

Latviešu valodas ģenitīvs bez prievārda – locījums kas daļēji zūd
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Kaut gan latviešu valodas ģenitīvam ir ļoti plašs funkcionāls spektrs, mūsdienās vērojama šī spektra sašaurināšanās. Šajā rakstā tiek parādīts, ka daudzās funkcijās ģenitīvs bez prievārda tiek lietots pārmijus ar citām formām – nominatīvu, akuzatīvu vai prievārdu konstrukcijām. Funkcijas, kurās vērojama šāda variācija, var raksturot kā partitīvas (kur izteikta kāda daudzuma attiecība) un/vai adverbālas (kur ģenitīvs izsaka kādu ar darbības vārda saistītu argumentu). Kā piemērus var minēt sekojošās funkcijas: 1) ar skaitļa vārdiem – te ģenitīvs mijas ar nominatīvu vai akuzatīvu atkarā no vārdkopas sintaksiskās funkcijas teikumā; 2) ar noliegtu *būt* gadījumos, kad šim darbības vārdam ir eksistenciāla nozīme – te ģenitīvs mijas ar nominatīvu; 3) objekts pēc noliegta pārejoša darbības vārda – te akuzatīvs lielā mērā jau izstumis ģenitīvu.

Tiek parādīti mūsdienu valodas pētījumu rezultāti, kuri pamatojas gan uz rakstu valodas, gan sarunvalodas datiem. Uz šī pamata tiek izdarīts secinājums, ka latviešu valodā ģenitīvs bez prievārda pakāpeniski zaudē vairākumu partitīvo un adverbālo funkciju, arvien lielākā mērā iegūstot tīru adnominālu raksturu.

Tālāk jautājums tiek apskatīts diahroniskajā skatījumā. Tiek analizēta ģenitīva un citu formu lietošana 17. un 18. gadsimta tekstos, kā arī seno latviešu valodas gramatiku materiālu. Nonāk pie secinājuma, ka minētās izmaiņas notiek jau ilgu laiku – tās varēja sākties jau 17. gadsimtā vai pat agrāk. Lai gan pastāv iespēja, ka paralēlās formas jau sen bijušas lietojumā blakus viena otrai, tiek nosaukti vairāki fakti, kas runā pret šo uzskatu. Gan tautasdziesmu, gan radniecīgu valodu dati rāda uz to, ka ģenitīvs apspriežamajās funkcijās ir senāks par alternatīvajām formām.

Raksta pēdējā daļā tiek runāts par to, kā minētās izmaiņas varēja rasties – kādi mehānismi noved pie tā, ka ģenitīvs zināmās funkcijās tiek retāk lietots un kādi iekšējie un ārējie iemesli varēja dot stimulu izmaiņām.

THE METRICS OF LATVIAN FOLK SONGS

ANTONS BREIDAKS

Rīga

I. *The quantity rule of the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody*

The paper gives a critical appraisal of the quantity rule of the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody in the light of Latvian folk song metrics as well as from the point of view of Latvian historical grammar and Indo-European comparative metric system.

In Latvian folklore studies at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century two metric rules of trochaic songs were postulated without sufficient reason: the caesura rule and the quantity rule of the fourth syllable dipody (DV 18; Bērzkalne 1937, 3; Bērziņš 1940, 52; SV 191). These rules are almost universally recognized in Latvian folklore studies up to this day (LLV I 106; Rudzītis 1977, 810-875). The only exception was the folklore specialist J. Graubiņš who opposed these two rules (Graubiņš 1942, 1096-1103; see also Breidaks 1995, 13-16; 1997, 93-98). In his papers "The Language of Our Folk Songs" and "Observations on the Formal Aspects of Our Folk Songs" J. Endzelīns voiced his critical attitude towards the metre quantity rules which were prevalent in Latvian folklore studies in respect of folk songs; namely, towards several ideas expounded by L. Bērziņš in this area (Endzelīns 1980, 78-82, 119-123).

