

KLAIPĖDA UNIVERSITY

Dalia Jakulytė

**RESEARCH CONCERNING AUTHORSHIP AND  
THE INFLECTION OF DENOMINATIVES  
IN THE *KNYGA NOBAŽNYSTÈS*  
BASED ON A RELATIONAL DATABASE**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation  
Humanities, Philology (04H)

Klaipėda, 2016

The doctoral dissertation was prepared at Vilnius University in 1996–2005 and at Klaipeda University in 2015–2016 according to the right to deliver doctoral studies, which was granted for Vytautas Magnus University together with Klaipėda University, Šiauliai University, and the Institute of Lithuanian Language by Act No. V-1019 of the Minister of Education and Science (Republic of Lithuania) signed on 8 June 2011 (amended by Act No. V-886 of the Minister of Education and Science (Republic of Lithuania) signed on 12 August 2015).

The dissertation will be defended externally.

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The dissertation will be defended in a public meeting of the Defence Board in the Field of Philology, in the *Aula Magna* auditorium complex, Klaipėda University, at 13.00 on 7 October 2016.

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The summary of the dissertation was sent out on 7 September 2016.

The dissertation is available for review at Klaipėda University, Institute of Lithuanian Language, Šiauliai University, and Vytautas Magnus University Libraries.

KLAIPÉDOS UNIVERSITETAS

Dalia Jakulytė

***KNYGOS NOBAŽNYSTĖS AUTORYSTĖS  
IR VARDAŽODŽIO KAITYBOS TYRIMAS  
RELIACINĖS DUOMENŲ BAZĖS PAGRINDU***

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka  
Humanitariniai mokslai, filologija (04H)

Klaipėda, 2016

Mokslo daktaro disertacija rengta 1996–2005 metais Vilniaus universitete ir 2015–2016 metais Klaipėdos universitete pagal suteiktą Vytauto Didžiojo universitetui kartu su Klaipėdos universitetu, Šiaulių universitetu, Lietuvių kalbos institutu Lietuvos Respublikos švietimo ir mokslo ministro 2011 m. birželio 8 d. įsakymu Nr. V-1019 (Lietuvos Respublikos švietimo ir mokslo ministro 2015 m. rugpjūčio 12 d. įsakymo Nr. V-886 redakcija) doktorantūros teisę.

Disertacija ginama eksternu.

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Daktaro disertacija bus ginama viešame Filologijos mokslo krypties tarybos posėdyje 2016 m. spalio 7 d. 13 val. Klaipėdos universiteto Aula Magna auditorijų korpuše.

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Daktaro disertacijos santrauka išsiųsta 2016 m. rugsėjo 7 d.

Disertaciją galima peržiūrėti Klaipėdos universiteto, Lietuvių kalbos instituto, Šiaulių universiteto, Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto bibliotekose.

# Introduction

**The research object** is the morphology of denominatives, i.e. features of the inflection of nouns and adjectives, in two parts of Kėdainiai publications (1653) commonly known as the *Knyga nobažnystės* (*Book of Devotions*).

## Research material

Two parts of the *Knyga nobažnystės* (hereinafter, the KN) are investigated, namely:

- The second part, which consists of *Suma evangelijų* (*Sum of Gospels*) and *Passion* (SE and Pas)
- The third part, which consists of *Maldos krikščioniškos* (*Christian Prayers*) and *Catechism* (MKr and K).

The first part of the KN, the Hymnal, is not introduced in the analysis for several reasons: it was prepared by other authors; the texts are rhymed, so some of the morphological features, such as shortening of the endings, may be the result of versification. The sources of the hymns are different – some were newly translated from several Polish hymnals, some were taken from other hymnals, while others could have been taken from the living Lithuanian liturgical tradition or even created specifically for this publication. Therefore, before analysing the morphology, the genesis of each song should be determined.

The data was taken from photocopies of the first edition of the KN and from the facsimile published in 2004; also the A. Jakulis' card index and lexical registers were used.

## Relevance of the study

The language of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. Lithuanian writings is one of the most important sources of the history of the Lithuanian language. Studies of the old texts allow returning to a certain stage of language development, determining the chronology of the individual changes, and collecting as a mosaic the overall picture of language development. The language of old writings can be analysed at various levels, e.g. phonetic, morphological, lexical, or syntactic. There are different opportunities for research, and different reflections of dialects and other languages in each of them. Thus, the research of phonetics is limited by spelling inconsistency, vocabulary and syntax are the most sensitive to the influence of other languages.

Most researchers focus their studies on the lexis of old writings. The dictionaries and the lexical registers of individual texts are being published, and a digitalized historical Lithuanian dictionary has become available online. Such books and dictionaries are very useful for morphological studies, however, due to the quite complex mechanism of material selection, these studies are still too time consuming.

The KN language is based on the western Aukštaitian Šiauliai dialect, which is considered to be the central written language variant of the 16<sup>th</sup> and

17<sup>th</sup> c. Studies on the denominative morphology of this language are still very fragmented. Most attention is paid to Daukša's texts, i.e. the semantics and morphological structure of pronouns, the usage of postpositional locatives, and the noun declension types are being explored and described. There are only a few studies of morphology in other publications of the same period and so far, there are no comprehensive studies of denominatives in the KN.

### **Novelty and topic study condition**

Since the quality of the language in the KN is the same as in Daukša's writings, it has not yet received adequate attention from researchers. Antanas Jakulis began investigations of the phonetics, morphology, and lexis of the KN. He published several articles on the *Knyga Nobažnystės'* relationship with other Lithuanian writings and proposed the hypothesis of different authorship of certain parts of the KN. He also attempted to discern the relationship between the ending shortening and the accent and prepared a KN lexical register (unpublished manuscripts).

A facsimile of the KN was published in 2004. Soon after that, the texts were transcribed, digitalized, and released with concordances in the Database of Old Writings of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language (<http://www.lki.lt/seniejirastai>). This encouraged the researchers of old writings to actively investigate the language of the KN, e.g. B. Maskuliūnas and A. Razanovaitė analysed the atonic pronouns in the KN. However, a holistic, thorough approach to studies of the KN is still lacking.

The novelty of the present study is in the systematic research on the KN's denominative inflection, based on the application of innovative IT methods for linguistic analysis. For that purpose, a digital copy of KN text and a relational model index as a tool for the language investigation was created for the first time. The data in the index was placed in interlinked data tables. Further, the instrument for the grouping, sorting, and analysis of the language properties (especially morphology) was developed and applied. Moreover, the earlier results of KN language studies were verified, and the inflection of denominatives was investigated and described. To our knowledge, such an IT-based approach has still not been applied in Baltic linguistic studies for the investigation of old writings.

### **Research methods**

The deductive methods, currently prevailing in linguistics, are more appropriate when data are scarce and/or fragmented. In this work, inductive methods are purposefully applied: the grammatical system of a certain written source is analysed and described only when all the available facts are reviewed and systematized. The inductive paradigm is based on modern information technologies and computational science (data mining) methods.

Linguistic methods. The system analysis methodology is applied to the KN morphology research. All the KN word forms and morphemes are

analysed by descriptive and internal reconstruction methods. The dialectical properties are explored by comparative and geolinguistic methods, i.e. forms used in different parts of the KN are compared mutually and with other written sources. The prevalence of separate facts is compared with the current Lithuanian dialect material, presented in Z. Zinkevičius' *Lithuanian dialectology* maps and Lithuanian language atlases. The denominative inflection classes are specified using the data grouping method, based on cluster analysis.

Information technology methods. An electronic database was created to collect and describe all the forms of words in two stages: 1) conceptual and thematic design and, 2) realization. The stage of conceptual design included identification of the data types needed for the old writings' morphology research, depending on the questions to be answered. The thematic design was devoted to define the specifics, properties and mutual relations of the data. This stage resulted in the development of a logical data structure. At the stage of realization, the MS Access database management system was used. As a result, an old writings' morphology database was created, where the data was uploaded and provided with the necessary attributes. Thus, the data can be selected, sorted and displayed in different ways, depending on the questions to be solved by a researcher.

## Aim and objectives

The aim of the thesis is to define the authorship of the *Knyga nobažnystės* and to explore and describe the KN denominative inflection system.

