

Lithuanian verbs in *-auti* and *-uoti*

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The type in *-uoti* originally represents denominatives with stress on the suffix. The type in *-auti* represents denominatives which were stem-stressed before de Saussure's law operated. It follows that the suffix *-au-* was the unstressed variant of the suffix *-uo-*.

Scholars disagree about the question if the Lithuanian verbs in *-auti* and *-uoti* have a common historical source (e.g., Vaillant 1966, 353) or represent two distinct morphological types (e.g., Stang 1966, 364f.). We find no more than a single cognate type in other languages, viz. Latvian *-uot*, Old Prussian *-aut*, and Slavic *-ovati*. Stang admits that he cannot find a semantic distinction between the two Lithuanian formations. We may therefore look for an original complementary distribution.

Since both *-đuti* and *-úoti* (Latvian *-uôt*) are acute under the stress, we may exclude from consideration not only obviously recent words such as *falsifikúoti* and *komandúoti* and doublets such as *pánčiuoti* beside *pánčioti* 'hobble' and verbs in *-uriuoti* beside *-urti*, but also verbs where de Saussure's law would have operated if they had existed at that time. A review of Senn's list (1966, 270–73) now yields the elimination of 'Farbenbezeichnungen' such as *balťuoti* 'show white' and *juõduoti* 'show black', which have a metatonical circumflex, and their evidently more recent variants *baltúoti* and *juodúoti*, which belong to the productive accent pattern. These can easily have arisen on the analogy of other denominatives. The same holds for the 'Lautmalende Bildungen auf *-uliúoti* oder *-aliúoti*', which may in their turn have furnished the model for the variant 'Diminutiv-Frequentativa auf *-iniúoti*' beside the verbs *slidinėti* 'slide' and *stovinėti* 'stand about'. This eliminates all stem-stressed verbs in *-uoti* and leaves us with a large number of denominatives and a small number of deverbal formations in stressed *-úoti*. The large majority of the deverbatives signify 'Dahinbewegen, Hin- und Herbewegen' or 'von Lebewesen hervorgebrachtes Geräusch' and the rest may be derived from deverbal nouns, e.g. *vadiúoti* 'liberate', cf. *vādas* 'leader'. We may therefore conclude that the type in *-uoti* originally represents denominatives with stress on the suffix.

Stem-stressed verbs in *-auti* have either a metatonical acute (6 deverbatives and 2 denominatives in Senn's list) or an original acute (1 deverbative and 2 denominatives), while the deverbatives in stressed *-đuti* may have shifted the stress in accordance with de Saussure's law (4 instances). Here again, we may suspect underlying verbal nouns in the deverbatives. The denominatives in stressed *-đuti* have an acute root before the suffix in 3 out of 21 instances, viz. *bernduti* 'work as a laborer', *uogđuti* 'gather berries', and *jaunduti* 'be young'. These verbs can easily be analogical. I conclude that the type in *-auti* represents denominatives which were stem-stressed before de Saussure's law operated. It follows that the suffix *-au-* was the unstressed variant of the suffix *-uo-*.

The complementary distribution of the verbs in *-auti* and *-uoti* has important consequences for the historical phonology of East Baltic. While **-eHu-* and **-aHu-* are clearly reflected in *šidaurė* 'north' and *saulė* 'sun', respectively, we find e.g. *plūostas* beside *plāustas* 'ferry'. It is attractive to regard these words as the reflexes of stem-stressed and end-stressed forms of a single paradigm. The main objection to this view is that the *u*-diphthong is preserved in the stressed endings of the genitive *sūnaĩs* 'son' < **-ous* and the original locative *pusiāũ* 'in half' < **-ēu*, cf. OPr. *pauson*. The objection does not hold because the Žemaitian loc. sg. ending of the *u*-stems appears to reflect **-ō* from earlier **-ōu* (cf. Stang 1966, 75). This reflex is reminiscent of the Žemaitian dat. sg. ending of the *o*-stems **-ō* from **-ōi*, which corresponds to *-ui* and *-ai* elsewhere, while the inst. pl. ending **-ōis* is reflected as **-aĩs*. It may therefore be suggested that the 'long' diphthongs were preserved in final open syllables only and that the East Baltic monophthongization of stressed **ei*, **ai*, **oi* (cf. Kortlandt 1977, 323) had a counterpart in the development of stressed **ōu* to **ō* and unstressed **ōu* to **au* except in word-final position. This development was motivated by the fact that the timbre distinction between **ō* and **ā* was preserved in stressed but not in unstressed syllables, except for the dat. sg. endings **-ōi* and **-āi*.

The theory advanced here offers a straightforward explanation for the difference between the regular type of *spiđuti* 'spit' and *kđuti* 'kill', which have an *e*- or *a*-coloring laryngeal, and the isolated verb *šlūoti* 'sweep', which can now be identified as having an *o*-coloring laryngeal. It is clear from OPr. *rickawie* 'rules' and *pogerdawie* 'preaches' that we have to start from a Balto-Slavic present stem **šlow(i)e-*, which reflects a secondary full grade **kleuH₃-*, beside an aorist stem **šloHus-* < **kleH₃us-* and to assume a resyllabification in *šlūoja* 'sweeps', as in *kraũjas* 'blood', OPr. *krawian*, Skt. *kravya-*. The preterit *šlāvē* may be analogical after *dāvē* 'gave', which must probably be derived from the perfect 3rd pl. **do'ē* beside 3rd sg. **dōu* in a similar way as Slavic *stojati* beside Lith. *stovėti* 'stand' must be derived from **sta'-e-* on the basis of the perfect **stāu*, **sta'ē* (cf. Kortlandt 1989, 111).

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