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NEW TRENDS IN LITHUANIAN DIALECTOLOGY: MULTIMODAL RESEARCH MODEL

Naujos šiuolaikinės lietuvių dialektologijos kryptys: multimodalusis tyrimų modelis

ANNOTATION

The modern trend of dialectology recognizes the shift and vitality of traditional dialects. The aim of this study is to submit a new dialect research model for modern language variations used by the researchers of the Centre of Geolinguistics in the Institute of the Lithuanian Language in the context of traditional and contemporary (multidimensional) Lithuanian dialectology.

KEYWORDS: Lithuanian dialectology, traditional dialect, new dialectal variants, socio-cultural network, linguistic landscape, mental map, multimodal research model.

ANOTACIJA

Šiuolaikinė dialektologija pripažįsta tradicinių tarmių kaitą ir jų gyvybingumą. Šio straipsnio tikslas – supažindinti su šiuolaikiniu tradicinių tarmių ir naujujų tarminiu dariai tyrimo modeliu, kurį taiko Lietuvių kalbos instituto Geolinguistikos centro tyrėjai tradicinės ir šiuolaikinės (multimodaliosios) dialektologijos kontekste.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: lietuvių dialektologija, tradicinė tarmė, naujas tarminis variantas, sociokultūriniai tinklai, kalbinis kraštovaizdis, mentalinis žemėlapis, multimodalusis tyrimo modelis.

0. INTRODUCTION

A systematic analysis of Lithuanian dialects highlights permanent aspects of Lithuanian dialectology throughout all periods of its development, i.e.: 1) the spread of regional language variety, in other words – the territorial aspect; 2) its distinction among other language varieties or markedness; 3) the relationship between language (regional) variety, and written, referred to as standard in the 20th century, language, i.e., standardisation (Mikulénienė 2018: 20).

Whilst trying to observe the main research directions of Lithuanian dialectology in general, both synchronic and diachronic aspects have to be kept in mind. However, dialectology has always been an essentially diachronic discipline. *Data first, theories later* (Kretzschmar, Schneider 1996: 14) – this is the motto of the discipline. Nonetheless, life is changing. If we are not to fall behind time, our dialectology must also change.

The aim of this study is to submit a new dialect research model used by the researchers of the Centre of Geolinguistics in the Institute of the Lithuanian Language.

The following goals have been set to achieve this aim: 1) to systemically discuss the distinctiveness of the traditional and contemporary Lithuanian dialectology; 2) to present a model for the study of modern dialects and new dialectal variants; 3) to describe the operational capabilities of this model.

Research methodology is based on contemporary research in (socio)geolinguistics and is built upon the studies of social network theory, modern trends of linguistic landscape and perceptual dialectology mainly in Japan (Inoue 1993; 1997; 1998; 1999; 2012), the Netherlands (Taeldeman 2005; Goeman 2000; Heeringa, Hinskens 2014), Germany (Auer 2018; Auer, Hinskens 1996), the United States of America (Kretzschmar, Schneider 1996; Labov 1972; Preston 2018), Canada and Great Britain (Chambers 1980; Chambers, Trudgill 2004).

1. BRIEF REVIEW OF LITHUANIAN DIALECT RESEARCH HISTORY

Two main dialect groups – Samogitian (or Žemaitian) and Aukštaitian – were identified by August Schleicher (1856; 1856₁) and 20 years later by Friedrich Kurschat (Kurschat 1876; Kuršaitis 1876). Schleicher's *Lithuanian Grammar* has famed the Lithuanian language around the world as Lithuanian has best preserved the most important pro-Indo-European features. The 19th century gave us the first map of the Lithuanian language area, the first questionnaire, the first

dialect classification by Antanas Baranauskas and the first descriptions of dialects by Kazimieras Jaunius (Mikulėnienė 2018: 142–156). At the end of the 19th century, Lithuania as well as other European countries adopted the tradition of German dialectology and Neogrammarian methodology. Phonetic and phonological dialectal features have been the most important characteristics in classifying and mapping Lithuanian dialects since the 19th century (Mikulėnienė 2018: 140–141).

At the beginning of the 20th century the late pregeolinguistic period was marked with the beginning of linguistic geography (or word geography) in Lithuania. The main aim of those studies was to collect different forms and words for the comprehensive dictionary of the Lithuanian language (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (LKŽ, vol. 1–20), which was being written for 100 years from 1902 till 2002). However, the main reason to emphasize the German influence was Prof. Jurgis Gerulis (Georg Gerullis) who communicated his ideas through books and teaching (Gerullis 1930; Gerullis, Stang'as 1933). The next two decades in the middle of the 20th century (1930–1944) were the golden age for Lithuanian geolinguistics. It was marked by Prof. Antanas Salys (who finished graduate studies in Germany) and his works: scientific dialectal classification, word geography questionnaire and the first network map of Lithuania (Salys 1933; 1935; 1946; 1985; 1992), see more (Mikulėnienė 2013).

