Pavia International Summer School for Indo-European Linguistics
5–10 September, 2022

Course 5: Baltic

Old Lithuanian and Latvian texts

The oldest extant Lithuanian texts

Three manuscript liturgical texts (Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Apostolic Creed) were entered on the endpaper of a 1503 copy of the book *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis* held by Vilnius University Library. Assumed to be older than the oldest printed Lithuanian book, Mažvydas' 1647 Catechism.

Teve	*mvſu*	*kuriſ*	*eſi*	*Dangwaſu*	*ʃʒvÿſkiſi*		*vardaſ*	*tava*
father.VOC	us.GEN	which.NOM	be.PRS.2SG	heaven.INE.PL	hallow.IMP.2SG.REFL		name.NOM	your
athaÿki		*tava*	*karaliſtÿa*	*buki*	*thava*	*vala*	*kaÿp*	*dvngvÿ*
come.IMP.2SG		your	kingdom.NOM	be.IMP.2SG	your	will.NOM	as	heaven.INE
theÿp	*ʃʒamÿaÿ.*	*Dvanv*	*mvſu*	*viſu*	*dʒenv*	*dvaki*		
so	earth.INE	bread.ACC	us.GEN	all.GEN.PL	day.GEN.PL	give.IMP.2SG		
mvmvſ	*nv*	*ÿr*	*athlaÿſki*	*mvmvſ*	*mvſu*	*kalthef*		
us.DAT	now	and	forgive.IMP.2SG	us.DAT	us.GEN	guilt.ACC.PL		
kaÿp	*ÿr*	*mef*	*athlaÿdʒame*	*mvſu*	*kalcʒÿemvſ*			
as	also	we.NOM	forgive.PRS.1PL	us.GEN	guilty.DAT.PL.M			
nÿevÿaſki		*mvſu*	*ʃʒalanv*	*ale*	*mvſ*	*gÿalbÿaki*	*nvagi*	
NEG.lead.IMP.2SG		us.GEN	harm.ILL	but	us.ACC	save.IMP.2SG	from	
viſa	*piktha*	*amen.*						
all.GEN.N	evil.GEN.N							

ʃʒvÿſkiſi = švęski-si, with affixal reflexive marker. East Lithuanian narrowing of nasal *ę* > *į*. The 2nd person imperative with 3rd person meaning is due to Slavic influence as what is now the Slavic 2SG imperative originally had 3rd person meaning as well, cf. Polish *święć się imię twoje*. Similarly *athaÿki = ateik*. The reflexive form *švęskisi* instead of the passive also has a Slavic flavour.
tava: to be read *tavā*, with a long *ā* that later closed to *o*. Cf. *nvagi viſa piktha*, now *nuo viso pikto*. On the grammatical aspects see below.
dvngvÿ = danguj(e), with East Lithuanian narrowing of the nasal diphthongoid */an/* > */un/*. The spelling is inconsistent, cf. *Dangwaſu* above.
Dʒenv = dienų, with South and South-East Lith. *dzūkavimas*, i.e. affricatization of *t* and *d* before high front vowels (i, į, y) and diphtongs (ie).

Grammar. – Instead of possessive pronouns the genitives of personal pronouns are used, but the 1sg and 2sg as well as the reflexive pronoun have special possessive (adnominal) forms *mano*, *tavo*, *savo* (here we have forms like *tavā* with a long *ā* that was only beginning to close to *o*) alongside the adverbal forms *manęs*, *tavęs*, *savęs*. The ending *-ā* is borrowed from the thematic declension of nouns. The text contains instances of two local cases, the inessive and the illative (the Inessive partly continues the IE locative but was partly renewed). Inessives: *Dangwaſu, dvngvÿ, ʃʒamÿaÿ*. Illative: *ʃʒalanv*.

