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## PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN 16th–17th CENTURY LITHUANIAN[1]

**Abstract**. This study analyzes periphrastic permissive and factitive causative constructions in a corpus of 16th and 17th century Old Lithuanian texts. In contrast to modern use, permissive constructions with *duoti* play a central role in many texts, while those with *leisti* are only more frequent in some sources and appear to have spread from the east to the west. Due to the influence of bifunctional German *lassen* constructions, *duoti* is used not only in permissive constructions, but also in factitive constructions, especially in Prussian Lithuanian. The permittees in *duoti* and *leisti* constructions are usually marked as dative, although the accusative is also attested due to the influence of German *lassen* + ACC constructions; however, in the case of *leisti*, the accusative may sometimes be interpreted as archaic, marking the direct object of the source construction *leisti* 'release' + ACC. In addition to permissive constructions with *duoti* and *leisti*, this paper also discusses rare cases of the archaic verb *(pa-)velti* and the borrowed Slavic permissives *pa-velyti* and *pa-/pri-zvalyti*. The majority of reflexive permissive constructions are based on *duoti* and contain a reflexive affixal marker on the matrix predicate, but constructions with an additional marker on the subordinate infinitive are also well-attested. In general, factitive constructions are less frequent than permissive ones and, just as in Modern Lithuanian, the most common factitive is *(pri-)versti*, but borrowed Slavic *(pri-)sylyti* is also attested in some sources.
**Keywords**: Old Lithuanian; historical syntax; periphrastic causative constructions; permissive causatives; factitive causatives.

## 1. Introduction

Periphrastic causative constructions (PCCs) use free verbal forms to express causative relations and can be subdivided into two types: permissive

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(= English *let*) and factitive (= English *make*) (N e d j a l k o v, S i l'n i t s k i j 1969, 28; N e d y a l k o v, S i l n i t s k y 1973, 10; K u l i k o v 2001, 886–887, 892). The most frequent permissive PCCs in Modern Lithuanian are based on the verb *leisti*, while the factitive ones usually employ *versti*, as illustrated in (1a) and (1b), respectively. PCCs with other predicates, such as *spausti, spirti* 'compel' and *duoti* 'allow', are quite rare (P a k e r y s 2016, 434–446). The case marking of the affected participant, termed "permittee" for permissive PCCs and "causee" for factitive PCCs, has a clear-cut distribution: the dative is used for permissive PCCs while the accusative is used for factitive constructions.

(1)  a.  Modern Lithuanian
 *Dabar*      *gali,*              *Valdove, [...]*    **leisti**    *savo*
 now          be.able:PRS.2SG     ruler:VOC.SG        let:INF      POSS.RFL
 *tarnui*     *ramiai*            **iškeliauti**
 servant:DAT.SG   peacefully      depart:INF
 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace [...]' (KJV)
 (Biblija1999 Luke 2:29)

  b.  Modern Lithuanian
 *Ar=gi*      *galite*            **versti**    **pasninkauti**
 Q=PTCL       be.able:PRS.2PL     make:INF      fast:INF
 *vestuvių*   *svečius [...]*?
 wedding:GEN.PL   guest:ACC.PL
 'Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast?' (KJV)
 (Biblija1999 Luke 5:34)

When compared to modern PCCs, 16th and 17th century sources show a number of differences, especially in the realm of permissive causation. Before proceeding to the analysis, it should be noted that the texts of this period are traditionally subdivided into three main groups according to their linguistic features and the area in which they were written, translated, published, and used (Z i n k e v i č i u s 1996, 227–255; D i n i 2014, 407–409):
  1) the Prussian variety, which was developed in Prussia and is mostly based on western High Lithuanian dialects spoken there,
  2) the central variety, based on the western High Lithuanian dialects of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL), and
  3) the eastern variety, based on the eastern High Lithuanian dialects of the GDL.

Due to time restrictions, this study covers only a selection of sources from the three varieties, which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. **16th–17th c. Lithuanian authors and sources included in this study**

|  | **Prussian variety** | **Central variety** | **Eastern variety** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16th c. | Mažvydas (all texts, Mž1547–1570) Vilentas (all texts, VlnE/EE1579) Bretkūnas (translation of the Bible, only the four Gospels were used for data collection, BNT1580) | Daukša (*Postilla*, DP1599) | – |
| 17th c. | Rėza (edition of Psalms, RPs1625) Klein (grammar of Lithuanian in Latin and German, KlG1653, KlC1654) Sappuhn and Schultz (grammar of Lithuanian in Latin, SSchG1673) *Lexicon Lithuanicum* (German-Lithuanian dictionary, 17th c. manuscript, Lex) *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* (German-Lithuanian dictionary, 17th c. manuscript, C)* | *Suma evangelijų*, part of *Knyga nobažnystės* (KNSE1653) | Sirvydas (*Punktai sakymų*, SPS1629-44, Polish-Latin-Lithuanian dictionary, edition of 1677, SD1677) |

* For the sake of brevity, henceforth all of these grammars are collectively referred to as "Prussian grammars of 17th c." and all of these dictionaries collectively as "Prussian dictionaries of 17th c.".

The present analysis is further divided into two parts according to the basic semantic type of the given PCCs: permissive ('allow, let') and factitive ('make, have V-ed'). Section 2 covers permissive constructions, which are based on the verbs *duoti* (2.1)*, (per-/pri–)leisti* (2.2)*, and (pa–)velti, pa-velyti, pa-/pri-zvalyti* (2.3)*, while Section 3 is devoted to factitive constructions, based on the verbs *(pri–)versti* and *(pri–)sylyti*. Cases of primarily permissive constructions with *duoti* and *leisti* used as factitives are also discussed in

Sections 2.1 and 2.2. The main points of the study are summarized in the conclusion in Section 4.

## 2. Permissive PCCs

### 2.1. *duoti*

Permissive PCCs in Modern Lithuanian are usually based on the verb *leisti*, while constructions with *duoti* are rather rare (Pakerys 2016, 443–445). In many Old Lithuanian texts, the situation is just the opposite: with the exception of DP1599 and SPS1629-44, PCCs with *duoti* are more frequent than those with *leisti* (see Table 2 below and Table 6 at the end of Section 2.2). With respect to geographical distribution, *duoti* is always more frequent in the Prussian texts included in this study, while *leisti* is more common in the GDL.[2] The PCC with *duoti* is possibly of a common Baltic origin (Pakerys 2017a, 119–120; Pakerys 2018, 114) and the innovation of employing *leisti*

