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Some innovations in the Lithuanian verb

- Three hypotheses may be formulated based on the co-existence of pres. tense forms *siėja* / *siēna* “it binds” (*siēti*) and *sina* id. Firstly, *siēna*, being a younger variant of *siėja*, was created by replacing *-ja-* with *-na-* (a neo-suffix). Secondly, this *-na-* goes back to an old infixed pres. based on a *seť* root: **si-n-H-e/o-* > Lith. dial. *sina*. Thirdly, the resegmentation *si-na* occurred at a time when the present tense still shared the same paradigm with the pret. *sijo* (**siH-V*) and the inf. *sýti* “to bind” (**siH-C*). — The connection between *-na-* and the infixed formation was obscured when *sina* was reinterpreted as *sin-a* (a pres. form in *-a-* from the neo-root *sin-*) and when the new pret. *siné* and inf. *siñti* were formed to supplement it. Other similar cases include: *glinë*, *gliñti* next to the pres. *glina* “it glues together using clay” < **gli-n-H-e/o-* (cf. *glieti*); *trunėti*, *-ėjo* next to the pres. *trùna* “it rots” < **tru-n-H-e/o-*. The neo-suffix *-na-* became widespread as a substitute for *-ja-* in the presence of diphthongal roots (*griēna*, *kráuna*) or those with a long vowel (the type *gýna* beside *gýja*). Variants in *-ja-* are lacking in the case of *eīna* (for OLith. *eīti*) and *aūna* (which may go back to contamination of the pres. **avu* and the pres. **unu*).
- The development of the present suffix *-sta-* (*gimsta*) may be related to a class of athematic presents which ended in *-st(i)* (< **-d-ti*) in the 3rd person, cf. *gíest(i)*, *ráust(i)*, *skaūst(i)*. When thematization occurred, that is the transformation of apocopated forms in *-st* into forms in *-sta*, then *gíesta*, *ráusta*, *skaūsta* came to contrast with the preterites *giedójo*, *raudójo*, *skaudėjo*. This led to the following reinterpretation of the presents: *gied-* + *-sta*, *raud-* + *-sta*, *skaud-* + *-sta*. The spreading of the new formant is confirmed by neologisms in *-sta-*, which developed beside older athematic forms in *-ti*: *gélbsta* (*gélbsti*) / *gélbti*; *sérgsta* / *sérgti*; *liéksta* / *liéksti*; *švinksta* / *švinkti*. Mažvydas’ hapax *dostat* Mž 32₁₆ “you (pl.) give” (= *duosta-t*), which occurs beside the 3rd pers. *dūsti*, *dūst* “he gives”, probably belongs here as well.
- The difference between *TeRT* and *TReT* roots was emphasized in Lithuanian as a result of certain analogical changes that affected the *TReT* type, cf.
 - TeRT*: *TiRT* = *TReT*: **TRiT** (*bred-* : *brid-* for a phonetic reflex **bird-* < **b^hrd^h-*, root **b^hred^h-*), see J. Kuryłowicz, *L’apophonie en indo-européen*, p. 220f. — The zero grade of roots with a long vowel (*TRēT*) has the form **TRiT**, cf. *plėšti* “to pull, to tear” (root **pleh₁k-*) ⇒ *plýšta* “it breaks, it tears apart” (**plyš-sta*); *rėžti* “to saw, to cut” (root **ureh₁g-*) ⇒ *parýžta* “of the moon: it shrinks, it becomes smaller” (**ryž-sta*).
 - TRiT* ⇒ **TRaiT** (*bridaū* ⇒ *braidýti*, *bráidžioti*). The alternation *i* : *ai* replaces an older *e* : *a*, cf. *bredù* : *bradýti* (OCS *broditi*), *bradžióti*. Lith. *braidýti* “to trample corn in the field by treading on it” may correspond to PSl. **brėditi*, used metaphorically, cf. Ru. *brėdit^ь*, *-žu* “to talk without sense, to rave in fever or in one’s sleep”. — Other examples: *drib-* ⇒ *draibstýti* (cf. *drabstýti*); *drisk-* ⇒ *draiskýti* (cf. *draskýti*); *rizg-* ⇒ *raizgýti* (cf. *razgýti*).
 - TRiT*: *TRaiT* = *TiRT*: **TaiRT**. Np. *dilti* ⇒ *dáilinti*; *giñti* ⇒ *gaiminti* (cf. *gaminti*); *giñti* ⇒ *gáinioti* (cf. *ganýti*); *tirti* ⇒ *tairáutis* (cf. *tárdyti*).

The type *TReT* serves as a model for *TeT* roots, which manifests itself in the analogical proportion that gave rise to the zero grade **TiT**, cf. *TReT*: *TRiT* = *TeT*: *x*, e.g. *ges-* / *gisti*; *keb-* / *kibti*; *keš-* / *kišti*; **šek-* / *šikti*; *tež-* / *tįžti*. — *TiT* is also the basis for the *o*-grade of the type **TaiT**, although this is rare, cf. *kišti* ⇒ *káišioti*; *šikti* ⇒ *šáikioti*; *tįžti* ⇒ *táįžytis*.