

MARTYNAS MAŽVYDAS AND JOHN WYCLIFFE: AN ENGLISH CONNECTION?

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The purpose of this brief note is to suggest that the influence of the English religious reformer Wycliffe might be discerned in the First Lithuanian Catechism. Probably direct influence cannot be proven, but at least there is a striking parallelism between Martynas Mažvydas and John Wycliffe in the rendering of the Decalogue. For Christian religious reformers beginning at least as early as the 14th century and perhaps continuing until today the correct vernacular rendering of the Ten Commandments was (and is) a serious matter occasioning much controversy. Just at the time Mažvydas was writing his Catechism, the Polish Protestant reformers Jan Sandecki-Malecki and Jan Seklucjan were disputing about the translation of sacred texts.

In 1545 Seklucjan published his Simple Text of the Catechism for Simple People (Katechizmu tekst prosty dla prostego ludu). Malecki made critical annotations in a copy of this catechism of Seklucjan and in 1546 Malecki issued his own catechism, which ended with a brief justification of his method of translation. Seklucjan, in turn, entered his criticisms in his copy of Malecki's work and sent it to Malecki's patron Paul Speratus. At Speratus' request Malecki replied to the criticism with A Defense, against the Calumnies of Jan Seklucjan, of the True Translation of the Body of the Catechism in the Polish language (Defensio verae translationis Corporis Catechismi in linguam polonicam, aduersus calumnias Ioannis Secluciani) in which Malecki answered Seklucjan's criticisms and also examined Seklucjan's new, larger catechism published in 1547 (Frick 1989:14).

Seklucjan had translated phrases of the type Latin Non habebis... 'Thou shalt not have...' with the Polish second singular future as Nie będziesz miał... 'Thou shalt not have...' whereas Malecki had used the second singular negative imperative Nie miej... 'Don't have...' Malecki argues first that Latin uses the future because of a peculiarity of Hebrew, which 'often replaces tense for tense, mood for mood, future for present, and present for future. This is peculiar to this language.' ('In Hebraea lingua in veteri testamento, saepius ponitur tempus pro tempore, modus pro modo, futurum pro praesenti et praesens pro futuro. Hoc enim huic linguae peculiare est.') Malecki then appeals to the sense of the passage: 'But the law of God indicates our sin and constantly asserts it and terrifies and damns us' (Porro lex Dei indicat peccatum, et perpetuo arguit, terret, at damnat nos). Malecki is certain of his interpretation because he can quote Martin Luther, who argues that the sense of the command requires the use of the present tense. Since the law is for all time, these negative commands must be rendered in Polish not with the future indicative but with the second person singular of the present tense of the imperative mood: Nie miej. 'Don't have...' (Frick 1989: 21-22).

Malecki finds further support for his argument in Luther's German translation: Du solt nicht ander goetter haben, 'Thou shalt not have other gods,' du solt nicht toedten 'thou shalt not kill,' du solt nicht ehebrechen 'thou shalt not commit adultery.' He renders these phrases in Polish with the negative imperatives Nie miej Bogow ijnych 'Don't have other gods,' nie zabijaj 'don't kill,' nie cudzołoz 'don't commit adultery.'¹ For Malecki this is preferable because it takes less time to say, and also sounds more pleasant and sweet. The word bedziesz 'you (sg.) will' on the other hand is 'rough.' Its first syllable is an 'imperfect Polish diphthong,' which is difficult to pronounce and its second syllable is 'uncouth and rough,' and difficult to pronounce. According to Malecki, such words, in a language that is already 'harsh' enough, should be avoided as much as possible, especially in texts for the instruction of the people (Frick 1989: 22). Those of us who are not native speakers of Polish can certainly agree with Malecki about the difficulties of pronunciation of this language.

Malecki further rejects the phrase Nie bądźcie tobie bogowie yny, 'Let there not be to thee other gods' as a literal rendering of the 'Hebrew Non sint tibi alii dii. Malecki writes in his Defense (Frick 1989:22): 'Just so in all the negative precepts of the Decalogue, as Doctor Martin Luther writes in a certain brief treatise about the Decalogue, the future indicative is to be replaced by the second person singular of the present tense, imperative mood: thus, 'Thou shalt not have'; 'Thou shalt not kill'; 'Thou shalt not covet'; are to be replaced by 'Don't have'; 'Don't kill,' 'Don't covet.' Thus the law of God might seem to say: 'Behold you have other gods'; 'Behold you kill'; 'Behold, you are an adulterer'; 'Behold you covet.' 'Don't have other gods.' 'Don't kill, don't covet': and thus in the present tense let it assert, frighten and damn us.' ('Proinde in omnibus praeceptis Decalogi negativis, ut Doctor Martinus Lutherus in quodam commentariolo super Decalogum scribit, futurum indicativi exponendum est, per secundam personam singularem praesentis temporis, imperativi modi: ut, Non habebis: Non occides: Non concupisces, exponatur, per Non habe, Non occide, Non concupisce. Ut lex Dei videatur dicere: Ecce habes Deos alienos: Ecce occidis: Ecce Mechus es: Ecce concupisces. Non habe Deos alienos. Non occide, Non concupisce: atque ita in praesenti tempore, arguat, terreat, ac damnet nos.'). Prof. J. M. Claassen points out to me that classical Latin would not use non with the imperative as does Malecki, but either noli plus the infinitive or ne with the present or perfect subjunctive.

