatively younger generation (about 50 years of age and younger), who would use/understand and know

<sup>4</sup> The hypothesis of apparent time was first formulated by William Labov (1963: 207–309; 1975: 199–228, etc.); the essence of it is that in order for a language change to be recorded when it is taking place, the language of the people of several generations who live at the same time has to be observed (for more on the method, see Kalėdienė 2015: 213–214; Tuomienė 2014: 84–85, 2018: 116).

Lithuanian sufficiently to speak it at home or in public, can no longer be found in the micro areas studied in recent years.

This type of research makes it possible to observe the development of a language, its transformation and conversion until the complete extinction of one language under the influence of another or other languages in a multilingual environment. In language research employing this sociolinguistic method, the circumstances of conversations with informants are also taken into account, various non-linguistic factors are evaluated, and all the data collected is analysed: the language alternation including ‘exceptions’ as well as ‘non-systemic’ and ‘non-compliant’ facts. While studying the material, a sociolinguistic view that constant language alternation promotes change in language is maintained, therefore its system changes constantly (Kalėdienė 2015: 213–214). First and foremost, the changes become apparent in the most flexible part of the language system – the lexicon; after some time of intense contact changes in morphology and phonetics start to appear. In addition, the chosen method of language analysis allows researchers to reveal the causes of the language change process over a longer period of time, to describe them, and to foresee a possible course of future change.

## **2. Functions of languages used: their vitality and dynamics**

In the small, isolated communities of the area researched, the Lithuanian-Belarusian bilingualism began to spread at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to eventually become fully established. However, this was followed by a gradual weakening due to differences in motivation for the two languages to exist and the function of such correlation. The local Belarusian dialect gradually became the dominant everyday language of communication for people of all ages. In some cases even several languages were being spoken: Belarusian in villages, Russian and partly Polish (which has long been the language of church rites) in urban areas.

This change facilitated the movement and communication of the local community, at least within the parishes of Asava, Armoniškės, Benekainiai, Kauleliškės, Paaradnė, Rodūnia and the largest parish Voranava. In general, it simplified life according to accepted standards, as the dominant Belarusian language (in this case, Belarusian, Polish and/or Russian) became the means of communication. Meanwhile the non-dominant language or dialect – Lithuanian – lost all of its essential and vital functions of self-development very early on: it was pushed aside and obscured by other languages. Not surprisingly, the locals stopped speaking it altogether because the language was not considered to be fully-fledged or vital, and gradually border regions of dialect was forgotten. In addition, the Lithuanian language functioned only in its spoken form across Voranava and other Lithuanian “islands” in Belarus. Lithuanian was

completely out of place in more formal, public situations because it had never had the right to be an official written language.

The process of assimilation is greatly accelerated by the dominance of another Slavic language, Russian, especially since becoming the language of instruction. In the Voranava area, the Russian language (partly also Standard Belarusian) spread during the Soviet era and has eventually gained foothold. It should be emphasised that in everyday life, in the informal environment, the colloquial variant of that language is becoming established – a variant of the Russian language and a local Belarusian dialect, called *trasianka*<sup>5</sup> in the scientific literature.

Thus, two Slavic languages were finally established and are used alternately in the country: the local Belarusian dialect (no one speaks Standard Belarusian in villages, settlements and small towns) and the Russian language, more precisely, a local Russian version. The official variety Russian has become the main language and the means of communication in larger towns, public institutions, local administration, television and radio, and all office work. A Belarusian version of the language called *poprostu*, has become an unofficial language, used on the street and within families, especially by rural people. Both variants of these Slavic languages are functionally distributed, they are understood by everyone, they tend to complement and replace each other. The Polish language is more widely used only for denominational needs and in some settlements which historically belonged to the manor zone of influence. The needs of the ever-shrinking Lithuanian community were basically never taken into account, therefore the Lithuanian language was displaced by three Slavic languages.

It should be noted that four languages were spoken in the area until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century: in addition to Belarusian, Polish and Russian, the Lithuanian language was also actively used. Later, the tradition of speaking Lithuanian gradually disappeared in many rural areas, with it being pushed into passive use in the small Lithuanian “islands” even before that. The Russian language is now actively used in public places by children and teenagers. However, in villages and settlements Russian is rarely spoken, even then it is only used when speaking to the local administration staff, at various institutions or when interacting with strangers. In everyday life local people of the older and middle-aged generation communicate with each other in

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<sup>5</sup> Researchers interpret the term *trasianka* in different ways. In scientific works, it is usually defined as follows: a variant of colloquial language, in which two or three languages are mixed – Russian, Belarusian, less often – Polish. The consequence of such mixing is a violation of the norms (standard) of all languages used: improper (distorted) pronunciation of word sounds, confusion of word endings, genders and numbers. Frequent replacement of individual Russian words or their combinations with Belarusian and vice versa often occur. The *Trasianka* is characteristic of people with poor knowledge of Russian or Belarusian, who moved to the city during the Russification and had to learn Russian. During the period of active Russification – during the Soviet era – the Belarusian language was considered a rough language spoken by commoners, and was therefore actively pushed out of the lives of the local people. The *Trasianka* is still popular among the people of older and middle-aged generations who were born in the villages and later moved to the town (for more on the term and characteristics of its usage, see Цыхун, 2000: 51–58).

Belarusian (*poprostu*), less often in Polish. Therefore, this study does not discuss the Russian language data.

### **3. Borrowing properties of lexical units and morphological elements**

Bilingual (some also multilingual) Lithuanians in Voranava region, who speak Lithuanian only among themselves, the influence of the Belarusian language and Belarusian culture, are forced to accept it. Little by little, the means of expression typical of the Belarusian language, especially those not possessed by the native subdialect, are beginning to be recognised as such. The Belarusian elements are being more frequently inserted into the Lithuanian Language, despite its contradictory nature. Bilingualism (multilingualism) reshapes the mindset, therefore, one starts to identify foreign words, word combinations, phraseology and others with one's own, and no longer distinguishes between them.

Lexicon is known to be the most flexible part of the language system which is open to any outside influence. With the severance of relations with the main part of the Southern Aukštaitian dialect and with Lithuania in general, the influence of the local Belarusian dialect on the Lithuanian subdialects of the language "islands" studied significantly increased – even the old, widely-used words were being replaced by Slavisms. New foreign words, which entered the Lithuanian subdialect, gradually adapted to the laws of the new language and established themselves, removing the Lithuanian words from usage or restricting it, narrowing their meaning. It becomes too difficult for speakers to "translate" a word from Belarusian, Polish or Russian. The more educated (those who can read and write in Lithuanian) informants of the middle-aged generation can use the Lithuanian equivalents in addition to any loanwords, but the oldest people can no longer do so. The situation is more complicated with the names of new realities of life. Speaking about the present time, local people tend to insert word combinations, sentences and whole phrases into the Slavic languages, to quote or switch to Belarusian, much less often to Russian or Polish. Usually, when the subject of the present is discussed, extremely intense code changes occur (cf. Tuomienė 2006: 163–169; 2018: 57–79).

Most of the loanwords and calques recorded appeared under the later influence of the Belarusian dialect. They are believed to have emerged in the Lithuanian subdialects after the formation and expansion of one-sided Lithuanian-Belarusian bilingualism, and are therefore relatively new. This is shown by the comparison of the available foreign words with Belarusian words used in other subdialects and the rather narrow field of their usage: these words are found only in some subdialects of the south-eastern Lithuanian language fringes and provinces (Grinaveckienė 1994; 1997: 185–195; Mikulėnienė, Morkūnas 1997; Petrauskas, Vidugiris 1985; Vidugiris 1972: 19–29, 1998, 2004 etc.). E.g., the most common Slavisms in the

recordings and the transcribed texts of the Ramaškony subdialect are borrowed directly from the local Belarusian dialect:

*atōortkà* [screwdriver] (Bel. атвэ́ртка); *adbirá.ŋkōs* [selected (linen cloth)] (Bel. адбіра́нкі); *brūdas* [dirt] (Bel. бру́д, бру́дны); *bakà* [iron tip to sharpen a scythe] (Bel. ба́пка); *bužākas* [bud] (Bel. бужа́к); *cā-plæ* [crane] (Bel. ца́пля); *gōdnas* [good, suitable] (Bel. го́дны); *drapōkas* [spring-tooth harrow] (Bel. драпа́к); *kopkà* [haystack] (Bel. ко́пка); *kepelūšas* [hat] (Bel. капаліо́ш); *mekínos* [tow] (Bel. мякі́на); *padkavà* [horse shoe] (Bel. падко́ва); *padōtkas* [tax] (Bel. пада́так); *plōtkos* [rumour] (Bel. плéтки); *pv̄i.las* [dust] (Bel. пы́л); *slō-bas* [weak] (Bel. сла́бы); *sprv̄i-kōs* [spokes] (Bel. спры́хі); *sv̄i.drās* [drill] (Bel. свідар); *skacìna* [herd] (Bel. скаці́на); *žā-labas* [trough, feeding trough] (Bel. жо́лаб, l. žlób) etc.

Most of the Slavisms used here have not been included in the dictionaries of the border region subdialects. For example, none of the following words appear in the *Dictionary of the Zietela Subdialect* or the *Dictionary of the Dieveniškės Subdialect*:

*ačēpas* [squared beam] (Bel. ачэ́п); *apalō.nikas* [ladle] (Bel. апало́нік); *adbirá.ŋkōs* [selected (linen cloth)] (Bel. адбіра́нкі); *cū-glei / cū-gļes* [bits (of a horse tack)] (Bel. цў́гли); *cēpas* [flax beater (upper part)] (Bel. цэ́п); *dugà* [part of harness] (Bel. дуга́); *dadōtkas* [additional plot of land] (Bel. дада́так); *gōrbas* [hump] (Bel. го́рб); *kalvīskà* [cradle] (Bel. калы́ска); *lūxtas* [a vent for smoke in a stove] (Bel. лóхт); *pazēmka* [wild strawberry] (Bel. пазе́мка); *skō-pas* [wheather], (Bel. ско́п); *víerasas* [heather] (Bel. véрас); *v̄i-plata* [payment] (Bel. вь́плата); *zagōnas* [garden bed] (Bel. заго́н), etc.

The above examples show that the more recent borrowings used in the Lithuanian subdialects of Voranava have changed very little, keeping their number, such as the plural: Bel. *κρόχвы* – Lith. *krā-kvōs* [rafters]; Bel. *спры́хи* – Lith. *sprv̄i-kōs* [spokes]. Some have retained their accent, gender, even their hardness before the front sound *i*, e.g.: *prv̄i.pečkas* [hearth], *sprv̄i-kōs* [spokes], *dv̄i-lei* [thick plank] (Bel. дьлі́).

In addition to separate words, certain individual language elements and components of word formations come from the Slavic languages, which means that morphology is affected, too. As already mentioned, a lot of lexical and grammatical Slavisms have become established in the Lithuanian subdialect of the areas researched, and their formation is closest to that of Belarusian and Polish (for grammatical Lithuanianisms in the dialects of the Polish and Belarusian border regions, see Адомавичюте, Чекмонас 2017: 489–508). The subdialects under research are characterised by the formation of verbs with Slavic prefixes *da-*, *pa-*, *pad-*, *raz-*, e.g.:

*dadéç* [add], *daé.iç* [walk over, walk], *dadarv̄iç* [finish (doing)], *dadúoç* [add, give back], *daginéç* [finish (work)], *daká.lç* [to nail down], *dapí.lç* [fill up], *dasakíç* [say it all], *dasmaníç* [think of],

*dasūtari.ĉ* [come to an agreement], *dašpėĉ* [ripen], *daví.rĉ* [finish cooking], *pa(d)dāũ.žė* [thrash], *raspĩne* [unplaited], *razmėte* [scattered around], *razrbĩšo* [untied], *ra(s)sā.kė* [told], etc.

#### 4. Change in semantic expressions of inherited and borrowed lexicon

An opposite effect is observed with many calques which are analogous to the corresponding Belarusian words in their meaning, often in the word formation, too. It is therefore rather difficult to determine whether these calques and words have emerged independently due to the kinship between the Baltic and the Slavic language systems as well as similar tendencies of word formation. The translated words from the dialects of Asava, Plikiai, Rodūnia and Žirmūnai have noticeably narrowed the expressional means of the Lithuanian lexicon used there. Some adjectives are also pushed out of use. For example, the speakers of these Lithuanian subdialects no longer have adjectives widely known in the Lithuanian language and its dialects to describe the colours of plants, objects, clothes and animals, e.g.: *dryžúotas* [striped (about objects)]; *juodmaĩgis* [black and white]; *pĩlkas*, *pilkà* [grey], *raĩ.bas*, *raibà* [motley]; *raĩ.nas*, *rainà* [tabby]; *šĩr.mas*, *širmà* [dapple grey], etc. Instead, only two colours have been recorded – *žvilas*, *žvilà* [grey] (when the colour is darker) and *maĩgas*, *margà* [motley] (when the colour is uneven, with spots).

Therefore, the local Lithuanians use distinctively Belarusian calques: *ciĉví* (see. CBF IV 422–423) – *žvilas* [grey] and *paĉví* (CBF IV 234–235) – *má.rgas* [motley]. These are the two most often used words for colours in the local Belarusian dialect.

In the Lithuanian subdialects a resumptive calque *prãũ.sti(s)* [wash (oneself)] from the Belarusian *мáюць* is used instead of the verbs *mazgóti(s)*, *plá.utis(s)*, *skal.bti(s)* which have evidently been pushed out of the subdialect.

The following tendency is becoming apparent: the old Lithuanian words are transferred into the Lithuanian subdialects by taking over new, unusual meanings from the corresponding words of the local Belarusian dialect. The traditional word use is being changed and distorted, ignoring the fact that it is the meaning of the word that protects its traditional usage. These loan words are the Belarusian words which are literally translated into Lithuanian. This way the corresponding Lithuanian word is artificially assigned the Belarusian meaning which was previously unknown in the Lithuanian language and is essentially unnecessary and redundant because the two meanings do not coincide. Although at first glance this seems to expand the meanings of some Lithuanian words, the imposed meaning deprives the Lithuanian word of its original meaning, which is not really a semantic equivalent of the Belarusian word. Hence, the Lithuanian word, the meaning of which does not have a Belarusian equivalent, becomes isolated in these subdialects, pushed out of usage and forgotten before it finally disappears altogether.

In the local Belarusian dialect, the words *plāštaka* [hand] and *délnas* [palm] are called by one word – *ладонь* [palm] (СБГ II 608), therefore the word *délnas* is used for *plāštaka* in the Lithuanian subdialect, too. The same can be said about the verbs *kándžioti(s)* and *kramtyti(s)* [bite] and the adjectives *tirštas / tirštà* [thick] and *tankùs / tankì* [thick; dense], which are considered to have the same meaning. In cases like these the Lithuanian subdialect loses the verb *kándžioti(s)* and the adjective *tirštas* completely.

Several calques with all morphemes linked to a corresponding Belarusian subdialect were recorded in the Voranavas subdialects. These include many prefixed verbs, the lexical meaning of which is purely Belarusian rather than Lithuanian, as such meaning is created by using the Belarusian prefixes characteristic of the Belarusian language but they can sometimes coincide with the Lithuanian prefixes, and various, mostly Lithuanian, suffixes, e.g.:

*apmuždinėc* [to clad a house]: *lantã·lēm nã·mu. apmužžinēja* (cf. Bel. хату дошкамі аббіва́я [clads a house with planks]); *razãugdinėc* [sprout]: *bùl̃bos grėĩ.ta razãugžinēja* (Bel. б́ульба б́ыстра разраста́я [potatoes sprout quickly]); *razvežinėc* [dilute]: *pĩnu. vá.ñdeñu razvežinēja* (Bel. малако́ вадой развóдзяць [dilute milk with water]); *(pa)pr̃ṽryṽžžinėc* [to tie]: *pamidõ-rus paprṽryṽžžinėjau* (Bel. памидо́ры папрыв̃язываю [I will tie the tomatoes with a piece of string]).

These loan translations show that in Lithuanian morphology prefixes fall under the Belarusian influence a little more easily, suffixes are less influenced, while roots are the least influenced and often remain completely unchanged. In the Asava, Plikiai, Rodūnia, Žirmūnai subdialects a number of such calques, in which the means of Lithuanian expression have been replaced by those of the Belarusian language were recorded. In this way, utterances become ambiguous and vague. The impression is that a person using such words does not know Lithuanian very well. Such calques are probably the easiest to recognise due to the fact that they are significantly different to the means of expression in the Lithuanian language.

Various words of the researched subdialects, which are used in meanings alien to the Lithuanian ones, are also considered to be calques. Verbs used in this way are most numerous:

*apstóti* [surround] *mã·žuj̃ mùsēs manì apstójo*, cf. Bel. у лэся м́ухі мінэ аступі́лі [flies surrounded me in the woods]; *i.sidúoc* [succeed] *dúona mã· gažbì i.sidavę* cf. Bel. мнэ ладны хлэ́б уда́уся [I succeeded in baking nice bread]; *razvėĩc* ‘separate’ *ã·ni.s grėĩ.ta razvã·jo*, cf. Bel. б́ыстра пажані́ліся, б́ыстра разышлі́ся [border regions of dialect they rushed to get married and separated quickly]; *pé·rsimaini.c* [become] *ã·nas pã·rsimainę in vã·lanõ*, cf. Bel. у но́чы ён пярэварнў́ся у чарта́ [he became evil at night]; *dastóç* ‘get’ *pr̃e saviētu. dastójãu branğùs batùs*, cf. Bel. пры саветáх дастáў дарагія бóты [I got a pair of expensive shoes during the Soviet time].

An observation was made during the research that the older speakers may use these expressions in two ways – as a pure Lithuanian word with its own meaning as well as the

meaning in Belarusian, for example: *veľ blĩnai prĩdæge / prĩsvĩlo* [the pancakes got burnt again] (cf. Bel. блі́н прыпалі́ўся), *dastó-jâu / gavâu. gærõs vĩlnõs* [I got good wool] (Bel. даста́ў до́брай во́ўны) etc. These examples show that the usage of calques was not universal in the area and is not universal where Lithuanian is still spoken, however, this is likely to change very soon.

## 5. Influence of Lithuanian subdialect on local Slavic languages

When formerly Lithuanian-speaking people switch to the Slavic languages entirely, i.e. they stop speaking Lithuanian, the native Lithuanian language is still reflected in the Slavic languages they use: they retain the most characteristic phonetic features of their dialects when speaking Belarusian or Polish. The phonetics of the Lithuanian language phonetics is preserved in cases of bilingualism or trilingualism even to a greater degree.

The most characteristic Lithuanian subdialectal feature of the Voranava area, as well as of all the Southern Aukštaitian subdialects, is the consonantism of the so-called Dzūkian pronunciation (see Zinkevičius 1966: 139, 145–146; LKA II 93–97; LKTCH 2004: 79–80 etc.). It is a well-known fact that the Dzūkiāns (Southern Aukštaitians) pronounce the consonants *t*, *d* in front of *i*, *y*, *j*, *ie* as *c*, *dz*, *č* (< \**ti*) – *ĉ*, while *tv*, *dv* are pronounced as *cv*, *dzv*, e.g.: *beľžĩmas* [a knock]; *berná.ici.s* [boy]; *žvĩnas* [twin]; *žvĩ* [two]; *gaižĩs* [rooster]; *kãĉinas* [tom cat]; *maĉâu.* (and *maĉâu.*) [I saw]; *sveĉeĩ* [guests]; *šúĉ* ‘sew’; *šá.užĩĉ* [shoot] (for more, Tuomienė 2008: 46; 2010: 22–23).

Undoubtedly, the local Lithuanians in the studied area have always communicated freely in *poprostu* (or at least understood it very well) as well as the local Polish language. Thus, in the Slavic subdialects spoken here the same extremely soft *š*, *ž*, *ĉ*, *ž* are easily heard, these sounds are ‘preserved’ in almost all cases, i.e. when the same informant speaks Polish, Belarusian or Lithuanian, for example in the local Polish *śedem* [seven] – Belarusian *ĉem* [seven] and in the Lithuanian subdialect *šepĉĩni* [seven]; *žėšėnĉ* [ten] – *žėĉjau* [ten] – *žėšĩmĉ* [ten]; *peňžėšont* [fifty] – *nižĩĉĩm* [fifty] – *peňkæzžėšĩmĉ* [fifty].

It is important to note that the local variant of the Polish language and the Belarusian dialect *poprostu* differ in the pronunciation of *s*“, *z*“, *c*“, *dz*“ and *š*, *ž*, *ĉ*, *ž*. This feature is easily noticeable and quite stable.

The second peculiarity of the Lithuanian subdialect, which is reflected when the people of the area speak the Slavic languages, is the absence of the phoneme [x]; therefore even in the local Belarusian dialect when *x* was confused with *k*, cases were recorded e.g.: *máĉaka* (it should be *máĉaxa*) [stepmother], *kaléra* (*xaléra*) [cholera]; *kĩba* (*xĩba*) [perhaps]; *kĩtry* (*xĩtry*) [cunning]; *kmary* (*xmary*) [clouds]; *kren* (*xren*) [horseradish]; *kvaróba* (*xvaróba*) [illness]; *kvoja* (*xvoja*) [pine tree]; *pakmurna* (*paxmurna*) [cloudy]; *panĉóki* (*paxĉóxi*) [stockings]; *janĩk* (*paxĩk*)

[son-in-law]. This is because the absence of the sound *x* or the intense confusion of *x* and *k* in the local Belarusian dialect and the Polish language is one of the most pronounced characteristics of the Lithuanian substrate.

## 6. Penetration of Slavic syntactic constructions into Lithuanian

The emergence and proliferation of Slavic grammatical cases and prepositional constructions in the Lithuanian subdialects of border regions, which are becoming extinct, can be described as one-way traffic: being surrounded by the Slavic languages determined the syntactic structure changes in these subdialects and adjustments in the management of the individual forms of grammatical cases.

The following syntactic constructions recorded in the Lithuanian dialect are more typical of the local Belarusian and Polish languages. e.g.:

*tóks màņo dá.rbas irà tamè, ka(d)\_dãũ.k ažudi.rbtá.u* cf. Bel. *мая работа у тым, каб большы зарабiць* and pl. *moja ciężka praca f tym, żeby wiecej zarobić* [I work hard in order to earn money]; *žičtu. vaiķai vīenas viená.m lá.ižæ šniēgu.* cf. Bel. *дзiецi адзiн у аднóга кiдáюць снéх* and pl. *dzieci rzucaly snieg* [in winter children throw snowballs at one another].

The collected dialectal material showed that all the representatives of the Lithuanian subdialect identify the means of expression of a foreign language with their own, and insert them into the Lithuanian language with relative ease. The prepositional constructions used in the subdialects of the Voranava area, which are also present in other neighbouring dialects, have acquired new features here, which are often not typical of the Lithuanian language. This is a result of strong assimilation.

## 7. Conclusions

7.1. In the Lithuanian “islands” of Voranava in Belarus, the Lithuanian language still exists but it is no longer functioning widely. The boundaries between the Lithuanian and the Belarusian languages have blurred, and words easily cross over from the local Belarusian dialect to the Lithuanian subdialect. The everyday life vocabulary usually has parallel Slavic equivalents. The ways of expressing thoughts are becoming intensely Slavicised, and the semantics of individual words is changing.

7.2. Some of the calques used in the subdialects are difficult to identify. The tendencies and ways of their formation/emergence become clear when the systems and means of expression between the Lithuanian and the Belarusian languages are compared. The Belarusian calques are artificially joined two-part words, the first component in which is the Lithuanian

form containing the Belarusian content, i.e. the meaning typical of the Belarusian language. It is a constant source of the Lithuanian subdialects taking on a more Slavic character.

7.3. Although the speakers of the oldest generation have preserved and tend to use most of the old Lithuanian words, it is obvious that their language, having lost its imagery and expressiveness, is no longer as clear because it is restricted by the local Belarusian dialect. It shows the narrowing of the spheres for the individual elements of the Lithuanian language to function in. The elements of the Lithuanian language, which are not present in the contact local Belarusian dialect, are the first to disappear.

7.4. The local Lithuanians of the studied areas had good command of the *poprostu* and often of the local Polish dialect. The Slavic dialects spoken have the same extremely soft  $\hat{s}$ ,  $\hat{z}$ ,  $\hat{c}$ ,  $\hat{z}$  and they are “preserved” in almost all cases, i.e. when the same informant speaks Polish, Belarusian and Lithuanian.

7.5. A characteristic feature of the Lithuanian subdialect is the absence of phoneme [x]. Cases where *x* is confused with *k* in the Belarusian and Polish subdialects are recorded. It is possible that the intense confusion of *x* and *k* in the Polish language of these areas is one of the features of the Lithuanian substrate.

7.6. The Lithuanian “islands” of Voranava district, which have long been functioning under the conditions of active bilingualism (and multilingualism), did not escape the change in syntactic structure, which is characteristic of all eastern and south-eastern Lithuanian border region subdialects: the object-oriented relation (between an action [various verb forms] and a person or thing), formerly expressed by the forms of grammatical cases, now are often expressed by prepositional constructions, which have appeared there not to replace the pure grammatical cases but to be used in parallel to them. This phenomenon is driven by changes on other levels of the language. The changing phonetics and vocabulary of the subdialects inevitably start to weaken other levels of the language.

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## PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH INTO THE KURSENIKU LANGUAGE OF THE CURONIAN SPIT

*KURŠIŲ NERIJOS KURŠININKŲ KALBOS TYRIMO PERSPEKTYVOS*

### Abstract

The geolect, formed in the 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries on the shores of the Curonian Lagoon, is considered to be the Kursenieku language of the Curonian Spit as the dominant language of the fishing villages. It is based on the mixed dialects of the colonists who came from Courland (now Latvia). This geolect constantly existed under the conditions of bilingualism and, influenced by the socially stronger languages, was gradually disappearing, but the crucial stage came at the end of 1944, when the retreating German army evacuated the civilians. After the war, about 200 local inhabitants repatriated, but the overwhelming majority of them emigrated to the West between 1958 and 1960. The number of remaining speakers amounted to only about twenty, but communication between them in their mother tongue was interrupted. In emigration, the speakers did not form colonies or communities, the mother tongue was not passed on to the new generation. At present, the Kursenieku language is considered to be extremely endangered. The article briefly introduces the history of the Kursenieku language research, focusing more on the actualization and perspective of the research.

**KEYWORDS:** Curonian Spit, idiolect, sociolect, geolect, Courland, endangered language, bilingualism, language documentation, language research.

### Anotacija

Kuršių nerijos kuršininių kalba laikomas geolektas, susiformavęs XV–XVIII a. Kuršių marių pakrantėje, kaip dominuojanti žvejų kaimų kalba. Jo pagrindą sudaro iš Kuržemės atsikėlusiu kolonistų sumišę dialektai. Šis geolektas nuolat gyveno dvikalbystės sąlygomis, veikiamas socialiai stipresnių kalbų nyko, tačiau lemiamą stadiją pasiekė 1944 m. pabaigoje, kai besitraukdama vokiečių kariuomenė evakavo civilius gyventojus. Po karo repatriavo apie 200 nerijos gyventojų, tačiau 1958–1960 m. absoliuti dauguma jų emigravo į Vakarų. Likusiųjų kalbėtojų skaičius siekė vos apie porą dešimčių. Emigracijoje kalbėtojai nesudarė kolonijų, bendruomenių, gimtoji kalba nebuvo perduota naujajai kartai. Šiuo metu kuršininkų kalba laikytina sparčiai nykstančia. Straipsnyje trumpai supažindinama su kuršininkų kalbos tyrimo istorija, daugiau dėmesio skiriant tyrimų aktualizacijai ir perspektyvai.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** Kuršių nerija, sociolektas, geolektas, Kuršas, nykstanti kalba, dvikalbystė, kalbos dokumentavimas, kalbos tyrimas.

**The geolinguistic situation of the Curonian Spit** is defined as specific with respect to the whole of Lithuania for several reasons: 1. The spoken language of the current population is not attributable to any Lithuanian geolect due to a broken linguistic tradition and an unstable, ethnically diverse contingent of the population. 2. The first circumstance was determined by the cardinal demographic changes during two periods: the post-war (1945–1958)<sup>1</sup> and the post-Soviet (1991–present time); the first period was characterised by colonization from the entire Soviet Union, while the second period was marked by the changes in the economic and social conditions of the region and a sharp decline in the number of residents<sup>2</sup>. 3. Due to the above-mentioned reasons, we distinguish the old linguistic layer of the geolect of the fishing community formed on the basis of the Baltic dialects that is called the Kursenieku language by periodising the geolinguistic situation of the Curonian Spit.

**Term.** There is no established uniform term in the terminology for the language of the old inhabitants of the Curonian Spit. In German linguistic literature *kurische Sprache* (Kwauka, Pietsch 1987) and *lettische Sprache* (Voelkel 1879, Bezzenberger 1888) are used; later the term *nehrungskurisch* proposed by Wolfgang P. Schmid (1989) gains a foothold; sometimes the *neukurisch* suggested by Jochen Range (Range 1995: 110) is used. All of these terms are partially correct because they reflect the ethnic nature of the language and are geographically oriented. Range's term *neukurisch* places the greatest emphasis on the connection of this geolect with the old Baltic language from which it is believed to have originated, but at the same time the term **separates it** historically and emphasises the new chronological linguistic layer<sup>3</sup>. Considering Schmid's term *nehrungskurisch* too narrow, Range (1995: 109) proposed *neukurisch*, expanding the concept geographically to include not only the Latvian dialect of the Curonian Peninsula, but also the northern part of the Klaipėda region<sup>4</sup>. The language of the Curonian Spit began to attract the attention of Latvian linguists' in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Plāķis 1927;

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<sup>1</sup> The evacuation of German citizens from the entire territory of East Prussia at the end of 1944, completely emptied the peninsula. In 1945 and 1946, several hundred former residents repatriated, the absolute majority of whom emigrated to the West in 1958–1960. The colonists from all over the Soviet Union, who moved to the peninsula, new residents were significantly predominant but they did not form a unified linguistic community.

<sup>2</sup> After the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1990, the settlements of the Curonian Spit, the former fishing farms and only partially resorts, completely abandoned commercial fishing and became engaged in tourism business. Many post-war families did not adapt to the new conditions. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a large part of the people who declared their place of residence in the Curonian Spit were in fact only real estate owners, but they lived somewhere else in Lithuania. The actual decrease in the number of permanent residents of the Spit is indicated by a sharp decrease in the number of schoolchildren: there is one school in Neringa (in Nida), with 129 schoolchildren attending in 2017–2018; in 2004–2005, there were two schools (basic and secondary), with 323 schoolchildren.

<sup>3</sup> The term Curonian language (Germ. *Kurische Sprache*) from the point of view of linguistics is applicable only to the historical Baltic idiom, which functioned until the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the western part of present-day Lithuania and Latvia; the relics of this language are the object of scientific reconstruction.

<sup>4</sup> In addition, the term emphasises that the influence of this language exists in the written language of one of the pioneers of Prussian Lithuanian writing – Johann Bretke (Jonas Bretkūnas) (1536–1602), pastor of Labiau.

Endzelīns 1931) and the term *Kursenieku valoda* immediately took root. The language of the autochthons of the Curonian Spit did not become an object of Lithuanian linguistics until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the equivalent of the Latvian term *Kursenieku language* took root, and the community of speakers was called the *Kursenieki*. There was no term for this geolect in English until the 21<sup>st</sup> century; nowadays, the untranslated Latvian term – the *Kursenieku language* – prevails; the English equivalent *New Curonian* is used in Latvian academic discourse (Skujiņa 2007: 198). The untranslated term *Kursenieku language / geolect* will continue to be used here, while we will call the ethnic-linguistic community *the Kursenieki*.

