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About the definite adjective in Lithuanian

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The so-called definite adjective in Lithuanian is marked with a postposed element which we can trace back to an Indo-European root **ia-*. This **ia-* element was used for different purposes by the historical Indo-European languages. This fact and some other peculiarities of the **ia-* element strongly suggest that **ia-* was originally a demonstrative.

PHONETICS OF THE LITHUANIAN DIALECTS IN LATVIA

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The Lithuanian dialects in Latvia as in the other three neighbouring states continue the main area of the Lithuanian language beyond the boundaries of the Republic of Lithuania.

There are dialects of the original Lithuanian residents in Latvia — Odigēni, Tiskādi, Indrica, Daugavpils, Subate-Aknīste, Nereta, Škirāni, Snikeri, Vadakste. In Lithuanian they are called: Uodegėnai, Ciskodas, Indricà, Daūgpilis, Subāčius-Aknystà, Nėretos, Skyrónys, Snikeriai, Vadakstis.

The subdialects of the remote Vilniškiai dialect in Latgalia — the better preserved Uodegėnai subdialect and the remote Ciskodas subdialect — are especially interesting.

According to the pronunciation of the stressed vowel *o* of the common Lithuanian language the subdialects of Ciskodas and Uodegėnai belong to the 'žādininkai' group (they say *žādis* 'žodis')¹ and the subdialects of Daugavpils and Aknīste-Subate belong to the 'žalininkai' (they say *žalē* 'žolė', i. e., they do not turn the long *a* into *o* only in the unstressed syllables. The first group of the subdialects turn the vowel *é* of the stressed syllable

¹ Garšva K., «Ciskodo apylinkių lietuvininkų šnektas» (The Lietuvininkai dialect in Ciskodas environs), *Lietuvių kalba: tyrėjai ir tyrimai* (LKK) (The Lithuanian Language: the Researchers and Researches), 1996. T. 37. P. 138-147; Garšva K., Jackutė R., Venskauskaitė E., «Uodegėnų šnektos fonetika, morfologija ir leksika dvikalbystės sąlygomis» (The Phonetics, Morphology and Vocabulary of the Uodegėnai Subdialect under the Conditions of Bilingualism), *Lietuvių kalba ir bilingvizmas* (The Lithuanian language and bilingualism) (LKK), 1998. T. 27. P. 73-106.

into the diphthong *ie*, and the latter group retains it. The positional variants of the back vowels appear after hardened consonants.

The eastern and southern subdialects of the Lithuanian language that border on the Slavonic languages are distinguished from the other Lithuanian dialects according to the type of consonants: by hardening them and using the main feature of the Dzūkai dialect. The consonants *t'* and *d'* before *i*, *ie*, *æ* in the Uodegėnai subdialect become *c*, *dz* much more often than in the Ciskodas subdialect and in the southern environs of Daugavpils (but a little bit more rarely than in the neighbouring Breslauja-Apsas subdialect). These subdialects differ in this feature from the subdialects of Ciskodas and Rimšė, Dūkštas, Palūšė, Ignalinà, etc. because they do not turn *t* and *d* into *c* and *dz*.

The consonants *t* and *d* in the Uodegėnai subdialect sometimes become the affricates *c'* and *dz'* before the vowel *i*: *paci/pati*, *šālcis* 'šaltis'.

The consonants *t* and *d* most often remain unchanged before the diphthong *ie*. The consonant combinations *tv* and *dv* in the Lithuanian subdialects in Latgālia do not become *cv* and *dzv*.

In the texts of the Uodegėnai subdialect 78 per cent of the renderings of the consonant *t* and 56 per cent of the renderings of the consonant *d* are changed before the vowel *i*, 75 per cent of the renderings of the consonant *t'* and 43 per cent of the renderings of the consonant *d'* before *æ*, 14 per cent and 29 per cent respectively before *ie*. In all three aforementioned positions 67 per cent of the renderings of *t* and 50 per cent of the renderings of *d* were changed. In the stressed syllables the consonants *t* and *d* become *c* and *dz* more rarely (66 per cent of the words: 63 per cent with *t* and 68 per cent with *d*) than in the syllable following the stressed syllable (72 per cent of the words: 75 per cent with *t* and 68 per cent with *d*).

The consonants *t'*, *d'* do not change into *c'*, *dz'* before the new variant *ie* < *ē*: *indīeti* 'idėti'; *c'* and *dz'* are used before fronted *a* and *u* instead of the affricates *č'* and *dž'*, e.g.: *dunciai* 'dantys'.

In the Lithuanian subdialects in Latgālia almost all the consonants can become hard with the exception of *j* that has no hard equivalent. Three groups of consonants can be distinguished according to the frequency of hardening: *r*, *s*, *š*, *ž* are often hardened before all the front vowels (*i*, *i* (*ie*), *e*, *e*) or the vowels (*u*, *u*, *a*, *a*) that were fronted. The consonant *l* is hard before *e* and *ē* in the words of the Lithuanian origin, e.g. *lāidz'a* 'leidžia'; *c*, *č*, *d*, *dž*, *p*, *t*, *v*, *z* and also *b*, *g*, *k*, *m*, *n* are hardened from time to time before *i*, *a* and *e*, and sometimes before *u* too.