The following objectives are identified and dealt with:

1. To create a methodology for the morphology research of old writings:
  - a) to analyse the morphology analysis needs of old writings (material specifics and selection parameters) at the conceptual design stage;
  - b) to create the logical structure of the database (specify the data, determine the morphological characteristics and their mutual relations, create lists of morphological parameters) at the thematic design stage;
  - c) to create the old writings' morphology database and enter the KN data (all the words and their basic attributes) at the realization and actualization stage;
  - d) to create a simplified mechanism for the selection of data for the installation and supply of the instrumental investigation stage.
2. To apply the KN database for analysis of authoring language differences and verify the hypothesis of the authorship of different KN parts held by A. Jakulis.
3. To investigate the inflexion features of KN denominatives – nouns and adjectives – by applying the data selection mechanism created.

## **Practical significance**

The database created is adapted for the exploration of KN inflection, but it can be used to investigate other aspects of language – word formation, semantics, valence, etc. It can be adapted for the research of other old sources as well.

In addition, the database can be an intermediate stage between an electronic text and word index: after marking the grammatical characteristics, the selected data could be used to supplement the historic Lithuanian dictionary.

## **The structure of the work**

The dissertation consists of the introduction, main part, conclusions, references and lists of abbreviations, figures and tables. In the introduction section, an overview of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. writings research problems and a history of KN investigation is provided. The main part consists of three chapters. The first describes the creation and structure of the old writings' morphology database. In the second part, the KN database is applied to verify A. Jakulis's hypothesis of KN authorship and to overview the general characteristics of the KN language. In the third chapter, the inflection of denominatives is investigated using the data entry and selection tool created (KNDB). Here, the general denominative inflection features are discussed, followed by the overviews of noun and adjective inflection.

## **Defended statements:**

1. The most appropriate model for the morphology studies of old writings is the relational database model, where the grammatical form and other features are split down into the smallest units. This model has many advantages, the most important being the pronounced capabilities of data selection, sorting and analysis.

2. With the data of the KN database, it is possible to justify A. Jakulis' hypothesis about the different authorship of the individual SE parts. The statistics of word form usage shows that the first 21 and the last 5 gospels and sermons were prepared by one author, while the middle 35 gospels and sermons by another.

3. Noun declension paradigms differ more evidently by gender, rather than by stems: the inflection types firstly splits into two classes – masculine / mixed (I) and feminine (II). In the second class, the opposition between the *(i)*ā and ē stems is distinctive, and the first class splits into several subclasses: masculine ū, masculine u and mixed. The mixed declension type differs by gender as well; the *C<sub>m</sub>* stem is closer to the *i<sub>m</sub>* stem than to the *C<sub>f</sub>* stem.

4. The adjective declension types first split into the u and o groups according to the masculine forms stem. The U group contains the *u–iiā*

inflection type. The inflection types in the *o* group are very close in the middle sermons, prepared by second author ((*i*)*o*–(*i*)*ā* and *io*–*iā*); in first-last sermons, prepared by first author, the adjective inflection types of the *o* group split into subgroups *ā* and *ē*, according to the feminine forms stem: (*i*)*o*–(*i*)*ā* and *io*–*ē*.

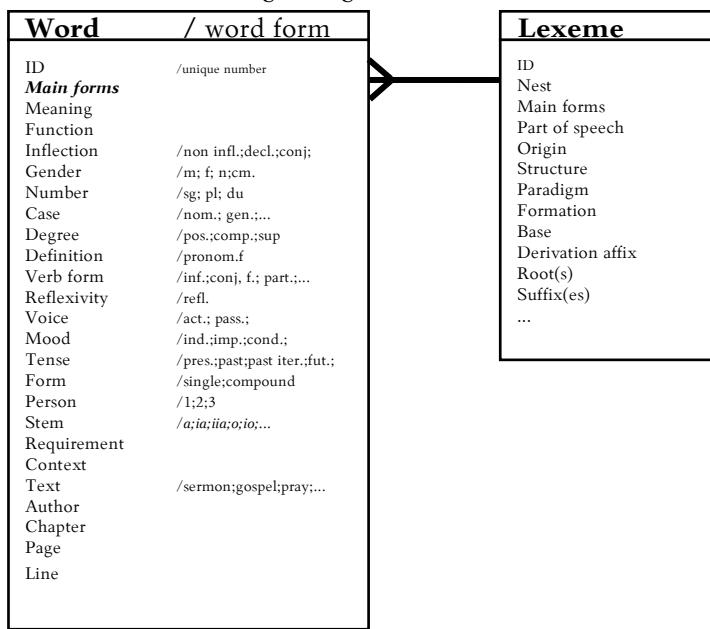
## Old writings' morphology database

The old writings' morphology database was created as a tool to investigate the old written language. It was made in two stages – design and implementation.

**Design.** The database was designed as a digital analog of the paper card index. The data of the database are all the word forms used in the analysed text. Like each card in a paper index, each database record contains a word form and its properties (attributes). The data attributes are the textual, lexical and grammatical features.

The logical database structure was composed as follows:

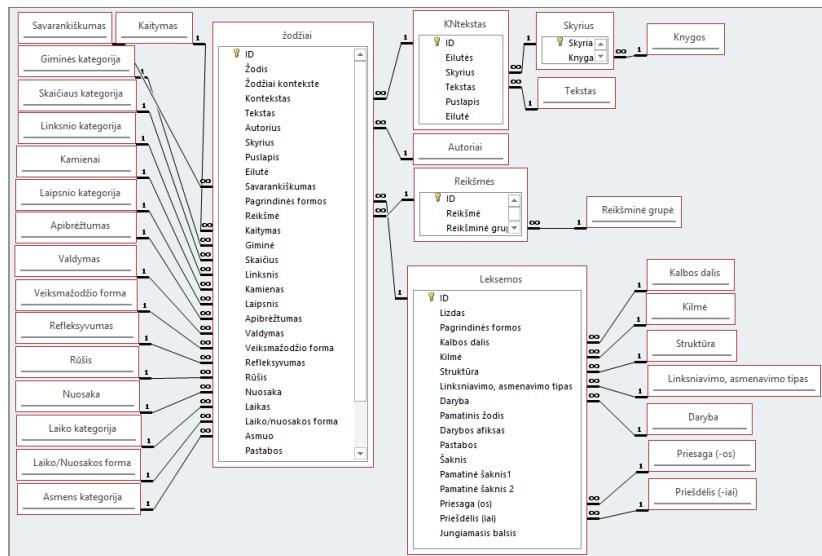
Fig. 1. Logical structure



**Implementation.** The most appropriate model for the words and their forms database is the relational database, where data is stored in linked tables. The logical structure was implemented and tested with the *MS Access* database management system. Two main tables were created: "Žodžiai" (for

forms of words) and "Leksemos" (for lexemes). In auxiliary tables, lists of attributes were placed. Thus, the system of tables was constructed, where the relationships "one-to-many" are set between the main table and auxiliary tables (Fig. 2).

*Fig. 2. Database structure and relationships*



Then these tables were filled with KN data:

- Texts of SE, Pas, MKr and K were broken into words; all these words with the unique ID were supported and loaded into the "Žodžiai" table.
- All the textual information (text, chapter, page, line) was entered together with the words.
- For each word, the dictionary form was chosen from the "Leksemos" table and that table was filled at the same time.
- The grammatical attributes, which do not require additional research, or studies have been carried out, were entered.

The KN database (KNDB) was prepared for further researches – the queries of inflection forms and word forms statistics were created and the selection criteria entry forms were prepared. So, the data can be reviewed in several ways: in the main table itself, using integrated tools of sorting and filtering; in auxiliary tables reviewing related records; using specially created queries.

## Authorship and its reflections in language

It is known that separate parts of the KN were prepared by different authors. In the preface of the KN, it is mentioned that the Hymnal was prepared by St. Jaugelis-Telega with S. Tomaševskis (Tamošauskas), and the SE and MKr – by S. Minvydas and J. Božimovskis. A. Jakulis reviewed the orthography of the loanwords and noticed certain regularities: e.g. the first letter of *Kristus* is mostly spelled *K* in the first 21 and last 5 SE sermons, while *Ch* is used in the rest of the parts of the SE and in the MKr. Based on such regularities, he conjectured the hypothesis that the first and the last SE sermons were prepared by one author, most likely by S. Minvydas, and the middle part of the SE and MKr – by another author, most likely J. Božimovskis. We will call them the "first author" (first-last sermons of the SE) and the "second author" (middle sermons of the SE, P, MKr and K).

