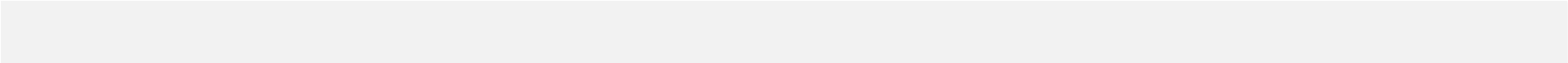


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Old Lithuanian

Morphosyntactic structures – Part 4: Tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality



Roadmap

- 1. Tense & aspect
- 2. Mood
- 3. Evidentiality
- 4. Summary

1. Tense & aspect

- 3-member system of synthetic forms: PST-PRS-FUT
- PST: no perfective/imperfective distinction
- Synthetic HAB.PST
- Periphrastic perfect

1. Tense & aspect

- Past habitual marking: SUFF + PST -o-

	Old Lith	Mod. Lith
<i>-dav-(o)</i>	+	+
<i>-lav-(o)</i>	+	-
<i>-dlav-(o)</i>	+	-

1. Tense & aspect

PST.HAB *-lav-*

(1) <i>ture-law-a</i>	<i>Storafta</i>	<i>pagal</i>	
have-HAB-PST.3	governor:NOM.SG	according.to	
<i>paiunkima /</i>	<i>wiena</i>	<i>kalini [...]</i>	<i>ifchl[e]ifti</i>
tradition:GEN.SG	one:ACC.SG.M	prisoner:ACC.SG	release:INF

‘the governor used to release one prisoner according to the tradition’
VEE 202,14-16

1. Tense & aspect

- PST.HAB *-dlav-*

(2) *Iefus* *daßnai* *fuffiei-dlaw-a* *fu*
Jesus:NOM frequently come.together-HAB-PST.3 with
pafiuntineis *řawa*
emissary:INS.PL POSS.RFL

lit. 'Jesus frequently used to come together with [=meet] his emissaries [i.e. disciples]' VEE 189,7-8

1. Tense & aspect

- Progressive ‘be’ + PTCP.PRS.ACT

(1) *buwa* *mokinnąs* *lfkaloie*
be:PST.3 teach:PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M school:LOC.SG
‘[Jesus] was teaching at the school [i.e. synagogue]’ BB Luke 13:10

1. Tense & aspect

- Progressive 'be' + **be**-PTCP.PRS.ACT

(2) *Kriftus* *buwa* *be-gidas*
Christ:NOM.SG be:PST.3 PROG-heal:PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M
daug *ne-galincziu* *βmoniu*
many NEG-be.able:PTCP.PRS.ACT.GEN.PL.F person:GEN.PL
'Christ was healing many ailing people' BP I 34,12-13

1. Tense & aspect

- Perfect: 'be' + PST.ACT.PTCP

(1) *kuri* *ghifsai* [...] *padarens* *eft*
which:ACC.SG 3.SG.NOM.SG do:PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M be:PRS.3
'which he has made' BB 2 Chronicles 6:11

2. Mood

2.1. Irrealis

2.2. Imperative

2.3. Interrogative particles

2.1. Irrealis

- Supine **-tun* + *-bi-* + personal endings

Root *ei-* ‘go’, irrealis ‘would go’

	SG	PL
1	<i>ei-čia</i> (/ <i>-tum-bi-au</i>)	<i>ei-tum-bi-me</i>
2	<i>ei-tum-b-ei</i>	<i>ei-tum-bi-te</i>
3	<i>ei-ty</i>	

2.1. Irrealis

- Another very rare irrealis construction (Stang 1966: 430)
- ***bi* + PTCP.PRS/PST.ACT**

(1) *Jei=b* *mums* *bernelis* *ne-gimes* /
if=PTCL 1PL.DAT child:NOM.SG NEG-be.born:PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M
Butu *wisas* *Swiets* *prapules*
be:IRR.3 all:NOM.SG.M world:NOM.SG be.lost:PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M
'If the child had not been born to us, all the world would have been lost' Mž 192

2.2. Imperative

- 2nd person: “k-less” (old) vs. suffixed with *-k(i)*/*-k(e)* (new)

“k-less”

with *-k-*

duod-(i)

duo-k(i)

‘give’

sak-ai

saky-k(i)

‘say’

2.2. Imperative

- 3rd person IMP
- **te(-)** + historical OPT (>IMP) (1), PRS (2), new IMP.2SG (3):

(1) **te dūdie** (IMP give:IMP.3)
'let him give' MT XLVI,7

(2) **Te ne-iβéit'** (IMP NEG-go.out:PRS.3)
'May it not leave' DP 400,29

(3) **te(-)buk** (IMP(-)be:IMP.2SG)
'May [your will] be' PK 114,9

2.2. Imperative

- 3rd person periphrastic markers *tegu(l)*, *testa*, *testo(v)*
- IMP.3 markers < ‘let (it) be(come)’ < ‘let (it) lie/stand (up)’
- Stage of *tegul* as ‘let (it) be’ < ‘let (it) lie’

(1) *Tegúl* *wârdas* *W.* *wiffadós*
be:IMP.3 name:NOM.SG [lord:GEN.SG] always

pagirtas

praise:PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M

‘Let the Lord’s name be always praised’ DP 336,23-24

2.3. Interrogative PTCLs

- Interrogative PTCLs ***bau*** (rarely *biau*), ***gu***

(1) ***Bau*** *effi* *tu* *Prarakas?*
Q be:PRS.2SG 2SG.NOM prophet:NOM.SG
'Are you a prophet?' VEE 7,9 John 1:21

(2) *Prânaßas* *ẽfsié=**gu*** *tu?*
prophet:NOM.SG be:PRS.2SG=Q 2SG.NOM
'Are you a prophet?' DP 21,23-24 John 1:21

3. Evidentiality

- Potentially evidential: **PTCP.ACT, no copula**
- Markers ***tieg*** (cf. *teig-ti* ‘claim’), ***būk*** (< IMP.2SG ‘be’)

(1) ***Atjuntis*** ***tieg*** *Diewas*
sent:PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M PTCL God:NOM.SG

funu *sawo*
son:ACC.SG POSS.RFL

‘[According to the apostle,] God reportedly sent his son [...]’
SP I 182,24 (cf. Romans 8:3)

3. Evidentiality

(2) [...] *iog* ***buk*** *dũana* *ingi* *kuna*
that PTCL bread:NOM.SG into body:ACC.SG

Chriftaus [...] ***perfimainanti***
Christ:GEN change:PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.F

‘[they maintain] that the bread supposedly turns into Christ’s body’

MTP 30v,11-13

4. Summary

- Tense & aspect
 - 3-member basic system
 - Past habitual
 - Progressive
 - Perfect
- Mood
 - Irrealis (main & marginal constructions)
 - IMP.2 (old & new)
 - Variety of constructions of IMP.3
 - Interrogative PTCLs
- Evidentiality (potential constructions, PTCLs)

Dziękuję, Gratiam habeo (es), reddo (is. ere), ago.

Dekawoiu

(SD1677 40 II,6)

Thank you!