OLD LITHUANIAN ischtirra ‘FOUND OUT’ AND SOME NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALTIC PRETERITE\(^1\)

Abstract. The starting point for our considerations on the development of the Baltic preterite is the Old Lithuanian preterite <ischtirra> /ištira:/ ‘found out’, etymologically connected to týrė ‘examined’. In form, /ištira:/ and týrė match the Old Church Slavonic o̞bre (thematic aorist) and trb (sigmatic aorist). This, in turn, is an argument for the hypothesis proposed by Daniel Petit (2004) on the origin of the lengthening in the Baltic preterite. The second part of this paper discusses the traces of a coexistence of inflected aspect (based on the contrast of the past tenses of aorist : imperfect) and derivational aspect (based on the opposition of perfective : imperfective) in Lithuanian.

Keywords: Old Lithuanian; historical morphology; verb; aspect; tense.

1. Introduction

In the writings of Jonas Bretkūnas / Johann Bretke (the end of the 16\(^{th}\) century), there is, overlooked in “Lietuvių kalbos žodynas”, preterite ištirā <ischtirra> ‘found out’, which relates etymologically to tirti, tìria, týrė ‘to investigate’. Below, I provide instances from Bretke’s Bible (1)–(5) and his Postil (6)–(7):

(1) Bei tatai ischtirra Pharaonas [Pharao], ir (ghis) tikoia Moseschaus, ieib ghį nuszawintų. (Exodus 2, 15)

‘Und es kam vor Pharao, der trachtete nach Mose, daß er ihn erwürgte.’ (Luther 1545; www.biblegateway.com/versions/Luther-Bibel-1545-LUTH1545)

\(^1\) I owe special gratitude to an anonymous reviewer, whose comments on an earlier version of this article made me aware of some unfortunate formulations. Needless to say, the sole responsibility for any remaining misinterpretations or mistakes is mine.
(2) *Ir mana schirdis daugia ishmoka ir ischtira.* (Ecclesiastes 1, 16)
‘und mein Herz hat viel gelernt und erfahren.’ (Luther 1545)

(3) *Neprietelei ischtirra, mane Murạ pakurusị ir skiliụ nebesant* (Nehemiah 6, 1)
‘Feinde erfuhen, daß ich die Mauer gebauet hatte, und keine Lücke mehr dran wäre...’ (Luther 1545)

(4) *Kaip tada Hoitmanai, kurie ant Lauku flapes (laikes) fu jawa Sʒmonims ifchtirra, iog karalius Babilonios Gedalja Sunu Ahikam Wiriauſiu Sʒemes iſtatens buwa...* (Jeremiah 40, 7)
‘Da nun die Hauptleute, so auf dem Felde sich hielten, samt ihren Leuten erfuhen, daß der König zu Babel hatte Gedalja, den Sohn Ahikams, über das Land gesetzt...’ (Luther 1545)

(5) *O kaip Iohanan funus Kareah ifchtirra, ir wiſsi Hoitmanai kario, kurie pas ghị buwa, wiſqą piktenibe, kurę Ismael funus Nethania padarens darens buwa* (Jeremiah 41, 11)
‘Da aber Johanan, der Sohn Kareah, erfuhr und alle Hauptleute des Heeres, die bei ihm waren, all das Übel, das Ismael, der Sohn Nethanjas, begangen hatte’ (Luther 1545)

(6) *Tū cziesu ischtirra daug szmoniu Szidischku / Jesu Bethoniai santi.* (BP 12, 15)
‘At that time many Jews have learned, that Jesus is in Bethany.’

(7) *Tatai kaip ischtirra Jonas koschnodieia / apbara karaliu...* (BP 29, 5)
‘And when John the Preacher found out about this, he reproved the king...’

Old Lithuanian *<ischtirra> /ištira:/* ‘found out’ is evidently different from the preterite *týrė /ti:rė:/ ‘investigated’. Starting from the opposition of *<ištira:/* ‘found out’: *týrė* ‘investigated’, I shall defend the following thesis:

1) The opposition *<ištira:/* : *týrė* comes from the older opposition of thematic aorist : sigmatic aorist (Kølln 1969). This in turn has its own consequences for the lengthening in the Baltic -ē-preterite (Pet i t 2004); see section 2.