To verify and to clarify this hypothesis, the crosstab query of word form usage in chapters was created in KNDB. The distribution obtained of the orthography variants shows that:

- The MKr, P and K had been prepared by another author than the middle sermons of the SE, or not at the same time; most likely they were edited by the second author.
- The orthography in the gospels and sermons is different; so in terms of authorship, they should be analysed separately.
- The last prayer of the MKr significantly differs; maybe it was added from another source.

The authorship of the KN parts was labelled as follows:

SE I	First 1–21 and last 56–60 sermons
SE II	Middle 22–55 sermons
P	Passion
MKr	Prayers (1–57)
M 58	58 prayer
K	Catechism
G	Hymnal
E I	First 1–21 and last 56–60 gospels (pericopes)
E II	Middle 22–55 gospels (pericopes)

In terms of authorship, the most obvious are the loanwords' spelling differences, e.g. in SE I, the *Kristus*, *Kristusas*, and *Kristas* forms prevail: in SE II, *Christusas*, *Christus*, *Christas*; SE I, *evangelija* : SE II, *evanielija*. The other spelling differences are the following first author's (and sometimes MKr) spelling features:

- More often, the softness of *k*, *g* before *ē* is not marked, e.g.: *regeiey*, *iztekeimo* (usually it is denoted by *i*, e.g. *regieti*).
- The softness of *l* is sometimes denoted in front of the back vowels, e.g.: *broliuy*, *broliai* (*l* denotes soft consonant, opposite to the hard *l*, so the softness in such cases is denoted twice).

- The softness of *r* before the back vowels is not always denoted, e.g. *Ciesoruy, liekoruy*.
- The pronominative forms of adjectives are written in *-ghi*, e.g. *mielaghi, liktaghi, piktieghi* (elsewhere – *ij, i, ii*, e.g. *iβrinktieij, akliei, pirmieii*).
- *j* after *p, b* is signed *i*, e.g. *piaut, biauretis* (elsewhere – *ij, pijauia, bijaurius*).
- Sometimes *o* and *uo* are confused, e.g. *krauiose* and *dienuoſe*.

The second author's spelling is better established, for example, the softness of *k, g* before *ē* is usually identified; a clear distinction between the graphemes *l* and *ł* is made (the softness of *l* is never marked by *i*), the softness of *r* before the back vowels is always denoted by *i*, and so on.

Some of the language differences show that the authors' dialectal basis slightly differs:

- In the first author's sermons words, the final *\*e* and *\*ē* after *l* almost always changes into *ɛ*, in the second author's – into *a*. This fact lets us guess that the first author's dialect is more southern, while the second author's – more northern.
- The second author usually shortens the long vowels *o* and *ē* in the endings, denoting respectively *a* and *ea, ia*; the first author more often keeps them unshortened, marks *o* and *e*.
- Different forms of the conditional are used: the second author most frequently uses forms in *-tumei, -tumim // tume, tumit* (*ataduotumei, neabejotumim, galetume, atmintumit*), while the first – predominantly forms with *-b-* (*apturetumbei, butumbey, apturetumbime, butumbime*).
- The first author almost entirely uses the *ia*-stem present tense forms of mixed type causative verbs, e.g. *mokia, rodžia, gimdžia*.

According to these features, the first author's language is closer to Daukša's language. Meanwhile, the second author's language is more "correct", spelling is more organized, and the dialect basis is more northern. These characteristics are more suitable to S. Minvydas, who in the time of the preparation of the KN lived in Biržai and was known as the best Lithuanian language expert. Because of his high ecclesiastical Superintendent duties, he was appointed as the KN texts adjuster and supervisor.

Thus, S. Minvydas should be considered as the second author, i.e. the author of the middle SE sermons and gospels (SE II, E II), and S. Božimovskis – as the first author (SE I and E I). The linguistic characteristics of the Prayers (MKr), Passion (P) and Catechism (K) are very similar to the middle sermons (SE II), but not identical. The language discrepancies could have occurred when the original text, prepared by S. Božimovskis or another author, was later edited by S. Minvydas.

## Denominative morphology studies

**Case category: postpositive locatives.** In the *Knyga nobažnystės*, the declension paradigm consists of ten cases, because, like in most 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century writings, the quaternary system on locatives is used, namely inessive, illative, adessive and allative. The rarest is the adessive case (199 records) followed by the illative (271 records).

**Number category: dual.** The number category is tripartite, i.e. in addition to the singular and the plural, the dual is sometimes used, but only in two-word structures, such as *DWi dali irá tos Ewángelios βwentos*, and in the construction *po akim*. The plural is never used next to *du*, *abu*, or *tuodu*. In the construction *po akim*, the first author uses both dual and plural forms of the noun *akis*: *po ákim*, *poakim*, *poákim* (10) / *po akims*, *poákims*, *pokims* (9).

**Systemic shortening of endings.** Fairly often, the systemic ending shortenings occur in the KN, when "long" cases and abbreviated forms are used side by side. A little bit more often, the endings of feminine denominatives are shortened, e.g. the ratio between the longer and shorter forms of the singular inessive is 118 : 488, while the plural dative is only used in the short form. The different authors differ most distinctly in the usage of masculine plural dative adjectives with shortened or not shortened endings: the first author predominantly uses the unshortened forms (ratio of 2 : 19), while the second mostly uses the shortened forms (the ratio of 36 : 8).

### Noun

After entering the initial data in the KNDB, a selection of nouns is only possible by gender, number and case. The inflection types of denominatives are determined according to the inflection stem. The inflection type is an attribute of the lexeme in the KNDB, indicated in the "Leksemos" table.

In order to mark each lexeme declension type, all the word forms should be reviewed and the stem of each form should be visible. For that purpose, the attribute "stem" was introduced in the "Žodžiai" table.

Then, all the lexemes grouped by inflection types are studied. The obtained statistics of nouns in the KN is as follows:

- more than 800 ō-stem (e.g. *balsas*, *galas*, *dievas*, etc.), 5 iō-stem (*jaučias*, *kelias*, *svečias*, *varias*, *vel(i)nias*), more than 180 iō̄-stem (e.g. *brolis*, *žodis*, *gaidys*, etc.) and 63 jō-stem nouns (e.g. *išganytojas*, *sutvėréjas*, etc.), all masculine;
- more than 200 ā-stem feminine nouns (e.g. *dienা*, *motina*, *ranka*, etc.), 5 substantiva communia (*elgeta*, *neklaūžada*, *nenauda*, *padauža*, *sirata*) and 4 masculine (*Jehova*, *Juda*, *storasta*, *Tetrarcha*); approximately 70 iā/jā-stem feminine nouns (e.g. *dvasia*, *valia*, *sauja*, etc.), 1 substantiva communia (*nežadžia*) and 2 masculine (*koznadieja*, *sūdžia*);

- 289 lexemes have *ē*-stem forms; 256 – only *ē*-stem forms (e.g. *žemė*, *moteriškė*, *teisybė*, etc.), including two masculine nouns (*dėdė*, *Nojė*);
- 15 *u*-stem nouns (*dangus*, *lietus*, *medus*, *žmogus*, *pelūs*, *pietūs*, *sūnus*, *vidus*, *viršus*; *turgus*; *Didimus*, *Jezus*, *Kristus* / *Christus*, *Morkus*, *Malchus*); 76 *iu*-stem nouns, including 57 loanwords, 3 hybrids and 15 nouns of Lithuanian origin (e.g. *auglius*, *gyrius*, *išminčius*, *lykius*, etc.);
- 69 nouns having *i*-stem forms (61 has only *i*-stem forms, e.g. fem. *akis*, *ausis*, *gentis*, etc.; masc. *krikščionis*, *vagis*, etc.);
- 13 nouns have consonant *C(n)* (*akmuo*, *augmuo*, *geluo*, *liemuo*, *piemuo*, *pjūmuo*, *ruduo*, *sémuo*, *vanduo*, *šuo*) and *C(r)* (*duktė*, *motė*, *sesuo*) stem forms. In addition, 7 *i*-stem nouns with gen. pl. ending *-ų* after hard consonant are found (*dantis*, *debesis*, *dešimtis*, *duryς*, *krūtis*, *naktis*, *priežastis*).

From the "weak" stems, the *u*-stem is the best preserved: none of the *u*-stem nouns have *o*-stem forms. The *iu*-stem is significantly more productive, but the plural has almost entirely gone into the *io*-stem.

The paradigms of the masculine and feminine *i*-stem nouns differs remarkably. In the feminine paradigm, the *i*-stem and consonant stem forms prevail, while only some of the instrumental singular forms are *iā*-stem. The masculine paradigm is greatly "diluted" with the *io*-stem forms, it can be called a mixed *i* / *io* -stem paradigm.