During the period of Soviet occupation a phase of scientific dialectology was marked with the classification and mapping of dialects once again. At the end of World War II Salys and other famous linguists emigrated from Lithuania, but they left a few disciples, who tried to continue the dialectological trend in Lithuanian linguistics. New questionnaires and dialectal atlases appeared in the late sixties. In total, 3 volumes with 376 maps of the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language (hereinafter referred to as the ALL, *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* (LKA) 1–3, 1977–1991) were published covering more than 750 different issues (Morkūnas 1977: 11, 1980: 46). The historical comparative dialectology was expanded by Prof. Zigmantas Zinkevičius (1966; 1996; 2002; 2004; 2006; etc.). Phonetic and phonological dialectal studies were further developed by Prof. Aleksas Girdenis and his post-graduate students. During the last decades of the 20th century Girdenis' disciples explored all Lithuanian dialects and almost all sub-dialects using the methods of experimental phonetics and structural phonology (Girdenis 1981; 2000–2001; 2003; 2014; Mikulėnienė 2016).

Although a lot of important work was done, Soviet ideology also put its mark: the open-ended model (*researcher – research object – research instrument*) was reduced to a closed type model (*native researcher – native dialect – native language* as instrument), see more (Mikulėnienė 2018: 252). Articles and other works had little opportunity to be published abroad. During the Soviet period

and later, great care was taken to publish dialectal sources: linguists were motivated to compose textbooks and dictionaries¹.

The latest stage of Lithuanian dialectology and geolinguistics started at the beginning of the 21st century. Dialectologists scanned the whole territory of Lithuania (overall 735 places as points of the ALL network and fixed all possible language variations which are used there)². The following objectives were set in order to achieve this aim: 1) to gather and present new material about central and peripheral Lithuanian dialects; 2) to specify or readjust the boundaries of Lithuanian dialect and subdialect areas; 3) to gather the most important socio-linguistic data from the entire Lithuanian language area and conduct an initial analysis of it. The material collected during this project became the subject of modern dialectal research.

Linguists found not only traditional dialects and subdialects, but identified new dialectal formations – 5 regiolects and the zone of Standard Lithuanian (which is in the centre of Lithuania, around the former temporary capital Kaunas for the period between World War I and World War II), see more Aliūkaitė, Mikulénienė 2014,: 257–262; Geržotaitė, Mikulénienė 2014). They noticed various shift-processed cases that arose in native Lithuanian language variations under the influence of convergence and divergence processes: 1) between dialectal variants and the standard language, 2) between native Lithuanian and native Polish, Latvian, Belarusian or Russian variations and 3) between native dialectal Lithuanian variants themselves (Mikulénienė, Rutkowska 2013; Geržotaitė, Meiliūnaitė 2014).

2. EVOLUTION OF TRADITIONAL DIALECTOLOGY

Two directions – traditional (conservative) and new (dynamic or progressive) dialectology – were more distinguishable at the beginning of the 21st century and both of them have coexisted since the late 20th century.

¹ So far 15 dialect dictionaries have been published, which are slightly different, representing only one dialect or several neighbouring dialects. More than 20 volumes of dialect texts have been prepared. Two series have been published so far: "Tarmės mokyklai" (*Dialects for School*) and "Tarmių tekstybos" (*Dialectal Textbooks*). All volumes are accompanied with compact discs.

² The project entitled *Modern Geolinguistic Research in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network Points and Interactive Dissemination of Information* (project No. VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-K-01-028) was conducted by the Institute of the Lithuanian Language in 2010–2013. More information is available at http://www.tarmes.lt/images/Veikla/SANTRAUKA_0112.pdf; see also (Mikulénienė, Meiliūnaitė 2014).

Traditional dialectology presents a static single-minded image of a dialect: central and peripheral zones can be separated (Morkūnas 1993: 4–7); the closed phonological system of the (sub)dialect can be recognized; atomistic analysis, based on descriptivism, favoured qualitative methods and was oriented to the past (Chambers 1980: 47–65; Labov 1972: 268, etc.). This led to the choice of NORM (*non-mobile, old, rural, male*) criteria and was limited to the use of diagnostic tests, i.e. material accumulation (Chambers, Trudgill 2004: 28; Aliūkaitė, Mikulénienė 2014: 32).

Evidently, in the 20th century researchers did not acknowledge dialect change, so they assumed traditional dialect variants to be dead. The dialect boundaries were static and immutable (Aliūkaitė, Mikulénienė 2014: 33).

The contemporary (or progressive) trend of dialectology proposes another opportunity – recognizing the change and vitality of traditional dialects (Trudgill 1983: 87). Dialects are transforming; as a result, new variants can emerge from traditional dialects – geolects, regional dialects (or regiolects), and even regional standard varieties (Auer, Hinskens 1996: 7, 11; Taeldeman 2005: 233–248), see Figure 1.

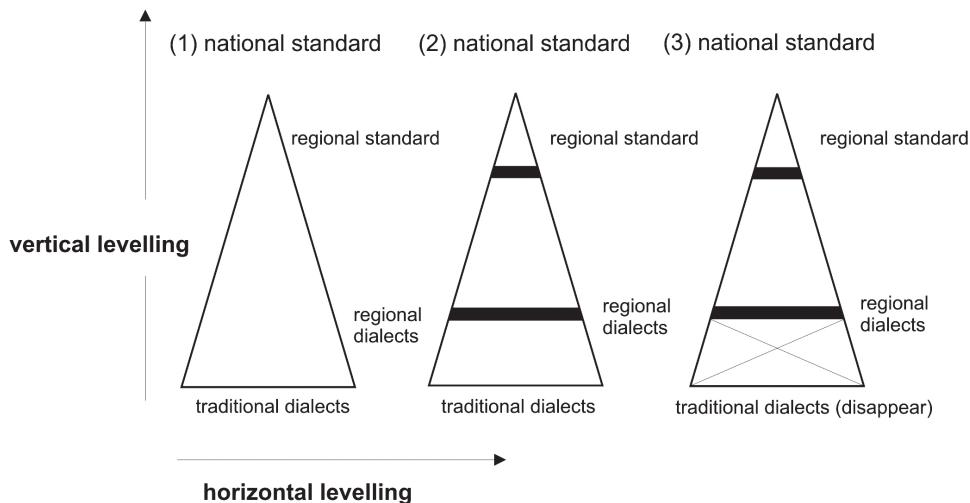


Figure 1. *Multidimensional model of dialecticism tiers* (Auer, Hinskens 1996: 7, 11)