**History of language development and its documentation.** The Kursenieku geolect was formed from the Curonian variety of the Middle dialect of the Latvian language, which was brought to the seaside of present-day Lithuania and Sambia and the environs of the Curonian Lagoon by settlers from Courland. It was discovered that the first settlers from Courland established settlements near the Curonian Lagoon and on the seashore of Sambia shortly after the 15<sup>th</sup> century wars of the Order; invited by the commander of the city of Memel they allegedly were to supply the Order's Convention with fish. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century migration from Courland took place in several waves (Diederichs 1883: 49-52). Latvian historians associate some of them with the period of plague and famine in Courland in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Kapenieks 2018: 75). There are signs of this migration in the place names of Sambia: as far back as in 1400 *Groß Kuhern* is mentioned as a new settlement and in 1540 *Neukuhren* was recorded (Mortensen 1923: 297, 331). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Curonians of Sambia were mentioned by Matthäus Prätorius (1721: 82). Some 16<sup>th</sup> century documents indicate that in the Curonian Spit in 1541 at least 162 fishermen from Ventspils, Kandava and other parts of Courland paid the Curonian Lagoon fisherman's fee (Forstreuter 1981: 287), while personal names from Courland appeared in the lists of church visits and taxpayers. Many 18<sup>th</sup> century historical and ethnographic sources regularly mentioned the ethnic group of Kursenieki and alluded to the peculiarities of their language; fragments of their language were inserted into various linguistic works<sup>5</sup>. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the first large-scale written monument appears in Pallas' dictionary (Ivanickaja 2017). In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, together with the beginning of recreational tourism and the emergence of comparative Indo-European studies, historians, ethnographers and archaeologists became interested in the fishing community of the Curonian Spit and its ethnolinguistic situation. It was stated that the fishing community of the Spit was rather small and the language, although actively used within families, belonged to the endangered species (Bezenberger 1888: 3). Being isolated from its ethnic homeland, the Kursenieku language did

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<sup>5</sup> For more information on the first mention of the *Kursenieku language* and individual excerpts, see Schiller, Kiseliūnaitė 2015: 379.

not only retain the most conservative features of the West Latvian dialects of Courland, in which a substrate of Old Curonian is likely, but also became the language of the national minority in East Prussia. This circumstance determined its autonomous development (it was no longer affected by the further processes of the dialects of West Latvians and Standard Latvian), the peculiarities of its use and brought its status closer to an independent Baltic language. It had been influenced by the socially stronger contact languages and had existed in a bilingual environment since the beginning of colonization. These circumstances were viewed differently by both ethnographers and linguists, but all agreed that the language was in danger of extinction. Two factors were particularly detrimental to its viability: 1. Forced bilingualism after the unification of Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the introduction of German as the sole language of instruction and pushing the Kursenieku language to the margins of usage; 2. The low prestige of the language not only from the outside (especially in relation to the German language), but also the attitude adopted by the speakers themselves, linking the transition to the German language with a higher social status, education and culture. The Kursenieku language was used most regularly and for the longest time in the families of fishermen; it was in fact the only sociolect of the fishing community, so in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, its best informers were men who had inherited the craft of fishing from their forefathers. Thus, essentially, the terms suitable for the Kursenieku language, in one aspect or another, are *language, dialect, ethnolect, sociolect and idiolect*.

After World War II, the Kursenieki, who found themselves in exile, no longer formed a compact community, dispersed (most of them settled in Germany) and the mother tongue was no longer transmitted to the next generation. Its last users, who were able to communicate freely in this language, having lost family members, no longer had anyone to communicate with, and the language remained at the level of passive usage. The expedition material collected between 1990 and 2014 shows that the language was best preserved by those users who spoke it regularly and the circle of conversation topics was virtually unlimited<sup>6</sup>. The level of the language maintained in emigration can be divided into three stages: 1. Free communication on any topic; 2. Episodic communication and speech recovery with an active interlocutor; 3. Passive consumption of the language (fragmentary, in separate phrases, unable to maintain a coherent dialogue). At present, there are no more users of the first language group; we can find

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<sup>6</sup> Three brothers – Herbert, Werner and Martin Sakuth, – who lived in Sweden, were recorded three times in the expeditions in 2006–2014 and in the documentary *Išbarstyti žodžiai* (Scattered Words, dir. Arvydas Barysas); they were asked to converse about a variety of topics, beginning with their childhood in Nida (Nidden) and fishing traditions and ending with political and social life issues in present-day Sweden. The brothers, living in the same city, had a joint business and were engaged the same leisure activity (fishing), kept in close contact, and spoke to one another only in their mother tongue.

no more than five users of the second group; it is difficult to count the third group's users, because the children of active speakers may have learned some phrases or remember them from their childhood. In addition, people belonging to the first group, who have reached a venerable age and whose interlocutors may have died, move to the second group after several years<sup>7</sup>. As a matter of fact, the language preserved by the members of a disintegrated community already needs to be treated as idiolects and this needs to be kept in mind when conducting the research.

**Language documentation.** The Kursenieku language had no writing. Schoolchildren in the Curonian Spit were taught Lithuanian from the beginning of Prussian evangelisation until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. Following the unification of Germany, standard German as the language of instruction was introduced into all East Prussian schools. After 1923, following the incorporation of Klaipėda region into Lithuania, the German language was the language of instruction in the Curonian Spit and remained as such until the war, but obligatory Lithuanian language lessons were introduced. Thus, the letters of other languages were used to document the Kursenieku language: those of written East Prussian, which local teachers and priests could speak or were familiar with, as well as written German and Latvian. The 20<sup>th</sup> century texts written by the Kursenieki were based on a mixture of Lithuanian, German and Latvian orthography, while various transcription principles were applied to texts published in scientific works.

Thus, we can state that the Kursenieku language has reached a stage when there are no more users and there is no way to supplement the collected material. The available documented material can be divided into several groups:

1. Written sources. These are both coherent texts and smaller or larger dictionaries, as well as separate sentences, their fragments and individual phrases, recorded in the letters using phonetic transcription of various languages. In addition to the already mentioned Pallas glossary, the so-called Wenker's forty sentences (for more details, see Schiller, Kiseliūnaitė 2015) and Voelkel's dictionary (1879), Bezenberger published several short texts and a small dictionary attached to the language study (1888). In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a language study with a small collection of texts and a glossary was published by the Latvian linguist Juris

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<sup>7</sup> An example of this could be Herta Detzkeit, who was not only an active speaker 20 years ago, but also able to create the written Kursenieku language; short texts she put down are one of the most valuable written monuments (Ivanickaja, Kiseliūnaitė 2015). In the records of the 1995 expedition she still maintained a lively dialogue with her aunt Hedwig Schekahn; she was able to speak in monologues, while during the 2014 expedition she had difficulty formulating a cohesive text, speaking in fragments, and forgetting words she had been actively using 20 years ago.

<sup>8</sup> In the southern area of the peninsula, which was part of the *Kreis Fischhausen* rural district, the transition to teaching in German took place about 50 years earlier than in the northern part, which belonged to the *Landkreis Memel*. In the villages of Rossitten and Pillkopen, Bezenberger found only a few individuals who used the Kursenieku language fragmentary (Bezenberger 1888: 3).

Plāķis (1927), and a collection of folklore texts was published by the Latvian ethnographer Pēteris Šmits (1933). The focus on the Kursenieku language increased in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when its fate was actually sealed. Then a collection of texts by Richard Pietsch (1982) and bilingual dictionaries (1987, 1992) by him and Paul Kwauka appeared. The contribution to the subject by German linguists Wolfgang P. Schmid (1989, 1995, 1999), Friedhelm Hinze (1993) and Christliebe El Mogharbel (1993) was great: they published texts (part of them in IPA) along with language research. The history of written sources and research of the Kursenieku language is presented in an article by Pēteris Vanags (Vanags 1999). With the exception of the author of this article and Arina Ivanickaja<sup>9</sup>, no new publications of language research and sources appeared in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

2. Audio and video recordings. The earliest sound recordings, known to the author of the article, date back to 1961 and are the recordings made by the Latvian Academy of Sciences and the University of Latvia, some of which are kept at the Latvian Academy of Sciences (recorded by Laimdots Ceplītis and Jānis Kušķis in Pervalka, Preila, Juodkrantē)<sup>10</sup>. Ca 1980, a group of Kursenieki living in Germany was recorded by the Latvian philologist Austris Grasis and engineer Ilgvars Bernovskis, who lived there at the time, and copies of the recordings are kept at the University of Latvia and the digital archive of Klaipēda University. At about the same time, Pietsch, an expatriate from Nida, also recorded his countrymen in Germany; he accumulated about 15 hours of sound recordings<sup>11</sup>, which he transferred to Klaipēda University. Between 1995 and 2014 the author of this article made several expeditions and added to the sound recording stock another 30 hours of records. Judging from the publications, Bernovskis, El Mogharbel and Hinze, who lived in Germany, also made sound recordings, but so far, they have been unavailable to the author of the article.

3. Onomastic material is an important source for the study of this endangered language. The Kursenieki had not only the names of the settlements, but also many microtoponyms that reveal the features of the landscape and reflect the development of the language. Particularly important for the study of population migration processes are personal names that in actual fact have not yet been researched. Part of the material about personal names in parish registers and other documents has been collected by the author of this article; the material is stored in the digital archive of Klaipēda University.

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<sup>9</sup> The author of this article failed to discover some of the mentioned recordings made on tape recorders; some of them was digitised, with copies stored in the digital archive of Klaipēda University.

<sup>10</sup> Ivanickaja's publications present two written sources that had not been available to the academic community: the manuscript of Herta Detzkeit (together with the author of this article) (Ivanickaja, Kiseliūnaitē 2015) and the manuscript of the Pallas dictionary card (Ivanickaja 2017).

<sup>11</sup> A large part of them is the text of the book read by the author (Pietsch 1982), but even without it there are valuable recordings of informants who could speak fluently.

In short, the documentation of the rich, historically significant geolect, which is important for the Baltic linguistics, has largely been done. Needless to say, if more effort and attention had been given to the subject over the years, more could have been done, but the currently available material allows and encourages further work.

**Importance and tasks of the research of the Kursenieku geolect.** The German linguist Range has well defined the importance and perspectives of research (Range 1995: 111). He identified a number of important problems, some of which are already resolved. Range emphasised the need to transcribe, translate and use the IPA phonetic transcription system for scientific purposes (as it is important to assess all phonetic realizations, taking into account the sociolinguistic characteristics of each speaker). At present, most of the texts of Pietsch's recordings have been transcribed in simplified transcription using Latvian letters, but about four-hour long text was transcribed in IPA by the author of this article. To do this with all recordings, we face some obstacles: old recordings, even technically edited ones, are not of sufficient quality – after a lot of effort, phonetic reconstruction will still not be reliable. This is worth doing with good quality records, but IPA transcription is time consuming. To date, none of the earlier researchers of this language have raised the issue of the study of the prosody of the Kursenieku language. The help of Latvian colleagues would be very useful here. Without this work, it is impossible to create a unified spelling system and text corpus. Range also raises a methodological issue about the description of grammar – only after evaluating the characteristics of the idiolects of the informants recorded in emigration, is it possible to distinguish the general features of the grammar of the geolect. It is especially important to highlight the role of contact languages in the internal structure of the Kursenieku geolect: phonetics, lexicon, and grammar. In addition to these purely linguistic tasks important for the Baltic studies, he raises important sociolinguistic issues: the study of the development of the interaction between the endangered language and other languages and its usage, the influence of bilingualism and the formation of cultural-linguistic identity. Finally, from a sociolinguistic point of view, the recording and study of the Kursenieku language and its extinction would serve general research in endangered languages. “Many languages we know about are now extinct, the steps to their extinction may be understood more clearly if we have thorough descriptions of languages now on the way of extinction” (Lehmann 1962: 111).

**Instead of conclusions.** While agreeing with all the tasks listed earlier by Range, the author of this article wants to emphasise that these tasks are very closely interrelated, and complex research would be most effective. It is impossible to separately study the influence of German on the grammatical system of the Kursenieku language without clarifying the circumstances of the functioning of the German dialects and the Standard language in the

region. On the other hand, it is important to assess the context of language interaction in the life of each informant in order to recognise the margins of the idiolect and dialect. Without the comparative research into the West Latvian dialects and the Kursenieku language, it is impossible either to hypothetically distinguish the substrate of Old Curonian, or to determine the features of the subdialects of Courland in the Kursenieku language.

The work started by Hinze – a dictionary of the Kursenieku language – is in the preparatory phase: his manuscript cards in the archives of Klaipėda University are stored in photocopies and rewritten in Microsoft Word. A dictionary of the Kursenieku language could be developed on the basis of these cards, but so far there has been no capacities for that.

In addition to the above-mentioned goals, the author tries to define another one – the issue of the importance of Kursenieku language research and its role in society. Due to the small number of researchers and for lack of integrated approach in both Lithuania and Latvia these challenges are not sufficiently assessed not only by the scientific community, but also in scientific policy. In part, the issue of the stagnation period could come to an end by examining the problem from a geopolitical point of view: The Curonian Spit is a UNESCO protected site, and among the protected heritage items in the program is the intangible cultural heritage. Unfortunately, the language of Kursenieku as an object to be protected is not included in the list, therefore research on it and documentation have so far been rather fragmentary, concentrated in the hands of virtually one person. Currently, the initial artefact database has been created and stored in the digital archive of Klaipėda University<sup>12</sup>; it can be not only used but also constantly updated; however larger-scale studies require a long-term project and a team of researchers consisting of experts in various spheres (experts on phonology, Latvian, Lithuanian and German dialectology, specialists in comparative Lithuanian and German syntax etc.).

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<sup>12</sup> For more information on the archive, see Kiseliūnaitė; Jakulytė 2017. Access to the archive online: <http://nerija.ku.lt:8080/knkka>

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## APPLICATION OF DIALECTOMETRIC METHODS IN RESEARCH ON LITHUANIAN DIALECTS

### *DIALEKTOMETRIJOS METODŲ TAIKYMAS LIETUVIŲ TARMĖTYROJE*

#### **Abstract**

Based on the dialectometric research conducted to date into the Lithuanian dialects, this paper aims to assess the possibilities and advantages of applying the dialectometric methods in order to analyse the Lithuanian dialects using the web application Gabmap. The research material is comprised of the dialectometric studies of the Lithuanian dialects performed thus far, all of which are attributed to the Groningen School of Dialectometry. This paper should be considered as the first attempt to systematically review and examine the dialectometric methods used thus far for researching the Lithuanian dialects.

Following the analysis, many possibilities and advantages of the dialectometric methods for researching the Lithuanian dialects were highlighted: the methods were useful in identifying not only the groups of dialects, but also their structure, the hierarchy of dialects within the same group as well as distinguishing between the homogeneous and heterogeneous, strong and weak, differential and transitional dialects. In addition to the identification of unique dialectal characteristics, the dialectometric methods allowed to determine which dialectal features were strong or weak, distinctive or imperceptible, and how these features can vary and change. In perceptual dialectology the prototypical dialectal and Standard Language zones are highlighted and illustrated, a statistically significant degree of dialecticism in it is measured, and the perception of language variability is calculated.

**KEYWORDS:** Lithuanian dialectology, geolinguistics, quantitative linguistics, dialectometric methods, web application Gabmap.

#### **Anotacija**

Straipsnyje, remiantis Lietuvoje pradėtais lietuvių tarmių dialektometriniiais tyrimais, siekiama įvertinti dialektometrijos metodų taikymo lietuvių tarmėms nagrinėti galimybes ir išryškinti kiekybinių metodų naudą lietuvių tarmėtyrai. Tiriamąją medžiagą sudaro iki šiol atlikti Groningeno mokyklai priskirti dialektometriniai lietuvių tarmių tyrimai. Atliktas tyrimas vertintinas kaip pirmasis bandymas sistemaiškai apžvelgti ir įvertinti iki šiol lietuvių tarmėtyroje taikytus dialektometrijos metodus, kurių pagrindu sukurta kompiuterinė programa Gabmap.

Atlikus analizę, išryškinta daug dialektometrijos metodų lietuvių tarmėtyrai teikiamų galimybių ir privalumų: jais identifikuojamos ne tik tarmių grupės, bet ir jų sudėtis, tarmių hierarchija grupėje, homogeniškos

ir heterogeniškos tarmės, stipriosios ir silpnosios, savitos ir pereiginės tarmės; identifikuojami ne tik tarmių skiriamieji požymiai, bet ir nustatomos stipriosios bei silpnosios, ryškiosios ir blankiosios tarminės ypatybės, tarminių požymių variacija ir kaita; perceptyviojoje dialektologijoje išryškinamos ir iliustruojamos prototipinės tarminės ir bendrinės kalbos zonos, statistškai patikimai išmatuojamas tarmiškumo laipsnis jose, apskaičiuojamas tiriamųjų percepcinis kalbos variantiškumo suvokimas.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** lietuvių dialektologija, geolingvistika, kiekybinė lingvistika, dialektometrijos metodai, internetinė aplikacija Gabmap

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Qualitative methods dominated in the research of traditional Lithuanian dialectology until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Often a single feature would be analysed, usually in a small research area, focusing on differential phonetic (phonological) features. It is therefore difficult to estimate the linguistic variability or to identify new dialectal derivations – regiolects and geolects – which are based on weak (hidden) dialectal features (for more information, see Taeldeman 2005: 233–248; see also Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 46–47; Mikulėnienė 2019: 51–62, etc.).

In modern dialectology, differences and similarities amongst dialects can be estimated more precisely by using the quantitative (or dialectometric) methods: the general dialectal differences and similarities are calculated, illustrated and analysed using statistical and computer-based approaches, taking into account the distribution of dialectal features in the geographical area (Nerbonne, Kleiweg 2007: 148; Szmrecsanyi 2011: 45). Typically, a large dialect area containing a significant number of dialectal features, including the distinctive and imperceptible dialectal structures, is analysed (Szmrecsanyi 2011: 45–46).

Based on the dialectometric research conducted to date into the Lithuanian dialects, this paper aims to examine the possibilities and advantages of applying the dialectometric methods in order to analyse the Lithuanian dialects using the web application Gabmap. This paper should be considered as the first attempt to systematically review and assess the dialectometric methods used thus far for researching the Lithuanian dialects.

To achieve the aim, the following tasks were formulated: 1) to discuss the possibilities of applying the dialectometric methods to research on the Lithuanian dialects (focusing on all the Lithuanian dialectometric research conducted using the web application Gabmap); 2) to analyse the problematic aspects of applying quantitative methods and the interpretation of the results obtained by using these methods; 3) to highlight the advantages of the chosen

Groningen School of Dialectometry (see Nerbonne et al. 1996: 185–202; Nerbonne et al. 1999: 5–15; Heeringa 2004; for more Szmrecsanyi 2011: 46)<sup>1</sup> for research on Lithuanian dialects.

The subject is the dialectometry methods (based on which the web application Gabmap was developed) applied in the Lithuanian dialectology.

The dialectometric research on the Lithuanian dialects, based on the Groningen School of Dialectometry, was initiated and is being continued in Lithuania by the researchers from the Centre of Geolinguistics at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language. Quantitative research uses the web application Gabmap, which has been developed based on the dialectometric methods by the researchers of the University of Groningen (see Gabmap; Leinonen et al. 2016: 71–83; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 29–32; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 65–92, etc.). It is presented in detail and, for the first time in the research on the Lithuanian dialects, is systematically applied in the author's dissertation where the changes of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas and the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Panevėžys were analysed (see Čepaitienė 2018). The quantitative research on the Lithuanian dialects was conducted using the methodology described and applied in the dissertation.

The research material is comprised of the dialectometric studies of the Lithuanian dialects performed thus far using the web application Gabmap (see Čepaitienė 2016: 143–174; 2018a; 2018b: 44–75; Aliūkaitė et al. 2017; Čepaitienė 2019: 39–74; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019; Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 144–180; Vyniautaitė 2020: 1–19).

The Groningen School of Dialectometry was chosen for the dialectometric research on the Lithuanian dialects for several reasons:

1. The empirical data of research. As in many languages, the classification of the Lithuanian dialects is based on differences in phonetic and phonological features. Therefore, almost all quantitative research on the Lithuanian dialects analysed this level, i.e. the phonetic transcriptions were assessed dialectometrically.

2. The technique used to measure the dialectal differences, i.e. the Levenshtein distance algorithm. The classification scheme of dialects obtained in this way correlates significantly with both the traditional dialectology criteria, which classifies the dialects according to phonological, lexical, etc. features and the results of perceptual classification (Heeringa 2004: 5, 279; Heeringa et al. 2009: 3).

3. The web application Gabmap is based on the dialectometric methods and is easy to use.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information about Salzburg School of Dialectometry see Séguy 1971: 335–57; Goebel 1982; 1984; 2010: 63–77; 2017: 123–142, etc.

The dialectometric methods are new not only in the Lithuanian dialectology but also globally. The following studies used the methods of the Groningen School of Dialectometry: the phonetic variability of the English dialects was analysed quantitatively and different dialectal regions based on the dialectal features were identified (Shackleton 2007: 30–102); the relationships between pronunciation, lexis and syntax differences in the Dutch dialects were analysed (Spruit et al. 2009: 1624–1642); the Norwegian variants were classified on the basis of acoustic features (Heeringa et al. 2009: 167–183); differences and similarities of the Swedish dialects were measured (Leinonen 2010; 2011: 75–95); areas of intensive linguistic contact and reasons for language change in the Bulgarian dialects were examined (Prokić, Cysouw 2013: 147–168); changes in the lexical, morphological and phonetic features of Dutch in the Belgian dialects and in Standard Dutch were calculated statistically (Heeringa, Hinskens 2014: 26–52, 452–453); a quantitative analysis of the Korean linguistic variation was made (Barnes–Sadler 2017: 1–14); the American dialects were analysed (Jones et al. 2019: 37–48), and others.

The novelty and relevance of the research. The importance and relevance of the dialectometric methods are proven not only by the increase in quantitative research on foreign languages and objective results obtained, but also by the fact that many foreign researchers cooperate and improve the dialectometric methods, offering new alternatives to the quantitative linguistic data analysis (cf. Bloem et al. 2016: 155–173; Jones et al. 2019: 37–48, etc.). This improves the availability and application of the relatively complex dialectometric methods, i.e. they are used to develop software or web applications (cf. the more complex software RuG / L04 (see software RuG / L04) and, more recently, an easy-to-use web application Gabmap (see Gabmap).

Hopefully, the possibilities of applying the dialectometric methods in research on the Lithuanian dialects will aid the problematic aspects of the linguistic data preparation and the interpretation of the results obtained. It will also strengthen the importance of quantitative research on the Lithuanian dialects and popularise the dialectometric research in Lithuania.

## **2. STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH MATERIAL AND MEASUREMENTS**

As shown by the quantitative research on the Lithuanian dialects conducted to date, statistically significant results have been obtained through analysing the dialectal data sets of both larger size (for example, Čepaitienė 2018; Aliūkaitė et al. 2017; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019) and smaller (for example, Čepaitienė 2016: 143–174). The statistical significance of the quantified research data and the different tools used to analyse it are based on the calculation of the Cronbach's alpha coefficient by the web application Gabmap. The value of the Cronbach's alpha coefficient varies depending on the quality of the data, the quality of the

measuring method used and the number of items (the Cronbach's alpha value increases when the number of items analysed is higher, for more information see Heeringa 2004: 170–177, Gabmap: Differences, etc.).

The quantity of research locations and the geographic distribution of these locations, i.e. density, are also statistically validated. This is done by calculating the Local incoherence's coefficient (the smaller the value, the less incoherence and the better the measurements, for more details see Nerbonne, Kleiweg 2007: 148–167; Gabmap: Differences).

For example, in a study examining the dialectal features of 10 locations which are further apart, the Local incoherence is 0.42 (Čepaitienė 2016: 143–174). In another study, which analysed the entire area of Lithuania, i.e. 24 locations selected following the principles of integrity and symmetry of the research area, the Local incoherence is lower, 0.29 (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 17–18).

The case of perceptual data research shows that high Local incoherence does not necessarily mean that the research data and the selected measurements for its analysis are unreliable (see Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 24). This calculated coefficient, based on perceptual research data, is too high - at 1.9. But it should be noted that the calculation of this coefficient is based on the idea that geographically closer areas should be linguistically more similar (Gabmap: Differences). However, in the case of the perceptual research that was conducted, and in perceptual dialectology in general, the geographical proximity does not necessarily determine the linguistic similarity. For example, a respondent may call one district of the country a dialectal zone, and the adjacent district - a Standard Language zone. The respondent does not in any way provide the same or similar linguistic assessment to closer local areas. Therefore, the Local incoherence coefficient in perceptual research should be interpreted carefully. Furthermore, a high Local incoherence coefficient in perceptual research on language variability may not be relevant for the statistical significance of the data and the tools to measure it. Therefore, the statistical indicators of the data and the selected dialectometric techniques to measure it should be evaluated critically in any quantitative research on linguistic variation, taking into account the aim and the empirical data of the research.

### 3. MEASURING THE LINGUISTIC DISTANCES

A dialectometric analysis of the Lithuanian linguistic data is based on the calculation of average linguistic distances between two different locations using the algorithm of the String Edit Distance (Levenshtein distance; for more details see Levenshtein 1966: 707–710; Gabmap: String Edit Distance; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 56–57; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 72–75, etc.).

In research, where the exact geographical distribution of the linguistic variability was important, the geographical distance between the locations was taken into account when calculating the String Edit Distance (cf. research of Lithuanian dialects: Čepaitienė 2016: 143–174; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019). The longer the geographical distance, the greater the String Edit Distance (Kessler 1995: 62; Nerbonne et al. 1999: 5–15; Heeringa 2004; Nerbonne et al. 2011: 65–89; Leinonen et al. 2016: 74–75; see also Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 73). However, the geographical distance was eliminated when the central focus of the study was only on the linguistic variability (cf. Čepaitienė 2018; Čepaitienė 2018a: 44–75; Čepaitienė 2019: 39–74; Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 144–180).

Despite the slightly different principles of calculating linguistic differences, the process of aligning the transcriptions of lexical items was the same in both types of research: the distance between two different pronunciations of a lexical item is determined by finding the smallest sacrifice for changing one pronunciation for another (changing one pronunciation for another is done by inserting, deleting or substituting characters; Gabmap: String Edit Distance).

For example, the String Edit Distance between the word *sunkus* [*heavy*], pronounced differently by two respondents RAP\_199\_VYR1<sup>2</sup> and RAP\_199\_VID2, is equal to 1.5: 1 is for the different pronunciation of the first component of the diphthong *un*, and 0.5 is for the different pronunciation of the vowel *u* in the closed ending (see Figure 1).

RAP_199_VYR1 — RAP_199_VID2						
'	s	ȯ	ŋ	k	ū	s
'	s	u̇	ŋ	k	u̇	s
		1			0.5	1.5

**Figure 1.** The String Edit Distance between the word *sunkus* [*heavy*], pronounced differently by two respondents RAP\_199\_VYR1 and RAP\_199\_VID2 (Čepaitienė 2018: 57)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The letters indicate the abbreviation of the subdialect (RAP – Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys, RAS – Eastern Aukštaitian of Širvintos, RAU – Eastern Aukštaitian of Utena, PZR – Southern Žemaitian of Raseiniai, VAK – Western Aukštaitian of Kaunas, etc.); the number indicates the LKA point number (for example, VAK\_549 is Kazlų Rūda located in the area of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas); shorter forms *jaun.*, *vid.* and *vyr.* show the affiliation of the subject to a certain age group (JAUN – younger generation, VID – middle-aged generation, VYR – older generation); the last number distinguishes three informants of the same generation (1 – informant No. 1; 2 – informant No. 2; 3 – informant No. 3), (Čepaitienė 2018: 55).

<sup>3</sup> For the principles of phonetic transcription of Lithuanian dialects and the meanings of the characters used, see Bakšienė, Čepaitienė 2017: 105–35; Bakšienė, Čepaitienė 2017a: 203–229; Čepaitienė 2018: 41–49, Bakšienė 2018: 102–118; 2018a: 9–19; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 38–64; Bakšienė 2019: 7–26; Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 142–158.

It should be added that when calculating the String Edit Distance between the transcribed words of the Lithuanian dialects, variations in word alignment occurred. For example, in the web application Gabmap, diphthongoids (*ie, uo*), digraphs (and trigraphs) are not calculated as a single unit. The below example illustrates that in Širvintos (RAS502) and Stragutė (PZR392), the differently pronounced diphthongoid *ie* in the word *šienas* [*hay*] is equal to 2: first [i:] (pronounced in place of *ie* in Stragutė (PZR392) was compared with one component of diphthongoid [i], then with another [ɛ̃] (see Figure 2). According to the prevailing rules of Standard Lithuanian (and the dialects), the phoneme [iɛ̃] should be compared with another phoneme [i:] and the difference between the pronunciations of these sounds should be equal to 1, not 2. Therefore, the String Edit Distance, according to the pronunciation of the word *šienas* [*hay*], between the mentioned locations should be less than calculated.

RAS502 — PZR392						
'	ʃ	i	ɛ̃	n	ʊ	s
'	ʃ		i:	n		s
		1	1		1	3
'	ʃ	i	ɛ̃	n	ʊ	s
'	ʃ	i:		n		s
		1	1		1	3

**Figure 2.** String Edit Distance between Širvintos (RAS502) and Stragutė (PZR392) according to the pronunciation of the word *šienas* (*hay*): the problem of diphthongoid alignment (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 74)

One solution to this problem is to choose from the list of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) the transcription of diphthongoids by linking with a tie bar, indicating that the two phonetic sounds are considered phonologically as one separate sound [iɛ̃], [ʊɔ̃], in other words, it is a phoneme. For example: [ʃ<sup>h</sup>iɛ̃n<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:lʲis] ~ *šienelis* (*hay*, DIM), [o<sup>h</sup>bʊɔ̃lʲi:s] ~ *obuolys* (*apple*). However, as the results obtained from the web application Gabmap show, words transcribed with the IPA in this way only increase the number of errors - the String Edit Distance algorithm calculates that the phoneme [iɛ̃] (also [ʊɔ̃]) consists of three different components, and the difference between words transcribed in a Lithuanian subdialect and the Standard Lithuanian becomes even bigger (cf. Figure 2-4). So the problem of transcribing and

aligning diphthongoids, digraphs (and trigraphs) remains, and the plan is to solve it in consultation with the developers of Gabmap.

ʃ <sup>j</sup>	ɪ	ɨ	ɛ	'	n <sup>j</sup>	ɛ:	l <sup>j</sup>	ɪ	s
ʃ <sup>j</sup>	ɪ	ɨ	ɛ	'	n <sup>j</sup>	æ·	l <sup>j</sup>	ɪ	s
						1			1

**Figure 3.** String Edit Distance between the Standard Language (BK) and Liudvinavas (VAK624) according to the pronunciation of the word *šienelis* (*hay*, DIM): the problem of diphthongoid alignment

ʃ <sup>j</sup>	ɪ	ɨ	ɛ	'	n <sup>j</sup>	ɛ:	l <sup>j</sup>	ɪ	s
ʃ <sup>j</sup>			ɛ·	'	n <sup>j</sup>	ɛ·	l <sup>j</sup>	i·	s
	1	0.5	0.5			0.5		1	3.5

**Figure 4.** String Edit Distance between Standard Language (BK) and Utena (RAU147) according to the pronunciation of the word *šienelis* (*hay*, DIM): diphthongoid alignment problem

Alignment errors also emerged in the calculation of affricates transcribed in different ways. If one phoneme [dʒ] (also [dʒ], [tʃ], [tʃ]) is linking by the tie bar at the top (that indicates a phonologically distinct sound), the String Edit Distance of that affricate is calculated not as one, but as three separate symbols (see Figure 5).