Table 2. **PCCs with *duoti***

| Function \ Source | Mž1547–70 | VlnE/EE1579 | BNT1580 | RPs1625 | Prussian grammars (17th c.) | Prussian dictionaries (17th c.) | DP1599 | KNSE1653 | SPS1629–44 | SD1677 | Total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Permissive | 49 | 10 | 11 | 41 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 18 | 8 | 0 | **159** | 63.9 |
| Factitive (cognition/ perception) | 7 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 0 | **37** | 14.9 |
| Factitive (except for cognition/ perception) | 1 | 2 | 12 | 35 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | **53** | 21.3 |
| Total | 57 | 16 | 23 | 82 | 2 | 0 | 38 | 21 | 10 | 0 | **249** | |

[2] Here, I also counted the PCCs with verbs of cognition and perception, which can sometimes be interpreted as factitive (see notes below).

in PCCs appears to have spread from the east to the west in Lithuania: PCCs with *leisti* are more than twice as frequent as those with *duoti* in SPS1629-44 (eastern variety; 22 cases of PCCs with *(per-)leisti* vs. 10 cases with *duoti*), slightly more frequent in DP1599 (central variety; 47 *(per-/pri-)leisti* vs. 38 *duoti*), yet never more frequent in the Prussian Lithuanian texts used in this study. The exception to these tendencies is KNSE1653 (central variety) where *duoti* constructions still significantly surpass those with *leisti* (21:4). The Prussian Lithuanian dictionaries also seem to indicate the spread of *leisti* in the 17th century because these PCCs had to be salient enough to merit their inclusion in the dictionaries (PCCs with *duoti* are not even mentioned in Lex and C); however, more 17th century texts from Prussia need to be analyzed to provide a more representative view.

A typical use of the permissive PCC with *duoti* where the permittee is marked as dative is illustrated in (2a); the corresponding passage in possible Latin and German sources of the translation is in (2b) and (2c), respectively.

(2)  a.  Old Lithuanian
        | *Ne* | *důs* | *paſliſti* | ***koijei*** | *tawa* |
        |------|-------|-----------|--------------|--------|
        | NEG  | let:FUT.3 | slip:INF | leg:DAT.SG | POSS.2SG |

        'He will not suffer thy foot to be moved' (KJV)

                                        (Mž1547-70 531,9 Psalms 121:3)


    b.  Latin
        *Non det in commotionem **pedem** tuum*

                                        (Michelini 2000, 593)


    c.  German
        *Er wird deinen **fus** nicht gleitten lassen*

                                        (Michelini 2000, 593)


The dative of the permittee is inherited from the source construction *duoti* 'give', where it marks the recipient, but in the PCCs in Prussian Lithuanian sources, the accusative is also sometimes found, as illustrated in (3a); quantitative data are discussed below. Apparently, this marking is influenced by German PCCs with *lassen* + ACC, and the use of the accusative instead of the expected dative is also seen in Old Prussian PCCs with *dāt* (= Lithuanian *duoti*) (Pakerys 2017a, 122).

(3) a. Old Lithuanian

| *ir* | *důkite* | ***ghị*** | *eiti*[3] |
|------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| and | let:IMP.2PL | 3SG.ACC.M | go:INF |

'and let him go' (KJV)

(BNT1580 John 11:44)

b. German

*und lasset **ihn** gehen*

(Luther1545 John 11:44)

In addition to having a permissive function, some PCCs with *duoti* can be interpreted as factitive. For instance, factitive readings are possible when permissive PCCs are used with verbs of cognition and perception (see v o n W a l d e n f e l s 2012, 103–106, 150–152, 218–221 for Slavic data). A factitive interpretation is most evident when PCCs include the predicates *žinoti* 'know' or *pažinti* 'get to know' (i.e. 'let know/get to know' = 'inform'), or verbs of visual perception, such as *išvysti* 'see' (i.e. 'let see' = 'show'), as in (4a).

(4) a. Old Lithuanian

| *Kuri* | *Pon* | ***dawei*** | *man* | ***iſchwiſti*** / |
|--------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| which:ACC.SG.M | lord:VOC.SG | let:PST.2SG | 1SG.DAT | see:INF |
| *Ir* | *ghi* | ***paβinti*** [...] | | |
| and | 3SG.ACC.M | get.to.know:INF | | |

'Which you, Lord, let me see (= showed me) and let me get to know him[4] (= made known to me) [...]'

(Mž1547-70 226,3–5)

b. German

*Den du mich Herr **hast sehen lon** / und **macht bekand** [...]*

(M i c h e l i n i 2000, 288)

Such constructions are found in all varieties of Lithuanian texts included in this study, but another type of factitive PCC with *duoti*, which uses infinitival complements of various semantic classes (i.e. not restricted to cognition and perception), is found mostly in Prussian Lithuanian and is illustrated in (5a) and (5c).

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[3] The whole construction is corrected to IMP.3 *tewaikſchczoij* 'let him walk' in the manuscript.

[4] = Jesus Christ.

(5)  a.  Old Lithuanian

| *Ghis* | *dawe* | *pûſti* | *Rjtu* | *Weję* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.NOM.M | let:PST.3 | blow:INF | east:GEN.PL | wind:ACC.SG |

'He caused an east wind to blow' (KJV)

(RPs1625 78:26)

   b.  German

*Er **ließ wehen** den Ostwind*

(Luther1545 Psalms 78:26)

   c.  Old Lithuanian

| *Diews* | *dawe* | *nuliti* / | *Siera* | *ir* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| god:NOM.SG | let:PST.3 | rain:INF | sulphur:ACC.SG | and |
| *vgni*[5] | *didi* | | | |
| fire:ACC.SG | great:ACC.SG.M | | | |

'God caused sulphur and great fire to rain' (KJV)

(Mž1547-70 331,6-7)

   d.  German

**hub** *Gott **zu regnen an*** / *mit schwefel und mit fewre*

(Michelini 2000, 393)

The use of originally permissive PCCs as factitives can be explained by the influence of bifunctional (permissive/factitive) German *lassen* construction, which is why factitive *duoti* is usually found in Prussian Lithuanian where German played an important role (cf. Slavic curative PCCs based on 'give' in von Waldenfels 2015, 116–118). The causee is frequently marked as accusative instead of the expected dative, as in (5a) and (5c), which also reflects the German influence (*lassen* + ACC). It is interesting to note that in (5d), which is a possible source of the translation of (5c), the *lassen* construction is absent and the accusative is used independently from the source; this demonstrates that the use of the accusative in PCCs with *duoti* was in some cases independent from the sources of the translation. A dative causee is also found in factitive *duoti* constructions, but is less frequent (see Table 3 below). The data of RPs1625 are especially telling because the factitive use of *duoti* in this source is rather frequent[6] and it seems that the factitive function is

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[5] Urbas (1996, 399) interprets this form as instrumental, but the instrumental of *ugnis* in Mž1547-1570 is *ugn-imi* (see ibid.; cf. also the interpretation of *siera* as accusative on p. 333). The agreeing adjective *didi* 'great' (ACC.SG.M) further confirms that *vgni* is accusative (the instrumental is *didzu*; see ibid., p. 94).