According to Brockelmann (1913: 20) the imperative cannot be combined with a negative in any of the old Semitic languages. Now according to Prof. Haim Rosén of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Biblical Hebrew the negative particle lō(¹) plus the prefixed form of the verb (not the imperative!) expressed in the Decalogue an absolute categorical prohibition (personal communication). But the Septuagint translation represents the Post-Biblical understanding of Hebrew in which the prefixed form of the verb (abbreviated below as pref.) had come to be understood as a future (see Rosén 1984: 232-233 and 1997: 302). Thus the Hebrew prefixed form lō(¹) tirsah 'don't kill, thou shalt not kill' is rendered by the future tense in the Greek Septuagint translation ou phoneúseis. Similarly the Hebrew prefixed verbs w =lō(¹) tin'ap 'and thou shalt not commit adultery' and w =lō(¹) tignub 'and thou shalt not steal' are rendered by the future tense in Greek ou moikheúseis and ou klépsais respectively.² The Latin Vulgate has correspondingly the future tense in non occides 'thou shalt not kill,' neque moechaberis 'thou shalt not commit adultery,' and furtumque non facies 'thou shalt not commit theft, thou shalt not steal.'

As is well known the ten commandments occur twice in the Old Testament, once in Exodus 20:3-17 and once in Deuteronomy 5:6-21. (The Latin transcription of the Hebrew Exodus comes from Richter 1991a:178-181 and the Hebrew Deuteronomy from Richter 1991b:410-414.³ The English interlinear translations of the Hebrew text come from Kohlenberger's Interlinear Hebrew-English Old Testament [Exodus pp. 200-202 and Deuteronomy pp. 498-500]. The Greek translations with suffix a. are from the Septuagint and the Latin translations with suffix b. are from the Vulgate.)

Thus Exodus 20:3:

1.	lō(¹) (neg.) not	yihyā (3sg. pref.) he-shall-be	l'=ka (prep.) to-you	'ilō'hīm gods	'ahirīm other-ones	'al (prep.) before	pan-ay=[y] face-of-m
1a	ouk (neg.) not	ēsontai (3rd pl. fut.) will be	soi (dat. sg.) to you	theoi (nom.pl.) gods	hétēroi (nom. pl.) other	plēn (prep.) than	emoū. (gen. sg.) me.
1b.	non (neg.) not	habebis (2nd sg. fut.) you will have	deos (acc.pl.) gods	alienos other	coram (prep.) but	me. (acc.sg.) me.	

Exodus 20:7:

2.	ō(¹) (neg.)	tišša(¹) (2nd sg. fut.)	at acc.pl.)	šim	YHWH	'ilō'hē=ka	1'	=[h]a=šaw'.
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not you=shall-take *** name-of Yahweh God-of-you for-the -missue.

2a.	lou (neg.) not	lēpsēi (2nd sg. fut. middle indic.) thou shall take for thyself	'tò (acc. sg.) the	ōnoma (gen. sg.) name	kuriou (gen. sg.) of lord	toū (gen. sg.) of	theoū (gen. sg.) God	sou (gen. sg.) thy	epi (prep.) in	mataiō (dat. sg.) vain.
2b.	non (neg.) not	absumes (2nd sg. fut.) you will take	nomen (acc. sg.) name	Domini (gen. sg.) of Lord	Dei God	tui (gen. sg.) thine	in (prep.) n	vanum (acc.) vain.		

Exodus 20:8

3.	zakōr (inf. abs.) to-remember	'at (acc.) ***	yōm day-of	ha=šabbat[t] the sabbath	I=qaddiš=o. to-keep-holy-him.					
3a.	mnēsthēti (2nd sg. passive aor. imperative) remember	tēn (acc. sg.) the	hēmēran (acc. sg.) day	tōn (gen. pl.) of the	sabbātōn (gen. pl.) sabbaths	hagiādzein (inf) to keep holy	autēn. (acc. sg.) it.			
3b.	memento (2nd sg. fut. imperative) remember	ut (conj.) that	diem (acc. sg.) day	sabbati (gen. sg.) of sabbath	sanctifices. (2nd sg. subj.) you keep holy					

Exodus 20:12:

4.	kabbid (2nd sg. imperative) honor!	'at (acc.) ***	'abi=ka father-of-you	w= (conj.) and	'at (acc.) ***	'imm-i=ka. mother -of-you				
4a.	tima (2nd sg. imperative) honor	tōn (acc. sg.) the	patéra (acc. sg.) father	sou (gen. sg.) thy	kai (conj.) and	tēn (acc. sg.) the	mētéra (acc. sg.) mother	sou (gen. sg.) thy.		
4b.	honora (2nd sg. imperative)	patrem (acc. sg.)	tuum (conj.)	metrem (acc. sg.)	tuam. (acc. sg. fem.)					

Exodus 20:13:

5.	lō(') (neg.) not	tirsah. (2nd sg. prefixed) not you-shall-murder.								
5a.	ou (neg.) not	phoneūseis. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt kill.								
5b.	non (neg.) not	occides. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt kill.								

Exodus 20:14

6.	lō(') (neg.) not	tin'ap (2nd sg. prefixed) you-shall-commit-adultery.								
6a.	ou (neg.) not	moikheūseis. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt commit adultery.								
6b.	neque (neg.) not	moechaberis. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt-commitadultery.								

Exodus 20:15;

7.	lō(') (neg.) not	tignub. (2nd sg. prefixed) you-shall-steel.								
7a.	ou (neg.) not	klépseis. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt steel.								
7b.	non (neg.) not	fudur (acc. sg.) theft	facies. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt steel.							

Exodus 20:16;

8.	lō(') (neg.) not	t'i'nā (2nd sg. prefixed) you-give	b'= against	ri'= neighbor	ka of-you	'e*d testimony	šaqr. false			
8a.	ou (neg.)	pseudomarturéseis (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt falsely bear	katā (prep.) against	toū (gen. sg.) thae one	plesion (adv.) near	sou of you	martūrian (acc. sg.) witness	pseudē (acc. sg.) false.		
8b.	non (neg.) not	loqueris (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt speak	contra (prep.) against	proximum (acc. sg.) neighbor	tuum thy	falsum (acc. sg.) false	testimonium. witness.			

