

THE ANALYTIC FREQUENTATIVE PAST IN
SAMOGITIAN AND ITS TYPOLOGICAL
CORRESPONDENCES*

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I. The frequentative past in Lithuanian.

The frequentative past in Lithuanian, is expressed in four ways: a synthetic tense found in the Standard language and in most of dialects; an analytic found in Samogitian (Low Lithuanian or Zhemaitish); mixed synthetic-analytic forms found in regions where there is an overlap of Low and High Lithuanian; lastly there are dialects where there is no grammatical expression of the frequentative, only lexical expressions. The present article is concerned primarily with the analytic forms, the Samogitian, the importance of which has been underestimated in recent descriptions of Lithuanian.

A characteristic trait of Standard Lithuanian (unlike all other Baltic languages) is the existence of a special frequentative past tense, the so called Lith. *butasis dažninis laikas* (German: *Imperfekt* or more precisely: *das frequentative oder iterative Imperfekt*; Russian: *prošedšee mnogokratnoe vremja*). It is constructed from the infinitive stem with the suffix *-dav-*, which has an iterative meaning¹. Such forms as Lith. *(jis) dirb-dav-o* 'he used to work', *(ji) dainuo-dav-o* 'she used to sing' express an action in the past, which has been repeated indefinitely. The frequentative past forms include the notion of habitual action (*Usualität; uzual'nost'*) and signal a period of time, which normally took place a long time ago. Cf. *Jis dirbdavo namie* 'He used to work at home (and this was a long time ago)'. This type of synthetic form of frequentative past occurs not only in the Standard language, but also in the majority of Lithuanian dialects: in High Lithuanian (Aukštaitish) dialects and in Low Lithuanian (Samogitian, Zhemaitish) dialects situated near High

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¹ *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*, t. II, Vilnius 1971, p. 107.

Lithuanian. Geniušienė in her detailed investigation of iterative forms in High Lithuanian² distinguishes two series of iterative past tense forms: 1) temporal-aspectual forms of non-perfect category: forms with suffix *-dav-*, cf. Lith. *Jis keldavosi anksti* 'He used to get up early' and 2) temporal-aspectual forms of perfect category: Lith. *Jis dažnai būdavo šiltai apsirengęs* 'He often used to dress warmly'. From this point of view *keldavosi* 'used to get up' is in opposition to *būdavo atsikeleš* 'has been used to get up'.

As Zinkevičius pointed out³, in southern High Lithuanian dialects and also in Lithuanian dialects in Poland (in the region of Punska) and in Lithuanian dialects in White Russia (Zietela, Lazūnai) this synthetic frequentative past (type *dainuodavo*) is seldom used. Here you find instead of Standard Lith. *Mes vis dirbdavome* 'We always used to work' a repetition of simple past forms: *Mes vis dirbom ir dirbom* (Dusmenis) 'We always worked and worked' or in place of *rašydavo* 'used to write' - *dažnai rašė* 'he (she; they) often wrote'. (In Baltic languages in the 3rd person the category of number is neutralized. Lith. *rašė* means not only 'he (she) wrote', but also 'they wrote'). Habitual action in these examples is expressed by repetition of words or by lexical items (use of the adverb), not grammatically as in the forms with *-dav-*.

A third area of distribution of the frequentative past forms is found in the Samogitian dialect, except in the south-east. Here instead of the above mentioned synthetic forms there are analytic forms, constructions consisting of the auxiliary verb *liuobeti* plus either the infinitive or a finite form of the main verb. Zinkevičius⁴ distinguishes two types of constructions: 1) Present tense forms of the auxiliary verb + infinitive: Samogitian *liuobu rašyti* = Lith. (Standard) *rašydavau* 'I used to write'; Samogitian *liuobi rašyti* = Lith. (Standard) *rašydavai* 'you used to write'; 2) Present tense forms of the auxiliary verb + conjugating future forms: Samogitian *liuobu rašys(i)u* = Lith. (Standard) *rašydavau* 'I used to write'; *liuobi rašysi* = *rašydavai* 'you used to write'.

² See chapter 9 (*Multiplikativ i iterativ v litovskom jazyke*), written by E. Geniušienė in the book *Tipologija iterativnykh konstrukcij*, otvetstvennyj redaktor V. S. Chrakovskij, Leningrad 1989, pp. 122-132 (especially pp. 126-130).