'	m <sup>j</sup>	ɛ	d	ʃ <sup>j</sup>	ɥ	
'	m <sup>j</sup>	æ·	d	ʃ <sup>j</sup>	u·	
		1			1	2

**Figure 5.** String Edit Distance between Ramygala (RAP300) and Liudvinavas (VAK624) according to the pronunciation of word *medžių* [*tree*, gen. pl.]: the problem of affricates alignment

'	m <sup>j</sup>	ɛ·	dʒ <sup>j</sup>	ɥ	
'	m <sup>j</sup>	æ·	dʒ <sup>j</sup>	u·	
		1		1	2

**Figure 6.** String Edit Distance between Ramygala (RAP300) and Liudvinavas (VAK624) according to the pronunciation of word *medžių* [*tree*, gen. pl.]: a solution for transcribing affricates

To eliminate this discrepancy, the affricates should be transcribed as one character without the tie bar: [dʒ], [dʒ], [tʃ], [tʃ] (see Figure 6). The affricates are also transcribed using these IPA symbols in Standard Lithuanian (see Urbanavičienė et al. 2019: 20–21, see also Jaroslaviėnė et al. 2019: 17–18, etc.).

Based on the calculated String Edit Distance, maps or pseudo maps were drawn to illustrate the linguistic (dialectal) relations of the objects using various dialectometric techniques.

#### 4. VISUALISATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DIALECTOMETRIC RESEARCH RESULTS

In the quantitative research on the Lithuanian dialects, where the factor of the geographical distance is important, the results are presented in maps with exact geographical coordinates of sites and the diagrams. These maps were used in studies with the following objectives: 1) to quantitatively estimate the LKA points<sup>4</sup>, which were assigned to different dialects based on qualitative analysis (Čepaitienė 2016: 143–174), 2) to quantitatively estimate the qualitative classifications of the Lithuanian dialects (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019) and 3) to quantify the summarised linguistic images in numerical expression (Aliūkaitė et al. 2017).

In the research, where the geographical factor is not relevant and only the linguistic variability is the focal point, the results are presented in pseudo maps and diagrams that do not provide geographical information. For example, pseudo maps were used to quantify the change of dialects used by different generations (Čepaitienė 2018), to analyse the change of one dialect (Čepaitienė 2018a: 44–75) and the formation of new dialectal derivations (Čepaitienė 2019: 39–74; Vyniautaitė 2020: 1–19), to quantify a larger area of one subdialect but focus only on the quantitative analysis of the dialectal features (Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 144–180; for more information on maps created by the web application Gabmap, see Gabmap: Map file)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> LKA point – the site (with its surroundings) where material for the “Atlas of the Lithuanian Language” was collected (see LKA I, II, III).

<sup>5</sup> Regardless of the object of the research, whether it is the informant or the site, within the research domain of the Lithuanian (and foreign) dialects the results of the quantitative analysis are summarised for the sites (i.e. the dialectal features of the LKA point). In other words, the combination of "dialectal features + geographical point" is always maintained. This is noticeable even when analysing pseudo maps – all the informants, although not located geographically, but at the same time are related to a specific place within the site, the dialectal features are summarised to the LKA point (see Čepaitienė 2018; Čepaitienė 2018a: 44–75; Čepaitienė 2019: 39–74; Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 144–180, etc.).

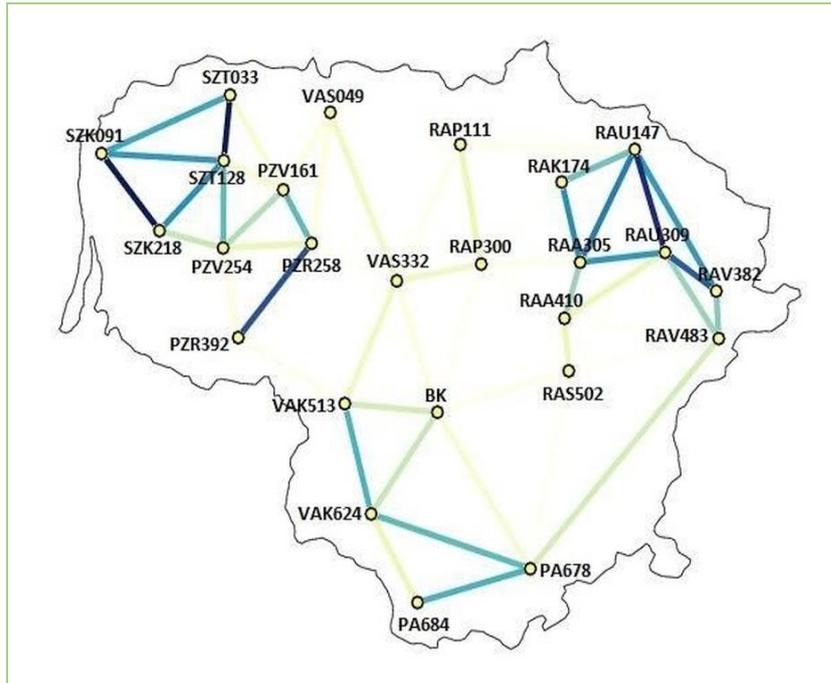
#### 4. 1. LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEIGHBOURING SITES AND LINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF ALL SITES

The tools provided by the web application Gabmap highlight the common similarities and differences amongst all sites (or respondents). In addition, the linguistic relations of each site can also be determined. This was done by analysing the network maps and the reference point maps, respectively. These maps are drawn based on the calculated distances: the linguistic similarity of a certain site is shown in colours of varying brightness - the darker the colour, the more similar the dialectal features between the sites (Gabmap: Differences; Snoek 2014: 199; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 57–58; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 75–76; for the colour spectrum used, see Gabmap: Blue-white Colour Spectrum; Nerbonne 2010: 482).

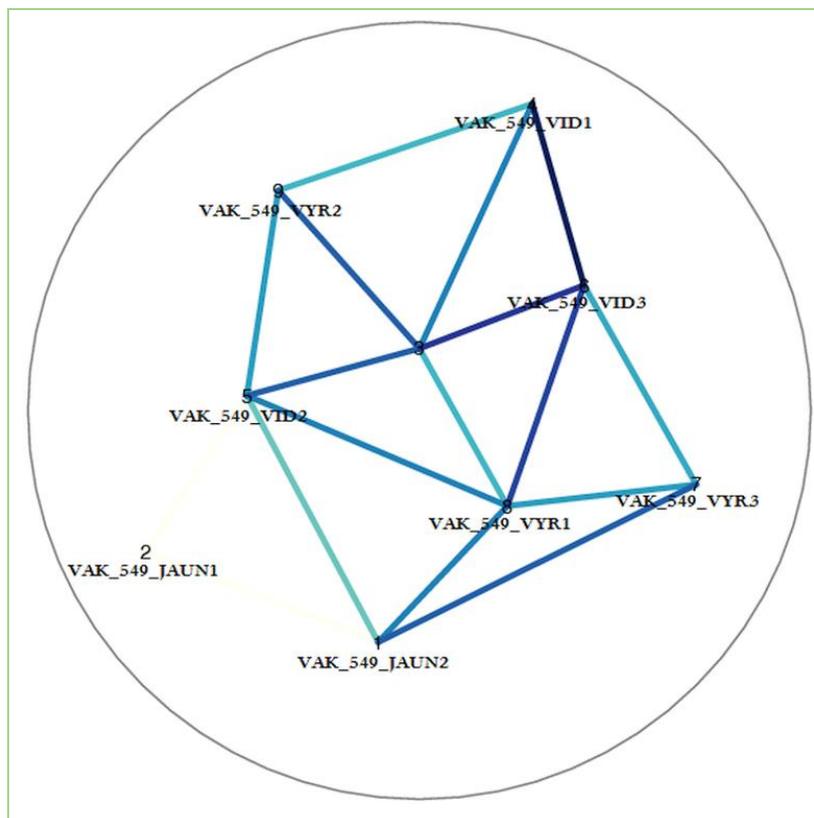
##### 4.1.1. Phonological differences and similarities

In the dialectometric research on the Lithuanian dialects, the phonological differences are revealed in two types of network maps (or pseudo maps): 1) where only linguistically similar neighbouring sites are connected by lines (see Figures 7, 8); 2) where lines are drawn across the linguistically similar neighbouring sites of the entire geographic area (see Figure 9), (for more details see Gabmap: Differences; Snoek 2014: 199; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 57–58; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 76–78). In general, network maps help to identify the most similar variants of the dialect, their degree of similarity, they can also show which dialects are more distinctive, and therefore the homogeneity of the dialects can be revealed. Network pseudo maps also are a suitable tool for determining the dialectal change.

For example, the network map of the LKA points illustrates the strongest linguistic relations of the dialectal variants used in north-western, north-eastern, and southern Lithuania (see Figure 7). More specific dialects in northern and central Lithuania were also quantified (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 76–77, 95–103, etc.).



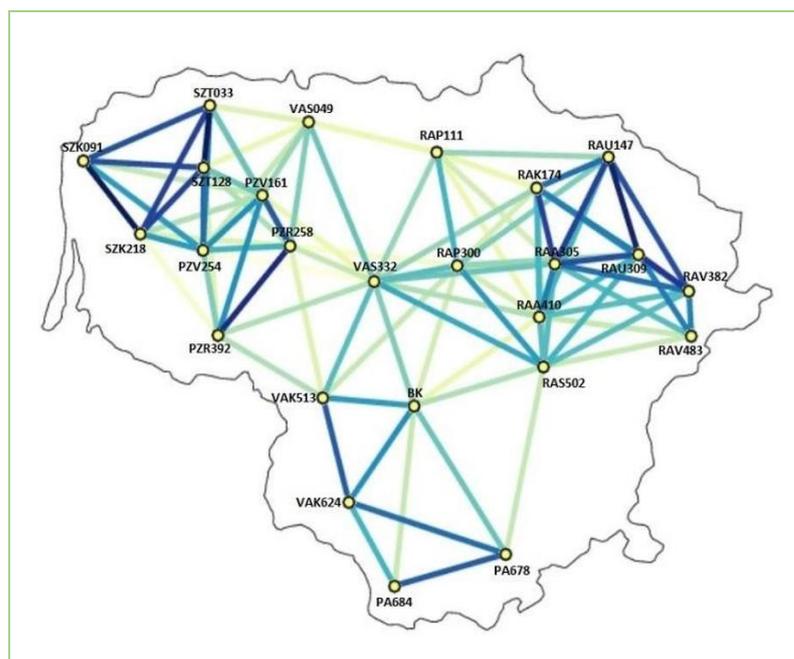
**Figure 7.** Relations between neighbouring LKA points according to phonological similarities and differences (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 77)



**Figure 8.** Phonetic similarities and differences between respondents living in Kazlų Rūda (LKA 549), (Čepaitienė 2018: 93)

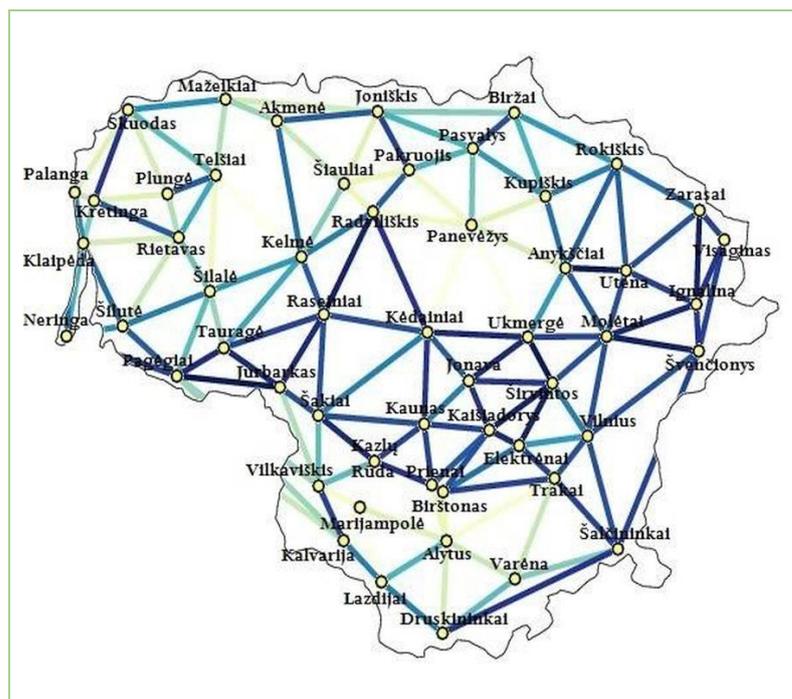
And in Kazlų Rūda (LKA 549), which is one of the Western Aukštaitian subdialects, the homogenous dialect is used: the pseudo map illustrates that all three generations are using the native dialect (see Figure 8), (for more details see Čepaitienė 2018: 92–94).

The network map which illustrates the strength of linguistic relations of all sites shows more clearly the dialectal distance between the two main Lithuanian dialects – the Aukštaitians and the Žemaitians, also known as Samogitians (see Figure 9). In addition, the linguistic relations of the different dialects and the more specific dialects can be seen (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al., 2019: 76–78; 95–103, etc.).



**Figure 9.** Relations of all sites according to phonological distances (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 77)

Additional information is provided by the network maps based on perceptual data. For example, they show which districts are assessed by the respondents similarly on dialectal basis (see Figure 10). According to the perceptual study, the degree of dialecticism in the Žemaitian sites connected by dark lines is similar - this area was considered by the respondents to be a zone of strong dialecticism. And the centre of Lithuania – the largest towns and their surroundings – was considered by many to be closer to Standard Lithuanian (for more information see Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 147).



**Figure 10.** Similarities of research sites according to their dialecticisms (Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 147)

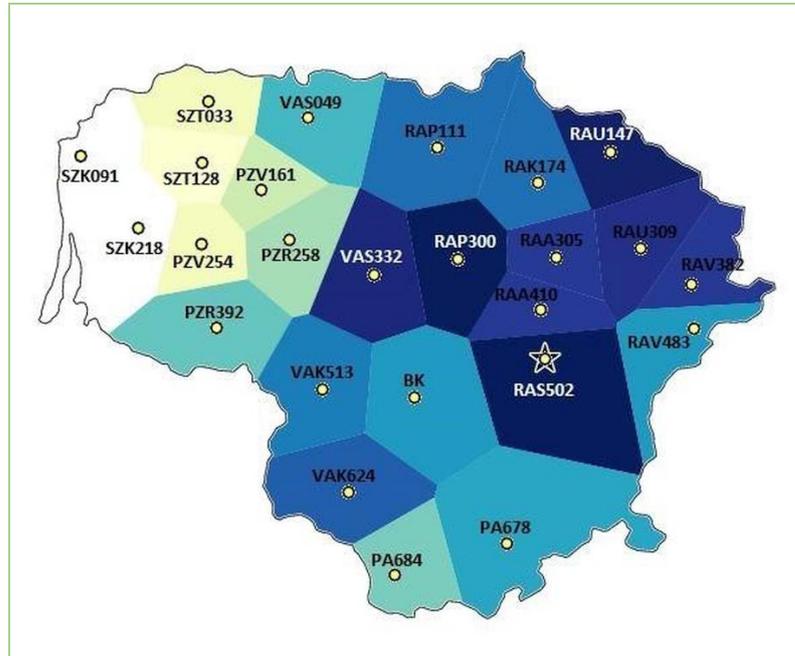
The previously discussed tools of the web application Gabmap quantified the overall image extracted from the research data and the linguistic relations of all research objects. Other dialectometric methods have provided a more detailed quantitative analysis of specific cases.

#### 4. 1. 2. Linguistic distances between one site and the rest

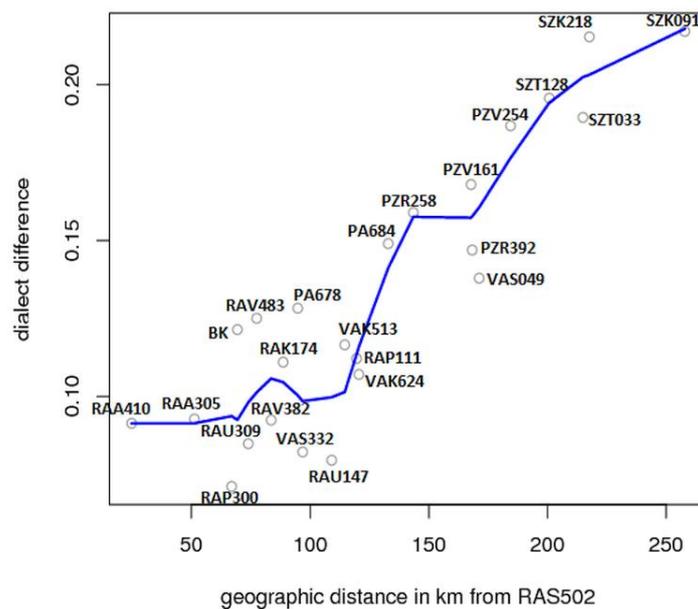
Which factor - linguistic or geographical - determines the linguistic similarities and differences amongst the Lithuanian dialects, and which selected sites are most similar or different, is determined by the reference point maps and a corresponding scatter plot. Two types of reference point map were used in the Lithuanian dialect research: 1) a map verifying both the geographic and the linguistic distance between the reference site and all other sites (see Figures 11, 12), 2) a map verifying only the linguistic distance between the reference site and all other sites (see Figure 13), (for more on this method, see Gabmap: Reference point maps; Snoek 2014: 200; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 57–58; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 78–80, etc.).

The exact quantitative contribution of the linguistic and geographical data to the results of the study is illustrated by the scatter plot. It shows the relations between the geographic and the linguistic distances between the reference site and all other sites: x-axis shows how many kilometres separate the selected site and other sites, while the y-axis shows the linguistic difference of the site, estimated in terms of numbers (Gabmap: Reference point maps; Snoek 2014: 200; see also Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 78–80).

For example, the quantitative analysis showed that a reference point Širvintos (RAS502), which is located in the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect, is linguistically and spatially closest to Ramygala (RAP300) in the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Panevėžys (see Figure 11). Such results are not determined geographically but according to the dominant linguistic aspect (see Figure 12).



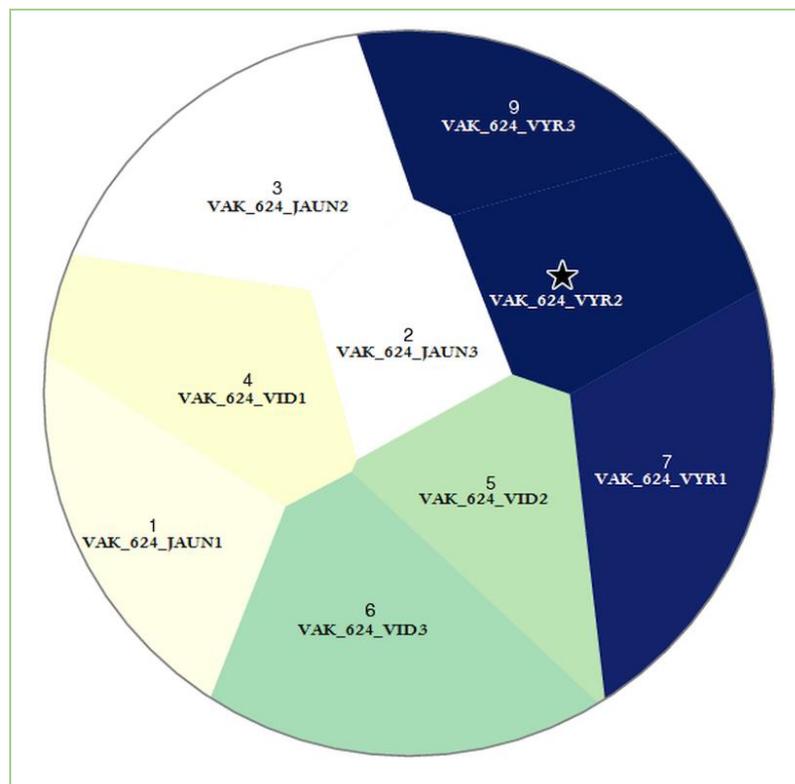
**Figure 11.** Spatial and linguistic relations of Širvintos (RAS502) with other sites (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 79)



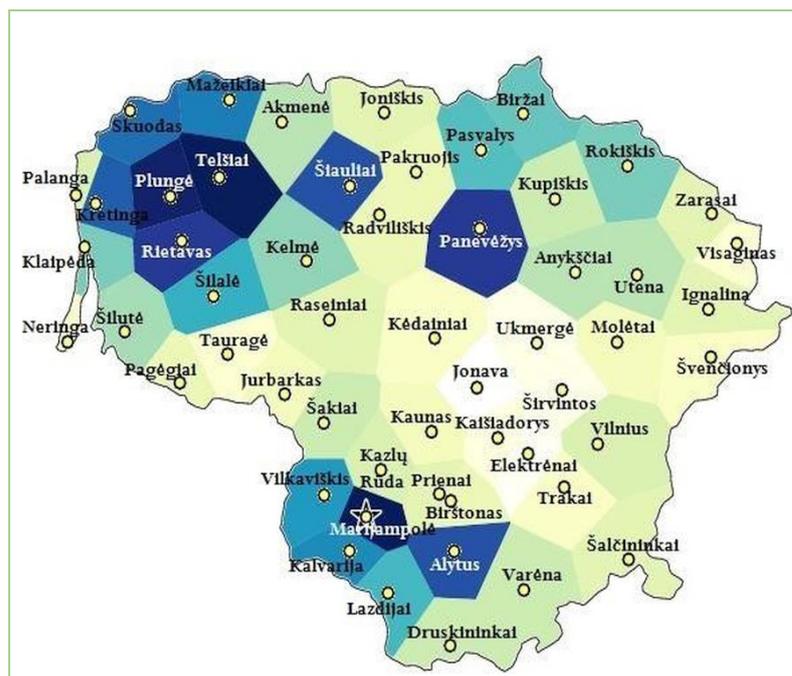
**Figure 12.** Spatial and linguistic relations of Širvintos (RAS502) with other sites (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 79)

This case shows that in quantitative research, the geographical distance does not always correlate with the dialectal dependence of a particular LKA point. Also, the results may differ when calculating the data with different tools - the network maps discussed earlier showed a different dialectal dependence of Širvintos (RAS502), (cf. Figures 7, 9, and 11, 12). Therefore, the results presented in the reference point maps and scatter plots should always be verified by additional dialectometric methods (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 78–80).

Reference point pseudo maps are useful for comparing only the linguistic similarities and differences of a particular research object in relation to others. The geographical factor is eliminated here. For example, Figure 13 shows that the dialectal variant used by the respondent VAK\_624\_VYR2 is most similar to that of the subjects in the same age group and differs most from the language of the younger generation. This tool shows the change of dialectal features in the analysed dialect (for more details, see Čepaitienė 2018: 127–128).



**Figure 13.** Dialectal similarities and differences of VAK\_624\_VYR2 with other subjects (Čepaitienė 2018: 127)



**Figure 14.** Differences in the geographical distance and degree of dialecticism between Marijampolė and other Lithuanian districts<sup>6</sup>

In Lithuanian perceptual dialectology, reference point maps can be used, for example, to determine how much the selected site, identified by the examined students as a dialectal zone, differs from all others in both geographical distance and the degree of dialecticism (see Figure 14). In the given map, the darker colour already shows the similarity in the degree of dialecticism across the sites.

It can be seen that the degree of dialecticism of Marijampolė (marked with a star) is most similar to that of Telšiai, Plungė, Rietavas, and Panevėžys. As the research found a very high degree of dialecticism in Marijampolė, the above-mentioned areas together with the surroundings of Marijampolė are considered to be the most prototypical dialectal zones (also see Aliūkaitė et al. 2017).

The linguistic features which determined the results of the linguistic analysis obtained by the discussed method can only be implied. The specific dialectal features linking and differentiating the objects were determined by other dialectometric methods.

<sup>6</sup> The map provides a summary of the data from the VLKK-funded project *Regioninių variantų ir tariamosios bendrinės kalbos (koazistandarto) sklaida XXI amžiaus pradžioje: perceptinis tyrimas* [Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-Standard Language at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perceptual Approach] (No. K2/2017/MTS-620000-223), (supervisor – prof. dr. Daiva Aliūkaitė).

## 4.2. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND VISUALISATION OF LANGUAGE VARIABILITY THROUGH VALUE MAPS

Value maps were used to illustrate the Lithuanian perceptual linguistic variability. The maps analyse the linguistic data in terms of numbers. Value maps are the research data equivalent of diagrams, which examine the geographical distribution of the values of each variable (for more details, see Gabmap: Value maps; see also Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 25). This is the equivalent of distribution maps, which illustrate the distribution of dialectal features in the research area (cf. LKA I–III, which illustrate the distribution of lexical, phonetic and morphological features of the Lithuanian dialects).

The value maps highlighted and illustrated the prototypical dialectal and Standard Language zones of Lithuania in perceptual research (see Figures 15 and 16). The darker the colour on the map, the greater the dialecticism of the area, i.e. the more often students identified a particular area as a dialectal zone (for the colour spectrum used, see Gabmap: Blue-white colour spectrum; Nerbonne 2010: 482, etc.)

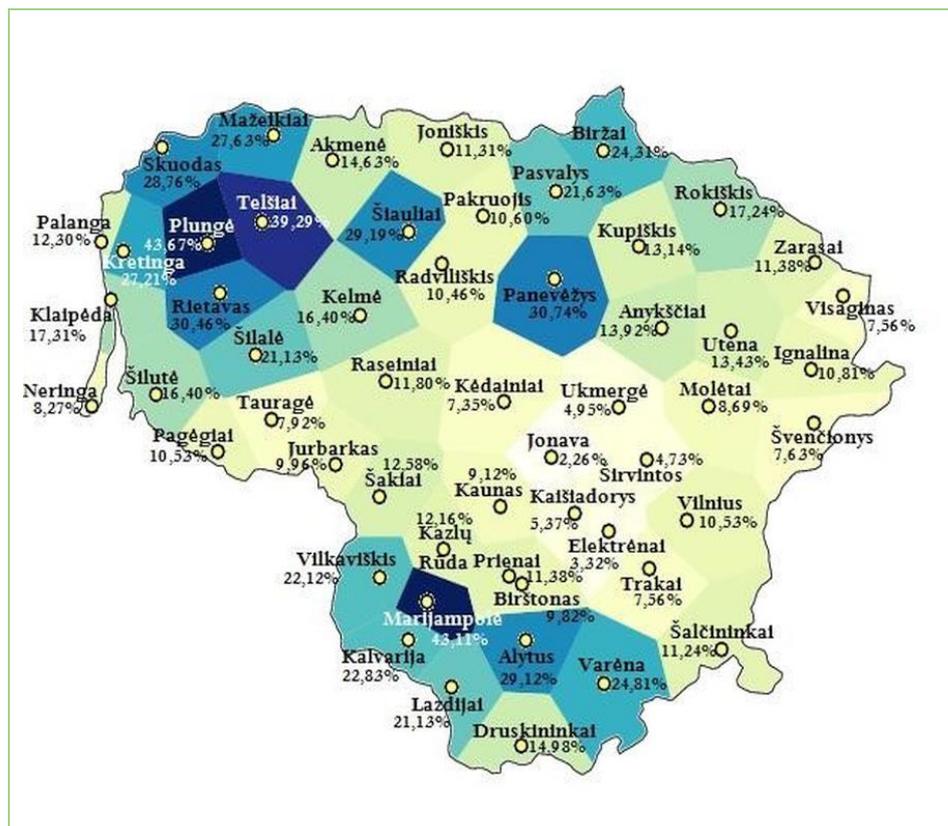


Figure 15. Prototypical dialectal zones of Lithuania<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The map provides a summary of the data from the VLKK-funded project *Regioninių variantų ir tariamosios bendrinės kalbos (kvazistandarto) sklaida XXI amžiaus pradžioje: perceptinis tyrimas* [Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-Standard Language at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perceptual Approach] (No. K2/2017/MTS-620000-223), (supervisor – prof. dr. Daiva Aliūkaitė).



also Čepaitienė 2018: 58–59; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 80–85)<sup>9</sup>. The results were then verified using other quantitative methods.

#### 4.3.1. Grouping of subjects according to similarities of dialectal features

The cluster analysis of linguistic data identified several statistically significant groups of Lithuanian dialects which are similar in their linguistic features (in other words, different dialects are identified). This analysis also identified the dialects which were transitional or distinctive, strong or weak, homogeneous or heterogeneous. This was done using the clustering algorithm, i.e. grouping the data in such way that the dialectal differences within the cluster would be as small as possible and the differences between separate clusters – as large as possible (Leinonen et al. 2016: 75–79; for more information about the method of cluster analysis see also Gabmap: Cluster analysis; Prokić, Nerbonne 2008: 153–172, Snoek 2014: 202, etc., see also Čepaitienė 2018: 58–59; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 80–85).

Research on the Lithuanian dialects has so far clustered two types of subjects: the respondents who are related to a certain site (for example, Čepaitienė 2018), and the respondents who are related to several sites (for example, Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 144–180; Aliūkaitė et al. 2017). These subjects were divided into groups according to the similarity of dialectal features, the degree of dialecticism, and the similarity to the Standard Language. The results were then presented on a cluster map or pseudo map and dendrograms (see Figures 17–20).

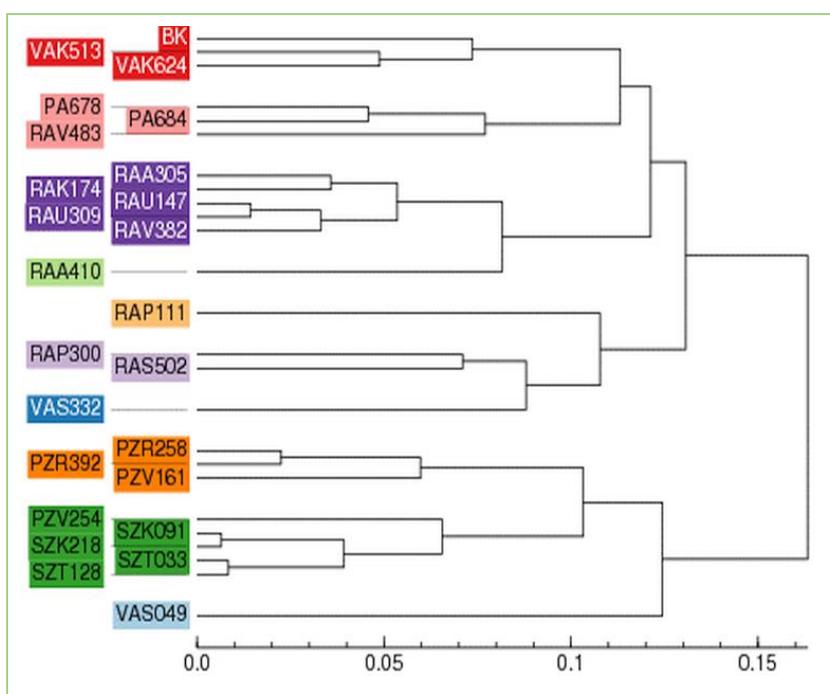
For example, after dividing all Lithuanian dialects into 10 groups, the cluster analysis revealed that the Žemaitian dialect is more homogeneous than the Aukštaitian dialect (see Figures 17 and 18). In the dendrogram, according to the similarity of dialectal features, the following Žemaitian LKA points were merged: first, Darbėnai (SZK091) and Endriejavas (SZK218), and second – Tirkšliai (SZT033) and Telšiai (SZT128). In the last step, two large groups of Aukštaitian and Žemaitian clusters were merged. Therefore, the difference between the two Lithuanian dialects is based on the quantitative analysis (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 80–85, etc.).

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<sup>9</sup> To date, the weighted average and ward methods of cluster analysis have been applied in research on Lithuanian dialects. For more details on their differences see Gabmap: Cluster analysis; Prokić, Nerbonne 2008: 153–172; Snoek 2014: 202; Leinonen et al. 2016: 75–79 et al.; they are also described in detail in the dialectometric research on Lithuanian dialects (Čepaitienė 2018: 58–59; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 80–85).



