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OLD LITHUANIAN INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE *biau*

The OLith. interrogative particle *biau* occurs three times in the *Preface* to Mažvydas' Catechismus (10[21, 22, 24], cf. U r b a s 1996). Apart from *biau*, Old Lithuanian possessed an interrogative particle *bau*(*gi*). Traditionally it is said that *biau* and *bau* stem from *be* and *ba* with added enclitic *-u* as in Greek πάν-υ 'altogether' (F r a e n k e l 1962–1965, 37) and they are traced back respectively to *be-u and *ba-u. However, the explanation *bau* < *ba-u is highly debatable, as *ba* occurs rarely and always in postposition, cf. *ar-ba* 'or'[1] : *ar* (interrogative particle), *juo-ba* 'more'[2] and *da-ba-r* 'yet; now'[3]. The question words *ba*, *bo* and *bu*, which are attested in dialects (Z i n k e v i č i u s 1966, 435), are too rare and evidenced too late to be taken into account.

Rosemarie L ü h r (1995, 125) argued for the dual development of the IE diphthong *eu* in Baltic (cf. S t a n g 1966, 73f.) and traced back both *biau* and *bau* to *be-u. However, the hypothesis that there were two kinds of development of IE *eu* in Baltic is over 100 years old (B e r n e k e r 1899) and has still not met with general approval.

In order to avoid this etymology it is claimed that *biau* stems from *be-jau*, a form testified in the dictionary of Antanas J u š k a (LKŽ 1, 735). A parallel is provided by Lith. *niaũgi* 'really?' (LKŽ 8, 762), a shortened form of *ne-jaũ*(*gi*) 'really?'. Both *niaũgi* and *nejaũ*(*gi*) originate from conflation of the negation *ne* with postposed *-jau* and *-gi*; their synonym is *ne-gi* 'really?', cf.:

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[1] Probably a calque of East Slavic *ли-бо* 'or' (O s t r o w s k i 2009, 65).

[2] The Lith. adverb *juo / juo-ba* 'more' arose in comparative clauses of proportion, e.g. **juo** *daugiau* **juo**(**ba**) *linksmiau* 'the more the merrier' (Latv. *jo... jo...*), cf. O s t r o w s k i (2009, 65). It is safe to assume that the same type of clauses gave rise to Latv. *jo*, a marker of comparative in Latvian dialects, e.g. (*vēl*) *juo labs* 'better' : *labs* 'good' (B u š m a n e 1989, 186-188).

[3] Etymologically it is a conflation of three elements: coordinative conjunction *da-* 'and', particle *-ba-* and deictic particle *-r* (H e r m a n n 1926, 352; O s t r o w s k i 2009).

(1) *Nejaŭgi* / *nejaŭ* / *negi*   *tù*   *skìr-s-ie-s*   *su*   *manim*?
     INTR   INTR   INTR   you   divorce:FUT-2SG-RFL   with   I:INST.SG
     'Will you really divorce me (= I can't believe it)?'

<div align="right">(A m b r a z a s et al. 1997, 400)</div>

Interrogative particle *be* and its variants *be-gu*, *be-g*, *be-s* are well documented in Lithuanian, cf. **Be** *tu žinai?* 'Do you know?' (LKŽ 1, 703), **Bèg** *būsi mano žentas?* 'Will you become my son-in-law?' (LKŽ 1, 713), **Bæs** *netiki tu / kaip eſch negalieczio mana Tiewa praſchiti (...)* (VEE 192, 14–15) 'Oder meinstu / das ich nicht kündte meinen Vater bitten (...)' (L u t h e r 1545) // 'Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my father (...)' (Matthew 26:53 – King James Bible).

As far as the origin of the question particle *be* is concerned, its connection with the coordinative conjunction *be* 'and' (OPr. <bhe> /be/ 'and')[4] must be considered, e.g.:

(2) *Aš*   **be**   *tu*   *ei-si-va*   *medžio-ti.*   (LKŽ 1, 703)
     I   and   you   go:FUT.1DUAL   hunt:INF
     'You and I (we two) will go hunting.'

The role of rhetorical questions in the reanalysis of coordinating conjunctions as question particle was discussed by L ü h r (1995, 125ff.) and although details remain unclear, an analogy for the change from coordinative conjunction to question word is found in the development of the Lithuanian conjunction *bei* 'and', which in dialects is also used as a complementizer in interrogative sentences:

(3) *Ka-žin*,   **bei**   *bū-s-i*   *matęs?*   (LKŽ 1, 733)
     who knows   INTR   be:FUT.2SG   see:PTC.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M
     'Who knows if you'll see [it]?'

As for *jaŭ* following question words cf. (4)–(5):

(4) **Kas**   **jaŭ**,   *kas*   *mano*   *mažyt-į*   *skriaudž?*   (LKŽ 4, 294)
     who   FOC   who   my   baby:ACC.SG   harm:PRS
     '**Who is this**, who harms my baby?'

