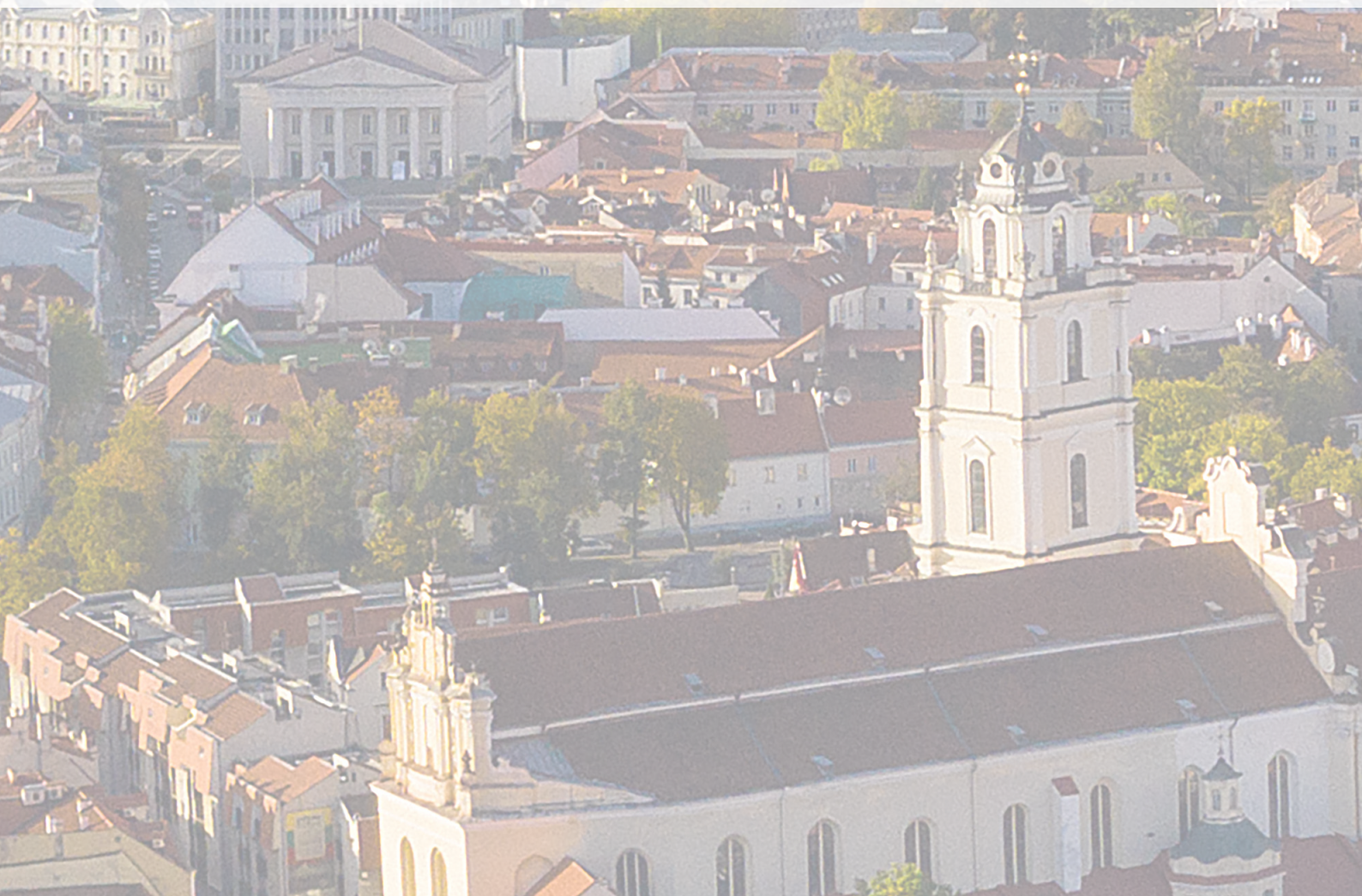


**Istorinēs morfologijos ir sintaksės sankirtoje:
baltų kalbų veiksmazodis diachroniniu aspektu**

**Vēsturiskās morfoloģijas un sintakses krustcelēs:
baltu valodu darbības vārds diahroniskā perspektīvā**

**At the intersection of historical morphology and syntax:
The Baltic verb from a diachronic perspective**



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Affixation of reflexive markers in Chyliński's Bible *accusativus cum participio* constructions