In this paper I will closely examine the quantity rule of the fourth syllable trochaic dipody and analyse its drawbacks. The essence of this law is: the fourth syllable of the four-syllabic trochaic dipody is always short.

However, nowadays the fourth syllable of the trochaic dipody is often long in folk songs which were composed in East Latvia. This is a common phenomenon in the High-Latvian songs with the so-called draw-over syllable, for example:

*Spodra saulīt' i lēkdama,
Jo spodrāka uzlēkdama,*

The sun is bright when rising,
Even brighter when risen,

Liksma māsiņ' i augdama, The sister is cheerful when growing,
Jo liksmāka dzīvodama. Even more cheerful when living.

(BW 3535)

The metric scheme of the song is:

— U — —		U — U U
— — — U		U — U U
— U — —		U — U U
— — — U		— — U U

In the Latgalian folk songs the fourth long syllable of trochaic dipody is common practice, for instance:

Vysi ļauteni dzīduoja, All people sang,
As dzīduot(i) navarieju: I could not sing:
Pylna sirds maņ bādu beja, My heart was full of grief,
Pylnys acis asareņu. My eyes were full of tears.

The metric scheme of the song is:

U U — U		U — — U
U — — (U)		U U — U
— U — —		— U U U
— U U U		U U U U

In this song the first line has no caesura, which is a common phenomenon in the Latgalian folk songs.

Proceeding from the metric structure of these two East Latvian (Augšzeme) folk songs, we can safely propound the metric scheme of East Latvia's trochaic songs line

$$X X X X (l) X X X X.$$

L. Bērziņš, P. Šmits, A. Bērzkalne and J. A. Jansons formulated the quantity rule of the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody as immutable and adequate in synchronic, diachronic and regional aspects. Actually it meant the following: if a song did not meet the requirements of this rule, it was recognized as faulty. L. Bērziņš and P. Šmits admitted that the rule of the fourth line was not observed in a great number of folk songs from Latgale, East Vidzeme and East Zemgale, i.e. in the area of Latgalian and Selonian subdialects, as well as in the other subdialects between the Latgalian and Selonian subdialects, on the one hand, and the pure central dialects, on the other. They noted that the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody was frequently long in the folk songs recorded in this area.

They qualified such folk songs to be of later origin and therefore, metrically imperfect. Actually it meant that such "faulty" folk songs ought to be set right in publications, and P. Šmits in his collection of "Folk Songs" corrected the folk songs, which, in his opinion, were faulty, in such a way that the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody was short. As a result of such correction thousands and thousands of authentic folk songs from East Latvia were spoiled (see Tdz I-IV).

It is obvious that the metric system of East Latvia's authentic trochaic songs is different from that of Latvia's central and western parts. Yet, as it was rightly noted by J. Graubiņš, there is no reason to acknowledge East Latvia's metric system as faulty or imperfect (Graubiņš 1942, 1096-1103). To give an objective appraisal of these metric differences, they should be assessed in the light of ideas of Latvian historical grammar and Indo-European comparative versification.

I begin with the conclusions of Latvian historical grammar.

The metric patterns of our folk songs arose before the inflectional reduction of bisyllabic and polysyllabic words (Endzelīns 1980, 121, 122). Only accepting this thesis, put forward by J. Endzelīns, we are able to account for all the metric peculiarities of Latvian folk songs in a satisfactory way. Here one must be reminded of the indisputable fact of Latvian historical phonetics that the short vowels in the final syllables of the bisyllabic and polysyllabic words have emerged from old long vowels and diphthongs (Endzelīns 1938, 33-35; 1948, 23, 24; 1951, 81-85; Rudzīte 1993, 185-199).