[6] I acknowledge that differentiating permissive and factitive functions is not always easy and that a detailed study focusing solely on RPs1625 could change some of my current interpretations.

tied to the accusative. This can be explained by a tendency to interpret the permittees as having more control over the action than the causees and thus marking them as dative (see G i v ó n 2001, 66–68 on the link between dative and non–implicative manipulation).

Ta b l e 3. **Dative and accusative of permittee/causee in PCCs with duoti**[7]

| Function Source | Permissive | | Factitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DAT | ACC | DAT | ACC |
| Mž1547-70 | 34 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| VlnE/EE1579 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| BNT1580 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| RPs1625* | 17 | 14 | 4 | 23 |
| Total** | 63 | 17 | 5 | 24 |

\* Four cases of ambiguous 1SG.DAT/ACC clitic *mi* found in permissive PCCs are not in-cluded in the counts.
\*\* Only in some PCCs are permittees/causees explicitly indicated, which accounts for lower totals in Table 2 than in Table 1.

In one case only, a factitive (curative) use of the PCC with *duoti* is found in the GDL, where Sirvydas (eastern variety) apparently mimics the factitive function of Polish *dać* 'give; let; make; have V-ed' (v o n W a l d e n f e l s 2012, 144–146, 271–272). In (6a) Sirvydas describes the beheading of John the Baptist as ordered by Herodes: a corresponding passage is found in BNT1580 (Prussian variety) where the initial factitive (curative) PCC *dawe … nukirfti* 'had … beheaded' is corrected to the morphological causative *nukirfdina*, as shown in (6c).[8] It is interesting to note that Bretkūnas uses the factitive PCC with *duoti* independently from the German source of the translation, which simply reads *enthauptete Johannes* 'beheaded John', not *ließ Johannes*

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[7] Only sources where DAT/ACC variation occurs are included. Factitive PCCs with predicates of cognition and perception are excluded.

[8] In Klein's grammar of Lithuanian, one morphological causative (*rašydinti* 'have written') is also paraphrased by a PCC with *duoti* and is translated using a German PCC with *lassen* (while other non-curative causatives in that passage are notably translated by employing Latin paraphrases only): *raβy-din-u* [write-CAUS-PRS.1SG] / *id eft, důmi raβyti* [let:PRS.1SG write:INF] / *ich laffe fchreiben* (KlG1653 83r, 23-24).

*enthaupten* 'had John beheaded'. This indicates that factitive PCCs with *duoti* were gaining some productivity in Prussian Lithuanian and could be used without the stimulus of the corresponding German *lassen* construction.

(6)  a.  Old Lithuanian

| *imete* | *ii* | *ápkálinen /* | *ir* | *potam* | ***dáwe*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| throw.in:PST.3 | 3SG.ACC.M | prison:ILL.SG | and | then | let:PST.3 |

***nukirſt***
behead:INF

'[Herodes] threw him into prison and then had him beheaded'

(SPS1644 142,3-4)

   b.  Middle Polish
*wʒiał go do więʒienia, y potym **dał śćiąć***

(SPS1644 142,7-8)[9]

   c.  Old Lithuanian

| *ir* | ***dawe*** | *Ioaną* | ***nukirſti*** | *apkalime* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | let:PST.3 | John:ACC.SG | behead:INF | prison:LOC.SG |

(corrected to: [...]     ***nukirſ-din-a*** [...])
behead-CAUS-PST.3

'And he sent, and beheaded John in the prison' (KJV)

(BNT1580 Matthew 14:10)

   d.  German
*und **enthauptete** Johannes im Gefängnis*

(Luther1545 Matthew 14:10)

Turning now to reflexive (middle) variants of PCCs with *duoti*, there are three types of reflexive (RFL) marker affixations: (1) RFL appears only on the matrix verb, (2) RFL appears on both the matrix verb and the embedded infinitive, and (3) RFL appears only on the embedded infinitive.

For Type 1, the RFL marker could be interpreted as a historical clitic that marks the direct object of the following transitive infinitive (taking second position in the structure $V_{FIN}$=RFL $V_{INF}$) and the matrix verb is simply its phonological host (cf. Pakerys 2016, 440–441). Alternatively, the reflexive permissive PCCs in question could have also developed out of anticausative

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[9] In the case of SPS, the text was actually translated from Lithuanian into Polish, but the interference of Polish is certainly apparent in the language of Sirvydas.

structures like *duoti-s* 'give in, submit oneself (to somebody/something)', which were later complemented by infinitives, such as 'submit oneself, not resist (to action)'; unfortunately, I am currently unable to discuss this option based on Old Lithuanian data (see some notes on Old Latvian in Pakerys forthc.) Whatever the exact origin of the construction in question, the reflexive marker can be interpreted as referring to the direct object of the infinitive complement (Holvoet 2016, 16). Former RFL clitics typically do not have the proper reflexive function in Old Lithuanian (in such contexts as 'see oneself') and have to be treated as middle markers; the proper reflexive function is instead usually expressed by orthotonic reflexive pronominal forms. As a result, in some PCCs with *duoti*, orthotonic reflexive pronouns appear rather than the affixal reflexive markers of Type 1 constructions, cf. (7a) and (7c). (For a comparison between Old and Modern Lithuanian, see Holvoet 2016, 19–20.) For example, in VlnEE1579, out of four PCCs with *duoti*, only one has the affixal RFL marker, while three contain orthotonic reflexive pronouns, and in BNT1580 there are four affixal markers and one orthotonic pronoun, whereas DP1599 only contains constructions with affixal RFL markers.

(7)  a.  Old Lithuanian

| *ir* | *[Jeſus]* | ***dawe-s*** | ***krikſchtit*** | *nůg* | *Iano* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | Jesus:NOM | let:PST3-RFL | baptize:INF | from | John:GEN |
| (corrected to: | | *ap-ſi-krikſchti-din-a* | | *Iano*[10]) | |
| | | PFX-RFL-baptize-CAUS-PST.3 | | John:GEN | |

'and [Jesus] was baptized of John' (KJV)

(BNT1580 Mark 1:9)

b.  German

***und ließ sich taufen*** *von Johannes*

(Luther1545 Mark 1:9)

c.  Old Lithuanian

| *Ir* | *[Saul]* | *keleſi /* | ***dawe*** | ***ſawe*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | Saul | raise:PST.3.RFL | let:PST.3 | RFL.ACC |

***apchrikſchtiti***
baptize:INF

'and [Saul] arose, and was baptized' (KJV)

(VlnEE1579 144,1-2 Acts 9:18)

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[10] It is unclear if the preposition *nůg* is intentionally omitted in the correction.

c. German
        *und stund auf, **lieβ sich taufen***

    d. Latin
        *et surgens **baptizatus est***

Type 1 is found in 69 PCCs with *duoti*, while Type 2, in which affixal markers are found on both the matrix predicate and the subordinate infinitive as seen in (8), is quite rare (attested in eleven cases). H o l v o e t (2016) explains that the matrix verb gets the RFL marker because it can be interpreted as being controlled by the subject, thus resulting in the marker becoming one lexical unit with the matrix verb, while the subordinate infinitive assigns the semantic role of patient to that marker. Out of all sources included in the present study, KNSE1653 stands out by having five double affixal markers out of six total reflexive PCCs with *duoti* (in contrast to five examples out of 59 in DP1599 and one out of six in SPS1629–44). It should be noted that the double affixal RFL marker is the most frequent type in 17<sup>th</sup> century Latvian (see P a k e r y s forthc.), but was generally rare in Old Lithuanian; in addition, this same kind of doubling in permissive PCCs is also sometimes found in East Slavic languages (H o l v o e t 2016, 39–40).