This presentation analyzes the development of reflexive markers in *accusativus cum participio* (ACP) constructions in Early Lithuanian, based mainly on the 17th century Bible by Chyliński. ACP constructions, similar to Latin *accusativus cum infinitivo*, feature an accusative argument that syntactically belongs to the main verb but semantically acts as the subject of the embedded predication. A key observation is the frequent use of reflexive pronouns (*sawe*) in positions where they become redundant, showing the instability of the reflexive system. Over time, reflexive markers were affixed as bound morphemes (*-si-*), losing their purely referential function. In modern Lithuanian, they often indicate subjective stance rather than coreference. For example, verbs like *sakosi* ('claims') no longer take an overt accusative argument and agree with the matrix subject instead. The analysis also shows that reflexive marking gradually extended to clauses with personal complements, marking a shift in syntactic structure. This reanalysis led to participles agreeing with the main clause subject rather than the embedded argument, reflecting broader grammaticalization. Comparative data from Old Latvian and contemporary Lithuanian demonstrate that by the 17th century, affixation of reflexive elements was advanced. The decline of canonical reflexive verbs and the rise of reflexive affixes transformed argument structure. This study illustrates how morphology and syntax interacted dynamically, leading finally to affixation of reflexive marker.

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Tracing the grammaticalization of perfect: the aoristic drift in Old Latvian

There have been corpus- and questionnaire-based studies of the Baltic perfect (Kapkan 2024, Daugavet 2025, Daugavet & Arkadiev 2022, Arkadiev & Daugavet 2021, Wiemer 2012, Nau 2005) that establish its main functions while also taking into account typological research on perfect (such as Dahl 2022, Eide & Fryd 2021, Crellin & Jügel 2020, Drinka 2017, Dahl 2014 etc.). To a varying extent, the existing studies of the Baltic perfect, especially Kapkan (2024) and Daugavet (2025) rely on the distribution of its different functions in modern texts to formulate hypotheses about the course of its grammaticalization. It seems, however, logical to check the use of perfect in the modern Baltic corpora against the evidence of Old Lithuanian and Latvian. While the presence of the perfect construction in earlier texts is confirmed by Ambrazas (1990, 183–189; 2006, 171–173), this paper makes use of new technologies, as well as recent findings on the functions of perfect, presenting an investigation into the use perfect in Old Latvian texts.

Mostly represented by Bible translations, Old Latvian and Old Lithuanian are not different from numerous other languages with a restricted access to writing. As shown by Dahl (2014), this fact can be turned into an advantage by using the New Testament as a parallel corpus, with specific verses treated as symptomatic contexts where the perfect construction is considered more or less likely to appear (2)–(4). Treating individual Bible translations as doculects rather than accurate representations of respective languages (Dahl & Wälchli 2016, 330) also helps to avoid the issue of foreign influence, which is another feature shared by Bible translations under similar circumstances. The paper offers a comparison between the Latvian New Testament by Ernst Glück (1685), as presented in the SENIE corpus, and the latest edition of the New Testament in modern Latvian (JPLB). (The English translation is taken from the King James Bible in modern orthography.)

Preliminary findings show that resultative (1), experiential (2), and current relevance (3) uses are already present in Glück's Bible; also, the perfect is not allowed in narratives (4), maintaining the main functional distinction between the present perfect and the simple past (Dahl 1985, 138).

