Paweł BRUDZYŃSKI
University of Warsaw

OLD LITHUANIAN IRREALIS IN CHYLINSKIS' BIBLE

Abstract. The paper deals with the conditional in the Old Lithuanian text of Samuel Boguslaus Chylinskis' Bible translation. Attention is drawn to the differences between the language of Chylinskis' versions of the Old Testament, which was printed, and the New Testament, which remained in the manuscript. The paper discusses the differences in the forms of the irrealis between the Old and New Testaments translations and the role of editorial interference as a source of these differences. Apart from this, the article gives an overview of the uses of the irrealis in the Chylinskis' Bible.
Keywords: Old Lithuanian; morphology; Chylinskis; Bible; mood; modality; conditional; irrealis.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to characterize the conditional, the Lithuanian instantiation of the cross-linguistic category of irrealis, in the Old Lithuanian text of Samuel Boguslau Chylinskis' Bible translation. As the use of the conditional in Old Lithuanian has not yet been studied in the literature, I will briefly discuss the functions of this category in Chylinskis' Bible, and I will also have a closer look at the morphology of the conditional in Chylinskis' translations of the Old and New Testament.

The translator's father, Adrian Chylinskis, was of Polish descent, and Polish was most certainly Samuel's native language. However, his mother was Lithuanian, and he identified as a Lithuanian as well (Kot 1958, XXI). The source text for the translation was most certainly not the Hebrew or Greek original, but that of the *Statenbijbel* (the Dutch Calvinist Bible translation) and episodically the *Gdańsk Bible* (the principal Polish Calvinist translation). Chylinskis' translation is generally acknowledged as a very valuable and credible image of 17th century Lithuanian (Zawadzka, Kołbuszewski 1959; Kudzinowski, Otrębski 1958; Kavaliūnaitė 1997; 2001; 2008). This study is based on the books of Chylinskis' translation that have been

preserved up to our times (17 books of the Old Testament and 20 books of the New Testament) and I have cursorily compared these with the language of other publications from the period (*Katekizmas* 1653; *Maldos krikščioniškos* 1653; *Psolmai Dovydo* 1653; *Suma evangelijų* 1653[1]). The analysis of the written text was carried out thanks to the electronic version of the New Testament of the Chylinskis' Bible[2]. All examples in the article will be written using the original spelling. The purpose of this is to make it easier to read the examples contained in the facsimile and to accurately represent the language used by the author.

The article consists of three parts. The first part covers issues related to the understanding of the notions of mood, modality and the cross-linguistic category of irrealis. The second part focuses on the morphology and semantics of the conditional in Lithuanian. The most important theories regarding the development of the Lithuanian conditional mood are discussed (2.2) and a further attempt at creating a model for the path of semantic development of the mood is made (2.3). The central part of the article deals with the morphology of mood in Chylinskis' translations (2.4). This section discusses the differences in the forms of the irrealis between the Old and New Testament translations and shows evidence which might explain the source of these differences. The final section presents a number of usage types in which the Old Lithuanian conditional typically occurs, discussed in relation to the Dutch and Polish source materials (3).

1. Mood, modality, and the notion of irreality

1.1. Mood and modality

Generally speaking, modality is a category expressing the relation between the speaker and the contents of his or her utterance; in other words, it is a grammaticalized intention of the speaker. Due to the lack of a generally accepted conceptual framework, there is a certain difficulty in defining modality as a cross-linguistic category. Though there is no one generally accepted way to describe modality, three types are relatively broadly recognized and used to describe the notion, namely: epistemic, deontic and dynamic modalities (P a l m e r 2001, 12, 18).

Mood is usually viewed as a morphological category of the verb expressing modality-related meanings. As used in the European grammatical tradition

---

[1] All named in the bibliography, accessed via http://seniejirastai.lki.lt.

[2] http://www.chylinskibible.flf.vu.lt/.

it applies first of all to Indo-European languages, though certain non–Indo-European languages, e.g., Arabic, have subjunctives with similar ranges of uses as the Indo-European subjunctive. However, one should remember there are languages in which morphological mood has very different usage type than those to which ordinary Indo-European language speakers might be accustomed. To provide a notional framework, the notion of irrealis is often used in the typological literature (P a l m e r 2001; E l l i o t 2009).

1.2. The realis-irrealis opposition

The concept of irrealis is somehow controversial and difficult to grasp, due to the difficulty of establishing a common cross-linguistic framework for mood as a semantic category universal for all languages (B y b e e et al. 1994, 236–240). However, in this study it is used as a cover term for marked moods such as conditional, subjunctive etc., while keeping in mind irrealis might be used in a broader sense.

The Lithuanian conditional, depending on the utterance, may express epistemic or deontic modality, and cannot be unambiguously assigned to any of the types.

Usage types of the realis category are relatively intuitive and include statements of general truths, states of affairs viewed as actually occurring or having occurred, etc. Its realization in Lithuanian is the so-called indicative, that is, the set of finite forms without overt marking of mood. The notion of irrealis is much harder to capture, because its functions are heterogeneous across languages. There are many means of expressing irrealis across languages, and the opposition of moods, as in Lithuanian, is only one of many ways of marking (P a l m e r 1999b, 235).

Generally speaking, there is no crucial typological difference between the concepts of realis–irrealis vs indicative–conditional, but one can find several dissimiliarities in the semantic and syntactic domains (P a l m e r 1999b, 236). The notion of irrealis is not dependent on the possibility or reality of a given sentence or situation, but rather on the degree of the speaker's belief in the content. The realization of realis in both Lithuanian and Old Lithuanian is the indicative. In opposition to this category, the irrealis is used to express the speaker's wishes, conditions, assumptions, or doubts on the given situations, often obligatorily used in specific contexts and in Lithuanian it is instantiated by the so-called conditional (A m b r a z a s 1994, 308–309).

2. Conditional in the 17th century

The forms of the seventeenth-century conditional are particularly interesting because they reflect a crucial stage in the development of the mood. One could call it a link between the oldest known forms and the contemporary Lithuanian paradigm, with Chylinskis' Bible illustrating this interesting stage in the process of grammaticalization of the mood. Worth noting as well are the differences between the translations of the Old and New Testaments.

2.1. The oldest attested paradigm of the Lithuanian conditional

The oldest attested conditional paradigm can be found in Martynas Mažvydas' *Katekizmas* (1547). The forms were described by Z i n k e v i č i u s (1981, 122) and are as follows:

T a b l e 1. **The oldest known paradigm of the Lithuanian conditional**

PERSON	SUFIX
1SG	*–tum–biau*
	–čia, –čio
2SG	*–tum–bei*
3	*–tum–ø*
1PL	*–tum–bime*
2PL	*–tum–bite*

From a synchronic point of view, the personal affixes of the conditional are added to the stem of the infinitive. In diachronic terms, however (B r u g m a n n 1916, 513–514; S t a n g 1958; S m o c z y ń s k i 2001), they were a combination of two parts of an original periphrastic construction. They probably included a non–finite form, the so–called supine, with the suffix **-tum*, and a personal form of the auxiliary verb *būti* 'to be': 1SG *–biau*, 2SG *–bei*, 3 **-bi*, 1PL *–bime*, 2PL *–bite*.

2.2. The origin of the Lithuanian conditional

It has been generally recognized since B r u g m a n n (1916, 513–514) that the derivational base for the conditional is the supine. However, it is now thought this might not have been the only base. The first to notice that the Lithuanian conditional construction must originally have contained participles rather than the supine was S t a n g (1958), who put forward a hypothesis concerning the emergence of the conditional, based on an Old Lithuanian fragment attesting a formation based on the participle:

(1) Old-Lithuanian (Mažvydas, *Katekizmas*):

Jei=b	*mums*	*bernelis*	*negimes*
if=IRR	1PL.DAT	child.NOM.SG	NEG.be_born.PA.PST.NOM.SG.M
Butu	*wissas*	*swiets*	*prapules*
be.IRR	whole.NOM.SG.M	world.NOM.SG	perish.PA.PST.NOM.SG.M

'If this child had not been born, the whole world would have perished.'

Stang suggested that *-b* in *jei-b* could be a trace of the 3rd person auxiliary verb 'to be' analogous to: *-bei* (2SG) in *būtum-bei* or *-bime* (1PL) in *-būtum-bime*, and that the past participles were the original base for the conditional forms, only later to be replaced with the supine. Such a periphrastic construction occurs in Slavic languages, also with an enclitic auxiliary, e.g. Polish *że=BY był* (SUB=IRR be.LFORM.3SG.M) : *był=BY* (be.LFORM.3SG.M=IRR). He further speculated that the replacement of the original participles with the supine might have taken place in final clauses in the same manner in which, in some Slavic languages, the participle was replaced with the infinitive in purpose clauses where the subject was coreferential with that of the main clause (H o l v o e t 2003):

(2) Polish (own examples):

a.

