

JOLANTA GELUMBECKAITĖ

Old Lithuanian

Phonology – Part 2: Suprasegmentals, prosodic words

Roadmap

- Suprasegmentals: Accent
- Prosodic words: Clitics

Contemporary tendencies

- Philipp Ruhig (1675—1749) deploras false pronunciation and accentuation of Lithuanian in *Littauisch-deutsches und deutsch-littauisches Lexicon* (RgL 1747):
 - someone wanted to announce **Turgus** (market:NOM.SG.M) in Stallupöhnen, but said **Turkus** (Turk:NOM.SG.M)
 - a woman who gave birth to **Szunnély** (little dog:ACC.SG.M) instead of **Sunély** (little son:ACC.SG.M)
 - in his prayer for all potentates, a pastor told that they should **susigadýtu** (adulterate:SUP) instead of **susigáditu** (consolidate:SUP)

History of Lithuanian accentology

- Daniel Klein described Lithuanian accentuation in the first Lithuanian grammar (*KIG* 1653)
- Friedrich Kurschat (1806—1884) is considered the founder of the scientific accentology of Lithuanian (*Beiträge zur Kunde der littaaischen Sprache 2. Laut- und Tonlehre*, Berlin, 1849; *Grammatik der Littaaischen Sprache*, Halle, 1876)

Accent

- The Lithuanian accent is free and mobile. Any syllable can be stressed
- Short stressed syllables are marked with grave accent:

l̃ikime

stay:IMP.1PL

‘let us stay’

lik̃ime

faith:VOC.SG

‘oh, faith’

likimè

faith:LOC.SG

‘in faith’

Pitch accent

- The accent is realized as pitch in Lithuanian
- The pitch accent is often called syllable intonation or syllable accent
- In Lithuanian, the pitch accent is combined with tonal oppositions

Pitch accent

- Tonal oppositions rest on underlying moraic structure:
 - every long vowel or diphthong may be defined as a bimoric sequence:
 - basis for an opposition of pitch accent: $\acute{V}V : V\check{V}$
 - tautosyllabic sequences *i, u, e, a, + l, r, m, n* are diphthongs as well:
 - basis for an opposition of pitch accent: $\acute{V}R : V\check{R}$

Pitch accent

- if the first component is emphasized — initial intonation, = acute accent, = falling accent, = falling tone, = /'/
 - **výras** man:NOM.SG.M, **kélm̃as** stump:NOM.SG.M, **káimas** village:NOM.SG.F, **ižgétbeio** save:3PST (DK 1595 13,15), **ámžinos** eternal:GEN.SG.F (DK 13,19)
- if the second component is emphasized — final intonation, = circumflex accent, = rising accent, = rising tone, = /~/
 - **tỹliai** quietly, **eĩnias** deer:NOM.SG.M, **kaĩp̃** how, **tâmpa** become:3PRS (DK 10,18), **êlgeta** beggar:ACC.SG (DK 159,18–19)

Pitch accent

- The position of the accent depends on the accentual and tonal properties of syllables
- Only two types of pitch accent can contrast in Lithuanian: acute or circumflex

áukštas

high:NOM.SG.M

aũkštas

floor:NOM.SG

várna

crow:ACC.SG

vařna

rave:ACC.SG

Saussure's law

- In the early stage of Lithuanian, also unstressed long syllables must have possessed tones: acute or circumflex
- Certain morphemes can attract the stress from a neighboring short or circumflex morpheme (= syllable)
- An attraction of the stress from a neighboring short or circumflex morpheme to a following acute syllable is called **Saussure's (and Fortunatov's) law**:

**rañkã* ⇒ **rankã* 'hand,arm:NOM./INS.SG'

**laĩkýti* ⇒ *laikýti* 'keep:INF'

cf. *laĩko* (3PRS)

Leskien's law

- Shortening of word-final acute vowels and two secondary acute diphthongs /*ie*/ and /*uo*/ is called **Leskien's law**:

**rankā* ⇒ **rankà* 'hand,arm:NOM./INS.SG'

Leskien's law

- Only knowing Leskien's law of the shortening of acute endings we can understand the alternations in the following Lithuanian morphological forms:

gerà 'good:NOM./INS.SG.F' : *geróji* DEF

geràs ACC.SG.F : *gerásias* DEF

gerì NOM.PL.M : *gerieji* DEF

gerùs ACC.PL.M : *gerúosius* DEF

kerpù 'cut:1SG.PRS' : *kerpúosi* REFL

Accentual patterns

- These two laws determined the development of 4 accentual patterns (paradigms) in nominal stems of Lithuanian. They are the result of the combination of two parameters — stem stress and stem accent (intonation)