The least preserved are *C(n)* and *C(r)* stems, where the specific consonant stem forms account for only 40 percent.

There are quite a lot of nouns with different stem paradigm forms. Such stem variation can be threefold:

- 1) Differently adapted or not adapted loanwords can have neighbouring forms of *o* and *ā*, *ō* and *ē*, *ā* and *iā(ē)*, *ijo* and *iu* stems, e.g. *Baal* / *Baalias* / *Baala*; *patriorchas* / *patriorcha*; *Izraelel* / *Izraelas* / *Izraelius*, etc.).
- 2) Nouns formatted in different models are different lexemes, e.g. *gylė*, *gylės* // *gylis*, *gylio* "deepness, depth". The variation of such nouns is partly related to the authorship: different stem forms are used by different authors or vary only in one author's texts. The most numerous of that group are derivatives with the endings *-a* // *-ē* and with the suffixes *ysta* // *-ystė*, *-kla* // *-klė*. Derivatives with these endings and the suffix *-kl-* in the first author's texts vary, while in the second author's, they are only of the *ā*-stem; the suffix *-yst-* derivatives in the first author's texts are all changed to the *ē*-stem, and in the second author's, they vary.
- 3) Variation may be caused by stem mixing, i.e. changing to another stem paradigm because of homonymous forms; homoforms can be caused by phonetically overlapping endings, and when the forms of another stem become dominant in the paradigm. The following stem mixing cases are

determined in the KN: the mixing of the *i* and *iā*-stem (e.g. *dalis, dalias* // *dalia, dalios* and *vilnis, vilnies* // *vilnia, vilnios*); *i* and *iō*-stem (eg. *amžis, -ies / -io, atilsis, -ies / -io, išgąstis, -ies / -io*), *ē* and *ā*-stem (eg. *meilė, meilės / meila, meilos*).

The mutual relationship of paradigms is determined by applying the hierarchical clustering method. The most important criterion for determining the natural flexed class hierarchy is the amount of overlapping endings (syncretic forms).

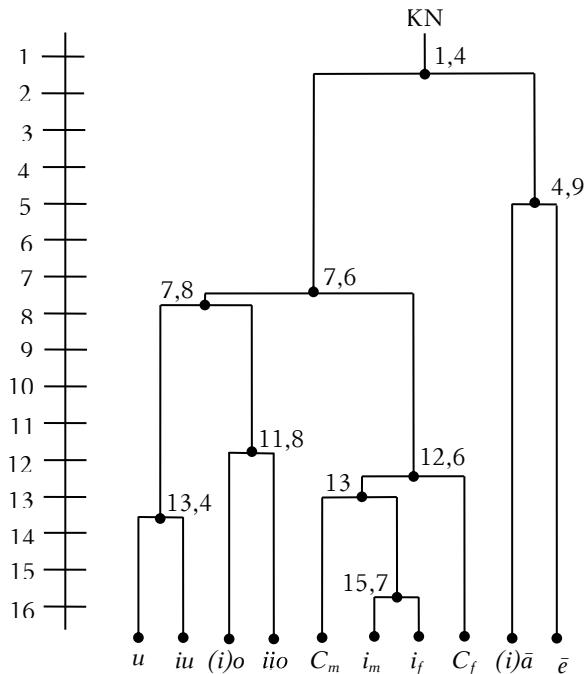
The similarity index of declension types is calculated by the following formula:

$$I = m + \sum_{i=1}^m p_i,$$

where  $m$  is the number of overlapping case endings, and  $p_i$  is the amendment of a certain case, calculated according to the case usage frequency.

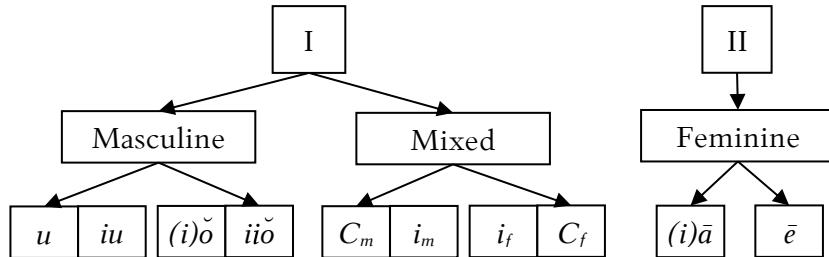
The hierarchical clustering is proceeded by the maximum method (Fig. 3):

Fig. 3. Hierarchical clustering tree of KN noun declension types



This dendrogram shows that the most apparent differences are between the two declension types: masculine / mixed (I) and feminine (II). The second has a notable opposition of the *(i)ā* and *ē* stems. The first splits into several sub-classes: masculine *ō*, masculine *u* and mixed. The mixed declension type also differs by gender, not by stem, as the  $C_m$  stem is closer to the  $i_m$  stem (similarity index of 13) than to the  $C_f$  stem (similarity index of 12,6), as shown in Fig. 4.

Fig. 4. Noun declension types in the KN



## Adjective

343 adjectives are captured in the KN, and used 4,234 times. The prevailing ones are the non-comparative degree masculine forms. The feminine forms are used less than half as much as the masculine, while there are only 71 non-gender (neuter) forms (only two of which are of the comparative degree). 33 lexemes (105 forms) are used in the comparative degree with the suffix *-esn-* (e.g. masculine *wireafnis*, *funkiáfnis*; feminine *didefnea*, *funkiafnia*; neuter *gayleafni*, *Giareafn*). 21 lexeme (163 forms) have the superlative suffix *-aus-* (e.g. masculine *brágiaufis*, *βwenčiaufiás*; feminine *aukściaufia*).

The pronominal forms are used 278 times and represent 7% of all forms. The pronominal forms of the comparative and superlative are used more often. The superlative pronominal forms do not have an additional certainty value and are used in the same positions as non-pronominal forms, e.g.

*...iβ mieláſſirdingos ránkos mielauſſia pona ſawa...*

*...nuog táwęs Giárádejá ſawo mielauſſiojá/ niekad notſtotume.*

In the number of case forms, the adjectives lag behind the nouns, especially regarding the usage of postpositive locatives: only 8 feminine allative singular forms (*diewiſſkon*, *Diewiſſkon*, *ćijtoń*, *deſſineń*, *funkion*, *Duchawnon*, *dánguiation*, *ámzinon*) and 3 masculine adessive singular forms (*mielauſſiamp*, *mielamp'*, *ſzwentamp*) are recorded; the allative is used more often, but not the whole paradigm, in particular, the masculine plural forms are not recorded.

Only 2 dual forms were identified: one feminine and one masculine (*Dwi didžiausi, du falšiu swiedku*).

The Masculine adjective forms are of the *o* (184 lexemes), *iō* (4 lexemes in positive degree and all superlative forms), *iiō* (23 derivative adjectives, comparative degree forms and the adjectives *didis*, *dangujėjis*, *dangujis*, *visogaljis*) and the *u* (51 lexeme) stems.

The superlative forms of the second author are of the *iō*-stem, while the first author has preserved the *i* (or *iiō*) stem accusative singular forms (*brángiaufi*) and partly nominative singular forms (*brángiaufis* next to *aukšciaufiás*).

Most of the *u* stem paradigm forms are of the *iō*-stem, sometimes they are used and next to specific *u* stem forms. The differences of the authors' language are clearly visible in the usage of genitive singular forms: the first author uses mostly *iō* stem forms (e.g. *brángio*, *funkia*), while the second author uses mostly *u* stem forms (e.g. *teyfaus*, *brángaus*).

The Feminine adjective forms are of the *ā* (126 lexemes), *iā* (6 lexemes of the positive degree and superlative forms), *iiā* (42 lexemes) and *ē* stems. The KN authors use different stem forms of the derivative adjectives (with the suffix *-in-*) and superlative: *ē*-stem forms (e.g. gen.sg. *deβines*) prevail in the first author's texts, and the *iā*-stem (e.g. gen. sg. *deβinios*) in the second author's texts. The adjectives *didé* and *didelé* have unique paradigms.

The adjective declination types according to the masculine stem and correlating feminine stem are as follows:

- The most abundant is the hard stem-final *o-ā*<sup>1</sup> declination type, e.g. *aukštas*, *baltas*, *bendras*, etc. (72 % of all adjective forms).

