

Prof. dr. Jurgis Pakerys
Department of Baltic Studies
Institute for the Languages and Cultures of the Baltics
Vilnius University
jurgis.pakerys@flf.vu.lt

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Review of: Paweł Brudzyński, STRONA CZASOWNIKA W JĘZYKACH BAŁTYCKICH W XVII WIEKU NA PODSTAWIE TEKSTÓW CHYLIŃSKIEGO I GLÜCKA, rozprawa doktorska. Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2022, 227 p.

The PhD thesis under review focuses on the categories of passive, causative, and middle on the basis of 17th c. Bible translations into Lithuanian by Samuel Bogusław Chylinski and into Latvian by Johann Ernst Glück. The study is well-structured, the argumentation of the author is clear and well-supported by the glossed examples and quantitative data. All in all, the thesis is an innovative and valuable contribution to the field of Baltic morphosyntax and provides important data and insights with respect to voice related phenomena in 17th c. East Baltic languages.

In what follows I discuss the selection of the studied phenomena, the sources, the methods, the review of the literature, and the analytical chapters of the dissertation.

I completely agree with the decision of the author to analyze not only the passive and the middle, but also the causative constructions in the broader context of valency alternating phenomena. What I missed, however, was the discussion of possible inclusion of applicatives derived via prefixation, see (Kozhanov 2016) on modern Lithuanian.

The selected Bible translations are good representatives of 17th c. Lithuanian and Latvian written language. Chylinski's work is especially valuable as corrections found in the manuscript demonstrate some fluctuation between certain variants of the constructions. I should mention however that Old Lithuanian has three major written varieties, the Prussian,

the Central, and the Eastern one, and Chylinski is only one of the authors of the Central variety. To have a better representation of Old Lithuanian, one needs to include some texts from all three varieties. To a certain extent this drawback is compensated in some chapters of the dissertation by comparing the constructions of Chylinski with the ones found in the Bible translations from the Prussian tradition; such comparison also enables further diachronic dimension which is extended into 19th and 20th c. by employing respective Bible translations that are largely outside the Prussian tradition (the translation of Giedraitis, 1816, and the modern translation of Rubšys and Kavaliauskas, ecumenical edition of 1998). The problem of written language varieties is much less acute in the case of Old Latvian of 17th c. A review of voice related phenomena in 16th c. texts is perhaps desirable and one wonders if non-trivial differences in the 17th c. works of Georg Elger and the later 18th c. texts of the Latgalian tradition could be noticed.

The corpus approach applied in the dissertation is certainly desirable nowadays and yielded rather good results. The author operates with token frequencies of passive constructions, type (lexeme) frequencies of causatives, but the quantitative data in the chapter on the middle are unfortunately lacking. When the causative lexemes were searched for in the corpus, the author used certain formulas. For example, **int*|*ina*|*ino** was used to filter out the Lithuanian formations with the suffix *-in-ti* (p. 51), but it is unclear if this was the only formula because it misses a number of inflected forms, such as future (*-in-s*), imperative (*-in-k*), present tense 1 and 2 sg. (*-in-u*, *-in-i*), many forms of active participles, etc.

As the dissertation is dealing with translated texts, comparison of the studied constructions with translation sources was crucial. The author rightfully observes that the languages actively used by the translators (Polish and German respectively) should be also taken into account. In general, the influence of translation sources and interference with the languages of the translators is well addressed, but in some respects could be still improved. For example, as proposed below, the discussion of causative constructions could have benefited from a more detailed analysis of the sources where both curative and non-curative constructions are found. I also believe that comparison of the same Bible passages in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian could have been employed more often in the thesis to demonstrate shared and diverging constructions in East Baltic.

The review of the literature is of good quality and mostly up-to-date. I could only suggest including the work (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019), and the paper (Jakulienė 1968) could be referred

to in the discussion of passive and middle constructions. (Inglese 2021) must have appeared online during the final stages of thesis preparation and its omission is understandable. For some notes on Lithuanian middle, perhaps the papers (Junčytė 2016) and (Junčytė 2018) might be of interest. For some optional suggestions regarding marking of the agent in passive constructions, see below.

The analytical part of the dissertation opens with the chapter on the passive. The discussion of these constructions is detailed and presents interesting findings. I would only mention that some Old Lithuanian authors use more auxiliaries besides *būti*, namely *stotis*, *tapti*, *atlikti(s)*, see (Jakulienė 1968: 212f.), (Ambrazas 2006: 178). This aspect is interesting in the light of variable auxiliaries in Latvian and from the perspective of language contact as such use in Old Lithuanian was influenced by corresponding Polish and German auxiliaries.

