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ACCENTUAL DOUBLETS IN DAUKŠA'S WORKS

Among the words provided with accentual diacritics in the two 16th-century Lithuanian works of Mikalojus Daukša – the 1595 *Kathechismas* and 1599 *Postilla Catholicka*, there are a number of forms with a double marking of stress, such as gen. pl. *daiktų*, gen. sg. *átifséiimo*, and acc. sg. *trúpútj*. The view that such forms are typographical errors is found in both B r e n d e r 1935, 233: “...wenn z.B. ein Wort mit zwei Akzentzeichen auf verschiedenen Silben angetroffen wird, so kann man schon mit einem ausgesprochenen Druckfehler rechnen...” and v a n W i j k 1935, 447: “Die verschiedene Betonung ein und derselben Form wird in vielen Fällen auf Druckfehlern beruhen; wie zahlreich dieselben sind, ergibt sich aus den vielen Formen, wo zwei Silben mit Akzentzeichen versehen sind...” The characterization of such doubly-stressed forms as *Druckfehler* can be traced to E n d z e l i n 1911, 50: “Druckfehler kommen zwar vereinzelt auch in dieser Hinsicht vor [i.e., regarding stress] (so haben zuweilen in einem Wort zwei, selbst benachbarte Silben das Akzentzeichen, z.B. Gen. S. *smárkáus* Post. 321₃)”. In this article, which represents work-in-progress on Daukša's patterns of accentuation, I propose that, rather than printing errors, such forms in fact represent an intentional usage on the part of Daukša.

The rather frequent forms which appear with two accentual diacritics in the Daukša texts can for the most part be assigned to the following types, each of which warrants a separate investigation: (a) a stress mark appears on both a stem (either a root or suffix) and a desinence: (root:) *daiktų* gen. pl. 63₇, *išéitų* 3 conditional 69₁₄, *žmôgús* nom. sg. 123₃₀; *úgnimî* instr. sg. 141₁₆; (suffix:) *piktîbiú* gen. pl. 127₁₂; (b) a stress mark appears on both a root and a suffix within a derived stem: *kântrîbes* gen. sg. 151₂₆, *prîešinîkai* nom. pl. 106₂₆, *drâsumú* instr. sg. 147₁₀ (which implies nom. sg. **drâsumas*), *gîltînes* gen. sg. 32₂₃; (c) a stress mark appears on both elements of a compound: *wîffagálinti* acc. sg., 22₂₆, *Wiêšpatîs* nom. sg., 71₂₀; *gérádárimus* acc. pl., 156₃₂; (d) there is double marking within a disyllabic desinence: *wîffômîs* instr. pl. fem., 94₂₉; *didêmîs* instr. pl. fem. 99₂ (this type is rather rare); (e) a prefix is stressed, together with the stem (or desinence): *pérgábentu* 3 conditional 18₃₂; *pránašâwimai* nom. pl. 33₃; *átláidže^ame^a* 1 pl. pres. 51₃₂; *átléisk* 2 sg. imper. 124₆.

Although I would claim that the use of double markings is motivated in all these cases, the extensive material dictates limiting this paper to a consideration of the

forms in a single representative category, in this case (b) – essentially derived nouns and adjectives, together with the derived stems of category (a). I hope to treat the remaining categories in a fuller, final version of this paper.

The accentual material of this investigation is drawn from Daukša's 1595 translation into Lithuanian of a popular Catholic Catechism of the period. Daukša's Catechism was the first substantial work in the language to be provided with accent marks, and has survived in a single copy now housed in the rare books collection of the Vilnius University library (L_R 4165–4166₁₁₄₄₉₆₃). There have been three scholarly editions of the Catechism to date: Vol'ter 1886; Sittig 1929; and Jakštienė and Palionis 1995, a photographic reprint with commentary. Unfortunately, these editions are inadequate for accentual analysis, since, among other shortcomings, they fail to reflect instances of acute diacritic on the letter "i", the most frequent vowel letter in the entire corpus (see Young 1998). The data adduced below include such cases, which are based on my own reading of the original text.

One of the most striking features of Daukša's accented forms is their variability: in both the Catechism and the Postilla, the same wordforms may show now one, now another syllable under stress. This variation is not random, but can be seen as reflecting a competition between a more conservative accentuation and an innovating one, as demonstrated in Skardžius' 1935 classic *Daukšos akcentologija*; for example *pírmiaus* (conservative) : *pirmiêus* (innovating; modern *pirmiaũ(s)*) or *gálibe* (conservative) : *galîbe* (innovating; modern *galýbė/galýbė*). One is immediately struck by this accentual variability in glancing through *Daukšos akcentologija*, which, unfortunately, does not provide a sense of frequency among competing forms¹.