³ Z. Zinkevičius, *Lietuvių dialektologija*, Vilnius 1966, pp. 356-357.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 357-358.

In fact the present tense forms of the auxiliary are often replaced by a generalized 3rd person singular: cf. *aš liuob rašyti, tu liuob rašyti; jis (ji; jie, jos) liuob rašyti* = *rašydavau, rašydavai, rašydavo* 'I used to write; you used to write; he (she; they) used to write' or *aš liuob rašysiu, tu liuob rašysi, jis liuob rašys* 'I (you, he) used to write'.

In southern Samogitian dialects (Gerviniai) *būdavo* stands in the position of the auxiliary verb *liuob*, cf. *būdavo uždainuos* = *liuob uždainuoti* = *uždainuodavo* 'he (she, they) used to begin to sing'. In some dialects constructions with the simple preterit in the auxiliary verb are found (for example *Tevalis liubejo išgerti* = *Tevelis išgerdavo* 'Father used to drunk' or with the same past tense in the position of the main verb: *liuobejom eiti* = *liuob eidavom* 'we used to go'.

Zinkevičius⁵ located mixed constructions of the Samogitian type and the High Lithuanian type some south east dialects of Samogitian: *Liuob ir mas tą dainą dainuodavom* (Laukuva, near Šilalė and elsewhere) = *Mes dainuodavome* 'We used to sing' and ... *liuob nebūdavo* (Raudėnai) = *nebūdavo* 'he (she, they) used to be'. In the whole of Lithuania (not only Samogitia) the following verse of a popular folk song is well known: *Liuob (liub) gert, liuob dain(i)uot, liuob pas mergas nuvažiuot*⁶ 'Used to drink, used to sing, used to go after the girls'.

To summarize from the view point of existence or non-existence of grammatical forms expressing iterative (and habitual) Lithuania can be divided into four regions:

- 1) one, with a synthetic form (Standard language and the greater part of High Lithuanian dialects);
- 2) two, with an analytic form (Samogitian, except the southern part);
- 3) three, a small region of southern High Lithuanian (Aukshtaitish) dialects without grammatical forms and
- 4) four, dialects with overlapping of High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect features: mixed forms of the analytic and synthetic type.

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 358-359.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 359.- In the Academic Dictionary of Lithuanian (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* - further abbreviated LKZ), VII, p. 651, I found another variant of the above quoted verse from this folk song: *Liuob gerti, liuob dainuoti, liuob į Skuodą nuvažiuoti* (Salantai) 'Used to drink, used to sing, used to drive to Skuodas'.

II. The description of the analytic frequentative past.

As the Samogitian analytic frequentative past consists of two elements (the auxiliary verb and the main verb) we have to examine each of these two elements separately:

A. The auxiliary element

The auxiliary element goes back to the verbs *liubeti*, (*liuoba*, *liuobi*), *liubejo* 'to love, to like', which has two variants: *liubeti* (*liuba*, *liubejo*) and *liubeti* (*liuba*, *liubejo*).⁷

Lith. *liubeti* and *liubeti* with the variant *liubeti* (and also *liūbyti* 'to like, to love', cf. LKŽ, VII, 597) are doubtless variants of a loanword from Slavonic languages (perhaps borrowed at different times and in different places). Fraenkel⁸ supposes a borrowing of this Lithuanian verb from Polish *lubić*, White Russian *ljubic'* 'to love, to like'. He also discovered another variant, namely, *liubieti* (*loubieti*) 'used to; have the habit of'. Lith. (dial.) *liubieti* (with the variants *liubeti*, *liubieti*) developed from a verb with a full meaning into an auxiliary verb with a diminished lexical force and finally into a grammatical particle. The auxiliary element of the analytic frequentative past has the following forms:

1. Present tense forms.

Samogitian (*Aš*) *liubu piauti* 'I used to mow'; (*Tu*) *liubi neklausyti motinos* 'You used to disobey mother'; (*Mes*) *liuobam basi eiti* 'We used to go barefoot'; *Tėvas liuob sakyti* 'Father used to say'; *Liuob mergos dainuos* 'The maidens used to sing' (LKŽ, VII, 615). V. Vitkauskas in his article about the frequentative past in north east Samogitian dialects⁹ quotes an example with the 2nd person plural: *l'ôubat kădrel'u ... šūokte = liubate kadrilių... šokti* 'You used to dance the quadrille'.