Swÿeÿka	*maria*	*mÿlyſtaſ*	*pÿlna*	*dʒevaſ*	*ſvthavimÿ*	
healthy.NOM.F	M.	grace.GEN	full.NOM.F	God.NOM	with.you.INS	
Pagirta	*thv*	*tharpu*	*matherv*	*ÿr*	*pagirthaſ*	
praised.NOM.F	you.NOM	among	woman.GEN.PL	and	praised.NOM.M	
Gimiſ	*ʃʒÿvatha*	*thava*	*ÿeſus chriſtus.*			
fruit.NOM	womb.GEN	your	J.Chr.			

dʒevaſ: Standard Lithuanian *dievas*, with *dzūkavimas*
mÿlyſtaſ: the Slavism *mylista* < OBR *milostь* stands besides the authentically Lith. *malonė*. It is retained in the modern Lith. polite form of adress *támsta* 'you' < *tavo mylista* 'your grace'.
ſʒÿvathv: *žyvatas* '1. life, 2. belly, womb' is a Slavism, cf. OBR. *životъ*, Polish *żywot*.
Word order: *Gimiſ ſʒÿvatha thava* echoes the Slavic word order. In Lithuanian the adnominal genitive basically precedes its head.

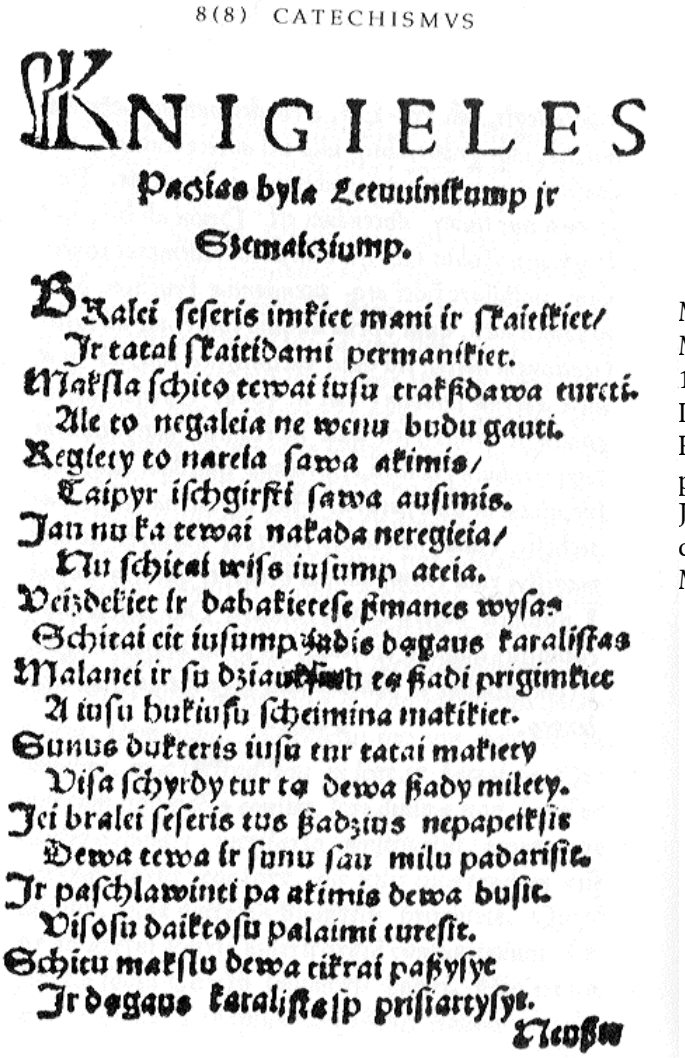
Czÿkÿv		*ÿngi*	*dʒewa*		*thÿava*		*viſagalinczi*			*darÿthaÿv*			
believe.PRS.1SG		in	God.ACC		father.ACC		almighty.ACC.M			maker.ACC			
Dangawſ	*ir*	*ſʒamÿaſ*	*ir*	*ingi*									
heaven.GEN	and	earth.GEN	and	in									
yeſu	*kriſtu*	*ſvnv*	*ÿa*	*vÿenathuri*	*panv*	*mvſu*	*kurÿſ*						
J.	Chr.	Son.ACC	his	only.ACC.M	lord.ACC	us.GEN	which.NOM.M						
praſidÿaÿſ		*eſcʒi*		*ſʒwenthv*	*dwaſÿv.*	*Gimiſ*			*yſgi*	*mariaſ*			
begin.PPA.NOM.M		be.PRS.3		holy.INS.F	spirit.INS	be_born.PPA.NOM.M			from.	M.			
mergaſ /		*kinthiſ*		*pa*	*panſkvaÿv*	*pilatu /*		*yſʒpÿalataſ*					
virgin.GEN		suffer.PPA.NOM.M		under	Pontian.INS.SG.M.DEF	P.INS		crucify.PPP.NOM.M					
alba	*vſʒmuſʒtaſ*		*anth*	*krÿſʒawſ*	*nvmiriſ*		*ÿr*	*pakaſthaſ*					
or	kill.PPP.NOM.M		on	cross.GEN	die.PPA.NOM.M		and	bury.PPP.NOM.M					
nvſʒÿngi	*peklvaſnv,*		*trÿacʒv*	*dʒenv*	*kÿalÿſi*			*ÿſʒgi*	*nv-*				
descend.PST.3	hell.ILL.PL		third.ACC	day.ACC	raise.PST.3.REFL			from	PFX-				
mirvſÿv /		*vſʒſʒÿngi*		*Dangvaſnv*	*ſadʒÿ*	*antha*	*Deſʒÿnÿaſ*						
die.PPA.GEN.PL		ascend.PST.3		heaven.ILL.PL	sit.PPA.3	on	right_hand.GEN						
dʒewa	*thÿava*		*viſagalinczа /*		*nvagi*	*thi*	*athaÿſ*						
God.GEN	father.GEN		almighty.GEN		from	there	come.FUT.3						
ſvdʒÿthv	*giwa*		*ir*	*nvmiruſÿv.*	*Cʒÿkÿv*			*yngi*	*dvaſÿv*				
judge.SUP	live.GEN		and	die.PPA.GEN.PL	believe.PRS.1SG			in	spirit.ACC				
ſʒwenthv /	*ſʒwenthv*		*baſʒnÿcʒv*	*krÿkſʒcʒanÿv*	*ſʒwen-*								
holy.ACC	holy.ACC		church.ACC	Christian.GEN.PL									
thvÿv		*Drawgiſti*		*athleÿdʒÿmv*	*grechv /*	*kvnv*	*ÿſgi*						
holy.GEN.PL.DEF		communion.ACC		remission.ACC	sin.GEN.PL	body.GEN.PL	from						
nvmirvſyv		*kyalÿmv /*	*pa*	*ſmerczi*	*amſʒÿv*	*ſʒÿvathv.*							
die.PPA.GEN.PL		raising.ACC	after	death.DAT	eternal.ACC	life.ACC							
	Ter Dicitur												
dʒeve	*bvki*		*mÿlaſʒÿrdaſ*	*mani*	*greſʒnamu*	*amen*							
God.VOC	be.IMP.2SG		merciful.NOM	me.DAT	sinful.DAT.M								