Odłożę	*swój*	*wyjazd,*	*że=by=m*
postpone.FUT.1SG	RPOSS.ACC.SG.M	trip.ACC.SG	SUB=IRR=1SG.M
jechał	*z*	*wami.*	
go.LFORM.M.SG	with	2PL.INS	

'I will postpone my trip, that I go with you.'

b.

Odłożę	*swój*	*wyjazd,*	*że=by*	*jechać*
postpone.FUT.1SG	RPOSS.ACC.SG.M	trip.ACC.SG	SUB=IRR	go.INF
z	*wami.*			
with	2PL.INS			

'I will postpone my trip to go with you.'

Such constructions further extended to other modal contexts such as condition, presumption, etc.

S t a n g (1958) assumes that the constructions **jeibi žino-tų* and *jei žinotum-bime / -bite* must have existed simultaneously. One of the possible explanations for the disappearance of the first may be the fact that in constructions such as *jeibi valgytų* the original marker of the mood *-bi* lost

its meaning of irreality, and the *žino-tų* type supine began to function as an independent mood form, while the suffixes *-bime/-bite* were added later to the paradigm as regular personal forms.

Smoczyński's (2001) hypothesis builds further on Stang but, unlike the latter, he interprets the auxiliary forms as representing an original past tense rather than an optative. According to Smoczyński, the auxiliary verbs *-biau, -bei, *-bi* are a continuation of the past tense indicative of the verb *būti* 'to be', with person forms such as: **bijau* 'I was', **bijai* 'you were', **bijā* 'was'. Those forms are related to the Latvian preterite of *būt* 'to be': *biju* 'I was', *biji* 'you were', *bija* 'was' etc., and represent the Common Baltic past tense stem **biy-ā-*. Therefore he describes the inflectional forms of the conditional as a combination of three morphemes:

1) the stem of the infinitive;
2) the suffix of the supine *-tum-b(i)-* = /tumb'/;
3) the personal endings *-au*, *-ai* etc. of the past-time *-ā-*stem conjugation.

Both in Stang's and in Smoczyński's view the supine and the forms of the third person played a significant role in the formation of the mood. However, it seems unlikely that the 3rd person conditional was immediately created in the form of a pure supine. The loss of the personal ending can be explained by phonetic erosion. On the basis of Kazlauskas' (1968, 402–404) observation regarding the coexistence of the forms *jeib žinojęs* and *jei žinotų*, one may assume that *jeib* was reinterpreted as a special marker of the 3rd person containing the supine *būtų*, and *jei žinotų* was created from reanalysis of *jeib žinojęs*. This led to **jeib žinotų* (**jei būtų žinotų*) becoming redundant and the ultimate outcome was the creation of the *jei* + supine construction.

2.3. The semantic frames of irrealis

According to the research conducted by Bybee et al. (1994, 194, 230–236), one can construct a hypothetical semantic path of development for the Lithuanian conditional. According to these authors the development goes from agent-oriented modality (situational possibility and necessity) through speaker-oriented modality (deontic and epistemic) to subordinating mood (Figure 1):

The data collected by Bybee et al. indicates that the path of development of agent-oriented modality can follow more than one possible path (Figure 1) and it might be the starting point for the creation of other types of modality. Grammaticalization processes account for a continual renewal of the formal means of expression of modality.
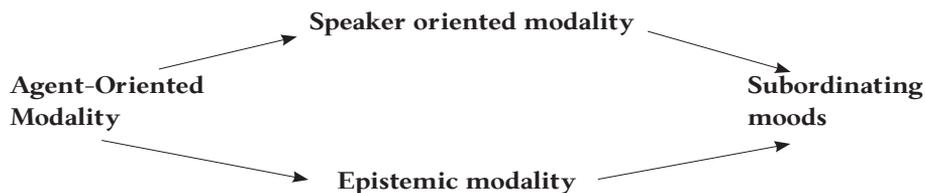
Figure 1. **B y b e e et al. (1994, 233)**

Irrealis is frequently expressed by past-tense forms, and B y b e e et al. (1994, 231–233) note a series of pathways that can lead to the creation of irrealis forms:

Present tense	→	Present tense
Indicative	→	subjunctive
Imperfect	→	Conditional
Pluperfect	→	Past tense
		subjunctive
Future tense	→	Future tense
		subjunctive

Figure 2. **B y b e e et al. 1994, 235**

It was hypothesized by S m o c z y ń s k i (2001) that the Old Lithuanian conditional was originally a pluperfect which started functioning as a conditional. In the course of time, the supine was introduced as a base alongside the past participle. When the forms *jeib žinojęs* and *jei būtų žinojęs* began to appear side by side in constructions expressing condition, as a result of contamination, both forms began to combine into a single, completely new form combining the meanings of tense (as mentioned in figure 2 pluperfects easily acquire an irrealis meaning, similarly as it happened in Slavic languages, cf. S m o c z y ń s k i 2001; H o l v o e t 2007), viz. condition or counterfactivity (similar to: *If I knew, I would be smarter*; these meanings are expressed by the auxiliary verb 'to be') and purpose (expressed by the supine). In the process of grammaticalization, the pluperfect forms of verb combined with the supine, giving rise to a new synthetic irrealis.

Based on the above, one can assume that the contemporary conditional expresses:

a) The meaning of purpose, inherited from the supine;

a) The meaning of condition inherited from the auxiliary verb.

The evolution of the Lithuanian conditional can thus be represented by the following figure:
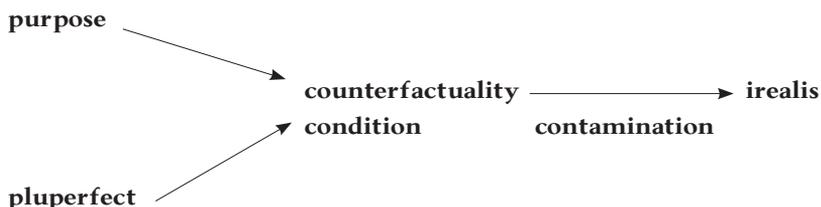
Figure 3. **Rise of the periphrastic Lithuanian conditional**

One should remember that the transition from specific meanings to the general meaning is the end of a long process. On the basis of the above schema, it can be assumed that the conditional comes from the supine, which originally meant purpose of displacement, which over the time changed its meaning to general purpose, and finally irreality. Because of contamination, the newly created form covered the notions of wish, purpose, counterfactivity, and condition.

2.4. A paradigm of Old Lithuanian conditional in the 17th century

The conditional forms found in Chylinskis' Bible are characterized by a great diversity. One can speak of two different paradigms in the Old and New Testament. The dominating paradigm in the New Testament mostly overlaps with the one attested in Mažvydas' *Katekizmas* (1547):

Table 2. **The conditional paradigm predominating in Chylinskis' Bible New Testament (NTP)**

NUMBER	SUFFIX
1SG	*–čia/–čio*
2SG	*–tumbei*
3	*–tu*
1PL	*–tumbime*
2PL	*–tumbite*

NTP is characterised by greater diversity than OTP (for the Old Testament paradigm, see Table 3). Almost every form of the paradigm (except for the forms of 3 the SG/PL) has more than one possible variant. For 1SG and 2SG those variants seem orthographic, with –*čia* for 1SG and –*tumbey* for 2SG as basic realizations, although the variant 1SG –*čio* might also be a continuation of an older form mentioned in 2.2:

(3) a.　Galatians 4.20:

Bet	**norecia**	*kad*	**bucia**	*dabar*	*su*	*jumis…*
but	desire.IRR.1SG	that	be.IRR.1SG	now	with	2PL.INS

'I desire to be present with you now…'

　b.　Acts 26.28:

Maz ko	*neperkalbi*	*kad*	**bucio**	*Krikszczionis*
almost	NEG.convince.PRS.2SG	that	be.IRR.1SG	Christian.NOM.SG

'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.'

(4) a.　Revelation 3.15:

…ó	*kad*	**butumbey**	*szałtas*	*aba*	*karsztas.*
oh	that	be.IRR.2SG	cold.NOM.SG.M	or	hot.NOM.SG.M

'…I could wish you were cold or hot.'

　b.　Revelation 10.11:

Rejkia	*idand wel*	**pranaszautumbej.**
be_needed.PRS.3	that again	prophesy.IRR.2SG

'Thou must prophesy again.'