Exodus 20:17:

9.	lō(') (neg.) not	tihmud (2nd sg. prefixed) you shall covert	bēt house-of	ri'-i=ka neighbor-of-you
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lō(') (neg.) not	tihmud (2nd sg. prefixed) you shall covert	'išt wife-of	ri'-i=ka neighbor-of-you
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w='abd=ō or-man-servant-of-him	w' = or	āmat=ō or woman-servant-of-him
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w' = or	šōr=ō ox-of-him	w'himō*r=ō or-donkey-of-him	w' =ku[[]] or-anything
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'ašr that	l' =ri' - i= to-neighbor-of-you	ka
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9a.	ouk (neg.) not	epithumēseis (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt covet	tēn (acc.sg.) the	gunaika wife of	toū (gen.sg.) the one	plēsion (adv.) near	sou (gen.sg.) oneself	ouk (neg.) not	epithumēseis (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt covet	tēn oikian (acc.sg.) the house
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toū (gen.sg.) of the one	plēsion (adv.) near	sou (gen.sg.) oneself	oúte (neg.) not	tōn (acc.sg.) the	agrōn (acc.sg.) field	autoū (gen.sg.) of him	oute (neg.) nor	tōn paida (acc.sg.) the man-servant	autoū, (gen.sg.) of him
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oúte nor	tēn (acc.sg.) the	paidiskēn (acc.sg.) maid-servant	autoū, (gen.sg.) of him	oúte (neg.) nor	toū boōs (gen.sg.) the ox	autoū, (gen.sg.) of him
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oúte (neg.) not	toū (gen.sg.) the	hupodzugiou donkey	autoū, (gen.sg.) of him,	oúte toū (neg.) nor the	pantōs (gen.sg.) whole	ktēnous (gen.sg.) flock of	autoū (gen.sg.) him
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oúte (neg.) not	pánta (acc.pl.) everything	hósa (acc.sg.) which	tō (dat.sg.) to him	plēsion (adv.) near to	soú (gen.sg.) oneself	esti (3 sg. pres.) is.
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9b.	non (neg.) not	concupisces (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt desire	domum (acc.pl.) house	proximi (gen.sg.) of neighbor	tui thy	nec (neg.) nor	desiderabis (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt desire	uxorem (acc.pl.) wife	eius (gen.) his	non (neg.) not	servum (acc.pl.) servant
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non (neg.) not	ancillam (acc.pl.) maid servant	non (neg.) not	bovem (acc.pl.) ox	non (neg.) not	asinum (acc.pl.) donkey	nec (neg.) nor	omnia (acc.pl.) all things	quae (nom.pl.) which	illius (gen.sg.) his	sunt. (3pl. pres.) are
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Deuteronomy 5:7:

1.	lō(') (neg.) not	yihyā (3 sg. prefixed) he shall be	l' =ka (prep.) to-you	'ilo*him (nom.pl.) gods	áhirim (nom.pl.) other-ones	'al (prep.) before	pan-ay=[y]. faces-of-me.
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1a.	ouk (neg.) not	ésontai (2nd sg. fut.) will be	soi (data sg.) to you	theoi (nom.pl.) gods	héteroi (nom.pl.) other	prò (prep.) befors	prosōpou (gen.sg.) face	mou. (gen.sg.) my.
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1b.	non (neg.) not	habebis (2nd sg. fut.) you will have	deos alienos (acc.pl.) gods other	in (prep.) in	conspectu (abl. sg.) sight	meo. my.
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Deuteronomy 5:11:

2.	lō(') (neg.) not	tišša(') (2nd sg. prefixed) you shall take	'at (acc.) ***	šim name=of	YHWH Yahweh	'ilo*he=ka God-of you	1'=[h]a=šaw'. for-the -misuse.
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2a.	ou (neg.) not	lēpsēi (2nd sg. fut. indicative middle) thou shalt take for thyself	tō (acc. sg.) the	ōnoma (acc. sg.) name of	kuriou (gen. sg.) lord	toū (gen. sg.) of	theoū (gen. sg.) God	sou (gen. sg.) thy	epi (prep.) in	mataiō. (dat. sg.) vain.
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2b.	non (neg.) not	usurpabis (2nd sg. fut.) you will use	nomen (acc. sg.) name	Domini (gen. sg.) of Lord	Dei God	tui thine	frustra (adv.) in vain.
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Deuteronomy 5:12:

3.	šamōr (inf. abs.) to-observe	at' (acc.) ***	yōm day-of	ha=šabbat[t] the sabbath	l =qaddi š=ō. to-keep-holy-him.
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3a.	phūlakasai (2nd sg. middle aor. imperative) observe	tēn (acc. sg.) the	hēmēran (acc. sg.) day	tōn (gen. pi.) of the	sabbātōn (gen. pi.) sabbaths	hagiādzein (inf.) to keep	autēn. (acc. sg.) holy it.
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3b.	observa (2nd sg. imperative) observe	diem (acc. sg.) day	sabbati (gen. sg.) of sabbath	ut (conj.) so that	sanctifices (2nd sg. subj.) you keep holy	eum. (acc. sg.) it/
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Deuteronomy 5:16:

4.	kabbid (2nd sg. imperative) honor!	'at (acc.) ***	'abī=ka father-of-you	w ='at (conj.) and	'imm-i=ka. (acc.) mother-of-you/			
4a.	tima (2nd sg. imperative) honor	tōn (acc. sg.) the	patéra (gen. sg.) father	sou (conj.) thy	kai and	tēn (acc. sg.) the	mētéra (acc. sg.) mother	sou. (gen. sg.) thy.
4b.	honora! (2nd sg. imperative) honor	patrem father	tuum (acc. sg.) thy	et (conj.) and	matrem. mother.			

Deuteronomy 5:17:

5.	lō(') (neg.) not	tirsah. (2nd sg. fut.) you-shall-murder.
5a.	ou (neg.) not	phoneüseis. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt kill.
5b.	non (neg.) not	occides. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt kill.

