

## Accentuation models of disyllabic nouns in the Southern Aukštaitian dialect

**Vilija Ragaišienė**

Institute of the Lithuanian Language

P. Vileišio g. 5

LT-10308 Vilnius, Lithuania

E-mail: [vilija.ragaisiene@vlkk.lt](mailto:vilija.ragaisiene@vlkk.lt)

### Abstract

The article provides an analysis of the accentuation of disyllabic nouns in the Southern Aukštaitian (SAuk) dialect spoken in Southern Lithuania (Alytus, Lazdijai, Varėna, Šalčininkai, Druskininkai and Trakai districts). The term *pietų aukštaičiai* (southern Aukštaitians) was coined by scholars; because of certain phonetic peculiarities of the dialect, the inhabitants of southern Lithuania consider themselves to be *dzūkai* (Dzūkians).

The SAuk has been of special interest to both dialectologists and Baltic language specialists for a long time. The archaic grammatical forms, syntactic constructions, phonetic, accentual and lexical peculiarities that are features of these dialects are intertwined with new phenomena and thus reveal many stages of the development of the dialect of the Southern Aukštaitians, which in turn can be of help in finding answers to some unanswered questions about the development and usage of language. For this reason more attention and research has been devoted to the SAuk dialect and its broader connections with language as a whole.

The article analyses the tendencies of the accentuation parallels of disyllabic nouns with  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  and  $\dot{ja}_1$  stems in the SAuk dialect. Drawing on audio and written sources dating from 1952–2015, the spread of the accentuation variants of the words and their forms in the same subdialect, separate subdialects and/or their groups are discussed; the accentuation patterns of disyllabic nouns with the productive  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  and  $\dot{ja}_1$  stems that are stressed in various ways are described, and the nature of their prevalence in the area of the dialect is established. The study uses quantitative, geolinguistic and comparative methods.

Upon completion of the research three important things were established. Firstly, the area with the largest number of variously stressed  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  and  $\dot{ja}_1$  disyllabic words and their forms in the same subdialect is the same, which is a comparatively small part of the southwestern area of the SAuk subdialects. Secondly, when it comes to the different frequency and intensity of the usage of the variants that are characteristic of the declension of feminine and masculine gender word stems in the same subdialect in the entire area of the SAuk dialect, parallel forms of  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  stem words have been observed considerably less frequently than the  $a$  and  $\dot{ja}_1$  stem variants. Thirdly, the number of parallel forms of the accentuation of noun stems in the same subdialect and in the speech of the informant decreases unevenly as one moves from the southwest of the country towards the north. Furthermore, the accentuation variants of feminine nouns are used in a smaller area than those of masculine nouns.

**Keywords:** Southern Aukštaitian dialect, subdialect, disyllabic noun, stem, accentuation variant, accentuation model, Lithuanian

## Dviskiemenių daiktavardžių kirčiavimo modeliai pietų aukštaičių patarmėje

### Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami kirčiavimo gretybų turinčių dviskiemenių  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  ir  $\dot{ja}_1$  kamienų daiktavardžių akcentuacijos polinkiai pietų aukštaičių patarmėje. Remiantis 1952–2015 m. garsinių ir rašytinių šaltinių medžiaga aptariamas šių žodžių ir jų formų kirčiavimo variantų paplitimas toje pačioje šnektoje, paskirose šnektose ir (ar) jų grupėse, aprašomi įvairiai kirčiuojamų dviskiemenių daiktavardžių produktyviųjų  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  ir  $\dot{ja}_1$  kamienų akcentiniai modeliai, nustatomas jų paplitimo pobūdis patarmės plote. Tyrimui atlikti pasirinkti kiekybinis, geolingvistinis ir lyginamasis metodai.

Nevienodas kirčiavimo variantų paplitimas patarmės plote (toje pačioje šnektoje, paskirose šnektose ar jų grupėse) leidžia manyti buvus skirtingų produktyviųjų kamienų kirčiavimo tendencijų pietų aukštaičių patarmėje. Atlikus tyrimą nustatyti trys svarbūs dalykai. Pirma, kad toje pačioje šnektoje įvairiai kirčiuojamų  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  ir  $\dot{ja}_1$  kamienų žodžių ir jų formų didžiausio kirčiavimo variantų paplitimo plotas yra tas pats – palyginti nedidelis pietvakariinių pietų aukštaičių šnektų arealas. Antra, kad moteriškojo ir vyriškojo linksniavimo kamienams būdingas skirtingas variantų vartojimo dažnumas ir intensyvumas toje pačioje šnektoje visame pietų aukštaičių patarmės plote –  $\bar{a}$  ir  $\bar{e}$  kamienų gretybės užrašomos gerokai rečiau nei  $a$  ir  $\dot{ja}_1$  kamienų variantai. Trečia, kad aptariamų kamienų daiktavardžių kirčiavimo gretybų toje pačioje šnektoje ir to paties informanto kalboje einant nuo pietvakarių šiaurės kryptimi mažėja netolygiai –

moteriškojo linksniavimo žodžių akcentinės gretybės vartojamos mažesniame plote nei vyriškojo linksniavimo daiktavardžių.

Moteriškojo ir vyriškojo linksniavimo daiktavardžių arealinių paplitimo skirtumų esama ir tada, kai paskirose šnektose vartojamas vienas iš daiktavardžio akcentinių variantų. Produktiviųjų *ā* ir *ē* kamienų pietų aukštaičių patarmės vakarinėje ir pietinėje ploto dalyje labiau paplitusios oksitoninio kirčiavimo gretybės, rytinėje ir šiaurinėje dažnesni yra baritoninio kirčiavimo atvejai. Dviskiemenių *a* ir *ja*, kamienų daiktavardžių tiriamoje patarmėje, ypač vakarinėje ir pietinėje dalyje, linkstama apibendrinti oksitoninio kirčiavimo modelį.

**Raktažodžiai:** pietų aukštaičių patarmė, šnekta, dviskiemenis daiktavardis, kamienas, kirčiavimo variantas, kirčiavimo modelis

## 1 Introduction

In recent years there have been quite a lot of articles in linguistic literature discussing the accentuation tendencies of declinable nouns in the SAuk dialect, which is understandable considering that the accentuation paradigms characteristic of this subdialect have been hitherto treated differently by linguists.

In the 1950s and 1960s, researchers of the SAuk border subdialects (Senkus 1958, 186; Šukys 1960, 180–181; Lipskienė, Vidugiris 1967, 195–196) were the first to pay attention to the accentuation variants of nouns, adjectives and numerals, or to be more exact, to the words and their forms that were stressed differently to Standard Lithuanian. Because variations in the accentuation paradigms were first noticed in the subdialects that were becoming extinct, the phenomenon was initially linked to the Slavonic languages (Zinkevičius 1966, 31; Grumadienė 1988, 144; Tuomienė 2010, 149).

After it was established that declinable words and their forms, whose stress varied not only in the border subdialects but also in the main region of the SAuk dialect, linguists were inclined to explain the unification of accentual paradigms by phonetic causes: 1) poorly differentiated polyphthongs *ie*, *uo* and the rising and falling accents of the SAuk dialects (Buch 1967, 59–62; Smoczyński 1972, 98; Garšva 2005, 266); 2) the assimilation of the tone of the rising and falling accents (Vitkauskas 1987, 85; Naktinienė, Paulauskienė, Vitkauskas 1988, 8); 3) the falling and rising accents were becoming uniform in this dialect (Grinaveckis 1972, 181–186; 1991, 110–111; Vitkauskas 2002, 185).

Once it became clear from the 1970s onwards that several parallel forms could be used in the same region, the appearance of stress variants began to be linked to systemic

morphological and phonological changes in the language system (Zinkevičius 1979, 90–93; Mikulėnienė 1996, 154; Grumadienė 1994, 102).

Since the 1990s, there has been a tendency to consider the intermingling of the stress paradigms and the existence of differently stressed forms to be an old phenomenon (Mikulėnienė 1996, 149; 2005, 164–167; Mikulėnienė, Morkūnas 1997, 17). It is believed that at least part of the accentuation variants of the SAuk dialect might have emerged a long time ago (Kuzavinis, Girdenis 1997, 76–78; Markevičienė 1999, 31–32; Vidugiris 2004, 191–192; Ragaišienė 2010, 139–140).