One can find 13 instances of shortened suffixes of 1PL (10 tokens) (6b) and 2PL (3 tokens) (7b) of NTP, which in contemporary Lithuanian belong to the informal register of the spoken language. Interestingly, all shorter suffixal variants of 2PL are negated:

(5) a. 3 John 1.8:

...*idand* **butumbime** *bendradarbinikejs* *tiesos.*
that be.IRR.1PL fellow_helper.INS.PL truth.GEN.SG
'...that we might be fellowhelpers to the truth.'

b. Luke 22.8:

pagatawikit *mums* *Awineli* *welikos,* *kad* *ghi*
prepare.IMP.2PL 1PL.DAT lamb.ACC.SG passover.GEN.SG that 3SG.ACC.M
walgitumbim.
eat.IRR.1PL
'Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat.'

(6) a. 1 John 3.11:

...*girdejot* *nog* *pradzios,* *kad* **miłetumbite** *wieni*
hear.PST.2PL from beginning.GEN.SG that love.IRR.2PL one.NOM.PL
kitus
other.ACC.PL
'...ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another.'

b. Luke 22.40:

Mełſkites *kad* **neieytumbit** *ing* *pagundynima.*
pray.IMP.2PL that NEG.enter.IRR.2PL into temptation.ACC.SG
'Pray that ye enter not into temptation.'

The most interesting are the few instances of the newer paradigm, which started spreading in the 17th c., presented in table 3. Most of them show editorial interference and only 12 examples of them could be found in the New Testament. The distribution of those suffixes is shown in table 5, and will be discussed below.

In the Old Testament, the paradigm corresponding to the contemporary variant of the Lithuanian irrealis predominates, while the older forms are completely absent:

Table 3. **The conditional paradigm of Chylinski's Old Testament (OTP)**

NUMBER	SUFFIX
1SG	*–čia*
2SG	*–tumei*
3	*–tu*
1PL	*–tumime*
2PL	*–tumite/–tumit*

By comparing those forms to some of the 17th centuries publications (*Katekizmas* 1653; *Maldos krikščioniškos* 1653; *Psolmai Dovydo* 1653; *Knyga nabožnystės* 1653) we see that all forms in OTP are regular realizations of the conditional, and one finds few instances of shorter suffixal variants such as (9) for 2PL and (8b) for 1PL.

(7)   Leviticus 19.12:
  *...**iźbiauryntumey** nes   Wardą   Diewa   tawo...*
  profane.IRR.2SG   because name.ACC.SG   God.GEN.SG   POSS.2SG
  '...neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God...'

(8) a. Esther 7.4:
  Pardoti   nes   efme,   afz,   ir
  sell.PP.PST.NOM.PL.M   because   be.PRS.1PL   1SG.NOM   and
  *gimine   mano,   kad   **butumime**   ifzteroti,*
  family.NOM.SG   POSS.1SG   that   be.IRR.1PL   destroy.PP.PST.NOM.PL.M
  'For we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed.'

  b. Numbers 14. 2:
  *Ach   kad   **butume**   numirę   Egypto   źiamey...*
  oh   that   be.IRR.1PL   die.PA.PST.NOM.PL.M   Egypt.GEN.SG   land.LOC.SG
  'Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt...'

(9)   Deuteronomy 11.8:
  Saugokite   tada   wifu   tu   pryfakimu, <...>:
  keep.IMP.2PL   then   all.GEN.PL   this. GEN.PL   commandments.GEN.PL
  *kad   **pastypryntumit**   ir   **ieytumite**,   ir   **pasestumite***
  that   make_strong.IRR.2PL   and   go.IRR.2PL   and   possess.IRR.2PL
  aną   źiamę.
  this.ACC.SG.F   land.ACC.SG
  'Therefore shall ye keep all the commandments <...>, that ye may be strong, and go in and possess the land.'

Paſtypryntumit in (9) seems more like an editorial error, as suggested by the two other conditionals used in the sentence, which are regularly formed according to the OTP. On the other hand, the 1PL forms seem to be shortened regularly.

The following tables show the distribution of individual forms/variants across translations:

Table 4. **Distribution of NTP suffixes in both Testaments**

PERSON	NTP SUFFIX	OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT	TOTAL
1SG	*–čia/–čio*	251	133	384
2SG	*– tumbei*	0	64	64
3	*–tu*	1 322	1 239	2 561
1PL	*–tumbim(e)*	0	91	91
2PL	*–tumbit(e)*	0	202	202
Total:		1 573	1 729	3 302

Table 5. **Distribution of OTP suffixes in both Testaments**

PERSON	SUFFIX	OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT	TOTAL
1SG	*–čia/–čio*	251	126	377
2SG	*–tumei*	241	1	242
3	*–tu*	1 322	1 239	2 561
1PL	*–tum(im)e*	92	2	94
2PL	*–tumit(e)*	152	9	161
Total:		2 058	1 376	3 435

The above data shows that by the time Chylinskis finished his translations, the 1SG and 3 suffixes must have been already established, and their forms look almost the same as in contemporary Lithuanian, which, in turn, confirms the theories cited earlier (2.2). The most peculiar are the 2SG, 1PL and 2PL forms. The newer 2SG forms of the *–tumei* type had already replaced the *–tum–bei* forms, but in the case of PL forms, the older forms with *–tum–bime* and *–tum–bite* appear to have been slightly more frequent.

The frequency of forms may indicate the stabilization of the variants of the mood in the 17th century, especially taking into account the fact that all above–mentioned publications which I compared to the text of the Chylinskis' Bible regularly use only the forms attested in the OTP.

There is no proof that during Chylinskis' stay in England anyone helped him edit the text. Undoubtedly the Old Testament had to be checked before the release, but most certainly the only editor must have been none else than Chylinskis himself (K a v a l i ū n a i t ė 2019b; Č a p a i t ė 2019, 126). This, and the evidence of other authors of the period, indicates that the Old Testament most certainly reflects the forms used in the relevant period, also by the author.

The situation looks completely different with the New Testament. As indicated by palaeographic research (Č a p a i t ė 2019, 154–155), the manuscript is not a first draft version or rough copy, but probably a version of the text with language corrections suggested by the Synod, which must have been communicated to Chylinskis during his stay in Lithuania in 1661. It is believed that during that time the manuscript was compared with the manuscripts of the Bretkūnas' Bible (1590) – the first Lithuanian translation of the Bible. This translation was highly respected among the Lithuanian Reformed Protestants, and the remarks regarding Chylinskis' sample must have been suggested because of the language used by Bretkūnas. Consider the following examples:

(10) 2 Samuel 2.27:

a. Chylinskis' Bible:

Teypo	*tykrey*	*kaypo*	*gija*	*WIESZPATS,*	*kad*	***nebutumey***
as	truly	as	live.PRS.3	Lord.NOM.SG	that	NEG.be.IRR.2SG

kałbejęs...
speak.PST.PA.SG.M

b. Bretkūnas' Bible:

Giwas	*Diewas,*	*Jei*	*tu*	*isch*	*rito*
alive.NOM.SG.M	God.NOM.SG	if	2SG.NOM	from	morning.GEN.SG

teipo	***butumbei***	*kalbeiens...*
hereby	be.IRR.2SG	speak.PST.PA.SG.M

'As God liveth, unless thou hadst spoken...'

In Chylinskis' Old Testament translation, which was published without any editorial interference, OTP forms are regularly used, while in Bretkūnas' text the only existing form of irrealis is the one corresponding to NTP. This seems to explain why the dominant paradigm of the conditional in Chylinskis'

NT are forms with *–b–* corresponding to conditional forms used by Bretkūnas in his translation.