In the rest of the declination paradigms, the *iō-iā* stem forms prevail, so they can be nominated as soft stem-final paradigms:

- 9 adjectives are of the pure *iō-iā* stem: *dabarykščias*, *yškias*, *kurčias*, *něščias*, *nežadžias*, *rytykščias*, *tuščias*, *viešias*, *žalias*.
- The superlative paradigm is of the *iō-iā* stem. The second author's superlative paradigm is the same as the positive *iō-iā* stem paradigm, while the first author uses different masculine nominative and accusative forms.
- 64 adjectives are of the *u-iiā* stem (*baisus*, *brangus*, *dargus*, etc.); only a few forms are different from the *iō-iā* paradigm.
- Derivations with the suffixes *-in-* (*aukštitinis*, *dabartinis*, *galitinis*, etc.), *-išk-* (*mūsiškis*, *namiškis*, *saviškis*) and compound (*pirmagimdis*, *pirmgimis*, *pusamžis*, etc.) adjectives are of the *iiō-iā* / *ē* stem.
- The comparative paradigm is of the *iiō-iā* / *ē* stem, with a different masculine plural nominative form.

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<sup>1</sup> Masculine *o* stem and correlating feminine *ā* stem.

In the *iiő-iā* / *ē* paradigms, the feminine forms are of the *ē*-stem in the first author's texts and of the *iā*-stem in the second's.

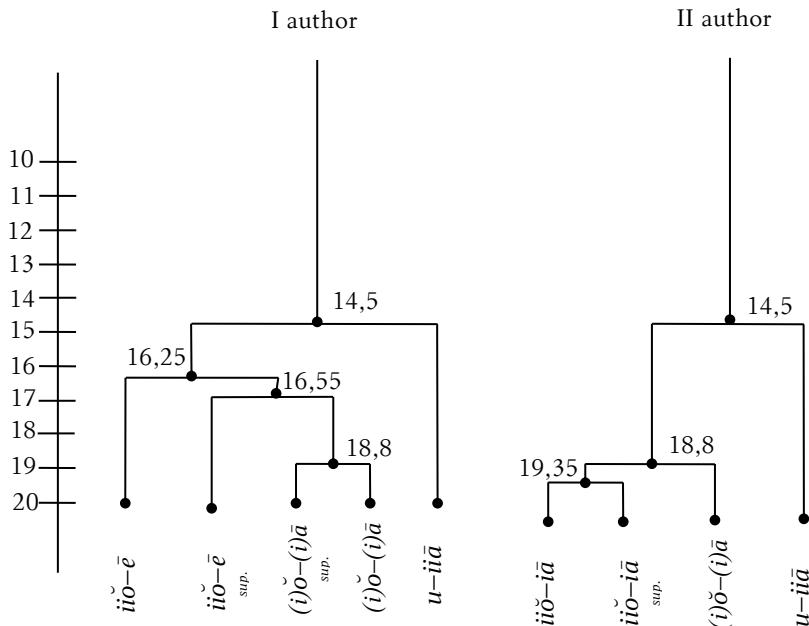
The adjectives with unique paradigms are *\*didelis*, *didelē*, *\*dešinys* (?), *dešinė*, *didis*, *didē*, *visagaljs*, *\*visagalinti*, *dangujējis*, *\*dangujēji* and *dangujis*, *\*danguij*.

The stem variation can be recognized in such cases:

- The accusative singular masculine forms of the adjective *vienatijas* vary in both of the authors texts: the *io*-stem and the *i*-stem pattern redefined forms are used (*vienatijq* and *vienatiji*).
- The adjective *yptatus* / *ypačias* has the *io*-stem nom. sg. *ipaciás* next to the *u*-stem nom. pl. *ipatus*.
- While the *u*-stem became predominant and adjectives started shifting from the *o* to the *u* stem, the parallel *u-iiā* and *ō-ā* paradigm forms are used. There are 10 such adjectives in the KN, 8 with prevailing *u* stem forms: *bjaurus* / *bjauras*, *budrus* / *budras*, *laimus* / *laimas*, *lygas* / *lygas*, *pigus* / *pigas*, *skaistus* / *skaistas*, *skalsus* / *skalsas*, *tiesus* / *tiesas*; 2 with prevailing *ō*-stem forms: *prakilnas* / *prakilnus*, *rodas* / *rodus*.

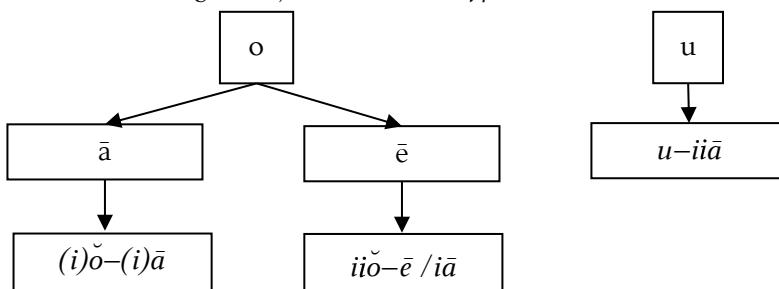
The natural inflexional class hierarchy was determined for each author separately (see Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Hierarchical clustering trees of KN adjective declension types



These dendograms show that the declension types are very similar. The *u*-*iā* type is a bit more different. The rest of the types in the second author's language (where the feminine *ē* stem was not formed) are almost overlapping, while in the first author's language, they are split into two groups depending on the feminine forms. Thus, the inflection type classes can be named the *u* class and the *o* class (by the masculine stems), and the *o* class splits into the *ā* and *ē* subclasses (by the feminine stems), see Fig. 6 for the details.

*Fig. 6. Adjective declension types in the KN*



## Conclusions

### I. Old writings' morphology database

1.1. A relational database (RDB) can be applied as a tool for the old written text to be recorded, stored and for the language analysis. The Old Writings Morphology Database created by the author allows solving various linguistic tasks (such as noun stems mixing, text authorship, etc.) quickly and accurately. Only the data input takes some time, while the data selection and sorting is carried out within a few seconds, the data itself, though sorted or ordered in different ways, remains unchanged. The DBMS search, selection, sorting, correction and report generation tools constitute a new methodology arsenal for the morphology researcher as the designed logical model allows investigating language in a complex way and systematically. The data can be downloaded into the morphology database from different sources and can also be converted to other formats (for example, text or spreadsheets).

1.2. The core structure of the Old Writings Morphology Database is invariant, while the whole Database can be flexibly modified according to the specifics of a particular source or the investigator's needs; it can not only be used for the morphology or for other language layers exploration, but also to store data and display it in various forms.

1.2. The database of the particular old writings source, the *Knyga nobažnystės*, implemented within the DBMS MS Access, is a prototype of a

future old writings' morphology information system, in which the existing and future research results will be stored.

## II. The authorship of the *Knyga nobažnystės*

2.1. To investigate the authorship of the KN, a relevant attribute was introduced into the KN database. This made it possible to verify and clarify A. Jakulis' hypothesis about the different authorship of certain KN parts. It was proven that one of the authors had prepared the first 21 and the last 5 SE sermons (everywhere in that work he is called the "first", signified as SE I), and the other author had prepared the middle 35 sermons (he is called the "second", signified as SE II).

2.2. According to the reflexes of the word-final \**ē*, it can be assumed that the first author's dialect is from the southern part of the western Aukštaitian Šiauliai dialect, while the second author's dialect is from the northern part.

2.3. After reviewing a large amount of linguistic differences, it was observed that the authors' language differs not only because of different linguistic characteristics, but rather because of the variation of these characteristics: the first author's speech is very diverse, as many related forms are used, it is more live and more natural; and the second author's language is more "formalized", maybe even more regular, as if it was "well-learned". It is supposed that the first author could be M. Božimovskis, and the second one – S. Minvydas. The second author (S. Minvydas) had prepared the middle Gospels and Sermons and had edited the Prayer, Catechism and Passion, and all these parts were initially prepared by another author or authors.

## III. Inflection of nouns

3.1. Nearly 20,000 nouns forms were reviewed. The (*i*)*ō*, (*i*)*ā* and *ē* stem paradigms are the strongest and most productive. From the "weak" stems, the *u*-stem is the best preserved – none of the *u*-stem nouns have *o*-stem forms. The *iu*-stem is significantly more productive, but the plural has almost entirely gone into the *io*-stem. The old forms of the *i* and *C* stems are better preserved by the feminine nouns.