Deuteronomy 5:18:

6.	w'=lō(') (conj.) (neg.) and-not	tin'ap. (2nd sg. prefixed) and-not you-shall-commit-adultery.
6a.	ou (neg.) not	moikheüseis. (2nd sg. fut.) not thou shalt commit adultery.
6b.	neque (neg.) not	moechaberis. (2nd sg. fut.) not thou shalt commit adultery.

Deuteronomy 5:19:

7.	w'=lo(') (conj.) (neg.) and-not	tignub (2nd sg. prefixed) you-shall-steal.	
7a.	ou (neg.) not	klépseis. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt steal.	
7b.	furtumque (neg.) theft	non (neg.) not	facies. (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt steal.

Deuteronomy 5:20:

8.	w'=lo(') (conj.) (neg.) and-not	ti'na (2nd sg. prefixed) you-give	b'= against	ri'= neighbor	ka of-you	'e*d testimony	šaw'. false.
8a.	ou (neg.) not	pseudomarturēseis (2ndsg. fut.) hou shalt falsely bear	katā (prep.) against	toū (gen. sg.) the one	plesion (adv.) near	sou (gen. sg.) oneself	martúrian (acc. sg.) witness pseudē (acc. sg.) false.
8b.	nec (neg.) nor thou	loqueris (2ndsg. fut.) shalt speak	contra (prep.)nec against	proximum l(acc. sg.) neighbor	tuum, thy	falsum (acc. sg.) false	testimonium. witness.

Deuteronomy 5:21:

9.	w'=lo(') (conj.) (neg.) and=not	tíhmod (2nd sg. prefixed) you-shall-covet	'išť wife-of	ri'-i= neighbor	ka of-you	w'=lo(') (conj.) (neg.) and=not	tiťawwā (2nd sg. prefixed) you-shall-desire	bēt house-of	ri'-i= neighbor	ka of-you
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sad-i=hu(w)	w'='abd=ō	w = 'āmat=ō	šōr=ō	w =himō*r=ō	w'=kul[[]]	'āsr	1'= to	ri'-i= neighbor	ka. of-you.
land-of-him	or-manservant-of-him	or woman-servant-of-him	ox of-him	or-donkey-of-him	or-anything	that	to	neighbor	of-you.

9a.	ouk (neg.) not	epithumēseis (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt covet	tēn gunaika (acc. sg.) the wife of	toū (gen. sg.) the one	plēsion (adv.) near	soú (gen. sg.) oneself	ouk (neg.) not	epithumēseis (2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt covet	tēn oikian (acc. sg.) the house
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toū	plēsion	soú,	oúte	tōn paida	autoū	oúte	tēn paidiskēn	autoū	oúte
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(gen. sg.) of the	(adv.) one near	(gen. sg.) oneself,	(neg.) not	(acc. sg.) the man-servant	(gen. sg.) of him,	(neg.) nor	(acc. sg.) the maid-servant	(gen. sg.) of him,	(neg.) not
toū (gen. sg.) the	boós (gen. sg.) ox	autoū (gen. sg.) of him,	óute (neg.) not	toū hupodzugíou (gen. sg.) the donkey	autoū (gen. sg.) of him,	óute (neg.) not	pantòs (gen. sg.) the whole	kténous (gen. sg.) flock	autoū (gen. sg.) of his

óute (neg.) not	pánta (acc. pl.) everything	hósa (acc. pl.) which	tō (dat. sg.) to him	plēsion (adv.) near to	soú (gen. sg.) oneself	esti. (3 sg. pres.) is.
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9b. non (neg.) not thou	concupisces (2nd sg. fut.) shalt desire	uxorem (acc. sg.) wife	proximi (gen. sg.) of neighbor	tui thy	non (neg.) not	domum (acc. sg.) house	non (neg.) not	agrum (acc. sg.) field	non (neg.) not	servum (acc. sg.) servant
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non (neg.) not	ancillam (acc. sg.) maid-servant	non (neg.) not	bovem (acc. sg.) ox	non (neg.) not	asinum (acc. sg.) donkey	et and	universa (acc. sg.) all thongs	quae (nom. pi.) which	illius (gen. sg.) his	sunt. (3 pl. pres.) are.
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Now it is generally accepted that Mažvydas used both the Seklucjan and Malecki Catechisms in preparing his own translation (Stang 1929: 1-2; Zinkevičius 1988: 26). In Mažvydas' Catechism the Ten Commandments occur twice and in different versions. Below I give first the Lithuanian complete text version followed by Malecki's 1546 Polish version with the suffix a. and then by Seklucjan's 1545 Polish version with the suffix b.:

1. Ne (neg.) Not	tureki (2 sg. imperative) have	kytu other	Diewa (for Diewu) gods	preg before	manęs, me.
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1a. Nie (neg.) Not	miey (2nd sg. imper.) have	boguow (gen. pl.) gods	ijnych other	przi before	mnie. me.
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1b. Niebędziesz (neg. + 2nd sg. fut.) Yhou shalt not	miał (masc. nom. sg. part.) have	bogow (gen.-acc. pl.) gods	ynich other	nadmię. (prep. + instr. sg.) above me.
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(According to Rospond 1948: 23, fn. 1, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism underlined Niebędziesz miał and wrote beside it Niemiey 'Don't have' [2nd sg. imperative].)

2. Negimki (neg.+2nd sg. imperative) Not take	warda name	pana, of lord,	Diewa God	tawa thy	naprasnai. in vain.	
2a. Nie (neg.) Not	bierz (2nd sg. imperative) take	na in	proznosc vain	ijmienia name	pana (gen. sg.) of Lord	boga twego God thy.
2b. Niebęziesz (neg. + 2nd sg. fut.) Thou shalt not	brał (nom. sg. part.) take	ymienia (gen. sg.) name	pana (gen. sg.) of Lord	boga thwego God thy	na-daremnie. in vain.	