Czÿkÿv [tsʲɪkʲʊ] = *tikiu*, with South and South-East Lith. *dzūkavimas. Cf.* the *dzūkavimas* in *dʒewa* = *dievą.*
viſagalinczi = visagalintį, with *dzūkavimas.*
thÿava: <ÿa> probably points to a broad pronunciation /æ:/. Spelling is inconsistent, we would expect *tėvų* with narrowing of the nasal vowel as in *darÿthaÿv.*
panſkvaÿv pilatu: *panskuoju Pilatu* from Pol. *Poncki Piłat*, lit. Pontian Pilate, with adjectival ending.
yſʒpÿalataſ: išpėl(i)oti is from Slavic, ORus. *raspjaliti* (?), cf. ORuss. *raspjalo* 'cross'
ſvdʒÿthv = sūdytų, a supine; *sūdyti* is a Slavic borrowing, OBR *suditi.*
giwa: gen. sg., apparently a mistake, instead of the gen. pl. *giwu.*
amſʒÿv mistakenly instead of *amſʒÿnv*, from the adjective *amžinas* 'eternal'.
Most of the religious terminology is of Slavic origin: *baſʒnÿcʒv* (*bažnyčia*) < OBR *božьnica*, *grechv* < OBR *grěxъ*, *krÿſʒawſ* (*kryžius*) < Pol. *krzyż*. *Krÿkſʒcʒanÿv* is the gen. pl. of *krikščionis*, from OBR *xristijaninъ* or OPol. *krześcijanin*, with characteristic Lithuanian insertion of *-k-*. Also *panv* (now *ponas* 'gentleman, sir') is from Polish *pan* 'gentleman, lord, sir', though the usual word for 'the Lord' in Lithuanian (now exclusively but also in older texts) is *viešpats*, a term comparable to Goth. *gastfaþs*,

OChSl. *gospodь* (the second term, *pats*, originally ‘lord’, now means ‘self’ but is also used as a polite pronoun). *Smertis* ‘death’ is also Slavic, alongside the native *mirtis*.