(8) a.   Old Lithuanian

| *ir* | ***dâwe-s*** | ***paáugβtinti-s*** | *anì* | *krî̠ʒeus* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | let:PST.3-RFL | raise:INF-RFL | on | cross:GEN.SG |

'and (Jesus Christ) allowed himself to be raised on the cross'

    b.   Middle Polish
        *y **dał ſię powyʒ̠βyć** ná krʒyʒu*

Type 3, in which the RFL marker is affixed only to the subordinate infinitive, is even rarer and was found two times in DP1599, one of which is in (9), and three times in KNSE1653. (Note that these numbers are not included in Table 4, which only includes cases of RFL affixation to the matrix predicate *duoti*.)

(9)  a.  Old Lithuanian
[...] *Wiêßpatis*     *Chríſtus*     **appia[u ]ſtíti-s**     *dáwe*
Lord:NOM.SG     Christ:NOM     circumcise:INF–RFL     let:PST.3
'Lord Christ allowed himself to be circumcised'

(DP1599 54,43)

b.  Middle Polish
[...] *ſię Pan Chryſtus* **obrʒeʒáć dopuśćił**

(WP1590 54,17)

All reflexive PCCs with *duoti* (and also with *leisti*, to be discussed in Section 2.2) found in the sources of this study were complemented by infinitive clauses; no instances of present passive participle complements, such as Modern Lithuanian *ne-si-duoda išjuokiamas* NEG-RFL–let-PRS.3 mock-PRS.ACT.PTCP.NOM.SG.M '(God) does not allow himself to be mocked' = 'God is not mocked' (Biblija1999 Galatians 6:7), were found. In Pakerys (2016, 440), I suggested that permissive PCCs with *duoti-s* and *leisti-s* complemented by participles could be explained as having arisen from *accusativus cum participio* constructions, but Holvoet (2016, 31–33) noted that permissive PCCs with *leisti-s* and participles are not found in the Old Lithuanian sources he consulted and that this type of complementation was most likely a later development. Having reviewed the sources included in the present study, I can only confirm that participial complementation is not attested with either reflexive *duoti-s* or *leisti-s* and this type of complementation should be viewed as an innovation that did not develop out of *accusativus cum participio* constructions.

With respect to function, reflexive constructions with *duoti* in the majority of cases are permissive, as in (8a) or (9a), but sometimes factitive uses are found, as in the curative situation in (7a), in which the PCC was corrected to a morphological causative in the manuscript. The factitive use in Prussian Lithuanian is evidently copied from the German *lassen* constructions or reflects rare Polish factitive PCCs with *dać* in the case of texts from the GDL, such as *důſti-s łaidót* let:PRS.3-RFL bury:INF 'have themselves buried' DP1599 539,44 (= *ſię dáia chowáć* WP1590 586,1). The occasional marking of a causee by a PP with *nuog* 'from', as illustrated in (7a), is found only in Prussian Lithuanian (two times in BNT1580) and can be interpreted as reflecting the influence of the German construction using PP with *von*. Prepositional

marking in corresponding PCCs is also found in Old Latvian (see P a k e r y s (2017, 90–91) and P a k e r y s (forthc.); see also v o n W a l d e n f e l s (2012, 134, 138–140, 187, 196, 260, 271) for the Slavic data). Reflexive PCCs, including predicates of cognition and perception, can also be interpreted as factitive, as in (10a) where the PCC 'allowed himself to be seen' is crossed out in favor of 'appear':

(10)  a.  Old Lithuanian

| *Potam* | *wel* | *paſsirode* | *Jeſus* | (crossed out: |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| after.that | again | appeared:PST.3 | Jesus:NOM | |

**dawe-s** **iſchwiſti**)
let:PST.3–RFL see:INF
'After these things Jesus shewed himself again' (KJV)

(BNT1580 John 21:1)

b.  German
*Danach **offenbarte sich** Jesus abermal*

(Luther1545 John 21:1)

As seen in Table 4, reflexive PCCs with *duoti* are especially frequent in DP1599 but are generally uncommon in the Prussian sources. Perhaps this can be explained by the high productivity of reflexive PCCs with *dać* in Polish, as noted by v o n W a l d e n f e l s (2012, 120–121). Polish played an important role in the GDL and in most cases, it was the language of the sources of translation, so the productivity of reflexive PCCs with *duoti* in texts such as DP1599 may reflect Polish influence; however, further studies are needed to explain why a similar impact is not seen in, for example, KNSE1653, which was also translated from Polish. The impact of translation sources recalls the problem of the development of reflexive permissive constructions. With the influence of translation sources in mind, a possible scenario is that the translators were at least sometimes tempted to render PCCs like PRS.3SG Polish *daje się* V_TRANS and German *lässt sich* V_TRANS as Lithuanian *duosti-si* (let:PRS.3–RFL) V_TRANS, similarly to many cases when they rendered sequences of Polish/German V_TRANS + *się/sich* as Lithuanian V_TRANS-*si* with the affixal reflexive marker. So on the one hand, permissive reflexive PCCs could be archaic, but on the other hand, they may reflect specific renderings of the constructions found in the translation sources. Further study is needed to determine how reflexive permissive constructions were used in archaic folklore material

where the influence of other languages like Polish or German was minimal or absent altogether.