The variety of the stress paradigms of declinable words in the region of the dialect, the formation of the stable and movable stress paradigm, and a tendency towards oxytonesis, is first of all linked to the semantic and accentual contrast of the simple and collective plural, accentual and morphologic levelling of the paradigm, shortening of morphologic forms, and interaction between stems and other factors (Stundžia 1981, 192; Mikulėnienė 1996, 152; 1996–1997, 60–61; 2005, 165; Tuomienė 2001, 103–114; 2005, 69–72; 2008, 52–53; Leskauskaitė 2006, 38–39; 2009, 40; 2014, 184–185).

Owing to the ample material available at the beginning of the 21st century, the nature of the variance of declinable words with all the stems has been broadly described, the possible causes for the existence of stress variants in subdialects have been explained and the areas of the greatest or least prevalence of words with those stems have been determined and separately defined (Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė 2001, 159–169; 2004, 126–138; 2007, 37–46; 2008, 37–50; Ragaišienė 2010; 2015, 302–319; 2016, 73–91).

In research exploring the stress tendencies of declinable words, the data from the two dialects – the SAuk and Eastern Aukštaitian of Vilnius – were compared and the differences between the spread of the variants of the two dialects were studied (Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė 2009, 161–181). However, a comparative analysis of the stress patterns of nouns with different stems has not yet been undertaken, and the differences and similarities of the spread of these models in the SAuk dialect have not been established. Comparative analysis should make it possible to form a more precise picture of the common stress tendencies not only of nouns, but also other declinable words in the area of the subdialect, and the peculiarities of the spread in different areas of the dialect should become clearer.

Therefore, this article continues the research into the stress tendencies of declinable nouns in the SAuk dialect. The aim of the article is to discuss the accent models of differently stressed disyllabic nouns with the productive *ā*, *ē*, *a* and *ja<sub>1</sub>* stems and to establish the nature of their spread in the area of the SAuk dialect.

## 2 Data and methods

The article is based on the material of the doctoral thesis “Linksniojamųjų žodžių kirčiavimo variantai pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių tarmėse” (*Variations in the Accentuation of Declinable Words in the Southern Aukštaitian and the Vilnius Dialect of the Eastern Aukštaitian*) that the author presented in 2010, which was supplemented with the data amassed over the past years in the form of audio and written sources. The article examines the lists of variously stressed disyllabic nouns and their forms by drawing audio records and manuscript texts from 1952–2015 (kept at the Dialect Archive of the Geolinguistic Centre of the Lithuanian Language Institute), the database and its supplements of the Lithuanian Language Dictionary, the Lithuanian Language Atlas, published and manuscript texts from dictionaries of the Southern Aukštaitian dialect, dissertations, diploma works, monographs and scientific articles.

Sufficient research material for comparative analysis was collected from all the populated areas of the SAuk. The credibility and authenticity of the material should raise no doubts as about two-thirds of the analysed data was gathered from audio material (over 900 hours); the rest was obtained from written sources.

The article analyses only those disyllabic nouns with the  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  and  $\dot{a}$  stems, whose stress paradigms were recorded in most of the localities inhabited by southern Aukštaitians (from 88 points in the Lithuanian Language Atlas). The list of  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  stem feminine nouns with stress parallels consists of 84 and 89 words and their forms respectively. There are slightly more words with the productive  $a$  and  $\dot{a}$  stems of the masculine gender, i.e. 132 and 138 respectively. It should be noted that the nouns analysed in the article were found in audio and written records several dozen or even several hundred times. Most of the words were recorded many times at the same point on the atlas, and only a few were recorded several times. The database of the material studied consists of almost 54,000 recorded stress variants. Quantitative, geolinguistic and comparative methods were employed to conduct the research.

## 3 Spread of the stress models of disyllabic $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{e}$ stem nouns

The tendencies towards a variety of accentual paradigms of the disyllabic  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  stem nouns in the SAuk subdialects are almost identical. Our research suggests that those nouns with two stems in the dialect tend to be stressed according to a constant and inflexional stress model. This is mainly demonstrated by the stress tendencies of nouns stressed according to two accentual paradigms (Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė 2004, 127–129; 2007, 37–38; Ragaišienė 2010, 25, 85). Most of these (about 80%) have parallel forms of the first or second and third or fourth stress paradigms, e.g.:

- (1) (a) *lúbos* [4] ‘ceiling’ **Rdm**, Vng, Brč, Švn, Avž, Jvš, Kč, Spg, Kpč, Mcv, Vs, **Lp**, Lpln, **Srj**, Mtl, Smn, Svl, Drsk, Rtn, Mšn, Drc, Nmn, Prl, Sel, Mrs, Ndž, Pv, Mrk, Lš, Šk, **Kb**, Mrc, Vrn, Dbč, Knv, Vdn, Dgd, Čbt, Vlk, Al, Dg, Dsm, Tlt, Gn, Věž, Onš, Trak, Rpš, Mcl, Pns, Nč, Pls, Azr, Vrnv<sup>1</sup>  
 (b) *lúbos* [2] **Rdm**, **Srj**, **Kb**, **Lp**, Kurš, Rūd, Btrm, Gdl, Šlěnk, Knk, Pnš, Škl, Sem, Mrg, Dgr, Mrj, Lnt, Ktv, Lgn, Pnr, Ppr, Kgn, Žsl
- (2) (a) *sékla* [1] ‘seed’ Vng, Rdm, Brč, Švn, Avž, Kč, Vs, Spg, Kpč, Srj, Mtl, Smn, Lp, Drsk, Al, Žgr, Alv, Dg, Nmn, Svl, Sel, Mrs, Dsm, Prl, Ndž, Pv, Lš, Mšn, Mrk, Vrn, Šk, Kb, Knv, Drž, Mrc, Rud, Dbč, Pvč, Rtn, Vlk, Vdn, Čbt, Dgd, Věž, Btrm, Pnš, Mcl, Tlt, Knk, Šlěčn, Šlěnk, Onš, Škl, Trak, Dgr, Sem, Auk, Mrg, Br, Vvs, Rkn, Lnt, Rūd, Lgn, Mrj, Ktv, Pnr, Ppr, Žsl, **Pls**, Azr, Pns  
 (b) *séklà* [3] Rod, **Pls**, Vrnv, Nč, NG
- (3) (a) *rykště* [1] ‘switch’ Vng, **Rdm**, **Avž**, Švn, Brč, Mtl, Sel, **Kč**, Jvš, Spg, Kpč, Srj, **Vs**, Lp, Mcv, **Drsk**, Svl, Mšn, Nmn, Žgr, Dg, Pv, Mrk, Drc, **Mrc**, Šk, Kb, Rud, Knv, Ndž, Vdn, **Vrn**, Pvš, Věž, Kurš, Vlk, Mcl, Onš, Tlt, Pnš, Šlěčn, Škl, Trak, Vvs, Dgr, Lnt, Lgn, Rūd, Btrm, Rod, **Pls**, Pns  
 (b) *rykště* [4] **Rdm**, **Avž**, **Kč**, **Vs**, Lpln, **Drsk**, Rtn, **Mrc**, Mrs, **Vrn**, Prl, Dgd, Arm, Azr, Nč, **Pls**
- (4) (a) *varlě* [4] ‘frog’ Rdm, Vng, Švn, Jvš, Kč, **Spg**, **Kpč**, Avž, Mtl, **Srj**, Sel, Mrs, **Vs**, **Lp**, **Drsk**, Lš, Mrk, Mšn, Pvč, Pv, Šk, Kb, Mrc, Drž, Dbč, Rtn, Knv, Vdn, Čbt, Alv, Al, Žgr, Dg, Vrn, Dsm, Drc, Nmn, Prl, Ndž, Kurš, Vlk, Onš, Svl, Eiš, Šlěčn, Gdl, Pnš, Šlěnk, Rūd, Škl, Trak, Sem, Mrg, Ktv, Rkn, Vvs, Žsl, Pls, Azr, Pns, Nč, **Rod**, NG  
 (b) *varlě* [2] Mcv, Lpln, **Kpč**, **Spg**, **Srj**, **Vs**, **Lp**, **Drsk**, Smn, Věž, Čbt, Knk, Tlt, Br, Dgr, Pnr, Ppr, Lnt, Lgn, Vrnv, **Rod**

Only a few words with each stem that have various forms with both constant or inflexional stress paradigms were found, e.g.:

- (5) (a) *porà* [4] ‘couple’ Rdm, Bri, Spg, Lp, Srj, Avž, Sel, Švn, Kč, Kpč, Mcv, Drsk, Mrs, Vs, Knv, Rud, Mrc, **Al**, Nmn, Dg, Prl, Vdn, Vrn, Mrk, Ndž, Rtn, Onš, Pnš, Škl, Trak, Mcl, Mrg, Vvs, Žsl, Ppr, Pls, Rod  
 (b) *porà* [3] Vng, Mšn, **Al**, Šlěnk, Trak, Dgr, Br, Pnr, Kgn, Rūd, Čbt, Knk, Mrj, Ktv

<sup>1</sup> The words in bold show the populated localities where both stress variants of the same word were recorded.

