

JURGIS PAKERYS

# Old Lithuanian

Morphosyntactic structures – Part 3: Voice and valency change



# Roadmap

- 1. Paradigmatic oppositions
- 2. Causative
- 3. Middle
- 4. Passive
- 5. Summary

# 1. Paradigmatic oppositions

	ROOT	PRS	PST
Transitive	<i>e</i>	<i>-j<sup>h</sup>a-</i>	<i>-ė-</i>
Intransitive	<i>i/u</i>	<i>-st-, -n-</i>	<i>-o-</i>

# 1. Paradigmatic oppositions

- TR *versti* ‘turn, bring down’ – ITR *virsti* ‘fall’

(1) *Obracam co / Verto, verfo* [...] ***werčiu***  
turn:PRS.1SG  
‘I turn’ SD1677 159 I,8

(2) *Walący się, Ruinofus.* ***wirftus***, [...]  
fall:PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M  
‘falling, tumbling down’ SD1677 333 I,1

## 2. Causative

- Morphological causatives in *-(d)in-ti*
- *pabus-ti* ‘wake up (itr.)’ → *pabud-in-ti* ‘wake up (tr.)’

(1) *pafiuntinei* [...] /            ***pa-bud-in-a***                            *ghy*  
emissary:NOM.PL            PFX-wake.up-CAUS-PST.3    3.ACC.SG.M  
‘the emissaries [i.e. the disciples] woke him up’ VEE 29,18 Matthew 8:25

## 2. Causative

- Causatives of transitive bases
- *nuplak-ti* 'scourge' → *nuplak-din-ti* 'have scourged'

(2) *Pilotas* [...]      *nu-plag-din-a*      *ghy*  
Pilate:NOM      PFX-scourge-CAUS-PST.3      3.ACC.SG.M  
'Pilate had him scourged' VEE 203,23

### 3. Middle

- New middle < clitic PRON.RFL *si*, rarely *se*, glossed as RFL
- Position of *si/se*: end of the verb form/after the prefix
- In rare cases *si* attaches to non-verbal hosts (= clitic)

(1) *wife=fi*                      *tur*                      *ifchpaßinti*  
all:NOM.PL.M=RFL      have:PRS.3      recognize:INF  
'everyone has to recognize for themselves' MTP 2,5-6

### 3. Middle

- **Grooming:** *ap-si-vilkti* ‘dress oneself’

(2) *ap-fi-wilkai*                      *βmogifte*  
PFX-RFL-dress:PST.2SG      humanity:INS.SG  
‘you dressed yourself in humanity’ Mž 171,13

- **Benefactive:** *pirkti-s* ‘buy for oneself’

(3) *pirkite-s*                      *paczos*                      (→ *pirkite-s*                      *ƶaw*                      *paczos*)  
buy:IMP.2PL-RFL      yourself:NOM.PL.F                      PRN.RFL.DAT  
(lit.) ‘buy yourself for yourself’ BB Matthew 25:9



## 3. Middle

- **Anticausative:** *kelti-s* ‘rise’

(4) *ifch nomirufuiu* *kielie-fe*  
from die:PTCP.PST.ACT.GEN.PL.M.DEF raise:PST.3-RFL  
‘has risen from the dead’ Mž 21,15-16

- **Agentless passive:** *giedoti-s* ‘be sung’

(5) *kaipa giefti-fy Tiewe mufu dąnguięfis*  
as sing:PRS.3-RFL father:VOC.SG POSS.1PL heavenly  
‘as [the hymn] *Our heavenly father* is sung’ Mž 54,2-3

## 4. Passive

- 'be' + *t*-participles (past/perfective)
- 'be' + *m*-participles (present/imperfective)
  
- PSS with *t*- and *m*-PTCPs is grammaticalized in part of the dialects
- PSS with *m*-PTCP is younger

## 4. Passive

- (1) *prâßqnczem'*                      *êft*                      *dûdama*  
ask:PTCP.PRS.ACT.DAT.SG.M   be:PRS.3   give:PTCP.PRS.PSS.N  
'it is given to the one who is asking' DP 389,30
- (2) *túrinczem*                              *bus*                              *dûta*  
have:PTCP.PRS.ACT.DAT.SG.M   be:FUT.3   give:PTCP.PST.PSS.N  
'it will be given to the one who has' DP 390,25 (cf. Matthew 25:29)

## 4. Passive

- *stotis, tapti* ‘become’ as AUX

(3) *ghifai*                      *ftoiafi*                      *apchrikschtitas*  
3.SG.NOM.M              become:PRS.3    baptize:PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M  
‘he is being baptized’ Mž 108,1

(4) *Schitaipo*              *padaritas* [...]                      *tapa*                      *Dangus* [...]  
so                      make:PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M    become:PST.3    heaven:NOM.SG  
‘This way the heavens [...] were made’ BB Genesis 2:1

## 4. Passive

- Agent phrases: GEN (original)

(5) *bufit*                      *mufchti*                                      *iu fu*                      ***Neprieteliu***  
be:FUT.2PL      beat:PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.PL.M POSS.2PL      enemy:GEN.PL  
'you will be beaten by [should be: *before*] your enemies' BB Leviticus 26:17

## 4. Passive

Agent phrases: PAT-borrowing

- Latin *ab*, German *von*, Polish *od* > Old Lithuanian ***nuo***
- German *durch*, Polish *przez* > Old Lithuanian ***per***

## 4. Passive

(6) *jra* [...]    *nũ=g*            *Diewa*            *ifchlaikomi*  
be:PRS.3    from=PTCL    God:GEN.SG    keep:PTCP.PRS.PSS.NOM.PL.M  
'are kept by the God' MT 93v,13-14

(7) *per*            *apafchtalus* [...]    *fugulditu*  
through    apostle:ACC.PL    compose:PTCP.PST.PSS.GEN.PL.M  
'composed by the apostles' Mž 20,17-19

## 5. Summary

- Paradigmatic oppositions
- Morphological causatives
- Middle (< reflexive)
- Periphrastic passive

Agent: original GEN, PAT-borrowed PPs *nuo*, *per*



Danklied **dekawones giefme**  
(Lex 22a,5)  
(You deserve) a thank you hymn!