Sometimes the form of the 3rd person (*liuob*) has ousted the forms of the 1st and 2nd person. In this respect the paradigm of the

⁷ In the LKŽ, VII, p. 596 the separate verb *liubeti* is cited, but with only one example Lith. *Tėvas liub sakys kai, niekumet nemeluokiat!* (Šaukenai, district of Kelmė) 'Father used to say: Children, never lie!'. The form *liub* in this case is more likely a variant to *liuob* and *liub*.

⁸ E. Fraenkel, *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I-II, Heidelberg - Göttingen 1955 - 1965, p. 378.

⁹ V. Vitkauskas, *Butasis dažninis laikas šiaurės rytų žemaičių tarmėse*, "Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai", Vilnius 1961, pp. 157-166 (especially p. 160).

frequentative past forms which Vitkauskas quoted from the dialect of Kuršėniai is very characteristic. The following examples illustrate a tendency to create a generalized form with *liuob* (resp. *liub*):¹⁰

Singular: *liubu* (*liuob*) *laikyti* 'I used to hold'; *liubi* (*liuob*) *laikyti* 'you used to hold'; *liuob laikyti* 'he (she) used to hold';

Plural: *liuobama* (*liuob*) *laikyti* 'we used to hold'; *liuobate* (*liuob*) *laikyti* 'you used to hold'; *liuob laikyti*.¹¹ This is a mark of a high degree of grammaticalization of this form.

Investigating the frequentative analytic past in the dialect of Juškaičiai (district of Šilutė) Grinaveckis wrote in this connection: "Die am meisten gebrauchte Konstruktion wird aus der unkonjugierbaren Form des Hilfsverbs *liubeti liuob*, die aus der Form der 3. Person Präsens *liuoba* entstanden ist, und dem Infinitiv gebildet, z.B. *l'ûb dainûte ~ liub dainiuoti*"¹².

The most widely used construction is formed with *liuob*, the unconjugated form of the auxiliary verb *liubeti* plus infinitive. *Liuob* is derived from *liuoba*, which is the 3rd person present tense, e.g. *l'ûb dainûte ~ liub dainiuoti*'.

Forms with the old dual endings are mentioned by Zinkevičius (*op. cit.*, p. 358): *Ved(v)i su Raze ... liuobau sutikti* 'We both, Raze and I, used to meet'; *Kad buvotau vaiku (judu) liuobatau šukes rinkti po laukus* (Kretinga) 'When you (both) were children, you used to pick broken glass and pots from the fields'.

The auxiliary element appears (but very seldom) also in the reflexive form. Cf. *Liuobas augti obulai ant šio medžio* (Telšiai; LKŽ, VII, p. 615) 'Apples used to grow on this tree'; *Liubas į jomarką kad privažiuos cigonų, o dabar jų mažai bematyties* (Luokė, district of Telšiai; LKŽ, VII, p. 596) 'In the past a lot of gypsies used to come to the fair, but now you can see only a few'.

¹⁰ There are also some present tense forms from the variant *liubeti* e.g. *liubiu miegoti* 'I used to sleep'; *brolis liub ... išeiti* 'the brother used to go out'; *Firmiaus liub dirbs žmones laukus kastuvais* (LKŽ, VII, p. 596) 'In the early times people used to dig the fields with spades'.

¹¹ V. Vitkauskas, *Op. cit.*, p. 160. - The dialect examples are given in a transcription, which approximates to the Standard language.

¹² V. Grinaveckis, *Zu den Formen des Präteritums der mehrmaligen Handlung in einer Untermundart des Südniederlitauischen*, "Lingua Posnaniensis", XXXII-XXXIII za lata 1989-1990, Poznań 1991, pp. 83-84.

2. Preterit (simple past) forms.

There are only a few examples of such forms of the preterit. E.g. *Kad aš tą giesmę liuobėjau nakty pragysti, visi numireliai iš numirusių liubejo atsikelti*¹³ 'When in the night I used to sing the hymn, all the dead used to rise up again'; *Seniaus dvylika penkiolika vaikų liubejo tureti* (Saugos, district of Šilutė) 'In the past people used to have twelve (or) fifteen children'.