Grammar. – Local cases: Illatives *peklvaſnv*, *Dangvaſnv*.
praſidÿaÿſ is *pra-si-dėjęs*, from *pradėti* ‘begin, conceive’ with reflexive marker inserted between the prefix and the verbal stem. If there is no prefix the reflexive marker is attached word-finally, as in *kÿalÿſi* ‘ascended’. This reflects the original status of *-si-* as an enclitic, and the original autonomy of what subsequently became a prefix.
ſvdzÿthv (*sūdytų*) is a supine, a form denoting goal of motion. It is here licenced by the motion verb *athaÿſ* ‘will come’ and governs a genitive (*giwa ir nvmiruſÿv* instead of the expected *giwu ir nvmiruſÿv*).
Panſkvaÿv (*panskuoju*), *ſzwenthvÿv* (*šventųjų*) are definite forms of the adjective (here they mark substantivization: ‘Pilate the Pontian’, ‘the saints’).

The first printed Lithuanian book: Mažvydas’ 1647 translation of Luther’s Catechism



8(8) CATECHISMVS

KNIGIELES

Paczias byla Letuwinſkump jr

Szemaicziump.

Bralei ſeſeris imkiet mani ir ſkaitikiet/
Jr tatai ſkaitidami permanikiet.
Makſla ſchito tewai iuſu trakſtdawa turcti.
Ale to negaleia ne wenu budu gauti.
Regiety to narela ſawa akimis/
Taipyr iſchgirſti ſawa auſimis.
Jau nu ka tewai nakada neregieia/
Nu ſchitai wiſs iuſump ateia.
Veizdekiet ir dabakiteſe ſmanes wyſas
Schitai cit iuſump ſudis dagaus karaliſtas
Malanei ir ſu dziaukſmu to ſtadi prigimkiet
A iuſu bukiuſu ſcheimina makikiet.
Sunus dukteris iuſu tur tatai makiety
Viſa ſchyrdy tur to dewa ſtady miletÿ.
Jei bralei ſeſeris tus ſtadzius nepapeikſis
Dewa tewa ir ſunu ſau milu padariſis.
Jr paſchlawineti pa akimis dewa buſis.
Viſoſu daikteſu palaimi tureſis.
Schitu makſlu dewa tikrai paſtyſye
Jr dagaus karaliſte ſp priſiartyſye.

Martynas Mažvydas (Marcin Moswid / Mažwid, Martinus Masvidius) was born in 1510 in Samogitia, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and died in 1563 in Ragnit (Lith. Ragainiai) in East Prussia, where he was pastor of the Lithuanian congregation. In 1938 Jan Safarewicz discovered that the preface contains an acrostich identifying the author as MARTINVS MASVIDIVS.

KNIGIELES	*paczias*	*byla*	*Letuwinikump*	*jr*	*Szemaicziump.*
book.NOM.PL	self.NOM.PL.F	speak.PRS.3	Lithuanian.ALL.PL	and	Samogitian.ALL.PL