The marking of agent in passive constructions is another intriguing topic. The agent is frequently unexpressed in passive constructions cross-linguistically and unsurprisingly this is also the case in Chylinski's and Glück's texts (Type 1), but I missed exact numbers of constructions without the agent with respect to the total number of passive constructions. Type 2, when the agent is marked by PPs with Old Lithuanian *nog* and Latvian *no* (literally 'from') is found in 207 constructions in Chylinski's text and in 104 constructions in Glück's text. The quantitative difference is quite interesting and probably deserves explanation as Chylinski's (surviving) text is two times shorter than Glück's. I agree with the author of the thesis that Type 2 is most probably copied from Polish and German, and, for example, on p. 64 I would only add the passage from Statenbijbel (*van God*, Luke 1:26) to demonstrate that Dutch could have also influenced Chylinski's idiom. I was not sure if Type 3 with Lithuanian PP *per* (literally 'through', 68 constructions in Chylinski's translation) had to be discussed separately from Type 2 as they both are prepositional markings, but perhaps the distinction is important due to the semantic difference of the prepositions (originally marking source and path). For the discussion of the prepositional marking of agent, I also suggest the following optional references: (Fraenkel 1928: 96f.), (Fraenkel 1929: 112ff., 128), (Palionis 1967: 179f., 181f.), (Ambrazas 2006: 182f.), (Holvoet 2018: 2007).

In section 4.3 discussing various types of passive (actional, resultative, impersonal) I missed quantitative data on each type. In section 4.4 a very interesting question is addressed concerning the tense function of constructions with PPPs, see also (Spraukienė & Brudzyński 2021). There are quite many examples in Old Lithuanian where *be:PRS + PPP* construction has

past tense reference, e.g. *yra pakastas* be:PRS.3 bury.PPP ‘was buried’. As argued by the author of the thesis, such constructions were gradually ousted by the ones with the auxiliary in the past tense, i.e. *buvo pakastas* be:PST.3 bury.PPP ‘was buried’. A guess, however, remains if such use of be:PRS + PPP was really original (= independent from the translation sources) as the vast majority of the constructions reflect present tense auxiliaries of the translation sources, see p. 82 of the dissertation and (Spraukienė & Brudzyński 2021: 174).

Section 5 on causatives also provides very interesting data and insights. The author includes not only deverbal derivations, but also deadjectival and denominal ones. I understand the inclusion of deadjectival formations on the semantic basis as they have the factitive ‘make’ component, cf. Lithuanian deverbal causative *aug-in-ti* ‘make grow’ ← *aug-ti* ‘grow’ alongside deadjectival *stipr-in-ti* ‘make strong’ ← *stipr-us* ‘strong’, but the inclusion of denominal formations should be discussed and justified separately (perhaps also on the basis of ‘make’ component). I was also not convinced by the derivational interpretation of Lithuanian *ram-dy-ti* ‘calm down (tr.)’ ← *ram-us* ‘calm’ (consider verbal base *rim-ti* ‘calm down (itr.)’) or *daž-y-ti* ‘(to) paint’ ← *daž-ai* ‘paint’ (the opposite direction is possible), see, e.g., (Smoczyński 2018: 202, 1059). For Latvian, the derivation of *pil-dī-t* from *piln-s* (their meanings on p. 97 have to be corrected to ‘pour, make full’ and ‘full’) and *bal-inā-t* ‘make white’ from *balt-s* ‘white’ needs to be reconsidered as the suffixes *-n-*, *-t-* of the proposed bases are not found in the derivatives (consider verbal bases *pil-t* ‘become full’, *bal-t* ‘turn white’). Lithuanian *pri-lyg-in-ti* ‘compare’ and Latvian *līdz-inā-t* ‘idem’ (example 107-108) are treated as deverbal, but adjectival bases can be also considered (Lithuanian *lyg-us* ‘equal’, Latvian *līdz-s* ‘idem’); for *mok-in-ti* ‘teach’, possible base is not only *-mok-ti* ‘learn’, but also *mokėti*, *moka* ‘know (how to)’. For *raug-in-ti* ‘leaven’, another likely base is *rūg-ti* ‘ferment (itr.)’, not only labile *raug-ti* ‘leaven; ferment (itr.)’ (p. 109); cf. also example (115) *užrauginti* ← *užrūgti* of the dissertation where intransitive *užrūgti* is indicated as the base. The verb *junk-in-ti* is not related to *jung-ti* (p. 132, 137, etc.) and is derived from *junk-ti*, see (Smoczyński 2018: 455). Segmentation of *žin-dy-ti*, *dzird-inā-t* (p. 101) needs to be corrected to *žind-y-ti*, *dzir-dinā-t* (roots *žind-* and *dzir-* respectively); *žu-ti* = *žū-ti* (p. 95).

The discussion of curative formations (subsection 5.4.2) is both insightful and intriguing, see also (Brudzyński 2021). Such causatives are found only in Chylinski’s text and I wonder what correspondences are found in Glück’s translation (periphrastic causatives and non-curative constructions?). I believe that some discussion of this aspect would have benefited the thesis.