3. Future forms.

These forms are little used: *Tu liuobsi išeiti saulei netekejus* (Kalnalis)¹⁴ 'Before sunrise you used to go out'.

Grinaveckis¹⁵ gives the whole paradigm: *liuobsu eiti* 'I used to go'; *liuobsi eiti* 'you used to go'; *liuobs (liuobes) eiti* 'he (she, they) used to go'; *liuobesam eiti* 'we used to go'; *liuobesat eiti* 'you used to go'. These forms are not derived from the Infinitive stem, but from the (generalized) invariable form of the 3rd Person *liuob*.

4. Synthetic frequentative past tense of *liūbėti*.

The following examples belong to this type: *Liūbedavo apie jį pasakoti* (LKŽ, VII, p. 596) 'He (she, they) used to tell about him'; *Marike liuobedavo baisiai gražiai verpti* 'Marike used to spin extremely well'; *Liuobedavom paskaitinėti knyges*¹⁶ 'We used to read the books'.

A great variety of forms is typical not only for the first (auxiliary) element of the analytic frequentative past tense, but also for the second element, the main verb.

B. The main verb

The second element of the analytic frequentative past tense in Samogitian may occur in the following forms:

1. Form of the infinitive.

a) with the auxiliary element in the present tense:

This is the most frequent type of the analytic frequentative past tense. Vitkauskas (op. cit., p. 159) gives the whole paradigm of this type from the dialect of Papilė:

¹³ Cf. *Pasakos apie paukščius. Zemaitische Tierfabeln. Text, Wörterverzeichnis und Übersetzung herausgegeben von Hugo Scheu ... und Alexander Kurschat ...*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 31.

¹⁴ Cf. Z. Zinkevičius, *Op. cit.*, p. 358.

¹⁵ V. Grinaveckis, *Op. cit.*, p. 84. - He means this type of forms is up to now unknown, but Z. Zinkevičius has one example in his 1966 edited book.

¹⁶ The last mentioned examples are taken from V. Grinaveckis, *Op. cit.*, p. 84

Singular	<i>liuobu (liuob) duoti / juokties</i> 'I used to give / to joke' <i>liuobi (liuob) duoti / juokties</i> 'you used to give / to joke'
Singular/Plural	<i>liuob duoti / juokties</i> 'he (she, they) used to give / to joke'
Plural	<i>liuobama duoti / juokties</i> 'we used to give / to joke' <i>liuobate duoti / juokties</i> 'you used to give / to joke.'

Of all these forms the most frequent is the 3rd person of the auxiliary element plus the infinitive of the main verb: *liuob duoti* 'he (she, they) used to give', but also (*aš*) *liuob duoti* 'I used to give'; (*tu*) *liuob duoti* 'you used to give' etc. It is the form for the analytic frequentative past *par excellence*, because here the great variety of forms is reduced to a minimal structure of unchanging elements.

b) with the auxiliary element in the perfect or simple past tense:

It is a very rare type: *liuobėjau pragysti* 'I used to sing', see above under II A 2.

2. Forms of the future.

a) with the auxiliary element in the present tense:

This type has the next widest use after the type described under B 1 a. The "normal" type is here also with the 3rd person of the auxiliary. Grinaveckis (op. cit., p. 83-84) gives a whole paradigm from the dialect of Juškaiciai:

liuob eisu 'I used to go'
liuob eisi 'you used to go'
liuob eis 'he (she, they) used to go'
liuob eisam 'we used to go'
liuob eisat 'you used to go'.

The paradigm can be completed with forms of the dual, which in Lithuanian occurs mainly in dialects and in old writings. Cf. Vitkauskas, *op. cit.*, p. 161: *Dvare liuob dirbsma* 'We two both used to work in the yard'; *Liuob pameluoste ir išbėgste - kur jauną troboje nulaikyti* 'You two both used to tell lies and to run away to go dancing, how could they lock up young people in a shack'.

Zinkevičius (op. cit., p. 358) notes also the existence of a paradigm with conjugated forms in both elements - forms of the present tense in the auxiliary element and forms of the future tense in the main verb:

liuobu rašys(i)u 'I used to write'

liuobi rašysi 'you used to write'

liuob rašys 'he (she, they) used to write' etc.

