

LITHUANIAN DISCONTINUATIVES *NEBE-/JAU NEBE-* AND GERMAN- LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE CONTACTS

NORBERT OSTROWSKI

Jagiellonian University, Cracow



PRESSto.

ABSTRACT. This paper aims to describe the origin of the Lithuanian discontinuatives *nebe-* / *jau nebe-* ‘no more, no longer’. In van der Auwera’s terms they represent the so-called ‘still’ discontinuatives, i.e. they consist of a continuative morpheme *-be-* and negation *ne-*. In Old Lithuanian texts (16th century) their productivity is strictly connected to the area of Lithuania Minor (former East Prussia). Both variants (i.e. *nebe-* / *jau nebe-* ‘no more, no longer’) have structural counterparts in German, which seems to suggest that *nebe-* and *jau nebe-* have come into being under influence of German.

1. LITHUANIAN *JAU NE* ‘NO LONGER’ AND *NEBE-* ‘NO LONGER’

Van der Auwera (1998:50) introduced the following typology of discontinuatives (e.g. *no longer*) in languages spoken in Europe:

Term	Description	Example(s)
1) Inchoative discontinuative	Discontinuative expressed with negation and inchoative	Rus. <i>uže ne</i> , Span. <i>ya no</i> , Trk. <i>artik NEG-V</i>
2) Continuative discontinuative	Discontinuative expressed with negation and continuative	
- ‘still’ discontinuative	Continuative discontinuative with negation and a non-comparative continuative adverbial	Maltese <i>m-ġhad-x</i>
- Comparative discontinuative	Continuative discontinuative with negation and comparative	Alb. <i>nuk më</i> , Dutch <i>niet meer</i> , Eng. <i>no longer</i>

(Fig.1) *Van der Auwera's typology of discontinuatives*

In contemporary Lithuanian we find two kinds of discontinuatives. The first one, common for all Lithuanian dialects, is the inchoative discontinuative *jau ne* (: *jau* ‘already’), e.g.:

- (1) *Jonas jau ne-turi laik-o.*
 John already NEG-have:PRS3 time:GEN.SG
 ‘John no longer has time.’

The continuative counterpart of *jau ne* ‘no longer’ is *dar* ‘still’ (< OLith. *dabar* ‘still; now’). The system of phasal adverbs consists of four elements:

- a) continuative *dar* ‘still’,
- b) continuative negative *dar ne* ‘not yet’,
- c) inchoative *jau* ‘already’,
- d) inchoative discontinuative *jau ne* ‘no longer’.

This system coincides with the Slavic one (Polish, Russian), which has been thoroughly described by van der Auwera (1998:39 ff.), cf. Pol. *jeszcze* ‘still’, *jeszcze nie* ‘not yet’, *już* ‘already’ and *już nie* ‘no longer’ (lit. ‘already not’).

The second type of discontinuative is the so-called “‘still’ discontinuative”, e.g.:

- (2) *Jonas ne- be- turi laik-o.*
 John NEG-still-have:PRS3 time:GEN.SG
 ‘John no longer has time.’

This discontinuative is limited exclusively to the West-Aukshtaitian dialect (the west Lithuania and former East Prussia), which became the basis of the literary Lithuanian language. Discontinuatives *jau ne* and *nebe* are used in literary language interchangeably. The distribution of *jau ne-*, *nebe-* and *jau nebe-* is especially well visible in Old Lithuanian texts. E.g. in *Postill* (1599) by Mikołaj Dauksza (*DP*), who came from the Kėdainiai district and represented the so-called middle Lithuanian variant of the 16th century literary Lithuanian language, *jau ne-* appears ≈39x, *nebe-* only 2x, *jau nebe-* 0x. By contrast, in the comparable in terms of size *Postill* (1591) by Johannes Bretke (Lithuania Minor = former East Prussia), *jau ne-* occurs only 4x, *nebe-* 15x, *jau nebe-* 6x.¹ In the following section I will discuss the origin of *nebe-* ‘no longer’.

2. OUTER NEGATION VS. INNER NEGATION

In Modern Lithuanian the continuative counterpart of *nebe-* is the prefix *tebe-*, which about the first half of 19th century superseded the continuative prefix/particle *be* ‘still’ (Ostrowski 2011a). The primary usage of *be(-)* is illustrated by examples (3) and (4):

¹ More on the distribution *jau ne-*, *nebe-* and *jau nebe-* ‘no longer’ in Old Lithuanian texts see Ostrowski (2011b).

- (3) *kolei be diena* (Bretke's Bible [1590])
 until still day
 'for the day goeth away' (Jer 6,4) // Luther (1545): *weil es noch hoch Tag ist!*
- (4) *Acz giwen-ke-m Raskaschnai / kalei be-turri-m / ir warty-ke-m*
 and live:IMPRT-1PL lusciously until still:keep:1PL and use:IMPRT-1PL
kun-a saw-a kolei be iaunas².
 body-ACC.SG one's own:ACC.SG until still young
 'Let's live lusciously while we are still staying alive and let's use our body
 while it is still young.'