However, there are a few places in the New Testament where forms characteristic of the OTP are used instead of those of the NTP. Almost all of them seem to be corrections of older forms[3]:

a) 2SG *-tumbey* → *-tumey*

(11) John 4.11:

...Wießpatie,	*nieko*	*neturi*	*ko*	***semtum<b>ey,***
Lord.VOC.SG	nothing	NEG.have.PRS.2SG	what.INS	draw.IRR.2PL

pawerſimiσ	*teypag*	*ira*	*giłuσ..?*
well.NOM.SG	also	be.PRS.3	deep.NOM.SG.M

'...Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep...?'
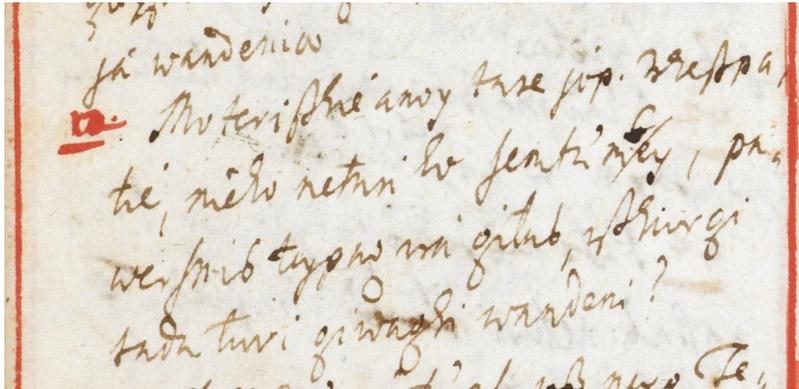
b) 1PL *-tumbime* → *-tumime*

(12) 1 Peter 2.21:

...Christusas	*kiętejo*	*uz*	*mus,*	*palikięs*
Christ.NOM.SG	suffer.PST.3	for	1PL.ACC	l eave.PP.PST.NOM.SG.M

mums	*pawejksła*	*kad*	~~*eijtumbim pedys jo*~~	***sektumime***
1PL.DAT	example.ACC.SG	that	go.IRR.1PL steps POSS	fallow.IRR.1PL

---

[3] All fascimiles cited from http://www.chylinskibible.flf.vu.lt/, Gina Kavaliūnaitė, Wolf-Dieter Syring. The original New Testament manuscript is held by the British Library.

pedu	*jo*
steps.GEN.PL	POSS

'...because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that you should follow His steps.'
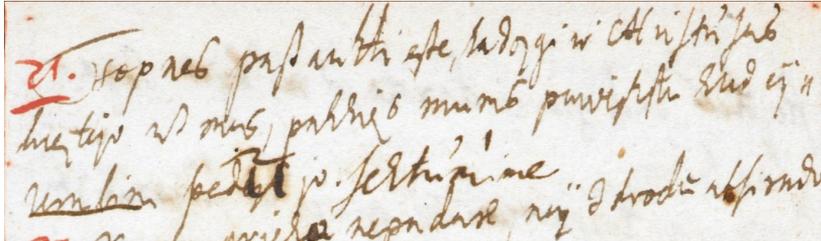
c) 2PL –tumbite → -tumite

(13)   Matthew 6.25:

Togdel	*kałbu*	*jumuσ.*	*Nefirupinkit\<e\>*	*ape*
therefore	say.PRS.1SG	2PL.DAT	NEG.RFL.worry.IMP.2PL	about
giwata	*jufu,*	*ką*	***walgitum\<b\>ite***	*ir*	*ką*
life.ACC.SG	POSS.2PL	what.ACC	eat.IRR.2PL	and	what
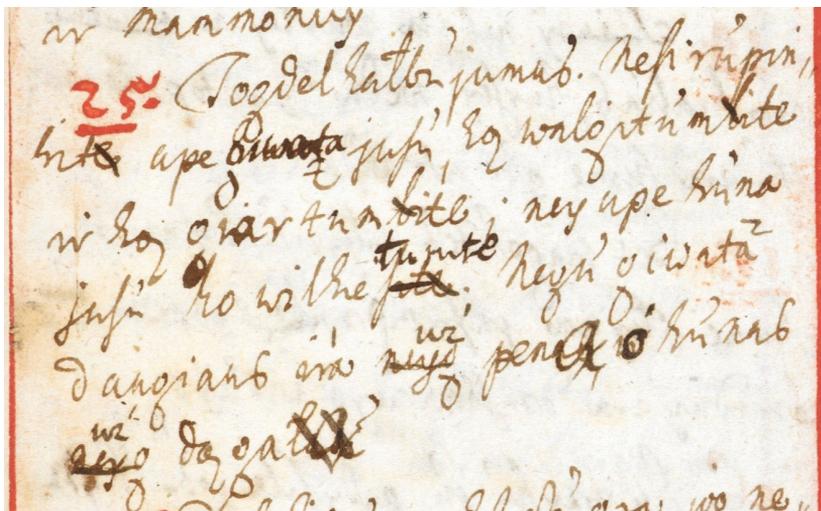
giartum\<b\>ite	*ney*	*ape*	*kuna*	*juʃu*	*ko*
drink.IRR.2PL	nor	about	body.ACC.SG	POSS.2PL	what.INS

wilkie\<site\>tumte

wear.~~FUT.2PL~~ IRR.2PL

'Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on.'

According to the palaeographer R. Č a p a i t ė (2019, 150), in addition to the author himself, the manuscript must have been edited by at least 3 other correctors. It is assumed that two of them might have been editors assigned by the Synod – Jan Borzymowski and Teodor Skrodzki, but there is no hard evidence to prove that. Anyway, on the basis of the palaeographer's (Č a p a i t ė 2019, 133, 149–152) analysis, we can say that the editorial interferences in the text clearly differ from the rest of the text by such features as: ink color, line thickness or letter size. Therefore it can be assumed that the corrections in the examples (11–13) were not made by Chylinskis. The editorial work was probably not completed because the printing of the Bible was ceased; however, many corrections were made, and the majority of them in the Gospel of Matthew, where most of the OTP forms can be found. On the assumption that the forms of conditional in the New Testament were intentionally modelled on those of Bretkūnas' Bible, we may ask why any of the editors should have decided to change the paradigm again? My assumption is that the corrector introducing these changes may have been unaware of the Synod's decisions regarding the conformity of forms with the Bretkūnas Bible.

One place in the New Testament where a form of the OTP type was used without anyone's intervention can be found in the Gospel of Mark (14):

(14)   Mark 14.38:

Jauʃkite	*ir*	*mełʃkiteσ,*	*kad*	**neieytumit**	*pagundynima\<n\>,*
watch.IMP.2PL	and	pray.IMP.2PL.RFL	that	NEG.go.IRR.2PL	temptation.ILL

Dwaʃia	*(tieʃa)*	*ira*	*greyta,*	*bet*	*kunaσ*
spirit.NOM.SG	truly	be.PRS.3	fast.NOM.SG.F	but	flesh.NOM.SG

fiłpnaσ.

weak.NOM.SG

'Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation. The spirit truly is ready, but the flesh is weak.'

This might be a mistake Chylinskis made when writing his draft.

2.5. Differences

As can be seen, OTP has many common features with both the paradigm attested in Mažvydas' *Katekizmas* and with the contemporary one. The forms attested in the OTP are a transitional stage of the Lithuanian conditional and are characterized by a number of differences with regard to the original forms of the mood, such as:

a) lack of the bilabial obstruent *b* which, under the influence of assimilation and dissimilation, disappeared in 2SG, 1PL and 2PL after the bilabial nasal *m*. Written texts indicate that both the forms with –*m*– and those with –*mb*– were attested until the end of 17th century and sometimes the latter were still encountered in the central and western dialects of Lithuanian;

b) nasalization of *u* in the 3rd person (–*tų* < *tum*), although it is not marked in text.

With respect to the contemporary paradigm the differences are even smaller:

a) Along with the simplification –*mb*-> –*m*–, the –*bi*– suffix ceased to exist, which conditioned the rise of an *i*-stem conjugation variant in the conditional. It began to be ousted, however, by suffixes of the *ė*-stem conjugation, e.g., instead of forms like *rašy–tumime, rašy–tumite*, forms of the type *rašy–tumėme, raš–ytumėte* began to appear. Currently, the *i*-steam conjugations forms have been partially preserved in some places of the Samogitian dialect territory.

a) Probably under the influence of the *ė*-stem past–tense conjugation, the 1SG form –*čiau* spread in the place of –*čia*.

3. Use of the irrealis in the Chylinskis' Bible

After this discussion of the philological problems connected with the reconstruction of the morphology of the conditional in Chylinskis' language, I will conclude with an overview of irrealis functions in the Chylinskis' Bible text.

The use of the conditional in 17th century Lithuanian does not differ from its modern counterpart in a fundamental way. However, in order better to understand the rationale behind the use of mood forms in Chylinskis' language, I have compared a number of examples with corresponding fragments of the *Statenbijbel* and the *Gdańsk Bible*. All following examples consist of three segments, where a) is Chylinskis' translation, b) the Dutch translation and c) the Polish one. In many cases one can see similarities with one of the

translations and sometimes even with both. However, the most interesting ones are fragments that are most certainly Chylinskis' interpretations.