However from the dialects of Luokė, Raudėnai, Kuršėnai and Šaukėnai he also cites a generalization of the 3rd Person in the auxiliary element, cf. *aš liuob rašys(i)u; tu liuob rašysi* 'I used to write' etc.

As examples from the Lithuanian Academic Dictionary (LKŽ, VII, p. 596) show, in the main verb a simple verb or a verb with a prefix can occur: *Liub dirbs* 'used to work' and *liub padirbsu* 'I used to do a bit of work'.

b) with the auxiliary element in the future tense:

This is a very rare case of an analytic form, but shows the complete semantic neutralization of the future. Zinkevičius (op. cit., p. 358) gives the following example: *Tu liuobsi išėiti (išėisi) saulei netekėjus* (Kalnalis). What is notable here is: *(tu) liuobsi išėisi*, which has the meaning 'you used to go out' i.e. past, notwithstanding the two future forms in its composition.

3. Forms of the synthetic frequentative past.

There are only a few examples, because this type is infrequent: *Liub apmaluodavom / tėvukui / i pabėgdavom į vakariuką* (Raudėnai, district of Šiauliai, LKŽ, VII, p. 615) 'We used to deceive grandfather and to run off to the evening party'; *Liub ir mas tą dainą dainuodavom* (Laukuva; Zinkevičius, op. cit., p. 358) 'We also used to sing this song'; *Kitais metais bruknių čia liuob nebūdavo* (Raudėnai, Zinkevičius, op. cit., p. 359) 'In other years there used not to be cranberries here'; *Liubaus po penkius tukstančius paimdavo* (Užventis, district of Kelme; Vitkauskas, op. cit., p. 159) '(They) used to make five thousand a time'. In Grinaveckis' opinion (op. cit., p. 83) this type is widely used in the dialect of Juškaičiai:

liuob eidavau 'I used to go'

liuob eidavai 'you used to go'

liuob eidavo 'he (she, they) used to go'.

How are we to explain this great variety of forms? It seems that this large number of forms for the analytic frequentative past tense in Samogitian is above all determined by the dialectal differentiation of Lithuanian. The great number of different dialects in Samogitian make use of the possibilities offered by the language system. But also in dialects there is a tendency toward generalization: the auxiliary element became an unchanging form, which at the same time is different from

all verbal forms in Samogitian: *liuob* or *liuob*; the main verb is expressed by the uninflected infinitive. The contradiction between meaning and form (cf. such variants as *liuobsi išėisi* 'you used to go out' with two forms of the future tense but a semantic status connected with the past) is neutralized.

Neutralization can be found also in other grammatical categories such as 1) tense (cf. *liuob sakyti* 'used to say': *liubejo tureti* 'used to have': *liuobs eiti* 'used to go'); 2) number (cf. *liuob laikyti* 'used to hold': (I, you, we, you) used to hold'¹⁷ and 3) person (*liuob laikyti* 'I (you, he) used to hold'¹⁸

Another problem is the relation between the full verb *liubėti* and the auxiliary verb *liubėti* (*liubėti, liubėti*) cf. on the one hand the sentence *Ir bobos liubejo girtauti* (Saugos, district of Šilutė; Vitkauskas, op. cit., p. 158) 'Women were also in the habit of boozing' and on the other hand *liuob gerti* 'used to drink (booze)'. In a case such *Liubam eiti į vakarelius* 'We liked to go to evening entertainments' it is only a small step from this construction with the full verb to the construction of the type *Liubedavom eiti į vakarelius* (see Grinaveckis, op. cit., p. 84) 'We used to go to evening entertainments.' Cf. the very similar semantics of German *Wir gingen gern zu den Abendgesellschaften: Wir liebten es, zu den Abendgesellschaften zu gehen: Wir pflegten zu den Abendgesellschaften zu gehen.*

The meaning of the full verb *liubėti, liubėti* 'gern, lieb haben; lieben; die Angewohnheit zu haben'; 'to like, to love; to have the habit' lends itself to functioning as an auxiliary in grammatical forms of the analytic frequentative past.