Accentual patterns

AP 1 — stem accent+acute accent: *várna* ‘crow:NOM.SG’, *várnos* (GEN.SG), *várna* (INS.SG), *várnoms* (DAT.PL), *várnas* (ACC.PL)

AP 2 – stem accent +short or circumflex accent: *rankà* ‘arm,hand:NOM.SG’, *rañkos* (GEN.SG), *rankà* (INS.SG), *rañkoms* (DAT.PL), *rankàs* (ACC.PL)

AP3 – end accent +acute accent: *galvà* ‘head:NOM.SG’, *galvõs* (GEN.SG), *gálva* (INS.SG), *galvóms* (DAT.PL), *gálvas* (ACC.PL)

AP4 – end accent +short or circumflex accent: *žiemà* ‘winter:NOM.SG’, *žiemõs* (GEN.SG), *žiemà* (INS.SG), *žiemóms* (DAT.PL), *žiemàs* (ACC.PL)

Sources for accents

- The texts of Mikalojus Daukša (*DK* 1595, *DP* 1599), the catechism *AK* 1605, and the poem *Metai* by Kristijonas Donelaitis are provided with accent marks, which help to track the accentual patterns in Old Lithuanian.

- Apparently marking of the primary and the secondary accent:

Dwâjiós ‘spirit:GEN.SG’ = *dvāsios* (*DP* 1599 53,29)

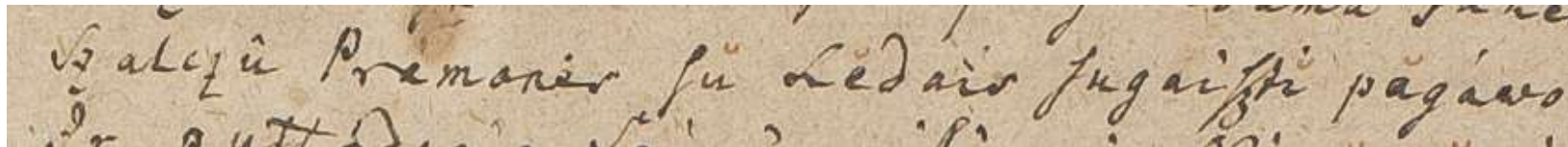
kûnú ‘body:INS.SG’ = *kūnu* (*DP* 1599 47,43)

ámžiuý ‘age:GEN.PL’ = *ámžiu* (*DP* 1599 127,18)

Pónû ‘master:GEN.PL’ = *põny* (*DM PL* 4v,11[135])

Donelaitis' Hexameter

- Donelaitis' hexameter is based on both, the classical meter and the Lithuanian tones. It is called metrotonic hexameter:



DM PL 1765/1775 3r,3 (3)

Szalczû	Prámonės	fũ	Lėdais	fugaižtĩ	págáwo
Szal- c3û	Prá- mo- nės	fũ	Lě- dais	fu- gaiž- tĩ	pă- gá- wo
— —	— —	— ∪ ∪	— —	— ∪ ∪	— —

'The figures of frost began to shrink with the ice'

Wackernagel clitics

- There are three different positions of the atonic elements (clitics) in relation to accented words in Old Lithuanian:
 - anteposition (proclitics),
 - postposition (enclitics),
 - interposition (endoclitics, word-internal, so-called Tmesis) — a clitic is placed between the preverb and the verbal root
- Following Wackernagel's law the atonic elements choose either (W1) the second position after their host, regardless of where it stands, or (W2) the second position after the stressed word, regardless of whether it stands at the beginning of the sentence.

Wackernagel clitics

- Old Lithuanian represents the model W2, but also has relics of the model W1 (constant second position of the particles *-gi* and *-gu*)

AK 1605 6,11—12

Pa=mi=fáka-y eff-i=gu tu krikfczónis?
PVB=1SG.CLT=tell.PRS-2SG be.PRS-2SG=CLT you:2SG Christian:NOM.SG
'tell me, are you a Christian?'

- The clitic first person pronoun *mi* is positioned after the preverb. The first and second person clitics fell out of use. Lithuanian retained the reflexive clitic, which became a middle voice marker.