It is important to highlight that not all new dialectal formations are directly related to the area to which the traditional dialect has been assigned since it is exposed on a horizontal and vertical continuum with each other and in relation to a common (or standard) language by convergence, divergence, or levelling.

Most of the traditional dialect features are retained within the gelect, least of them – in the variant of the regional standard (Aliūkaitė, Mikulénienė 2014: 37–45; Mikulénienė 2019: 51–62).

The change of traditional dialects also leads to the disappearance of differential dialect features: former primary signs may disappear in the speech of many informants, and in most cases, those features, which are not perceived by informants as dialectal ones, remain. Therefore, for example, regiolects are generally difficult to describe in terms of their attributes because they are not stable: variable markers must be identified in total (Mikulénienė 2019: 56–61).

For this reason, there is a need of sociolinguistic analysis for dialectology – in other words, it is important to take into account the sociolinguistic perspective of the respondents: to assess their age, gender, education, and to clarify their attitudes towards the usage of the dialect. In this case, dialect research is based on sociolinguistic work. Because the focus is not only on the old locals, but also on the young, not just men but also women, YUMF (*young, urban, mobile woman*) criterion prevails (Goeman 2000).

The greater number of the population interviewed, the more accurate the results. This is the reason why not only qualitative but also quantitative or statistical methods prevail, see more (Aliūkaitė, Mikulénienė et al. 2017: 24–26; Mikulénienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019: 65–92).

The language data of several generations of the population make it possible to predict the future of the local language variant or at least to foresee the direction of its shift. Dialectologists can thus contribute to the economic and socio-cultural policies of the regions through the results of their language research. Needless to say that those trends do not necessarily represent consistent stages of dialect development in time but rather dialect classifications based on researchers' ideological viewpoints and methodological approaches.

3. MULTIMODAL DIALECT RESEARCH MODEL

As it can be seen, the changed attitude towards the dialectal variability generates a much more detailed and comprehensive survey. Therefore, the dynamic sociogeolinguistic and multidimensional image of dialectal formation is suggested by the dialectologists of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language. This model has been used in the research of local languages and dialects in different regions of Lithuania since 2015, see Figure 2.

New Trends in Lithuanian Dialectology:
Multimodal Research Model

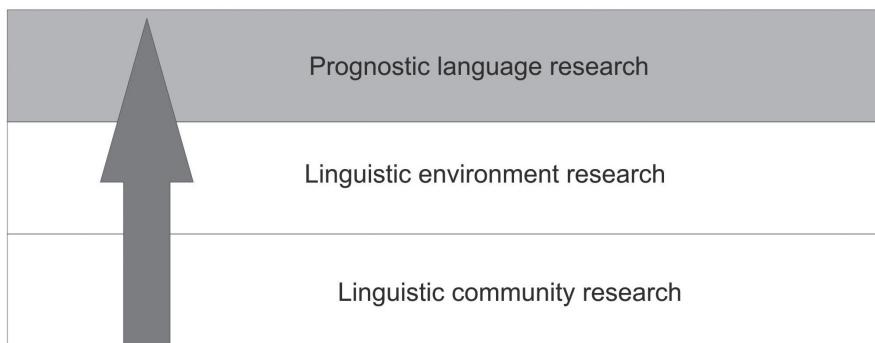


Figure 2. *Aims of regional dialectology in the 21st century*

The model for regional language variation comprises three layers: (1) the selective study of the linguistic data of traditional dialects; (2) the study of the linguistic environment (or linguistic landscape) and socio-cultural networks of locality; (3) the study of the attitude of the subjects towards the local language version and the public opinion survey. Each stage of the investigation will now be discussed in more detail.

3.1. TIER 1 RESEARCH. The first tier is the selective study of the traditional linguistic data of the dialects. The selective analysis of dialectal data is chosen; research is based on sound recordings, and the frequency of distinctive dialectal phonetic features is fixed.

Particular matrices were made emphasizing the verification of the features – their strength (+), loss (+/-) or extinction (-), see Figure 3.