Table 4. **PCCs with reflexive *duoti-s*[11]**

| Source / Function | Mž1547–70 | VlnE/EE1579 | BNT1580 | RPs1625 | Prussian grammars (17th c.) | Prussian dictionaries (17th c.) | DP1599 | KNSE1653 | SPS1629–44 | SD1677 | Total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Permissive | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 53 | 6 | 6 | 1 | **70** | 87.5 |
| Factitive (cognition/ perception) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **5** | 6.3 |
| Factitive (except for cognition/ perception) | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **5** | 6.3 |
| Total | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 59 | 6 | 6 | 1 | **80** | |

### 2.2. *(per-/pri-)leisti*

As mentioned previously, permissive PCCs with *leisti* are rare in Prussian Lithuanian; more examples are found in sources from the GDL, notably with prefixed *per-leisti* and *pri-leisti*, which are no longer used in PCCs in Modern Lithuanian (see Table 6 at the end of this section). The permissive function developed out of the primary meaning 'release, let go' (as in *leisti vandenį* release:INF water:ACC.SG 'release water') combined with the initially optional infinitive of purpose, which was later reinterpreted as a complement (*leisti vandenį bėgti* release:INF water:ACC.SG run:INF '(lit.) release water to flow' >

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[11] This table includes cases of Type 1 (the RFL affix appears only on the matrix predicate) and Type 2 (the RFL affix appears on both the matrix predicate and subordinate infinitive).

'let the water flow'; see Pakerys (2018, 115–117) for more details and a Baltic context). The data are limited, but several examples of permissive non-prefixed *leisti* in Prussian Lithuanian show a clear link to the primary meaning 'let go' and are complemented by the predicate *eiti* 'go' (three times out of three in Mž1547-70, two out of two in VlnE/EE1579, and three out of four in BNT1580).[12] One such example is in (11a).

(11) a. Old Lithuanian

| *Leiſket* | ***Bernelus*** | *manęſpi* | *eiti* |
|---|---|---|---|
| let:IMP.2PL | child:ACC.PL | 1SG.ALL | go:INF |

'Let the children come to me'

(Mž1547-70 96,14 Mark 10:14)

b. German
*Last **die Kindlein** zu Mir komen*

(Michelini 2000, 158)

It is worth noting that the permittee in all of these cases of *leisti* + *eiti* 'let go' (eight in total) is marked as accusative, which is possibly inherited from the source construction, but was subsequently replaced by the dative, which is used with very rare exceptions in Modern Lithuanian and was already frequent in Old Lithuanian, especially with the prefixed *per-leisti* (see Table 5 below; see more notes in Pakerys 2018, 117–120). As the majority of examples with *leisti* + ACC come from Prussia, they may have been influenced by German *lassen* + ACC constructions, similar to the case of *duoti* 'allow' mentioned previously. Nonetheless, two examples are found in the GDL, illustrated in (12), which cannot be influenced by the translation source, where the dative is found.[13] In Modern Lithuanian PCCs with *eiti* 'go' also sometimes have an accusative permittee. Thus, I conclude that at least some of the examples from Prussia of *leisti* + an accusative permittee (especially when complemented by *eiti* 'go') may be original (archaic) and not necessarily influenced by German *lassen* + ACC constructions.

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[12] *leisti* + *eiti* is also found once in RPs1625 66,12, but the context is apparently factitive, see (13).

[13] The genitive of a negation, in (12b), corresponds to the accusative in a non-negated clause.

(12) a. Old Lithuanian

  *łayſkit*     **tuos**      *nueyti*    *idánt*
  let:IMP.2PL    DEM.ACC.PL.M   go:INF    so.that
  *ißſipilditu*    *ʒodʒiay* [...]
  be.fulfilled:IRR.3   word:NOM.PL
  'let these go so that the [following] words would be fulfilled [...]'

               (KNSE1653 271,4–5; cf. John 18:8-9)

  b. Old Lithuanian

  *ne*      *priłáidʒia*    **io**      *niékam'*
  NEG     allow:PRS.3    3SG.GEN.M   nobody:DAT.SG
  *géro*     *darîi*
  good:GEN.SG   do:INF
  '(It) does not let him do good for anyone'

               (DP1599 114,41)

  c. Middle Polish

  *nie dopuśći* **mu** *nikomu dobrʒe cʒynić*

               (WP1590 116,1–2)

**T a b l e 5. Permittee marking in PCCs with *leisti*, *per-leisti*, and *pri-leisti***

| Source<br><br>Verb +<br>permittee case | Mž1547-70 | VlnE/EE1579 | BNT1580 | RPs1625 | Prussian grammars (17th c.) | Prussian dictionaries (17th c.) | DP1599 | KNSE1653 | SPS1629-44 | SD1677 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *leisti* + ACC | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | **13** |
| *leisti* + DAT | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **0** |
| *per-leisti* + ACC | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **1** |
| *per-leisti* + DAT | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 1 | 12 | 0 | **33** |
| *pri-leisti* + ACC | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **3** |
| *pri-leisti* + DAT | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6* | 0 | 0 | 0 | **6** |
| Total ACC | 6 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | **17** |
| Total DAT | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 1 | 12 | 0 | **39** |

* One case when the permittee is marked by the morphologically ambiguous 1SG.DAT/ACC clitic *m(i)* is excluded from the count here.

With respect to function, PCCs with *leisti, per–leisti, or pri–leisti* are permissive, save one possible exception found in RPs1625, shown in (13), which may be factitive (cf. the KJV translation). The use of *leisti* in this case, though, is most likely due to the interference of the bifunctional German *lassen* construction, as discussed in Section 2.1 with regard to PCCs with *duoti*.

(13)  a.  Old Lithuanian

      *Tu*    **leidai**    *Sʒmones*    **eiti**    *per*    *mufu*    *Gâlwas*
      2SG.NOM let:PST.2SG people:ACC.PL go:INF over our head:ACC.PL
      'Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads' (KJV)

                                            (RPs1625 66:12)

      b.  German

      *du* **hast** *Menschen* **lassen** *über unser Haupt* **fahren**

                                    (Luther1545 Psalms 66:12)

PCCs with *leisti* containing the affixal reflexive marker are very rare and are only found in the GDL: KNSE1653 contains one example with *leisti–s*, SPS1629-44 has one example with *per–leisti–s*, and DP1599 contains three examples with *pri–leisti–s*. This suggests that such constructions are not archaic, but gained popularity gradually alongside an increasing use of permissive *leisti*. On the one hand, these constructions could have developed independently, but on the other hand, they could have also been modeled after the permissive reflexive *duoti–s* and patterns found in Polish PCCs (as well as perhaps patterns in German PCCs at a later period in Prussia) and rendered as *permissive verb + reflexive affix + transitive verb*, as mentioned in Section 2.1 with regard to reflexive PCCs with *duoti* (cf. (14a) where Lithuanian *prilaisi … prigaut* 'will allow himself to be tricked' corresponds to Polish **się** *dopuści … oszukać* in (14b)). In some cases, an orthotonic reflexive pronoun can be used in PCCs with *per–leisti*, as in (14c). (Note that *per–leisti* is used here alongside a PCC with *duoti–s* and the affixal reflexive marker, which is doubled on the subordinate infinitive.)