- (1) *Juhfu* *Baggatiba* *irr* *fapūūfi* <...>
 2.GEN.PL wealth.NOM.SG be.PRS.3 PVB.ROT.PPA.NOM.SG.F
 'Your riches are corrupted' (James 5:2)
- (2) <...> *un* *ja* *es* *jeb* *kahdu* *peewihlis* /
 and if 1.SG.NOM PTC one.ACC.SG fail.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 <to *es tfchetrkahrtigi atdohmu*.>
 '<...> and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation,' (Luke 19:8)
- (3) <...> *Tawa* *Tizziba* *tew* *palihdfeifi*.
 your.NOM.SG.F faith.NOM.SG 2.SG.DAT help.PPA.NOM.SG.F
 '<...> thy faith hath made thee whole' (Matt 9:22)

- (4) *Winſch atbildeja un fazzija: Weens Zilweks / kas JEfus faukts tohp /*
darrija Dublus / un fwaidija man tahs Azzis
 make.PST.3 mud.ACC.PL and anoint.PST.3 1.SG.DAT DEM.ACC.PL.F eye.ACC.PL
 'He answered and said, A man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes' (John 9:11)

While (1)–(4) retain the same grammatical forms in JPLB, certain contexts reveal the simple past (5b) in the modern edition, replacing Glück's present perfect (5a).

- (5) a. *Un winſch atgreesdamees pee tahs Seewas / fazzija us Sihmani:*
Woj redfi tu fcho Seewu? Es efmu nahzis tawâ Nammâ
/ tu ne effi mann Uhdni dewis preekfch mannaht Kahjahm /
bet fchi ar fawahm Affarahm irr mannas Kahjas flappinajufi
/ un ar faweem Galwas=Matteem noſchahwejufi.

- b. *Un, pagriezi pret sievieti, viņš Sīmanim teica:*
"Vai redzi šo sievieti? Es ienācu tavā namā,
tu man kāju mazgāšanai ūdeni nedevi,
bet viņa manas kājas ar asarām slacīja
un ar matiem tās susināja."

'And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon,
 Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house,
 thou gavest me no water for my feet:
 but she hath washed my feet with tears,
 and wiped them with the hairs of her head.' (Luke 7:44)

The paper treats such examples as reflecting early stages of aoristic drift in Old Latvian through which the present perfect gradually ousts the simple past. Following Schaden (2012), the process starts with the devaluation of the current relevance function applied to an increasing set of contexts. In case of Old Latvian, the change must have been influenced by German where it was already underway (Seiler & Weber 2022), as in other European languages (de Swart et al. 2022). Nevertheless, the absence of aoristic drift in modern Latvian demonstrates that the new pattern of use associated with the Bible did not pass into spoken Latvian, in a counterargument to Drinka's (2017) claim about the spread of perfect in Europe.

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SENIE = Latviešu valodas seno tekstu korpus. <https://senie.korpuss.lv/> https://nosketch.korpuss.lv/#dashboard?corpname=senie_unicode

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The type of Lithuanian *tekėti, teka* in an Indo-European perspective

A derivational verbal category characterized by the suffix $*\bar{e}- < *eh_1-$ and conventionally going by the name of “ $\bar{e}$ -verbs” counts among the most debated topics in comparative Indo-European linguistics. The near absence of word equations across multiple branches—an exception being the equation in (1)—, the ambiguous evidence offered by certain branches (most notably Germanic, Armenian, and Tocharian), and conflicting functional and derivational properties of the non-ambiguous evidence hinder any attempt at an investigation as to its origin. All of this has left the field divided into two competing schools of thought on the issue: one postulates an ablauting, fientive suffix $*(e)h_1-$ belonging to the aorist stem (cf. e.g. Harðarson 1998), while the other assumes a stative, non-ablauting suffix $*eh_1-$ proper to the present stem (cf. e.g. Jasanoff 1978).

- (1) Lat. *rubēre*, OIr. *-ruidi*, OHG *rotēn*, CS *rěděti* ‘be red’ < PIE $*h_1rud^h-eh_1-$.

The contribution of Baltic and Slavic to this problem lies in the fact that this branch clearly morphologically distinguishes deverbatives and denominatives in their two main types of $\bar{e}$ -verbs, as illustrated in (2a) and (2b) respectively. Most accounts end here, yet the Baltic data in particular are much richer, including a wide variety of subtypes with varying present stem formations. Most prominent among these is a subtype with a thematic present (cf. Jakulis 2004, who uses the label ‘*tekėti, teka*-type’), some of which have cognates in Slavic with a corresponding morphological profile (first noted by Kolln 1961, 1977), as exemplified in (2c).