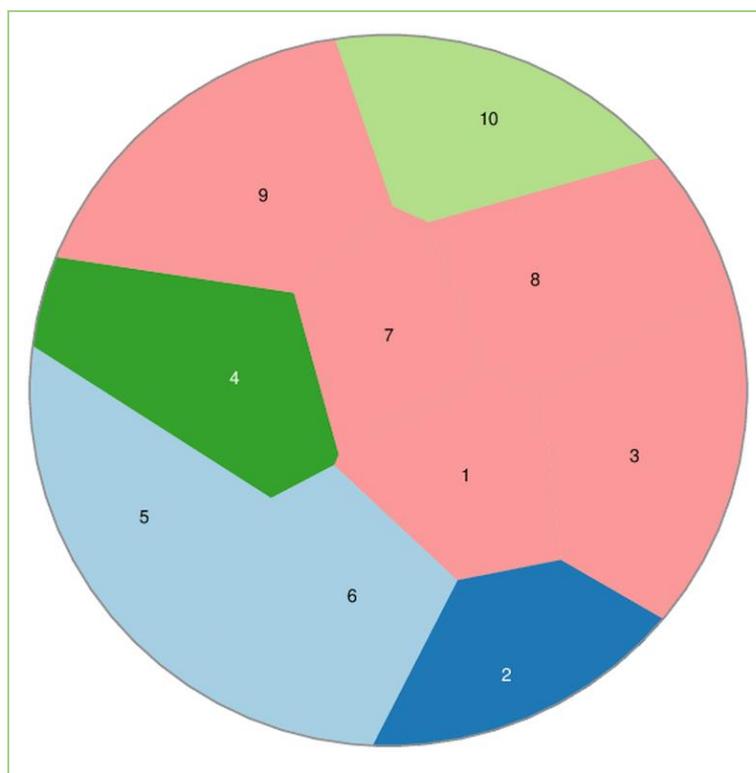
**Figure 17.** Clustering of LKA points according to the similarities and differences of dialectal features (number of clusters - 10, weighted average method), (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 83)



**Figure 18.** Dendrogram of merged clusters (number of clusters - 10, weighted average method), (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 83)

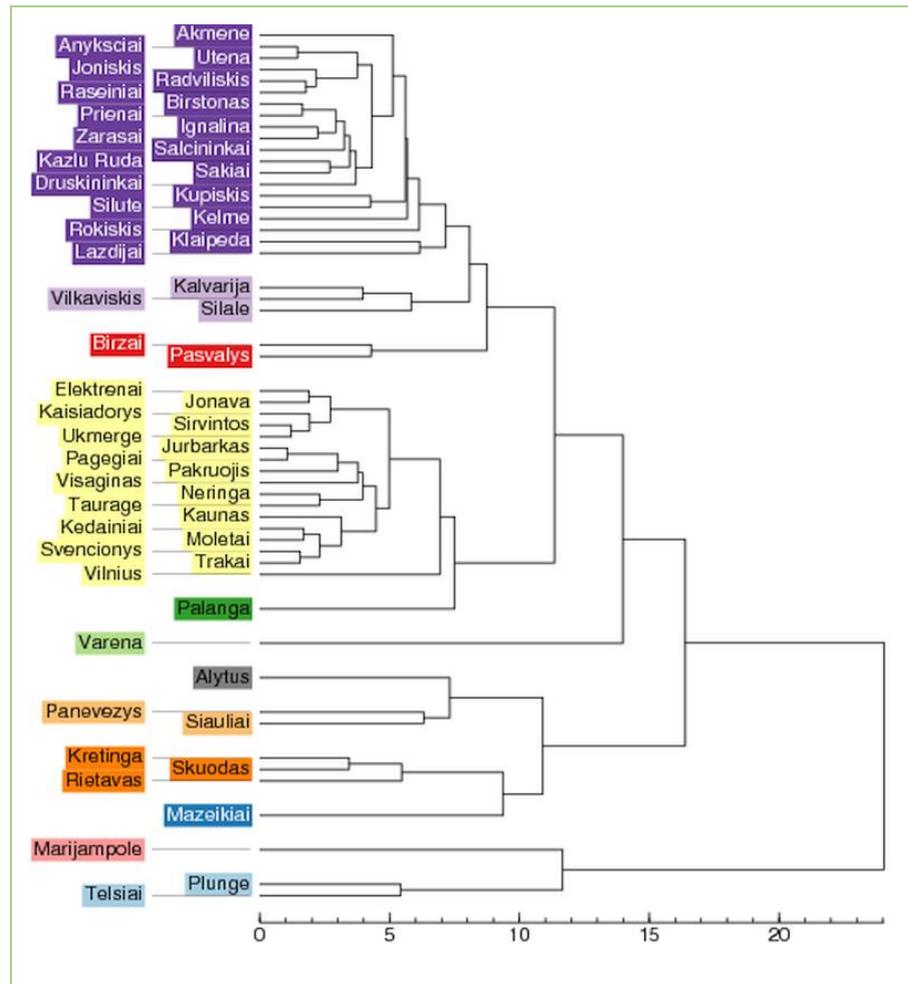
To quantify the clustering of the objects on linguistic basis only, the pseudo maps of cluster analysis on Lithuanian dialects were studied (see Čepaitienė 2018; Čepaitienė 2018a: 44–75; Čepaitienė 2019: 39–74; Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 144–180).

For example, a possible basis for the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect was highlighted after the clustering of objects in five groups (see Figures 19 and 20). It became clear that it consists of dialectically similar LKA points belonging to one cluster, but the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Utena, Kupiškis, Anykščiai, and Vilnius were different. This cluster was formed firstly by merging the most linguistically similar LKA points of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Utena, so this subdialect can be considered stronger. In sites forming separate groups, a more specific variant of the dialect is likely to be used (for more details, see Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 149–152).



**Figure 19.** Groups of Panevėžys LKA points according to their dialect similarities. Five clusters (Čepaitienė, Bakšienė 2020: 150)





**Figure 22.** Dendrogram of grouped sites according to the degree of dialecticism (weighted average method, 12 clusters), (Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 149)

For example, after grouping the data into 12 clusters, the most prototypical Lithuanian dialectal zones (Marijampolė, Plungė, Telsiai, Šiauliai and Panevėžys districts) and the areas with the lowest degree of dialecticism (the central and eastern parts of Lithuania) were determined (for more details see Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 147–150).

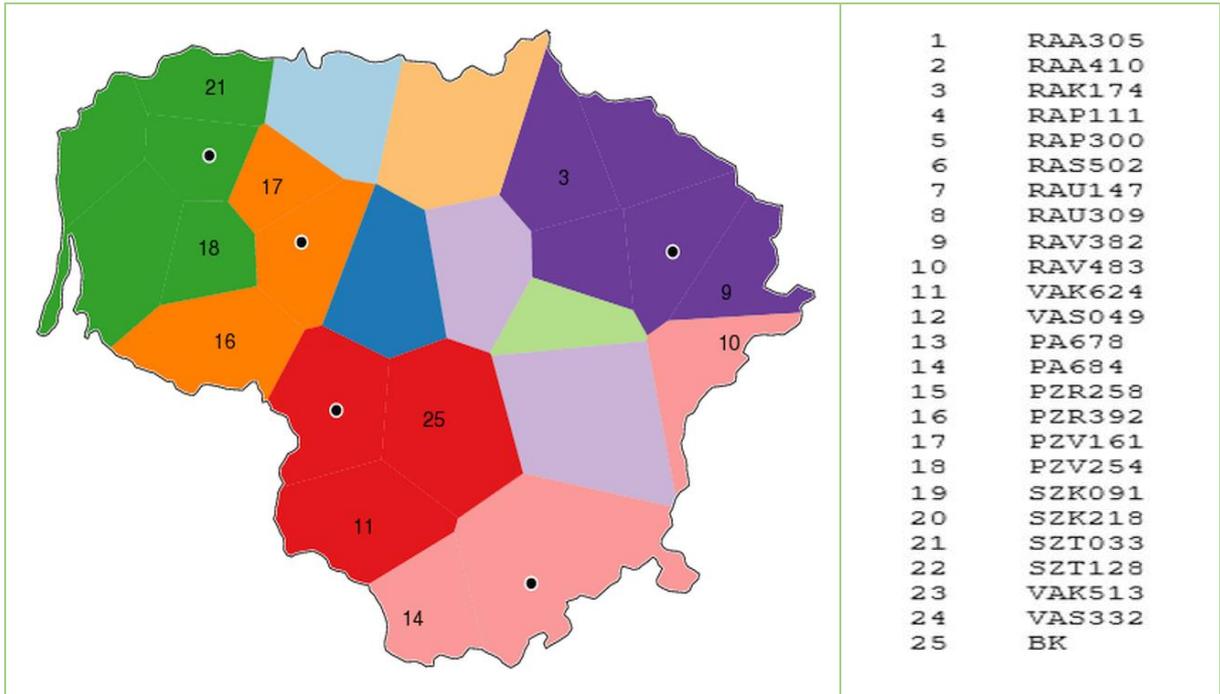
When evaluating the results obtained from the cluster analysis, it is important to bear in mind that this method is not completely stable due to some minor corrections of the empirical data and the chosen clustering technique. These factors affect the sizes of the distance matrix, which can lead to considerable changes in clustering, potentially making clusterisation unreliable. For example, if the objects are manually set to be grouped into 3 clusters, the web application Gabmap will only present 3 clusters, even though there could be more (or fewer) clusters to be added into the smaller or larger groups of similar objects. And if the data is clustered into more than 2 groups, the difference between, the second and the fourth clusters, for example, may not be clear (this information is not visible in the dendrograms, either as they only show the hierarchy). Therefore, reliability of the cluster analysis results should be verified

by using the additional tools of the web application Gabmap (see also Gabmap: Cluster analysis; Gabmap: Cluster Validation; Nerbonne et al. 2011: 81).

#### **4.3.2. Validation of the cluster analysis**

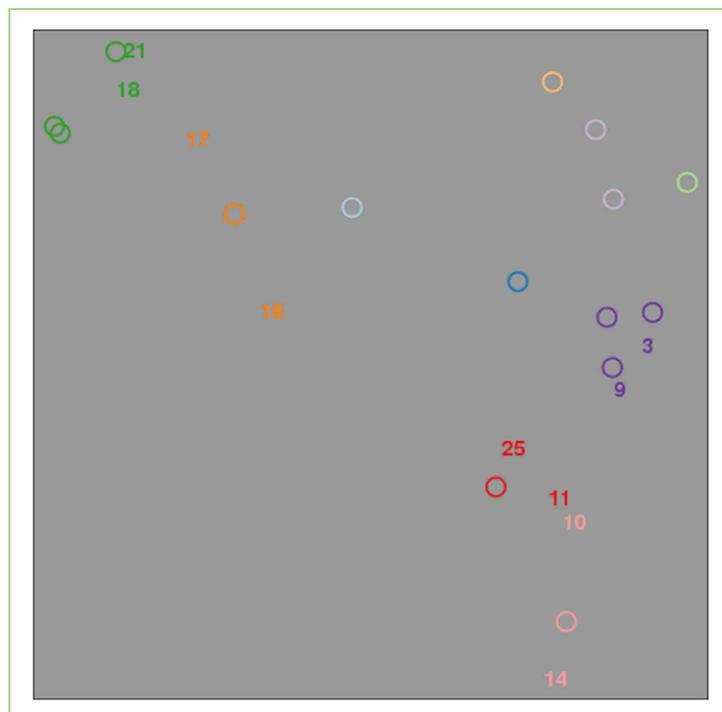
In order to validate the results of the cluster analysis and to refine the extent to which the objects formed a continuum, the clustering of the Lithuanian data was validated on the multidimensional scaling – MDS plot (see Figures 23–26), (for more details on this method, see Leinonen et al. 2016: 75–79; Prokić, Nerbonne 2008: 161–163; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 85–87). This also helped identify the distinctive dialect variants (for example, those used by non-native speakers), and to estimate the structure of the dialect groups. In addition, a statistical estimation was completed, i.e. the Rand index was calculated (for more details, see Prokić, Nerbonne 2008: 161–163).

For example, it can be seen in Figures 23–25 that half of the LKA points which comprise various clusters are linguistically distinct (see also the dendrogram in Figure 18). One of the clusters, according to the similarities of the dialectal features, consists of five LKA points: the Northern Žemaitian subdialect of Kretinga, the Northern Žemaitian subdialect of Telšiai, the Southern Žemaitian subdialect of Varniai. The Northern Žemaitian subdialect of Tirkšliai (SZT033) and the Southern Žemaitian subdialect of Laukuva (PZV254). However, the subdialects of Tirkšliai and Laukuva are the most linguistically distinct. The identified cases were studied more closely and a more detailed cluster analysis was performed (see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 85–87, etc.).



**Figure 23.** Clustering of LKA points according to the similarity of dialectal features and distinctive LKA points (number of clusters - 10, weighted average method), (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 86)

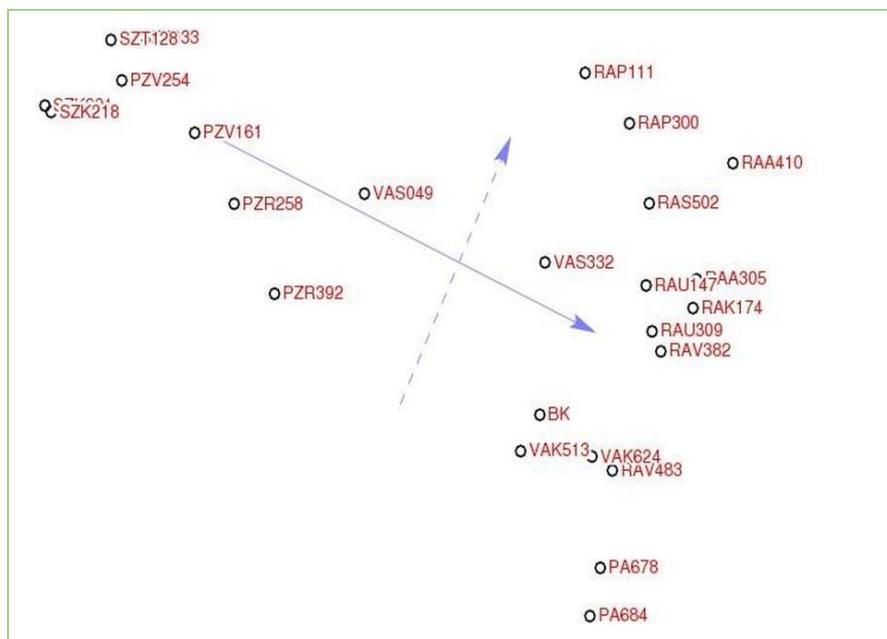
**Figure 24.** Meanings of numbers in cluster analysis map (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 86)



**Figure 25.** Clustering of LKA points on a multidimensional scaling – MDS plot according to the similarity of dialectal features and distinctive LKA points (number of clusters - 10, weighted average method), (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 86)

The two-dimensional scaling shows the location of the LKA points in the context of all research objects (see Figure 26). It also shows a clear distinction of between the Aukštaitian and

the Žemaitian LKA points, between the Western and Southern Aukštaitians as well as the obvious transition of the LKA points of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Šiauliai, etc. (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 85–87, etc.).



**Figure 26.** LKA points on a two-dimensional scaling according to the similarities of dialectal features (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 86)

The calculated value of the Rand index is 0.95. This shows that the distances separating the automatically-measured objects in the two-dimensional scaling correlate with the data of the general dialectal differences. The calculated value is close to 1, which means that the clusters grouped nearby are quite similar (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 87).

### 4.3.3. Differential dialectal features

The differential dialectal features (or cluster determinants), based on which the objects were divided into clusters, were assessed using the tools of the web application Gabmap (for more details, see Wieling, Nerbonne 2011: 700–715; Prokić et al. 2012: 72–80; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 59–60; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 88–92). This helped to not only identify the differential dialectal features but also observe how strong or weak these features were and whether they were distinctive or imperceptible. The tools were also instrumental in determining any variation of the dialectal features within the analysed group of dialects as well as any changes in the dialectal features.

For example, the data presented in Table 1 shows that the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Širvintos (RAS502) and Ramygala (RAP300) which are part of the same cluster, differ from other research areas by these dialectal features: pronunciation of the reduced short vowel *a*

(marked as [ɤ]) in the closed unstressed ending, a long pronunciation of the first component of falling diphthong and/or the pronunciation of palatalised consonants *s*, *r* before *e* type vowels, for example: [ˈsʲæːnɤs] ~ *senas* [old], [ˈrʲæːtɤs] ~ *retas* [rare], [ˈgʲɪrtɤs] ~ *girtas* [drunk].

The highest *Score* of these differential features is further supplemented by the low *Within scores*, indicating that the mentioned dialectal features are realised in the same way in the discussed area. However, these dialectal features can be called differential and representative only partially as the words illustrating them are pronounced quite similarly in the surrounding LKA points. This is indicated by the average *Between score* (for more details, see Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 88–92)

**Table 1.** Differential dialectal features (cluster determinants) of the cluster of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Širvintos (RAS502) and Panevėžys (RAP300), (selected number of clusters – 10, weighted average method), (Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 89)<sup>10</sup>

Score	Within score	Between score	Item
2.271760	-2.077031	0.194730	senas [old]
2.263051	-1.962253	0.300798	retas [rare]
2.069050	-1.734702	0.334349	girtas [drunk]
2.062947	-2.342170	-0.279223	rėkė [(s/he) screamed]

This quantitative analysis of the dialectal features shows that a high *Score* does not always indicate the differentiation of a dialectal feature in a cluster. For example, the narrowing and tensioning of the vowel *ė* in stressed stem and the pronunciation of the short vowel *e* instead of the unstressed vowel *ė* in open ending appear to be the representative differential features of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Širvintos (RAS502) and Ramygala (RAP300). The *Score* for the word *rėkė* [(he/she) screamed], which illustrates the mentioned dialectal feature, is high. And although it is pronounced in the same way in the two subdialects that form the same cluster (variation in the cluster is negative, cf. [ˈrʲɛːkʲɛ]), these features are also common in the surrounding LKA points (the *Between score* is also negative). The cluster consisting of two sites does not differ according to these dialectal features from the other LKA points forming other clusters. This case shows that the results obtained need to be critically reviewed.

<sup>10</sup> The column *Between score* indicates the differences between the selected cluster and the remaining objects. The higher the *Between score*, the more differential is the dialectal feature (the item) that in dialects forming the selected cluster is used. The *Within score* provides information on how much a particular feature varies in the selected cluster. The lower the *Within score* the more representative the differential feature. The *Score* shows the total difference between these two scores (*Between* – *Within score*), (Leinonen et al. 2016: 79–80; see also Čepaitienė 2018: 59–60; Mikulėnienė et al. 2019: 88).

The tables of cluster determinants provide other information in the Lithuanian perceptual research on the linguistic variability (see Table 2). For example, the analysis of cluster determinants shows the contribution of each research subject (i.e. students from control towns) to identifying two Lithuanian districts – Biržai and Pasvalys – as dialectal zones (see also Aliūkaitė et al. 2017).

**Table 2**<sup>11</sup>. The contribution of the respondents who identified Biržai and Pasvalys as a dialectal zone (weighted average method, 12 clusters), (see also Aliūkaitė et al. 2017: 149)<sup>12</sup>

Score	Within score	Between score	Item
1.541854	0.556522	2.098376	Biržai
1.347096	-1.060982	0.286114	Panevėžys
0.793469	-0.871003	-0.077534	Kupiškis
0.789145	-1.119385	-0.330240	Vilkaviškis
0.712596	-1.021341	-0.308745	Šiauliai
0.552586	-0.845016	-0.292430	Plungė
0.537136	-0.730763	-0.193627	Kretinga
0.513475	-0.827828	-0.314353	Ukmergė
0.357067	-0.596143	-0.239076	Varėna
0.296943	-0.486612	-0.189668	Mažeikiai

The data presented in Table 2 show that Biržai and Pasvalys, which form one cluster, were mostly distinguished as the dialectal zone in Biržai and Panevėžys (see also the results of the cluster analysis in Figures 21 and 22). Students from Mažeikiai and Varėna were least likely to consider Biržai and Pasvalys as dialectal zones.

<sup>11</sup> The table provides a summary of the data from the VLKK–funded project *Regioninių variantų ir tariamosios bendrinės kalbos (kvazistandarto) sklaida XXI amžiaus pradžioje: perceptinis tyrimas* [Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-Standard Language at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perceptual Approach] (No. K2/2017/MTS–620000–223), (supervisor – prof. dr. Daiva Aliūkaitė).

<sup>12</sup> In this type of research, the *Between score* shows the differences between the selected cluster and the remaining research area. The higher the score, the higher the degree of dialecticism was fixed in one of the control towns. The *Within score* provides information on how much the degree of dialecticism varies in the selected cluster, i.e. how much the responses of students in one particular control town vary. The lower the score, the more representative the group of clusters made up of districts in terms of dialecticism. The *Score* shows the total difference between the two scores (*Between – Within score*).

The more detailed the clustering, the more exact the differential features can be observed in the research on the Lithuanian dialects. In other words, when the analysed cluster was formed of fewer objects, more exact differential features were calculated by the web application Gabmap.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The dialectometric research on the Lithuanian dialects, which is attributed to the Groningen School of Dialectometry and used the web application Gabmap, has highlighted many of the possibilities and advantages of the quantitative methods for research on the Lithuanian dialects:

1. Not only groups of dialects can be identified, but also their structure, the hierarchy of the dialects within the group as well as which dialects are homogeneous or heterogeneous, strong or weak, distinctive, imperceptible or transitional, or are used by the non-native respondents.

2. Not only the differential features of the dialects are identified but also the strong and weak, distinctive and imperceptible dialectal features, variation and change of the dialectal features.

3. Dialectometric analysis of both large (the total area of the Lithuanian dialects or one subdialect) and small (individual respondents or one sub-subdialect) samples of empirical data is statistically significant; the results of a small sample are statistically significant and can be summarised for the whole subdialect or sub-subdialect.

4. Dialectometric methods are universal in terms of research topics: it is possible to quantitatively estimate the qualitative classification of traditional dialects, the strongest dialectal features of the subdialect, the change of modern dialects, the formation of new dialectal derivations, the perceptual linguistic variability, etc.

5. In perceptual research on the Lithuanian variability, the dialectometric methods can be used to highlight and illustrate the prototypical zones of the dialectal and the Standard Language, to find the statistically significant measure of the degree of dialecticism, and to calculate the perception of each respondent of the language variability.

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## THE NARRATIVE OF A NAÏVE ESTIMATOR OR THE SPREAD OF PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN LITHUANIAN DIALECT RESEARCH

*PAPRASTOJO KALBOS BENDRUOMENĖS NARIO NARATYVAS ARBA PERCEPTYVIOSIOS DIALEKTOLOGIJOS SKLAIDA LIETUVIŲ TARMĖTYROJE*

### Abstract

The aim of the article is to briefly introduce the approach of the perceptual dialectology (PD) paradigm and to present a few sample results of PD research carried out in Lithuania. The purpose of this research was to reveal the significance of the *view from the inside* perspective in the research of the regional language variation, as well as the correlation and relationship with the results of the *view from the outside* research.

The tradition of PD research in Lithuania started at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, the holistic research embracing both the conceptualisation of language variants and the perception of marked text-stimuli has been carried out only for the last 5–8 years.

The empirical basis for the analytical discourse developed in the paper was constructed from the results of the project *The Position of Standard Language in the Mental Map of the Lithuanian Language*, which investigated the geolinguistic competence of the ordinary members of the language community, and the project *Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-standard Language at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Perceptual Approach (Perceptual Categorisation of Variants)*<sup>1</sup>, the research object of which is the categorisation of perceptual variants, i.e. how the attributes of new dialect formations, their linguistic value and features are related to the image of the quasi-standard language and its spread within society.

**KEYWORDS:** perceptual dialectology; *view from the inside*; *view from the outside*; regional variation.

### Anotacija

Šiame straipsnyje siekiama glaustai pristatyti perceptyvosios dialektologijos paradigmą ir pateikti kelių perceptyvosios dialektologijos tyrimų, vykdytų Lietuvoje, rezultatų pavyzdžius. Taip siekiama atskleisti vadinamojo *požiūrio iš vidaus* vertę regioninio kalbos variantiškumo tyrimuose, taip pat parodyti tokio požiūrio sąsajas ir santykį su *požiūrio iš išorės* tyrimų rezultatais.

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<sup>1</sup> It should be stressed that these projects were implemented according to the Research Programme for the Development of Standard Lithuanian, Its Dialects and Other Varieties (2011–2020).

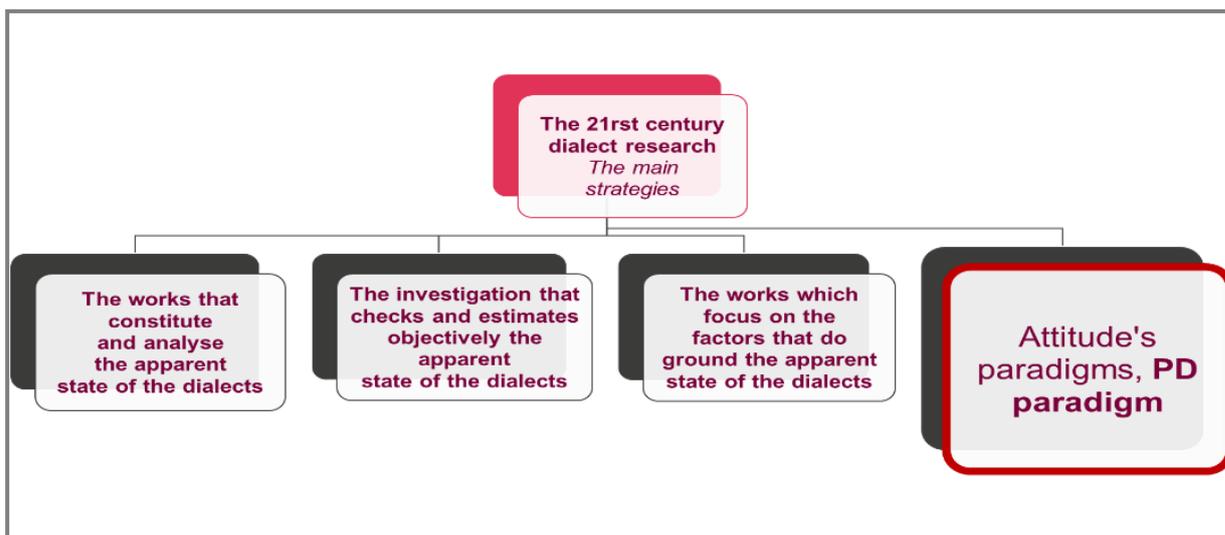
Perceptyviosios dialektologijos (PD) tyrimų tradicija Lietuvoje formuojama nuo XXI amžiaus pradžios, tačiau holistiniai tyrimai, aprėpiantys ir kalbos variantų konceptualizaciją, ir žymėtųjų tekstų-stimulų percepciją, vykdomi tik 5–8 metų.

Straipsnyje plėtojamo analitinio diskurso empirinis pagrindas – dviejų mokslinių projektų rezultatai. Pirmuoju projektu „Bendrinės kalbos vieta mentaliniame lietuvių kalbos žemėlapyje“ siekta ištirti geolingvistinę paprastųjų kalbos bendruomenės narių kompetenciją. Antrojo projekto „Regioninių variantų ir tariamosios bendrinės kalbos (kvazistandarto) sklaida XXI amžiaus pradžioje: perceptinis tyrimas“ objektas – perceptinė variantų kategorizacija, t. y. taigi siekiama aiškintis, kaip naujųjų tarminių darinių požymiai ir jų kalbinė vertė yra susiję su bendrinės kalbos ir kvazistandarto vaizdiniais ir jų paplitimu visuomenėje.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** perceptyvioji dialektologija; *požiūris iš vidaus*; *požiūris iš išorės*; regioninis variantiškumas.

### Introduction

It should be noted that the model of Lithuanian dialectology is not homogeneous. Primarily, there is a distinction between the traditional and the modern dialectology (see also Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014a: 29–47), based on both ideology and methodology, as well as the prioritisation of different theoretical principles. Another distinction in dialectological paradigms is related to the choice of perspective applied for the object of dialectology (i.e. language variation): 1) to inventorise and evaluate language variation by having *a view from the outside*, or 2) to inventorise and evaluate language variation by having *a view from the inside*. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century dialect research of the first perspective (*a view from the outside*) is best represented by three main strategies: the works that constitute and analyse the apparent state of the dialects (analysis within the field of linguistic geography and structural linguistics); the investigation that checks and estimates objectively the apparent state of the dialects (following the tradition of instrumental research); the works which focus on the factors that do ground the apparent state of the dialects (see Aliūkaitė 2008a: 1). Dialect research that applies the second type of perspective, i.e. taking *a view from the inside*, is related to the works of the so-called language attitude sociolinguistics (e.g. Ramonienė 2010, 2013), as well as research of the perceptual dialectology paradigm. It can be stated that language attitude sociolinguistics and perceptual dialectology research constitute the fourth group of dialect research (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Dialectological research

Considering the last five years in the field of dialectology, the universal multimodal dialectological research model of regional variation (see Mikulėnienė 2020) must be mentioned as well.

The aim of the article is to briefly introduce the approach of the perceptual dialectology paradigm and to present a few sample results of the perceptual dialectology research carried out in Lithuania. The purpose of this research was to reveal the significance of the *view from the inside* perspective in the research of regional language variation, as well as the correlation and relationship with the results of the *view from the outside* research.

### **1. The principles of Perceptual dialectology and the beginning of such research in Lithuania**

Perceptual dialectology (PD) focuses on the perception and estimation of the different variants of the language. The methodological approaches identified by Dennis R. Preston (e.g. Preston 1989; 1999a; 1999b; 2002) regarding the different perception and estimation of the language - firstly, the dialectal speech - were successfully applied in Japan, Hungary, Italy, France, Germany, Netherlands, Turkey and other countries. In Lithuania, however, a consistent and methodologically-defined perceptual tradition in the field of dialectology was developed only at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

From the chronological point of view, two groups involved in perceptual research should be distinguished: (1) any explorations carried out before 1989, when Dennis R. Preston's study *Perceptual Dialectology* appeared and (2) the contemporary investigations based more or less consistently on the principles and strategies identified by the scholar. Although the term of perceptual dialectology came into use not earlier than 1981 (Preston 1981), the research including

the opinions of naïve speakers as appraisers had been carried out before. Among the first practical investigators of dialects from the perspective of perceptual dialectology was the Dutch scholar Antonius A. Weijnen who defined distinction of subjective boundaries of the dialect as the feeling of subjective relation between the dialects and separated it from the objective distinction of the dialectal features (see Preston 1999a: xxvi–xxix). The scholar carried out his perceptual analysis on the basis of the so called *little-arrow method*. Antonius A. Weijnen's *little-arrow method* is very important in the tradition of perceptual dialectology. One of the recent strategies used in perceptual analysis – the so-called draw-a-map-strategy (Preston 1999a) – is functionally related to the *little-arrow method* (see Aliūkaitė 2007a: 14–16).

Furthermore, the Japanese linguistic school should be introduced. The methodology developed by its representatives differs from that used by the Western European (mainly, Dutch) scholars. The latter group of experts would ask their respondents to mark the regions where a similar speech to that of their native locality was used. The Japanese scholars (see Sibata 1999; Preston 1989), on the other hand, asked the respondents to compare the speech variant of their native region to other dialects by focusing on their differences rather than similarities, i.e. whether they *do not differ*; *differ a little bit*; *differ considerably*; or are *non-perceived*.

Any perceptual analysis conducted from 1989 onwards has been based on the following five principles outlined by Dennis R. Preston: “draw-a-map”, “degree of difference”, “correct” and “pleasant”, “dialect identification” and “qualitative data” (see Preston 1999a: xxiii–xl; Preston 2018: 177–203).