Bralei	*seseris*	*imkiet*	*mani*	*ir*	*skaitikiet/*	
brother.VOC.PL	sister.VOC.PL	take.IMP.2PL	me.ACC	and	read.IMP.2PL	
Jr	*tatai*	*skaitidami*	*permanikiet.*			
and	that.ACC	read.CVB.M.PL	meditate.IMP.2PL			
Maksla	*schito*	*tewai*	*iusu*	*trakszdawa*	*tureti.*	
teaching.GEN	this.GEN.M	father.NOM.PL	you.GEN	long.PST.HAB.3	have.INF	
Ale	*to*	*negaleia*	*ne*	*wenu*	*budu*	*gauti.*
but	that.GEN	NEG.be_able.PST.3	NEG	one.INS.M	means.INS	get.INF
Regiety	*to*	*nareia*	*sawa*	*akimis/*		
see.INF	this.GEN	want.PST.3	own	eye.INS.PL		
Taipyr	*ischgirsti*	*sawa*	*ausimis.*			
as_well_as	hear.INF	own	ear.INS.PL			
Jau	*nu*	*ka*	*tewai*	*nakada*	*neregieia/*	
already	now	what.GEN	father.NOM.PL	never	see.PST.3	
Nu	*schitai*	*wiss*	*iusump*	*ateia.*		
now	this.N	all.N	you(PL).ALL	come.PST.3		
Veizdekiet	*ir*	*dabakietese*	*szmanes*	*wysas*		
see.IMP.2PL	and	attend.IMP.2PL.REFL	people.VOC.PL	all.VOC.PL.F		
Schitai	*eit*	*iusump*	*szadis*	*dągaus*	*karalistas*	
here	come.PRS.3	you(PL).ALL	word.NOM	heaven.GEN	kingdom.GEN	
Malanei	*ir*	*su*	*dziauksmu*	*tą*	*szadi*	*prigimkiet*
willingly	and	with	joy.INS	that.ACC	word.ACC	accept.IMP.2PL
A	*iusu*	*hukiusu*	*scheimina*	*makikiet.*		
and	you(PL).GEN	household.INE.PL	family.ACC	teach.IMP.2PL		
Sunus	*dukteris*	*iusu*	*tur*	*tatai*	*makiety*	
son.NOM.PL	daughter.NOM.PL	you(PL).GEN	must.PRS.3	this	know.INF	
Visa	*schyrdi*	*tur*	*tą*	*dewa*	*szadi*	*milety.*
all.INS	heart.INS	must.PRS.3	that.ACC	God.GEN	word.ACC	love.INF
Jei	*bralei*	*seseris*	*tus*	*szadzius*	*nepapeiksit*	
if	brother.VOC.PL	sister.VOC.PL	that.ACC.PL.M	word.ACC.PL	NEG.reject.FUT.2PL	
Dewa	*tewa*	*ir*	*sunu*	*sau*	*milu*	*padarisit.*
God.ACC	father.ACC	and	son.ACC	self.DAT	dear.ACC.DU	make.FUT.2PL
Jr	*paschlawinti*	*pa*	*akimis*	*dewa*	*busit.*	
and	blessed.NOM.PL	under	eye.INS.PL	God.GEN	be.FUT.2PL	
Visosu	*daiktosu*	*palaimi*	*turesit.*			
all.INE.PL	thing.INE.PL	blessing.ACC	have.FUT.2PL			
Schitu	*makslu*	*dewa*	*tikrai*	*paszysyt*		
this.INS.M	teaching.INS	God.ACC	certainly	know.FUT.2PL		
Jr	*dągaus*	*karalistesp*	*prisiartysyt.*			
and	heaven.GEN	kingdom.ALL	PFX.REFL.bring_close.FUT.3			

Phonetics and spelling

The nasal vowels *ą* and *ę* are (not consistently) marked, but the printer's character set had no signs for nasal *į* and *ų*. *sch* = *š*, *sz* = *ž*, *cz* = *č*. Palatalization is marked only after *k, g* (*veizdekiet, regiety*). Long closed *ā* is retained in most cases but sometimes appears as *o*. The *h* in *hukiusu (ūkiuosu)* is an unexplained feature of Old Lith. spelling. Long *u* appears *instead* of *uo* (*hukiusu* = *ūkiuosu, schitu* = *schituo*): a Samogitian feature.

Knigeles: *knygelės* 'book' is a *plurale tantum.*
Letuwinikump = *lietuvinykump* 'to the Lithuanians', an allative, formed by adding *-p(i) to the* genitive: *lietuvinykų + pi* > *lietuvinykump(i)*. Other allatives are *iusump*, *karalistesp*.
The text also contains inessives: *hukiusu*, *daiktosu*. The modern forms are *ūkiuose*, *daiktuose*.
imkiet: to be read *imket*, a Samogitian form instead of StL *imkit(e)*.
mani = *mane*. Samogitian form with narrowing of nasal *-ę*.
trakszdawa: trokšdavo, a habitual past.

nakada: mistake instead of *nekada* (*niekada*).
dabakietese (*dabokitės*): with an alternative form *-se* of the reflexive marker. Borrowing from Polish *dbać*, with vowel insertion as initial *db-* in Lithuanian phonotactics.
Szmanes wysas: *žmonės* was fem. in Old Lith., now masc.
eit: from *ei-ti,* old athematic form, now thematicized as *eina.*
prigimkiet: to be read *prijimket*; *j* before *e, i* was written *g* (cf. *Samogitia*).
tus szadzius: the genitive of negation is not used consistently here.