As illustrated on the data of nominal derivation, Daukša's double marking of stress can be seen to function as a conflation of these innovating and conservative accentual possibilities. In the following, for a given derivational suffix, every stressed instance of the word in the Catechism is adduced; multiple instances of a stressed word are given in parentheses after the first attestation of the word. Forms which appear with variable stress (i.e., with either root or suffixal stress, or both root and suffixal stress) are underlined. Supporting data for the accentual pattern of a base is given only in the case of doubly stressed words. Citation numbers refer to the page and line in the Sittig edition of the Catechism (Sittig 1929); Sittig's numerous misprints have been corrected after the Catechism original. DK (*Daukšos katekizmas*) refers to the Catechism text. An accentual characterization of each suffix is provided according to Stundžia 1995, who follows Gardė 1976. In this approach, "dominant" refers to affixes which

¹ One of the criticisms levelled at this otherwise unsurpassed work is the lack of a statistical analysis of accentual data: thus Brender 1935, 232: "Indessen hätte er zweifellos des öfteren mit etwas grösserer Sicherheit entscheiden können, was vorliegt, wenn er sich gegen die Statistik nicht so ablehnend verhalten hätte", and van Wijk 1935, 441: "Für die Beurteilung solcher Fälle ist es erwünscht, dass wir die relative Häufigkeit der zwei Betonungen wissen".

determine the accentuation of the stem in which they appear, irrespective of the accentual properties of the base. Dominant strong affixes impose fixed stress on either the base or suffix of a derived stem; dominant weak imposes a mobile stress pattern on the stem. With nondominant (“transparent”) affixes, the original stress pattern (fixed or mobile) of the base is retained in the derived stem.

-iaūs (comparative adverb): Dominant stressed in the modern standard (Stundžia 1995, 149 f.); nondominant (“transparent”) in Daukša:

Root stress: *Pírmiaus* (*Pírmiaus*, *Pírmie^aus*, *Pírmie^aus*, *Pírmie^aus*, *Pírmie^aus*, *Pírmiaus*), *mážeus*, *dázneus*, *gádže^aus* (*gádže^aus*), *táke^aus*, *wéike^aus*. **Suffixal stress:** *pirmieūs*, *ge^aréus* (*ge^aréus*), *daugéus*, *trumpie^aus*, *tabie^aus*.

Doubles: *pírmieūs* 20₂₅, (*Pírmiaūs* 33₁, *pírmiaūs* 63₂₉). A conflation of conservative *pírmiaus* (*Pírmiaus* 48₂₆, 74₁₄, 112₂₂; *Pírmie^aus* 79₅, 82₁₄, 96₅; *Pírmie^aus* 88₁₈; to DK **pírmias* AP 1, in *pírmioi* nom. sg. fem. AP 1 44₂₃; cf. also Skardžius 1935, 183) and innovating *pirmiaūs* (*pirmieūs* 11818; also the modern norm); *grêiczêus* 119₂₂. A conflation of conservative **greičiaus* (established on the basis of the modern adverb *greitai*; adj. *greitas*, AP 4, shows generalized mobility) and innovating *greičiaūs* (the modern norm; both stress variants are found in Skardžius 1935, 179).

-iausia- (superlative adjective and adverb): Dominant stressed strong in the modern standard (Stundžia 1995, 82); nondominant (transparent) in Daukša:

Root stress: *brágeufiu* (*bráge^aufio*, *brâgêušiu*, *bráge^ausiu*), *βwéczêusios*, *Wire^aufios* (*Wireufes*), *matône^aufes* (*matône^aufes*, *matône^aufe^as*, *matône^aufes*, *matône^aufes*, *matône^aušio*, *Matôneufes^as*, *matône^aufe^as*, *matôneufes*), *miele^aufes* (*miele^aufes*, *miele^ausj*, *mieleufe^as*, *mieleufes*, *mieleufes*). **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *privalâuffes*, *βwéczêufios* (*βwéczêufios*, *βwéczêufia*, *βwę-czêufios*, *βwéczêufiu*, *βwéczêušio*; *fwęccie^aufemê*, *βwęczêufêi*), *di-dzêufes* (*didžiause^as*, *didžiâusius*), *łabiâufę*, *Saldzêufes*, *małoniâufes*, *bragêufi*.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *dīdzė^aúfy* nom. pl. masc. 82₁₄. A conflation of conservative **dīdziausias* (established on the basis of DK **didis* AP 2, in *dīdziu* gen. pl. 163₁₈; on the other hand, *dide^afníu* instr. sg. masc. 47₁₇; 130₃₀; *didžėis* instr. pl. masc. 137₂₂, *didúmo* gen. sg. 125₂₂, *didúmas* nom. sg. 131₂₈, all argue for a mobile stem. Skardžius 1935, 150 treats *didis* as an old oxytone [i.e., eventual mobile stem]) and innovating *didžiáusias* (*di-dzêufes* nom. sg. masc. 21_{29/32}, *didžiause^as* acc. pl. fem. 89₂₃, *didžiâusius* acc. pl. masc. 160₂₇). Like **šveñčiausias* (see below), the assumed **dīdziausias* would violate Saussure’s Law in its failure to shift stress forward onto the acute of *-iausia-*. *míelêufes* voc. (= nom.) sg. masc. 124₆. A conflation of the well-attested *míeliausias* (*míete^aufes* voc. [= nom.] sg. masc. 125₂₀, *míete^aufes* voc. [= nom.] sg. masc. 130₂₄, *míele^ausj* acc. sg. masc. 140₄, *míelêufe^as* voc. [= nom.] sg. masc. 149₃₂, *míeleufes* nom. sg. masc. 152₄, *míelêufes* voc. [= nom.] sg. masc. 157₃₂) and an unattested *mieliáusias* (the modern norm). The stem *míel-/mél-* is routinely AP 1 in DK (*méilyi* voc. [= nom.] sg. fem. 60₁₄), as is *méilė* in modern

Lithuanian. Note also the derivatives with transparent root stress: DK *méilingas*, *méilingumas*.

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *βwęcźêusfês* nom. sg. masc. 51₁₇. The stem of *švenčiausias* is innovating in comparison with *šveñčiausias* (DK *βwęcźęusios* gen. sg. fem. 144₁₆); *šveñtas*, according to Skardžius 1935, 150, is originally an old barytone, although there seems to be no trace of this in the Catechism. Assuming the root was indeed circumflex (as in the modern norm), the conservative *šveñčiausias* seems to violate Saussure's Law in its failure to shift stress forward onto the acute of *-iausia-*. Examples of innovating stress (modern norm) are *βwęcźéufios* gen. sg. 14₂₆, *βwęcźéufios* gen. sg. 18₂, *βwęcźéufia* nom. sg. 25₈, *βwęc-čéufios* gen. sg. 26_{5/8}, *βwęcźéufiu* instr. sg. masc. 32₁₁, *βwęcźéužio* gen. sg. 98₂₉. The forms *fwęcie^aufemê* loc. sg. masc. 97₅ and *βwęcźęufëi* loc. sg. fem.? 118₄ show a stressed ending characteristic of mobile stems. The end stress in *βwęcźêusfês* is unexplained.

-ingas: Dominant stressed strong in the modern standard (Stundžia 1995, 62); transparent in Daukša:

Root stress: *méilingais* (*méilingas*, *méilinga*, *méilinga*, *méilingu*, *méilingu*; derived *méilingumu*), **nóringas* in *nóringe^afnis*, *ste^abúkingas* (*stëbúklingai*). **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *mietaβirdingas* (*mietaβirdingus*, *mietaβirdingai*), *reikalinga* (*reikalingai*, *re^aikalingai*, *reikalinga*), *iβmintingump* (*iβmintingai*), *stebuklinga*;

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (compound): *méitaβirdingi* nom. sg. pl. 103₁₇.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *stëbúklingas* nom. sg. masc. 139₁₄ (*stëbúklingai* adv. 142₁₂, *stëbúklingai* adv. 163₁₂). A conflation of conservative *stëbúklingas* (*ste^abúkingas* nom. sg. masc. 149₃₀, *stëbúklingai* adv. 152₈), well-attested in the Postilla (Skardžius 1935, 157; he has no examples of stress on *-ing-*) to *stëbúkklas* (*stëbúkklas* 142₁₄) AP 2; and *stëbuklingas* (*stëbuklinga* nom. sg. fem. 129₁₂), the modern norm. Note that, assuming acute tone for the *-ing-* (although Old Prussian *-ing-* points to circumflex and Latvian broken tone is ambiguous in this position: Young, 2000), *stëbúklingas* would violate Saussure's Law.