- (6) (a) *vil̥kē* [1] ‘she-wolf’ **Rdm**, Vng, Švn, Mtl, Srj, Lp, **Drsk**, Kb, Mšn, Pvč, Rtn, Mrk, Ndž, Vlk, Kurš, Onš, Pnš, Žgr, Škl, Šličnk, Trak, Br, Dsm, Mcl, Vvs, Kgn, Ppr, Pnr, Mrj, Nč  
 (b) *vil̥kē* [2] Pns, Jvš, Kč, **Rdm**, Brč, Vs, **Drsk**, Pv, Mrc, Dgd, Eiš, Gn, Mrg, Lgn, Ktv, NG

The data demonstrate that the spread of the stress variants of the nouns analysed in the area of the SAuk dialect is different. The differences in the prevalence of variants in one or another area are first of all demonstrated by the frequency of their use in the same subdialect, e.g.:

- (7) *naudà* [3] / *náuda* [1] ‘wealth’ Vng, Spg, Kpč, Pns, Lp, Dg, Mrc, Vdn, Rš / *naudà* [3/4] Pns

- (8) *veřpstē* [2] / *verpstē* [4] ‘spindle’ Drsk, Kč, Rdm, Vrn, Rod

It is clear that words and their forms with the two stems that are stressed differently in the same subdialect are spread unevenly in the SAuk area (Fig. 1).

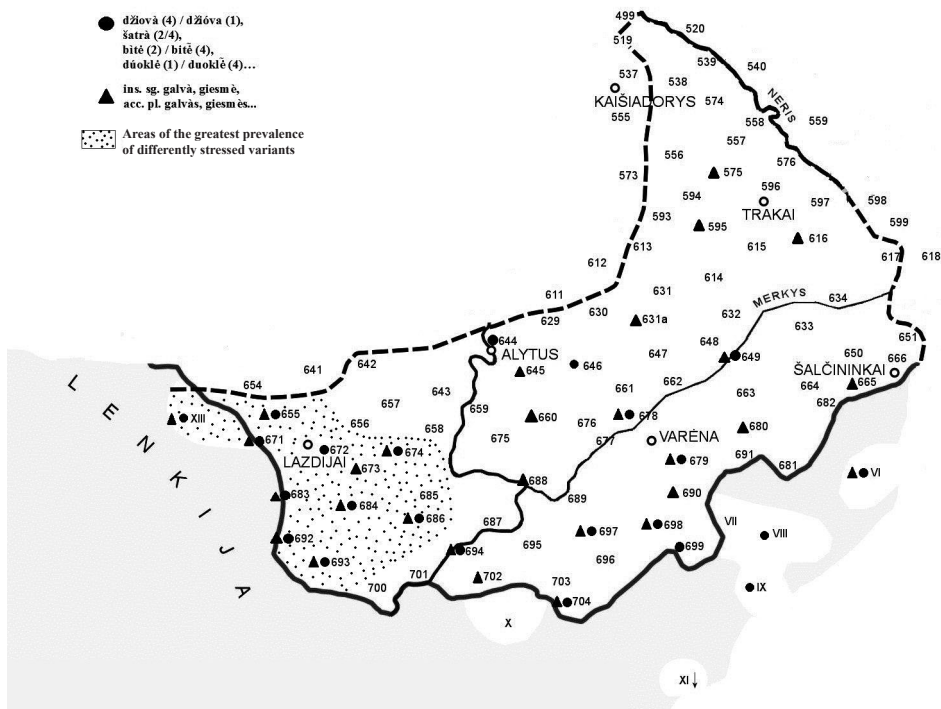


Fig. 1. Spread of disyllabic nouns and their forms with the *ā* and *ē* stems stressed in two ways in the same subdialect



Only a comparatively small part of the SAuk area stands out: the stress variety as a phenomenon is most noticeable in Punkskas, Rudamina, Seirijai, Leipalingis, Kapčiamiestis, Sapiegiškis, Kučiūnai, and Vingrėnai (Ragaišienė 2010, 139). It can be seen by comparing the data from Punkskas and southwestern subdialects with that from localities populated by southern Aukštaitians that the frequency of the usage of stress variants in the area that is considered to be a centre of variances is the highest: here more than one-third of the *ā* and *ē* stem nouns have parallel forms in the same subdialect. The ratio between the main and parallel stress variant forms in the same subdialect demonstrates that the phenomenon is quite rare. The forms of a parallel variant are found less frequently than those of the main variant (they amount to 25%–30% of all cases of usage). It is comparatively rare to encounter both accent variants of the word in the same subdialect – in any populated locality an average of four to five nouns of both stems with a diverse stress were recorded, e.g.:

- (9) **Pns (XIII)**: *džiovà* [4] / *džióva* [1] ‘consumption’, *kruopà* [2] / *kriúopa* [1] ‘grain’, *naudà* [3/4] / *náuda* [1] ‘wealth’, *žarnà* [3/4] ‘intestine’, *draiūgè* [2] / *draugė* [4] ‘a girl friend’, *dúoklė* [1] / *duoklė* [4] ‘tribute; tax’, *pùsė* [2] / *pusė* [4] ‘half’, *riekė* [4] / *riėkė* [2] ‘a piece of bread’, *tėtė* [2] / *tėtė* [4] ‘daddy’
- (10) **Avž (673)**: *ievà* [4] / *íeva* [1] ‘bird-cherry’, *kruopà* [4] / *kriúopa* [1] ‘grain’, *skiedrà* [4] / *skíedra* [1] ‘wood chip’, *žarnà* [3] / *žárna* [1] ‘intestine’, *dėgsnė* [2] / *degsnė* [4] ‘a burnt-out place’, *mùsė* [2] / *musė* [4] ‘fly’, *raiškštė* [2] / *raiškštė* [4] ‘band, bandage’, *rykštė* [1] / *rykštė* [4] ‘switch’
- (11) **Spg (692)**: *dukrà* [4/2] ‘daughter’, *lopà* [4/2] ‘paw’, *naudà* [3] / *náuda* [1] ‘wealth’, *vapsà* [4/2] ‘wasp’, *búožė* [1] / *buožė* [4] ‘wooden bar attached to the end of a flail’, *kiaunė* [4] / *kiaūnė* [2] ‘marten’, *laūmė* [2] / *laumė* [4] ‘sorceress’, *veišlė* [2] / *veislė* [4] ‘breed; species; variety’, *veřtė* [2] / *vertė* [4] ‘value’

Moving further south there are even fewer stress variants in the speech of the same informant and in the same subdialect (Fig 1). In several populated areas, only some words (mostly *ē* stem) that have stress parallels have been found. In the northern part of the area, no cases of the usage discussed have been recorded at all.

Therefore, most nouns in the SAuk subdialects are stressed according to one of the existing accent paradigms. It is somewhat complicated to determine the prevalence areas of the variants recorded in separate dialects, firstly due to the different ratio between the main stressed variant, i.e. the prevailing variant, and the parallel variant/variants of the words analysed in the dialect. Parallel forms of some nouns were recorded in one or two subdialects, while others have been found in several populated areas, and still others have been found in several atlas points (e.g. 1–6).