Let us take, for example, one line from the trochaic song *Piecie brieži upi brida* (Five deers waded the river) LTdz III 253 (folk song 11615). Before the reduction of the final syllables this line ran *Piecie briežai upie bridā*. The metric scheme of the line was:

$$— — — — | U — U —.$$

In this case the fourth syllables of both the trochaic dipodies were long. However, it is not to be assumed that all the short vowels that at present occur in the final syllables of the bisyllabic or polysyllabic word forms of the folk songs have arisen from long vowels and diphthongs. The metric form often preserved the inflectional short vowels in the songs there where in the spoken

language they had already disappeared. In many cases the old present tense form for the third person sounded in the same way as the contemporary 3rd person past tense form. For this reason the form *lūdza* in the distich *Kas Māriņu mīļi lūdza, / Tam Māriņa basa tek* (He who kindly asked Māriņa to help, she (Māriņa) ran barefooted for him) is perceived as the past tense form, though in reality it is the old present tense form kept intact by metrics (Endzelīns 1980, 80). The form of the cited distich before the reduction of the final syllables was: *Kas Māriņuo mīļai lūdza, / Tam Māriņā basā teka*. The metric scheme of the distich was:

Ū — Ū — | — — — Ū | — — Ū — | Ū — Ū Ū.

Hence it follows that before the reduction of the final syllables the metric scheme of the trochaic line in old tribal songs of Latvians was: X X X X X X X X.

Each syllable, including the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody, could be either short or long.

Finally, let us assess the quantity rule of the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody in the light of ideas of Indo-European comparative versification.

Indo-European rhythm was not expiratory but purely quantitative (Meillet 1938, 164).

In an Indo-European verse line there were usually eight syllables. The end of a line was also the end of a syntagma, and it ended with an obligatory pause. In the middle of a line the pause occurred either after the third, fourth or fifth syllable. It depended on the fact where the syntagma ended. Therefore, it is still impossible to speak of the caesura in the middle of a line in its metric sense. The sequence of short and long syllables was not strictly determined at the beginning of the Indo-European verse line, but at the end of the line the sequence was already determined: usually the fourth syllable from the end was short, the third syllable from the end was long, the last syllable but one was short and the last syllable was either short or long. Thus, the most frequently occurring metric scheme of the Indo-European verse line was:

X X X X Ū — Ū X.

By far more rare were 8 syllable lines with the following metric scheme: X X X X X Ū — X. In the first variant, the third syllable

from the end of the line (it was obligatorily long!) signaled the end of a verse line, in the second variant — the second syllable from the end of the line (obligatorily long!). This Indo-European metric system has been elucidated on the basis of the samples of verse of the most ancient Indo-European peoples, particularly of ancient Indic and Greeks. This primitive Indo-European metric system served as a source for the development of all the metric patterns of verse of Indo-European peoples (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984, 839; West 1988, 475).

In ancient Indian and Greek verse the 8 syllable line metric scheme was still intact. The metric scheme of the 8 syllable verse line in the Vedas was: X X X X Ū — Ū —. It corresponded to the typical 8 syllable line metric variant of the Indo-Europeans X X X X Ū — Ū X. In the early hymns of ancient Indians there occurs trochaic gayatri whose metric scheme was — Ū — —. Its rare counterpart in Indo-European verse was the final part of the variant X X X X Ū — X (West 1988, 475).

The metric structure of the song recorded in the ancient Greek dialect of Mykenai (14-13 centuries BC) still fully fits in with the rarely occurring metric variant of the Indo-European X X X X Ū — X, for example

to-ko-do-mo de-me-o-te
τοιχοδόμοι δεμείοντες
(carpenters building a house)
(Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984, 840)

The metric scheme of this line is — Ū Ū — Ū Ū — Ū.

By contrast, in Persian and Roman verse the 8 syllable line metric scheme of the Indo-Europeans was already considerably transformed. For example, the 8 syllable line metric scheme of a Persian wedding song was X X X X X X X X. In ancient Roman poetry which is composed in trochee the eight syllable line metric scheme was X X X X | X X X X. In the Arvalian (country brethren) hymn there is such a line:

Nēve lue(m), rue(m), Marmer...

(And not plague, extinction, Mars),

the metric system of which is — Ū Ū — | Ū — — — (West 1988, 494).

Another example from ancient Roman poetry:

Novom vetus vīnum bibō
(I am old, I drink new wine).