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *mietaβirdingoí* loc. sg. fem. 142₁₀, *žalingu* gen. pl. fem. 128₃₀. In these two forms, we have the conflation of a conservative stress alternation between desinence and stem-final syllable, still preserved in East Aukštaitic dialects (Skardžius 1935, 161), and an innovating pattern (the modern norm) which fixes stress on the suffixal syllable.

-ýbë/-ýbë: Dominant stressed strong in the modern standard (Stundžia 1995, 65); transparent in Daukša:

Root stress: *gálibe*, *píktibes*, *Kátribe*, *dráfsibę*, *fúkibeffę*. **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *karalibes*, *stipríbe* (*Stipríbes*), *galíbe^a* (*galíbe^a*, *galíbe^a*, *galíbes*, *galíbe^a*, *Galíbe*, *galíbes*, *galíbę*, *wissogalíbei*, *wissogalíbei*, *galíbe*, *galíbę*) *píktibe* (*píktibe^as*, *píktî[bessę]*, *píktîbę*), *fúkibes* (*fúkibe^as*, *fúkiben*, *fúkîbe^as*, *fúkîbę*), *fargíbe^a* (*fargíbes*), *geríbe* (*geríbe^as*,

gerîbe, *gerîbe^a*, *gerîbē*, *gerîbē*, *gerîbei*, *gerîbes*, *gerîbes*, *gerîbes*, *gerîbei*), *bie^aurîbiu* (*biaurîbes*, *Biaurîbe*, *biaurîbē*), *Rustîbe*, *niekîbē*, *wienîbe^a*, *Teisîbe* (*teisîbes*, *teisîbes*), *Miernîbe*, *pitnîbeie^a*, *e^aŝŝîbei*, *ne^awertîbē*, *ŝaldîbei* (*ŝaldîbe*), *ŝilpnîbē*, *linxmîbe* (*linxmîbesp*, *linxmîbe*).

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *gâlîbes* acc. pl. 26₁₇, (*gâlîbe* nom. sg. 100₁₇). A conflation of conservative *gâlybē* (*gâlîbe* nom. sg. 48₁₄), and innovating *galýbē* (12 instances, including the compound *visogalýbē*: *galîbe^a* instr. sg. 35₅, *galîbe^a* instr. sg. 35₃₃, *galîbe^a* instr. sg. 52₁₄, *galîbes* gen. sg. 95₁₁, *galîbe^a* nom. sg. 97₂₆, *Galîbe* nom. sg. 102₁₇, *galîbes* gen. sg. 114₃₀, *galîbē* instr. sg. 124₄, *wiŝŝogalîbei* dat. sg. 132₄, *wiŝŝogalîbei* loc. sg. 133₂, *galîbe* nom. sg. 136₁₄, *galîbē* instr. sg. 138₈). Barytonesis for **gal-* is supported by DK *teip gâlîs* (i.e., the root-stressed participle *gâlîs*, cf. Skardžius 1935, 199) 29₃₃ translating the Polish *tak možny*, and *wiŝŝogâlîs* nom. sg. masc. 95₂₃, *wiŝŝogâlîŝis* 136₃₀. Like the above *ŝveñčiausias*, *didžiausias*, *stebùklingas*, *gâlybē* would violate Saussure's Law if the suffixal formant is acute. Assuming the tonal variant *-ýbē* (the earlier modern standard) would resolve the difficulty, but the instrumental singular (for example, *galîbe^a* 35₅) consistently shows penultimate stress in DK, suggesting an acute syllable. *gêrîbe^as* acc. pl. 64₁₇. Possibly a printing mistake; I can find no evidence of barytonesis for *gêras*, *-à*; according to Skardžius 1935, 148 the base is an old oxytone. The form *gerýbē* is well attested in DK: *gerîbe* acc. sg. 69₃₂, *gerîbe^as* acc. pl. 117₈, *gerîbē* acc. sg. 129₂, *gerîbe^a* voc. sg. 130₆, *gerîbē* acc. sg. 130₁₈, *gerîbē* acc. sg. 136₁₀, *gerîbei* loc. sg. 136₂₈, *gerîbes* gen. sg. 142₂₆, *gerîbes* gen. sg. 146₂₄, *gerîbes* gen. sg. 160₂₅, *gerîbei* loc. (dat.?) sg. 161₂₈ and *gerîbiú* (see below). *kântrîbes* gen. sg. 151₂₆. A conflation of conservative *kañtrybē* (*Kátribe* nom. sg. 104₈; note also *kântrumo* gen. sg. 117₂₄, and *kântruma* acc. sg. 141₂₂; *kântrus* nom. sg. masc. 117₂₂, *kântrei* adv. 105₁₇) and innovating *kantrùmas*, the modern standard. *Bíaurîbe^as* acc. pl. 154₄. A conflation of conservative **biaũrybē* (Skardžius 1935, 114) established on the basis of DK **biaũrus* AP 2: *bíaurumi* instr. sg. masc. 53₁₇, *bîęurus* nom. sg. masc. 133₂ and innovating *biaurýbē* (DK *bie^aurîbiu* gen. pl. 81₂₉, *biaurîbes*, gen. sg. 85₈, *Biaurîbe*, nom. sg. 90₅, *biaurîbē* acc. sg. 92₁₈). The problem of Saussure's Law arises again for *kañtrybē* and *biaũrybē*, unless the suffix is taken to be circumflex.