Nevertheless, by generalising the findings it is possible to see differences between the areas where the prevalent variants are used in different subdialects. In the western and southern part of the area one of the variants is stressed according to the third and/or fourth paradigm of most of the  $\bar{a}$ - and  $\bar{e}$  stem nouns. Our statistical analysis suggests that in the western part of the area about 58%, in the southern area almost 53%, and in the northern and eastern subdialects less than 43% of the main or parallel variants of the nouns are stressed according to the inflexional stress paradigm. The different stress tendencies of the nouns researched in the SAuk dialect area are best demonstrated by the prevalence of accentual variants of the acute root barytone *íeva* ‘bird-cherry’ (cf. Latv. *iēva*, Serb.-Chr. *ivva*, Rus. *iva* ‘willow’, Pol. *iwa*, Bulg. *iva*, O.H.G. *īwa* ‘yew’ etc.) and *lópa* ‘paw’ (cf. Latv. *lāpa*, Rus. *lapa*, Goth. *lōfa* ‘hand’), and circumflex root barytone  $\bar{a}$  stem nouns *aslà* ‘dirt floor’, *kaktà* ‘forehead’, *kuprà* ‘hump’, *piestà* ‘mortar’, *plutà* ‘crust’, *putà* ‘froth’ (Skardžius 1935, 85–86, 89; Būga 1958, 313; 1961, 72–73, 688, 710; Zinkevičius 1975, 19; 1980, 50–51). It can be said that in the centre of variance and the western area of the subdialects the oxytone paradigm prevails; in the southern subdialects, besides forms with the fourth stress paradigm, barytone stress forms are also used. Meanwhile in the eastern and northern periphery the variants of the second stress paradigm are more frequent. Therefore, when one of the accentual variants of the words discussed is used in a subdialect, there is a greater frequency of oxytone stress in the western and southern area, while in the eastern and northern area it takes barytone stress.

The instrumental singular and accusative plural forms of the third paradigm, less frequently forms of the first paradigm where stress might fall on either syllable throughout the whole area, also support the premise about different accentuation models of the nouns examined (Fig. 1), e.g.:

- (12) *ožkà* [3] ‘nanny goat’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (13) *óžka* / *ožkà* ‘nanny goat’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Kpč, Mrc, Alv, Dgr
- (14) *óžkas* / *ožkàs* ‘nanny goat’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Pns, Rdm, Vng, Srj, Lp, Drsk, Rtn, Věž, Dgr
- (15) *žmonà* [3] ‘wife’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (16) *žmóna* / *žmonà* ‘wife’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Pns, Rdm, Vng, Kpč, Vs, Drsk, Mrc, Rud, Vrn, Br
- (17) *žmónas* / *žmonàs* ‘wife’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Pns, Rdm, Vng, Kč, Kpč, Avž, Vs, Srj, Lp, Drsk, Knv, Al
- (18) *dróbè* [1] ‘linen’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (19) *dróbe* / *drobè* ‘linen’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Pns, Jvš
- (20) *dróbes* / *drobès* ‘linen’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Pns, Kč, Spg, Srj, Kpč, Vs, Knv, Mrc, Vdn

- (21) *giesmē* [3] ‘hymn’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (22) *gíesme* / *giesmè* ‘hymn’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Pns, Rdm, Vng, Srj, Kpč, Mrk, Prl, Vrn, Vlk
- (23) *gíesmes* / *giesmès* ‘hymn’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Pns, Rdm, Jvš, Avž, Švn, Kpč, Spg, Vs, Lp, Mrc, Rud, Mrk, Prl, Vrn, Vlk, Vrnv

Most of the forms with both stems of these cases that can have stress on either syllable were found in the area with the greatest accentual variance. In the Punksas subdialect they are used more often than in other areas, i.e. they amount to almost half (46 forms from 97) of the recorded localities; in the southwestern and western subdialects they account for more than one-half (68 forms from 197) and one-fourth (49 forms from 180) of the usage cases. Analogous accentuation tendencies are also characteristic of adjectives, numerals and pronouns of the feminine gender with an acute root (Ragaišienė 2010, 31; 2015a, 279–282; 2016, 85). Moving northwards, there are fewer acute root words with different case forms that were studied, and the number of cases of oxytone stress gradually declines (Fig. 1). Only solitary instances of such usage were recorded (18 forms from 198) in the eastern and northern parts of the area.

Based on these findings, it can be asserted that the SAuk dialect area is ostensibly divided into two larger parts where there is a tendency to stress *ā* and *ē* stem nouns according to different stress models. In the western and southern part of the area (Lazdijai, Alytus, and Varėna districts) the oxytone stress parallel forms are more prevalent, while in the eastern and northern part (Trakai, Šalčininkai, Kaišiadorys, and Vilnius areas) cases of barytone stress are more frequent.

#### 4 The prevalence of accentuation models of disyllabic *a* and *ia*<sub>1</sub> stem nouns

There is also a tendency to stress disyllabic *a* and *ia*<sub>1</sub> stem nouns according to a generalised constant and inflexional stress model (Ragaišienė 2009, 161–181; 2010, 38–42, 58–63). Most of the words of both stems which are differently stressed (about 83%) have parallel forms of the first and second stress paradigms and/or third and fourth stress paradigms, e.g.:

- (24) (a) *klúonas* [1] ‘barn’ Rdm, Vng, **Kč**, Švn, Avž, Brč, Srj, Spg, **Kpč**, Pns, Sn, Mtl, Lpln, **Lp**, **Drsk**, Smn, Mrc, Al, Dg, Svl, Drc, Akm, Nmn, **Mrk**, Prl, Ndž, Pvč, Rtn, Mšn, Vrn, Vlk, **Dgd**, Věž, Mcl, Pv, **Onš**, Šlčn, Pnš, Trak, Sem, Vvs, Mrg, Pnr, Ppr, Lgn, Vrnv, **Pls**
- (b) *klúonas* [3] **Kč**, **Kpč**, **Lp**, **Drsk**, Žgr, **Mrk**, Ilgn, Rud, Dbč, Čbt, Eiš, Šlčnk, **Dgd**, Dsm, Tlt, Pčk, **Onš**, Dgr, Škl, Br, Rkn, **Pls**, Nč

- (25) (a) *kùpstas* [4] ‘hummock’ **Rdm, Srj**, Vng, Švn, Brč, Jvš, **Spg**, Kpč, Mcv, Lpln, Lp, Drsk, Mrk, **Al**, Smn, Alv, Slv, **Ilg**n, Drc, Gn, Lš, Mšn, Mrc, Drž, Rud, Dbč, Knv, Pvc, Kb, Rtn, Prl, **Vdn**, Vrn, Čbt, Dgd, Šk, Vlk, Pv, Onš, Sem, Věž, Tlt, Mcl, Šlčn, Rūd, Škl, Kgn, Pnr, Mrg, Rkn, Vvs, Lgn, Žsl, **Vrnv, Pls**, Pns, NG  
 (b) *kùpstas* [2] **Rdm, Srj, Spg**, Sel, Mtl, Dg, **Al**, Nmn, Ndž, Rud, Pčk, **Ilg**n, **Vdn**, Kurš, Pčk, Br, Žgr, Dgr, Mrj, Eiš, Knk, Btrm, Gn, Gdl, Šlčnk, Pnš, Ppr, Ktv, Lnt, Sn, **Vrnv, Pls**, Nč, Rod
- (26) (a) *brólis* [1] ‘brother’ Rdm, Vng, Brč, Mtl, Jvš, Švn, Avž, Sel, Srj, Spg, Kpč, Mcv, Lpln, Lp, **Drsk**, Lš, Mrk, Ndž, Smn, Al, Žgr, Dg, Alv, Svl, Prl, Pvc, Mrc, Mšn, Rtn, Šk, Kb, Drž, Knv, Dbč, Drc, Gn, Pčk, Vrn, Tlt, Dgd, Vlk, Eiš, Věž, Čbt, Gdl, Šlčn, Šlčnk, Vdn, **Nmn**, Onš, Pv, Pnš, Sem, Rūd, Btrm, Mrj, Lgn, Lnt, Škl, Trak, Dgr, Vvs, Rkn, Pnr, Ktv, Ppr, Mcl, Žsl, **Mrs, Dsm, Br, Vrnv, Pns, Pls**, Nč, Rod, NG  
 (b) *brolyš* [3] **Drsk, Nmn, Mrs, Dsm, Br, Pns, Pls**
- (27) (a) *dagỹs* [4] ‘thistle’ Rdm, **Vng**, Švn, Jvš, **Avž, Kč**, Brč, Mtl, **Srj**, Sel, **Kpč, Drsk**, Svl, Žgr, Mrk, Rtn, Dbč, **Nmn**, Lš, Ilgn, Drc, Akm, Gn, Kurš, Vlk, Sem, Rūd, Dsm, Věž, Tlt, Smn, Mrs, Prl, Pv, **Trak**, Mrg, Br, Gdl, Btrm, **Pns**, Rod  
 (b) *dāgis* [2] **Vng, Avž, Kč**, Mcv, Vs, Spg, **Srj, Kpč**, Lp, Lpln, Mrc, Drž, Vdn, Vrn, **Nmn**, Ndž, Šlčnk, Onš, **Trak, Pns**, Ktv