(According to Rospond 1948: 23, fn. 3, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism underlined Niebęziesz brał and wrote beside it Niebierz 'Don't take' [2nd sg. imperative].)

3. Atminki (2nd sg. imperative) Remember	idank (for idant) that	diena day	schwenta holy	schwestumbi. (2nd sg. subj.) you keep holy.						
3a. Pamiętay (2nd sg. imperative) Remember	aby (conj.) that	dzien (acc. sg.) day	święty holy	święcil. (masc. nom. sg. part.) keep holy.						
3b. Pamiętay (2nd sg. imperative) Remember	abys (conj.) that	dzien (acc. sg.) day	święti holy	święcil (masc. nom. sg. part.) keep holy.						
4. Cziastawaki (2nd sg. imperative) Honor	tewa father	ir and	matina mother	tawa thy	iei if	nari you wish	ilgai long	giwenti to live	ant on	szemes. earth.
4a. Czci (2nd sg. imperative) Honor	oytza twego father thy	y and	matkę mother	twą. thy						

(According to Rospond 1948: 35, fn. 4, Seklucjan reproached his opponent for omitting the words chceszli długo byc ziw na ziemi 'if you wish to be alive for a long time on earth.')

4b. Czci (2nd sg. imperative) Honor	oiczathwego father thy	y and	matkę... mother...
5. Ne (neg.) Don't	v&muschki. (2nd sg. imperative) kill.		
5a. Nie (neg.) don't	zabijay. (2nd sg. imperative) kill.		
5b. Niebędziesz	zabial.		

(neg. + 2nd sg. fut.) Thou shalt not	(masc. nom. sg. part.) kill.
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(According to Rospond 1948: 24, fn. 1, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism did not underline the phrase but in the margin wrote: Nie zabijaj 'Don't kill' [2nd sg. imperative].)

6. Ne (neg.) Don't	ijszaki (2nd sg. imperative) violate	swetimas another's	materis. wife.
6a. Nie (neg.) Don't	czudzoloz. (2nd sg. imperative) commit adultery.		
6b. Niebędziesz (neg. + 2nd sg. fut.) thou shalt not	czudzolozil. (masc. nom. sg. part.) commit adultery.		

(According to Rospond 1948: 24, fn. 2, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism did not underline the phrase but in the margin wrote: Nie czudzoloz 'Don't commit adultery' [2nd sg. imperative].)

7. Ne (neg.) Don't	waky. (2nd sg. imperative) steal.
7a. Nie (neg.) Don't	kradnij. (2nd sg. imperative) steal.
7b. Niebędziesz (neg. + 2nd sg. fut.) Thou shalt not	kradl. (masc. nom. sg. part.) steal.

(According to Rospond 1948: 24, fn. 3, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism did not underline the phrase but in the margin wrote: Nie kradn 'Don't steal' [2nd sg. imperative].)

8. Ne (neg.)	liudiki (2nd sg. imperative)	prysch	artima	tawa	neteisaus	liudima.
8a. Niemow (neg. + 2nd sg. imperative.)		swiadcztwa	falszywego (gen.sg.)	przeciw (prep.)	blizniemu (dat.sg.)	twemu.
8b. Niebedziesz (neg. + 2nd sg. fut.)		falsiwie (adv.)	swiathczil (masc.part.)	przeciw (prep.)	blisznev (dat.sg.)	thwemv.

(According to Rospond 1948: 24, fn. 4, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism underlined the phrase Niebedziesz falsiwie swiathczil but in the margin wrote: Nie mow [2nd sg. imperative] swiadcztwa falszywego 'Do not speak false witness.')

9. Ne (neg.) Don't	gieiski (2nd sg. imperative) desire	hukia house	artima of neighbor	tawa. thy.
9a. Nie (neg.) Don't	pozaday (2nd sg. imperative) covet	domu (gen.sg.) house	blizniego of neighbor	twego. thy.
9b. Niepożaday (2nd sg. imperative) Do not covet	domv house	blysznego (gen.sg.) of neighbor	thwego. (gen.sg.) thy.	

(According to Rospond 1948: 24, fn. 5, Malecki in his copy of Seklucjan's Catechism wrote in the margin: Cur reliqua precepta non eodem modo transtulisti 'Why didn't you translate the other commandments in the same way?' That is, Malecki is asking why Seklucjan did not use the imperative rather than the future in the other commandments as well.)

10. Ne (neg.) Don't	gieiski (2nd sg. imperative) desire	moteris wife	ia, his,	nei nor	berua (for berna) manservant	nei nor	mergas maidservant	nei neither	
iauczia ox,	nei nor	aschila, ass	ir and	ne no	wena one	daikta thing	kurssai which	ia his	esti. is.
10a. Nie (neg.) Not	pożaday (2nd sg. imperative) covet	żony iego, wife his,	ani (neg.) nor	slugi, (gen. sg.) man-servant,	ani (neg.) nor	slużebnice, (gen. sg.) maid-servant,			
ani (neg.) nor	wolu, (gen. sg.) ox,	ani (neg.) nor	konia, (gen. sg.) horse	ani (neg.) nor	żadnych (gen. sg.) any	rzeczy things	iego. his.		
10b. Niebędziesz (neg. + 2nd sg. fut.) Thou shalt not	pożadal (masc. part.) covet	żony (gen. sg.) wife	slvgi (gen. sg.) man-servant	dziewki v maid servant	wolv ox	osla ass			

blizniego (gen. sg.) of neighbor	thwego. thy.	Any Or	xadnei any	rzeczi thing	ktora that	iest (3rd sg. pres.) is	iego. (gen. sg.) his.
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In the Hymns we encounter a version of the Decalogue meant to be sung (those with suffix a. from Seklucjan's 1545 Polish Catechism [Stang 1929:10; Rospond 1948: 29-30]):