Fone-tika Punk-to Nr.	ie, uo	* ^q , * ^e nekirč. galūn.	an, en	é, o nekirč. galūn.	i, u	y, ū ne- kirč. ka- mien.	Balsiu ilgu- mo siste- ma	ai, au, ei	Kirčio ati- trauki- mas	Kirčio nukė- limas	*tj, *dj	le, lē	Papil- domas tarminis požymis
513	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ (+)	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	0 0	+	+	+	+
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	i, u	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	
512	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ (+)	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	0 0	0 0	+	+	+
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	i, u	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	
530	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ (+)	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	0 0	0 0	+	+	+
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	e., o / i, u	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	
529	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ (+)	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	0 0	0 0	+	+	+
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	i, u	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	
511	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ (+)	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	0 0	0 0	+	+	+
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	i, u	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	

Fone tika Punk- to Nr.	ie, uo	* ^q , * ^g nekirč. galūn.	an, en	é, o nekirč. galūn.	i, u	y, ū ne- kirč. ka- mien.	Balsiu ilgu- mo siste- ma	ai, au, ei	Kirčio ati- trauki- mas	Kirčio nukè- limas	*tj, *dj	le, lè	Papil- domas tarminis požymis
492	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	i, u/e, a	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	

493	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	
	ie,uo	a, e/a.,e.	an, en	i, u/e, a	i, u	i., u.	2 ilg.	ai, au, ei	néra	néra	č, dž	minkšt.	

Figure 3. Sample of (non) dialectal feature matrix (Aliūkaitė, Jaroslavienė, Meiliūnaitė, Mikulénienė 2014: 75)

If a phonetic feature is recorded in the speech of several or at least one senior generation informant, it should be deemed as existing, but is regarded as a disappearing one by dialectologists. However, the feature recorded in the local linguistic variant is affected by horizontal convergence (V – strength, v – loss, v_0 – extinction), see Figure 4.



Figure 4. Horizontal relevance of dialectal features (created by D. M.)

It is worthwhile emphasizing the correlation between the horizontal relevance of dialectal features and the vertical relevance of the respondents' age, see Figure 5.

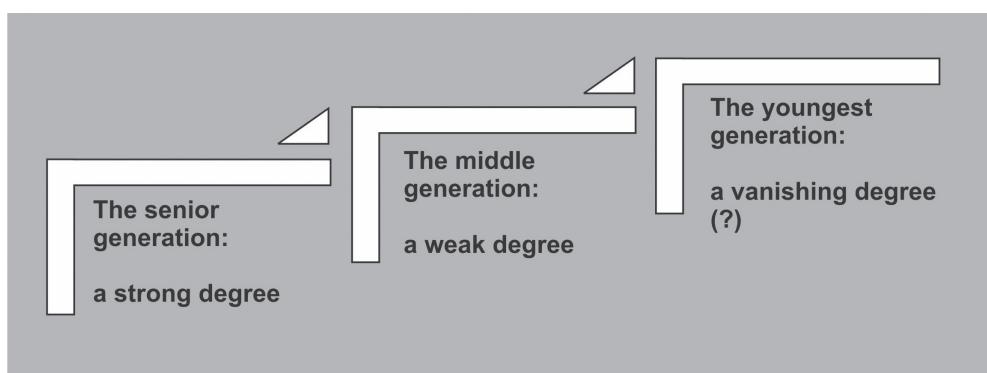


Figure 5. Vertical relevance of dialectal features (created by D. M.)

In most cases, representatives of the senior generation reflect native (sub)dialects more conservatively (with the strong degree of distinctive features), the middle generation is more reserved, but the youngest informants do not necessarily reflect a vanishing degree: they say they like using their native dialect and they do it. Younger respondents use either the linguistic code retaining the strongest marked dialectal features or the one possessing the bland features of the dialect at hand (Aliūkaitė 2019: 74–76). However, their speech is not so traditional, but more modern (or fashionable) – the primary features tend to disappear, while visible tertiary characteristics come to the forefront and take over the role of the main features (Mikulénienė 2019: 56–57), see Figure 6.

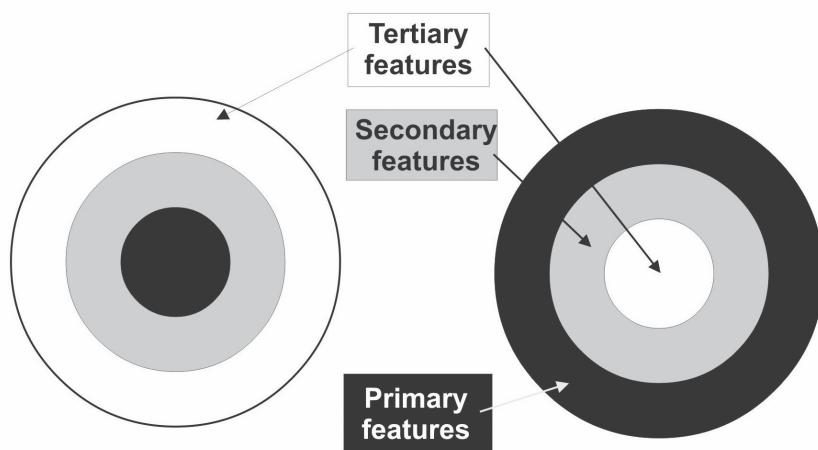


Figure 6. *Change and shift of dialectal features 1* (created by D. M.)

Thus, there is a striking difference in the language of this generation of people living in the same area and having similar education: a pronounced feature in one person's speech might or might not in times repeat itself in the speech of another. The main result of the shift of the traditional dialect is that the primary dialect feature becomes bland or tertiary.

Tertiary features that are not recognized by the informants are becoming the basis of new dialectal formations. In the first decades of the 21st century, when regiolects and other larger formations were formed, the term *dialectal features* in traditional dialectology is being gradually replaced with the *dialectal marker* corresponding to it (Mikulénienė 2019: 61), see Figure 7.