From these examples it can be seen that the variety of stress paradigms of the nouns in question is quite considerable throughout the dialect area. Therefore, it is understandable that most of the words with both stems (almost 90%) have stress parallels in the same subdialect, e.g.:

- (28) *kálnas* [3/1] ‘mountain’ Rdm, Vng, Avž, Kč, Jvš, Srj, Sel, Vs, Knv, Vdn
- (29) *siolas* [3/1] ‘bench’ Kč, Avž, Vs, Švn, Kpč, Spg, Jvš, Lp, Drsk, Mrc, Pvc, Dgd, Vrnv, Pls
- (30) *kiškis* [2] / *kiškỹs* [4] ‘hare’ Kpč, Jvš, Spg, Dg, Dsm, Akm, Vlk, Trak
- (31) *mižis* [2] / *miežỹs* [4] ‘barley’ Vng, Avž, Švn, Vs, Srj, Lp, Drsk, Mrk, Mrc, Pvc, Rud, Knv, Dgd
- (32) *sprindỹs* [3] / *sprindis* [1] ‘span’ Rdm, Jvš, Kč, Kpč, Spg, Lp, Drsk, Al, Vdn, Mrk, Sem, Lgn

The examples given suggest that the frequency of the parallel forms of the words analysed in the same subdialect is not the same throughout the whole area. Besides,

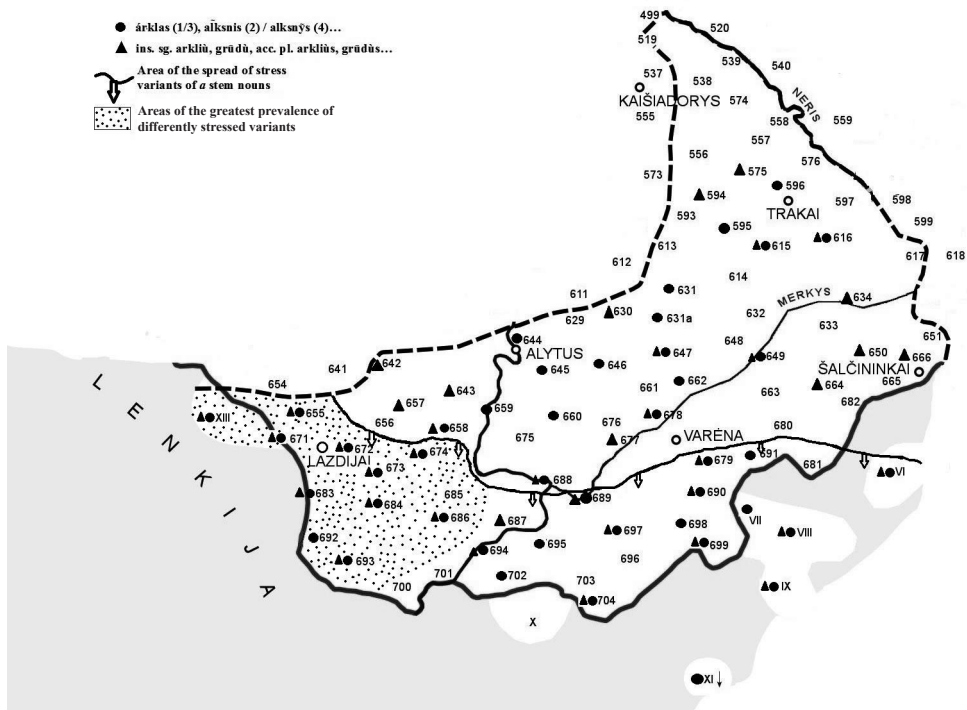


Fig. 2. Prevalence of the forms the *a* and *ja*<sub>1</sub> stem disyllabic nouns stressed in two ways in the same subdialect

there are differences in the prevalence of stress variants of the forms with the two stems in different parts of the area. The largest number of the forms with the two stems where stress can fall on either syllable in the same subdialect was found in the area that is considered to have the most variance – the Punkskas subdialect and in the southwestern area of the SAuk dialect (Fig. 2).

Moving further south from the southwestern part of the area, differences between the prevalence of the *a* and *ja*<sub>1</sub> stem nouns become more evident (e.g. 28–32). The prevalence area of the stress variants of disyllabic *a* stem words in the same subdialect encompasses the southwestern and southern parts of the SAuk area – the dividing line of more frequent usage can be located next to the areas of Seirijai, Puvočiai, Vydeniai and Daugidonys (Fig. 2). Heading north and east from this line, only single cases of usage were recorded (the forms of the nouns *lenkas* ‘Polish man’ and *žydas* ‘Jew’, both of which can have stress on either syllable, were recorded).

Slightly different accentuation tendencies are characteristic of *ia*<sub>1</sub> stem nouns. Examples of different stress – mostly on the root and inflexion – were found throughout the entire area, albeit unevenly: they decrease gradually in the speech of the same informant and in the same subdialect moving from the southwestern part towards the north. In the eastern and northern part, the forms that were analysed account for almost a fourth of the recorded cases of usage.

The inconsistent spread of forms with the two stems stressed on either syllable in the area of the SAuk dialect is not coincidental: the development of the model of two plural forms – simple and collective – might have been different in the area of the dialect being researched. It is possible that the model of both plurals was most evident or it survived for the longest time in the western and southern parts of the area. This might well be one of the causes determining the considerable variance of the forms of words with the two stems in these subdialects, and the scant amount of cases of root and inflexional accentuation.

This model allows us to explain, at least partially, the survival of the forms with oxytone stress of separate old barytone forms throughout the entire area (Skardžius 1935, 24, 31; Būga 1959, 245; Pokorný 1959, 639–640; Mažiulis 1993, 157), for example:

(33) *dvārai* ‘estates’<sub>NOM.PL</sub> Kč

(34) *kařstai* ‘coffins’<sub>NOM.PL</sub> Srj

(35) *kāklai* ‘necks’<sub>NOM.PL</sub> Drsk

In the western and southern subdialects, this premise is supported by plural forms stressed in two ways and rarely used besides singular inflexional root stressed forms, e.g.:

(36) *kiřvis* ‘axe’<sub>NOM.SG</sub> Jvš, Sel

(37) *kiřviai / kirviaĩ* ‘axes’<sub>NOM.PL</sub> Jvš, Sel

(38) *peĩlis* ‘knife’<sub>NOM.SG</sub> Vng, Rtn

(39) *peĩliai / peiliaĩ* ‘knives’<sub>NOM.PL</sub> Vng, Rtn

The use of the plural accusative case (and singular instrumental) forms of acute root nouns with inflexional stress in the SAuk dialect might be linked to the reconstructed model of the two plurals. Oxytone stress forms that might have originated from the collective plural, or even oxytone stress, could have appeared due to the levelling of the stress paradigm, stress analogues and other factors (Kuzavinis, Girdenis 1997, 6;

Mikulėnienė 1996, 152; 2005, 165, 196; 2006, 156, 165; Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė 2001, 163, 165; 2008, 47; 2009, 174) that were discovered mostly in the western and southern part of the dialect (Fig. 2). Although the old oxytone stress forms of both stems (more rarely barytone forms) have been recorded in the entire area, the frequency of their use in the subdialects is different. For example:

- (40) *grúdas* [3] ‘grain’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (41) *grúdu / grūdù* ‘grain’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Mrk, Prl, Vrn, Vlk, Vrnv
- (42) *grúdas / grūdùs* ‘grain’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Rdm, Kč, Vs, Kpč, Pns, Drsk, Smn, Mrk, Prl, Vrn, Vlk, Kurš, Vrnv, Rūd, Pls
- (43) *mėšlas* [3] ‘dung’
- (44) *mėšlu / mėšlù* ‘dung’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Rdm, Švn, Pns, Šk, Kb, Dgr
- (45) *mėšlus / mėšlùs* ‘dung’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Vng, Rdm, Jvš, Kpč, Spg, Pns, Lp, Vdn, Knv, Vrnv, Pls
- (46) *mókslas* [1] ‘science’
- (47) *mókslu / mokslù* ‘science’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Avž, Švn, Srj, Vlk, Rūd
- (48) *mókslus / mokslùs* ‘science’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Rdm, Jvš, Pns, Drsk, Vrn, Mrc
- (49) *ožỹs* [3] ‘billy goat’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (50) *óžiu / ožiù* ‘billy goat’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Rdm, Vng, Vs, Kpč, Spg, Kurš, Pns, Pv, Lš
- (51) *óžius / ožiùs* ‘billy goat’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Vng, Kč, Avž, Mtl, Švn, Pns, Vs, Lp, Drsk, Dbč, Sem, Vrnv, Rod, Pls
- (52) *vėžỹs* [3] ‘crawfish’<sub>NOM.SG</sub>
- (53) *vėžiu / vėžiù* ‘crawfish’<sub>INS.SG</sub> Rdm, Avž, Švn, Lp, Pns, Sem, Rod
- (54) *vėžius / vėžiùs* ‘crawfish’<sub>ACC.PL</sub> Vng, Kč, Kpč, Lp, Srj, Jvš, Pns, Mrs, Rūd, Dgr, Lgn, Vrnv, Pls

The forms used in the Puskas subdialect were analysed most closely. The greatest number of inflexional stress of both cases of the *a* and *ia*<sub>1</sub> stems were recorded in this subdialect (135 forms of 26 nouns). In the southwestern subdialects of the SAuk – Vingrėnai, Rudamina, Lazdijai, Šventežeris, Seirijai and Kučiūnai – the number found was smaller (94 forms of 22 words). Meanwhile, in the southern part of the SAuk area,

which lies beyond the border of the area of the greatest variance, only separate cases of use were recorded (47 forms of 19 nouns). In the eastern and northern periphery of the area only a few instances of oxytone stress were found (22 forms of 15 words). Therefore, the material pertaining to the Punkskas subdialect completely supports the supposition that the number of disyllabic noun forms in singular instrumental and plural accusative cases of acute root with oxytone stress in the SAuk dialect decreases as one heads away from the southwest towards the south.

When one or another accentual variant of a word or its forms is used in a subdialect then there is not such an obvious difference between the prevalence of oxytone or barytone stress models of the  $\bar{a}$  stem. Throughout the entire area, the same words used in neighbouring subdialects can be stressed according to different paradigms. However, the number of forms with inflexional stress of the nouns observed in the western and southern part is greater than that of the forms with constant stress in the northern and eastern area. The data obtained suggest that in the SAuk dialect, especially in the western and southern parts of the area, disyllabic  $a$  and  $\dot{i}a_1$  stem nouns are mainly stressed according to the oxytone stress model.

## 5 General conclusions

Comparative analysis of the prevalence of the  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $a$  and  $\dot{i}a_1$  stem revealed that variously stressed nouns in the SAuk dialect exhibit differences and similarities between parallel forms in the same subdialect, separate subdialects and/or their groups as well as throughout the entire area of the dialect. Using the material drawn from written and audio sources, the prevalence of stress variants was analysed in the same subdialect and tendencies in the accentuation of productive noun stems were established:

- a) The area of the greatest prevalence of variously stressed variants of words and their forms is the same – a comparatively small part of the southwestern corner of the SAuk area (Punkskas, Rudamina, Seirijai, Leipalingis, Kapčiamiestis, Sapiegiškis, Kučiūnai, and Vingrėnai);
- b) Different frequency and intensity of the usage characteristic of the variants of declinable nouns of feminine and masculine gender in the same subdialect in the entire area of the SAuk  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  stem parallels were recorded much less frequently than the  $a$  and  $\dot{i}a_1$  stem variants;
- c) The number of stress parallels of the nouns with the stems in question in the same subdialect and the speech of the same informant decreases unevenly heading in the direction of the north from the southwestern area; stress



parallels of declinable nouns of the feminine gender are used in a smaller part of the area than those of masculine nouns. The variants of disyllabic  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  stem nouns begin to decrease gradually from the line considered to be the variance centre. On the edge of the area of the eastern and northern dialects, the  $\bar{e}$  stem variants are more frequent, while only single cases of the use of  $\bar{a}$  stem parallels were recorded. The frequency of the use of  $a$  and  $\dot{a}_1$  stem noun variants begins to decrease as one moves north from Seirijai, Puvočiai, Vydeniai and Daugidonys. However, the use of accentual parallels of both stem nouns in the same subdialect is different in the eastern and western parts of the area – there are approximately one and a half times fewer cases of  $a$  stem, variously stressed word forms and recorded cases than  $\dot{a}_1$  stem words of stress parallels.

There are differences in the spread between the feminine and masculine gender of declinable nouns in different areas even when one of the stress variants in separate subdialects is used.

Comparison of the most productive  $a$  and  $\dot{a}_1$  stem nouns suggests that there is not such an obvious difference in use between the barytone and oxytone stress models in the area. In the SAuk dialect, especially in its western and southern parts, there is a tendency to use the oxytone stress model of these nouns.

The character of the prevalence of accentual variants of the nouns we have discussed enables us to draw the conclusion that the phenomenon is not new. Our research suggests that this variation of stress paradigms cannot be explained by the influence of Slavonic languages because the centre of the largest variance is the southwestern subdialects of the SAuk dialect which have no direct contact with those languages. Seldom-used variously stressed parallels in the same subdialect and the speech of the same informant should not be considered an indication of the disappearance of the accentual system of the dialect. It is more likely that the variety of accentual paradigms is a phenomenon with historical causes. However, it is not possible to determine whether this variation of the paradigms took place at the same time and it was equally intense throughout the entire area of the dialect studies.

The decrease in the number of forms of variously stressed nouns and singular instrumental and plural accusative forms of acute root words with oxytone stress in the same subdialect, as one moves from the southwestern part to the north, allows us to suppose that the frequency of the phenomenon investigated in the area of the SAuk dialect varies. However, the notion that the changes in the dialect as it moves from the north to the south could have also influenced the intensity of variance and disappearance of the singular instrumental and plural accusative forms of old acute root words with

inflexional stress in the northern and western parts of the area should not be completely discarded (Zinkevičius 2006, 30).

The frequency and intensity of use of the variants of the nouns we researched might be also linked to changes in the stems. A stronger tendency towards variance of disyllabic  $\bar{e}$  stem nouns than  $\bar{a}$  stem words could have been caused by the interaction between the  $\bar{e}$  and  $i_m, i_f$  roots. One hypothesis could be that a greater stress variance of the  $\dot{i}a_1$  and  $\bar{e}$  stem words might be connected with a soft ending of the stem.

The difference in the prevalence of stress variants in the area in question (in separate subdialects or their groups) makes it possible to suggest that various stress tendencies of the words with the stems we researched could have existed in the SAuk dialect. In the eastern and northern part of the Southern Aukštaitian area, a majority of the disyllabic nouns discussed had the barytone stress model a long time ago (this is corroborated by the texts of neighbouring Aukštaitian dialects collected by Antanas Baranauskas from seminary students in Kaunas in the second half of the 19th century; for more see Ragaišienė 2015b, 204–206). In this area the old barytone inflexional stress could have come into being by way of analogy. In the western and southern subdialects oxytonesis in  $\bar{a}$  stem words (possibly  $\bar{e}$  stem ones too) may well have begun and manifested more intensively at an earlier stage than in the northern and eastern periphery. Two things suggest this: 1) the prevalent inflexional stress of old barytone; 2) barytone and oxytone in the same subdialect and in single subdialects rarely have parallel constant stress variants.