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *gerîbiú* gen. pl. 143₂₄. *piktîbiú* gen. pl. 127₁₂. These two forms point to an otherwise unattested alternation between suffix and desinence, on the model of *-ingas*.

-ýstē: Dominant strong in the modern standard (Stundžia 1995, 64); transparent in Daukša, with a tendency toward the modern situation.

Root stress: *bédriŝte^a* (*bédriŝtē*), *déiwîŝtē*. **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *iaunîŝte* (*iaunîŝtes*), *karalîŝte* (*karalîŝtes*, *karalîŝten'*, *karalîŝte*, *karalîŝte*, *karalîŝtē*, *karalîŝte*, *karalîŝte*, *karalîŝte*, *karalîŝte* = *mus*), *Diewîŝtes* (*Die-wîŝtei*, *deiwîŝte*, *Deiwîŝte*), *žmogîŝte* (*žmogîŝteie*, *žmogîŝtei*, *Zmogîŝtei*, *zmogîŝtē*, *žmogîŝte*), *mietaŝbirdîŝte^as* (*mietaŝbirdîŝtes*,

mietaβirdište, mietaβirdištes, mietaβirdištę, mietaβirdištešp, mietaβirdištes), Mote^arīšte (mote^arīštes), kunigīštes.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *karálište* nom. sg. 44₂₉. A conflation of a conservative **karālystė* (Skardžius 1935, 112), built on *karālius* (*karālus* nom. sg. 15₂, *karāly* gen. pl. 15₅, *Karāly* nom. pl. 79₁₇, *Karālau* voc. sg. 123₄, *Karāly* gen. pl. 123₄, *Karāly* nom. sg. 137₄, *Karālui* dat. sg. 158₂₆) and *karalystė* (*karalīšte* nom. sg. 9₁₄, *karalīštes* gen. sg. 41₅, *karalīšten'* 42₂, *karalīšte* nom. sg. 43₃₂, *karalīšte* nom. sg. 49₂₂, *karalīštę* acc. sg. 59₄, *karalīšte* nom. sg. 103₅, *karalīšte* nom. sg. 104₂, *karalīšte* nom. sg. 149₂, *karalīšte* = *mus* dat. pl. 158₂₆; also the modern standard). Note the double marking of stress in the secondary verb *karālâuii* 2 sg. pres. 132₂₀, built on the same stem; *Kunigīšte* nom. sg. 93₁₇. Alongside regular *kunigystė* (*kunigīštes* gen. sg. 100₁₁), to mobile *kūnigas* (DK *kūnigas* nom. sg. 15₅, *kunigý* gen. pl. 15₅); influence of *karālystė*? *aklīšte*, nom. sg. 129₁₂. Conflation of conservative **āklystė* (established on the basis of barytonic *āklas*, Skardžius 1935, 142; note also *āklumas*, Skardžius 1935, 58, but DK *akléii* nom. pl. 136₂₀) and *aklystė*, the modern norm.

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *mergīštės* gen. sg. 150₂₆. Representing *mergystė* (modern standard), with unexpected desinential stress characteristic of mobile stems (note also *-ybiū*, above).