Lithuanian irrealis occurs in a number of contexts including irreality, assumption, purpose or condition, which may vary depending on context. The most important element, connecting the whole range of meanings, is the speaker's subjective attitude towards the content of the act of speech. Among the most important usage types of the mood are:

a) Possibility:

(15) Genesis 15.2:

a.
Tar–e	*tada*	*Abromas:*	*Wiefzpatie*	*WIESZPATIE,*	*ką*
say.PST.3	then	Abraham.NOM.SG	Lord.VOC.SG	Lord.VOC.SG	what.ACC

mi	**dotumey**,	*kadągi*	*efmi*	*be*	*wayku:*
1SG.DAT	give.IRR.2SG	as	be.PRS.1SG	without	children.GEN.PL

b.
...wat	**sult**	*ghy*	*my*	**geven**...
what	FUT.2SG	you	me	give.INF

c.
...Panie	*Boże,*	*cóż*	*mi*	**dasz?**
Lord.VOC.SG	God.VOC.SG	what	1SG.DAT	give.FUT.2SG

'But Abram said, "Lord God, what will You give me, seeing I go childless...?"'

The above example seems to reflect Chylinskis' interpretation, as neither the Dutch nor the Polish translation uses conditional. Instead, in both translations (and in the King's James version as well) forms of future tense are used. The irrealis form represents the content of the question as unlikely, a type of marking facilitated by the interrogative context.

b) Wish:

(16) Genesis 17.18:

a.
Ir	*tare*	*Abrahomas*	*Diewop,*	*Ach,*	*kad*	*tykt*
and	say.PST.3	Abraham.NOM.SG	God.ALL	o	that	only

Ifmael	**gitu**	*po*	*weydu*	*tawo.*
Ishmael.NOM.SG	live.IRR.3	beneath	face.INS.SG	POSS.2SG

b.
...Och,	*dat*	*Ismaël*	**mochte**	**leven**...
oh	that	Ishmael	might.PST.3SG	live.INF

c. **by**   tylko   Ismael   **żył**   przed

SUB.IRR   only   Ishmael.NOM.SG   live.LFORM.3SG.M   beneath

obliczem   twojem!

face.INS.SG   POSS.2SG.INS.SG.M

'And Abraham said to God, "O that Ishmael might live before You!"'

This example is quite interesting because it looks like Chylinskis was using mostly the *Gdańsk Bible* while translating this fragment. Conditional forms and syntax match each other in both translations, while the *Statenbijbel* uses the modal verb *mochte* ('might') instead of a mood form.

c) Counterfactuality:

(17) Genesis 21.7:

a. *Priegtam*   tare: Kas   **butu**   taręs

also   say.PST.3   who   be.IRR.3   say.PA.PST.NOM.SG.M

Abrahomop: Sara   dawe   źyft   funams:

Abraham.ALL   Sara.NOM.SG   give.PST.   breast_feed.INF   son.DAT.PL

pagimdziau   nes   funu,   fenatwey   jo.

give_birth.PST.1SG   for   son.ACC.SG   old_age.LOC.SG   POSS

b. *...wie*   **soude**   Abraham   geseyt   **hebben**...

who   should.3SG   Abraham   say.PP.PST   have.INF

c. **Któżby**   to   **był**   rzekł   Abrahamowi,   że   Sara   będzie

who.IRR   EMPH   AUX   say.PST   Abraham.DAT.SG   that   Sara   FUT.3SG

karmiła   piersiami   syny?

feed.LFORM.FUT.3SG.F   breast.INS.PL   son.ACC.PL

'She also said, "Who would have said to Abraham that Sarah would nurse children? For I have borne him a son in his old age."'

d) Prohibition:

(18) Exodus 34.15:

a. *Kad*   **nepadarytumey**   fądaros   fu   giwętoju

that   NEG.do.IRR.2SG   covenant.GEN.SG   with   inhabitant.INS.SG

tos   źiames,   anisjen   **nesiwalkiotu**   pafkuy

this.GEN.SG.F   land.GEN.SG   3.NOM.PLM   NEG.RFL.hang_around.IRR.3   then

> *Diewu*   *ju,*   *ney*   *diewamus*   *ju*   *afieros*   *darytu,*
> god.GEN.PL   POSS.3PL   nor   god.DAT.PL   POSS.3PL   sacrifice.GEN.SG   do.IRR.3
>
> *ir*   *kad*   *kwies*   *tawęs*   *ifz*   *afieros*   *ju*
> and   that   invite.FUT.3   2SG.GEN   from   sacrifice.GEN   POSS.3PL
>
> ***newalgitumey.***
> NEG.eat.IRR.2SG

b.   *Op*   *dat*   *ghy*   *misschien*   *geen*   *verbont*   *en*   *maeckt*
      on   that   you   may_be   none   covenant   NEG   make.PRS.2SG

c.   *By*   *snać,*   *uczyniwszy*   *przymierze*   *z*   *obywatelami*
      SUB.IRR   might   make.CVB.PST   covenant.ACC.SG   with   inhabitant.INS.PL

      tej   *ziemi*   *gdyby*   *oni*   *cudzołożyli*   *z*
      this.GEN.SG.F   land.GEN.SG   if   3PL.VIR.NOM   fornicate.PST.3PL.M   with

      bogami   *swymi,*   *i*   *ofiarowali*   *bogom*   *swym,*
      gods.INS.PL   RPOSS.INS.PL   and   sacrifice.PST.3PL.VIR   gods.DAT.PL   RPOSS.DAT.PL

      ciebie   *nie*   *wezwali,*   *a*   ***jadł=by=ś***
      2SG.ACC   NEG   invite.PST.3PL.VIR   and   eat.LFORM.SG.M=IRR=2SG

      z   *ofiar*   *ich.*
      from   sacrifice.GEN.SG   POSS.3PL

      'lest you make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they play the harlot with their gods and make sacrifice to their gods, and one of them invites you and you eat of his sacrifice.'

The same strategy (negative purpose clause in prohibitive function) is used in all three versions. The use of the irrealis form in Chylinskis follows from the fact that this form is automatically selected in negative purpose clauses.

3.2. Dependent clauses
3.2.1. Final clauses

Irrealis usually appears in subordinate clauses. A widespread type of use can be found in final clauses of a deontic character with the conjunction *kad/idant* 'that'. This type of construction is very frequent in the text of Chylinskis' Bible.

(19)   Genesis 1.16:

a.   *Padare*   *tada*   *Diewas*   *anie*   *dwi*   *dydi*
      do.PST.3   then   God.NOM.SG   those.ACC.DU.F   two.ACC   great.ACC.DU.F

      fzwiefi   *didę*   *aną*   *Szwiefę*   ***kad***   ***waldytu***
      light.ACC.DU   great.ACC.SG.F   this.ACC.SG.F   light.ACC.SG   that   rule.IRR.3

dieną:	*ó*	*mažą*	*Szwiefę,*	***kad***	***waldytu***
day.ACC.SG	and	lesser.ACC.SG.F	light.ACC.SG	that	rule.IRR.3
nakti:		*ir*	*źwayźdes.*		
night.ACC.SG		and	star.ACC.PL		

b. | *dat* | *grote* | *licht* | ***tot*** | ***heerschappye*** | *des* | *daeghs...* |
| ...the | great | light | for | rule | the.GEN | day.GEN.SG |

c. | *...światło* | *większe,* | *aby* | *rządziło* |
light.NOM.SG	bigger.NOM.SG.N	SUB.IRR	rule.LFORM.3.N
dzień...			
day.ACC.SG			

'And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also.'

The above example shows many similarities to the Polish translation: clause type, syntax and even some lexical similarities. The Dutch version uses a nominal construction here, which might have been the reason why the Polish variant was used.

In addition to the conjunction *kad*, one can find another conjunction with the same function in Chylinskis' Bible, viz. – *idand/idant*:

(20) Colossians 1.25:

a. | *Kurios* | *tapau* | *Tarnu* | *pagal* |
which.GEN.SG.F	become.PST.1SG	servant.INS.SG	according
likima	*diewo,*	*kursey*	*mi*
stewardship.GEN.SG	god.GEN	which.NOM.SG.M	1SG.DAT
dotas	*ira*	*and*	*jusu,*	***idant***
give.PP.PST.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.3	on	2PL.GEN	that
iszpildycia	*zodi*	*diewo.*		
fulfill.IRR.1SG	word.ACC.SG	god.GEN.SG		

b. | *...**om*** | ***te*** | ***vervullen*** | *het* | *Woord* | *Gods.* |
| in.order | to | fulfill.INF | the | word | God.GEN |

c. | *...**abym*** | ***wypełnił*** | *słowo* | *Boże,* |
| SUB.IRR | fulfill.LFORM.1SG.M | word.ACC.SG | godly.ACC.SG.M |

'of which [church] I became a minister according to the stewardship from God which was given to me for you, to fulfill the word of God.'