As mentioned previously, the tradition of PD research in Lithuania has been developed since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however the holistic research embracing both the conceptualisation of language variants and perception of marked text-stimuli has been carried out only for the last 5–8 years.

Some of the first studies that integrated the principles of PD were conducted in 2005–2008. During that period the methodological principles were introduced together with discussing the theoretical ideas of perceptual dialectology (e.g. Aliūkaitė 2007b; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c). Significantly, even during these early stages conclusions were drawn that the strategies offered by PD allow for the formation of the generalised image of the dialectal discourse and identification of perceptual isoglosses that mark the boundaries of the dialect continuum in the consciousness of naïve speakers and appraisers. The subjective differences between dialectal discourse and the Standard Language demonstrate the sociocultural connotation. Consider: A) From the point of view of the youngest generation, place and origin are not the main associates of the dialect user; B) The perceptual isoglosses are corrected in the mental map of the dialects by the sociocultural information; and so on (e.g. Aliūkaitė 2008b; 2009). That was the

beginning of the PD paradigm in Lithuania. And over the past 5–8 years PD principles have been integrated into language variation studies consistently (e.g. Geržotaitė 2016: 121–142; 2018: 76–101; 2019a: 1–18; 2019b: 1–25; 2019c: 175–198; Geržotaitė, Čepaitienė 2016: 84–100; Merkytė-Švarcienė 2016: 139–15; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė, Geržotaitė 2017; etc.).

## **2. The latest PD research in Lithuania: some insights on hand-drawn maps and dialect perceptions**

### **2.1. The empirical basis of findings**

The paper aims at presenting the PD-based research performed in 2014–2019, i.e. to show the results of the project *The Position of Standard Language in the Mental Map of the Lithuanian Language*, which investigated the geolinguistic competence of the ordinary members of the language community (i.e. naïve estimators), and the project *Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-standard Language at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perceptual Approach (Perceptual Categorisation of Variants)*<sup>2</sup>, the research object of which is the categorisation of perceptual variants, i.e. how the attributes of new dialect formations, their linguistic value and features are related to the image of the quasi-standard language and its spread within the society.

We may say that the technique of PD allows to (re)construct the narrative of the naïve estimator, i.e. *emic* narrative. The distinction between the *etic* and *emic* approaches was proposed by Kenneth Pike in 1954. He stressed that they are the “two basic standpoints from which a human observer can describe human behavior, each of them valuable for certain specific purposes” (Pike 1954: 8, cited in Jardine 2004: 263). The *etic* and *emic*, i.e. the *view from the outside* and the *view from the inside* perspectives, not only broadened the linguistic discourse but also paved methodological paths allowing to approach an object from different perspectives. As James Lett noted: „*Etic* constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers.” (Lett 1990: 130–131). It can, therefore, be outlined that all three types of dialectological research (see Figure 1) represent the object (i.e. regional language variation) that has been conceptualised and characterised by the researcher.

According to James Lett: “*Emic* constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviors are being studied”

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<sup>2</sup> It should be stressed that these projects were implemented according to the Research Programme for the Development of Standard Lithuanian, Its Dialects and Other Varieties (2011–2020).

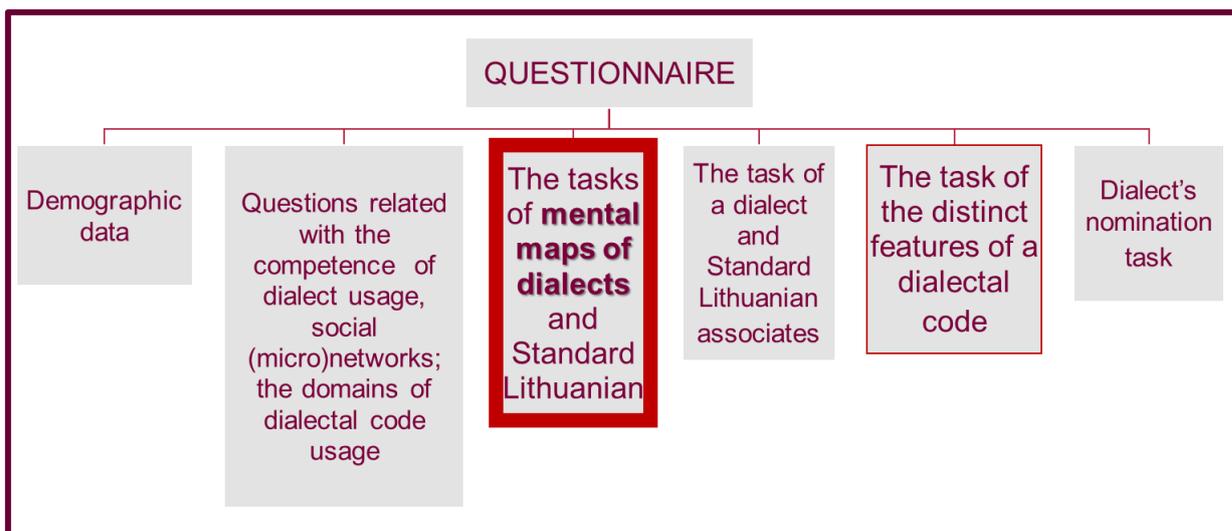
(Lett 1990: 130). The PD paradigm, resting upon the opinion, the images, and the standpoints on language reality held by the naïve estimator, represents the *emic* narrative.

The data from the afore-mentioned projects make the empirical basis for discussion. The main objective of the first project ('The Position of Standard Language in the Mental Map of the Lithuanian Language') was to investigate the geolinguistic competence of the ordinary members of the language community. *The geolinguistic competence* is understood as knowledge and skills allowing to recognise the *language variant* and relate it to a geographical area (i.e. territorial variables), a social area (i.e. social variables) and a cultural area (i.e. cultural dimensions) (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016b: 92). The research on geolinguistic competence was carried out in 10 localities of Lithuania. The most important criterion for selection of locations in the regions of Lithuania for this analysis is the dialectal (un)markedness of the location:

- (3 points) – Mažeikiai, Plungė, Kretinga (Žemaitian (also known as Samogitian) regiolect);
- (1) – Šiauliai (North-Western Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (1) – Vilkaviškis (South-Western Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (2) – Kupiškis, Ukmergė (the border zones of Eastern and Western Aukštaitian regiolects);
- (2) – Panevėžys, Biržai (Western East Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (1) – Varėna (Southern Aukštaitian regiolect).

The research on the geolinguistic competence involved 1,415 pupils. The project used a questionnaire comprised of:

- (1) questions devoted to demographic data;
- (2) questions on dialect usage, dialect domains;
- (3) tasks involving two hand-drawn maps – *dialectal code areas and Standard Language areas*;
- (4) tasks involving dialectal code and Standard Language associates;
- (5) tasks involving the distinct features of dialectal codes;
- (6) tasks involving dialect nominations (see Figure 2).



**Figure 2.** The Elements of the Questionnaire (1<sup>st</sup> Project)

The aim of the second project (*'Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-standard Language at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perceptual Approach (Perceptual Categorisation of Variants)'*) is to analyse the perceptual competence of ordinary members of the language community by applying the principles of perceptual dialectology. The object of the research is perceptual categorisation of variants, i.e. how attributes of new dialectal structures, their linguistic value and features are related to the image of the quasi-standard language and its spread in the society. The study was carried out in 22 locations. Some of the points are the same as in the first project with several new ones added. The study involves towns and locations which fall within the variant zone formed (or still under formation) on the basis of a traditional dialect:

- (3 points) – Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda;
- (5) – Mažeikiai, Skuodas, Plungė, Telšiai, Kretinga (Žemaitian regiolect);
- (2) – Šiauliai, Joniškis (North-Western Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (3) – Marijampolė, Šakiai Jurbarkas (South-Western Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (3) – Panevėžys, Pasvalys, Biržai (Western East Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (3) – Utena, Rokiškis, Ukmergė (East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect);
- (3) – Alytus, Lazdijai, Varėna (Southern Aukštaitian regiolect).

The research on the perceptual competence involved 1,064 pupils.

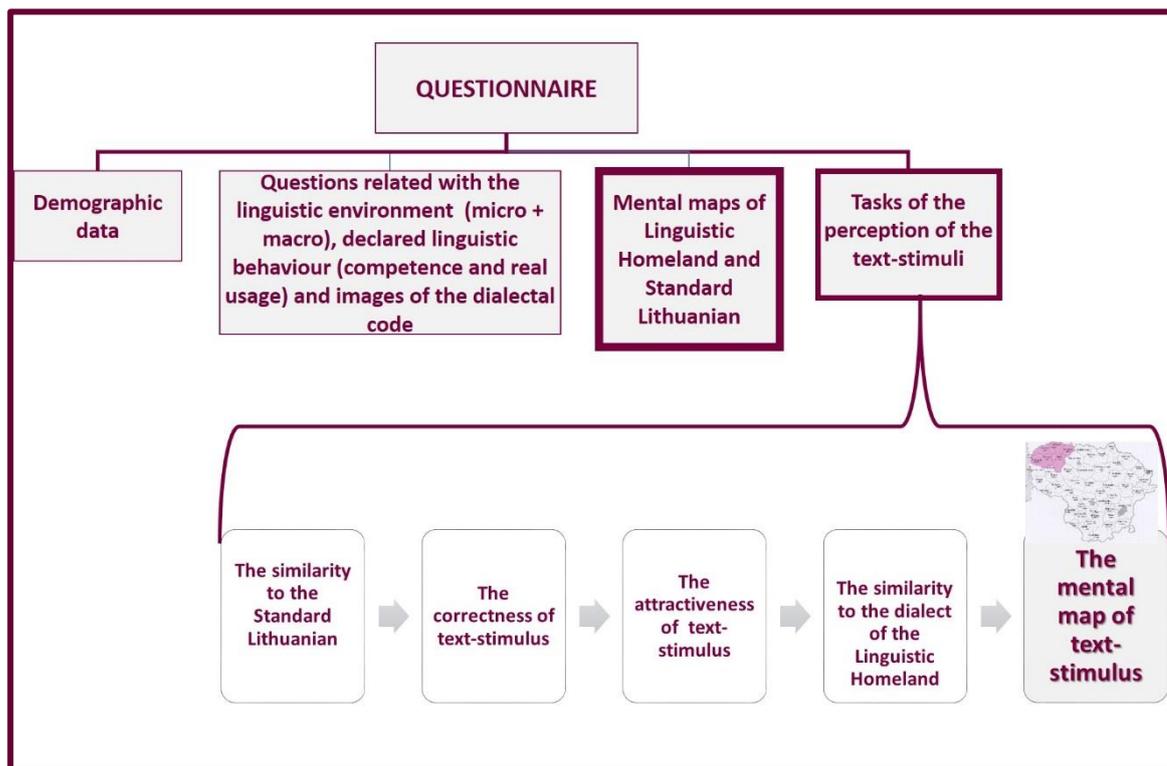
The project used a questionnaire comprised of:

(1) questions devoted to demographic data;

(2) questions on the respondents' linguistic environment, declared linguistic behaviour and images of the dialectal code (e.g., who the dialect can be used to talk to, when the dialect can be used, where the dialect is used, etc.);

(3) tasks involving two hand-drawn maps – *linguistic homeland areas* and *Standard Language areas*. The task on localisation of the Standard Language (the second map) is related to the research object, i.e. perceptual categorisation of variations. The data obtained using this task correlates with the results of the maps of the text-stimuli task, i.e. it provides a possibility to contrast a priori and text-stimuli based images;

(4) tasks of the perception of the text-stimuli (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** The Elements of the Questionnaire (2<sup>nd</sup> Project)

To reach the aim of this project (to analyse the perceptual competence of ordinary members of the language community) the main task is to evaluate the linguistic stimuli, i.e. text-stimuli. To evaluate the text-stimuli four tasks, corresponding to the PD paradigm, were used. The dimensions of similarity vs. dissimilarity, regularity vs. irregularity (correctness vs. incorrectness) are complemented by estimates of attractiveness vs. unattractiveness of the text-stimuli. The evaluation of the regularity and attractiveness of variations is not only related to the PD model introduced by Dennis R. Preston, but also to the distinction between the intellectual and emotional evaluation proposed by Fumio Inoue (1999: 148–149). The images of the variations based on the data of regularity, attractiveness, and similarity (dissimilarity) of the text-stimuli to the standard language and the linguistic homeland are specified by the visualised information in the hand-drawn maps, i.e. marking on the map the region where the text-stimulus can be heard.

The corpus of text-stimuli was formed on the basis of the main criterion, i.e. to identify the attributes of new dialectal structures (geolects, regiolects) which determine (or can determine) the images of the quasi-standard language (i.e. false images of the Standard Language).

Therefore, firstly, a corpus of eight text-stimuli was compiled covering 14–19 seconds of spontaneous speech fragments representing variants of the (geolect and) regiolect zones:

text-stimulus A – for Southern Aukštaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus B – for Žemaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus C – for North-Western Aukštaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus D – for Southern Aukštaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus E – for Žemaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus F – for Western East Aukštaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus G – for South-Western Aukštaitian regiolect;

text-stimulus H – for East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect.

The data obtained during these projects makes it possible to develop a heterogeneous discourse of PD and sociolinguistics in particular (i.e. Geržotaitė 2016: 121–142; Merkytė-Švarcienė 2016: 139–154; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė, Geržotaitė 2017; etc.). It must be highlighted that by focusing on the introduction of the perceptual dialectology paradigm approach, the article does not thoroughly present the results of the afore-mentioned research, since that is an object for present and future scientific works. In this paper, the PD research data and the sample results, as well as any case studies are used to substantiate the principal value of the PD paradigm research for the field of dialectology in general. The data of hand-drawn maps are particularly important for this paper.

## **2.2. Some insights on hand-drawn maps and dialect perceptions**

From the perspective of dialect identity, half of the respondents were identified as marked members of a language community in the first project. 56 per cent of the respondents claimed to have competence in a certain dialect and 48 per cent claimed to actually use it. The average score representing the respondents' declared frequency of dialect usage is 4.36 points out of 7. The data representing the dialectal competence and code usage is very similar to the data obtained from the respondents of the second project: 55 per cent claimed to have competence in a dialect and 47 per cent asserted that they used the dialect. The average score representing the respondents' declared frequency of dialect usage is 4.35 points out of 7. It is beneficial to briefly introduce the types of images related to dialectal codes, standard language, and the linguistic homeland which are reflected in the hand-drawn maps of the respondents.

The participants of both the first and the second PD research established an image reflecting that the Standard Language is a language variant localised in the largest towns (see Figure 4). 65.65 per cent of the respondents from the first project localised the Standard Language in Vilnius; 57.10 per cent of all the participants marked the zone of Kaunas in the hand-drawn map. The data from the hand-drawn maps of the second project enhances the sustainability of the urban image: Vilnius was included in 74.06 per cent of the hand-drawn maps produced by the respondents, while Kaunas was marked in 69.08 per cent of the (hand-drawn) maps.



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Vlkv\_1(1)\_M15<sup>3</sup>



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Mrj\_M02

**Figure 4.** Hand-drawn maps of Standard Lithuanian (1)

Based on the data extracted from both projects, it can be assumed that there is a favourable image of a linguistic homeland functioning in the *emic* narrative. Respondents from different locations are prone to localising the Standard Language in the linguistic homeland area as well (see Figure 5). From the *etic* perspective, such linguocentric image can be interpreted in several ways: a) it may be an indication of the respondent's efforts to add value to his/her linguistic homeland; b) it may be a disclosure of the respondent's lack of perceptual competence; c) it may be a reflection of an objective current situation, indicating the formation of regional standards.

<sup>3</sup> In the provided examples of data supplied by the respondents, the following abbreviations referring to the points are used: Vilkaviškis – Vlkv, Marijampolė – Mrj, Jurbarkas – Jrb, Mažeikiai – Mžk, Panevėžys – Pn, Klaipėda – Klp, Plungė – Pln, Varėna – Vrn, Biržai – Brž, Ukmergė – Ukm, Kretinga – Krtn; the gender of the respondent and the list number of the questionnaire are included as well. For example, Mžk\_1(3)\_V08 – a respondent from Mažeikiai, first point, 3rd group, questionnaire in the group is listed at the 8<sup>th</sup> position.



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Mžk\_1(3)\_V08



Example of hand-drawn map from the second project: Jrb\_V17

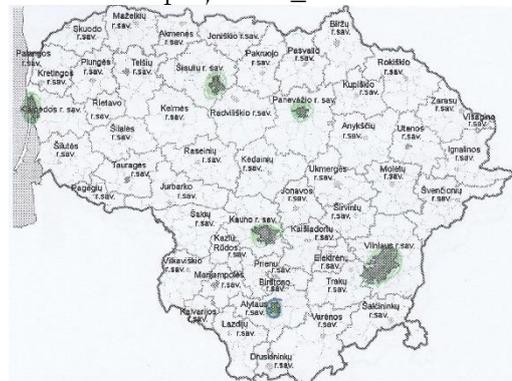
**Figure 5.** Hand-drawn maps of Standard Lithuanian (2)

Considering the *etic* narrative, significant visual information is disclosed from the hand-drawn maps in which the respondents localised the Standard Language in regiolect centres as well. The visualisation of such images in hand-drawn maps has certain conceptual ties with the insights proposed by researchers in relation to the regional standard. PD data indicates that the naïve estimator is also aware of differences between the variants and is able to make a distinction between the more discernible and the less discernible dialects. Moreover, the naïve estimator is likely to identify the variants which are less marked as Standard Language. Undoubtedly, looking from the *etic* perspective, such data requires critical evaluation. Bearing in mind that the urban centre of a region has a positive connotation, acting as a kind of substitute for larger cities, it is possible that its identification (and the identification of the larger towns as well) with Standard Language in the naïve estimators' hand-drawn maps may not have any actual linguistic basis. Rather it shows a sociocultural tie between the location in the region and the Standard Language because of the higher value of the urban centre in that region. However, identification of such tendencies in both PD projects demonstrates the versatility of the image (see Figure 6).



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project:  
Pn\_1\_M12

Example of hand-drawn map from the second project:  
Kl\_M11



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project:  
Pln\_1(3)\_M15

Example of hand-drawn map from the second project:  
Vrn\_V03

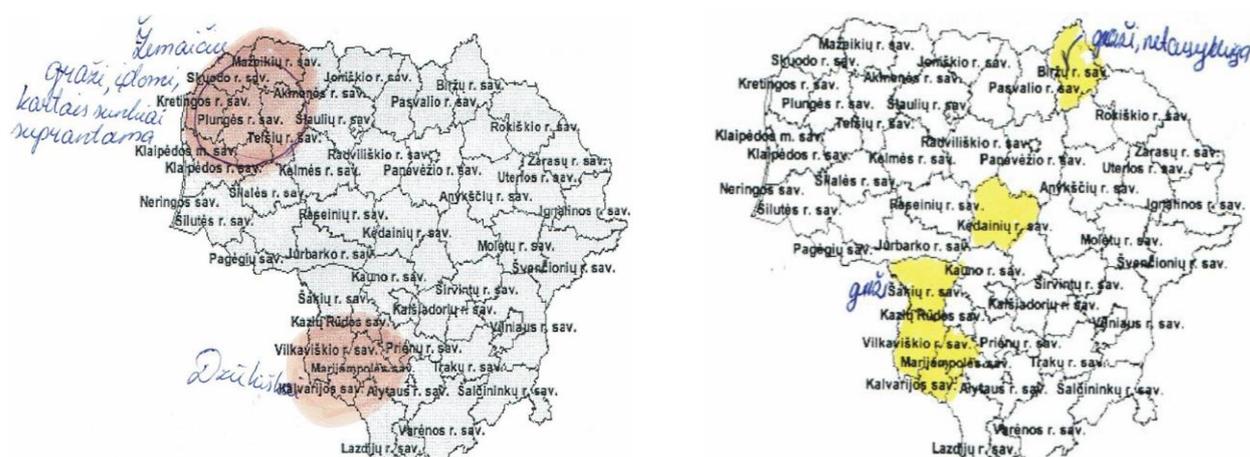
**Figure 6.** Hand-drawn maps of Standard Lithuanian (3)

The *view from the inside* research reveals that naïve estimators have different assessments of regions and localities. The hand-drawn maps of participants from both PD projects have revealed that some localities are associated with dialect far more frequently. This observation is substantiated by the mental maps of the first project, in which participants have marked areas viewed by them as having dialectal codes. The observation is also supported by the text-stimuli localisations in the hand-drawn maps of the second project.

Furthermore, in both projects the hand-drawn maps which reflect the respondents' perception of dialect expose the principles based on which the naïve estimator identifies the dialectal and non-dialectal characteristics. In other words, the decisions whether or not to associate the linguistic homeland with dialectal code areas in the case of the respondents from the first project, and the decision of the participants from the second project to localise the most or the least marked text-stimuli in the linguistic homeland based on their estimations

reveal the naïve estimators' images of the linguistic homeland and the relationship that they have with it.

It can be argued that the data of the PD analysis reveals that respondents from certain regions demonstrate greater loyalty for the dialectal code by acknowledging the existence of the dialect in their linguistic homeland (see Figure 7).



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Mžk\_1(2)\_M17

Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Brž\_2(4)\_M26

**Figure 7.** Hand-drawn maps of dialectal code areas (1)

For various reasons, the relationship between the naïve estimators and the code used in their linguistic homeland, as shown by the hand-drawn maps, can be considered as useful data for the *etic* (i.e. *view from the outside*) perspective as well. As an example, in each instance when the naïve estimators *ignore* dialectal markedness in the hand-drawn maps, even though it has been examined and acknowledged based on research of the *etic* paradigm, the question for analysis that can be raised is whether this is a case of linguistic insecurity zone (see Labov 2006 (1966): 319). Certainly, the respondents' perceptual competence should be critically evaluated as well. Another possible reason is a dialectal code functioning in the linguistic homeland that does not contain relevant features; therefore, the naïve estimator does not mark the linguistic homeland in the hand-drawn map.

For instance, in the *etic* narratives the geolect of Ukmergė is evaluated as a transitional geolect. Therefore, an assumption can be made that the naïve estimator Ukm\_1(3)\_M02 is not capable of identifying the dialectal code in the locality. The respondent Krtn\_1(2)\_M02 eliminates the areal of Kretinga from the dialectal zone, likely because of the dialectal codes in the surrounding localities (see Figure 8). It is evident that such data must be critically evaluated from the *etic* perspective together with the data gathered using direct methods.



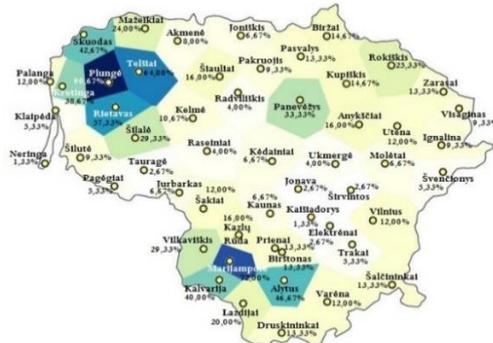
Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Ukm\_1(3)\_M02



Example of hand-drawn map from the first project: Krtn\_1(2)\_M02

**Figure 8.** Hand-drawn maps of dialectal code areas (2)

As mentioned above, the dialect maps of the first project and the text-stimuli localisation maps of the second project provide information for the developers of the *etic* dialectological discourse as well. The prototypical dialect zones identified during the first project essentially correlate with the information identified by researchers during the direct method research concerning vital dialectal zones (geolects and regiolects) (see Figure 9).



Data from the first project: *Prototypical dialect zones of respondents from Plungė*



Data from the first project: *Prototypical dialect zones of respondents from Panevėžys*

**Figure 9.** Prototypical dialect zones<sup>4</sup>

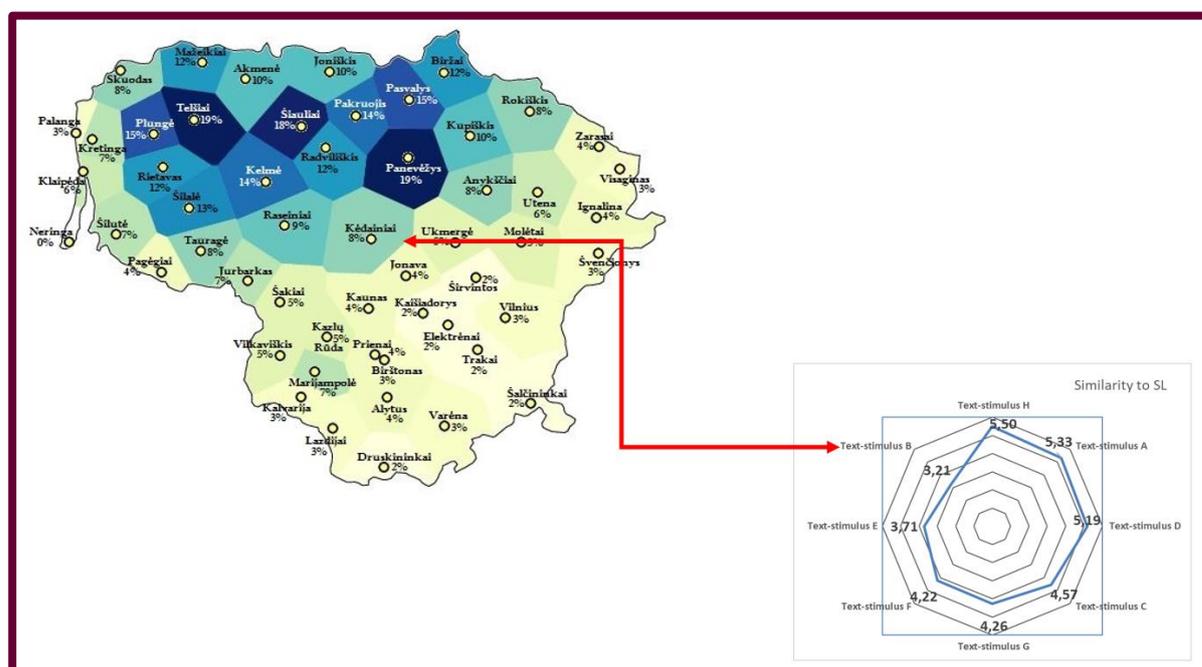
The data concerning the perception of the text-stimuli in the second project and the localisation tendencies of these text-stimuli in the hand-drawn maps reiterate the observation on the coherence between the dialectal vs non-dialectal codes and localities.

It is evident that the text-stimuli, which are the least similar to the Standard Language and the least correct (regular)<sup>5</sup>, are localised in zones which have been acknowledged in *etic*

<sup>4</sup> The darker the colour on the maps, the more discernable the dialect of the locality is according to the respondents, i.e. it has been marked by the participants on the hand-drawn maps as a dialect zone more frequently than others. The maps have been developed by Dr Agnė Čepaitienė, a participant of the projects.

<sup>5</sup> During the survey the respondents were presented with a seven-point semantic differential scale to evaluate the text-stimuli (from the most to the least correct; from the most to the least similar in relation to the Standard Language).

discourses, i.e. zones that, in an objective view, have the highest dialectal markedness as well. For example, text-stimulus B of the Žemaitian regiolect, the least similar to the Standard Language and the least correct (regular), according to the respondents, is most often (20 per cent of the participants<sup>6</sup>) associated in the hand-drawn maps with localities that correlate with the centres of regiolects and the zones of geolects (see Figure 8). It must be added that the data of the *emic* perspective should be evaluated as interdependent estimates (verbalised or visualised), without questioning their veracity from the *etic* perspective. As presented in the map (see Figure 10), the text-stimulus of the Žemaitian regiolect is most frequently localised in Šiauliai and Panevėžys (see also Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2019: 1–22).



**Figure 10.** Localisation tendencies of text-stimulus B<sup>7</sup>

The view from the outside and the view from the inside correlations lead to several observations: a) the fact that the prototypical zones correlate with the zones of geolects and regiolects might indicate the perceptual competence of the naïve estimators; b) it is possible that the hand-drawn maps of the naïve estimators reflect the information of the researchers' discourse, because the *view from the inside* is autonomous only to a certain extent.

## Conclusions

To outline the ideas developed in the article, a few concluding remarks can be made:

<sup>6</sup> Out of 1,064 respondents involved in the project.

<sup>7</sup> The darker the colour on the maps, the more frequently the respondents associated the text-stimulus with the locality. The maps have been developed by Dr Agnė Čepaitienė, a participant of the projects.

1) Although the development of PD research in Lithuania started relatively late, i.e. only at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and intensified during the last 5–8 years, both the theoretical and the methodological principles of the PD paradigm have nonetheless been adopted, and the paradigm has become an integral part of the dialectological research in Lithuania;

2) It should be highlighted that in the dialectological discourse the PD paradigm represents the *view from the inside* dialectological research group. Data gathered in PD research provides empirical basis for the construction of the *emic* narrative, i.e. for the inclusion of the knowledge, opinion and standpoints on linguistic reality held by the naïve estimator into the scientific discourse;

3) The results of the case studies demonstrated in the paper suggest the following insights into the peculiarities of the *view from the inside* perspective:

a. The images of variants are stable and widespread among naïve estimators. This observation is primarily substantiated by the image of the Standard Language as an urban variant, which was analysed in the paper;

b. The hand-drawn maps from various localities promote the assumption about the existence of regional standards;

c. Based on the results of the PD research presented in the article, a conclusions can be made that naïve estimators strive to preserve a positive image of their linguistic homeland. Such efforts are reflected in the localisation of the dialectal and non-dialectal areas in the hand-drawn maps;

d. The *view from the inside* research reveals that naïve estimators assess regional dialects differently. The hand-drawn maps revealed that some localities are associated with certain dialects much more frequently. An assumption can be made that the *view from the inside* perspective has parallels with the *view from the outside* perspective. The hand-drawn maps demonstrate that dialects are drawn to the areas which have been identified in *etic* discourses as having the highest dialectal markedness, i.e. the geolect and regiolect zones.

It is important to note that the results of the PD research broaden and diversify the dialectological discourses. Of significance is the fact that during the inventory process of the information concerning the naïve estimators' *view from the outside* perspective on language variation, certain new perspectives on language variation, as an object of analysis, can be observed. Primarily, novel dialectological topics can be raised, such as the value and self-worth of a regional variant, the interrelationship of variants from the perspective of language users, a possibility for a more accurate prediction of the tendencies in the shift of variants, and others.

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**RESEARCH ON PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN LITHUANIA:  
SUBJECTIVE DIALECTAL VARIATION OF LITHUANIAN  
LANGUAGE AREA IN RELATION TO OBJECTIVE VARIATION**  
*PERCEPTYVIOSIOS DIALEKTOLOGIJOS TYRIMAI LIETUVOJE:  
SUBJEKTYVUSIS TARMINIS LIETUVIŲ KALBOS PLOTO VARIANTIŠKUMAS  
OBJEKTYVIOJO VARIANTIŠKUMO ATŽVILGIU*

**Abstract**

The article analyses the subjective variation of the Lithuanian language area in relation to the objective variation. The research material is comprised of data obtained from a study, during which the principles of perceptual dialectology were applied. The data is compared to the results of the geolinguistic research conducted throughout Lithuania.

This analysis demonstrates that the Žemaitian (also known as Samogitian) and the Western Aukštaitian zones are most commonly associated with dialectal expression by the young people from different linguistic backgrounds. The remaining area of the Lithuanian language is less frequently indicated as a dialectal area. The weakening of dialecticity from west to east is also confirmed by the findings of the geolinguistic research. Images of the Žemaitian and Aukštaitian dialecticity formed in the subjects' self-consciousness can be assessed as direct or indirect reflections of linguistic isoglosses and new dialectal formations.

Therefore, the hand-drawn maps not only reveal the fairly accurate geolinguistic competence amongst young language users but also demonstrate correlation with the linguistic variation established by the researchers.

**KEYWORDS:** perceptual dialectology, subjective variation, mental map, objective variation, traditional dialect, regional dialect.