These terms are not synonyms – a dialectal feature is stable, whereas a dialectal marker is a floating element of a local language. Moreover, it is less phonologically marked.

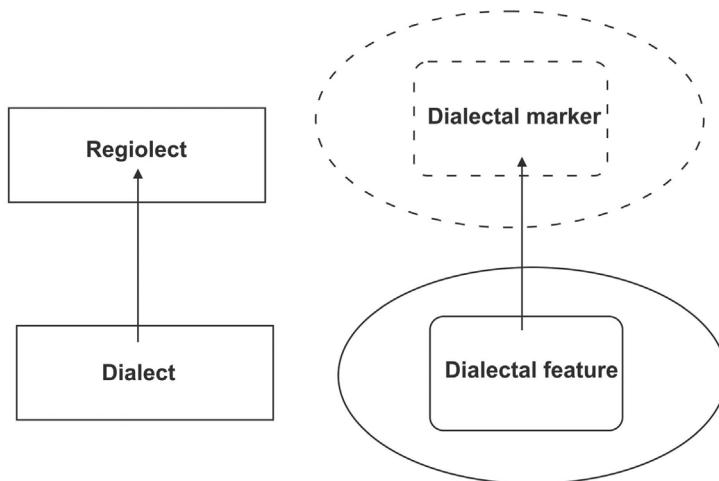


Figure 7. *Change and shift of dialectal features 2* (Mikulénienė 2019: 61)

Therefore, a set of dialectal markers has to be compiled for each new derivation (regional dialect or regiolect) selected by researchers. In case these sets are different, there is a possibility for a few different regiolects. On the other hand, should the sets not differ significantly, there is an indication that a regional dialectal variation is homogeneous.

The first research results show that the recognition of phonetic (phonological) dialectal features by hearing does not make it easy to identify a new dialectal variant (Aliūkaitė, Mikulénienė 2019). For this reason, phonological markers (or more precisely, their complete set) continue being important differential elements, but the value of morphological and derivative markers, in addition to phonological ones, clearly increases (Mikulénienė 2019: 60–61).

Although dialectal markers show the heterogeneous and multilayer nature of the Lithuanian language landscape of the 21st century, they cannot be mechanically removed from the territory in which they occur.

Thus, sociogeolinguistic methods have to be applied to conduct a more detailed analysis.

3.2. TIER 2 RESEARCH. The second stage is the study of the linguistic environment (or linguistic landscape) and socio-cultural networks.

The mapping of the mobility of local residents and their movement directions to schools, markets, doctors, etc., makes it possible to identify certain centres of the local language variants and to anticipate the direction of dialect change and shift, see Figures 8–9.

New Trends in Lithuanian Dialectology: Multimodal Research Model

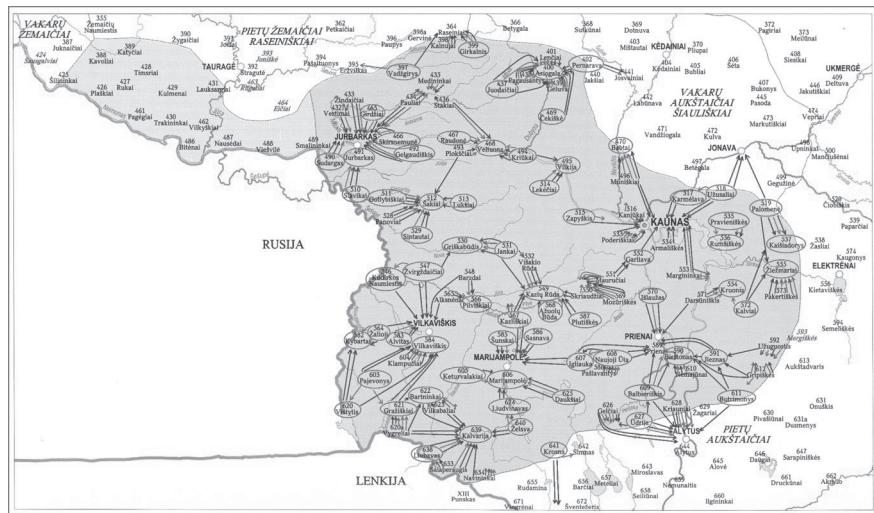


Figure 8. *Sociocultural networks of the West Aukštaitians of Kaunas* (Čepaitienė 2018: 52)

The map of sociocultural networks highlights traction centres and the areas of vitality. In the West Aukštaitian area of Kaunas (*kauniškiai*), the movement of local residents is concentrated near Marijampolė, Vilkaviškis, Jurbarkas, Prienai (see Figure 8). This allows for the identification of regiolectic and geolectic zones. Currently, the geolectic zones of Šakiai, Jurbarkas and Prienai are distinguished in the West Aukštaitian regiolect of Kaunas (Čepaitienė 2016: 142, 144).

The situation with peripheral dialects is different, however, see Figure 9.