The occurrence of this conjunction does not show any semantic or syntactic differences, but interestingly enough, just as in the case of conditional paradigms, there is a difference in the frequency of *kad* and *idand* between the Old and New Testament. Out of 450 uses of the conjunction *idand/idant*, the vast majority can be found in the New Testament (392 hits). Taking into account the hypothesis put forward in 2.4, the most plausible interpretation might be influence of Bretkūnas' Bible similar to that which we observe for the forms of the conditional:

(21) 1 Kings 2.3:

a. Chylinskis' Bible:

Ir	*faugok*	*fargibą*	*WIESZPATIES*	*Diewa*
and	protect.IMP.2SG	charge.ACC.SG	Lord.GEN.SG	God.GEN.SG

tawo,	**kad**	**waykfzczotumey**	*kielofe*	*jo.*
POSS	that	walk.IRR.2SG	way.LOC.PL	POSS

b. Bretkūnas' Bible:

Ir	*dabokes*	*sargibos*	*PONO*	*tawa*	*Diewo,*
and	protect.IMP.2SG.RFL	charge.GEN.SG	Lord.GEN.SG	POSS	God.GEN.SG

idant	***waikschczotumbei***	*io*	*keliu.*
that	walk.IRR.2SG	POSS	way.INS.SG

'And keep the charge of the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways.'

In Bretkūnas' text, *idant* is the main subordinator and complementizer corresponding to English 'that' while *kad* seems to be absent. *idant* is used in some modern Lithuanian dialects up to this day.

3.2.2. Relative clauses

While there are not many differences between contemporary and Old Lithuanian with regard to relative clauses, some interesting uses can be found. Relative clauses can occur in a range of uses, including:

a) An unreal effect:

(22) Exodus 5.2:

a.

Bet	*Farao*	*tare,*	*a*	*Kas*	*tey*	*ira*	*WIESZPATS*
but	pharaoh.NOM.SG	say.PST.3	and	who	this	be.PST.3	Lord.NOM.SG

kuro		*bałfa*		**kłausicia,**	*kad*	*ifzłayfcia*
whose.GEN.SG.M		vice.ACC		listen.IRR.1SG	that	release.IRR.1SG

Izraeli?
Isreal.ACC.SG

b.
Wie	*is*	*de*	**HEERE,**	*wiens*	*stemme*	*ick*	**gehoorsamen**	**soude**
who	is	the	lord	whose	voice	I	obey.INF	should

c.
Któż	*jest*	*Pan,*	**żebym**	**miał**		**słuchać**
who	be.PRS3	Lord.NOM.SG	SUB.IRR	have.LFORM.1SG.M		listen.INF

głosu	*Jego...*
voice.GEN	POSS.3SG

'And Pharaoh said, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey His voice to let Israel go?"'

The above example is an atypical example of a relative clause with the value of a counterfactive result clause. Even though syntax in Chylinskis' translation is similar to both sources, the clausal construction seems to be taken over from Dutch.

   c)   Relative clause of purpose:

A specific, very interesting and somewhat rare kind of relative clause that can be encountered in Chylinskis' Bible is a relative clause of purpose, which does not express a specified property, but rather purpose:

(23) Genesis 42.16:

a.
Nusiuʃkit	*wieną*	*ifz*	*juʃu*	*kurʃey*	**atwestu**
send.IMP.2PL	jeden.ACC.M	of	PL.GEN	who.nom.sg.m	bring.IRR.3

broli	*juʃu,*	*bet*	*patisjen*	*bukit*
brother.ACC.SG	POSS.2PL	but	self.NOM.PL.M	be.IMP.2PL

kalinieys...
prisoner.INS.PL

b.
sendet	*eenen*	*uyt*	*die*	*uwen*	*broeder*
send.IMP.PL	one.ACC.SG.M	out	who	your.ACC.SG.M	brother

hale...
fetch.SBJV.PRS.3SG

c.   *Poślijcież*   *jednego*   *z*   *was,*   ***aby***   ***przywiódł***

    send.IMP.2PL   one.ACC.SG.M   of   2PL.GEN   SUB.IRR   brought.LFORM.SG.M

    brata   *waszego*

    brother.ACC.SG   POSS.2PL

    'Send one of you, and let him bring your Brother; and you shall be kept in prison...'

Chylinskis' translation reflexes this of *Statenbijbel* and analogous examples of such a clause can be found in Latin (P a l m e r 2001, 178):

(24) Cicero, *Brutus* 56.206:

    Scribebat   *tamen*   *orationes,*   *quas*   *alii*   ***dicerent***.

    write.PST.3   however   speeches   which   other   make.IRR.3PL

    'He was writing speeches for others to hold.'

Used in the relative clause (23), the conditional emphasizes purpose; Joseph presents his brothers with his expectations towards them. If an indicative had been used instead of the conditional form, the relative clause would only indicate the performer of the activity contained in the primary clause.

3.2.3. Complement clauses

The last type of dependent clauses are complement clauses, such as:

(25) Luke 7.6:

a.   ...*Wießpatie,*   *neuzdok*   *fau*   *procios.*

    Lord.VOC.SG   NEG.give.IMP.2SG   yourself.dat   work.GEN.SG

    Newertas   *nes*   *efmi*   *kad*   ***ieytumbey***   *po*

    unworthy.NOM.SG.M   for   be.PRS.1SG   that   go.in.IRR.2SG   under

    dągfti   *mano.*

    roof.ACC.SG   POSS

b.   ...[*Heere, neem de moeite niet; want ik ben niet waardig*]

    dat   *ghy*   *onder*   *mijn*   *dack*   ***soudt***   ***inkomen***

    that   you   under   POSS.1SG   roof   IRR(SHOULD)   enter.INF

c.   ...[*Panie! nie zadawaj sobie pracy; bomci nie jest godzien*]

    abyś   ***wszedł***   *pod*   *dach*   *mój..*

    SUB.IRR   come_inside.LFORM.2SG.M   under   roof.ACC.SG   POSS

    'Lord, do not trouble Yourself, for I am not worthy that You should enter my roof.'

In addition to the clause types that can be encountered in contemporary Lithuanian, a very interesting type of complement clause (now felt to be archaic) is that of irrealis interrogative complement clauses, such as:

(26) Genesis 2.19:

a.

...atwede	jos	Adomop,	dabotis,	kaypo
bring.PST.3	3.PL.ACC.F	Adam.ALL	find_out.INF.RFL	how
ansjen	**pramintu**	wiſokią	gijańcią	duſzą
3SG.NOM.M	name.IRR.3	all.ACC.SG	żyć.PA.PRS.ACC.SG.F	soul.ACC.SG
toks	**butu**	wardas	jos.	
such.NOM.SG.M	be.IRR.3	name.NOM.SG	POSS.3SG.F	

b.

...om	te	sien,	hoe	hy	se	**noemen**	**soude**
in.order	to	see	how	he	them	name	IRR

c.

...aby	obaczył	**jako=by**	je	**nazwać**	**miał**.
SUB.IRR	see.LFORM.SG.M	how=IRR	3.PL.ACC.NVIR	name.INF	have_to.LFORM.SG.M

'...[God] brought them [animals] to Adam to see what he would call them. And whatever Adam called each living creature, that was its name.'

The literal meaning of the sentence is: [*God*] *brought them to see how he* [*Adam*] *would name every living soul,* **[and] such [as Adam proposes] would be its name**.

The conditional in (26) reflects the unawareness of the questioner, his assumptions about the object of the question, which, due to his lack of knowledge, seems unreal. The complement clause is in the form of a question, which additionally heightens the feeling of unreality. Analogous use of the structure can be compared to the Polish modal verb *móc* 'could/to be able to' or English *could*, such as:

(27) Polish:

Co	by	to	mogło	znaczyć?
what.ACC	IRR	this	could.LFORM.SG.N	mean.INF

'What could that mean?'

(28) English:

What	could	he	mean?