-tojas: Non-dominant, post-tonic both in modern Lithuanian (Stundžia 1995, 77)² and in Daukša: *izgélbetoies, izganítóiii (izganítóie^as, Izganítóiau, izganítóiu, izganítóio, izganítóie, izganítóiei), redítóie^as (redítóiaus), darítóiii (darítóie^as, darítóiu, Darítóiau), su-twértoie^as, pritarítóie (mus) (užtarítóius), mōkitoie^ai, wáifstioiaus (wáifstioio, wáifstioio, wáifstioiošp), krikštítóie^as, atgídítóie^au, milétoie^au, gimdítóiu.*

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *gimdítóiu* gen. pl. 33₁₄ and *dárítóie*, acc. sg. 22₂₆. Apparently conflations of **giṁdytojas* and **dārytojas* and regular *gimdýtojas* (DK *gimdítóiu* gen. pl. 161₈, and modern norm), *darýtojas* (DK *darítóiii* acc. sg. 26₂₇, *darítóie^as* nom. sg. 28₁₇, *darítóiu* instr. sg. 28₃₀, *DARítóiau* voc. sg. 123₂). The forms **giṁdytojas* and **dārytojas* would suggest infinitives **giṁdyti* (*giṁdo*) and **dāryti* (*dāro*), which violate Saussure's Law. Both *gimdítóiu* and *dárítóie* are supported by analogous double marking in other derivations in DK, which suggests that these are not chance forms: for *gimdítóiu*, note *gimdíwe^a* voc. sg. 60₂₀ (alongside *gimdiwé* nom. sg. 28₂₆; modern *gimdývė*); for *dárítóie*, note *dárî-tumbime^a* 1 pl conditional 50₂₉/51₂, and *dárítu* 3 conditional 77₅. The root stressed forms are possibly explained as contaminations with causative infinitives of the type *-inti*³ which typically fail to show the effects of Saussure's Law in the modern language:

² Modern *artójas* seems to be isolated in having suffixal stress.

³ Note Skardžius 1941, 545: „Kad ir įvairios kilmės būdami, veiksmazodžiai su *-yti* ir *-inti* dažnai yra tarpusavy kaitaliojami be kokio nors žymesnio reikšmės skirtumo“. Saussure's Law is also violated in infinitive *tūrétu* 110₁₂; barytonesis is found in the participle *túrįs* 113₂₄, and a number of other forms.

leñgvinti (: *leñgvas*), *tuřtinti* (: *tuřtas*), *bùdinti* (verbal base **bud-*): (cf. *Stundžia* 1995, 137); and, from the Postilla, *graūdinti* (= DK *graudinti* 20₃₁, also the modern norm): *Skardžius* 1935, 232.

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *Gimdítóiêmus* dat. pl. 10₁₂. Representing *gimdýtojas* (DK *gimdítóiu* gen. pl. 161₈, and modern standard) with unexpected desinential stress characteristic of mobile stems.

-êlis, -êlis: Dominant stressed strong, both in modern Lithuanian (*Stundžia* 1995, 64) and in Daukša: *kathechismelú, waiké-lemus, grudêlis*.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *watądêles* gen. sg. 9₂₀, for *valandêlès*, perhaps under the influence of barytonic forms of *valandà, vālandą*, a mobile stem: DK *watądóy* loc. sg. 55₂₃.

-inýkas (= -iniñkas): Non-dominant (transparent) in modern Lithuanian, but with a tendency toward dominant post-tonic strong (i.e., mobile bases acquire root stress: *láiškininkas* : *láiškas* 3; *Stundžia* 1995, 76); apparently transparent in DK (there are too few examples to be certain):

Root stress: *Kánonika, priéß-iniku* (*priéßinikai, priéßi-niko, priéßynikus*), *wié-tinikas, tárpinike* (*tárpinike^a, tárpinikamus, tárpinikus*), *múitinika* (*múitinika*), *bêdriniku*. **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *darbinîkamus*.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *priéßinikai* nom. pl. 106₂₆. Represents the standard *priéšininkas*, also found in DK (*priéß-iniku* gen. pl. 32_{5/8}, *priéßinikai* nom. pl. 50₁₄, *priéßi-niko* gen. sg. 53₂, *priéßynikus* acc. pl. 95₁₄) and the influence of suffixal stress (*darbinîkamus* dat. pl. 106₂₃), although this would seem to go against the tendency of the modern language, which is to generalize root stress.