- (2a) Lith. INF *minėti*, 3 PRS *mini*, OCS *mьněti*, 1SG PRS *мѣню* ‘think’.
 (2b) Lith. *senėti, senėja*; OCS *starěti, starějō* ‘grow older’.
 (2c) Latv. *kvitēt*, 1SG *kvitu* ‘shine’; ORu. *cvětěti, cvětu*, OCz. *ktvieti, ktvu* ‘bloom’

On previous occasions I have argued that in addition to the well-established types of (2a) and (2b), a third type, in the shape of (2c), also lays claim to Proto-Balto-Slavic provenance (as also acknowledged by, e.g., Villanueva Svensson 2016: 470–3 and Majer 2017: 270–1). The argument was based mostly on the comparative evidence within Balto-Slavic and on internal reconstruction. The present paper will rather feature *external* evidence, in the form of Indo-European thematic verbs, and will make use of forward reconstruction. In other words, not the output, but the input of this verbal category is used as the starting point. By collecting possible input forms, analyzing their averbic properties, and comparing this with the Balto-Slavic internal evidence, this study aims to reinforce the postulation of a third type of $\bar{e}$ -verbs in Proto-Balto-Slavic and to shed more light on its origin.

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DALIA KISELIŪNAITĖ

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ypatumai Kuršių nerijos kuršininkų kalboje**

Pranešime siekiama apžvelgti būdingiausias kondicionalio ir su juo susijusias modalumo raiškos tendencijas kuršininkų kalboje. Adalberto Bezenbergerio ir Jurio Plakio tyrinėjimuose Kuršių nerijos kuršininkų kalbos veiksmažodžių nuosakų formos aprašytos tik formų darybos ir jų įvairovės požiūriu. Nustatyta lietuvių kalbos įtaka asmenuojamoms kondicionalio formoms: formantai *-čau*, *-tūmit* jų laikomi lietuviškais, tačiau beveik nieko nekalbama apie kuršininkų kalbos kondicionalio formų funkcijas, vartosenos ypatumus. Taip yra, greičiausiai, dėl to, kad šie autoriai neturėjo pakankamai medžiagos – teksto fragmentų ar bent sakinių. Konstatavus kuršininkų kalboje lietuvių kalbos darybos modelio įtaką, vertėtų pažvelgti atidžiau, ar lietuvių kalba yra padariusi poveikį ir šios nuosakos formų vartosenai. Turint omenyje istoriškai susiformavusią stiprią kaimyninių lietuvių tarmių įtaką per mišrias santuokas ir tiesioginius socialinius kontaktus, raštų kalbos įtaką per bažnyčią ir mokyklą, galima kelti prielaidą, kad kuršininkų kalboje turėtų būti pastebimos ne tik lietuviškos kondicionalio formos, bet ir jo funkcijos. Be to, atsižvelgiant į XIX a. antroje pusėje sustiprėjusią germanizaciją (vokiečių kalbos kaip dėstomosios ir oficialiosios įsigalėjimą), tikėtina, kad funkcijoms, kurias baltų kalbose įprastai atlieka kondicionalis (pvz., optatyvo), gali būti taikomas vokiškas modelis ir pasirenkamos kitos formos. Diskusijai keliame teiginiai iliustruojami kelių laikotarpių rašytiniais šaltiniais ir paskutiniųjų XX a. dešimtmečių garso įrašų tekstų medžiaga.

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Dėl lietuvių kalbos intarpinių ir *sta* kamieno veiksmažodžių kilmės ir darybos (*CaC*- tipas)

Pranešime pristatomas vieno pogrupio – trumpojo vokalizmo lietuvių kalbos intarpinių ir *sta* kamieno veiksmažodžių su šaknies *a* – kilmės ir darybos klausimai. Išsamus *CaC*- tipo intarpinių ir *sta* kamieno veiksmažodžių inventorių, suregistruotas iš įvairių šaltinių – senųjų raštų, tarmių, dabartinės kalbos, ir veiksmažodžių formaliosios struktūros, darybos ir semantikos tyrimas teikia galimybių atskleisti šios fleksinės klasės atsiradimo būdus. Tyrimo duomenimis, 80 proc. *CaC*- tipo intarpinių ir *sta* kamieno veiksmažodžių yra motyvuotieji žodžiai, t. y. veiksmažodžiai, kurie remiasi kitais lietuvių kalbos leksiniais vienetais arba turi onomatopėjinę formaliąją struktūrą. Nemotyvuotoji leksika, t. y. veiksmažodžiai, kurių sinchroniškai negalime susieti su kitais lietuvių kalbos vienetais, sudaro tik penktadalį *CaC*- tipo veiksmažodžių (19 proc.). Pranešime daugiausia dėmesio skiriama motyvuotajai leksikai – darybos kategorijoms ir jų formaliajai raiškai bei chronologijai.