The metric scheme of this line is $\bar{U} - \bar{U} \bar{U} | \acute{U} - \bar{U} -$ (Uest 19881, 495).

Studying the metrics of our folk songs, the qualities of the Lithuanian dainas are of particular importance. The metrics of these dainas confirms the same fact as revealed in the verse of several other Indo-European peoples, namely, the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody can be either short or long, for example:

Mėnuo vienas vaikštinėjo...

(The moon was walking alone)

(Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984, 841), ($\acute{U} - \acute{U} \bar{U} | \acute{U} \bar{U} -$);

Duok, mergyte, duok man ranką...

(Give me, maiden, give me your hand)

(Sauka 1978, 85), ($\acute{U} - \acute{U} \bar{U} | \acute{U} - \acute{U} -$);

Sėjau rūtą į darželį...

(I planted a flower in the garden)

(Dainos 1931, 44), ($\acute{U} - \acute{U} - | \acute{U} - \acute{U} -$);

Šoka kiškis, šoka lapė...

(A hare is leaping, a fox is leaping)

(Sauka 1978, 64), ($\acute{U} \bar{U} \bar{U} | \acute{U} \bar{U} -$).

Thus, the metric scheme of the 8 syllable trochaic line in the Lithuanian dainas is:

$\bar{X} \bar{X} \bar{X} \bar{X} | \bar{X} \bar{X} \bar{X} \bar{X}$.

The reconstructed metric structure of the Indo-European verse line and the metric peculiarities of ancient Indic, Persian, Greek, Roman and Lithuanian folk songs show that the trochaic song structure with the fourth short or long syllable has been inherited from olden times and it is characteristic of folk songs of many Indo-European peoples. Even in Estonian folk songs, whose metric structure is very close to that of Latvian folk songs, the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody can be either short or long, for example, in two formulas from Estonian folk songs:

Mina kuulin, vastu kostin

(I heard, I answered)

($\bar{U} \bar{U} \acute{U} - | \bar{U} \bar{U} \bar{U} -$);

Uuest ütlen ümber jälle,

Uuest ümber, taas tagasi

(I'll say it again, / Again, and again backwards),

($\acute{U} \bar{U} \bar{U} - | \acute{U} - \acute{U} \bar{U}$

$\acute{U} \bar{U} \acute{U} - | \acute{U} \bar{U} \bar{U} \bar{U}$)

(EF 134)

Therefore, there is no reason to acknowledge those Latvian folk songs as metrically imperfect or faulty if the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody is long. Such groundless interpretation of the folk song metrics, which has been almost universally recognized for a long time in Latvian folklore studies runs counter to the basic ideas of Latvian historical grammar and Indo-European comparative versification.

The fourth long syllable of trochaic dipody occurs, though seldom, also in the Middle-Latvian folk songs. In the light of what has been said above such cases undoubtedly are to be regarded as metric archaisms.

II. The caesura rule of trochaic songs

In Latvian folklore studies at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century metre rule of trochaic songs postulated was, namely, the caesura rule. The criticism of the former rule was given in several papers by J. Endzelīns and the author of this paper (Endzelīns 1974: 32-33; 1980: 121-122; Breidaks 1995: 13-16; 1997: 93-98). In this paper I offer the criticism of the caesura rule in trochaic songs in the light of ideas of Indo-European comparative metrics.

In accordance with the caesura rule of trochaic songs formulated in Latvian folklore studies the caesura divides a line into two metric parts (4/4, 4/3, 3/4 or 3/3 syllables), thereby the fourth syllable of four syllable dipody is always short, but the third syllable of three syllable dipody is always long or conditionally long. Chanting a three syllable dipody, a short auxiliary vowel, i.e. a short syllable, is introduced, but singing it a short auxiliary vowel, i.e. a short syllable is obligatorily introduced.

In the opinion of the authors of this hypothesis the caesura lines of trochaic songs are by far much more archaic than asymmetrical lines without caesura (with 5/3 or 3/5 syllables) (Bērziņš 1940: 131-144; Bērzkalne 1937: 3; SV 173; DV 18).