(5) **Kàs**   **jaŭ**   *táu*   *at-si-tìk-o?*   (O t r ę b s k i 1956, 362)
     what   FOC   you:DAT.SG   PRV-RFL-happen:PST
     '**What** happened to you?'

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[4] *Be* as coordinative conjunction is rare in Lithuanian, but the cognate Old Prussian <bhe> /be/ 'and' is widely attested.

The postpositioned *-jau* as a FOCUS MARKER, more precisely as a focus marker in the function of 'emphatic assertion of identity'[5] is broadly attested in Old Lithuanian texts, cf. Ostrowski (2011). Here only one example conveying the functional similarity of *-jau*, *-ja*[6] and *-ai*:

(6)　*Bat'*　**tof-iáu**　　　*nę-gédż-ios*　　　*âk-is*　　/ (…) /
　　　but　that:NOM.PL.F-FOC　NEG-shy:NOM.PL.F　eye:NOM.PL

　tafs-iía　　　　*lieżúw-is*　　　(DP 7.54)
　that:NOM.SG.M-FOC　tongue:NOM.SG

　wil-qf-is /　　　　　　　　　**tafs-ái**　　　*piłw-as*
　betray:PTC.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M-RFL that:NOM.SG.M-FOC　belly:NOM.SG

　nę　*pa-fsótin-t-as*　　　　　　　　　　/ (…) /　*ir*
　NEG　PRV-satiate-PTC.PRS.PASS-NOM.SG.M　　　　and

　tie-ia-g　　　　*pát-is*　　　*fánar-iei*　　*kur-ié*
　that:NOM.PL.M-FOC-FOC　same:NOM.PL.M　limb:NOM.PL.M　which:NOM.PL.M

　tarnáw-o　(…)　*kreiwúmo-p* /　　*tie pât-is*　*o*　*ne*　*kit-í*
　serve:PST　　　immoral deed:ALL.SG　the same　and　NEG　other:NOM.PL.M

　pa-kéł-s　　　　*káncʒ-ią*　　*ir*　　*koróiim-ą* /
　PRV-experience:FUT　torture:ACC.SG　and　punishment:ACC.SG.M

　kur-i　　　　*nu-péłn-e.*　　(DP 8.1-3)
　which:ACC.SG.M　PRV-deserve:PST

Pol. 'Ale **te iste** wszeteczne oczy / (…) / **ten** ięzyk zdradliwy/ **ten** brzuch nienasycony/ (…) / y **też iste** członki które służyły ku nieprawośći / te same a nie insze podeymą mękę y karanie/ ktore zasłużyły.'

'But **exactly those** shameless eyes, (…), **the very** tongue which betrays, **precisely that** insatiable belly, (…), and **exactly those** limbs that served immoral deeds, the same, not other ones will experience the torture and punishment they deserved.'

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[5] The term 'emphatic assertion of identity' was coined by Ekkehard König (1991, 125ff.) and pertains to such particles as Germ. *eben*, *genau*, *ausgerechnet*, Eng. *exactly*, *precisely*, thus to such words that "are (…) used emphatically to assert the identity of one argument in a proposition with an argument in a different, contextually given proposition" (König 1991, 127).

[6] On the origin of the postpositioned *-ja* see Ostrowski (*forthcoming*).

Finally, a short comment on the origin of *bau*(*gi*). Probably it is a result of depalatalization, extremely rare in the case of Lithuanian labial consonants (cf. Z i n k e v i č i u s 1966, 168), but in *biau* > *bau* determined by usage frequency. Of course, this hypothesis cannot be proved due to the late beginning of written documents in Lithuanian.

SENOSIOS LIETUVIŲ KALBOS KLAUSIAMOJI DALELYTĖ *biau*

S a n t r a u k a

Paliudyta tris kartus Mažvydo *Katekizmo* pratarmėje dalelytė *biau* 'ar' dažniausiai buvo aiškinama kaip klausiamosios dalelytės *be* su enklitiku *-u* junginys, plg. gr. πάν-υ 'altogether'. Mūsų nuomone, *biau* lengviausia paaiškinti kaip ankstesnės lyties *be-jau* sutrumpinimo rezultatą, plg. panašų procesą *niaũ-gi* (LKŽ 8, 762) < *ne-jaũ*(*gi*). Lytį *be-jau* 'ar, argi' randame Antano Juškos žodyne (žr. LKŽ 1, 735). Postpozicinė dalelytė *-jau* kaip reminė dalelytė yra plačiai paliudyta tarmėse ir senuosiuose tekstuose.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC – accusative
ACT – active
ADV – adverb
ALL – allative
DAT – dative
DUAL – dual
F – feminine
FOC – focus
FUT – future
INF – infinitive
INST – instrumental

INTR – interrogative
M – masculine
NEG – negation
NOM – nominative
PL – plural
PRV – preverb
RFL – reflexive
PST – past
PRS – present
PTC – participe
SG – singular

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