The phenomena of oxytone and barytone of disyllabic  $a$  and  $\dot{i}a_1$  stem nouns in the area of the dialect researched could conceivably have come about by the principle of “superimposition”. The oxytone stress model of these nouns in the SAuk dialect, particularly in the southwestern and southern part, was in many cases probably inherited a long time ago (the influence of the western Balts substratum should not be discounted). More problematic is the formation and prevalence of the barytone stress model in the dialect we researched. Drawing on the abundant data we failed to determine a more compact area where this model could have predominated. Therefore, barytonesis in the dialect, especially its western and southern parts, must be a comparatively new process. The disappearance of the accentual and semantic model of the two plurals could have been a factor in its manifestation.

By generalising the data we obtained during our research of the dialect and comparing it with aspects of neighbouring dialects, it is possible to hypothesise that the changes in the accentuation of declinable words in the SAuk dialect could have occurred at different times and not in the same physical direction (not only from the north to the south). It

is highly plausible that disyllabic nouns in the SAuk dialect had not one common but several different stress models that determined the appearance, existence and different prevalence of variants in the area.

### List of abbreviations

- Akm – Akmuo, Varėna district (662)
- Al – Alytus (644)
- Alv – Alovė, Alytus district (645)
- Auk – Aukštadvaris (Aukštadvarys), Trakai district (613)
- Avž – Avižieniai, Lazdijai district (673)
- Azr – Azierkai, Baltarusija (X)
- Br – Barčiai, Trakai district (595)
- Brč – Barčiai, Lazdijai district (656)
- Btrm – Butrimonys, Šalčininkai district (682)
- Čbt – Čebatoriai, Varėna district (663)
- Dbč – Dubičiai, Varėna district (699)
- Dg – Daugai, Alytus district (646)
- Dgd – Daugidonys, Šalčininkai district (691)
- Dgr – Daugirdiškės, Trakai district (575)
- Drc – Druckūnai, Varėna district (661)
- Drsk – Druskininkai (694)
- Drž – Darželiai, Varėna district (696)
- Dsm – Dusmenys, Trakai district (631a)
- Eiš – Eišiškės, Šalčininkai district (681)
- Gdl – Gudeliai, Šalčininkai district (650)
- Gn – Genionys, Varėna district (647)
- Ilgm – Ilgininkai, Varėna district (660)
- Jvš – Jovaišiai, Lazdijai district (685)
- Kb – Kabeliai, Varėna district (704)
- Kč – Kučiūnai, Lazdijai district (683)
- Kgn – Kaugonys, Kaišiadoriai district (574)
- Knk – Kaniūkai, Šalčininkai district (665)
- Knv – Kaniava, Varėna district (690)
- Kpč – Kapčiamiestis, Lazdijai district (693)
- Ktv – Kietaviškės, Kaišiadoriai district (556)
- Kurš – Kuršiai, Varėna district (664)
- Lgn – Lygainiai, Vilnius district (616)
- Lnt – Lentvaris, Trakai district (597)

Lp	– Leipalingis, Lazdijai district (686)
Lpln	– Lipliūnai, Lazdijai district (701)
Lš	– Liškiava, Varėna district (687)
Mcl	– Maceliai, Varėna district (633)
Mcv	– Macevičiai, Lazdijai district (700)
Mrc	– Marcinkonys, Varėna district (697)
Mrg	– Mergiškės, Trakai district (593)
Mrj	– Marijampolis, Vilnius district (617)
Mrk	– Merkinė, Varėna district (688)
Mrs	– Miroslavas, Alytus district (643)
Mšn	– Mašnyčios, Varėna district (695)
Mtl	– Meteliai, Lazdijai district (657)
Nč	– Nočia, Baltarusija (VII)
Ndz	– Nedingė (Nedzingė), Varėna district (676)
NG	– Naujieji Giernykai, Baltarusija (XI)
Nmn	– Nemunaitis, Alytus district (659)
Onš	– Onuškis, Trakai district (631)
Pčk	– Pūčkornės, Varėna district (648)
Pls	– Pelesa, Baltarusija (IX)
Pnr	– Paneriai, Trakai district (558)
Pns	– Punkskas, Lenkija (XIII)
Pnš	– Panošiškės, Trakai district (614)
Ppr	– Paparčiai, Kaišiadoriai district (539)
Prl	– Perloja, Varėna district (677)
Pv	– Pivašiūnai, Alytus district (630)
Pvč	– Puvočiai, Varėna district (689)
Rdm	– Rudamina, Lazdijai (655)
Rkn	– Rykantai, Trakai district (576)
Rod	– Rodūnia, Baltarusija (VIII)
Rtn	– Ratnyčia, Varėna district (702)
Rud	– Rudnia, Varėna district (698)
Rūd	– Rūdninkai, Šalčininkai district (634)
Sel	– Seiliūnai, Lazdijai district (658)
Sem	– Semeliškės, Trakai district (594)
Smn	– Simnas, Alytus district (642)
Spg	– Sapiegiškiai, Lazdijai district (692)
Srj	– Seirijai, Lazdijai district (674)
Svl	– Savilionys, Alytus district (675)
Šk	– Šklėriai, Varėna district (703)
Škl	– Šklėriai, Trakai district (615)
Šlčn	– Šalčininkai (666)

- Šlčnk – Šalčininkėliai, Šalčininkai district (651)  
 Švn – Šventežeris, Lazdijai district (672)  
 Tlt – Tiltai, Trakai district (632)  
 Trak – Trakai (596)  
 Vdn – Vydeniai, Varėna district (679)  
 Vėž – Vėžionys, Šalčininkai district (680)  
 Vlk – Valkininkai, Varėna district (649)  
 Vng – Vingrėnai, Lazdijai district (671)  
 Vrn – Varėna (678)  
 Vrnv – Varanavas (Balatna), Baltarusija (VI)  
 Vs – Veisiejai, Lazdijai district (684)  
 Vvs – Vievis, Trakai district (557)  
 Žgr – Žagariai, Alytus district (629)  
 Žsl – Žasliai, Kaišiadoriai district (538)

SAuk – Southern Aukštainian dialect

## References

- Buch, Tamara. 1967. O intonacijach współczesnej litewszczyzny literackiej. [On the intonation of standard Lithuanian]. *Slavia* 1, 59–62.
- Būga, Kazimieras. 1958–1961. *Rinktiniai raštai* 1–3. [Collected Works 1–3]. Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla.
- Garšva, Kazimieras. 2005. *Lietuvių kalbos paribio šnektos (fonologija)*. [Phonology of the peripheral dialects of the Lithuanian language]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla.
- Grinaveckis, Vladas. 1972. Nauji duomenys apie vakarų dzūkų kirčiavimą. [New findings on the Western Dzūkian accentuation]. *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos darbai*. A serija, 181–186.
- Grinaveckis, Vladas. 1991. *Lietuvių kalbos tarmių kirčiavimo klausimai*. [Issues of the accentuation of Lithuanian dialects]. Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas.
- Grumadienė, Laima. 1988. Sociolingvistinis vilniečių lietuvių kalbos tyrimas. [Sociolinguistic research on the Lithuanian language of Vilnius inhabitants]. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 27, 132–149.
- Grumadienė, Laima. 1994. Keletas naujesnių Punsko šnektos linksniavimo ir kirčiavimo ypatybių. [Several new features of the declension and accentuation of the Punskas subdialect]. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 34, 97–106.
- Kuzavinis, Kazimieras, Aleksas Girdenis. 1997. Kelios mintys dėl baltų vardažodžio kirčiavimo paradigmų ir jų raidos. [Some thoughts on the development of the