**Anotacija**

Straipsnyje analizuojamas subjektyvusis tarminis lietuvių kalbos ploto variantiškumas objektyviojo variantiškumo atžvilgiu. Tiriamoji medžiaga – tyrimo, atlikto taikant perceptyviosios dialektologijos principus, duomenys. Jie sugretinti su visoje Lietuvoje atlikto geolingvistinio tyrimo rezultatais.

Analizė rodo, kad su tarminė raiška įvairios kalbinės aplinkos jaunuoliai daugiausia asocijuoja žemaičių ir vakarų aukštaičių zonas. Likęs lietuvių kalbos plotas kaip tarminis nurodytas rečiau. Tarmiškumo silpnėjimą einant iš vakarų į rytus patvirtina ir geolingvistinių tyrimų išvados. Tiriamųjų savimonėje susiformavę žemaitiškojo ir

aukštaitiškojo tarmiškumo vaizdiniai vertintini kaip tiesioginiai arba netiesioginiai kalbinių izoglosių ir naujųjų tarminių darinių atspindžiai.

Taigi piešiniai žemėlapiai atskleidžia ne tik gana tikslią jaunųjų kalbos vartotojų geolingvistinę kompetenciją. Gauti rezultatai koreliuoja su tyrėjų nustatytu kalbiniu variantiškumu.

**REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI:** perceptyvioji dialektologija, subjektyvusis variantiškumas, mentalinis žemėlapis, objektyvusis variantiškumas, tradicinė tarmė, regioninis dialektas.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Perceptual dialectology, which is based on the perspective of an ordinary member of a language community in the research of regional variation, was originally formed in the Netherlands and Japan. Other researchers continued developing it in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Nomoto 1999 (1963): 63–69; Inoue 1999: 147–159; see also Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016: 89–120). Perceptual dialectology mainly revolves around the five-component perceptual research model proposed by Dennis R. Preston (Preston 1989; 1999: xxiii–xl; 1999a: 359–373; 2002: 57–104; see also Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016: 89–120). It encompasses the following tasks: 1) draw-a-map; 2) evaluation of the “correct” and “pleasant” dialectal variants; 3) establishing the degree of difference between the dialectal variants; 4) dialect identification and 5) conceptual evaluation.

According to Preston, the map task, unlike the techniques used in conventional studies of linguistic attitudes, is the simplest way to determine what ordinary language users think of the locality they live in (Preston 1989: 1–23; 1993: 335). The researcher argues that a map, supplemented with various landmarks (geographical, administrative), is seen by the subjects as a real thing. Although inaccurate, this map reveals the active relationship of an ordinary language user with linguistic variation (Preston 2013: 169).

Therefore, based on the data of these maps, it is possible to compare the perspectives of an ordinary language user (emic) and a researcher (etic) (Iannàccaro, Dell’Aquila 2001: 265–280; Cramer 2018: 62–79). In addition, once the relationship between the dialecticity created by the ordinary member of the language community and the dialecticity of a locality established by the researcher is identified, it is then possible to try to assess the objective variation and to predict more accurately any future changes and evolution of the local variants (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2019: 1–22; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 44).

Novelty and relevance. An opportunity for such research presented itself while studying the relationship between the linguistic homeland and the attitude towards the neighbouring areas during the project “Bendrinės kalbos vieta mentaliniame lietuvių kalbos žemėlapyje” [The Position of Standard Language in the Mental Map of the Lithuanian

Language]<sup>1</sup>, based on the maps of 15–19-year-old students across the gymnasiums and secondary schools of ten large residential areas (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016: 89–120; 2016a: 17–33; Geržotaitė 2016: 121–142; 2019: 175–198; Geržotaitė, Čepaitienė 2016: 84–100; Merkytė-Švarcienė 2016: 139–154; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017).<sup>2</sup> See localities under research Fig. 1.

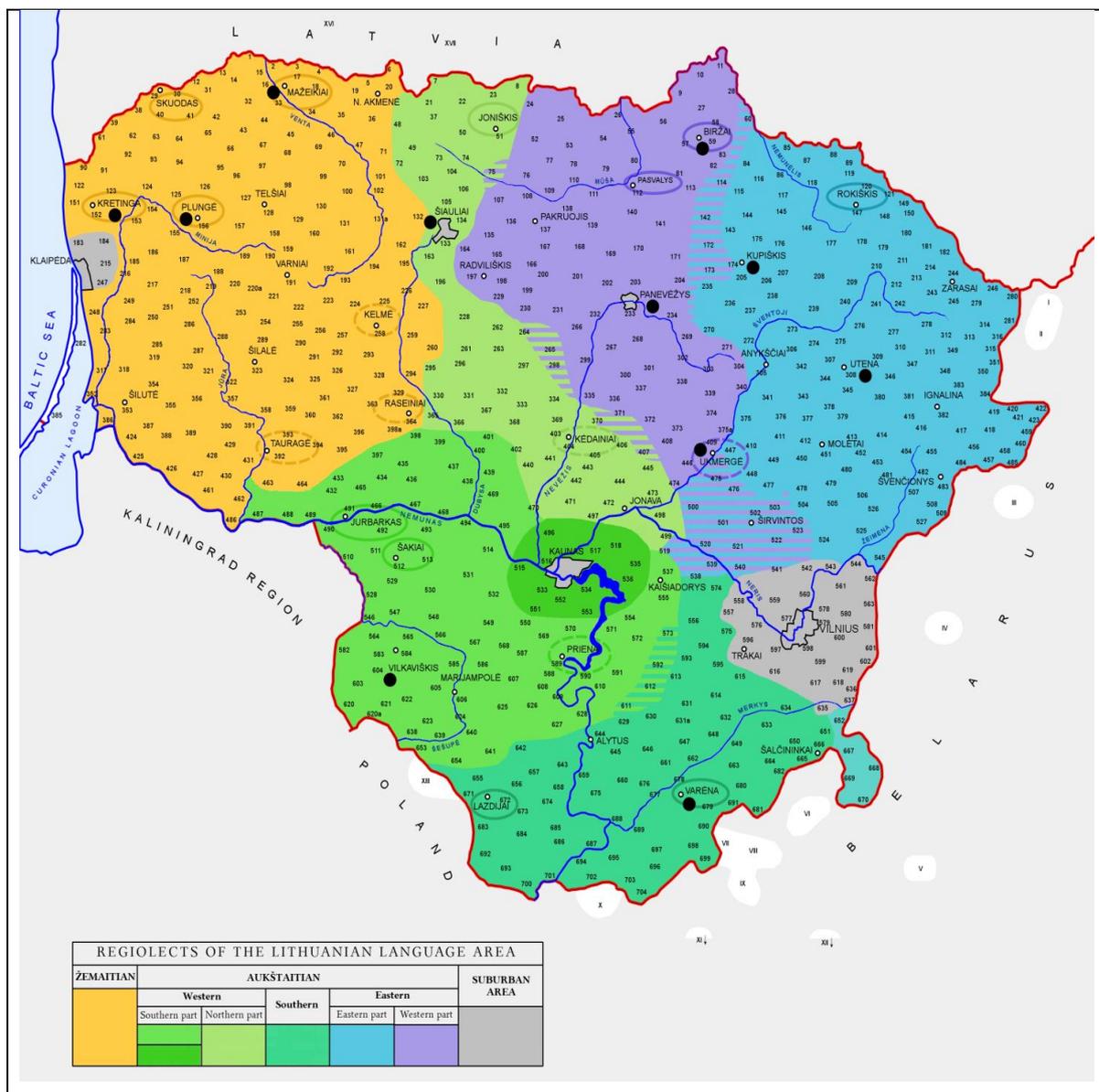


Figure 1. Localities under research

The areas selected for the project represent not only the traditional dialects (Girdenis, Zinkevičius 1966: 139–147; Zinkevičius 1969: 365–380), but also new regional dialects, or

<sup>1</sup> The project was implemented with the funds provided by the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language. The project duration: 2014–2016; project supervisor: Prof. Dr. Daiva Aliūkaitė.

<sup>2</sup> In perceptual dialectology works, the linguistic environment of an individual is called the linguistic homeland and is related to the linguistic and spatial distances of that environment (Diercks 2002: 51; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 42).

regiolects which started to emerge at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These are: Kretingà, Plùngė, Mažeikiai – the Žemaitian regiolect; Vilkaviškis – the South-Western Aukštaitian regiolect; Šiauliaĩ – the North-Western Aukštaitian regiolect; Varėnà – the Southern Aukštaitian regiolect; Bìržai, Panevėžys, Ukmergė – the West-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect; and Kùpiškis – the East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect (see Geržotaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014, XIII map and commentary).

The study, conducted in 2014–2016, involved 1,279 students, not counting those who were interviewed at the points surveyed additionally (for more see Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 21–22). See the table below.

**Table.** Number of respondents

Mažeikiai	Kretingà	Plùngė	Šiauliaĩ	Bìržai
117	177	75	144	196
Panevėžys	Kùpiškis	Ukmergė	Vilkaviškis	Varėnà
158	119	101	84	108

The data is supplemented by the 2018 research on the images of the linguistic homeland as denoted by secondary school students (68 respondents). It was performed using the same methodology in Utenà, the area of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolect (for more see Geržotaitė 2019: 175–198). The article examines the views by a total of 1,347 students, reflecting the linguistic (dialectal) awareness of ordinary members of the language community of the entire Lithuanian research age group.

The research material is the questionnaire data of the students with the first map task collected according to the requirements of the mentioned project. The article is based on the material of the first map task of the questionnaire “Tarminio kalbėjimo ir bendrinės kalbos vertinimas” [Assessment of the Dialectal Speech and the Standard Language] designed during the project (for more see Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016: 97–99; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017). On the map, which indicated the boundaries of the administrative units and their centres, the students had to mark where in Lithuania people speak in dialect (see Fig. 2).



**Figure 2.** Map task 1 of the questionnaire

The collected data, which was then summarised and published in line with the principles of perceptual dialectology (i.e. the most prototypical dialect areas and the areas of dialectal faintness in the maps) was compared with the results of the entire country (735 points inside the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language and 18 outside of it) during the implementation of the project “Šiuolaikiniai geolingvistikos tyrimai Lietuvoje: punktų tinklo optimizacija ir interaktyvioji tarminės informacijos sklaida” [The Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: the Optimization of the Network of Points and the Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information; Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2014).<sup>3</sup> In the process of comparative analysis, the conclusions of the study on the whole Lithuanian language area, performed on the basis of the quantitative or dialectometric methods, were also taken into account (Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019).

The object of this article is the subjective dialectal variation of the Lithuanian language area in relation to the objective variation.

The goal of the article is to characterise the subjective dialectal variation of the Lithuanian language area as identified through the comparative analysis of available research, which has been performed and published using the subjective and objective methods.

The following tasks were set: 1) after examining the data of dialect maps, to highlight the most dialectal and non-dialectal areas in the opinion of young people; 2) to compare these areas with the dialectal and non-dialectal areas singled out by researchers; 3) to describe the subjective variation of the Lithuanian language area.

<sup>3</sup> The project was implemented with the funds of the Global Grant. Project duration: 2010–2013; project leader: Prof. Dr. Danguolė Mikulėnienė.

While discussing the dialect research conducted in the whole area of the Lithuanian language from the perspective of the ordinary language user and the researcher, the comparative, descriptive and analytical methods were applied.

The comparative analysis of the Lithuanian dialect research performed using the subjective and objective methods, will therefore allow researchers to not only assess the geolinguistic competence of young language users (emic perspective), but also its correlation with the perspective of researchers (etic).<sup>4</sup>

## 2. YOUNG ŽEMAITIANS' IMAGES OF DIALECTICITY ZONES

Young people in the area of the Žemaitian dialect of Mažeikiai, Kretinga and Plungė were interviewed during the study. It appears that these students tend to associate the dialect code primarily with Plungė and Telšiai, which are the zones of their language environment. In the maps drawn by these respondents the neighbouring areas of Skuodas, Rietavas, Kretinga and Mažeikiai also have a clearly expressed dialecticity (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 124–132]. See Figure 3.

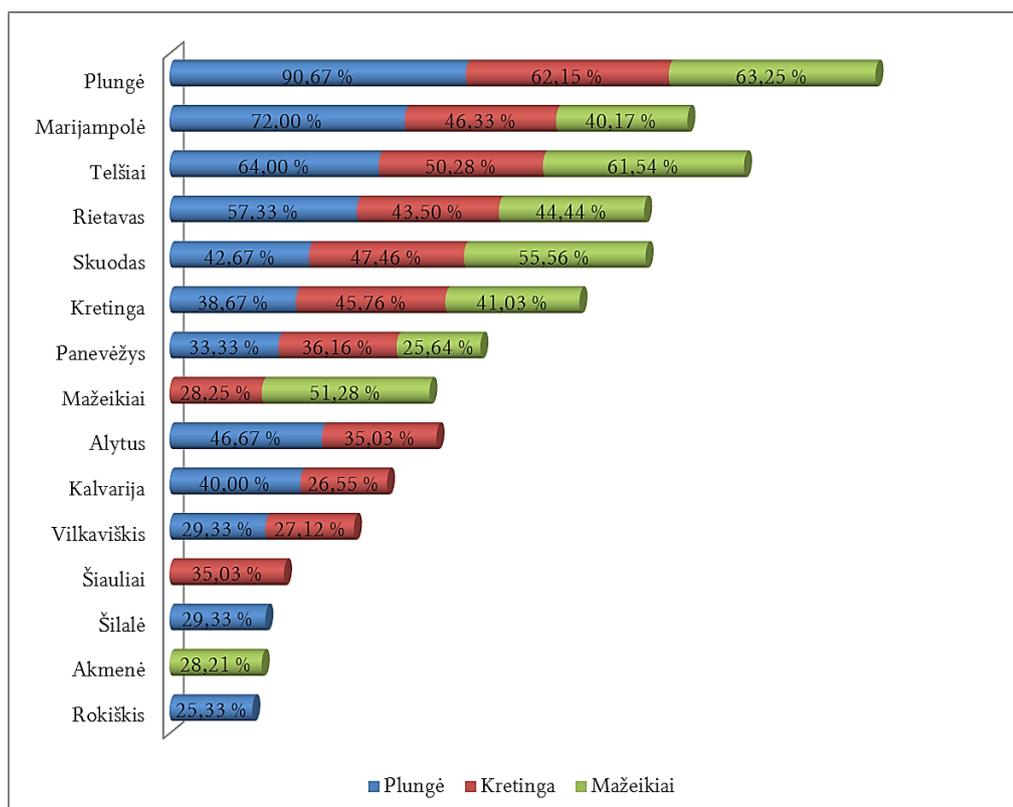


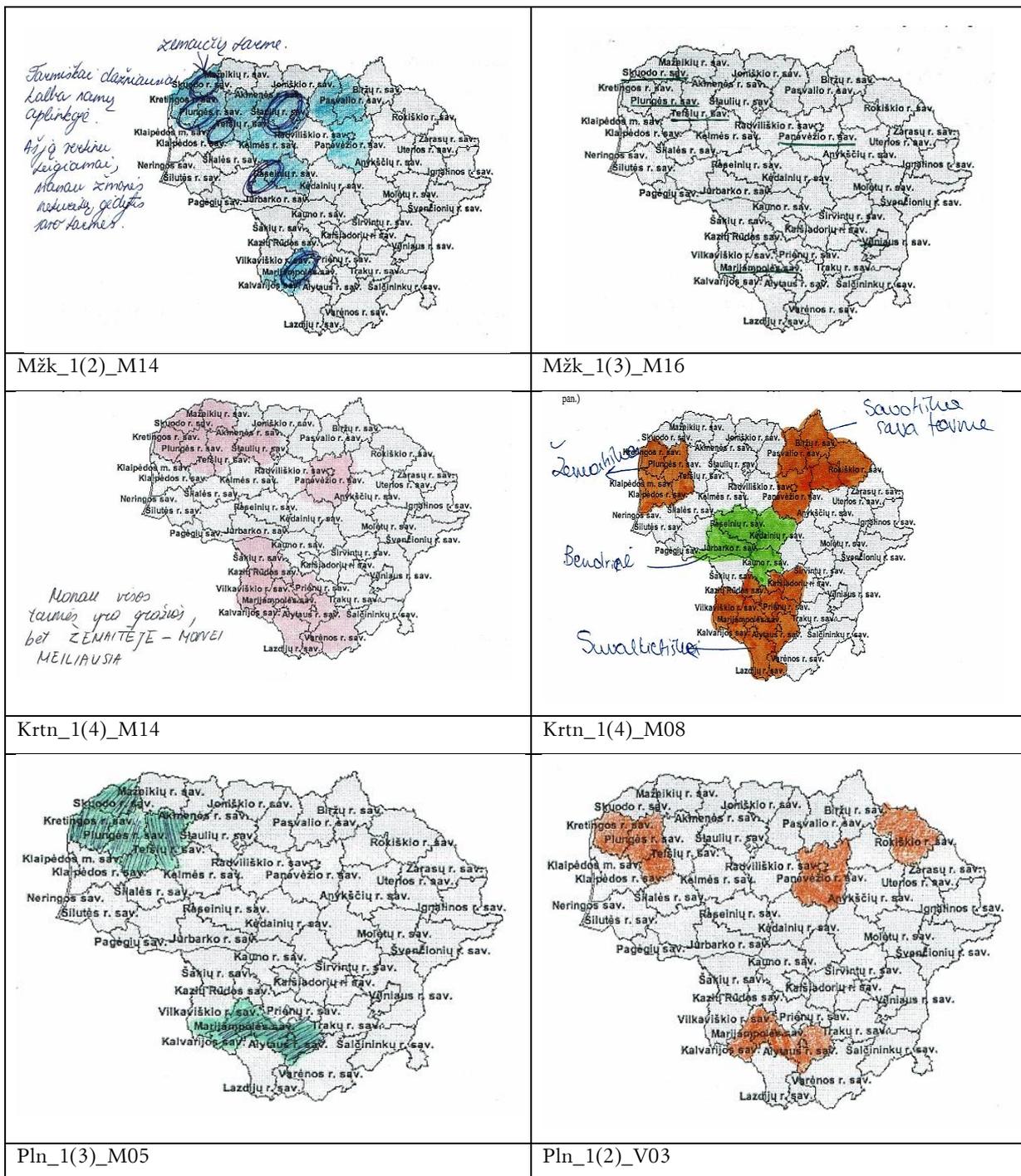
Figure 3. Young Žemaitians' images of dialecticity zones<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Geolinguistic competence of the ordinary members of a language community is perceived as knowledge and skills to recognise the language variation and relate it to certain areas: geographical, social, cultural (Diercks 2002: 52–53; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016: 92).

<sup>5</sup> In this and other figures, the frequency of markings in the percentage for each area in the maps (e.g. Plungė, Marijampolė, Telšiai, etc.) is calculated separately.

Therefore, the respondents were able to rely on personal experience, often considering certain areas as dialectal when these areas were close to the students' linguistic homelands (i.e. Mažeikiai, Kretingà, Plùngė). The areas closest to their native places (the geographically closest variants) may have been the ones most familiar to them. In other words, the research subjects were able to recognise their own linguistic expression.

The respondents from Mažeikiai, Kretingà and Plùngė indicated Marijampolė as the most prototypical dialect zone in the Aukštaitian dialect area. In addition, Panevėžys is also associated with dialect by the respondents from the afore-mentioned areas (Fig. 3). Other areas, which are geographically more distant and those not shown in Figure 3 of the western (e.g. Šilutė, Rasėiniai, Tauragė, Kełmė), central (e.g. Kėdėiniai, Jonavà) and eastern (e.g. Molėtai, Ignalinà, Ukmergė, Kùpiškis) localities are rarely marked on maps. The language code used in them may have been unknown to the students and for this reason they were not indicated as dialectal (Fig. 4).



**Figure 4.** Examples of the dialectal zones on the maps by youngsters from Mažeikiai, Kretingà and Plūngė<sup>6</sup>

The prototypical dialectal zones in the Žemaitian area, separated by perceived isoglosses, coincide with the linguistic ones. From the point of view of the respondents, in Telšiai (the town represents the Northern Žemaitian subdialect of Telšiai) and Plūngė (the Northern

<sup>6</sup> The following abbreviations of the localities are used: Mažeikiai – Mžk, Kretingà – Krtn, Plūngė – Pln, Šiauliai – Šl, Birstai – Brž, Panevėžys – Pn, Utenà – Ut, Kūpiškis – Kp, Ukmergė – Ukm, Vilkaviškis – Vlkv, Varėnà – Vrn. The letters M and V indicate the sex of the subjects (Male (V) or Female (M)); numbers indicate the numbering in the questionnaire.

Žemaitian subdialect of Kretingà) the main distinctive dialectal features are maintained, as confirmed by the research based on objective methods. The vocalism of both Žemaitian subdialects is recorded almost unchanged (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 137–138, 140–142).

As seen from their maps, these young people perceive the area of their native dialect holistically. Such results suggest that the boundary between the smaller Žemaitian units (i.e. the Northern Samogitian of Kretingà and the Northern Samogitian of Telšiai subdialects) is less clear, so additional research on the views of the students towards the Žemaitian dialect is needed to confirm these findings.

The dialectal homogeneity of the Northern Žemaitian is confirmed by the findings of the qualitative (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 137–138) and the quantitative research (Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019: 231–233; Vyniautaitė 2020: 1–19). As the differences between these two Žemaitian subdialects decrease, the border separating them is not very clear.<sup>7</sup>

Young people from the Žemaitian research points associate the Western Žemaitian of Šilutė district and the Southern Žemaitian of Rasėiniai (Rasėiniai, Tauragė and Keimė), i.e. the localities which are further from their linguistic homelands, with faint dialectal expression. According to the qualitative and quantitative research data for these localities, the processes of dialect change here are very intense or their dialecticity is no longer maintained (Zinkevičius 2006: 232–233; Meiliūnaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 124–128; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 260; Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 132, 145–146; Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019: 249–270).

The strong position of the Žemaitian dialect, which emerged from the maps, is further illustrated by the formation of the Žemaitian regiolect at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century with several stable smaller dialectal formations distinguishable as the geolects of Plūngė, Skuodas, Kretingà and Mažeikiai.<sup>8</sup> The transitional position of the Southern Žemaitian of Rasėiniai is confirmed by the stable Tauragė geolect and the transitional geolects of Keimė and Rasėiniai in the area of this regiolect (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 260).

### 3. YOUNG WESTERN AUKŠTAITIANS' IMAGES OF DIALECTICITY ZONES

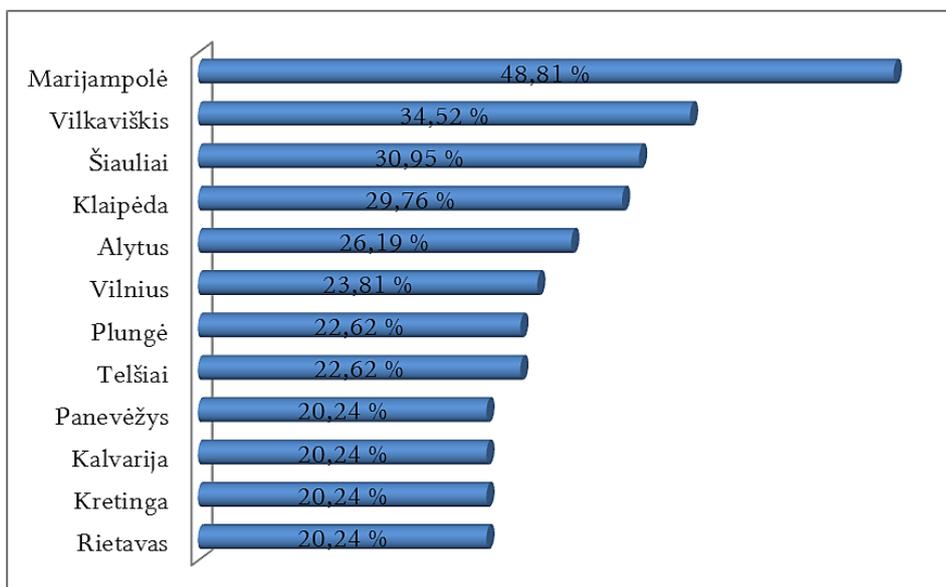
The Vilkaiviškis and Šiauliai zones were selected for the study in this area. Similarly to the young people from the previously-discussed Žemaitian points, the students in Vilkaiviškis and Šiauliai indicated the areas surrounding Plūngė and Telšiai as having the highest degree of

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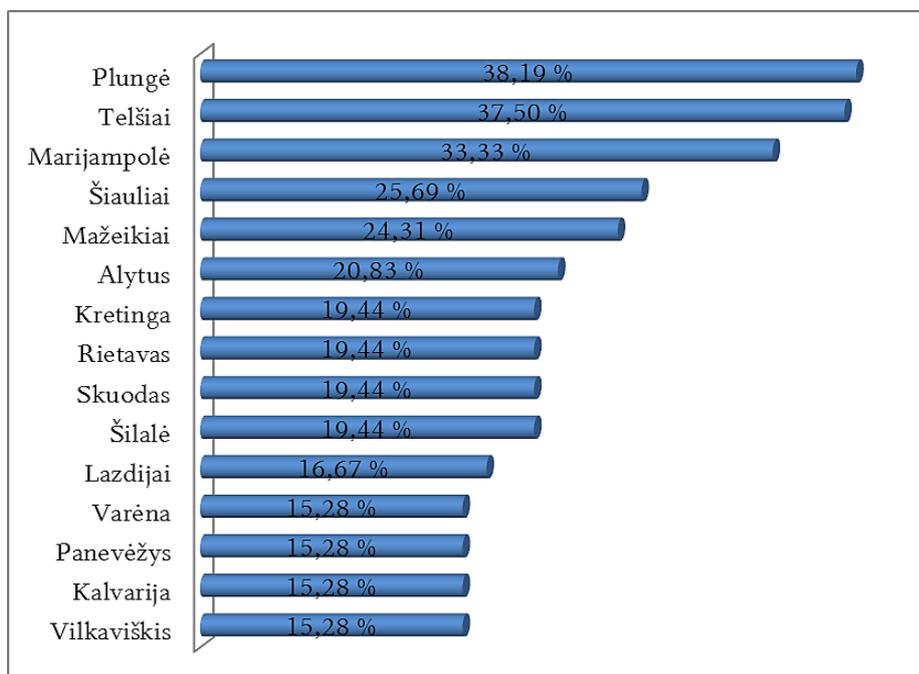
<sup>7</sup> The absence of exact boundaries between the Northern Žemaitian of Telšiai and the Northern Žemaitian of Kretingà is demonstrated by the sample analysis of the features distinguishing these two subdialects, as recorded in written sources in the 1960s–1990s (Vyniautaitė 2018: 140–166).

<sup>8</sup> In geolinguistics, a heterogeneous regional variant of the language without very clear boundaries is considered to be a geolect. It is a total of the codes of the dialectical nature of a particular area or the dialectal variation of the area. A regional variety of the language spanning several geolect areas is referred to as a regiolect (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014: 41–42).

dialecticity in the area of the Žemaitian dialect, whereas the areas around Marijampolė and Šiauliai were reported to have the highest degree of dialecticity in the Aukštaitian dialect (Geržotaitė 2016: 121–142; Merkytė-Švarcienė 2016: 139–154; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 132–134) (figures 5 and 6).



**Figure 5.** Dialectal zones as perceived by the young people of Vilkaiviškis



**Figure 6.** Dialectal zones as perceived by the young people of Šiauliai

As demonstrated by Figures 5 and 6, the young people in the surveyed areas tend to associate the zones of the Aukštaitian dialect or their own linguistic environment with the dialectal expression. In addition to Marijampolė, the respondents from both research points

commonly mark the native areas of Vilkaviškis and Šiauliai, and the neighbouring zone of Alytus.

The images of the Žemaitian dialect zones are perceived slightly differently between the young people from Vilkaviškis and those from Šiauliai. The perceptions of the young people from Vilkaviškis (Fig. 5) in relation to this area are much more reserved, compared to the localities marked by the respondents from Šiauliai, which is on the border of the Žemaitian and the Aukštaitian dialects (Fig. 6). This can be explained by the factor of objective distance.<sup>9</sup> The more remote the areas, the less linguistic expression is known to the young members of the language community and it is therefore not considered as dialectal.

Students of both Western Aukštaitian research points consider central Lithuania (or Rasėiniai, Tauragė, Kėdainiai, Ukmergė, Širvintos, and Jonavà surroundings) as having the least amount of dialecticity. See Figure 7.

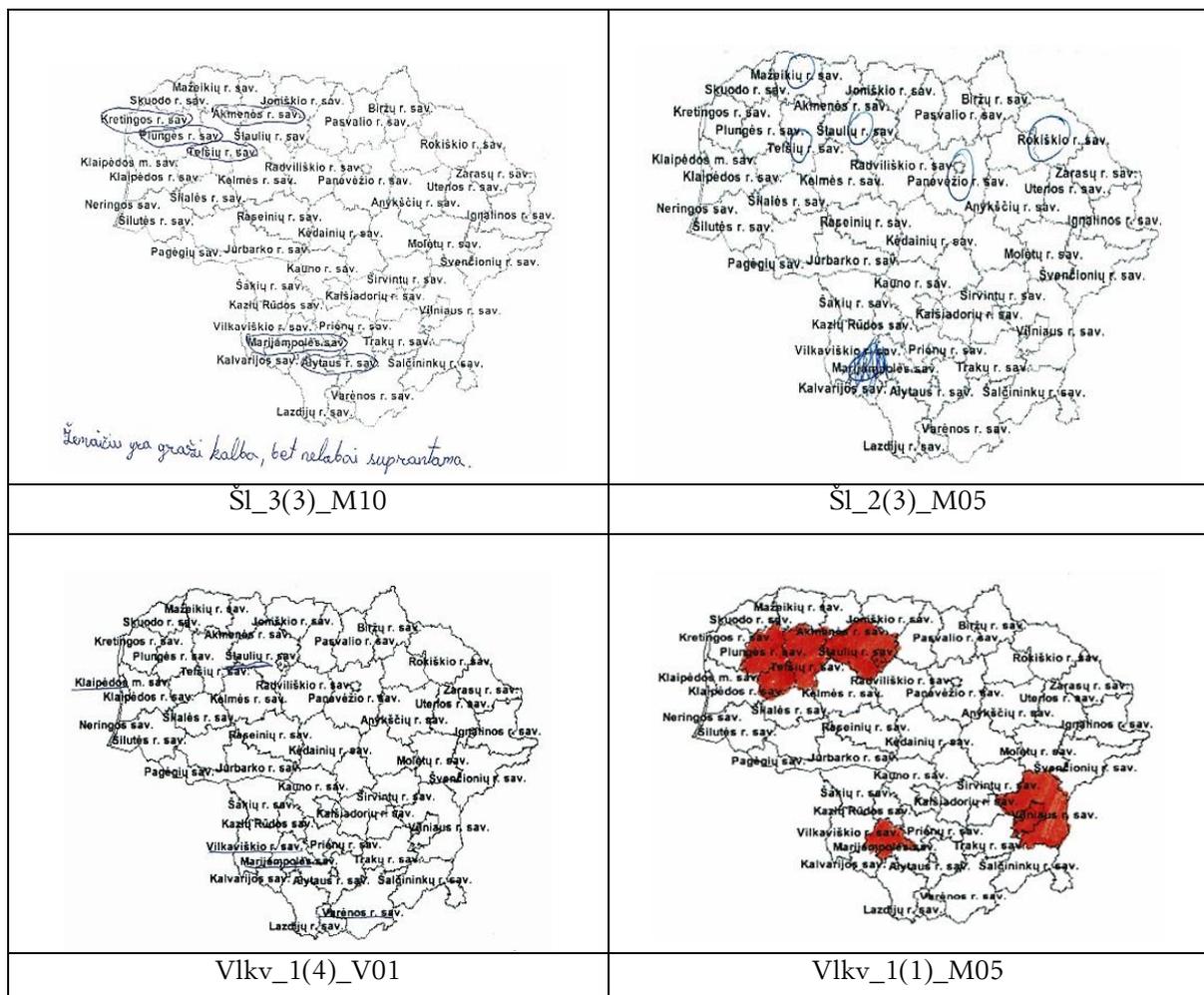


Figure 7. Examples of dialectal zones in maps by the youth of Šiauliai and Vilkaviškis

<sup>9</sup> When evaluating language variants and localising them on the map, a distinction is made between the real (objective) and the actual (actual, not corresponding to geographical parameters) distances (Diercks 2002: 51; see also: Aliūkaitė 2009: 172).

