

How Lithuanian is Old Lithuanian morphosyntax? Change, continuity and calques on the example of Mikalojus Daukša's *Postilla Catholicka*

Henrik Hornecker
(Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

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Cotticelli & Dahl (2002: 110) assume that “the Old Lithuanian alignment system is essentially identical to the one found in Modern Lithuanian.” There are, however, differences between the Old Lithuanian and the Contemporary Lithuanian morphosyntax, that are often attributed to the fact that every longer Old Lithuanian text is not an original text, but a translation from a Polish, German or Latin original (cf. Bjarnadóttir 2014: 43-45 for a discussion of differences in case usage of Old and Contemporary Lithuanian and possible calques in Old Lithuanian). Thus, a neat philological examination is necessary to examine how similar the situation in Old Lithuanian is to the situation in Contemporary Lithuanian and to check whether the Old Lithuanian data portrays the genuine Old Lithuanian situation or rather shows/may show influences (calques) of the Polish, German or Latin original text.

The paper addresses these two questions by investigating the alignment and argument morphosyntax of an Old Lithuanian text sample from Mikalojus Daukša's *Postilla Catholicka*. This postil is based on Jakub Wujek's Polish *Postilla Catholicka Mnieysza* – however, Daukša apparently considered all three versions of Wujek's *Postilla* that were published before 1599 when his own postil was released (Hock 2012: 83-84).

In order to identify passages with genuine Old Lithuanian morphosyntax, the text sample from Daukša's postil is compared to Wujek's text in a first step. Only passages that diverge from the Polish morphosyntactic structure in every pre-1599 version of Wujek's *Postilla* are considered for the later analysis because only such passages can be regarded as reliable sources for the genuine Old Lithuanian morphosyntax. Other passages at least could have been influenced by the Polish original. In a second step, the genuine Old Lithuanian passages are analysed in respect to their alignment and argument morphosyntax. In a third step, the genuine and potentially non-genuine passages are separately compared to the situation in Contemporary Lithuanian in order to highlight possible changes and calques.

Thus, the paper makes a contribution to separate genuine and non-genuine Old Lithuanian alignment and argument morphosyntax and to analyse the genuine structures. It also points out the differences and similarities to the situation in Contemporary Lithuanian, provides insights into change and continuity in Lithuanian morphosyntax and clarifies to what extant findings for Contemporary Lithuanian morphosyntax can be transferred to Old Lithuanian.

References:

Bjarnadóttir, Valgerður (2014), Dialectal and diachronic distribution of case variation in Lithuanian pain-verb constructions, *Baltic Linguistics* 5, 9–57.

Cotticelli, Paola, and Eystein Dahl (2022), Split alignment, mixed alignment, and the spread of accusative morphosyntax in some archaic Indo-European languages, in Eystein Dahl (ed.), (2022), *Alignment and Alignment Change in the Indo-European Family*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 64–122.

Hock, Wolfgang (2012), Untersuchungen zu Daukšas Postile – I. Dopplungen, *Archivum Lithuanicum* 14, 9–98.

to describe the Old Lithuanian situation and to point out differences and similarities between these two stages of the Lithuanian language.

provide a philologically solid amount of Old Lithuanian data and to examine the alignment and argument morphosyntax in it.

sheds light on the genuine and non-genuine Old Lithuanian alignment and argument morphosyntax. and on the differences and similarities to the situation in Contemporary Lithuanian, providing insights into the change and continuity in Lithuanian morphosyntax. It also points out which differences to Contemporary Lithuanian may be attributed to the influence of the Polish original text.