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Old Lithuanian

Morphosyntactic structures – Part 1, Noun phrase. Adpositions

Roadmap

- 1. Some structural properties of NP

- 2. Grammatical features of NP

- 3. Adpositions

- 4. Summary

1. Some structural properties of NP

1.1. Word order GenN/NGen

1.2. Embedding of Gen

1.3. Agreement

1.1. Word order GenN/NGen

	NGen	**GenN**
Mod. Lithuanian	very rare	default
Old Lithuanian	possible	possible

- Influence of translation sources (Latin, Polish)
- **GenN** was original and neutral (Ambrazas 2006: 99)

1.2. Word order GenN/NGen

	Old Lithuanian		Middle Polish	
(1)	N	Gen	N	Adj
	žmónes	*Iʃráelo*	*lud*	*Izráelski*
	person:ACC.PL	Israel:GEN.SG		
	'People of Israel' (DP 99,49; WPm 101,9)			
(2)	Gen	N	Adj	N
	Iʃráélo	*žmónių*	*Izráelʃkiego*	*ludu*
	Israel:GEN.SG	person:GEN.PL		
	'Israel's people' (DP 429,31; WPm 444,51)			

1.2. Gen embedding

(1) N **Gen** **Gen**

priġimímas *ruſtíbes* *Diewo*

nature:NOM.SG wrath:GEN.SG god:GEN.SG

'The nature of God's wrath' DP 9,24

(2) N **Gen** **Gen** **Gen**

Vnt *Dienos* *Vżgimimo* *ſunaus* *Diewo*

on day:GEN.SG birth:GEN.SG son:GEN.SG god:GEN.SG

(lit.) 'On the birthday of the son of the God' JE1647 8,8

1.3. Agreement

Agreement features: case, number, gender

(1) *koki-oʃṗ*   *kit-óʃṗ*   *baźnîcʒi-oʃṗ*   *krikßcʒionißk-óʃṗ*
     some-ALL.SG.F   other-ALL.SG.F   church-ALL.SG   Christian-ALL.SG.F
     'to some other Christian church' DP 444,35

Agreement & neuter ADJ: see Lecture 2, Non-verbal predication

2. Grammatical features of NP

2.1. Gender

2.2. Number

2.3. Case

2.4. Definiteness

2.1. Gender

- Noun gender: M/F   ADJs, non-animate PRONs: +N
- Formal gender correlation

Stem	Gender
(i̯)ā, ē	feminine
(i)(i̯)o, (i̯)u	masculine
i	mostly feminine
C	feminine/masculine

- Rare semantic assignment in *(i̯)ā-, ē-*stems, e.g.:
  Daukša 'masculine surname' M, *dėdė* 'uncle' M, etc.

2.1. Gender

	Old Lithuanian	Mod. Lithuanian
(PL) *žmonės* 'people'	(freq) **F** (*ē*-stem)	**M** (*ē*-stem)
tūkstantis '1000'	**F/M** (*i*-&*i̯ā*-/*i̯o*-stem)	**M** (*i̯o*-stem)
pelūs 'chaff'	**F/M** (*u*-stem)	**M** (*o*-stem)

2.2. Number

- SG, **DU**, PL
- NPs bear DU inflections when NUM_{DU}/$PRON_{DU}$ are used

(1)　　**du**　　　　　　　*falʃchiw-**u***　　　　*ludinyk-**u***
　　　　two:NOM.DU.M　　false-NOM.DU.M　　witness-NOM.DU
　　　　'two false witnesses' VEE 196,15

(2)　　**ab-u**　　　　　　*żę́kł-**u***
　　　　both-ACC.DU.M　　sign-ACC.DU
　　　　'both signs' DP 54,23

2.3. Case

Old cases

Nominative

Genitive

Dative

Accusative

Instrumental

Locative (PL *-su*)

Vocative

New cases

Inessive

Illative

Adessive

Allative

2.3. Case

■ New locative cases < NP + postposition

Inessive	(old) LOC	+ *en	*mišk-e*	'in the forest'
Illative	ACC	+ *nā	*mišk-an(a)*	'into the forest'
Allative	GEN	+ *pi	*mišk-op(i)*	'towards the forest'
Adessive	(old) LOC	+ *pi	*mišk-iep(i)*	'by the forest'

2.3. Case

- Two historical layers of postpositions in adessive plural:

inessive pl.   *miškuos-**en** + pi

                           ↓

adessive pl.   miškuosem-**pi**

2.4. Definiteness

- Definiteness marker < relative pronoun *(H)i̯o-

Locus: **adjectival** words
Position: word-final
Agreement: case, number, gender

(1) *pirmop-iop*   *jʃtatimop*
    first:ALL.SG.M-**DEF**.ALL.SG.M   institution:ALL.SG
    'towards the first institution' MT 230,11

3.4. Definiteness

- Rare cases of non-final position (< clitic)

- Typically PFX-**DEF**-ROOT (participles)

(2) *O* [...]   *pra-**iiʃ**-půłęs*   *żmógau*
    Oh   PFX-**DEF**.VOC.SG.M-fall:PTCP.PST.ACT.VOC.SG.M   person:VOC.SG
    'Oh [...] the lost person' DP 169,21

2.4. Definiteness

- Noun$_{LOC}$ + *(*H*)i̯o-*

(3) *Téwe*   *múſų*   *dąguié-***iis***
    father:VOC.SG POSS.1PL   heaven:LOC.SG-**DEF**.VOC.SG
    'Our heavenly father' DP 287,31

3. Adpositions

- Prepositions are predominant

- Some postpositions

- Historical postpositions (*en, *nā, *pi) > new locatives (-e, -pi, -na), see 2.3

3. Adpositions

- *drin* 'for, because of' (Mod. Lithuanian –)

Prep (mostly)   (1) *drįn*   *io*

                                          because   3.SG.GEN.M

                                          'because of him' DP 208,50

Postp (sometimes)   (2) *io*   *drįn*

                                          3.SG.GEN.M   because

                                          'because of him' DP 62,50

3. Adpositions

- ***dėl*** 'for, because of' (= Mod. Lithuanian preposition *dėl*)

Prep (mostly)   (3) ***del'***   *ko*   *kíto*
                             for   something:GEN   other:GEN.SG.M
                             'for something else' DP 246,40

Postp (sometimes)   (4) *niéko*   *kíto*   ***del'***
                             nothing:GEN   other:GEN.SG.M   for
                             'for nothing else' DP 353,35

3. Adpositions

- Univerbation of adverbs < PRON + postposition

(5) *ko-**drin**, ko-**dėl***   what:GEN.SG-for   'why'

(6) *to-**drin**, to-**dėl***   DEM.GEN.SG.M-for   'therefore'

4. Summary

- GenN/NGen, but GenN was originally neutral
- Embedding multiple Gens: possible

- Gender correlates with stems
- Dual supported by '2', 'both', etc.
- 4-member system of locatives < NP + postposition
- DEF marker < relative pronoun *(H)i̯o-

- Prepositions are predominant, some postpositions

iż wíſsós ßirdiés dékawoiame taẃ!
(DP 183,50)
We cordially thank you!