3.2. The variation of the inflection stems is of a different origin: a) inconsistency of orthography (e.g. gen.sg. *goodulá* : *goodułá*, b) different adaptation of loanwords (e.g. dat.sg. *Baaluy* : *Baalay*), c) different word formation (e.g. illat.sg. *gilen* : *gilin*); d) stem mixing (e.g. gen.sg. *ámžies* : *ámžia*).

3.3. After all the paradigms were reviewed and the natural hierarchy of the declension types was determined, two declension types were revealed: masculine / mixed (I) and feminine (II). The second one has a notable opposition of the (*i*)*ā* and *ē* stems. The first one splits into several sub-classes: masculine *ō*, masculine *u* and mixed. The mixed declension type also differs more by gender than by stem, i. e. the *C<sub>m</sub>* stem is closer to the *i<sub>m</sub>* stem than to the *C<sub>f</sub>* stem.

#### IV. The inflection of adverbs

4.1. 4,230 adjective forms were reviewed. More than half of them are masculine positive degree forms. According to the form stems and correlation of masculine and feminine forms, they are grouped into the following inflection stems:

- hard stem-final ō-ā stem. It is the most abundant and most productive inflection type.
- soft stem-final iō-iā, u-iīā and iīō-ē/iā. Their common feature is the prevalence of the iō and iā stem forms in the paradigm. The most varied are the iīō-ē/iā stem paradigms, and they are divided into three groups:
  - 1) suffixed and compound adjectives with noun-shaped plural nominative and dative forms (e.g. *dabartinis*: *dabartiniai*, *dabartiniams*)
  - 2) forms of the superlative degree
  - 3) various unique paradigms (*didis*, *didelis*, *visagalis*, etc.), which do not constitute an inflection type.

4.2. The feminine ē stem paradigm has not been developed in the second author's language; the iā stem correlates with the iō stem instead.

4.3. After all the paradigms were reviewed and the natural hierarchy of declension types was determined, the relationships between declension became clear. The inflection types should primarily be grouped into the *u* and *o* groups, according to the masculine forms. The *u* group consists of the *u-iīā* inflection type. The *o* group consists of two very close inflection types ((*i*)*o*-(*i*)ā, *iīō-iā*) in the second author's language, while in the first author's language it splits into the ā and ē subgroups ((*i*)*o*-(*i*)ā and *iīo-ē*) according to the feminine forms.

## **List of publications on the subject of the dissertation**

1. A. Jakulis. „*Knygos nobažnystės* leksika. 1 dalis. (Sudarė, redagavo Dalia Jakulytė). Klaipėda, 1995.
2. D. Jakulytė. Daiktavardžių kamienų mišimas „*Knygoje nobažnystės*“. *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai XXXVI*, 1996, p. 120–126.
3. D. Jakulytė. „*Knygos nobažnystės*“ kalba. *Knyga nobažnystės krikščioniškos (1653) – XVII a. Lietuvos kultūros paminklas*. Kėdainiai, 2001, p. 70–91.
4. D. Jakulytė. Informacinių technologijų panaudojimo galimybės senųjų raštų kalbos tyrimams („*Knygos nobažnystės*“ morfologijos duomenų bazė). *Vārds un tā pētišanas aspekti: Rakstu krājums 5*. Liepāja, 2001, p. 152–168.
5. D. Jakulytė. *Knygos nobažnystės* (1653) morfologijos tyrimo galimybės naudojant reliacinę duomenų bazę. *Acta linguistica lithuanica LI*, 2004, p. 1–14.
6. D. Jakulytė. Kai kurie „Sumos evangelijų“ ir „Maldų krikščioniškų“ tarminiai skirtumai. *Tiltai*, 2005, p. 111–121.
7. D. Jakulytė. „*Knygos nobažnystės*“ daiktavardžių kaityba. *Res humanitariae XII*, 2012, p. 20–45.
8. D. Jakulytė. „*Knygos nobažnystės*“ būdvardžių kaityba. *Res humanitariae XVII*, 2015, p. 7–27.

## **About the author**

Dalia Jakulytė was born on April 17, 1970 in Šiauliai, Lithuania.

In 1987, she graduated from Klaipėda Kristijonas Donelaitis Secondary School (silver medal). In 1992, she graduated from Klaipėda University and acquired the specialty of Lithuanian Language and Literature Teacher and School Theatre Director. From 1996 to 2005, she was at PhD studies of Linguistics in Vilnius University.

## SANTRAUKA

**Darbo objektas** – dviejų *Knygos nobažnystės* (KN) dalių – *Sumos evangelijų* su *Pasija* (SE ir P) ir *Maldų krikščioniškų* su *Katekizmu* (MKr ir K) – vardažodžio morfologija, t. y. daiktavardžių ir būdvardžių kaitybos ypatumai.

### Darbo medžiaga

Šiame darbe tiriamą 1653 m. Kėdainių leidinių, vadinančių „Knyga nobažnystės“, dviejų dalių morfologiją:

- antrosios dalies, kurią sudaro *Suma evangelijų* ir *Pasija*,
- trečiosios dalies, kurią sudaro *Maldos krikščioniškos* ir *Katekizmas*.

Giesmyno (pirmosios KN dalių) analizės kol kas atsisakyta dėl keleto priežasčių: jis parengtas kitų autorių; tekstas eiliuotas, tad kai kurios morfologijos ypatybės, pavyzdžiu, galūnių trumppinimas, gali būti eilėdaros rezultatas; skirtinė yra giesmių šaltiniai – ir naujai išverstos iš keleto lenkiškų giesmynų, ir perimtos iš kitų giesmynų, ir gerokai paredaguotos pateiktos jau gyvavusios lietuviškoje liturgijos tradicijoje, ir sukurtos specialiai šiam leidimui. Prieš analizuojant morfologiją, reikėtų nustatyti kiekvienos giesmės genezę.

Duomenys rinkti iš pirmojo leidimo egzemplioriaus fotokopijų ir faksimilinio 2004 m. leidinio, remtasi A. Jakulio sudaryta kartoteka ir leksikos registrais.

### Darbo aktualumas

XVI–XVII a. lietuviškų raštų kalba – vienas svarbiausių lietuvių kalbos istorijos šaltinių. Senųjų raštų tyrimas atveria galimybę sugrįžti į tam tikrą kalbos raidos tarpsnį, chronologizuoti atskirus pokyčius ir iš jų kaip mozaiką bandyti „surinkti“ ar papildyti bendrą kalbos vystymosi vaizdą. Raštų paminklo kalba gali būti nagrinėjama įvairiais lygmenimis – fonetikos, morfologijos, leksikos ir sintaksės. Kiekvieno jų tyrimo galimybės vis kitokios, kitoks tarmės ir kitų kalbų įtakos atspindys. Antai fonetikos tyrimus riboja rašybos nenuoseklumas, leksika ir sintaksė – „jautriausios“ kitų kalbų įtakai.

Daugiausia tyrėjų dėmesio sulaukia senųjų raštų leksika: leidžiami atskirų raštų ar autorių žodynai bei leksikos registrai, kuriamas kompiuterinis istorinis lietuvių kalbos žodynas. Tokie registrai ir žodynai yra labai parankūs ir morfologijos tyrimams, tačiau dėl vis dar gana sudėtingo medžiagos atrankos mechanizmo šie tyrinejimai nėra labai spartūs.

XVI–XVII a. „vidurietiškų“ (vakarų aukštaičių šiauliškių tarmės pagrindu parengtų) raštų vardažodžio morfologijos tyrimai dar labai fragmentiški. Daugiau dėmesio skiriama Daukšos tekstams: ištirta ir aprašyta įvardžių semantinė ir morfologinė struktūra, postpozicinių vietininkų vartosena, tiriamą daiktavardžių linksninavimo tipų hierarchija. Kitų to meto

leidinių morfologijos tyrimų téra keletas. Néra ir išsamių KN vardažodžio morfologijos tyrimų.

### **Darbo naujumas ir temos tyrimo būklė**

Nors kalbos kokybe KN neatsilieka nuo Daukšos raštų, ji dar nesulauké reikiamo tyréjų dëmesio. SE ir MKr fonetiką, morfologiją ir leksiką buvo pradèjës tirti Antanas Jakulis. Jis parengè ir publikavo straipsnius, skirtus *Knugos nobažnystés* santykiui su kitais lietuviškais raštais, iškélè skirtingos atskirų KN dalių autorystés hipotezë, pradéo fonetikos tyrimus: bandé ižvelgti ryši tarp kai kurių galūnių trumpinimo ir kirčiavimo. Bene didžiausias jo darbas – parengtas KN leksikos registratoras (rankraštis).