It seems that the analytic frequentative past in Samogitian is not an old grammatic form. There is no example older than from the 18th century. On the other hand in the work of the famous Samogitian writer Simonas Daukantas (1793-1864) the forms of the analytic frequentative past can be found quite often:

*Sunkiai liub būti mažesni pakoroti,
Ką didesni gir, o nor jį atvadžioti*¹⁹.

¹⁷ Differentiation is made by the use of personal pronouns, cf. *aš liuob laikyti* 'I used to hold': *mes liuob laikyti* 'we used to hold'.

¹⁸ But cf. *aš liuob laikyti* 'I used to hold': *tu liuob laikyti* 'you used to hold'.

¹⁹ Simonas Daukantas, *Žemaičių tautosaka, I. Dainos*, Vilnius 1983, p. 476 (folksongs of literary origin). Folksong: "Kad senas arklys krimto žolę ant pievos"

'The smaller ones (wolves) used to be strictly punished in case they might argue with the bigger ones (lions) about whom (horses) they (lions) are praising'.

Recently I was able to consult an article, devoted to our theme, written by Ernst Fraenkel nearly a half century ago: "Das litauische Imperfekt und seine Umschreibung im Žemaitischen"²⁰. In his work Fraenkel discussed many of problems, connected with iterative verbs in Lithuanian, with the expression of iterative and habitual in verbal derivation and in grammar. His analysis contains important observations about the forms of the synthetic and analytic frequentative past tense in High Lithuanian and in Samogitian, about the origin of the periphrastic forms, about the etymology of certain verbs and about their use, about the so called "zeitloses Präsens" (untensed present) in Lithuanian and about some types of analytical frequentative past in Samogitian. His investigation can be expanded by new materials, published in the last 40/50 years in the fields of dialectology, grammar and lexicology. But Fraenkel tackled the main problems. For example, he mentioned some periphrastic forms expressing iterative and habitual in Samogitian and 3rd person with *liuob*, the preference for the use of the forms of the future and the etymology of Lith. *liuobeti*, *liubeti*.

In connection with the present investigation the fact that Fraenkel refers to another verb in Samogitian periphrastic frequentative constructions, namely to Lith. *gebeti* 'be used to (doing); be capable of (doing)' is important. He quoted the following example with *gebeti* in Samogitian frequentative constructions: *Ož wis gebieį i mažus burius issiskajdiusis grumtijs* 'Vor allem pflegten sie, in kleine Abteilungen zersplittert, zu kämpfen' = 'Above all they used to fight split up in small groups' (Daukantas; see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

In the Lithuanian Academic Dictionary (LKŽ, III, p. 192) there are many examples of such constructions. Cf. *Aš negebu eiti su kurpėmis i miesteli, t. y. neturiu papročio*. 'I used not to go in boots (Halbschuhe) into the small town'. It means: 'I am not in the habit of going ...'; *Motina gebejo galvelę iššukuoti (motina iššukuodavo*

(How the old horse gnawed the grass in the meadow). - For the translation of this place I am thankful to Birutė Vanagienė and Giedrius Subačius (Vilnius).

²⁰ "Kuhns Zeitschrift" (KZ), Bd. 63, 1936, pp. 99-113. - I am grateful to Markus Kränzle (Tübingen - Greifswald), who drew my attention to this very interesting paper.

galvelę) (Valančius, LKŽ, III, p. 192) 'Mother used to go combing her hair'.

It seems that this construction with *gebeti* cannot be described as a synonym of the grammatical form with *liuob*, but it is rather a less grammaticalized periphrastic construction. Fraenkel (*op. cit.*, p. 100) cites also an interesting form of contamination between the Samogitian synthetic type of frequentative past and an iterative verb with *-dauti*: *taip liubiejes sakidauti* 'he used to say like this'.

III. Typological correspondences.

From the view point of semantic structure the Samogitian analytic frequentative past can be typologically compared with corresponding forms in other languages.