1.	Turek (2nd sg. imperative) Have	szmagau oh man	wena one	Diewa. God.
1a.	Miei (2nd sg. imperative) have	zawszdi always	boga god	iedinego. one.
2.	Neimk (2nd sg. imperative) Don't take	dawanai in vain	ia his	warda. name.
2a.	Niemien (2nd sg. imperative) Don't take	prožno in vain	mięnia name	iego. his.
3.	Atmink (2nd sg. imperative) Remember	Diena day	schwenta holy	schwesti. to celebrate.
3a.	Pomnij (2nd sg. imperative) Remember	zawszdi always	swieto holy day	swiecziz. to celebrate.
4.	Tiewa Father	matina mother	garbink. (2nd sg. imperative) honor.	
4a.	Oicza ij matkę Father and mother	thwa your	thszczic. (2nd sg. imperative) honor.	
5.	Ne (neg.) Don't	vszmuschki (2nd sg. imperative) kill	ne not even	wena. one.
5a.	Niezabiai (2nd sg. imperative) Don't kill	nikogo. anyone.		
6.	Ne dirpk (2nd sg. imperative) Don't do	greka sin	tu you	biauraia. ugly.
6a.	Nieczijn (2nd sg. imperative) Don't do	grzechv sin	nieczistego. unclean.	
7.	Newak (2nd sg. imperative) Don't steal	daiktu things	artimaia. of neighbor.	
7a.	Niekradn (2nd sg. imperative) Don't steal	nigdi never	nicz nothing	cżudzego. of another.
8.	Neludik (2nd sg. imperative) Don't witness	ne not	pateisei. correctly.	
8a.	Nieswiadc (2nd sg. imperative) Don't witness	falszv false	žadnego. (about) anyone.	
9.	Hukia House	daiktu things	ijr and	materes. wife.
9a.	Czudzei Another's	rzechzij things		
10.	Ne gieisi (2nd sg. fut.) Thou shalt not covet	artimaia. neighbor's		
10a.	Ani żony niepożądaj (2nd sg. imperative) Nor wife don't covet	blisznego. neighbor's		

It seems that in the full text version of the Ten Commandments Mažvydas follows Malecki more closely, whereas in the hymns Mažvydas follows Seklucjan. Frick (1989: 17) notes that Malecki was a great admirer of the Czech language and believed that the Polish language arose from the Czech

language. Malecki relied heavily upon Czech religious literature. Therefore it seems certain that he was aware of the Hussite reform. And it is also well known that Hus was heavily influenced by John Wycliffe. Thus, for example, Loserth (1884:281) writes: '...if one takes into consideration the great number of definitions which Hus transcribes word for word from Wiclif, - of the Church, Faith, the Indulgence, Sacraments, Heresy, etc., - one might easily be led to the belief that, with the exception of the Bible and some few of the Fathers, Hus consulted in his theological studies no other sources than those of Wiclif only.'

I quote next, then, Wycliffe's English adaptation of Archbishop Thoresby's Ten Commandments as they appear in his Catechism (from Simmons and Nolloth, eds. 1901):

Wycliffe adaptation:

- (1) Thou schalt haue o god and no mo. Non adorabis deos alienos (p. 33).
- (2) In ydyl godys name tak (imperative) pou noth. Non assumes nomen dei tui in vanum (p. 37).
- (3) Kepe (imperative) py halyday in clene lyf. Sabbata sanctifices (p. 39).
- (4) Fadyr and modyr worschipe (imperative) both. Honora parentes (p. 43).
- (5) Sie (imperative) noman with wykkyd wyl. Non occides. In the explanation of this commandment we find, however: pou schalt not sie (p. 47).
- (6) Synne (imperative) pou not in leccherye. In the explanation of this commandment, a few lines farther on we find, however: pou schalt not do leccherye nober in consent in hert ne spekyng ne in countenance withowte-forp (p. 49).
- (7) Stele (imperative) pou not by neijbors byng. In the explanation of this commandment we find, however: Thow schalt do no pefte. (p. 51).
- (8) Fals wytnesse pow noon beere (imperative) py neybore wytyngly to dere. In the explanation of this commandment we find, however: pou schalt not speke fals wytnesse ageyns py neybore. (p. 53)
- (9) Thy neyjbours wif coueyte (imperative) pou 1103!... (p. 55)
- (10) Thy neygboris hows, wenche ne knaue Coueyte (imperative) hem no3t. ne his goodys to haue. Then Wycliffe explains that the meaning of the ninth and tenth commandments is: Thow schalt not coueyte py ney3borys wyf. ne his hows ne his seruaunt ne his maydyn./ ne his oxen ne his werk-best. ne ony thyng pat ys his (p. 55).

According to Mustanoja (1960: 489-490): 'At the beginning of the M(iddle) E(nGLISH) period the use of the periphrastic future with shall and will begins to gain ground, although it is often difficult to say whether these verbs are to be interpreted as auxiliaries of pure futurity or whether obligation or volition is implied. In the majority of instances a modal implication seems to be present.'

Perhaps I am relying too much on my native feeling for contemporary American English, but it seems to me that the Thou (Thow, pou) schalt construction is not only future, but also has at least a nuance of obligation which one might term as an imperative.

Whether Wycliffe was the person who introduced the use of the negative imperative in the vernacular translation of the Ten Commandments or not is unclear. The tides of reform were sweeping across Europe and it is surely difficult to be certain that one has the first attestation of any popular idea.⁴

None of the Czech decalogues which I have been able to locate show the use of the second singular imperative rather than the future, although there may exist some Czech catechisms which were unavailable to me. On the other hand the use of the negative imperative in the decalogues of Wycliffe, Malecki and Mažvydas is certainly striking.

