ADAM PAULUKAITIS

University of Georgia pztpaco34@yahoo.com

*-āie- iteratives in East Baltic

East Baltic possesses the iterative suffix *- \bar{a} ie- < PIE*- eh_2 ie-, e.g. Latv. $m\tilde{e}t\hat{a}t$, - \tilde{a} ju 'throw around' < mest, metu 'throw', Lith. $kl\hat{u}$ poti, -o(ja) 'kneel, be in a kneeling position' < $kl\hat{u}$ pti, $klu\tilde{m}$ pa 'fall to one's knees'. This suffix eventually became productive as a denominative verbal formant of the type Lith. $n\hat{u}$ oma 'rent (N sg.)', $n\hat{u}$ omoti, -oja 'rent (v.)'. However, Latvian and Lithuanian show an old, unproductive layer of -oti, -oja (deverbal) iteratives with root-stress and ablaut distribution dependent upon root structure. TeRT- roots took o-grade, e.g. Latv. $lu\tilde{o}d\hat{a}t$, - \tilde{a} ju (< *land-) 'continuously crawl around' < list, liedu 'sneak, crawl', Lith. $v\hat{a}$ lkoti, -oja 'wear' < vilkti, velka 'pull, drag', while TeT- roots took ē-grade, e.g. Latv $n\tilde{e}s\hat{a}t$, - \tilde{a} ju 'carry around' < nest, -u 'carry', Lith $r\acute{e}$ koti, -oja 'whoop' < relkti, relka 'shout, give a shout'.

Latvian and Lithuanian also have a class of lengthened zero-grade resultatives with the *- \bar{a} ie- suffix, built as "iteratives" to zero-grade anticausatives-inchoatives, e.g. Latv. $g\tilde{u}b\hat{a}ti\hat{e}s$ 'writhe; be sluggish' < gubt, gubt, gubtu 'sink; sink down; be reduced', Lith. kýboti, -o(ja) 'be hanging' < kìbti, kimba 'stick to, cling'. This class is especially prolific in Lithuanian, where a large number of these lengthened zerograde resultatives show -oti, -o instead of the expected -oti, -oja.

This paper will discuss the Indo-European origins of the o-grade \sim \bar{e} -grade ablaut distribution, as well as the origin of the unexpected *-oti, -o* ending found in Lithuanian lengthened zero-grade resultatives.