-ûmas: Dominant stressed strong in modern Lithuanian, although certain words of more concrete meaning show root stress (*Stundžia* 1995, 60–61). Daukša: transparent, with a tendency toward dominant strong, as in the modern language:

Root stress: *têwainumo* (*têwainuma*), *pîlnumu, patôguma* (*patógumo*), *dárguma, nôbaznumu* (*nôbažnumu, nôbažnumas, nôbažnumu*), *Trôßkumas, grâuduma* (*grâudumo, grâuduma, grâudumę*), *tôbutuma* (*tôbutumop, tôbutumę*), *wiezliwumu* (*wiezliwumo*), *Rômumas, kántrumo* (*kántruma*), *smârkumu, grînumo, jzûtumas* (*jzûtumu*), *brágumas, [pirm'] amžinume^a, átkanuma, ßwákumas* (*ßwákumop*), *kártuma, méilingumu, dôfnumo*. **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *iaunûmo, apskritumú, pîlnumú, (pîlnumú), patogúmo, stiprumú, biaurúma, mietaßirdúmo* (*mietaßirdúmo, mietaßirdúma, mietaßirduma, mietaßirdúma*), *sałdúme^a* voc. sg. (*sałdúme* voc. sg.), *cziftumú* (*cziftumú*), *didúmo* (*didúmas*), *paktufnúmo* (*paktufnúmo*), *piktúmu*.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (compound): *Diéwméitumo* gen. sg. 102₂₉.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *pîktúmo* gen. sg. 127₂₆. A conflation of conservative **piktumas* (to DK **piktas*, established on the basis of

piktibes 54₁ nom. pl., *pikte^afnio* 53₁₁; but *piktós* gen. sg. fem. 82₂₀; *piktâię* instr. sg. fem. 144₈; *piktíei* nom. pl. 41₁₄; *piktú* gen. pl. 77₃₂. Skardžius 1935, 149 treats the base as oxytonic) and innovating *piktūmas* (*piktūmu* gen. sg. 163₁₈). *drąsumú* instr. sg. 147₁₀. Conflation of conservative **drąsumas* (**drąsus*, AP 2, on the basis of DK *drąsibę* 134₈ acc. sg., and adv. *drąsfe* 153₆); and innovating *drąsumas*, the modern standard; cf. Skardžius 1935, 59 and 143. *kreivumús* acc. pl. 150₁₄. Conflation of conservative **kreivumas* (Skardžius 1935, 59) and innovating *kreivumas* (the modern standard).

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *tėwainumóp* allative sg. 129₁₀: DK 1: *tėwainuma* acc. sg. 94₂₆ to *tėvainis*: Skardžius 1935, 64. Desinential stress characteristic of mobile stems. *ne^awięźliwumú* gen. pl. 81₂₉, *więźliwŭse^a* loc. pl. 78₂₉: DK 1: *więźliwumu* instr. sg. 98₂₃, *więźliwumo* gen. sg. 147₆, from base *więźlyvas*, DK 1: *więźliwu* gen. pl. 82₂₃, *więźliwai* 21₂, *więźliwai* adv. 118₁₀; cf. also Skardžius 1935, 61. The locative plural form has a stress retraction characteristic of disyllabic desinences of the shape $-\bar{V}C\bar{V}$, also known in modern East Aukštaitic dialects. The forms *ne^awięźliwumú* and *więźliwŭse^a* represent another of several instances of desinential stress characteristic of mobile stems.

-ėsnis: Dominant stressed weak (i.e., AP 4) or strong (earlier norm: AP 2) in modern Lithuanian (Stundžia 1995, 82); in Daukša, transparent:

Root stress: *brą-gefnis*, *pikte^afnio*, *Wiefnĭus*, *nóringe^afnis*, *fąke^afnĭ*. **Suffixal/desinential stress:** *fu dide^afnĭu* (*fu dide^afnĭu*), *artimėfnis*, *pige^afnĭs*, *gerėfnĭ*.

Doubles; stress alternation between stem and desinence: *wĭre^asfniėi* nom. pl. masc. 79₁₄. A conflation of *výresnieji* (to a root-accented *výresnis*, DK *Wiefnĭus* acc. pl. 120₂₈) and *vyresnieji*, which is the modern norm. The form *wĭre^asfniėi* is essentially comparable to the *tĭkrąsis* found below.