The origin of *nebe-* boils down to the difference between OUTER NEGATION and INNER NEGATION. Outer negation has in its scope the whole sentence and is established by means of a paraphrase 'It is not true that...', e.g.:

- (5) *Jon-o nėra namie.* ('It is not true that John is home')
 John:GEN.SG NEG:be:PRS3 at home
 'John is not home'

In contrast, the inner negation appears in the scope of the other part of sentence, e.g. particle *jau* 'already' in (1). In order to illustrate the difference, let's compare sentences (6) and (7):

- (6) *Jonas ne-be turi laik-o.* ('It is not true that John still has time')
 John NEG-still-have:PRS3 time:GEN.SG
 'John no longer has time.'
- (7) *Jonas jau neturi laik-o.*
 John already NEG-have:PRS3 time:GEN.SG
 'John no longer has time.'

If we apply to (6) the paraphrase 'it is not true that...', we obtain 'It is not true that John still has time' that is synonymous with (7). However, if we employ the aforementioned paraphrase in (7), we get 'It is not true that John already has time' = 'John has not time yet' that differs clearly from the sense of (7). It happens because in (7) there is the inner negation that occurs in the scope of the particle *jau* 'already'. Which has led us to the conclusion that the outer negation with the continuative prefix *be-* is an equivalent to the inner negation with the particle *jau* 'already'; see König (1991, 143), who illustrated the described relationship using the German *schon* 'already' and *noch* 'still':

- a. \neg (schon p) \equiv noch (\neg p) b.
 c. \neg (noch p) \equiv schon (\neg p) d.

² BP I 237.17-18 [1591]

These symbols may be replaced with the following examples:

- (8) a. *It is not true that X already has time* \equiv b. *X does not have time yet*
 (8) c. *It is not true that X still has time* \equiv d. *lit. already not*

The German *nicht mehr* ‘no longer’, a comparative discontinuative in van der Auwera’s terms, constitutes an outer negation, too (König, *loc. cit.*). The fact that the Lithuanian *nebe-* ‘no longer’ is recorded exclusively in West Lithuania raises the question whether the use of the negation in *nebe-* has not been influenced by German. Such a structure is completely different from the state observable in the remaining Lithuanian dialects (and Slavic languages).

To sum up, the Lithuanian *nebe-* comes from joining the **outer negation** *ne* and **continuative** prefix / particle *be(-)* ‘still’. A brilliant paralell is found in the Old Greek οὐκ-έτι ‘no more, no longer, no further’, which traces back to combination of sentence negation οὐ(κ) and continuative adverb έτι ‘yet, still’.

In the West-Aukshtaitian dialect (and thereby in literary language), there also occurs the variant *jau nebe* ‘no longer’, e.g.:

- (9) *Seniai jau ne-be-lijo.*
 long before already NEG-still-rain:PRT3
 ‘It has not been raining long ago.’

Van der Auwera (1998: 83-85) calls this type “emphatic uses”, cf. Dutch (10) and German (11):

- (10) *Jan is al niet meer thuis.*
 John is already no more home
 ‘John has already left home.’
- (11) *Das habe ich schon lange nicht mehr gehört.*
 ‘I haven’t heard that one in a long time.’

Here, too, the similarity between Germanic languages and the most westward part of the Lithuanian dialectal area is striking.

REFERENCES

- BP = Postilla. *Tatai esti Trumpas ir Prastas Jschguldimas Euangelio (...)* Per Jana Bretkuna Lietuvos Plebona (...) 1591. (2005) In: O. Aleknavičienė (ed.). *Jono Bretkūno Postillė: Studija, faksimilė ir kompaktinė plokštelė*. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla.
- DP = Postilla Catholicka. *Tái est: Ižguldimas Ewangelio kiekvienos Nedelos ir szwėtes per wissús metús. Per Kúnigą Mikaloiv Davkszą Kanoniķą Médnikų...* 1599. (2000) In: J. Palionis (ed.). *Mikalojaus Daukšos 1599 metų Postilė ir jos šaltiniai*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos.
- König, E. (1991). *The Meaning of Focus Particles. A Comparative Perspective*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Ostrowski, N. (2011a). Pochodzenie litewskiego afiksu duratywnego *teb(e)-*. *Folia Scandinavica Posnaniensia* 12, pp. 205-210
- Ostrowski, N. (2011b). Iš lietuvių kalbos istorinės morfologijos problemų (apie *nebe* ir *bent* kilme). *Lietuvių kalba* 5. [Access at:] <http://www.lietuviukalba.lt/index.php?id=186> (06.10.2016)
- van der Auwera, J. (1998). Phasal adverbials in the Languages of Europe. In: J. van der Auwera, D. P. Ó. Baoill (eds.) (pp. 25-145), *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Norbert Ostrowski

Katedra Językoznawstwa Ogólnego i Indoeuropejskiego
Instytut Językoznawstwa
Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie
al. Mickiewicza 3
31-120, Kraków
Poland

norbert.ostrowski@uj.edu.pl