3.3. Questions

Another characteristic use of the conditional is to express suppositions appearing in the form of rhetorical questions. In addition to the common denominator of unreality, the range of meaning may vary, including:

a) Rejection of thought, solutions:

(29) 2 Samuel 12.23:

a. *...Bet dabar numire, kodel **turecia** dabar **paʃnikaut**?...*
but now die.PST.3 why have.IRR.1SG now fast.INF

b. *...waerom **soud'ick** nu **vasten**?*
why IRR_I now fast.INF

c. ***...przeczże=by=m miał pościć?***
why=IRR=1SG have.LFORM.SG.M fast.INF
'But now he [child] is dead; why should I fast?'

The speaker rejects the thought of mourning and fasting because he is aware of fact that will not bring the child back to life.

b) An indirect order, prohibition, suggestion:

(30) Genesis 24.31:

a. *Ir tare: Ieyk [...] kodel **ftowetumey**
and said.PST.3 come_in.IMP.2SG why stand.IRR.2SG
ore? pryredziau nes namus, ir wietą*
outside.LOC.SG prepare.PST.1SG for house.ACC.PL and place.ACC.SG
welbludams.
camels.DAT.PL

b. *...waerom **soudt** ghy buyten **staen**..?*
why IRR you outside stand.INF

c. ***...przecz=by=ś stał** na dworze..?*
why=IRR=2SG stand.LFORM.SG.M in outside.LOC.SG
'And he said, "Come in, [...]! Why do you stand outside? For I have prepared the house, and a place for the camels."'

c) Refusal:

(31) Judges 9.11:

a. *Bet*   *figos-medys*   *tare*   *jems,*   **apłeyscia=gu**
   but   fig_tree.NOM.SG   say.PST.3   3.PL.DAT.M   relinquish.IRR.1SG=Q
   fałdumą   *mano,*   *ir*   *giarą*   *wayfiu*   *mano,*
   sweetness.ACC.SG   POSS.1SG   and   good.ACC.SG   fruit.ACC.SG   POSS.1SG
   ó   *eycia*   *ir*   *wieszpataucia*   *and*   *medziagu?*
   and   go.IRR.1SG   and   rule.IRR.1SG   over   tree.GEN.PL

b. *...**soude*** *ick* *mijne* *soeticheyt* *ende* *goede* *vrucht* ***verlaten*?*
   IRR   I   my   sweetness   and   good   fruit   abandon

c. *...Izali* **opuszczę** *słodkość* *moję,* *i*
   then   abandon.FUT.1SG   sweetness.ACC.SG   POSS.1SG.ACC.SG.F   and
   owoc   *mój*   *wyborny..?*
   fruit.ACC.SG   POSS.1SG.ACC.SG.M   tasty.ACC.SG.M

   'But the fig tree said to them, "Should I cease my sweetness and my good fruit, and go to sway over trees?"'

3.4. Conditional clauses

The last usage type of irrealis can be found in conditional clauses. They are characterized by the fact that both the primary and subordinate clauses are not factual but only hypothetical, and thus only indicate the relationship between the truth of the first sentence and the truth of the other. We can distinguish two types of conditions: real and unreal.

a) Real condition:

The first of these, the real condition is characterized by relative modal neutrality, e.g.

(32) Genesis 34.17:

a. *Bet* **jeygu** **nepakłausisit** *mufu,* *kad* *apsipjauftumite,*
   but   if   NEG.listen.FUT.2PL   1PL.GEN   that   RFL.circumcised.IRR.2PL
   tada   *imsim*   *dukteri*   *mufu,*   *ir*   *nusigabęsim.*
   then   take.FUT.1PL   daughter.ACC.SG   POSS   and   RFL.pack.FUT.1PL

b.   ***so***   *ghy*   *nae*   *ons*   ***niet***   ***en sult***   ***hooren***,   *om*
        if   you   to   us   NEG   FUT.2SG   listen.INF   in_order
        besneden   *te*   *worden*
        circumcise.PP.PST   to   become.INF

c.   *Ale*   ***jeźli=by=ście***   *nas*   ***nie***   ***usłuchali***
        but   if=IRR=2PL   1PL.ACC   NEG   listen.LFORM.2PL.VIR
        abyście   *się*   *obrzezali,*   *weźmiemy*
        SUB.IRR.2PL   RFL   circumcised.LFORM.2PL.VIR   take.FUT.1PL
        córkę   *naszę,*   *i*   *odejdziemy.*
        daughter.ACC.SG   POSS   and   leave.FUT.1PL
        'But if you will not heed us and be circumcised, then we will take our daughter
        and be gone.'

Sentences of this kind most often refer to the future and are combined by a logical cause and effect sequence.

a) Unreal condition:

Another kind of conditional clauses is that of unreal conditional clauses. Traditional grammar speaks of impossible or counterfactual clauses which can occur in the present, future and past tenses, e.g.

(33)   Genesis 31.42:

a.   *Kad*   ***nebutu***   ***buwęs***   *fu*   *manim*   *Diewas*
        that   NEG.be.IRR.3   be.PA.PST.NOM.SG.M   with   1SG.INS   God.NOM.SG
        tewa   *mano,*   *Diewas*   *Abrahoma,*   *ir*   *bayme*
        father.GEN.SG   POSS.1SG   God.NOM.SG   Abraham.GEN.SG   and   fear.NOM.SG
        Izaoka,   *uźtiefa*   ***butumey***   *dabar*   ***pałaydęs***
        Isaak.GEN.SG   truly   be.IRR.2SG   now   let_go.PA.PST.NOM.SG.M
        mane   *tufzczomis.*
        1SG.ACC   empty-handed

b.   *...ten*   ***ware***   *dat*   *de*   *Godt*   *mijnes*   *vaders,*   *de*   *Godt*
        unless   be.SBJ.PST   that   the   God   my.GEN   father.GEN   the   God
        Abrahams   *ende*   *de*   *vreese*   *Isaacs*   *by*   *my*
        Abraham.GEN   and   the   fear   Isaac.GEN.SG   by   me
        geweest   ***ware***
        be.PAR.PST   be.SBJ.PST

c.   ...*I*   ***by***   ***był***   *Bóg*   *ojca*
       and   IRR   be.LFORM.3SG.M   God.NOM.SG   father.GEN.SG

       mego,   *Bóg*   *Abrahama,*   *i*   *strach*   *Izaaka...*
       POSS   God.NOM.SG   Abraham.GEN.SG   and   fear.NOM.SG   Isaak.GEN.SG

       nie   ***był***   *przy*   *mnie,*
       NEG   be.LFORM.3SG.M   next_to   1SG.LOC

       'Unless the God of my father, the God of Abraam and the Fear of Isaac, had
       been with me, surely now you would have sent me away empty-handed.'

Though 17th c. Old–Lithuanian conditional shows no fundamental differences with regard to its modern counterpart in case of rhetorical questions presented in (29)–(31), the uses of the conditional in questions are peculiar. The most interesting conditional usage types in Chylinskis' text might be interrogative object clauses such as (26), but also (15) above, which nowadays seems archaic. Therefore they might be considered the most characteristic in the whole text of the Chylinskis' Bible.

Conclusion

The types of the conditional in Old Lithuanian used in Chylinskis' Bible largely coincide with those that occur in contemporary Lithuanian. Particularly interesting are the uses of irrealis in contexts such as relative clause of purpose (23) or interrogative complement clauses (26). Although few of them appear in the Bible's text, they still seem to be frequent in the 17th century. Of course one should remember that Chylinskis' Bible isn't an original text but a translation. By comparing Chylinskis' text with *Gdańsk Bible* and *Statenbijbel* one can clearly see that majority of forms are analogous to Dutch translation. However, in some places there is a very close resemblance to the Polish source material. Similarities can be mainly seen in places where Dutch text uses more complex constructions, harder to translate, or absent in Lithuanian constructions.

The most interesting aspect, however, relates to the morphology of the mood appearing in the Bible and the difference between them in the translation of the Old and New Testaments. Both texts translated by a single author paints an image of two different faces of Old-Lithuanian in a single period of time. The Old Testament might show the standard version of Lithuanian in the 17th century, the shaping of the language norm, and finally reflect the language spoken by the author. The New Testament, on the other hand, is much more diversified. By comparing 17th century texts and Bretkūnas' Bible

with Chylinskis' Bible we can hypothesize that Chylinskis' text was stylized after the older translation. Differences between the Old and New Testament conditional paradigms, such as the corrections made in (11)–(13), seem to prove the hypothesis put forward by Č a p a i t ė (2019) and K a v a l i ū n a i t ė (2019) that the New Testament manuscript is not a first version.