A. Correspondences in Polish

Fraenkel (*op. cit.*, p. 104) pointed out that the Samogitian analytic frequentative past has an exact correspondence in Polish (from where Lith. *liubeti*, *liubeti* is borrowed). He quoted the following example: *W naszych stronach lubi deszcz padać* 'In unseren Gegenden pflegt es zu regnen' 'In our area it used to rain'. Very likely the origin of the Samogitian analytic frequentative past is connected with the above mentioned construction with *lubić* in Polish. In addition to the mentioned by Fraenkel example in the so called Warsaw Dictionary (*Słownik języka polskiego*, redaktor naczelny Witold Doroszewski, tom IV, Warszawa 1962, p. 208) are registered some examples with Polish *lubić* (often in the 3rd person) in the meaning 'to be used; to be in the habit':

1) *W życiu człowieka ... nawet przypadki lubią mieć swoje przyczyny* 'In the life(time) of man even chances used to have reasons';

2) *Życie lubi niekiedy żartować sobie z najpiękniejszych ludzkich zamiarów* 'Life occasionally used to joke with the very best intentions';

3) *Ludzkim powieściom nie należy łatwo wierzyć, bo te rzeczy proste i naturalne lubią udawać za nadzwyczajne* 'It's not necessary to believe the stories of people, because these things usually and naturally used to be exaggerated to the highest degree.'

B. Correspondences in African language Ewe.

Precise typological correspondences to the Samogitian analytic frequentative past are found in the African language Ewe. In the above mentioned book *Tipologija iterativnych konstrukcij*²¹ there is a chapter by Agbodžo Kofi and Litvinov devoted to the expression of plurality of actions in the African language of Ewe (spoken in Ghana, Togo and Dahome). The authors point out that the Ewe verb *lõ* 'to love' (in contrast to *di*, *džró* 'to love, to wish') makes up a construction with the meaning of habitual. Cf. Ewe *Elõa afima yiyi* 'He liked (loved) to go there' and 'He usually went there' (Lith. *Jis ten eidavo*). The verb *lõ* in this example has the form of aorist or a category of habit, the main verb is a verbal noun.

The Ewe sentence *Adzo lõ ha dzidzi* literally means 'Adzo loves singing a song', but has the semantic value of 'Adzo likes to sing' and 'Adzo used to sing' ('Adzo had a habit of singing').

Another example is: Ewe *Elõ dzodzo hafi mevana dusia me* 'He went away every time, I visited the village'.

The authors also compare an interesting Russian example with Ewe: In Russian you can say *On ljubit raspuskat' ruki* 'He likes to have a fight', Ewe *Elõ asi sofo nkume nam* 'He likes (loves) to hit me in the face', but in Ewe the verb has a higher degree of desemantization because Russian *On ljubit uchodit' iz derevni* 'He likes (loves) to go away from the village' does not mean 'On obyčno uchodit iz derevni' 'He usually goes away from the village'.

The construction with *lõ* 'to love' and the verbal noun, designating habitual in Ewe, corresponds to Samogitian *liuob eiti* 'used to go' and *liuob dainuoti* 'used to sing'.

Unfortunately Geniušienė in her excellent investigation did not pay any attention to Samogitian with its analytic frequentative past expressing habitual which can be typologically compared with constructions in Polish and in Ewe²².

²¹ See the book under the footnote Nr. 3, paragraphe 3.3. about the iterative and habitual in Ewe, pp. 108-110.

²² I want to express my deep gratitude to Prof. Dr. Veronica Du Feu (Leamington Spa) for her patience and great help by formulation the article in English.

Das analytische frequentative Vergangenheitstempus im Zemaitischen und seine typologischen Entsprechungen

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Es erfolgt eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Formen des Typs lit. dial. (žem.) *jis liuob rašyti* = schriftsprachlich *jis rašydavo* 'er pflegte zu schreiben', die einen beträchtlichen Variantenreichtum in den verschiedenen niederlitauischen Mundarten aufweisen. Die große Variantenbreite wird eingegrenzt durch eine Tendenz zur Verallgemeinerung der Konstruktionen, die aus unveränderlichen Elementen bestehen (Typ: 3. Pers. des Hilfsverbs + Infinitiv). Danach werden typologische Entsprechungen dazu im Polnischen (*lubi deszcz padać* 'es pflegte zu regnen') und in der afrikanischen Sprache Ewe (die in Ghana, Dahome und Togo verbreitet ist) behandelt. Für letzteres vgl. *Adzo lõ ha dzidzi* 'Adzo liebte [bzw. pflegte] ein Lied zu singen'.