In Latgale there have been recorded many authentic folk songs which have one or several lines without caesura, for example,

Vysi ļauteni dzīduoja, All people sang,
As dzīduot(i) navarieju: I could not sing;
Pylna sirds maņ bādu beja, My heart was full of grief,
Pylnys acis asareņu. My eyes were full of tears.
 (in Pilda)

The metric scheme of the song is:

U U — U	U — — U	
U — — (U)	U U — U	
— U — —	— U U U	
— U U U	U U U U	

There is no caesura in the first line of this song after the first dipody because the word commenced in the first dipody begins the second dipody by means of its final syllable. A syllable of this type is called a draw-over syllable in Latvian folklore studies.

A great number of trochaic folk songs with the East Vidzeme and East Zemgale draw-over syllable *i* or *e*, *u* have been recorded in East Vidzeme and East Zemgale, for instance,

Spodra saulīt' i lēkdama, The sun is bright when rising,
Jo spodrāka rietēdama, Even brighter when setting,
Liksmā māsiņ' i augdama, The sister is cheerful when growing,
Jo liksmāka dzīvodama. She is even more cheerful when living.

(BW 3535)

According to the traditional viewpoint, caesura in such songs has been restored, yet the quantity rule of the fourth syllable of trochaic dipody remains violated.

The propounders of the caesura rule believed that the Latgalian folk songs with caesuraless lines and the East Vidzeme and East Zemgale folk songs with the draw-over syllable *i* or *e*, *u* are faulty and metrically imperfect. This opinion was considered by Latvian folklore specialists to be so right and irrefutable that they even did not try to substantiate it in any serious way.

In conformity with the traditional view the events in the East Vidzeme and East Zemgale area developed like this: the metrically perfect line *Spodra saule uzlēkdama* first became an asymmetrical line without caesura *Spodra saulī/te lēkdama* (that is what P. Šmits thought, to introduce a diminutive word into the line) and finally

the people transformed this line into *Spodra saulīt' i lēkdama* (with the draw-over *i*) to set right the metric error.

J. Graubiņš considered such interpretation of the evolution of the East Vidzeme and East Zemgale trochaic songs to be logically contradictory.

The first contradiction. According to L. Bērziņš' point of view, the asymmetrical trochaic lines without caesura arose in the east of Latvia, since folk songs were being composed in these areas also in later times when the people had already lost the taste in the beauty of metrically perfect folk songs. Then, all of a sudden, the people in East Vidzeme and East Zemgale seemed to have regained the feeling for metric beauty and began to correct the damaged folk songs. Yet, it is doubtful that tale-tellers and singers of later times could have been the discoverers and correctors of metric faults, because folklore specialists are unanimous in their opinion that it was precisely in later times that folk songs were badly damaged and that tale-tellers and singers were insensitive to rhythmical errors.

The second contradiction. Strange is the way that a trochaic song must make until it gains the draw-over *i* at the beginning of the second dipody. Let us take the song, well-known in the Low-Latvian region (Lejzeme):

<i>Ābelīte Dievu lūdza,</i>	The appletree prayed God
<i>Lai ved meitas šoruden;</i>	That maidens should be married;
<i>Visi zari nolīkuši,</i>	All its boughs have drooped,
<i>Dzīpariņus žāvējot.</i>	When drying the worsted.

The versions of this song are not numerous in Latgale: with the third caesura line *Vysi zori nūleikuši* and the third line without caesura *Vysi zariņi nūleika, Zaru zariņus nolieca, Zaru zariņi nolīka*. Then it should be assumed that this song with its Latgalian transformation (in accordance with the traditional viewpoint of the Latvian folklore specialists!) comes back to the west and having arrived in the Cēsis district in Vidzeme — in Biksēre, Cesvaine, Kusa, Liezēre, Odziņa — is altered for the second time with an apostrophized word and the draw-over *i*, *ij* at the beginning of the second dipody of the third line. This folk song has been more often recorded with the symmetric line *Visi zari nolīkuši* in the Cēsis and neighbouring Valka districts. Why was it necessary for the singers