Publikavus faksimilinį KN leidimą ir transliteruotus KN tekstus bei konkordancijas (<http://www.lki.lt/seniejirastai>), senųjų raštų tyréjai jau ima tirti ir šio šaltinio kalbą, pgl. atoninių įvardžių *Knugos nobažnystés* analizé Broniaus Maskuliūno straipsnyje ir Auksés Razanovaités disertacijos skyriuje. Tačiau, be pavienių straipsnių vienu ar kitu klausimu, A. Jakulio, B. Maskuliūno ar kt. mokslininkų vadovautų studentų diplomių darbų, jokių rimtesnių KN kalbos studijų kol kas néra.

Šiame darbe sukurta skaitmeninė KN teksto kopija ir reliacinio modelio kartoteka, kurioje duomenys (kartotekos kortelių įrašai) pateikiami tarpusavyje susietose duomenų lentelëse; sukurtas ir taikomas įrankis kalbos ypatybëms (ypač morfologijai) grupuoti, atrinkti ir analizuoti; naudojantis šiuo įrankiu, patikrinti ankstesnì KN kalbos tyrimo rezultatai, ištirta ir aprašyta KN vardažodžio kaityba ir pagal to tyrimo rezultatus modifikuoti, patikslinti KN morfologijos duomenys bazëje. Tad darbo naujumas yra dvejopas:

- pirmą kartą pateikiami nuoseklùs KN vardažodžio kaitybos tyrimai;
- sukurtas naujas informacinių technologijų naudojimo bùdas ir įrankis senųjų raštų morfologijos analizei, sudaryta jo kûrimo ir taikymo metodika; analogiško įrankio nei lietuvių, nei latvių senųjų raštų kalboms tirti sukurta nebuvo.

### **Tyrimo metodika**

Šiuo metu lingvistikoje išivyravę dedukciniai tyrimo metodai yra tinkamesni, kai duomenų mažai arba jie yra fragmentiški. Skaitmeninant senosios lietuvių kalbos tekstus, duomenų kiekis smarkiai išauga, ir jiems apdoroti turi bùti taikomi modernùs duomenų analizës metodai. Šiame darbe tikslingai taikomi indukciniai metodai: gramatiné konkretaus rašytinio šaltinio sistema analizuojama ir aprašoma tik apžvelgus ir susisteminus turimus faktus. Indukciné paradigma grindžiama moderniomis informacinémis technologijomis ir skaičiuojamojo mokslo (duomenų tyros) metodais.

Lingvistiniai metodai. KN morfologijai tirti naudojama sisteminës analizës metodika – visų KN žodžių formos ir morfemos tiriamos aprašomuoju ir vidinës rekonstrukcijos metodu; tarminëms ypatybëms tirti

taikomi lyginamasis ir geolingvistinės analizės metodai – lyginamos skirtingose KN dalyse vartojamos formos, esant tyrimų, gretinama su kitų kalbos paminklų duomenimis, atskirų reiškinijų paplitimas lyginamas su dabartinių lietuvių kalbos tarmių medžiaga, pateikta Zigmo Zinkevičiaus *Lietuvių dialektologijos* žemėlapiuose bei *Lietuvių kalbos atlase*. Vardažodžių kaitybos klasėms nustatyti taikomas klasterine analize grindžiamas duomenų grupavimo metodas.

**Informacinių technologijų metodai.** Visoms žodžių formoms surinkti ir aprašyti kuriama elektroninė duomenų bazė. Tai daroma dviej etapais – projektavimo (konceptualaus ir dalykinio) ir realizacijos. Konceptualaus projektavimo metu sprendžiama, kokio pobūdžio duomenys reikalingi senųjų raštų morfologijos tyrejui, numatoma, iš kokių klausimus turi gebeti atsakyti kuriama duomenų bazė; dalykinio projektavimo metu apibrėžiama duomenų specifika, požymiai, tarpusavio ryšiai. Šio etapo rezultatas – loginė duomenų struktūra. Sukurtą ir realizuotą senųjų raštų morfologijos duomenų bazę jau galima naudoti tyrimams, t. y. įkėlus duomenis ir sužymėjus reikiamus jų požymius, tuos duomenis atrinkti, rikiuoti ir rūšiuoti norima tvarka, atliliki tikslius statistinius tyrimus.

## Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai

Darbo tikslas – nustatyti *Knigos nobažnystės* autorystę bei ištirti ir aprašyti KN vardažodžio kaitybos sistemą.

Tikslui pasiekti keliami ir sprendžiami tokie uždaviniai:

1. Sukurti senųjų raštų morfologijos tyrimo metodiką:
  - a) konceptualaus projektavimo metu išanalizuoti senųjų raštų morfologijos analizės poreikius (medžiagos specifiką ir atrankos parametrus);
  - b) dalykinio projektavimo metu sukurti loginę duomenų bazės struktūrą (apibrėžti duomenis, nustatyti morfologinius požymius ir jų tarpusavio ryšius, sudaryti morfologinių požymių sąrašus);
  - c) realizacijos ir aktualizacijos etape sukurti senųjų raštų morfologijos duomenų bazę ir suvesti KN duomenis (visus žodžius ir pagrindinius jų atributus);
  - d) diegimo ir instrumentinio tyrimo aprūpinimo etape sukurti supaprastintą medžiagos atrankos mechanizmą.
2. Pritaikyti KN duomenų bazę autorinių kalbos skirtumų analizei ir patikrinti A. Jakulio iškeltą skirtinges KN dalij autorystės hipotezę.
3. Naudojantis sukurtu medžiagos atrankos mechanizmu, ištirti KN vardažodžių – daiktavardžių ir būdvardžių – kaitybos ypatumus.

## **Teorinė ir praktinė darbo vertė ir pritaikymas**

Sukurta KN morfologijos duomenų bazė (toliau – KNDB) yra pritaikyta kaitybai tirti. Taip pat numatyta galimybė kitiems šio šaltinio kalbos aspektams – žodžių darybai, semantikai, valentingumui ar pan. – ar kitiems senųjų raštų tekstams tirti.

### **Darbo struktūra**

Darbas susideda iš įvado, pagrindinės darbo dalies, išvadų, literatūros sąrašo, santrumpų sąrašo, iliustracijų ir lentelių sąrašų. Įvade apžvelgiamą XVI–XVII a. raštų tyrimo problematika bei KN tyrimų istorija. Pagrindinę darbo dalį sudaro trys skyriai. Pirmajame aprašomas senųjų raštų morfologijos duomenų bazės kūrimas ir struktūra. Antrajame, remiantis sukurtąja duomenų baze, patvirtinama ir patikslinama A. Jakulio iškelta skirtinges atskirų KN dalių autorystės hipotezė bei aptariamos bendrosios KN kalbos ypatybės, i kurias būtina atsižvelgti analizuojant morfologiją (rašyba ir fonetika) ir apžvelgiami ryškiausi morfologijos ir leksikos bruozai. Trečiajame skyriuje tiriama vardažodžio morfologija naudojant sukurtą duomenų įvedimo ir atrankos įrankį (KNDB). Pirmausia aptariami bendrieji vardažodžių kaitybos bruozai, tada apžvelgiamas daiktavardžių ir būdvardžių kaityba.

### **Ginamieji teiginiai:**

1. Senųjų raštų morfologijos tyrimams tinkamiausias reliacinis duomenų bazės modelis, gramatinę formą ir kitus požymius išskaidant i smulkiausius vienetus. Toks modelis turi daug privalumų, kurių svarbiausias – didelės duomenų atrankos, rūšiavimo ir analizės galimybės.

2. *Knigos nobažnystės* DB duomenimis galima pagrįsti A. Jakulio hipotezę apie skirtinę atskirų SE dalių autorystę. Žodžių formų vartojimo statistika rodo, kad pirmieji 21 ir paskutiniai 5 *Sumos evangelijų* pamokslai parengti vieno autoriaus, o viduriniai 35 pamokslai – kito.

3. Daiktavardžių linksniavimo paradigmose ryškesnė diferenciacija pagal gimines, o ne pagal kamienus: kaitybos tipai primiausia skyla i dvi klasės – vyriškąją / mišriąją (I) ir moteriškąją (II). Antrojoje ryški (*i*ā) ir ē kamienų opozicija, o pirmoji skyla i kelis poklasis – vyriškaij *o*, vyriškaij *u* ir mišruj *ij*. Mišriajame linksniavimo tipo irgi ryškesnė diferenciacija pagal gimines –  $C_m$  kamienas artimesnis  $i_m$  kamienui, nei  $C_j$  kamienui.