Grammar: this text contains examples of the habitual past with the marker *-dav-* (probably evolved from an iterative derivational suffix), e.g. *ei-dav-o* 'used to go'; a Lithuanian innovation; and the converb in *-dam-*, always referring back to a subject and agreeing with it in number and gender: *eĩ-dam-as, ei-dam-à* etc. The origin of the suffix *-dam-* is also not quite clear.

Old Latvian
The first Latvian texts appear in the late 16th c. but are of poor quality as their authors were German pastors with an elementary knowledge of the language. Texts of better quality appear only in the 17th c.: Mancelius' *Lang-gewünschte lettische Postill* (1654) and the Bible translation by Ernst Glück and co-translators: New Testament 1985, Old Testament 1689.

Gen. 1.1–4 in the Glück Old Latvian Bible.

EEfahkumâ	*raddija*	*Deews*	*to*	*Debbefi*	*un*	*to*	*Semmi.*	
beginning.LOC	create.PST.3	God.NOM	ART	heaven.ACC	and	ART	earth.ACC	
Un	*ta*	*Semme*	*bija*	*ne=istaifita*	*un*	*tukfcha/*		
and	ART	earth.NOM	be.PST.3	NEG-shaped.NOM.F	and	empty.NOM.F		
un	*Tumfiba*		*bija*	*pahr*	*teem*	*Dfiļļumeem/*		
and	darkness.NOM		be.PST.3	above	ART	depth.DAT.PL		
un	*tas*	*Deewa*	*Gars*	*liddinajahs*	*pa*	*Uhdens*	*Wirfu.*	
and	ART	God.GEN	spirit.NOM	hover.PST.3	over	water.GEN	space_above.ACC	
Un	*Deews*	*fazzija:*	*Lai*	*Gaifma*	*tohp:*	*tad*	*tappe*	
and	God.NOM	say.PST.3	HORT	light.NOM	become.PRS.3	then	become.PST.3	
Gaifma.	*Un*	*Deews*	*redfeja/*	*to*	*Gaifmu*	*labbu*	*effam/*	
light.NOM	and	God.NOM	see.PST.3	ART	light.ACC	good.ACC	be.PTCP	
tad	*fchķihre*	*Deews*	*to*	*Gaifmu*	*no*	*tahs*	*Tumfibas.*	
then	separate.PST.3	God.NOM	ART	light.ACC	from	ART	darkness.GEN	

Spelling: Latvian was mainly printed in Fraktur until the early 20th. c. Spelling is German-based: non-final *s* (<ſ>) usually denotes *z*, a barred <f> denotes unvoiced *s*. Correspondingly *fch* denotes *ž*, *fch* is *š*, *tfch* is *č etc.* Long vowels in root syllables are marked with the German "Dehnungs-*h*": *mahte* 'mother' corresponds to the modern spelling with a macron – *māte*. The digraph *ee* denotes the diphthong now written *ie*, *oh* denotes te diphthong *uo*. In suffixal syllables length is not marked: *redfeja* is *redzēja*. Consonant characters are geminated to mark the shortness of the preceding vowel: *debbefis*. Note that consonants can actually be long in Latvian (while they are absent from Lithuanian): the length of sonorants is distinctive (*zeme* 'earth' : *ķemme* 'comb'), that of voiceless obstruents between short vowels is allophonic (tapa 'became' is [tap:ª]). A bar or comma marks palatal pronunciation: *łaudis*, modern spelling *ļaudis* 'people' has a palatal /ʎ/.

Articles: in *to Debbefi un to Semmi* 'Heaven and Earth' the demonstrative pronouns render the German definite article. Less consistently, *viens* 'one' renders the indefinite article.
debbefs: original meaning as in Lith. *debesìs* 'cloud' (Gr. *néphos,* stem *nephes-*), with unexplained initial *d-* instead of *n-*.
pahr Dfiļļumeem: pahr governs the accusative, but in the plural all propositions govern the dative, a consequence of the coalescence of the instrumental with the accusative in the singular and the dative in the plural.

pa Uhdens Wirfu: cf. *zemes virsū* ‘on earth’; spatial relations are often expressed by means of spatial nouns under Fennic influence.
redſeja to Gaiſmu labbu effam: an *accusativus cum participio,* the Baltic counterpart of the *accusativus cum infinitivo. Effam* is a shortened form of an (originally passive) present participle, with accusative ending lost.