of the Cēsis district to borrow a folk song with the third caesuraless line from the Latgalians and then to alter it with much difficulty? Strange is also the fact that the second, formally further alteration (with the draw-overs *i, ij*) is territorially closer to the original version than the first, formally less different alteration (with the draw-over *ɲi*). Usually a slight variation begins among the closer neighbours and differences gradually increase the farther it gets away from the birth place of the song's basic variant (Graubiņš 1942: 1098-1099). To avert these logical contradictions J. Graubiņš advanced his own hypothesis of the metric evolution of Latvian trochaic folk songs. In conformity with this hypothesis the metric evolution of Latvian trochaic folk songs has experienced three phases. **The first phase.** This phase had not only the symmetric caesura lines of trochaic songs, but also asymmetrical lines without caesura, for example, *Spūdra sauleite lākdama* (bright was the rising sun). Besides, as J. Graubiņš noted, such asymmetrical lines were the relic of an older phase. **The second phase.** To transform the asymmetrical lines of trochaic songs into symmetric ones, the ending of the words in the middle of a line was reduced and at the beginning of the second dipody the draw-over or auxiliary *i* or *ij* was inserted, for example, *Spodra saulīt' i lākdama* (Graubiņš 1942: 1099-1100).

The third phase. In this phase the lines of trochaic folk songs with the draw-over *i* or *ij* (also grammatical!) were transformed into symmetric caesura lines. Besides, in such trochaic folk songs the fourth syllable of dipody nearly always is long. This phase is represented by folk songs composed in the central dialect (Graubiņš 1942: 1099-1100).

If the traditional hypothesis of Latvian folklore specialists on the metric structure evolution of Latvian trochaic folk songs is compared to J. Graubiņš corresponding hypothesis, then it is not difficult to see that they are diametrically opposed. Comparing both of these hypotheses with the Indo-European versification system (West 1988: 475; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984: 839) it is to be concluded that J. Graubiņš was right.

In an Indo-European verse line there were usually eight syllables. The end of a line was also the end of a syntagma and they ended with an obligatory pause or caesura. In the middle of a line

the pause came after the third, fourth or fifth syllable according to where the syntagma ended. Therefore, it is still impossible to say anything about the caesura in the middle of a line in Indo-European verse. This metric peculiarity of Indo-European verse has been elucidated on the basis of the oldest samples of Indo-European peoples particularly the samples of ancient Indians and Greeks.

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Latviešu tautasdziesmu metrika

Antons Breidaks (Rīga)

Rakstā ir dota latviešu folkloristikā pieņemto tautasdziesmu metrikas likumu - trohaja dipodijas ceturtās zilbes kvantitātes likuma un trohaja rindas cezūras likuma - kritiska analīze sinhroniskā, diahroniskā un areālā aspektā.

Rakstā, pamatojoties uz latviešu valodas vēsturiskās fonētikas un indoeiropiešu salīdzināmi vēsturiskās versifikācijas atziņām, postulēti divi augšzemnieku tautasdziesmu metrikas likumi sinhroniskā un diahroniskā aspektā: 1) trohaja dipodijas ceturtās zilbes kvantitātes likums: Austrumlatvijas tautasdziesmās trohaja dipodijas ceturtā zilbe ir īsa vai gara; 2) trohaja dziesmu rindas cezūras likums: latgaliešu tautasdziesmās pretstatā lejzemnieku tautasdziesmām pēc ceturtās zilbes cezūra nav obligāta, astoņzilbju rindā cezūra var būt pēc trešās, ceturtās vai piektās zilbes atkarā no tā, kur tai jābūt atbilstoši sintaktiskai konstrukcijai.

Augšzemnieku tautasdziesmas, kur šie metrikas likumi realizējas, nav metriski kropļojumi, bet likumsakarīgi arhaismi gan latviešu valodas vēsturiskās fonētikas, gan indoeiropiešu salīdzināmi vēsturiskās versifikācijas atziņu gaismā.