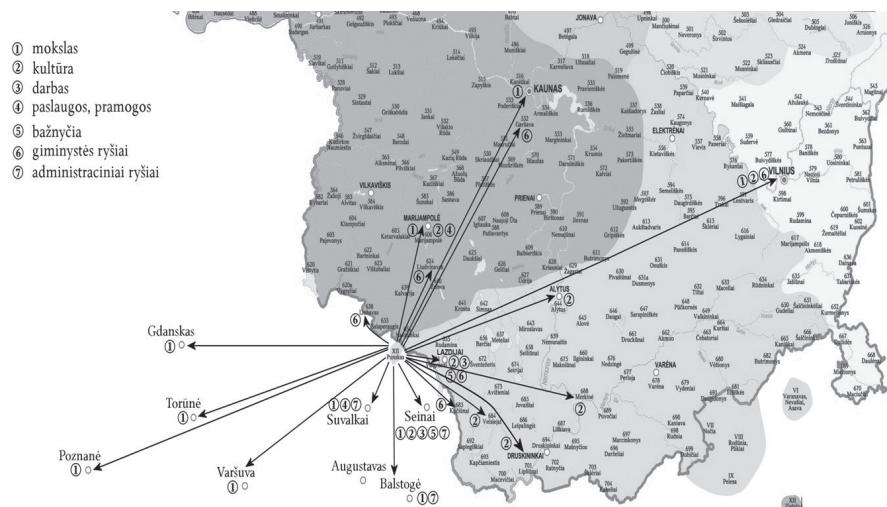


Figure 9. *Directions of movement of local Lithuanians in the Punsk region* (Mikulėnienė, Leskauskaitė et al. 2016: 282)

Figure 9 reflects the periphery of local Lithuanians in the Punsk-Sejny region: the directions of movement to the towns of Lithuania and Poland are approximately equally distributed (Mikulėnienė, Leskauskaitė et al. 2016: 276–299).

The multimodal approach to dialecticism values linguistic landscape data in particular (Inoue 2012: 88–94). Linguistic environment (or linguistic landscape) and sociocultural networks highlight certain traction components (important for local residents: school(s) and kindergarten(s), markets and cafés, health care institutions, libraries, community houses, tourist attractions, etc.), see Figure 10.

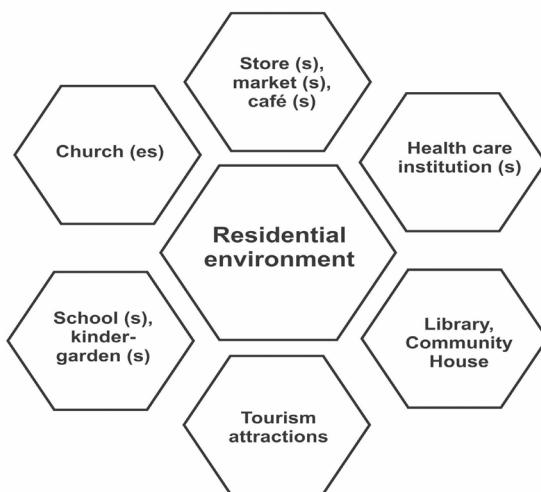
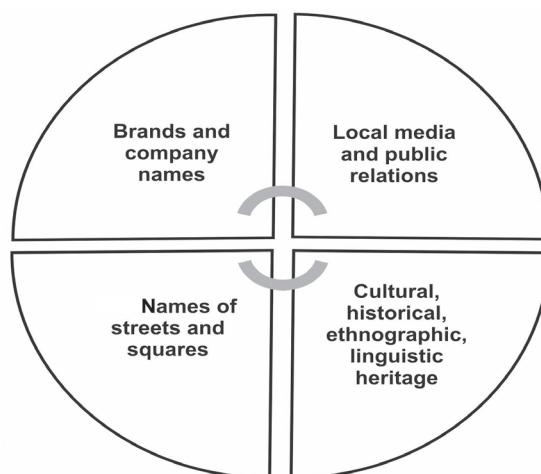


Figure 10. *Linguistic environment and sociocultural networks: traction components* (Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 187)



The inclusion of these components in linguistic discourse is not new: Japanese dialectologists have been doing so for the last few decades (Inoue 2012: 96–104). The studies of linguistic landscape are somewhat linked to brands and local company names, local media, cultural, historical, ethnographic, linguistic heritage, etc., see Figure 11. As a separate trend, the so-called dialectology of souvenirs is also being studied in Japan (Inoue 2012: 107–117).

Figure 11. *Linguistic environment and sociocultural networks: traction elements* (Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 188)

In this way, everything is important for modern dialectologists: not only the awareness of language value, but also what is related to the historical and cultural heritage, see the table.

Table. Awareness of Language Value.

Linguistic Value	Historical and Cultural Value
Old documents and sources	Collecting and preserving local cultural heritage
Handbooks of dialectal texts (with compact discs)	Research and publicity of local cultural heritage
Dialectal dictionaries	Preservation of memory about famous local people
Monographic descriptions	Enhancement of local researchers' activities

In general, this allows us to talk more deeply about dialect value. The aforementioned enumerated elements are perceived as objective, which in turn enables the manifestation of an objective value of a dialect.

3.3. TIER 3 RESEARCH. The third tier is the attitude of the subjects towards the local language version and the public opinion survey. Modern sociogeolinguistic research uses the methods of perceptual dialectology (Preston 1999: xxiii–xl).

While identifying dialect self-esteem, it is essential to find out personal and public opinions about a local dialect. Age, gender and education must be taken into account, as social diversity exists in every version of a local language. It is very important that the young generation is interviewed too. This is the only way to predict the future of a language version, see Figure 12.