(14)  a.  Old Lithuanian

      *ʒmógus* [...]    **priłáif-is**    *wélinui*    *prigáutʼ*
      man:NOM.SG    allow:FUT.3-RFL  devil:DAT.SG  trick:INF
      '(lit.) a man [...] will allow himself to be tricked by the devil'

                                          (DP1599 383,32-33)

b. Middle Polish
*cʒłowiek* [...] *fię dopuśći cʒártowi oßukáć*

<div align="right">(WP1590 397,47-48)</div>

c. Old Lithuanian

| *Nes* | *ne* | *perłeyde* | *sawis* | *iiemus* | *gaudit,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| because | NEG | allow:PST.3 | RFL.GEN | 3PL.DAT.M | catch:INF |

| *ney* | *dawe-s* | *nu-si-twert* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nor | let:PST.3-RFL | PFX-RFL-grab:INF | | | |

'He did not allow them to catch him nor did he allow himself to be grabbed'

<div align="right">(SPS1629 377,12-14)</div>

d. Middle Polish
*Bo śię im niedopuśćił imaċ áni śię dał vłapić*

<div align="right">(SPS1629 377,11-13)</div>

Type 1 of the reflexive PCCs, in which the affixal RFL marker is added to the matrix verb, is found twice: once in DP1599 with *pri–leisti*, illustrated in (14a), and once in SPS1644 135,11-12 with *per–leisti*. Type 2, with the affixal RFL markers occurring both on the matrix verb and on the subordinated infinitive, was found three times (twice in DP1599, as in (15a), and once in KNSE1653). In one case, (15c), the RFL marker is affixed to the subordinate infinitive, notably ten lines above example (15a), and the verbs share the same root *riš–* 'tie' (*surißdinti-ś priłaidai-s* vs. *suríßti-ś prilaido*). This shows that very similar phrases could be rendered by varying the reflexive construction. Note also that in (15a), the PCC with *duoti* has the reflexive marker appearing on the matrix verb.

(15) a. Old Lithuanian

| *kursái* [...] | *sugáudinti-ś* | *ir* | *surißdinti-ś* |
|---|---|---|---|
| who:NOM.SG.M | capture:CAUS.INF-RFL | and | tie.up:CAUS.INF-RFL |

| *priłaidai-s* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| allow:PST.2SG-RFL | | | |

'[you,] who allowed to be captured and tied up'

<div align="right">(DP1599 157,31-32)</div>

b. Middle Polish
*ktoryś fię* [...] *poimáċ y ʒwięʒáċ dopuśćił*

<div align="right">(WP1590 163,20-21)</div>

c. Old Lithuanian

| *Iisái* | *dáwe-ś* | *sugaui* / [...] | *suríßti-ś* | *prilaido* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.NOM.M | let:PST3-RFL | capture:INF | tie.up:INF-RFL | allow:PST.3 |

'He allowed to be captured, [...] allowed to be tied up'

<div align="right">(DP1599 157,22)</div>

d. Middle Polish
   *On ſię dał poimáć / [...] ʒwiaʒáć **ſię dopuśćił***

(WP1590 163,10)

Table 6. **PCCs with *leisti, per-leisti,* and *pri-leisti***

| Source / Verb, function | Mž1547–70 | VlnE/EE1579 | BNT1580 | RPs1625 | Prussian grammars (17th c.) | Prussian dictionaries (17th c.) | DP1599 | KNSE1653 | SPS1629–44 | SD1677 | Total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *leisti*, permissive | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | **17** | 16 |
| *leisti,* factitive | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **1** | 1 |
| *per-leisti*, permissive | 4 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 23 | 1 | 22 | 1 | **65** | 60 |
| *pri-leisti*, permissive | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **25** | 23 |
| Total | 9 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 47 | 4 | 22 | 1 | **108** | |

### 2.3. *(pa-)velti, pa-velyti, pa-/pri-zvalyti*

A rare permissive PCC with *(pa-)velti* 'allow' is attested in two Prussian sources: BNT1580 includes fourteen instances of prefixed *pa-velti*, one of which is shown in (16a), while *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* has one instance of *velti,* shown in (16b), and two of the prefixed *pa-velti*. (All three attestations are mentioned in essentially the same dictionary entry, found in C I 748–749.) In P a k e r y s (2018, 127), I suggest that the permissive function of *(pa-)velti* developed out of the basic meaning 'wish' and that the object in this construction was initially marked as accusative, but was later replaced by the dative (which is the only case found for any permittee in the corpus of this study), similarly to PCCs with *leisti*. The primary meaning of *velti* is seen in, for example, the reflexive *velti-s* used in RPs1625 84,11: ***Welmie-s***

*buti Wartininku* wish:PRS.1SG-RFL be:INF doorkeeper:INS.SG 'I would rather be a doorkeeper'.

(16) a. Old Lithuanian

| *Moſeſchus* | ***pawele*** | *iumus* | *ſkirties* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Moses:NOM | allow:PST.3 | 3PL.DAT.M | separate:INF.RFL |
| *nůg* | *iuſų* | *Moterų* | |
| from | POSS.2PL | woman:GEN.PL | |

'Moses [...] suffered you to put away your wives' (KJV)

(BNT1580 Matthew 19:8)

b. German

*Mose **hat** euch **erlaubt**, zu scheiden von euren Weibern*

(Luther1545 Matthew 19:8)

c. Old Lithuanian

| *Motery* | ***ne*** (corrected from: *nu*) | ***wéliu*** | *jeng* |
|---|---|---|---|
| woman:DAT.SG[14] | NEG | allow:PRS.1SG | that |
| *mokintu* | | | |
| teach:IRR.3 | | | |

'But I suffer not a woman to teach' (KJV)

(C I 748 1 Timothy 2:12)

d. German

*Einem Weibe **geſtatte** ich **nicht**, daß ſie lehre*

(C I 748 1 Timothy 2:12)[15]

Finally, the rarely used permissive verbs *pa-velyti* and *pa-, pri-zvalyti* should be mentioned. Both are Slavic borrowings (Fraenkel 1962, 556, 559; Smoczyński 2018, 1628, 1705) with permissive functions found in the source Slavic languages. The PCC with *pa-velyti* is attested twice in VlnE1579 and once in KNSE1653, one of which is shown in (17). The verb *pa-zvalyti* is attested in the Prussian dictionaries (once in Lex and three times in C) and once in DP1599. *Pri-zvalyti* appears once, only in DP1599, while *pa-, pri-zvalyti* with finite complements do not appear at all. Therefore, only

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[14] This form is certainly dative in *-ij*; the accusative would be marked with the nasal *-į*.

[15] I sincerely thank Birutė Triškaitė for providing me with the transcription of the Old Lithuanian and German sentences cited in (16c) and (16d).

*pa-velyti* functions as a truly permissive PCC.[16] It should also be mentioned that in C (C I 354, 748, 749) the verb *pa-zvalyti* is spelled with <e> (*Pafwéliti, Pazweliu*, etc.), apparently under the influence of *pa-velti* (listed in the same dictionary entry in C I 748, 749). None of these borrowings are used in Modern Lithuanian.