The above article is merely an overview of the research on the topic of the mood and modality of the Chylinskis' Bible and Old Lithuanian, but I hope that it effectively shows the linguistic diversity of translations and how many interesting details of language history can still be brought to light by a careful philological analysis of Old Lithuanian texts.

SENOSIOS LIETUVIŲ KALBOS IREALIS CHYLINSKIO BIBLIJOJE

Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamos Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblijos lietuviškame vertime pasitaikančios kondicionalio formos. Atkreipiamas dėmesys į skirtumus tarp Senojo Testamento, kuris buvęs išspausdintas, ir Naujojo Testamento, likusio rankraštyje, kalbos. Straipsnyje aptariami irealio formų skirtumai Senojo ir Naujojo Testamentų vertimuose ir redaktoriaus įsikišimo, kaip šių skirtumų šaltinio, vaidmuo. Be to, pateikiama Chylinskio Biblijos irealio formų vartosenos apžvalga.

ABBREVIATIONS

1 – 1st person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3rd person, ACC – accusative, ALL – allative, CNT – continuative, DAT – dative, DU – dual, EMPH – emphatic pronoun, F – feminine, FUT – future tense, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental, IRR – irrealis, LFORM – the Slavonic participle in -*l*- underlining the past tense and irrealis, LOC – locative, M – masculine, N – neuter, NEG – negation, NOM – nominative, NTP – conditional paradigm attested in the New Testament, OTP – conditional paradigm attested in the Old Testament, PA – active participle, PP – passive participle, PL – plural, POSS – possessive pronoun, PRS – present tense, PST – past tense, RFL – reflexive, RPOSS – reflexive possessive pronoun, SBJ – subjunctive, SUB – subordinator, SG – singular, VOC – vocative, Q – question.

REFERENCES

Ambrazas, Vytautas (ed.) 1994, *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos gramatika*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla.

Biblia Tysiclecia, Poznań: Pallotinum, 2003.

Bretkūnas, Jonas 1590, *Biblija*, http://seniejirastai.lki.lt (accessed 27/02/2019).

Brugmann, Karl 1916, *Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre nebst Lehre vom Gebrauch der Wortformen der indogermanischen Sprachen* 2: *Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch* 3 (Zweite Bearbeitung), Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner (= Unveränd, Photomechanischer Nachdruck, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967).

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, William Pagliuca 1994, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Čapaitė, Rūta 2019, Chylinski's New Testament in the context of the Latin cursive, in Gina Kavaliūnaitė (ed.), *Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija* 2: *Naujasis Testamentas Viešpaties mūsų Jėzaus Kristaus. Lietuviško vertimo rankraščio faksimilė*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 144–178.

Elliot, Jennifer 2009, Realis and irrealis: Forms and concepts of the grammaticalisation of reality, *Linguistic Typology* 4(1), 55–90.

Holvoet, Axel 2003, Notes on the development of the Lithuanian and Latvian conditional, *Linguistica Baltica* 10, 39–50.

Holvoet, Axel 2007, *Mood and Modality in Baltic*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Kavaliūnaitė, Gina (ed.) 2008, *Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija* 1: *Senasis Testamentas. Lietuviško vertimo ir olandiško originalo faksimilės*, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.

Kavaliūnaitė, Gina (ed.) 2019, *Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija* 2: *Naujasis Testamentas Viešpaties mūsų Jėzaus Kristaus. Lietuviško vertimo rankraščio faksimilė*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas.

Kavaliūnaitė, Gina 1997, Istoriografinis Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblijos vertimo kontekstas ir vertimo šaltinio problema, *Lituanistica* 3(31), 74–84.

Kavaliūnaitė, Gina 2001, Chylinskio Naujojo Testamento vertimas ir jo šaltiniai: įrašai bei teksto taisymai, *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* 44, 105–128.

Kavaliūnaitė, Gina 2019a, External features of the manuscript, in Idem (ed.), *Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija* 2: *Naujasis Testamentas Viešpaties mūsų Jėzaus Kristaus. Lietuviško vertimo rankraščio faksimilė*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, cvi–cx.

Kavaliūnaitė, Gina 2019b, Lithuanian sources possibly consulted by Chylinski, in Idem (ed.), *Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija* 2: *Naujasis Testamentas Viešpaties mūsų*

Jézaus Kristaus. Lietuviško vertimo rankraščio faksimilė, Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, cxxvi–cxxxi.

Kazlauskas, Jonas 1961, Iš optatyvo istorijos, *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 4, 73–91.

Kazlauskas, Jonas 1968, *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika (kirčiavimas, daiktavardis, veiksmažodis)*, Vilnius: Mintis.

Kołbuszewski, Stanisław, Irena Zawadzka 1959, Podstawa przekładu „Biblii Chylińskiego", *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* 3(57), 158–159.

Kot, Stanisław 1958, Geneza i tło historyczne Biblii Litewskiej Chylińskiego, in Czesław Kudzinowski, Jan Otrębski (eds.), *Biblia Litewska Chylińskiego. Nowy Testament* 2: *Tekst*, Poznań: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, IX–XXXIII.

Kudzinowski, Czesław (ed.) 1964, *Biblia Litewska Chylińskiego. Nowy Testament* 3: *Indeks*, Poznań: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu.

Kudzinowski, Czesław, Jan Otrębski (eds.) 1958, *Biblia Litewska Chylińskiego. Nowy Testament* 2: *Tekst*, Poznań: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu.

Kudzinowski, Czesław, Jan Otrębski (eds.) 1984, *Biblia litewska Chylińskiego. Nowy Testament* 1: *Fotokopie*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza.

Minvydas, Samuelis, Jonas Bożymovskis 1653, *Katekizmas*, http://seniejirastai.lki.lt (accessed 27/02/2019).

Minvydas, Samuelis, Jonas Bożymovskis 1653, *Maldos krikščioniškos*, http://seniejirastai.lki.lt (accessed 27/02/2019).

Otrębski, Jan 1958, Dlaczego przerwano druk Kalwińskiej Biblii w przekładzie Chylińskiego?, in Czesław Kudzinowski, Jan Otrębski (eds.), *Biblia litewska Chylińskiego. Nowy Testament* 2: *Tekst*, Poznań: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, XXXIII–XXXVIII.

Palmer, Frank Robert 1999a, Mood and modality: basic principles, in Keith Brown, Jim Miller (eds.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories*, Cambridge: Elsevier Science, 229–234.

Palmer, Frank Robert 1999b, Mood and modality: further development, in Keith Brown, Jim Miller (eds.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories,* Cambridge: Elsevier Science, 235–238.

Palmer, Frank Robert 2001, *Mood and Modality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija. Novum Testamentum, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_41301 (accessed 27/02/2019).

Samuelio Boguslavo Chylinskio Biblija. Novum Testamentum, https://www.textdatasoft.de/ChNT/www/final/ChNT_Titlepage.html (accessed 27/02/2019).

Smoczyński, Wojciech 2001, Geneza starolitewskiego conditionalis na *-biau*, *-bei*, *-bi-*, in Idem, *Język litewski w perspektywie porównawczej*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 224–229.

Stang, Christian Schweigaard 1958[1970], Die litauische Konjunktion jeib und der lit.–lett. Optative, in Idem, *Opuscula linguistica*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 153–159.

Šventasis Raštas. Senasis ir Naujasis Testamentas, Vilnius: Lietuvių katalikų vyskupų konferencijos leidyka „Katalikų pasaulis", 1998.

Telega, Steponas Jaugelis 1653, *Psolmai Dovydo*, http://seniejirastai.lki.lt (accessed 27/02/2019).

Telega, Steponas Jaugelis, Samuelis Minvydas, Jonas Božymovskis 1653, *Knyga nobožnystės*, http://seniejirastai.lki.lt (accessed 27/02/2019).

Telega, Steponas Jaugelis, Samuelis Minvydas, Jonas Božymovskis 1653, *Suma evangelijų*, http://seniejirastai.lki.lt (accessed 27/02/2019).

The Holy Bible King James Version, https://www.o-bible.com/kjv.html (accesed 27/02/2019).

Zinkevicius, Zigmas 1981, *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika* 2: *Įvardžiai. Būdvardžiai. Skaitvardžiai. Veiksmažodžiai, Nekaitomosios kalbos dalys. Istorinės sintaksės apybraiža*, Vilnius: Mokslas.

Paweł BRUDZYŃSKI
Katedra Językoznawstwa Ogólnego, Wschodnioazjatyckiego Porównawczego i Bałtystyki
Wydział Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
00-927 Warszawa
Poland
[*pawel.brudzynski@gmail.com*]