The subdialect of Škirāni belongs to the dialect of Panevėžiškiai, the subdialect of Nereta to the dialect of Kupiškėnai and the subdialect of Aknīste-Subate to the dialect of Uteniškiai. The exceptional peripheral feature of the northern dialect of Panevėžiškiai i.e. the hardening of the consonants *š*, *ž*, *v* and *r*, e.g.: *šāuds* 'šiaudas', *raik'* 'reikia', has appeared in the subdialect of Škirāni under the influence of the Latvian language. The nominative plural ending *-ūs* of *i* stem adjectives extends to the north of Škirāni, e.g.: *g'ārus* 'geri'.

The progressive assimilation of the vowels *ē* and *e* — their mutation into the vowels *a* and *a* before a hard consonant and the back vowel of the following syllable or in a monosyllabic word, e.g.: *maīga* 'mergā', *latvās* 'latvès', is characteristic of the subdialect of Nereta. The stress is sometimes also retracted not only from a short inflexion to a long syllable but also from a short and even long (half long) last syllable to a short syllable, e.g.: *letuvjū* / *letuvju* 'lietuvijū'.

The distinctive feature of the subdialect of Subate-Aknīste is the existence of vowels of three lengths (short, half long and long) at the end of a stressed word and the neutralisation of the opposition of unstressed sounds *ē* and *ie*, *o* and *uo*. The consonant *l* is

systematically hardened before the vowel *e*, and *r*, *ž*, etc. are sporadically hardened: *lādas* 'ledas', *ažaraņ* 'ī ežera'. The stress can be attracted from a short inflexion to a long root, e. g.: *piņki* 'penki'.

In some borderland areas of east and south Dzūkai the consonant *d'* before the vowels of *i* type becomes *dz* more rarely (in the Odigēnai subdialect 50 per cent of the time, in the Pūnškas subdialect 61 per cent of the time) than *t'* becomes *c* (67 and 84 per cent correspondingly). In the subdialects of Tiskādi and especially Daugavpils these consonants are very rarely mutated (before fronted vowels *č'* and *dž'* more often correspond to *c'* and *dz'*).

In the High Lithuanian subdialects the consonants *l*, *r* and *s* were hardened a long time ago. The same process influenced *š*, *ž*, *c*, *dž*, *č*, *dz* later, and *p*, *b*, *m*, *v*, etc. only in the 20th century. Confirmation of this is found in the existing consonantal variants in those dialects.

The northern peripheral area of Lithuanian subdialects in Latvia differs from other Lithuanian subdialects in certain peculiar features. They are as follows in Odigēni dialect: the long vowels *e* and *o* are not used, for the most part consonants are hardened, there are instances of the consonant mutation *s* → *š* and *š* → *s*. In Tiskādi, Daugavpils dialects changes *t'*, *d'* into *c'*, *dz'* before *i*, *i*, *ie* are practically unknown.

Lietuvių tarmių Latvijoje fonetika
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Latvijos lietuvių senbuvų šnektos nuo kitų lietuvių kalbos ploto pakraščių šnektų skiriasi keliomis ypatybėmis. Uodegėnų (Odigėni) šnekte nėra ilgųjų balsių *e*, *a*, kietinama dauguma priebalsių, o *s* ir *š* lietuvių kalbos pavyzdžiu verčiami *š* ir *s*. Priebalsiai *t'*, *d'* prieš *i* tipo balsius labai retai verčiami *c'*, *dz'* (Ciskodas - Tiskādi, Daugpilis - Daugavpils). Uodegėnų, Ciskodo ir kitų oikonimų formos jau įsigalėjo kalbinėje literatūroje.

À PROPOS DE QUELQUES ADVERBES LETTONS*

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1. Dans le système des adjectifs, le letton présente une situation nettement plus évoluée que le lituanien. Alors que le lituanien conserve un système à trois formes (masculin *gėras* "bon", féminin *gerà*, "neutre" *gėra*), le letton a réduit les adjectifs à deux formes (masculin *labs* "bon", féminin *laba*) et a totalement éliminé la forme neutre. Dans certaines des fonctions syntaxiques qui sont celles des formes "neutres" en lituanien, le letton emploie régulièrement la forme masculine. On comparera ainsi le lituanien *taĩ yrà áišku* "cela est clair" (*áišku*, forme "neutre" de *áiškus* "clair") et le letton *tas iĩ skaĩdrs* "id." (forme masculine *skaĩdrs* "clair"). Ailleurs, la forme neutre est remplacée par celle de l'adverbe, par ex. lit. *mán (yrà) šáлта* "j'ai froid" (*šáлта*, forme "neutre" de *šáltas* "froid") et lett. *màn iĩ aũksti* "id." (*aũksti*, adverbe formé sur l'adjectif *aũksts* "froid").

2. Le seul vestige encore perceptible des adjectifs neutres en letton apparaît dans une petite série d'adverbes à finale *-u* ou *-ø*¹. La finale de ces adverbes doit représenter, à côté de la formation majoritaire d'adverbes en *-i* (< *-ai, cf. lett. *labi* "bien" = lit. *labai* "très", etc.), la trace de l'ancien nominatif-accusatif neutre d'adjectifs en *-us* ou *-as*. Les adverbes de ce type sont peu nombreux en letton, et la

* Cet article est extrait d'une recherche actuellement en cours sur les formes du "genre neutre" dans les langues baltiques. Remerciements à Justyna.

¹ Sur les adverbes lettons à finale *-u* ou *-ø*, cf. J. Endzelĩns (1938: 144-145, § 342-344 = DI, IV / 1, 458-459); E. Sokols, éd. (MLLVG, 1959: I, 707, § 906-907); J. Kabelka (1987: 200, § 285).