(17)   Old Lithuanian
    **paweliju**       *efch*          *Ponams* [...]    *dariti /*   *kaip*   *ghiems*
    allow:PRS.1SG  1SG.NOM  lord:DAT.PL     do:INF     as     3PL.DAT
    *luba*           *jra*
    pleasing     be:PRS.3
    'I allow the lords [...] to act as they like'
                                          (VlnE1579 45,21–46,2)

### 3. Factitive PCCs

Factitive PCCs, as in Modern Lithuanian, can be expressed by the verb *(pri-)versti*, which is attested in many of the sources in this study (see Table 7 at the end of this section). The factitive function of *(pri-)versti* developed out of the primary meaning 'turn, topple' and belongs to the group of semantic development 'cause to move' > 'cause' (see P a k e r y s (2018, 131–132) for a wider context and some additional cases of this development in the Baltic languages). It is interesting to note that *versti* is more frequently used with the prefix *pri-*, which is also found in permissive constructions. This suggests that some specific spatial constructions showed a stronger tendency of developing into causative constructions. In the case of the shared prefix *pri-* (which corresponds to and is of the same origin as the preposition *prie*), the constructions *(pri-)leisti prie* 'to allow to come to' and *(pri-)versti prie* 'to turn, push towards' may have shown a stronger tendency of developing into causative PCCs than other spatial constructions; this tendency is reflected in the frequent use of prefixed *pri-leisti/versti* in PCCs (cf. also Latvian *pie-spiest* 'make'). In Old Lithuanian, the goal could have been marked by postpositional case; a number of constructions with *(pri-)versti* have a clear component of compelling and are complemented by NPs marked by allatives (which functionally correspond to PPs with *prie*), but are not yet

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[16] LKŽᵉ lists the permissive *da-zvalyti* complemented by the infinitive from the Bible translation of Bretkūnas: **ne-dazvalyk** (added above: *ne-duok*) *mum* **prapulti** NEG -allow:IMP.2SG (NEG-allow:IMP.2SG) 1PL.DAT perish:INF 'let us not perish' (Jonah 1:14).

complemented by infinitives, cf. (18a) and (19a); note that the Latin source in (18b) contains a factitive PCC complemented by an infinitive clause, while the German source in (18c) is closer to Old Lithuanian by having a PP:

(18) a. Old Lithuanian
  *Er*  *gailite* (corrected to *galite*) *funus* (corrected to *waikus*)
  Q  be.able:PRS.2PL     son:ACC.PL    child:ACC.PL
  *iaunika* (corrected to *Iauniko*) [...]  ***paſtnikawimap***
  bridegroom:GEN.SG       fasting:ALL.SG
  ***werſti?***
  compel:INF
  'Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast [...]?' (KJV)
                  (BNT1580 Luke 5:34)

  b. Latin
  *Numquid potestis filios sponsi* [...] ***facere jejunare?***
            (Vulgata Clementina Luke 5:34)

  c. German
  *Ihr möget die Hochzeitleute nicht* ***zum Fasten treiben***
             (Luther1545 Luke 5:34)

In true factitive PCCs with verbal complements, the goal NPs (such as in (18a)) are replaced either by infinitive clauses, as in (19a), or *that*-clauses, as in (19d) (cf. also a modern translation of (18a) with a factitive PCC in (1a) in the beginning of this paper).

(19) a. Old Lithuanian
  *ir*     ***priwerſk***     ***įeiti***
  and    compel:IMP.2SG   come.in:INF
  'and compel them to come in' (KJV)
               (BNT1580 Luke 14:23)

  b. Latin
  *et* ***compelle intrare***
           (Vulgata Clementina Luke 14:23)
  c. German
  *und* ***nötige*** *sie* ***hereinzukommen***
           (Luther1545 Luke 14:23)

d. Old Lithuanian

| *Ir* | ***priwerte,*** | *wieną* | *praenţi* [...] |
|------|------------------|---------|------------------|
| and | compel:PST.3 | one:ACC.SG.M | pass.by:PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.M |
| ***idant*** | *iam* | *Kriſʒų* | ***neſchtų*** |
| that | 3SG.DAT.M | cross:ACC.SG | carry:IRR.3 |

'And they compel one [...], who passed by, [...], to bear his cross' (KJV)

(BNT1580 Mark 15:21)

e. German

*Und **zwangen** einen, der vorüberging, [...], **daß** er ihm das Kreuz **trüge**.*

(Luther1545 Mark 15:21)

A rare factitive PCC attested in both VlnE/EE1579 and the Prussian dictionaries is *(pri-)syl-y-ti* (also *syl-in-ti* C, *į-syl-in-ti* Lex, where the suffix *-in-* replaces *-y-*). The verb *sylyti* is most likely a direct copy from Slavic (S k a r d ž i u s 1931, 197), but it could also be interpreted as a denominative formation from the Slavic borrowing *syla* 'force' (F r a e n k e l 1962, 785; S m o c z y ń s k i 2018, 1168). Similar to *versti*, constructions with *sylyti* sometimes contain allatives (cf. (20a) where *pri–sylyti* is used alongside *pri-versti*); for a complement infinitive clause, see (20b), which contains the same phrase (Luke 14:23) as in (19a), but *sylyti* is used instead of *priversti*.

(20) a. Old Lithuanian

| *newiens* | *ne-tur* | *buti* |
|-----------|----------|--------|
| no.one:NOM.SG.M | NEG–have:PRS.3 | be:INF |
| ***priwerſtas*** | | *ir* |
| compel:PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M | | and |
| ***priſil[i]tas*** | | *wieroſp* |
| force:PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M | | faith:ALL.SG |

'no one should be compelled and forced to faith'

(VlnE1579 5,1-2)

b. Old Lithuanian

| *ir* | ***ſilyk*** | *jeiti* |
|------|--------------|---------|
| and | force:IMP.2SG | come.in:INF |

'and compel them to come in' (KJV)

(VlnEE1579 86,21 Luke 14:23)

Table 7. **Factitive PCCs**

| Source / Verb | Mž1547–70 | VlnE/EE1579 | BNT1580 | RPs1625 | Prussian grammars (17th c.) | Prussian dictionaries (17th c.) | DP1599 | KNSE1653 | SPS1629–44 | SD1677 | Total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *versti* | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | **8** | 22 |
| *pri–versti* | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 0 | **20** | 54 |
| *sylyti* | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **4** | 11 |
| *pri–sylyti* | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **5** | 14 |
| Total | 2 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 0 | **37** | |

## 4. Conclusions

The most frequent permissive PCC in Modern Lithuanian is based on *leisti* and is complemented by the marginally used construction with *duoti*, but in many Old Lithuanian sources the situation was the reverse. In all texts, except for DP1599 and SPS1629-44, PCCs with *duoti* are more frequent and it seems that the PCC with *leisti* spread geographically from east to west, although this needs to be researched further by including more sources. The majority of PCCs with *duoti* are permissive, but in Prussian Lithuanian, these PCCs also have a well–attested factitive function, which can be explained by the influence of German bifunctional (permissive/factitive) *lassen* constructions. The permittee/causee in *duoti* constructions is usually marked as dative, inherited from the source construction where it marks the recipient (*duoti* 'give' > 'allow'), but the accusative marking is additionally found in Prussian Lithuanian. The use of the accusative is yet another case of interference from the German *lassen* (+ ACC) construction. It is interesting to note that as the accusative competes with the dative in RPs1625, the accusative tends to be more frequent in factitive contexts.