In general, it seems that the curative function is clear only in part of the examples, as in Genesis 37:32 where Old Lithuanian *ir nuneždyno jq tewop sawo* ‘and had it brought to their father’ corresponds to Dutch *en deden hem tot hun vader brengen* (cf. also Luther’s translation: *und ließen ihn ihrem Vater bringen*). In some other cases, however, I was not sure: Chylinski uses curative formations where simplex formations seem to suffice, consider the sources of the translation in the following examples: *pakiepdyno preskienius – bakte ongezuurde koeken* ‘baked unleavened bread’ Genesis 19:3, *Tewas tawo pamuzdyno penetq tela – uw vader heeft het gemeste kalf geslacht* ‘your father has killed the fattened calf’ Luke 15:27, etc. Is Chylinski interpreting these situations as curative independently and ignores non-curative constructions of the sources?

The family of middle constructions is another fascinating topic discussed in Section 6. The development of these constructions is well-captured in semantic maps. I should only mention that I find the map presented in (Holvoet 2020: 231) a little more up-to-date than the maps presented on p. 33, 148 of the thesis, but these differences in no way affect the major findings. As mentioned earlier, a certain drawback of the section on the middle constructions is the lack of quantitative data which would help us have a better picture of frequency of such constructions. At present state, the thesis mostly provides examples from the sources to illustrate the types of the middle and informs us when certain types are not found. In general, I evaluate the section as a valuable contribution to the field of study of middle constructions and have only minor remarks mentioned further.

In the subsection on the middle of grooming and body motion (6.3), one may mention the fact that for some verbs, the middle marker is optional, consider Lithuanian *gulti(-s)* ‘lie down’, *sėsti(-s)* ‘sit down’, e.g., *gule and jo* ‘(lit.) lay down on him = pressed, pushed toward him’ Mark 3:10; *Ó fedę, fergiejo jo tēn* ‘And having sat down, they kept watch over him there’ Matthew 27:36 (Chylinski’s translation). The verb *krutinti-s* ‘move’ appears to be still used in Lithuanian contrary to the comment in the thesis (p. 182), e.g., *jau krutinasi forma po truputį* 🤔🤔 *atsiranda tonusas* ‘the (physical) form is changing (lit. moving) little by little, the (muscle) tone is emerging’¹, cf. also perfective *pa-si-krutinti* ‘move’.

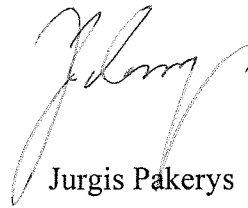
Just as body motion verbs mentioned above, some emotion predicates also have optional middle markers, consider Lithuanian *bijoti(-s)* ‘be afraid’, e.g., *bijodama* ‘fearing’ (Mark 5:33)

¹ <https://www.instagram.com/p/Btv5ulxhCII/?hl=en>, posted on Feb 11, 2019.

without the middle marker and *bijodamie-s* ‘fearing’ Colossians 3:22 with one (both examples are cited from Chylinski’s translation). On p. 196 Latvian *bī-tie-s* ‘be afraid’ is mentioned, but example (236b) actually illustrates the use of *bij-ā-tie-s* ‘idem’ (form *bihjajahs* be.afraid.PST.3.RFL ‘were afraid’). Latvian *bītie-s* ‘be afraid’ in modern use is found only with the middle marker, while for *bijāt(-ies)* the marker is optional (the verb is currently perceived as archaic). It is also worth noting that ME (I 305) informs us that Manzel und Glück use the forms of *bīties* without the middle marker: “*sieva, bīdama un drēbēdama* Mark. 5, 33 [‘the woman, fearing and trembling’ Mark 5:33]; *dieu bidama* Apost. 16, 14 [‘fearing God’ Acts 16:14]; *kā bērni savu tēvu bīstam* [‘we fear (you) as the children (fear) their father’] Manz. Post. III, 114”. One also wonders if the use of middle markers with these and some other predicates sometimes could have been influenced (supported?) by the sources of the translations and contact languages of the translators, cf. Polish *bać się*, German (*sich*) *fürchten*. The directions of possible influences can be complex, for example, one may note that Dutch *vrezen* ‘fear’ without the middle marker corresponds to Chylinski’s middle-marked *bijoti-s* in Exodus 1:21, example (236) of the dissertation; here we see that the Lithuanian middle corresponds to the Polish construction *bać się* and diverges from the Dutch source. Finally, I would like to mention that in example (239b) Latvian forms *raudahs, schelohs* (Revelation 18:13) have to be interpreted not as middle-marked presents, but as futures ‘will weep, ‘will pity, mourn’, cf. *Und die Kaufleute auf Erden werden weinen und Leid tragen über sie* (Luther Bible translation, 1545).

The author of the thesis published extensively during his doctoral degree studies and certainly deserves praise for that, see Brudzyński 2018, 2020, 2021 and Holvoet, Kavaliūnatė, Brudzyński 2020 in the list of references of the thesis. Another important study is (Sprauņienė & Brudzyński 2021) that is cited in the dissertation but accidentally slipped out from the reference list.

To sum up, I consider the thesis under discussion as a mature and independent work based on original data of 17th c. Lithuanian and Latvian. The thesis is a very valuable and innovative contribution to the field of study of Baltic voice-related phenomena. **I have no doubt that the dissertation corresponds to all requirements of the PhD thesis and the candidate may advance to the next stages of the doctoral degree procedure.**



Jurgis Pakerys

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