It might be noted that neither in the Old Prussian Enchiridion (1561) nor in the Old Latvian Catechisms (1585 and 1586) do we find the use of the negative imperative in the Ten Commandments:

Old Prussian Enchiridion (Mažiulis 1981:106-116):

1.	Tou du	niturri (2nd sg. pres.) solt nicht	kittans andere	Deiwans Götter	pagār neben	mien mir	turitwei. haben.		
2.	Tou Du	turri solt	stan den	twaise Namen des Herren	Emnan deines	Deiwas Gottes	ni nicht	enbāndan vergeblich	westwei. füren.
3.	Tou Du	turri solt	stan den	Länkinan feyr-	Deinan tag	Swintint. heyligen.			

(The formula: Gedenck des Sabbaths das du jhn heyligest is usually given, but the earlier Luther's Catechism formula seems to fit the Old Prussian better.)

4.	Tou Du solt	turri dein	twaiian Vater	Tāwan vnd	bhe dein	Mütien Mutter	smünint. ehren.
5.	Tou Du	niturri solt nicht	gallintwei. Tödten.				
6.	Tu Du	niturri solt nich	Sallubanlimtwei. Ehebrechen.				
7.	Tou Du	niturri solt nicht	Ränctwei. Steelen.				
8.	Tou Du	niturri solt kein	reddewijdikausnan falsche zeugnus	dätwei geben	prijki. wider.		
9.	Tou Du	niturri solt nicht	Pallaipsitwei begeren	twaisei deines	tawischas nechsten	buttan. Hauss.	
10.	Tou Du	niturri solt nicht	pallaipsitwei begeren	twaise deinas	tawischas Nechsten	Gannan Weib	
	Waikan Knecht	Mergan Magt	Peckan Viech	adder oder	ka was	tenneison sein	ast. ist.

Latvian Catechismus Catholicorum (1585: 20-21):

1.	teuw (dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg.+3 fut.) will not be	wairak more	Dewes (acc. pl.) gods	urret (inf.) to have	ka than	mannim me	wen. only.	
2.	Tou (dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg.+3 fut.) will not be	Dewe God	touwe thy	kunge lord	warde name	nepattesce in vain	walkot. to take.	
3.	Peemin (imper.) Remember	ka that	tu thou	tho the	schweden (acc. sg.) holy day	schwete. keep holy.			
4.	Tew (dat. sg.) To thee	bues (3 fut.) will be	touwe thy	Thewe father	vnde and	mate mother	cenan honor	turret. (inf.) to have.	
5.	Teuw (dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg. + 3 fut.) will not be	nokout. (inf.) to kill.						
6.	Teuw (dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg. + 3 fut.) will not be	loulibe marriage	paerloust. (inf.) to break.					
7.	Teuw (at. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg. + 3 fut.) will not be	sackt, (inf.) to steal.						
8.	Tew (dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg. + 3 fut.) will not be	nepattece false	lecibe witness	doedt to give	prettibe against	touwe thy	tuake. neighbor.	
9.	Tew (dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg. + 3 fut.) will not be	charodt (inf.) to covet	touwe thy	tuake neighbor's	namme. house			
10.	Tew dat. sg.) To thee	nebues (neg. + 3 fut.) will not be	charodt (inf.) to covet	touwe thy	tuake neighbor's	Cewe. wife.	Nedse Nor	touwe thy	tuake neighbor's
	namme, house,	nedse nor	tirum, field,	nedse nor	kalpe, man-servant,	nedse nor	kalpon, woman servant	nedse nor	winge his
	wersce, calf,	nedse nor	lope, cattle,	nedse mor	wus all	kas which	tam to him	pedarr. belongs.	

1586 Latvian Protestant Catechism (Vanags 1995: 54-56):

1b.	Thoew (dat.sg.) To thee	nhe (neg.) not	buus (3 fut.) will be	czittes other	Dewes gods	turreth to have	prexkan before	man. me.		
2b.	Thõw (dat.sg.) To thee	nhe (eg.) not	buus (3 fut.) will be	Dewe God	touwe thy	Kunge lord	Wärde name	nhe (not)	patthese in vain	walkoot. to take.
3b.	Thõw (dat.sg.) To thee	buus (3 fut.) will be	tho the	sweete holy	Dene day	sweetyt. to keep holy.				
4b.	Thõw (dat.sg.) To thee	buus (3 fut.) will be	touw thy	Thewe father	vnnde and	touwe thy	Mathe mother	czenit... (inf.) to honor.../		
5b.	Thõw (dat.sg.) To thee	nhe (neg.) not	buus (3 fut.) will be	nokauth. (inf.) to kill.						

6b. Thōw (dat.sg.) To thee	nhe (neg.) not	buus (3 fut.) will be	Loulibe marriage	paer to break.	kaapt. (inf.)				
7b. Thōw (dat.sg.) To thee	nhe (neg.) not	buus (3 fut.) will be	Sackt, (inf.) to steal.						
8b. Thōw (dat.sg.) To thee	nhe (neg.) (3 fut.) not	buus will be	nhe pathese false	Ledtczibe witness	doth to give	prettibe against	touwe thy	Tueake. neighbor.	
9b. Thōw (dat.sg.) To thee	nebuus (neg. + 3 fut.) not will be	ekaroth (inf.) to covet	touwe thy	Tueake neighbor	Namme. house.				
10b. Thōw (dat. sg.) To thee	nhe (neg.) not	buus (3 fut.) will be	ekaroh (inf.) to covet	touwe thy	Tuwake neighbor's	Szewe, wife,			
Kalpe, man-servant,	Kalpune, maid-servant,	Lope, cattle,	yeb or	wuesse, all,	kas what	tham to him	peder. belongs.		

According to Endzelms (1951: 572) the use of the infinitive with the dative is equivalent to the Latvian debitive. He gives the example: bus kungiem kafā igt 'the gentlemen will have to go to war.'

The conclusion is then that whereas Mažvydas' Decalogue resembles that of the English religious reformer John Wycliffe, the Old Prussian and the oldest Latvian catechisms do not.