PCCs based on *duoti* containing affixal reflexive (middle) markers are in general infrequent, with the exception of DP1599 where this construction may be linked to the productivity of corresponding PCCs in the Polish translation source, but this needs to be verified in further studies. The most frequent type of reflexive PCC with *duoti* is the one in which the affixal

reflexive marker is found on the matrix verb, while the construction with the affixal reflexive marker occurring on both the matrix verb and the subordinate infinitive is much less common, followed by a very rare type when the affixal reflexive marker is found on the subordinate infinitive only. In Modern Lithuanian, reflexive permissive PCCs are usually complemented by present passive participles, while in Old Lithuanian such complementation is absent, demonstrating that participial complements in permissive PCCs are a later development. In the majority of cases, reflexive PCCs with *duoti* are permissive, but some examples of factitive use exist and can be explained as copying the factitive function of German and Polish PCCs. In rare cases (BNT1580), reflexive factitive (curative) PCCs based on *duoti* employ PPs with *nuog* 'from' to mark the causee, which is a copy of the German reflexive *lassen* construction in which the causee is marked by a PP with *von*.

Permissive PCCs with *leisti* in the majority of cases are based on prefixed *per-leisti* and *pri-leisti*, which are not used in Modern Lithuanian PCCs. The permittee in PCCs with *leisti* is most frequently marked as dative, but the accusative is also found in almost one-third of the constructions. On the one hand, the accusative can be archaic (especially when complemented by *eiti* 'go') and inherited from the source construction where it marked the direct object of *leisti* 'release'; on the other hand, the use of the accusative in Prussian Lithuanian may have been influenced by German *lassen* + ACC constructions. Reflexive PCCs based on *leisti* containing affixal reflexive markers are very rare and are found only in the texts from the GDL.

Two sources of Prussian Lithuanian (BNT1580 and C) contain a rare permissive PCC based on the archaic verb *(pa)-velti*; the permittee is invariably marked as dative in this construction. In addition, the permissive Slavic borrowings *pa-velyti* and *pa-/pri-zvalyti* are marginally attested, but in the corpus of this study, verbal complementation was attested only for *pa-velyti*.

Factitive PCCs are much more rarely used than permissive ones, which are also sometimes employed as factitive, as mentioned previously. Similar to Modern Lithuanian, the PCC with *(pri-)versti* is most frequently used, but the Slavic borrowing *(pri-)sylyti* is also attested. The frequent use of the prefix *pri-* (cf. also permissive *pri-leisti*) seems to indicate that particular spatial constructions showed a tendency to develop into PCCs, as seen in cases when the verb *(pri-)versti* is complemented by NPs coded by allatives and has a clear reference to forced action.

# LIETUVIŲ KALBOS PERIFRASTINĖS KAUZATYVINĖS KONSTRUKCIJOS XVI–XVII A. ŠALTINIUOSE

*Santrauka*

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamos lietuvių kalbos perifrastinės kauzatyvinės konstrukcijos (PKK) remiantis XVI–XVII a. šaltinių duomenimis. Kitaip nei dabartinėje kalboje, matyti, kad anksčiau permisyvinės PKK su *duoti* daugelyje tirtų tekstų buvo pagrindinės ir tik kai kuriuose šaltiniuose jas lenkia PKK su *leisti*; be to, atrodo, kad PKK su *leisti* plitimo banga galėjo eiti iš rytų į vakarus. Pati dažniausia PKK su *duoti* reikšmė yra permisyvinė, bet šalia jos pasitaiko ir faktityvinė – paprastai ji randama Prūsijos tekstuose ir laikytina perimta iš vokiečių dvifunkcės (permisyvinės ir faktityvinės) PKK su *lassen*. PKK su *duoti* ir *leisti* objektai paprastai žymimi naudininku, bet šalia jo vartojamas ir galininkas, kuris taip pat turėtų būti perimtas iš vokiečių *lassen* + ACC konstrukcijos. Tiesa, galininkas su *leisti* bent kai kuriais atvejais gali būti senoviškas ir paveldėtas iš pradinės konstrukcijos *leisti* 'duoti valią judėti' + ACC. Straipsnyje taip pat trumpai aptariama archajiško permisyvinio veiksmažodžiu *(pa-)velti* ir slavizmų *pa-velyti* ir *pa-/pri-zvalyti* vartosena. Dauguma sangrąžinių (medialinių) permisyvinių konstrukcijų tirtuose šaltiniuose randama su veiksmažodžiu *duoti*, o sangrąžos afiksas paprastai jungiamas prie *duoti*, bet yra ir atvejų, kai papildomą afiksą gauna ir priklausomoji bendratis (labai retai tas afiksas jungiamas tik prie bendraties). Faktityvinės PKK tirtuose šaltiniuose yra retesnės už permisyvines ir jose dažniausiai vartojamas veiksmažodis *(pri-)versti,* bet kai kuriuose šaltiniuose pasitaiko ir slavizmas *(pri-)sylyti*. Tai, kad šių konstrukcijų perfektyviniai veiksmažodžiai turi priešdėlį *pri-* (plg. ir permisyvinį *pri-leisti*), rodo, kad kauzatyvinėmis buvo linkusios virsti tam tikros erdvinės konstrukcijos (su priešdėliu *pri-* ir aliatyvu).

## ABBREVIATIONS

1 – 1$^{st}$ person
2 – 2$^{nd}$ person
3 – 3$^{rd}$ person
ACC – accusative
ACT – active
ALL – allative
CAUS – causative
DAT – dative
DEM – demonstrative
FUT – future
GDL – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

GEN – genitive
ILL – illative
IMP – imperative
INF – infinitive
INS – instrumental
IRR – irrealis
LOC – locative
M – masculine
NEG – negation
NOM – nominative
PCC – periphrastic causative construction
PFX – prefix

PL – plural
POSS – possessive
PRS – present
PSS – passive
PST – past
PTCL – particle
PTCP – participle
Q – question particle
RFL – reflexive (pronoun or affix)
SG – singular
VOC – vocative

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