4. Būdvardžių kaitybos tipai pirmiausia skyla i *u* ir *o* grupes pagal vyriškosios giminės formą kamieną. *U* grupėje yra *u*–*iā* kaitybos tipas. *o* grupės kaitybos tipai antrojo autoriaus yra labai artimi ((*i*ō–(*i*ā), *ii*ō–*iā*), o pirmojo autoriausgali būti skaidoma i *ā* ir ē pogrupius pagal moteriškosios giminės formą kamieną ((*i*ō–(*i*ā) ir *ii*ō–ē)).

## Išvados

### I. Reliacinė senųjų raštų morfologijos duomenų bazė

1.1. Įrankis, skirtas senųjų raštų tekstams išrašyti, saugoti ir kalbai analizuoti, gali būti reliacinė duomenų bazė (RDB). Sukurta senųjų raštų morfologijos duomenų bazė leidžia greitai ir tiksliai spręsti įvairius kalbotyros uždavinius (pavyzdžiu, daiktavardžių kamienų mišimo, teksto autorystės ir pan.). Laiko užima tik duomenų įvedimas, o jų atranka ir rūšiavimas atliekamas per kelias sekundes, patys duomenys išsaugomi, išlieka nepakitę. DBVS paieškos, atrankos, rūšiavimo, koregavimo ir ataskaitų generavimo priemonės sudaro naują morfologijos tyrinėtojo metodikos arsenalą, o sudarytas loginis modelis leidžia kalbą tirti kompleksiškai ir sistemiškai. Be to, duomenys iš sukurtą morfologijos duomenų bazę gali būti įkeliami iš kitų šaltinių, juos galima konvertuoti į kitus (pavyzdžiu, teksto, elektroninių lentelių ir pan.) formatus.

1.2. Senųjų raštų morfologijos duomenų bazės struktūra yra invariantinė. Ją galima lanksčiai modifikuoti atsižvelgiant į konkretaus šaltinio specifiką ar tyrėjo poreikius bei naudoti ne tik morfologijai ar kitiems kalbos sluoksniams tirti, bet ir duomenims saugoti, jiems pateikti įvairiomis formomis.

1.3. Sudaryta konkretaus šaltinio – *Knygos nobažnystės* – morfologijos duomenų bazė, realizuota su DBVS MS Access yra būsimos bendros senųjų raštų morfologijos informacinės sistemos, kurioje bus kaupiami esamų ir būsimų tyrimų rezultatai, prototipas.

### II. *Knygos nobažnystės* autorystė

2.1. *Knygos nobažnystės* DB papildyta *Autorystės* požymiu. Tai leido pagrįsti ir patikslinti A. Jakulio hipotezę apie skirtinę atskirų KN dalių autorystę. Vieno autoriaus yra parengti pirmieji 21 ir paskutiniai 5 SE pamokslai (visur darbe jis vadinamas „pirmuoju“, žymimas SE I), kito – viduriniai 35 pamokslai (vadinamas „antruoju“, žymimas SE II).

2.2. Pagal galūninio \*ē refleksus galima spėti, kad pirmojo autoriaus tarmė yra iš pietinės vakarų aukštaičių Šiauliškių tarmės srities, antrojo autoriaus – iš šiaurinės.

2.3. Apžvelgus daugelį kalbinių skirtumų pastebėta, kad skirtinę autorių kalba skiriasi ne tiek ir ne tik kalbinėmis ypatybėmis, o labiau tu ypatybų įvairavimu: pirmojo autoriaus kalba labai įvairi, daug gretutinių formų, gyvesnė ir natūralesnė, o antrojo – labiau „sunorminta“, gal net kiek taisyklingesnė, tarsi labai gerai „išmokta“. Spėjama, kad pirmasis autorius galėjęs būti J. Božimovskis, o antrasis – S. Minvydas. Antrojo autoriaus (S. Minvydo) gali būti parengti viduriniai *Sumos evangelijų* pamokslai ir suredaguotos kito autoriaus ar kitų autorių parengtos *Maldos krikščioniškos, Katekizmas* ir *Pasija*.

### III. Daiktavardžių kaityba

1.1. Apžvelgta beveik 20 000 daiktavardžių formų pavartojimo atvejų. Stipriausios ir produktyviausios yra *(i)o*, *(i)ā* ir *ē* kamienų paradigmos. Iš „silpniesniųjų“ geriausiai išlaikytas *u* kamienas, beveik visos formos – senosios *u*-kamienės; *iu* kamienas, nors ir produktyvesnis, bet daugiskaita beveik ištisai perėjusi į *io* kamieną. *i* ir *C* kamienų senasias formas geriau išlaikė moteriškosios giminės daiktavardžiai.

1.2. Kamienų įvairavimas yra skirtingos prigimties, t. y. atsiradęs dėl: a) rašybos nenuoseklumo (pvz., vns. kilm. *goodulá* : *goodūlā*, b) skirtinės skolinių adaptacijos (pvz., vns. naud. *Baaluy* : *Baalay*), c) skirtinės darybos (pvz., vns. iliat. *gilēn* : *giliñ*); d) kamienų mišimo (pvz., vns. kilm. *ámžies* : *ámžia*).

1.3. Apžvelgus visas paradigmas ir nustačius natūralią linksniavimo tipų hierarchiją, išryškėjo du linksniavimo tipai – vyriškasis/mišrusis (I) ir moteriškasis (II). Antrajame ryški *(i)ā* ir *ē* kamienų opozicija, o pirmasis skyla į kelis poklasius – vyriškaji *o*, vyriškaji *u* ir mišruji. Mišriajame linksniavimo tipo irgi ryškesnė diferenciacija pagal giminės, o ne pagal kamienus –  $C_m$  kamienas artimesnis  $i_m$  kamienui nei  $C_f$  kamienui.

### IV. Būdvardžių kaityba

4.1. Apžvelgta 4 230 būdvardžių formų pavartojimo atvejų. Daugiau nei pusė jų – vyriškosios giminės nelyginamojo laipsnio formos. Pagal formų kamienus bei vyriškosios ir moteriškosios giminės koreliaciją būdvardžiai sugrupuoti į tokius kaitybos kamienus:

- kietojo kamiengallo – *ō–ā* kamienas. Tai pats gausiausias ir pastoviausias kaitybos tipas.
- minkštojo kamiengallo – *io–iā*, *u–iiā* ir *iiō–ē–iā*. Juos visus vienija *io* ir *iā* kamienų formų vyravimas paradigmoe. Labiausiai įvairoja *iiō–ē–iā* kamieno paradigmos, jos suskirtytos į tris grupes:
  - 1) išvestiniai ir sudurtiniai būdvardžiai, kurių daugiskaitos vardininko ir naudininko formos – daiktavardiškos (pvz., *dabartinis*: *dabartinių*, *dabartiniams*);
  - 2) aukštesniojo laipsnio formos;
  - 3) įvairios pavienės paradigmos (*didis*, *didelis*, *visagališ* ir pan.), kurios kaitybos tipo nesudaro.

4.2. Antrojo autoriaus kalboje néra susiformavusi moteriškosios giminės *ē* kamieno paradigma, su *iiō* kamienu koreliuoja *iā* kamienas.

4.3. Apžvelgus visas paradigmas ir nustačius natūralią linksniavimo tipų hierarchiją, išryškėjo linksniavimo tipų santykiai. Kaitybos tipai pirmiausia grupuotini į *u* ir *o* grupes pagal vyriškosios giminės formų kamieną: *u* grupėje būtų *u–iiā* kaitybos tipas, o grupės kaitybos tipai antrojo autoriaus yra labai artimi ((*i)o*–(*i)ā*, *iiō–iā*), o pirmojo autoriaus gali būti skaidomi į *ā* ir *ē* pogrupius pagal moteriškosios giminės formų kamieną ((*i)o*–(*i)ā* ir *iiō–ē*).

## **Apie autorię**

Dalia Jakulytė gime 1970 m. balandžio 17 d. Šiauliuose.

1987 m. baigė Klaipėdos Kristijono Donelaičio vidurinę mokyklą (sidabro medalis). 1992 m. baigė Klaipėdos universitetą ir įgijo lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros mokytojo ir mokyklinio teatro režisieriaus specialybę. 1996–2005 studijavo Vilniaus universiteto Kalbotyros krypties doktorantūroje.