- accentuational paradigms of Baltic nominals]. *VIII tarptautinis baltistų kongresas „Baltų kalbos XVI ir XVII amžiuje“*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 76–78.
- Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2001. Dviskiemenių *u* kamieno daiktavardžių kirčiavimo raida pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių šnektose. [The development of the accentuation of disyllabic *u*-stem nouns in Southern Aukštaitian and in the Vilnius subdialects of Eastern Aukštaitian]. *Baltistica* 35 (2), 159–169.
- Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2004. Dviskiemenių *ā* kamieno daiktavardžių kirčiavimo variantai pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių šnektose. [Accentuation variants of disyllabic *ā*-stem nouns in the subdialects of Southern Aukštaitian and in Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of the Vilnius area]. *Baltų ir kitų kalbų fonetikos ir akcentologijos problemos*, 126–138.
- Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2007. Dviskiemenių *ē* kamieno daiktavardžių kirčiavimo variantai pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių šnektose. [Varieties of accentuation: disyllabic *ē*-stem nouns in Southern Aukštaitian and in Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of the Vilnius area]. *Žmogus ir žodis* 9 (1), 37–46.
- Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2008. Dviskiemenių *įjo* kamieno daiktavardžių kirčiavimo variantai pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių šnektose. [Accentual varieties of disyllabic *įjo*-stems nouns in Southern Aukštaitian and in Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of the Vilnius area]. *Lituanistica* 54 3 (75), 37–50.
- Lazauskaitė-Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2009. Dviskiemenių *o* ir *įjo* kamienu daiktavardžių kirčiavimo variantų paplitimas pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių šnektose. [Prevalence of the stress variants of two-syllable *o*-stem and *įjo*-stem nouns in the dialects of Southern Aukštaitian and in Eastern Aukštaitian subdialects of the Vilnius area]. *Garsas ir jo tyrimo aspektai: metodologija ir praktika*, 161–181.
- Leskauskaitė, Asta. 2006. *Kučiūnų krašto šnektos tekstai*. [Texts of the Kučiūnai subdialect]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Leskauskaitė, Asta, sud. 2009. *Marcinkonių šnektos tekstai*. [Texts of the Marcinkonys subdialect]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Leskauskaitė, Asta. 2014. Daiktavardžių variantų pateikimo *Pietinių pietų aukštaičių šnektų žodyne* problemos [Problems of presentation of noun variants in the dictionary of the Southern subdialects of Southern Aukštaitian]. *Leksikografija ir leksikologija* 4, 172–189.
- Lipskienė, Jonina, Aloyzas Vidugiris. 1967. Dieveniškių tarmė. [The dialect of Dieveniškės]. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 9, 183–222.
- Markevičienė, Žaneta. 1999. *Aukštaičių tarmių tekstai* 1. [Texts of Aukštaitian dialects 1]. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla.
- Mažiulis, Vytautas. 1993. *Prūsų kalbos etimologinis žodynas* 2. [Etymological dictionary of the Prussian language 2]. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla.

- Mikulėnienė, Danguolė. 1996. Dėl linksniuojamųjų žodžių kirčiavimo variantų pietinėse aukštaičių tarmėse. [On the accentuation variants of declinable words in the dialects of the Southern Aukštaitian]. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 36, 148–155.
- Mikulėnienė, Danguolė. 1996–1997. Einwicklung der slawischen Sprachen auf die Lautstruktur der peripheren litauischen Mundarten. *Linguistica Baltica* 5–6, 57–67.
- Mikulėnienė, Danguolė. 2005. *Cirkumfleksinė metatonija lietuvių kalbos vardažodiniuose daiktavardžiuose ir jos kilmė*. [Circumflex metatony in nominal formations and its genesis]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla.
- Mikulėnienė, Danguolė. 2006. Dėl vakarų baltų įtakos vakarinių lietuvių tarmių kirčiavimo sistemai. [On the influence of Western Balts on the accentuation system of Lithuanian Western dialects]. *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 30, 89–96.
- Mikulėnienė, Danguolė, Kazys Morkūnas. 1997. *Dieveniškųjų šnektos tekstai*. [Texts in the subdialect of Dieveniškės]. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas.
- Naktinienė, Gertrūda, Aldona Paulauskienė, Vytautas Vitkauskas. 1988. *Druskininkų tarmės žodynas*. [Dictionary of the Druskininkai Dialect]. Vilnius: Mokslas.
- Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern und München: Francke Verlag.
- Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2010. *Linksniuojamųjų žodžių kirčiavimo variantai pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių tarmėse*. [Variations in the Accentuation of Declinable Words in the Southern Aukštaitian and the Vilnius Dialect of the Eastern Aukštaitian]. Humanitarinių mokslų daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2015. Dviskiemenių *ju* kamieno daiktavardžių kirčiavimo variantai pietų aukštaičių ir rytų aukštaičių vilniškių patarmėse. [Accentuation variants of *ju*-two stem nouns in Southern Aukštaitian and in the Vilnius subdialects of Eastern Aukštaitian]. *Kalbos istorijos ir dialektologijos problemos* 3, 302–319.
- Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2015a. Būdvardžių kirčiavimo polinkiai Punsko šnekte. [Tendencies of adjective accentuation in the subdialect of Punskas]. *Leksikografija ir leksikologija* 5, 274–308.
- Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2015b. Aukštaičių kirčiavimo ypatybės Antano Baranausko tekstuose. [Accentuation of the Aukštaitian dialect in the texts of Antanas Baranauskas]. *Kalbos istorijos ir dialektologijos problemos* 4, 166–210.
- Ragaišienė, Vilija. 2016. Išskirtiniai vardažodžių kirčiavimo atvejai Punsko ir Seinų šnektose. [Exceptional cases of the accentuation of nouns, adjectives and numerals in the Punskas and Seinai subdialects]. *Terra Jatwezenorum. Jotvingių krašto istorijos paveldo metraštis*, 8 (1), 73–91.



- Senkus, Juozas. 1958. Kai kurie Lazūnų tarmės ypatumai. [Some features of the Lazūnai dialect]. *Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos darbai*. Serija A, 1, 183–194.
- Skardžius, Pranas. 1935. *Daukšos akcentologija*. [The accentology of Daukša]. Kaunas: V.D.U. Humanitarinių Mokslų Fakulteto leidinys.
- Smoczyński, Wojciech. 1972. Gwara południowolitewska w Sejneńskim. [Southern Lithuanian subdialect of Seinai]. *Teksty gwarowe z Białostoczyzny z komentarzem językowym*. Warszawa: Państwowie wydawnictwo naukowe. 97–109.
- Stundžia, Bonifacas. 1981. Daugiskaitiniai asmenvardiniai oikonimai ir jų reikšmė linksniavimo bei kirčiavimo sistemų rekonstrukcijai. [*Phuralia tantum* oikonims and their importance to the reconstruction of the declination and accentuation systems]. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 21, 185–198.
- Šukys, Juozas. 1960. Būdingesnės Ramaškonių tarmės ypatybės. [Typical features of the Ramaškonys subdialect]. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 3, 177–187.
- Tuomienė, Nijolė. 2001. Ramaškonių šnektos *o* ir (*i*)*io* kamienų daiktavardžių kirčiavimo ypatybės. [Accentuation features of *o-* ir (*i*)*io*-stem nouns of the Ramaškonys subdialect]. *Baltistica* 36 (1), 103–114.
- Tuomienė, Nijolė. 2008. *Ramaškonių šnektos tekstai*. [Texts of the Ramaškonys subdialect]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Tuomienė, Nijolė. 2010. *Ramaškonių šnektos daiktavardžio kaityba: sociolingvistinis tyrimas*. [Noun inflection in the dialect of Ramaškonys: a sociolinguistic study]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Vidugiris, Aloyzas. 2004. *Zietelos lietuvių šnektą*. [The subdialect of the Zietela Lithuanians]. Vilnius: Presvika.
- Vitkauskas, Vytautas. 1987. [Rec.:] Petrauskas J., Vidugiris A., Lazūnų tarmės žodynas. – V.: Mokslas, 1985. 300 p. [Peer review] Petrauskas J., Vidugiris A., Dictionary of the Lazūnai Dialect. – V.: Mokslas, 1985. 300 p.]. *Baltistica* 23 (1), 83–86.
- Vitkauskas, Vytautas. 2002. Kirčiuočių mišimas. [Unification of stress paradigms]. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* 46, 185–187.
- Zinkevičius, Zigmas. 1966. *Lietuvių dialektologija*. [Lithuanian Dialectology]. Vilnius: Mintis.
- Zinkevičius Zigmas. 1975. *Iš lietuvių istorinės akcentologijos. 1605 m. katekizmo kirčiavimas*. [From the Lithuanian Historical Accentology: Accentuation of the 1605 Catechism]. Vilnius: Vilniaus V. Kapsuko universiteto Leidybinis skyrius.
- Zinkevičius, Zigmas. 1979. Kirčio atitraukimas ir kirčiavimo paradigmos. [Accent retraction and accentuation paradigms]. *Kalbotyra* 30 (1), 90–93.
- Zinkevičius, Zigmas. 2006. *Lietuvių tarmių kilmė*. [The Origin of Lithuanian dialects]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.

Date of submission: June 2016