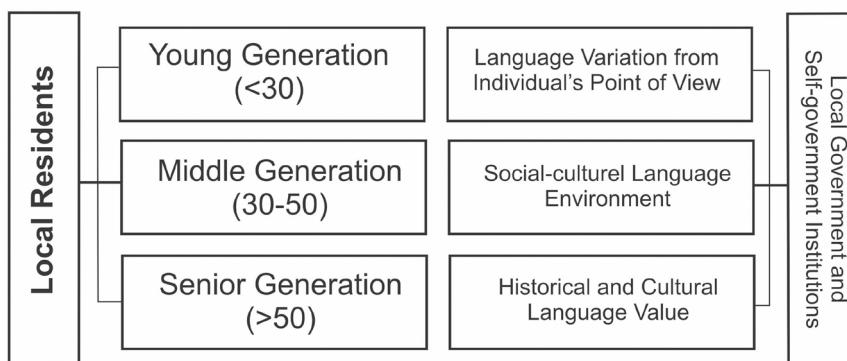


Figure 12. Survey of indigenous and public opinion (Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 181)

The present analysis of the Lithuanian language variations is based on the complex questionnaire model, which integrates both verbalization and visualization. Thus, the respondents had an opportunity to develop their own insights (see more Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 50–59).

The opinion of the young generation is studied through questionnaires and mental maps (see Aliūkaitė, Mikulėnienė et al. 2017: 50–59, 103–160, 224–272).

The objective value of a dialect or a new dialectal variant and its self-esteem help to highlight its added value denoting and relating to the creativity of the indigenous (local) population, as intricate dialectal heritage is being redeveloped nowadays, see Figure 13.

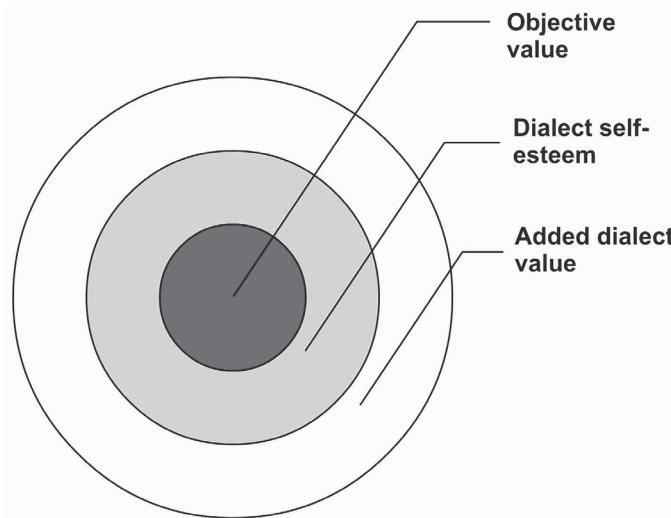


Figure 13. *Components of the dialect value* (Mikulėnienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 194)

Dialectal festivals and other events reveal that the traditional dialect is making a transition into another – regiolectal – level.

3.4. PROGNOSTIC RESEARCH MODEL. To sum up, a prognostic research model for regional language variants was established, which includes all the components discussed in this work. This model is placed into the “bubble” of the public opinion, see Figure 14.

Therefore, the disappearance of traditional dialects does not mean the death of the dialect, but only its change. It shows a whole new way for Lithuanian dialectologists and sets the priority of dynamic multidimensional dialectology.

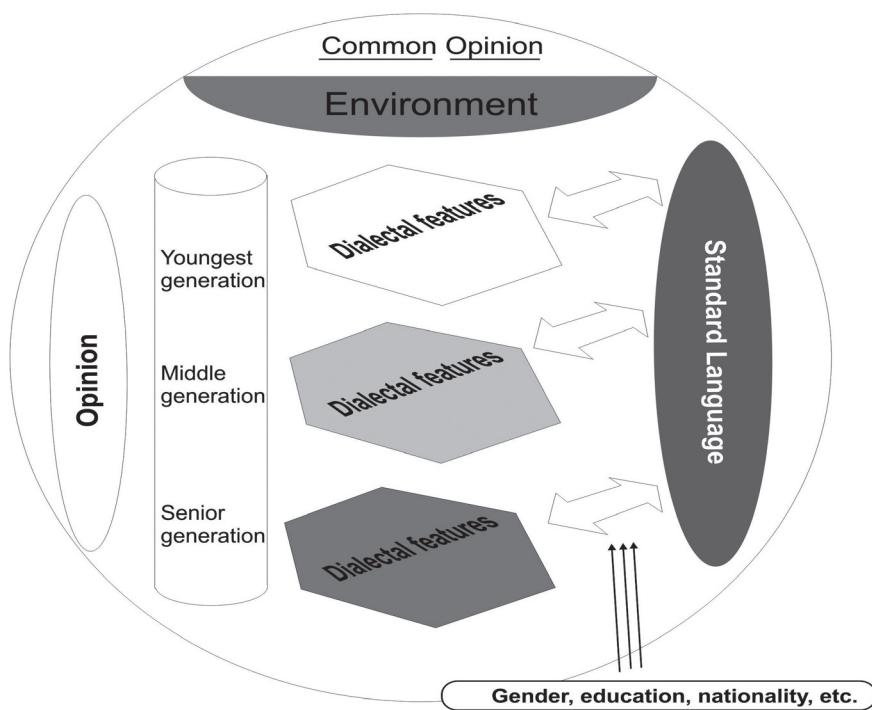


Figure 14. *Prognostic research model* (created by D. M.)

4. PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

The multimodal model can be easily adapted to serve the needs of regional studies. It works especially well when a subject territory has not one, but several variants of a language (or even variants of different local languages), see more (Mikulénienė, Rutkowska 2013, Mikulénienė, Meiliūnaitė 2017: 169–195; Mikulénienė 2018₁, Mikulénienė, Pocevičiūtė 2019). This liberates new dialectal formations from being classified in a traditional way.

This methodology makes it possible to identify several layers of local language(s), even when they have been formed over different periods. For example, in the area of the current standard Lithuanian language (in Kaunas District) researchers distinguished as many as five different local zones based on this model: 1) dialectal, 2) dialectal–non-dialectal, 3) standard, 4) standard–dialectal, 5) non-dialectal.

The multimodal model expands the usage of dialectometric methods and quantitative analysis, see more (Mikulénienė, Čepaitienė et al. 2019). Dialectometric methods and quantitative analysis eliminate the researcher's subjectivity, i.e., his archival tendency and attempts to "preserve" the investigated variant of the local language, which leads to the creation of a standardised dialect.

One should not "drag" dialectal variants to the traditional classification: the distinction between 20th and 21st century materials must be clear. Finally, there is a need to eliminate the clash between the researcher's objectivity and love for native dialect in one's homeland. According to Kaj Syriänen from Finland (he uses the term *fennophile movement*), it might be said that *dialectophilia* is not a scientific method for contemporary dialectology (Syriänen 2012: 7).

CONCLUSIONS

Disappearance of traditional dialects does not constitute the death of a dialect, but only its change when it is viewed in terms of contemporary multimodal dialectology. Hence, the conclusion might be drawn that:

1. The proposed methodology is suitable for the study of the entire Lithuanian language area. Multidimensional dialectology makes it possible to create new models of language shift and development.
2. The changed concept of space and time reduces not only the possibility of descriptive and atomistic analysis. It provides holistic studies of local linguistic variants.
3. The approach of the multidynamic dialectology reveals the conditionality of dialect classification.
4. Also, (socio)geolinguistic studies must meet special requirements – utilising not only qualitative but quantitative methods as well.
5. Using this multimodal model, the natural course of the development of a language variation and its change and shift in the face of changing economic, demographic or other circumstances can be predicted.

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Naujos šiuolaikinės lietuvių dialektologijos kryptys: multimodalusis tyrimų modelis

SANTRAUKA

Šiuolaikinė dialektologija pripažįsta tradicinių tarmių kaitą ir gyvybingumą. Šio tyrimo tikslas – pateikti naują šiuolaikinių kalbos variacijų tarmių tyrimo modelį, kurį naudoja Lietuvių kalbos instituto Geolingvistikos centro tyrėjai tradicinės ir šiuolaikinės (daugiahypės) lietuvių kalbos dialektologijos kontekste. Šiam tikslui pasiekti iškelti šie uždaviniai: 1) sistemiškai aptarti tradicinės ir šiuolaikinės lietuvių dialektologijos ypatybes; 2) pateikti šiuolaikinių tarmių ir naujų tarmių darinių tyrimo modelį; 3) apibūdinti šio modelio veikimo galimybes. Tyrimo metodika yra pagrįsta šiuolaikiniais (socialiniais) geolingvistikos tyrimais ir yra paremta socialinių tinklų teorijos ir kelių krypcinių šiuolaikinės dialektologijos tyrimais, atlirkais Japonijoje, Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose ir Nyderlanduose.

Regioninės kalbos kitimo modelį sudaro trys sluoksniai: 1) pasirinktinis tradicinių kalbių duomenų tarmių tyrimas; 2) kalbinės aplinkos (ar kalbinio kraštovaizdžio) ir lokaliųjų sociokultūrinių tinklų tyrimas; 3) tiriamųjų požiūrio į vietinę kalbą tyrimas ir visuomenės nuomonės tyrimas. Kiekvienas tyrimo etapas aptartas išsamiau.

Multimodalusis modelis lengvai pritaikomas tiriamos vietovės poreikiams. Tai ypač akiavaizdu, kai čia vartojamas ne vienas kuris, o keli kalbos (ar net skirtinę vietinių kalbų) variantai. Dinamiškasis požiūris atskleidžia tarmių klasifikacijos sąlygiškumą. Naujieji terminiai dariniai – geolektai, regolektai – turi būti atpažįstami ir identifikuojami pasitelkiant ne tik šiuolaikinius kokybinius, bet ir kiekybinius metodus. Tarminiai (ar tik tarmiškieji) variantai neturi būti spraudžiami į tradicinių lietuvių tarmių klasifikaciją: to reikalauja ne tik XX a. ir XXI a. surinktos medžiagos skirtis, bet ir gerokai praplėstas tyrimų laukas,

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pasirinkti ir dialektologijai pritaikyti socialinių tinklų teorijos ir perceptyviosios dialekto logijos metodai.

Šiuolaikinei tarmėtyrai pritaikytas multimodalusis tyrimų modelis tinka tyrinėti ne tik tarminiams ar tarmiškiesiems vietiniams lietuvių kalbos variantams, bet ir kalbos variantiškumui apskritai. Daugiamatė dialektologija leidžia kurti naujas kalbos kaitos ir raidos teorijas, o pasikeitusi erdvės ir laiko samprata sumažina aprašomosios ir atomistinės analizės galimybę.

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