-ąsis (pronominal adjective): In the modern standard, pronominal adjectives from a base with AP 1 retain the original place of stress (i.e., *raudónasis*, *draūgiškasis*); all others show stress on the penult in certain case forms, including those relevant here: the nom. sg. masc.: *tĭkrąsis*, *saldųsis*; and acc. pl. fem.: *tĭkrąsias*, *saldžiąsias* (Laigonaitė 1978, 60). In Daukša, the original stress of the base seems to be retained throughout, although the material is too meager to draw a firm conclusion.

Barytonic in nom. sg. masc.: *tĭkrafĭs* (*tĭkrafĭsis*, *tĭkrafĭs*, *tĭkrafĭs*, *Tĭkrafĭs*, *tĭkrafĭs*), *ámžinafsĭs* (*ámžinafsĭs*), *βwėtafsĭs* (*βwėtafsĭs*); *małónufĭs* (*małónufĭs*, *małónufĭs*, *małónufĭs*, *małónufĭs*). **Oxytonic stress in nom. sg. masc.:** *śaldųfĭs*.

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix [complex desinence]): *tĭkrąfĭs* nom. sg. masc. 15₂. A conflation of conservative *tĭkrąsis* (*tĭkrafĭs* 14₂₂, *tĭkrafĭs* 15₈, *tĭkrafĭs* 35₁₁, *tĭkrafĭs* 98₈, *Tĭkrafĭs* 149₁₂, *tĭkrafĭs* 152₁₄) and innovating *tĭkrąsis*, the modern standard. The other masculine singular pronominal adjectives also show barytonic stress: *šveñtąsis* (*βwėtafsĭs* 151₈, *βwėtafsĭs* 151₁₆); *ámžinafsĭs* (*ámžinafsĭs* 137₁₂,

ámžinafis 149₁₄) and *malónusis* (*małônuſis* 131₄, *małônuſis* 156₂₆, *małônuſis* 158₈, *małônuſis* 158₁₆, *małônuſis* 162₃₂) have bases with AP 1 and hence are not diagnostic. The sole example of *-ùsis* is *ſaldúſis* 139₆. *ſaldžiâsie^as* acc. pl. fem. 147₂₈. To *saldùs*, AP 3 (note *ſaldúſis* 139₆). A conflation of conservative **saldžiasias*, reflecting the stress of the simple form (modern *saldžias*), and innovating *saldžiasias* (modern norm), with generalized suffixal stress.

-utis

Doubles; stress alternation within stem (root and suffix): *trúpùti* acc. sg. 117₂. A well-known ambi-accented form in the modern language: the DLKŽ³ shows as headword *trupùtis* (2), *trùputis* (1).

The above material, although incomplete (a number of suffixes have not yet been treated), suffices to demonstrate that the double marking of stress in Daukša's *Catechism* (and, by extension, the *Postilla*) is not the result of widespread printing errors in an otherwise carefully-prepared publication, nor is it likely that these are attempts to register secondary stress within a stem (although certain other categories – prefixes and compounds – may well reflect this): forms such as **trùpùti*, **tìkràsis*, **mieliáusias*, with adjacent stresses, are unknown in any modern dialect.

Rather, the above doubly-stressed words for the most part reflect in conflated form the accentual possibilities (conservative and innovating) of a given stem. These accentual possibilities may either represent late 16th-century accentual isoglosses across Lithuanian dialects, or reflect a sociolinguistic variable within a single dialect of the time⁴. Occasionally, as in *trúpùti* = *trùputi*, *trupùti* 117₂, the competing forms persist in the standard language to this day. A corollary of this situation is that the *Sprachwirklichkeit* of unexpected stresses such as the above *ſwęcžêusfês* nom. sg. masc. 51₁₇, or *dukfféimâs* nom. sg. 105₂₃ (or, with single stress, *ſuguldimás* nom. sg. 25₂ and 26₂₃) should not be ruled out.

In the use of the double marking of stress, we have yet another innovation on the part of Daukša, alongside the accentual notation on non-vocalic “i”, the representation of nasal high vowels (Zink evičius 1988, 184), and the frequent use of lexical doublets and glosses (DK *ſaldúme^a* : *ſaldíbe*, *îſcios* : *žiwato*), to assist the reader in pronouncing and understanding the text. In this, Lithuanian by far surpasses the efforts of its Baltic contemporaries in the recording of 16th-century linguistic reality.

⁴ Lithuanian seems partial to reflecting the sociolinguistic situation through prosodic choices: consider in the modern language the conservative/prescriptive *universitetè*, and the like, to the innovating (and socially casual) *universitète*.

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