Researchers suggest that the degree of vitality of in the areas surroundings Marijampolė (the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaūnas), which is mainly associated with the Aukštaitian dialecticity, is quite high (Bakšienė 2016: 37–39; Čepaitienė 2016a: 141–146; 2018: 61–67). Most of the dialectal features are still preserved in the language spoken by the local inhabitants of both the older and the younger generations (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 151–152; cf. Bakšienė 2015: 15; 2016: 32–39; 2019: 44–49). The same conclusions were made after the geolinguistic studies of the neighbouring areas at Daukšiai, Jurbarkas and Šakiai (Bakšienė 2015: 17; 2019: 47–49). It was established that the vitality of these zones and of all the Western Aukštaitian of Kaūnas in general is due not so much to its prestige or the favourable attitude of the local language community members but to the fact that its differences from Standard Lithuanian are insignificant.

The image of the area covering the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Šiauliai, which is also perceived by the students as having a stronger dialect, correlates with the objective linguistic variation, too. Almost all the phonetic features observed in the territory of Šiauliai (named transitional by the researchers) indicate that many features of the neighbouring subdialects are still intertwined.<sup>10</sup> In the western part of this subdialect area there is a very strong interaction with the Northern and the Southern Žemaitian, while in the eastern part a strong influence of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys is observed (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 156–157). In the southern part of the subdialect of Šiauliai (i.e. in the area around Kėdāiniai and Jonavà), in addition to the dialectal and non-dialectal language, certain functioning variants of other languages are recorded (Karaš 2016: 1–24; Rutkovska 2014: 216–227; 2016: 1–11; Geržotaitė, Meiliūnaitė 2014, XIV map and commentary; Mikulėnienė 2018: 11–25; Mikulėnienė, Pacevičiūtė 2019: 41–58). The transitional situation of the Western Aukštaitian of Šiauliai, especially its southern part, is confirmed by the findings of the quantitative (dialectometric) research (Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019: 118–137).

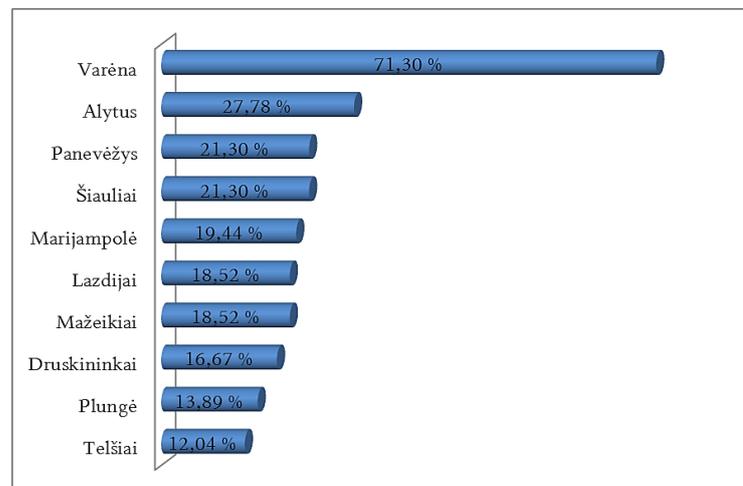
#### 4. YOUNG SOUTHERN AUKŠTAITIANS' IMAGES OF DIALECTICITY ZONES

The views of the students in Varėnà were researched in this area. This group of respondents distinguish their linguistic homeland – rather than Marijampolė – as the most prototypical dialect. Furthermore, they do not seem to associate the adjacent Alytūs zone with

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<sup>10</sup> Both linguistically and geographically, the Western Aukštaitian of Šiauliai have always been transitional between the Žemaitian and the Aukštaitian dialects in all classifications of the Lithuanian dialects (Geržotaitė 2012: 156–174; 2016: 121–142; 2016b: 84–87).

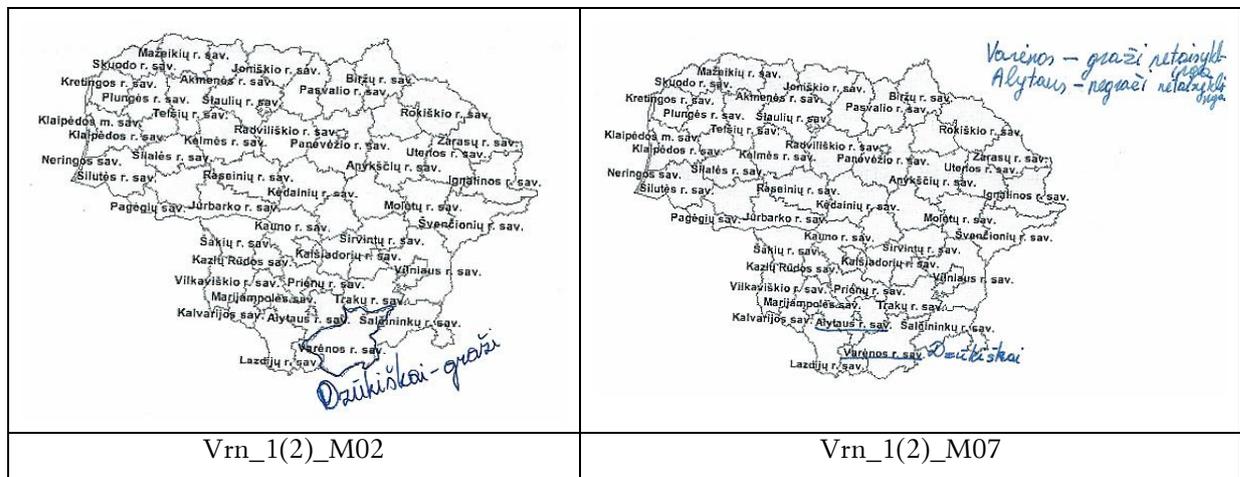
a dialect, as illustrated by the graph (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 142–144). See Figure 8.<sup>11</sup>



**Figure 8.** Dialectal zones as perceived by the young people of Varėna

The students in Varėna consider the Žemaitian districts of Plūngė and Telšiai as dialects even less commonly than the research subjects in Vilkaiviškis.

The remaining areas, not shown in Figure 8, in the opinion of these respondents, are characterised by a low degree of dialecticity (Figure 9).



**Figure 9.** Examples of dialectal zones in maps by the youth of Varėna

This attitude of the research participants could have been determined by several reasons (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 142, 144). It is possible that the young people of Varėna identified the linguistic expression of the places which are close to them and, therefore, more

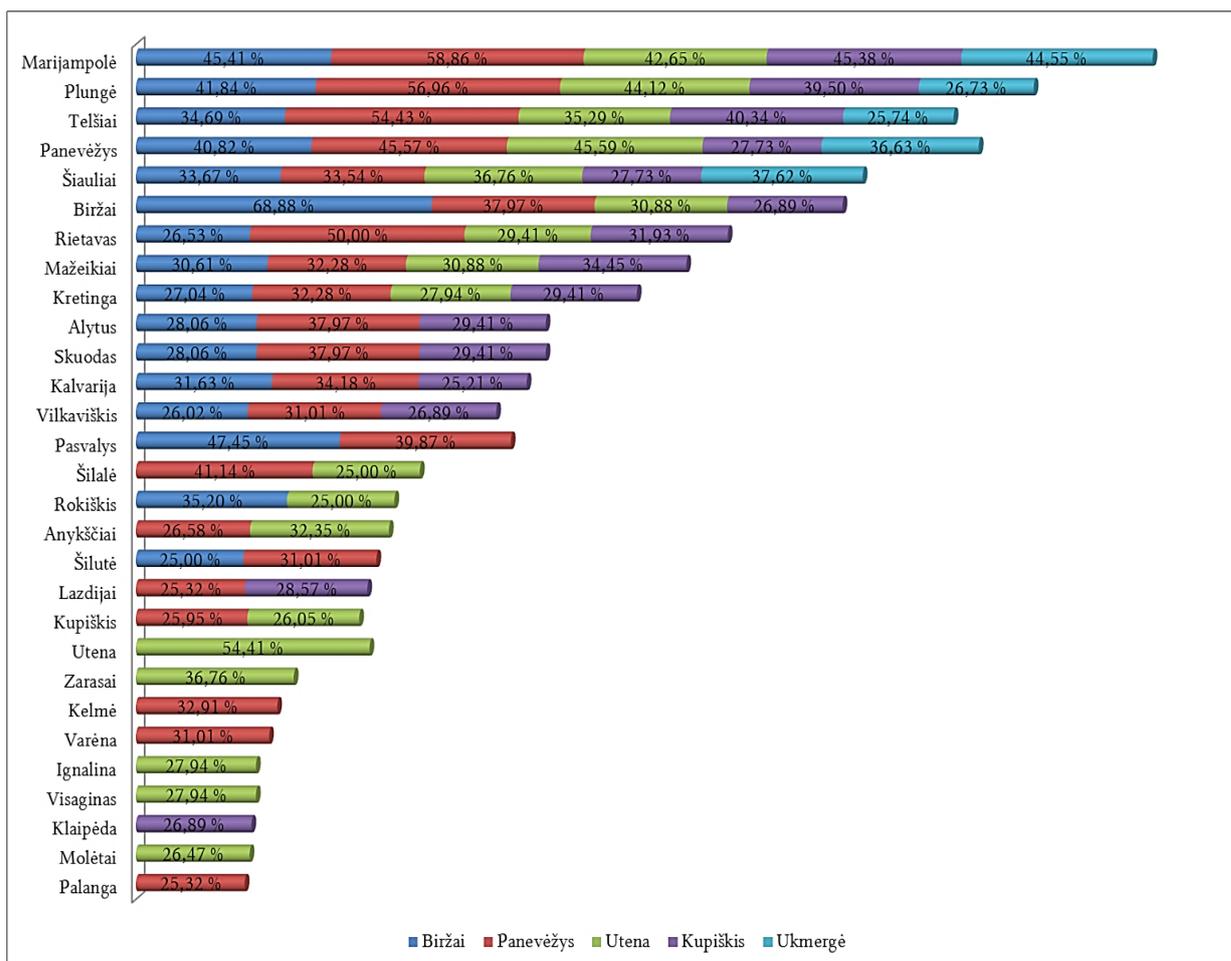
<sup>11</sup> Students in Pūnsk, who speak the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect, tend to consider the linguistic homeland as the most prototypical dialectal area, which they marked in the maps (discussed in the article) during the 2013–2015 project “Lietuvių tarmių kaita XXI a. pradžioje. Lenkijos lietuvių šnektos” [Changes in Lithuanian Dialects at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: the Case of Lithuanian Dialects in Poland (research adviser: Asta Leskauskaitė)]; see Geržotaitė 2016a: 326.

familiar. Regarding the spread of the language codes, the relatively low estimation of the remaining adjacent (i.e. no less familiar) areas as well as the entire Lithuanian language area in general can also show a certain reserve on the part of these Southern Aukštaitian respondents (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 144).

In contrast to the ordinary language users, researchers assess the viability and continuity of the Southern Aukštaitians in two ways (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 161–164; cf. Leskauskaitė 2016: 45, 50–51; 2018: 18). On the one hand, efforts are being made to give up the expressive features which are typical of the ethnographic region of Dzūkija which means that the continuation of the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect would seem impossible (Leskauskaitė 2006: 35; 2009: 38). However, the distinctive dialectal features of the area, although not systematic, are still being used. Therefore, despite the decline in dialecticity being recorded throughout the area of the subdialect, the Southern Aukštaitians are still considered to have kept their geolinguistic identity (Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019: 154–155).

## **5. YOUNG EASTERN AUKŠTAITIANS' IMAGES OF DIALECTICITY ZONES**

Students from Bīržai, Panevėžys, Utena, Kūpiškis and Ukmergė were interviewed in this area. In the Eastern, Western and Southern Aukštaitian maps drawn by the research subjects the zones of the Aukštaitian dialect area are primarily characterised by a higher degree of dialecticity: Marijampolė, Bīržai, Panevėžys, Šiauliai (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2016: 89–120; Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 132, 134–142; Geržotaitė 2016: 121–142; 2019: 185–190). For these Aukštaitians, the Žemaitian dialecticity is mostly associated with Plūngė, Telšiai and Rietavas, and more infrequently with Mažeikiai and Skuodas (Fig. 10).



**Figure 10.** Examples of dialectal zones in maps by the youth of Biržai, Panevėžys, Utena, Kupiškis and Ukmergė

At certain research points of the Eastern Aukštaitian, the dialectal and non-dialectal zones vary slightly. Respondents from Biržai and Utena do not mark Marijampolė but consider their linguistic homeland as the more dialectal area of the Aukštaitian dialect (Fig. 10). These views confirm the dialecticity not only of the native localities but also those of the eastern part of the Lithuanian language area.

The young people from these two points, as well as the students from the zone of Panevėžys also consider other areas as having dialectal features. The students of Biržai point out the neighbouring Rokiškis (35.20%), too. The research subjects of the Panevėžys point also tend to associate the adjacent areas of Anykščiai (26.58%) and Kupiškis (25.95%) with dialect. The Anykščiai zone (32.35%) is also indicated as dialectal by the Utena respondents. In the maps of the latter, Kupiškis too “crosses” the border by more than one-fifth of the markings (Fig. 11).



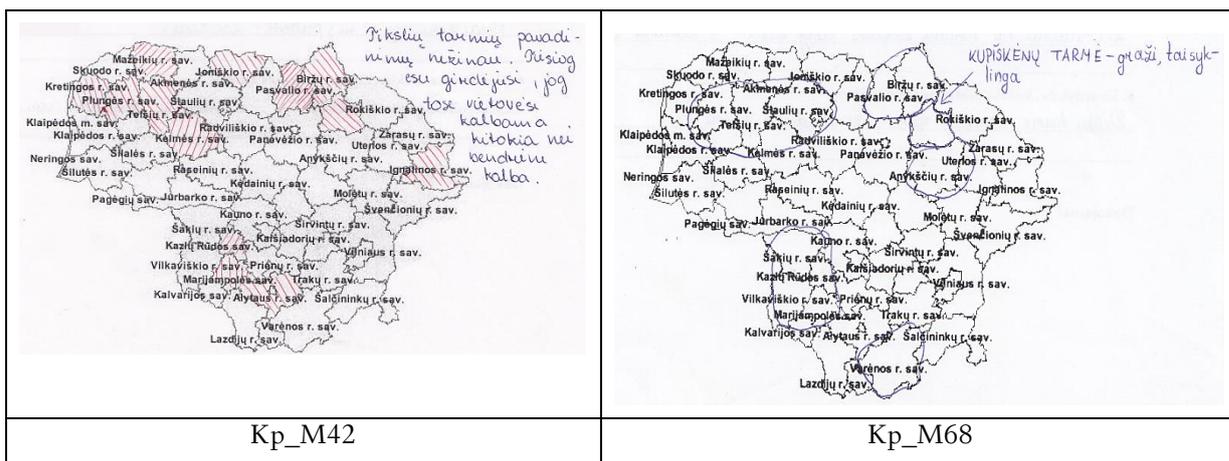


Figure 12. Examples of dialectal zones in maps by the youth of Kùpiškis

The students of Ukmergė, similarly to the respondents of Kùpiškis, when distinguishing the areas of the highest degree of dialecticity in the area of the Aukštaitian dialect (Marijampolė, Šiauliai and neighbouring Panevėžys), excluded not only the native town of Ukmergė, but also the central and eastern parts of the Lithuanian language area (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 141–142). Figure 13.

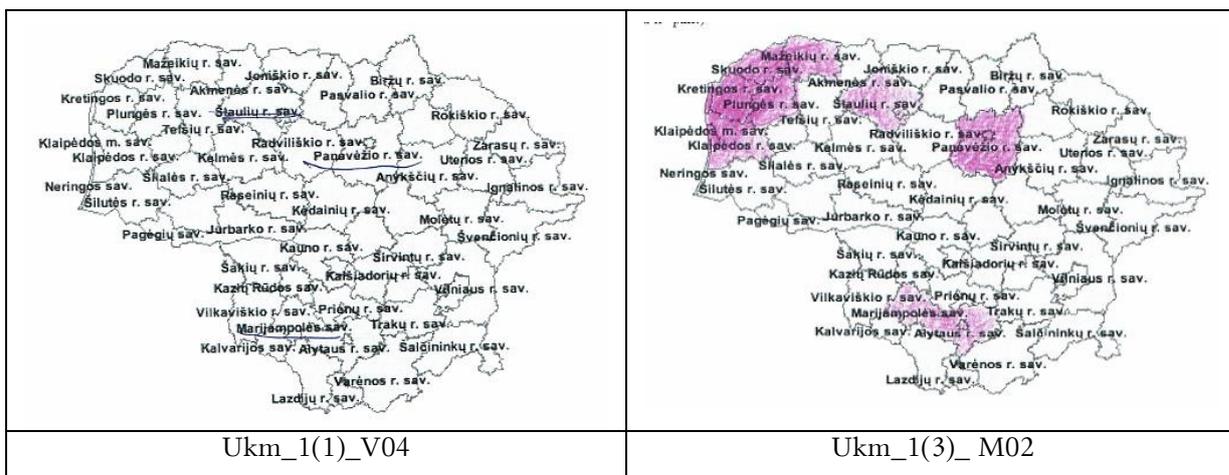


Figure 13. Examples of dialectal zones in maps by the youth of Ukmergė

Therefore, the research subjects in the eastern part of the Lithuanian language area consider the zones of Biržai and Panevėžys (or the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Panevėžys) to have the most pronounced dialecticity. Almost all of them, except for the respondents from Utenà, associate Rōkiškis (or the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Utenà) with the dialect more often than with Utenà, which is in the centre of the same subdialect.<sup>12</sup> The dialecticity of the remaining area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Širvintos, Kùpiškis, Anykšciai and Vilnius is seen as faint by the respondents.

<sup>12</sup> Assessing the inhabitants of Kùpiškis allows us to talk about the high prestige of the surrounding subdialects of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys and Utenà (Balčiūnienė, Meiliūnaitė, Rinkauskienė 2019: 90–93).

A similar linguistic situation of the subdialects in the Eastern Lithuanian language area has been recorded by geolinguists in recent years (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 176, 188, 190–191). It has been established that the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Panevėžys (represented by the Panevėžys zone, which is distinguished by strong dialecticity in the students' maps) remains one of the strongest and most penetrating among all of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects. It is retained not only in the central locality but also on the border with other subdialects (Balčiūnienė, Rinkauskienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 54–55). This status of the Panevėžys subdialect is likely to have determined that the emerging new dialectal formation – the regiolect of the West-Eastern Aukštaitian – is recorded on its basis. The Bīržai and Pasvalys areas, which are associated with the dialectal expression by the students of Panevėžys, Bīržai and Utenà, are considered by the researchers of as stable geolects in the area of this regiolect.

The data of the maps drawn by the youth of Ukmergė, although not as obvious, still testifies to the influence of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys on the subdialect of Širvintos. As the research point of Ukmergė is bordering several subdialectal points – Panevėžys, Širvintos and Anykščiai – additional research into the attitudes is necessary to verify the insights which have come to light.

However, even these tendencies correlate with the results of the qualitative research. It was found that the changes in the subdialect of Širvintos are mostly related to the influence of the neighbouring Panevėžys subdialect, from which it differs only by one or two features (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 183–184). The subdialect of Širvintos, traditionally considered a separate subdialect of the Eastern Aukštaitian, as shown by the research carried out using the quantitative methods, can be assessed as being more similar linguistically and geographically to the neighbouring Panevėžys subdialect than different from it (Čepaitienė 2016: 170; Mikulėnienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019: 165–166, 171–176).<sup>13</sup>

The distinctive and other features of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Utenà (referred to as the most marked by the youth of Utenà), according to the data of recent qualitative research, have been almost consistently maintained in the speech of the representatives of all generations (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 174–178; Rinkauskienė 2018: 210–211; 2019: 15). As shown by the studies from the researcher's perspective, the regiolect of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian is being formed on the basis of this subdialect. According to the researchers, Rōkiškis, which stood out on the maps of Bīržai and Utenà youth with stronger dialecticity, could be distinguished as a stable geolect in the area of this regiolect.

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<sup>13</sup> More about the previous discussions of researchers on the issue of the subdialect of Širvintos as a separate dialectal unit see (Urbanavičiūtė-Markevičienė 1994: 85–87; Markevičius 2002: 101–105; Markevičienė, Markevičius V., Markevičius A. 2009: 15–17).

The views of the students at the remaining Aukštaitian points (i.e. Bìržai, Panevėžys, Kùpiškis and Ukmergė) on the variant used in the Utenà area (it is perceived as faint in terms of dialecticity) are linked to the geolinguists' statement that the regiolect of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian is considered to be one of the closest new linguistic formations in the Eastern Aukštaitian area to Standard Lithuanian (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014a: 261).

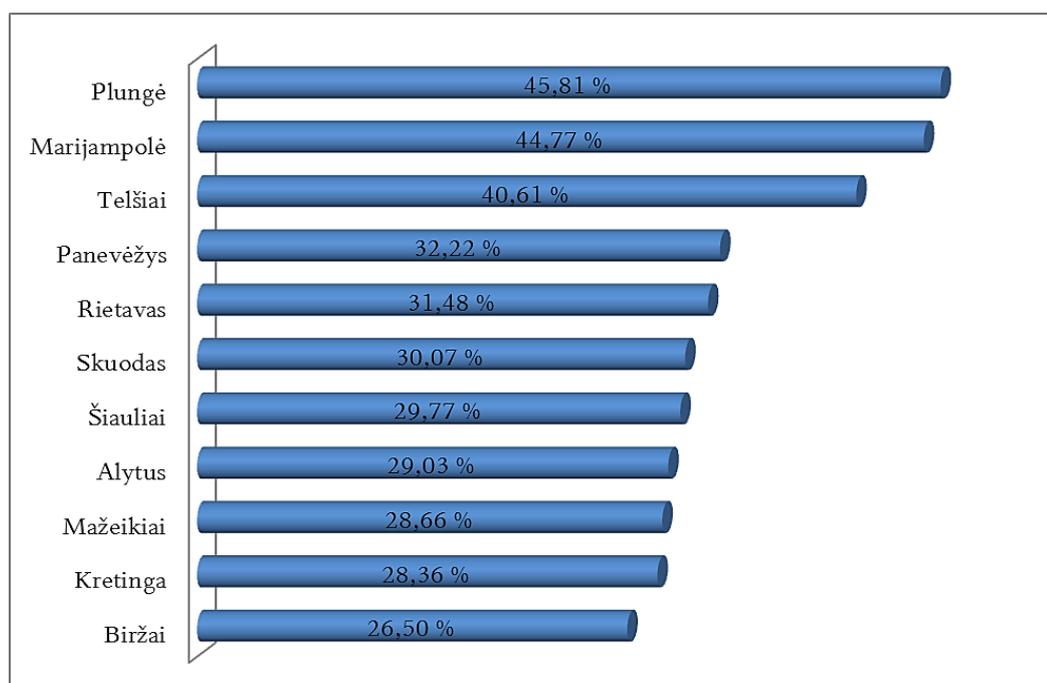
According to the data of the latest qualitative research, the distinctive feature of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Kùpiškis, which is subjectively weak in dialecticity, is not regular in the speech of either the middle-aged or younger generations. It is avoided together with certain other most noticeable dialectal features which link the Eastern Aukštaitian of Kùpiškis to that of Anykščiai (Balčiūnienė, Rinkauskienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 54–55; Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė et al. 2014: 188). It was found that the Eastern Aukštaitian of Kùpiškis (as well as Anykščiai) is similar in linguistic features to the strong adjacent subdialects of Panevėžys and Utenà (Aliūkaitė, Bakšienė, Jaroslavienė et al. 2014: 186, 188). The continuation of the subdialect in question, according to the researchers, is possible in the regiolect of the East-Eastern Aukštaitian, which is being formed on the basis of the Utenà subdialect.

The residents of Kùpiškis (no data is available on the attitude of the residents of Anykščiai), contrary to the objective research, display a stronger tendency to identify themselves with the speech variant of Panevėžys (Fig. 12). The areas surrounding Panevėžys, Kùpiškis and Anykščiai also form an integrated dialectal area on the maps of the youth of Panevėžys (map Pn\_1\_M02, see Fig. 11) (Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 136). Such attitudes, albeit particularly variable, can be argued to confirm the dialecticity of Kùpiškis (and/or Anykščiai) subdialect.

In the dialect maps drawn by the Eastern Aukštaitians, the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of V̀ilnius is seldom marked as dialectal. Only the Ignalinà and Švenčiónys zones are distinguished as being more dialectal on the map, which are indicated as the most Lithuanian and the best-preserved dialectal areas of V̀ilnius subdialect in the work of researchers (RAV 33–34; Kardelis 2013: 12–13). The decrease in the usage of dialect in the area of V̀ilnius subdialect is confirmed by the research data based on objective methods (Urbanavičienė 2018: 78). It has been noted that the younger generation of the local population tends to give up the features typical of the V̀ilnius subdialect and is drawn towards a code closer to Standard Lithuanian (Urbanavičienė 2018: 78). The possible influence of the Eastern Aukštaitian of Utenà on V̀ilnius subdialect is shown by the zones of Utenà and V̀ilnius subdialects which form the integral areas on the maps of the Utenà respondents (Ut\_M14 map, Fig. 11). These results support the convergent survival model of the V̀ilnius subdialects established by the geolinguistic research (see Geržotaitė, Mikulėnienė 2014, Map XIII and commentary).

## 6. SUMMARISED IMAGES OF ŽEMAITIAN AND AUKŠTAITIAN DIALECTICITY

The images of the dialectal and non-dialectal zones formed in the self-consciousness of young Žemaitians and Aukštaitians (Western, Southern and Eastern), as seen on the hand-drawn maps, vary slightly but the general tendencies can be said to remain the same (Fig. 14).



**Figure 14.** Summarised dialect zones of the young people of all the research points

The young people from all the points analysed in the article consider Plūngė, Telšiaĩ, Rietāvas, and Skuōdas to be the most prototypical dialectal zones in the Žemaitian area, with Marijāmpolė, Panevėžys, Šiauliaĩ and Alytus ascribed to the same category in the Aukštaitian area. In their assessment, the remaining areas (both Žemaitian and Aukštaitian), which are not shown in Figure 14, are not as pronounced in terms of dialecticity.

The frequency of marking these areas as dialects on the maps is thought to be related to the geographical distance from one's linguistic homeland. The students interviewed tend to consider the expression of their own or the nearest linguistic environment more dialectal. The respondents of the Žemaitian points associate the Žemaitian areas with dialect more often, while those from the Aukštaitian points associate it with the Aukštaitian dialect areas. In terms of linguistic homelands, geographically remote areas are apparently less familiar or are completely unknown to the subjects of all points, and are therefore considered to be faint or non-dialectal where dialecticity is concerned.

The geographical proximity of the variants, as shown by the comparative analysis of the dialectal or non-dialectal areas distinguished by the subjective and objective research should

be considered as one of the factors allowing a more precise distinction between linguistic variations.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

This comparative analysis of the dialects of the Lithuanian language area, performed by using both the subjective and objective methods, shows a complete or almost complete convergence between the perspectives of ordinary members of the language community (emic) and the researchers (etic).

Young people from various linguistic backgrounds primarily associate the Žemaitian (Plūngė and Telšiai districts) and the Western Aukštaitian areas (Marijampolė district) with dialectal expression. The remaining areas of central, eastern and south-eastern Lithuania are less frequently indicated as dialectal. From a subjective point of view, the weakening of dialecticity as it progresses from west to east is also confirmed by the findings of the geolinguistic research.

Images of Žemaitian and Aukštaitian dialecticity formed in the self-consciousness of the research subjects, correlating with the insights of the researchers, can be assessed as direct or indirect cases of linguistic isoglosses (cases of the Northern Žemaitian of Telšiai and Kretinga, the Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys and Širvintos) and reflections of new dialectal formations (the Žemaitian and the East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolects).

The views of ordinary language users and researchers differ only over the dialecticity of several areas. In terms of vitality and continuity, the more optimistic situation of the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect is highlighted by the data on the perceptions of the local young people. Continuation of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Kūpiškis and Anykščiai, according to the assessment of the research subjects, is possible not in the Eastern Aukštaitian of Utena, but in a dialectal formation that is emerging on the basis of the subdialect of Panevėžys.

Therefore, the hand-drawn maps not only reveal a fairly accurate geolinguistic competence of young language users, but also confirm the objective dialectal variation of almost the entire area of the Lithuanian language.

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## **SUMMARIES**

DANGUOLĖ MIKULĖNIENĖ

### **ISSUES OF PERIODIZATION: DIALECTOLOGICAL THOUGHT, METHODOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL TURNS**

This article aims to systemically present the characteristics inherent to all periods of the Lithuanian dialectology which have been singled out. The author distinguishes three such characteristics – the territorial definability of a dialect, its markedness and its relation with the standard (or written) language.

The characteristics were first identified during the pre-dialectological period in the old grammars of the Lithuanian language. They have been recorded in some form by dialectologists throughout the whole period of the Lithuanian dialectology development and are still being traced today. The pre-dialectological period, which can be traced in the early Lithuanian language grammars between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is also important to the development of dialectology in general.

The history of the Lithuanian dialectology can comprise be divided into at least three stages, different not only in their duration but also in terms of methodologies and ideologies: 1) the beginning of dialectology, the early and late pre-geolinguistic periods (the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 1930s, when the Lithuanian dialectology became an independent discipline); 2) the early and late geolinguistic period (the 1940s until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). This period was characterised by the classification and illustration of dialects on maps as well as by the compilation of questionnaires and dialect atlases); 3) the neogeolinguistic period (in Lithuania it emerged alongside the sociocognitive and perceptual dialectology at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century).

These above-mentioned stages of dialectology evolution are not characterised by strict chronology or very coherent order in terms of the timescale, i.e. the division is done mostly according to the attitudes, ideologies and methodologies of the researchers. Therefore, similarly to other countries, works dedicated to the different dialectology periods have been published simultaneously in Lithuania.

The pre-geolinguistic period is different from the pre-dialectological one in several ways. The list of the dialectal features in the works of the researchers of the time is more extensive and diverse. In addition, attempts were made to describe and (or) break down the Lithuanian dialects more systemically in accordance with the afore-mentioned features and to find for the

most suitable dialectal variant to become the basis of the written Lithuanian language which was being formed at that time.

The early geolinguistic period in Lithuania can be described as a stage of systemic collection, accumulation and generalization of the dialectal material. This was first and foremost approached through lexicography. Therefore, the clear dialectological research direction that formed in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was gradually becoming separate from the lexicographic one, as the course was being taken away from the single fact-to-fact synthesis. The period of the dialectal data generalization thus began; which was also the case all over Europe.

Following the changes in the historical and political circumstances after the World War II, the Lithuanian dialectology needed at least several decades to recover. All humanitarian sciences, including dialectology, had to be re-oriented in accordance with the standards and requirements of the then USSR. However, due to the efforts of the new-generation linguists preserving the continuity of the inter-war Lithuanian dialectology became possible and this work could carry on despite the new political conditions. A new phase in qualitative research was the creation of the phonological school of Lithuanian dialectology by Aleksas Girdeņis, who combined the basic principles of structuralism with a new concept of language and speech. Girdeņis' school distinguished between synchrony and diachrony, paradigmatics and syntagmatics, and applied new research methods such as the distributional analysis, the binary distinctive principles of dichotomous phonology, alongside the traditional provisions and attitudes inherited from the Neogrammarian times – for example, the informants were being selected in accordance with the NORM criteria, whilst the dialects were mostly being analysed by native speaking researchers of their respective dialects.