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FOOTNOTES

1 According to Luther's 1529 Enchiridion or Small Catechism all of the ten commandments begin with the Du solt (nit), thus (pp. 243-246 in Luthers Werke):

- (1) Du solt nit ander götter haben.
- (2) Du solt den name deines gottes nicht unnützlich füren.
- (3) Du solt den feyrtag heyligen.
- (4) Du solt deinen vatter und deine mutter eeren.
- (5) Du solt nit tödten.
- (6) Du solt nit eebrechen.
- (7) Du solt nit stelen.
- (8) Du solt nit falsch zeugnis reden wider deinen nechste.
- (9) Du solt nit begéré deines nechsten hausz.
- (10) Du solt nit begéré deines nechsten weyb, knecht, magd vihe oder was sein jst.

This was similarly expressed in the large Catechism (Der grosse Katchismus, see Luthers Werke in Auswahl vol. 4, p. 2) Now it seems, however, that it would have been possible in German to express these commandments with straight negative imperatives as in Polish:

- * (1) Habe nit andere götter.
- * (2) Führe nit den name deines gottes unnützlich.
- * (3) Heilige den feyrtag.
- * (4) Ehre deinen vatter und deine mütter.
- * (5) Töte nit.
- * (6) Brich die Ehe nit.
- * (7) Stiehl nit.
- * (8) Rede nit falsch zeugnis wider deinen nechsten.
- * (9) Begehre nicht deines nechsten hausz.
- * (10) Begehre nicht deines nechsten weyb, knecht, magd vihe oder was sein jst.

I supply these forms with asterisks because I have never seen them, although it seems quite possible to me that they may exist somewhere or other.

Bahlmann (1894: 68) presents, however, the following commandments from Eine Tafel des christlichen Lebens (ca. 1480) (with an explanation that the order of the commandments is varied in the Middle Ages):

- (1) Hebbet (imperative) gene vremde Gode.
- (2) Nempt (imperative) Codes Namen niet ydel.
- (5) Du en salt geen Doetslager syn.
- (7) Du en salt niet stelen.
- (6) En doe (imperative) gene Onkuyscheit.
- (8) En doe (imperative) gheen valscheit.
- (10) En begheer (imperative) Nymants Bedgenoet.
- (10) En begheer (imperative) Nymants Guet.
- (3) Vyre (imperative) die billigen Dage.
- (4) Ere (imperative) dyne Olderren.

The language seems to be either an eastern-colored Middle Dutch or Middle Low German according to Prof. Dirk Boutkan of the University of Leiden.

Geffcken (1855) assembled 27 15th century catechetical writings in various languages, primarily Germanic dialects, but also other languages, and in the majority of these the negative commandments are expressed with the 'Du solt nit...' formula. Exceptions include: (2) Den namen gotes nym (imperative) nicht unnötlichen yn deinen muth (Heidelberger Bilderhandschrift in Geffcken 1855: 4); (2) Nit gebrauch (imperative) eitel den namen deines gots (Der Spiegel des Sünders, ca. 1470, in Geffcken 1855: 54); (1) Hebbe (imperative) god leff bouen alle dink, (5) Sla (imperative) nemande doet, (6) Wes (imperative) nyn unkuscher, (7) Steel (imperative) nicht, (9) Beghere (imperative) nenes anderen echte vrowen effte [esste?] man (Speygel der leyen [Lübeck 1496] in Geffcken 1855:148).

2 Schwyzer (1966: 291) notes that the Greek simple future tense has a modal as well as a temporal aspect and gives some examples of the imperative use from the classical language. Similarly Humbert (1954: 152) who gives the example from Plato's Protagoras: hos oün poiesete kai peisesthé moi 'Act then thus and believe me.' See also Burton (1930: 35) and Blass and Debrunner (1961:183).

3 There might be some objection to this particular transliteration scheme of the Hebrew text, see Pardee (1997: 70-71). On the other hand since I am not a Semiticist, I would hesitate to transcribe the Hebrew myself and in fact the transcription is unimportant with regard to the purposes of this paper which concentrates on Mažvydas' rendering of the Decalogue, rather than the phonological characteristics of early Hebrew.

4 It is interesting to note that Tyndale in his 1530 translation of the Pentateuch used the Thou shalt (not) formula, see the 1967 edition, pp. 224-225 and 542-543. Tyndale does not seem to have been significantly influenced by Wycliffe.

On the other hand the Old English version also shows negative imperatives for some of the commandments. Note from Exodus (see Crawford 1922: 262):

1. Ne wyrç ðu ðe agrafene godas...

- 'Do not make graven images (gods)...'
2. Ne nemne ðu Drihtnes namaġ <ġ> on idel...
 5. Ne sleh ðu.
 6. Ne synga ðu.
 7. Ne stel ðu.
 8. Ne beo ðu on laesre gewitnesse [ne] ongean ðinne nextan.
 9. Ne wilna ðu ðines nextan huses, ne ðu his wives, ne his weales, ne his wylne, ne his oxan, ne his assan, ne nan ðætra ðinga þe his synd.

From Deuteronomy (see Crawford 1922: 340-341):

1. Nafa ðu fremde godas beforan me.
2. Ne nemne ge Drihtnes naman on idel...
5. Ne beo ðu manslaga.
6. Ne unrihtþæme ðu.
7. Ne stel ðu.
8. Ne sege ðu lease gewitnesa.
9. Ne gym ðu ðines nextan wifes, ne his huses, ne his landés, ne nan ðætra ðinga þe his beo.

The Old English use of the negative imperative may be connected with the fact that there was only a two-term contrast in the verbal form, a past and a non-past. The 'non-past serves for durative and non-durative present and future reference' (Strang 1970: 311). Therefore there was no simple morphological way to distinguish the present from the future tense in Old English.

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