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Actional classes in the early Prussian Old Lithuanian texts

This presentation discusses the findings of my dissertation “Deverbal verb derivation in Old Lithuanian texts from 16th-century Prussia”, specifically, the semantic verbal derivational categories (*Aktionsarten*) as can be attested in the Old Lithuanian texts from Prussia up to the year 1600. These categories, that I call actional classes, were systematically searched for in the texts by comparing verbs from the same root with differing prefixes, suffixes and/or ablaut on the part of morphology, and consistent change in meaning on the part of semantics.

The existence of this kind of verbal derivation in (Old) Lithuanian has long been known, and discussions can be found in Stang 1942 (e.g. 105, 154), Skardžius 1941 (e.g. 528, 550), Otrębski 1965 (e.g. 351, 385), Senn (1966: 445–449) and Jakaitienė (1972: 53).

The core material for the study here presented were the two books of Baltramiejus Vilentas, *Gospels and Epistles* (*Euangelias bei Epiftolas*) and the *Catechism* (*Catechizmas mažas, or Enchiridion*), with more material drawn from the other texts from the same century, the chronologically last being *Margarita Theologica* of Simonas Vaišnoras from the year 1600. The material on which the conclusions are based consist in total of 3,810 tokens and 821 types, i.e. verb lemmas.

In the present discussion, the five semantic derivational categories, also known as the process-related actional classes found in the study are shortly discussed. They are the **ingressives** (*prabusti, prabunda* ‘to wake up’ ← *budėti, budi* ‘to be awake’), **momentaneous** (*pažvilgtarėti, *pažvilgtari/*pažvilgtarėja* ‘to glance’ ← *pažvelgti, pažvelgia* ‘to look at, to cast a glance’), **delimitatives** (*palūkėti, *palūki/*palūkėja* ‘to wait for a time’ ← *laukti, laukia* ‘to wait’), **resultatives** (*sulaukti, sulaukia* ‘to wait until, to get (by waiting)’ ← *laukti, laukia* ‘to wait for’) and **iteratives** (*nešioti, nešioja* ‘to carry (habitually)’ ← *nešti, neša* ‘to carry’).

An important fact discovered in the semantic changes occurring in the derivation of *delimitatives* and *resultatives* is that there are two kinds of aspect-like lexical semantic categories in Old Lithuanian: Telicity and boundedness. Telic verbs have an inherent end-point, e.g. *sudegti* ‘to burn down (intr.)’, whereas bounded verbs have a boundary that is not an inherent end-point of the action, e.g. *palūkėti* ‘to wait for a time’.

Lexical boundedness, as separated from telicity, is very close in semantics to the Russian (Slavic) perfectivity, and could thus be called aspect, albeit it exists only in the lexicon, not morphology.

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Lith. *plàkti*

In this paper I will deal with the etymology and morphological prehistory of Lith. *plàkti*, *plāka* ‘flog, thrash, whip; beat; whisk’. I will argue that the traditional and practically uncontested connection with Sl. **plǎkati*, **plǎčŭ* ‘cry, weep’ (and, outside of Balto-Slavic, Gk. πλήσσω ‘beat’, Lat. *plangō*, *-ere* ‘beat, bewail’ and Gmc. **flōkanan* ‘slap, mourn’) is demonstrably wrong. I will furthermore argue that Lith. *plàkti* is directly related to Sl. **polkǎti*, **polčŭ* ‘rinse’ (and, perhaps, other material pointing to a root **plek-*). Both claims crucially depend on close consideration of the ablaut patterns of the Balto-Slavic verb and their development in Baltic and Slavic.