Nomenclature of regional variability has almost always been related to the administrative location nominations: both at the outset of the Lithuanian dialectology and during the present period of modern dialectology. It can be concluded that in this case the paradigmatic turning point has not occurred.

It should be noted that during the different periods of the Lithuanian dialectology the observation of dialectal markedness only densifies, the stock of dialectal characteristics gets richer and its systematicity is gradually exposed. However, under the conceptual assessment, the discourse of dialectal markedness is one of the most sustainable keynotes both at the dawn of dialectology and during the stages of paradigm establishment and evolution.

The inclusion of the prescriptive aspect into the dialectology discourse has at all times been significantly affected not only the dialectological thought, but in the long run

“programmed” the algorithm of erroneous attitude, i.e. to measure a dialect from the standard language perspective.

VIOLETA MEILIŪNAITĖ

### **STABILITY AND DYNAMICS OF (LITHUANIAN) DIALECTAL NETWORK**

The article presents the Lithuanian language network of regional variety areas (hereinafter: RVAs) and changes in its research. The network, consisting of almost 800 RVAs, was comprehensively explored in the period between the 1950s and 1960s, and the data was used for scientific publications in both Lithuania and abroad. However, in the course of over five decades, numerous social, demographic, cultural, etc. changes have taken place. Therefore, the paper focuses on the changes in the Lithuanian dialects and dialect studies based on the monitoring of the RVAs in the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* in the 2010s.

Upon revision of the RVAs identified in the *ALL* and evaluation of their prospects, it can be concluded that about 70% of the traditional RVAs have positive prospects for further development in both Žemaitija and Aukštaitija. Strengthening these prospects requires a conscious action from local authorities in promoting the socio-economic attractiveness of the region and enhancing the prestige of the local identity. In an effort to determine the strength of dialectal speech between the respondents of different generations, the representatives of the middle-aged generation (31-49 years old during the monitoring process) were found to display the most pronounced convergence of dialectal speech and normative language. This contributed significantly to the formation of larger regional constructs, i.e. regiolects. Although the individual RVAs might have been relatively homogeneous in terms of the local population, and simultaneously in terms of the spoken local language variety, the linguistic picture of the total territory of Lithuania is generally quite diverse. Better education and greater opportunities for mobility led to the expansion of dialectal areas and the formation of larger constructs – regiolects and geolects. Due to the change in how a dialect was being viewed, currently seeing it as an open rather than closed language system, the dialectological research started including aspects of sociolinguistics and social sciences, which were directly related to the sustainability of the regional linguistic and cultural identity

JURGITA JAROSLAVIENĖ

## **METHODOLOGICAL DIVERSITY AND COMPLEXITY IN COMPARATIVE EXPERIMENTAL SOUND RESEARCH**

This article discusses the complexity and importance of methodological diversity in the comparative experimental research conducted over the past five years on the sounds of the contemporary standard Baltic languages. Some of the most recent non-comparative studies on the sounds of Standard Lithuanian are also considered. In addition, significant comparative instrumental studies in the field of the Lithuanian dialectology are reviewed to highlight the main methodological trends, benefits, and challenges to consider. Investigations of the relevant units of vowel and the prosodic systems of the Lithuanian dialects form the largest part of the current experimental studies. Since the biggest proportion of all instrumental sound investigations has been carried out by the students of the Lithuanian phonologist prof. Aleksas Girdenis) at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a traditional Lithuanian school of phonologists-instrumentalists, whose work is based on similar methods and principles, should be noted. Phonological interpretations, based on the results of experimental sound research, are the most significant feature of the Lithuanian phonology school. The researchers consider that the instrumental investigations in phonology can perform only an auxiliary role with the decisive role being played by the actual distinctive power of sound units.

The material, methods and goals of comparative studies vary: the peculiarities of methodological issues and the complexity of experimental research depend on the aims and the scope of the study. This is important in a number of ways: when comparing the selected results (data) and material of different languages or different (sub)dialects; developing new terminology; looking for opportunities to apply the International Phonetic Alphabet to the sounds of the Lithuanian dialects; providing the vowel and consonant classifications based on different methodologies; identifying the need for further theoretical perspectives, innovative methods and research aspects; setting new goals; updating the practical benefits and requirements of such experimental studies as well as the availability of audio recordings on national and international level, while considering the rapidly changing technologies and accessibility of the sound research (results, records) on the internet for creating advanced digital resources and databases as well as the artificial intelligence tools.

All studies described in this article consolidate the Lithuanian terminology of the acoustics of language or dialect, apply a methodology of instrumental sound and pitch accent research, which is in some cases new to the Lithuanian linguistics and will introduce the

traditional (Girdenis) school of the Lithuanian phonetics and phonology into the global context of comparable research. Such experimental investigations build the foundation on which further instrumental studies of the standard Baltic languages and the Lithuanian dialects may be continued to reveal other important aspects and perspectives. The investigations described in this article could potentially be expanded by including other positions of vowels and consonants, by considering the informant's place of birth, age, etc. Comparative experimental studies help highlight the differences and characteristics of the phonemic inventories, the prosodic features of different languages or dialects, the nuances of possible phonetic and phonological classifications, the universal distinctive features of sounds, even the peculiarities of the empirical material and the methods used in the studies, possible aims of the experimental analysis, and other aspects. New instrumental scientific and practical research could increase the Lithuanian sound methodological innovations and set clearer prospects for any future investigations.

RIMA BAKŠIENĖ

#### **INSTRUMENTAL RESEARCH INTO THE QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOCALISM VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIALECT OF ŠAKIAI**

This article aims to analyse the more pronounced positional and combinatory vowel variants used in the subdialect of Šakiai, which is part of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Kaunas. The analysis is conducted by using instrumental methods with the following vowel positions selected for research to allow the most accurate characterisation of the different areas of the subdialect: 1) stem-accented long vowels [e:], [o:], positional length vowels [ɛ̃:], [æ̃:] and polyphthongs [ɪɛ], [ʊɔ]; 2) stem-unaccented long vowels [e:], [o:] and polyphthongs [ɪɛ], [ʊɔ]; 3) unaccented long vowels of close endings [e:], [o:]; 4) stem-accented short vowels [ɪ], [ʊ]; 5) first components of acute semi-diphthongs [æ̃]R, [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R; 6) first components of circumflex semi-diphthongs [ɪ]R, [ʊ]R.

Based on the results of the instrumental research, the articulatory and acoustic characteristics of the most important variants of the Šakiai subdialect are described in more detail. Long vowels [e:] and [o:] in unaccented syllables undergo not only quantitative but also qualitative reduction. The variants in different prosodic positions are most clearly characterised in terms of articulation by the vertical movement of the tongue – the [e:] and [o:] in unaccented positions are much more close than the accented ones in all cases studied.

Throughout the entire time of pronunciation, the vowels [ɛ̃:] and [æ̃:] retain diphthong-like properties in terms of articulation. The sounds at the beginning are much closer and front

(acoustically they are more diffuse and higher timbre, respectively), whereas the sounds at the end are more open and back (acoustically more compact and of lower timbre).

The short vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] of the subdialect in the position before a non-palatalised consonant are not characterised by the lateral articulation of the vowel backness. Instrumental studies show a more pronounced horizontal rather than vertical movement of the tongue when influenced by the adjacent sounds. The polyphthongs [ɪɛ] and [ʊɔ] in a unaccented position preserve the articulation properties of diphthongs well enough and they do not become monophthongs.

Finally, it should be noted that the researched vocalism variants of the Šakiai subdialect undergo a slight qualitative reduction in an unaccented position and most of the inherent properties of vowels are preserved. However, a very pronounced influence on some vowel elements of the surrounding phonetic context has been recorded. The preliminary data of the research suggest that the combinatory rather than positional variants of the vowels researched are more pronounced in the subdialect.

VILIJA RAGAIŠIENĖ

#### **NEW SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO STRESS RETRACTION IN THE EAST-EASTERN AUKŠTAITIAN SUBDIALECTS**

This article is the first-ever attempt to analyse the phenomena of stress retraction in the East-Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects by comparing two written sources: the 1860s–1880s texts from the subdialects of Kupiškis and Anykščiai, published in *Litauische Mundarten gesammelt von A. Baranowski* by German linguist Franz Specht and printed in Leipzig, as well as the 1950s–1960s descriptions of these dialects, included in the Archive of the Dialects at the Geolinguistics Centre of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language.

The aim of the article is to describe in as much detail as possible the stress retraction in the subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis, to discuss the accentuation phenomena from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1950s and 1960s, and to reveal its areal spread.

A comparative analysis of Antanas Baranauskas' texts of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the written sources from the 1950s–1960s shows the development of stress retraction as a phenomenon in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Anykščiai and Kupiškis. The more intense conditional stress retraction rule in the eastern subdialects of eastern Aukštaitija was formed relatively late and over a longer period of time. The research allows for two important assumptions. First, the innovative wave of the "double-peaked" stress and the subsequent stress

retraction from the northern part of the area, where this phenomenon was rather regular, could have moved towards the eastern edge not earlier than in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, the formation of the stress retraction rule was very uneven in the subdialects researched. In the Kupiškis area and the northern part of the Anykščiai area, stress retraction could have been finally formed only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the southern subdialects of Anykščiai, this process had not yet taken root in the 1950s and 1960s and might have worked on the principle of interaction: in some subdialects the stress retracting forms could have prevailed, while in others only certain forms maintained it.

ASTA LESKAUSKAITĖ

### **MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH INTO LITHUANIAN DIALECTS: TRADITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS**

The article briefly discusses the development of morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects from the beginning of Lithuanian dialectology to the end of the 2010s. The main focus is on the research in this branch of linguistics, the methodology as well as the most important ideas and the most significant works.

During the period between the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of World War II, any morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects was based on the principle of documentation and the Neogrammarian methodology. 1944 marks the start of a new tradition in Lithuanian dialectology when descriptive and areal linguistic research methods become widely-used and the methodology of natural morphology is applied. This is also the aspect, according to which the Lithuanian dialects start to be compared to each other. The emergence of a new direction of dialectology in Lithuania at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century prompts discussion on further direction of morphological research into the Lithuanian dialects as well as its theoretical and methodological provisions.

The research carried out over the past decade is incredibly important as it shows that rapid change in traditional dialects also affects their morphology, although it is more difficult for language users to notice it. This is where comparative morphological research into the dialects of the Baltic languages could be beneficial. Various computer programmes and tools could be employed to systemise the material of the Lithuanian dialects and to analyse any changes in their morphological systems. Dialectometry and various statistical methods could be particularly suitable for this purpose.

GINTARĖ JUDŽENTYTĖ-ŠINKŪNIENĖ

## **EXOPHORIC USAGE OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN ANAS [THAT] IN STANDARD LITHUANIAN AND SUB-SUBDIALECT OF VIDUKLĖ**

The paper examines the use of the pronoun *anas* [that] in Standard Lithuanian and in the sub-subdialect of Viduklė. The aim of this research is to investigate whether the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is, in fact, the opposite of the pronoun *šis* [this] and to show that the “distal” meaning of *anas* [that] (in relation to the speaker) is becoming increasingly rare in face-to-face communication, with the Lithuanian language users presently attaching a slightly different meaning to this word.

The study of Standard Lithuanian showed that the occurrence of the pronoun *anas* [that] in face-to-face communication is very rare. Therefore, more contexts are certainly needed for further analysis. The main challenge in this research is the method of data collection – is almost impossible to capture the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] when recording natural speech. On the other hand, it is precisely this speech that reflects the true use of demonstrative pronouns in Lithuanian, therefore the current material is considered reliable.

Regarding the exophoric usage of demonstrative pronouns, it is evident that the pronoun *tas* [that] usually functions as the main distal pronoun in contrastive contexts, while *anas* [that] serves as a clarifying word. Similarly, the data from the sub-subdialect of Viduklė also shows that the demonstrative pronoun *anas* [that] is not routinely used to identify distant objects/people. Instead, a referent in the distance is indicated by the demonstrative pronoun *tas* [that], as is the case in Standard Lithuanian. During the study the lexeme *anas* [that] was found to be used as a personal pronoun *he, she* [jis, ji] only in one context. The researched material of Viduklė sub-subdialect has therefore raised more questions than answers. One thing is clear: in order to investigate the actual situation and to understand the various influences on these linguistic processes, the sub-subdialect of Viduklė needs to be studied further.

VILIJĄ RAGAIŠIENĖ

## **WORK IN THE WORLDVIEW OF THE SOUTH-SOUTHERN AUKŠTAITIAN**

An in-depth analysis of the *Dictionary of the South-Southern Aukštaitian Subdialects* reveals the origins of the term *darbas* [work] and shows several different approaches to work. The analysis of current-use examples as well as certain permanent collocations highlights the main semantic aspects associated with the concept of *darbas* [work]. These are: the mental aspect (forges one’s character, forms values and inclinations); the social aspect (maintains and

strengthens family relations as well as the relationships with other people); the physical aspect (requires considerable physical strength, affects one's health); the everyday life aspect (provides material well-being and comfortable living); and the biological aspect (ensures living conditions). The analysis of the dialectical discourse shows the differences between the archaic and the contemporary approaches. It also highlights the changes taking place in one's material as well as spiritual life.

The research resulted in the identification of the main features the South-Southern Aukštaitians associated with the concept of *darbas* [work], when talking about chores and the daily activities. The findings revealed that work was considered an important personal (and social) physical activity which occupied the central place in one's life and took up most of one's time, shaped one's character and values. Work is the basis for one's life and well-being, one's duty and purpose, it also secures good relationships amongst family members and within the wider society.

ASTA BALČIŪNIENĖ, VIOLETA MEILIŪNAITĖ

## THE CONCEPT OF JŪRA [THE SEA] IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REGION OF AUKŠTAITIJA

The paper focuses from an ethnolinguistic point of view on the concept of *jūra* [the sea] and the specific characteristics of its linguistic expression in the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija. This region almost coincides with the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect variants. It is obvious that due to the geographical and political position of the region as well as its insignificant economic connections to the sea (the Aukštaitians historically did not earn their living from sea fishing or sea trade), the linguistic realisation of this concept is rather poor.

In the Aukštaitian dialect (it is worth remembering that it covers a wider area than the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija), the concept of the sea is expressed by the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* as well as the collocation *jūros mārios*, the morphemic structure of which varies in different subdialects and can also be expressed by the lexeme *vanduõ* [water] meaning a 'large body of water'. To conclude, Aukštaitians have more than one lexeme for expressing the concepts of the sea and the ocean. Usually they replace each other rather easily and are close to being absolute synonyms. The meaning of all these lexemes is much broader than the meaning of the sea, i.e. a 'large body of salty water'. According to Valencova's research, the word *море* [the sea] in the Slavic languages is also usually perceived as a 'large body of water' (Валенцова 2015b: 163–164). Regarding the use of the lexemes denoting the sea, it is obvious

that the Aukštaitians tend to use the lexeme *mārios* more often than other lexemes expressing the concept of the sea.

The collocation *jūros mārios*, meaning **a large body of water**, was traced in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Kupiškis. However, derivatives of the words *mārios* and *jūra* in colloquial Eastern Aukštaitian are rare.

The concept of the sea (a body of salty water) in the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija, essentially coinciding with the area of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, is inseparable from the concept of the lagoon (a large body of fresh water). In other words, the differences between these bodies of salty and fresh water are not relevant to the Aukštaitians in principle and have therefore been neutralised. This is confirmed by the linguistic expression of both concepts whereby the lexemes *jūra*, *mārios*, *jūros (-ės) mārios*, *vanduō*, etc. can all be used to denote either a body of salty water or a body of fresh water.

The Eastern Aukštaitians can name a body of fresh water (e.g. a reservoir formed by a dam) using two lexemes (*jūra* ir *mārios*), even though the official name of the body includes the lexeme *mārios* (*Ekrāno mārios*, *Kūpiškio mārios*). Both of these lexemes can also mean a body of salty water, i.e. the sea, which proves that the Aukštaitians have used these lexemes synonymously for many centuries.

A lower number of the lexeme *jūra* recorded in the area covering the Eastern and Southern variants of the Aukštaitian subdialects can be explained by the competition between the synonyms *jūros* and *mārios*. The use of the lexeme *jūra*, which has been increasing since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, is associated both with the greater mobility of the population (at present, many Aukštaitians holiday by the sea or are working/studying in the port town of Klaipėda, etc.) as well as the influence of Standard Lithuanian. We can assume that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century the semantic differences between the lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* in the Aukštaitian subdialects will probably be the same as in Standard Lithuanian (*jūra* denoting a body of salty water, and *mārios* – a body of fresh water).

The lexemes *jūra* and *mārios* denoting the concept of the sea as well as their derivatives are used in various discourses and styles, while the collocations (*jūros mārios*, etc.) have been recorded only in folklore. The lexeme *vanduō* also denotes the concept of the sea / the ocean in the Aukštaitian dialect, however, due to its polysemy, this meaning is not implied as often as in the case of other lexemes.

The cognitive definition of the sea in the Aukštaitian subdialects could be as follows: the sea is the gateway to the world of the dead or a mystical alien world, a menacing and uncontrollable element, or a place for rest and work. The definition has some differences from Standard Lithuanian. Therefore, we can argue that the language users of the region of

Aukštaitija have retained a traditional concept, older than that reflected in Standard Lithuanian. In most Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects, **salty water** as an attribute of the sea has not been recorded, although this attribute is included in the meaning definition of the lexeme *jūra* in various dictionaries (LKŽe, KŽ, etc.).

In the Eastern Aukštaitian dialect, the metaphorisation of lexemes denoting the concept of the sea has not been developed, and usually metaphors are based on the opposition of the attributes **very much / little**.

DAIVA KARDELYTĖ-GRINEVIČIENĖ

### **A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE LITHUANIAN DIALECTOLOGY: THE CASE OF THE LOCATIVE**

The purpose of this article is to provide a brief overview of the results and other aspects of some initial dialectological studies based on authentic dialectal data which addresses the semantics and the relations of the locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius and in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect by applying the methods of cognitive linguistics. The article presents four cognitive domains of the meaning of locative inessive and illative constructions which have been identified by examining the linguistic data from the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius, focusing on the physical domain, the domain of events, the domain of states and the social domain. Abundant empirical material of the researched subdialect represents the category of the physical domain which features 8 semantic types: location inside a building, location inside a container, location under some physical object, location inside a substance, location inside parts of body, location in publications, location in flora and location in topographical and geographical regions, covered or open landscape. Both the inessive and illative constructions primarily express location inside of various buildings and containers.

The analysis of the semantic types of the locative inessive and illative constructions in the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius reveals that the researched constructions prototypically encode the physical domain. The event domain, the social domain and the state domain do not refer to a physical location but display metaphorical use. The non-prototypical use of the locative inessive and illative constructions under examination is determined by two factors - the characteristics of the container and the verb marking the relation between the trajector and the landmark.

The semantic analysis of the material on the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius reveals not only the semantic potential of each construction, but also the relationships between these constructions. Such relationships realised the competitive use of the locative inessive and illative constructions. Competitive usage is characteristic not only of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialect of Vilnius but is particularly common in the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect. Almost identical semantic environment of the locative inessive and illative constructions and the semantic features of the verb can be determining a motive of competitive use in both subdialects.

NIJOLĖ TUOMIENĖ

### **THE BORROWING DOMAIN IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN BORDER REGIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE**

The object of the research described in the article is the past or currently-ongoing process of the Lithuanian language decline in several Lithuanian “islands” in north-eastern Belarus. The process is facilitated by borrowing from the Slavic languages, the end result of which should be qualified as the death of the Lithuanian language.

The main goal of this study is to reveal the aspects of interference between the dominant local Slavic languages – Belarusian and Polish – and the passively-used Lithuanian at the lexical, partly also morphological, phonetic and syntactic levels, taking into consideration the fact that all speakers are fluent in several languages and alternate these languages during the conversation.

The language processes described in the article were researched at apparent time: the current language of informants of different ages is studied and compared.

Bilingual (some also multilingual) Lithuanians in Voranava region, who speak Lithuanian only among themselves, whilst living under the influence of the Belarusian language and Belarusian culture, are forced to accept it. Little by little, the means of expression typical of the Belarusian language, especially those not possessed by the native subdialect, are beginning to be recognised as such. The Belarusian elements are being more frequently inserted into the Lithuanian Language, despite its contradictory nature. Bilingualism (multilingualism) reshapes the mindset, therefore, one starts to identify foreign words, word combinations, phraseology and others with one’s own, and no longer distinguishes between them.

The translated words from the dialects of Asava, Plikiai, Rodūnia and Žirmūnai have noticeably narrowed the expressional means of the Lithuanian lexicon used there. Some adjectives are also pushed out of use. For example, the speakers of these Lithuanian subdialects no longer have adjectives widely known in the Lithuanian language and its dialects to describe the colours of plants, objects, clothes and animals, e.g.: *dryžúotas* [striped (about objects)]; *juodmargis* [black and white]; *pilkas, pilkà* [grey], *raĩ.bas, raibà* [motley]; *raĩ.nas, rainà* [tabby]; *šĩř.mas, širmà* [dapple grey], etc. Instead, only two colours have been recorded – *žvilas, žvilà* [grey] (when the colour is darker) and *maĩrgas, margà* [motley] (when the colour is uneven, with spots). In the Lithuanian subdialects a resumptive calque *prãũ.sti(s)* [wash (oneself)] from the Belarusian *мáчыць* is used instead of the verbs *mazgòti(s)*, *plá.utis(s)*, *skáũ.bti(s)* which have evidently been pushed out of the subdialect.

The article also discusses the emergence of the borrowing asymmetry which is amongst the last signs of the decline of the Lithuanian language. This is a process where the easier movement of words is happening only in one direction – into the Lithuanian language, while other elements of Lithuanian are being decreasingly less adapted. In the local Belarusian dialect, the words *plãštaka* [hand] and *dėlnas* [palm] are called by one word – *ладóнь* [palm], therefore the word *dėlnas* is used for *plãštaka* in the Lithuanian subdialect, too.

When formerly Lithuanian-speaking people switch to the Slavic languages entirely, i.e. they stop speaking Lithuanian, the native Lithuanian language is still reflected in the Slavic languages they use: they retain the most characteristic phonetic features of their dialects when speaking Belarusian or Polish. The phonetics of the Lithuanian language is preserved in cases of bilingualism or trilingualism even to a greater degree.

One of the features of the Lithuanian subdialect, which is reflected when the Slavic languages are spoken, is the absence of the phoneme [x]; therefore even in the local Belarusian dialect when *x* was confused with *k*, cases were recorded e.g.: *мáчкака* (it should be *мáчкаха*) [stepmother]. This is because the absence of the sound *x* or the intense confusion of *x* and *k* in the local Belarusian dialect and the Polish language is one of the most pronounced characteristics of the Lithuanian substrate.

The emergence and proliferation of Slavic grammatical cases and prepositional constructions in the Lithuanian subdialects of border regions, which are becoming extinct, can be described as one-way traffic: being surrounded by the Slavic languages determined the syntactic structure changes in these subdialects and adjustments in the management of the individual forms of grammatical cases.

The prepositional constructions used in the subdialects of the Voranava area, which are also present in other neighbouring dialects, have acquired new features here, which are often not typical of the Lithuanian language. This is a result of strong assimilation.

DALIA KISELIŪNAITĖ

## **PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH INTO THE KURSENIKU LANGUAGE OF THE CURONIAN SPIT**

The object of the article is the sociolinguistic situation of the endangered geolect (the Kursenieku language) in the territory of the Curonian Spit in Lithuania and the actualization of its research. The history, evolution and causes of extinction of this geolect are briefly presented. The author critically reviews the most important stages and directions of available documentation and research. It has been stated that most of the work was done by the German linguists and ethnographers, but from the point of view of linguistics, the most comprehensive research is the study of the Latvian linguist Plakis "Kursenieku valoda" (written in the first half of the twentieth century). After World War II, a diachronic description of the language of emigrants living in Germany is given by El Mogharbel in „Nehrungskurisch. Dokumentation einer moribunden Sprache“. This can be seen as an important addition and a step forward in noticing the significant internal signs of language decline. The situation of the idiom of the mentioned group of speakers, recorded by instrumental methods in Schmid and Bernowski's publication „Nehrungskurisch“, can be considered as a valuable work of language documentation, useful for further research. Given the importance of this geolectic study not only for the Baltic studies but also for sociolinguistics, the tasks set by the German linguist Range are updated here. Only some of them have been implemented (maximally documented language artefacts), but further steps await: a comprehensive study of the linguistic system, a systematic description of the language, and a thesaurus. To all this, it should be added that the conceptual approach is not possible without correlation between the diachronic and synchronous research methods, without considering the idiom of each speaker. Research could and should be accelerated by the cooperation between the Lithuanian and Latvian scientists in carrying out targeted scientific projects focused on this geolect.

AGNĖ ČEPAITIENĖ

## **APPLICATION OF DIALECTOMETRIC METHODS IN RESEARCH ON LITHUANIAN DIALECTS**

Based on the dialectometric research conducted to date into the Lithuanian dialects, this paper aims to assess the possibilities and advantages of applying the dialectometric methods in order to analyse the Lithuanian dialects using the web application Gabmap. The research material is comprised of the dialectometric studies of the Lithuanian dialects performed thus far, all of which are attributed to the Groningen School of Dialectometry. This paper should be considered as the first attempt to systematically review and examine the dialectometric methods used thus far for researching the Lithuanian dialects.

To achieve the aim, the possibilities of applying the dialectometric methods (used in the web application Gabmap) to the research on the Lithuanian dialects are discussed first. Following this, the problematic aspects of applying the quantitative methods and the interpretation of the results obtained by using them are analysed and the benefits of the selected Groningen School of Dialectometry for the research on the Lithuanian dialects are highlighted.

Following the analysis, many possibilities and advantages of the dialectometric methods for researching the Lithuanian dialects are highlighted: the methods were useful in identifying not only the groups of dialects, but also their structure, the hierarchy of dialects within the same group as well as distinguishing between the homogeneous and heterogeneous, strong and weak, differential and transitional dialects. In addition to the identification of unique dialectal characteristics, the dialectometric methods allowed to determine which dialectal features were strong or weak, distinctive or imperceptible, and how these features can vary and change. In perceptual dialectology the prototypical dialectal and Standard Language zones are highlighted and illustrated, a statistically significant degree of dialecticism in it is measured, and the perception of language variability is calculated.

The universality of the dialectometric methods with regards to research topics is also discussed, as well as the fact that even the small sample results are statistically significant and can be summarised for the whole subdialect or sub-subdialect.

## THE NARRATIVE OF A NAÏVE ESTIMATOR OR THE SPREAD OF PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN LITHUANIAN DIALECT RESEARCH

The aim of the article is to briefly introduce the approach of the perceptual dialectology (PD) paradigm and to present a sample results of the PD research carried out in Lithuania. The purpose of this research was to reveal the significance of the *view from the inside* perspective in the research of the regional language variation, as well as the correlation and relationship with the results of the *view from the outside* research.

The tradition of PD research in Lithuania started at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, the holistic research embracing both the conceptualisation of language variants and the perception of marked text-stimuli has been carried out only for the last 5–8 years.

The empirical basis for the analytical discourse developed in the paper was constructed from the results of the project *The Position of Standard Language in the Mental Map of the Lithuanian Language*, which investigated the geolinguistic competence of the ordinary members of language community, and the project *Distribution of Regional Variants and Quasi-standard Language at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Perceptual Approach (Perceptual Categorisation of Variants)*, the research object of which is the categorisation of perceptual variants, i.e. how the attributes of new dialect formations, their linguistic value and features are related to the image of the quasi-standard language and its spread within the society.

The article does not thoroughly present the results of the afore-mentioned research, since that is an object for present and future scientific works. In this paper, the PD research data and the sample results, as well as any case studies are used to substantiate the principal value of the PD paradigm research for the field of dialectology in general. The data of hand-drawn maps are particularly important for this paper.

To outline the ideas developed in the article, a few concluding remarks can be made:

1) Although the development of PD research in Lithuania started relatively late, both the theoretical and the methodological principles of the PD paradigm have nonetheless been adopted, and the paradigm has become an integral part of the dialectological research in Lithuania;

2) It should be highlighted that in dialectological discourse the PD paradigm represents the *view from the inside* dialectological research group. Data gathered in PD research provides empirical basis for the construction of the *emic* narrative, i.e. for the inclusion of the knowledge, opinion and standpoints on linguistic reality held by the naïve estimator into the scientific discourse;

3) The results of the case studies demonstrated in the paper suggest the following insights into the peculiarities of the *view from the inside* perspective:

a. The images of variants are stable and widespread among naïve estimators. This observation is primarily substantiated by the image of the Standard Language as an urban variant, which was analysed in the paper;

b. The hand-drawn maps from various localities promote the assumption about the existence of regional standards;

c. Based on the results of the PD research presented in the article, conclusions can be made that naïve estimators strive to preserve a positive image of their linguistic homeland. Such efforts are reflected in the localisation of the dialectal and non-dialectal areas in the hand-drawn maps;

d. The *view from the inside* research reveals that naïve estimators assess regional dialects differently. The hand-drawn maps revealed that some localities are associated with certain dialects much more frequently. An assumption can be made that the *view from the inside* perspective has parallels with the *view from the outside* perspective. The hand-drawn maps demonstrate that dialects are drawn to the areas which have been identified in *etic* discourses as having the highest dialectal markedness, i.e. thegeolect and regiolect zones.

It is important to note that the results of the PD research broaden and diversify the dialectological discourses. Of significance is the fact that during the inventory process of the information concerning the naïve estimators' *view from the outside* perspective on language variation, certain new perspectives on language variation, as an object of analysis, can be observed. Primarily, novel dialectological topics can be raised, such as the value and self-worth of a regional variant, the interrelationship of variants from the perspective of language users; a possibility for a more accurate prediction of the tendencies in the shift of variants, and others.

LAURA BRAZAITIENĖ

### **RESEARCH ON PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN LITHUANIA: SUBJECTIVE DIALECTAL VARIATION OF LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AREA IN RELATION TO OBJECTIVE VARIATION**

The article analyses the subjective variation of the Lithuanian language area in relation to the objective variation. The research material is comprised of data obtained from a study, during which the principles of perceptual dialectology were applied. The data is compared to the results of the geolinguistic research conducted throughout Lithuania.

This analysis demonstrates that the Žemaitian (also known as Samogitian) and the Western Aukštaitian zones are most commonly associated with dialectal expression by the young people from different linguistic backgrounds. The remaining area of the Lithuanian language is less frequently indicated as a dialectal area. From a subjective point of view, the weakening of dialecticity as it progresses from west to east is also confirmed by the findings of the geolinguistic research.

Images of the Žemaitian and Aukštaitian dialecticity formed in the self-consciousness of the research subjects, correlating with the insights of the researchers, can be assessed as direct or indirect reflections of linguistic isoglosses (cases of the Northern Žemaitian of Telšiai and Kretinga, the Eastern Aukštaitian of Panevėžys and Širvintos) and new dialectal formations (the Žemaitian and the East-Eastern Aukštaitian regiolects).

In terms of vitality and continuity, the more optimistic situation of the Southern Aukštaitian subdialect is highlighted by the data on the perceptions of the local young people. Continuation of the Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of Kùpiškis and Anykščiai, according to the assessment of the research subjects, is possible not in the Eastern Aukštaitian of Utena, but in a dialectal formation that is emerging on the basis of the subdialect of Panevėžys.

Therefore, the hand-drawn maps not only reveal the fairly accurate geolinguistic competence amongst young language users but also demonstrate the objective dialectal variation of almost the entire area of the Lithuanian language

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