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2 In line with German orthography, doubled letter *<rr>* marks the shortness of the previous letter. Similarly, in other instances in Exodus: *<turreia> (2, 16) ‘he had’, *<Kamme> (2, 20) ‘where’, *<palikkote> (2, 20) ‘you left’, *<passilikti> (2, 21) ‘to stay’, *<wadinna> (2, 22) ‘he called’.
2) The exclusive use of the prefixed form <ischtirra> (lack of *<tirra>) is an archaism and it finds good parallels in other Old Lithuanian and Old Church Slavonic/Old Russian verbs. These facts suggest that prefixed aorists were the first stage in the development of derivational aspect. Lithuanian data provide traces of the coexistence of the inherited inflected aspect (based on the opposition of aorist : imperfect) and the innovative derivational aspect (based on the opposition of perfective : imperfective); see section 3.

2. Thematic aorist vs. sigmatic aorist in the Proto-Baltic language

Endzelīns (1910, 18–19) noticed that there is the following repartition of preterital suffixes: intransitive verbs have -ā-preterite and intransitive ones -ē-preterite, e.g. Latvian dial. intr. dega ‘was on fire’ : tr. dege. This view has been accepted by others, including Stang (1942, 189), Kolln (1969), and Barton (1980). Endzelīns’s observation is undoubtedly correct, and it is supported by the opposition between -sta-inchoatives and -ja-causatives, e.g. intr. pret. lūžo ‘cracked’ (pres. lūžta) : tr. pret. lāužē (pres. lāužia). The same repartition we also find in the opposition of intransitive pret. skilo ‘split’ (inf. skilti, pres. skūša) : transitive pret. skūšē ‘lit the fire’ (inf. skīšti, pres. skūša); IDE *skelh₁-. The inherited character of the pres. skūša ‘lights the fire’ is clear from Old Icelandic skilja ‘to divide, separate’. The meaning ‘to light fire’ developed in the prefixed form išskīšti ‘to strike a fire’, whence, due to de-prefixation, the meaning became generalized into the simplex form skīšti; for details see Ostrowski (2014). An analogy is provided by Russian сечь ‘to cut, split, chop’ vs. вып-сечь искру ‘to strike a spark’.

The described repartition does not cover, however, all data that was already indicated by Christian Stang (1942, 189; 1966, 385):

- **transitives with** -ā-**preterite**: Lith. skūsti, skūta, skūto ‘to shave’ : Latv. skusti, skutu, skutu ‘to shave’; Lith. pīsti, pīsa, pīso ‘futuere’ : Latv. pisti, pīsu, pīsu ‘futuere’; Lith. rīsti, rīta, rīto ‘to roll’ : Latv. rīsti, rītu, rītu ‘to roll’; Lith. piēksti, peķka, piēko ‘to buy’ : Latv. piēkši, perku, piēkši.

- **intransitives with** -ē-**preterite**: Lith. mīrīti, -šta, mīrē ‘to die’; Lith. gūmīti, -sta, -ē ‘to be born’, Lith. virti, vērda, vīrē ‘to boil’; Lith. gūlīti, gūla, gūlē ‘to lie down’.

The listed examples are in clear contradiction to Endzelīns’s observations, and for all intents and purposes, this inconsistency has not yet been explained. The elucidation of these facts I am leaving for another time. Christian Stang
(1942, 63) was also the one who pointed out that thematic aorists in Old Church Slavonic are usually intransitive, e.g. *jadъ*, *idъ*, *sědъ*, *padъ*. This idea was developed by Hermann Kølln (1969), who hypothesized that the use of thematic and sigmatic aorists in the Balto-Slavonic protolanguage overlaps roughly with the opposition of medium : activum; in Baltic languages, thematic aorist has been supplanted by -ā-preterite and sigmatic aorist by -ē-preterite. In this way, Kølln explained the intransitive -ā-preterite of Baltic infixed verbs, because, as is shown in Slavonic data, the infixed verbs formed the thematic aorist, e.g. OCS *sědъ* ‘sat down’ (pres. *sędǫ*) : Lith. *sėdo* ‘sat down’ (OPr. *sindats* ‘sitting’; see Stang loc. cit.); OCS aor. *prilьpe* ‘got stuck’ (pres. *prilьnetъ*) : Lith. *lìpo* ‘stuck’ (pres. *li̯mpa*). I shall return later to Kølln’s hypothesis.

As both *ischtirra* and *týrė* are transitive, the difference between them must be more subtle than the opposition of intransitive pret. *skìlo* ‘split’ : transitive pret. *skýlė* ‘lit the fire’. Thanks to the paper by Hopper and Thompson (1980), we know that transitivity comprises a few parameters and only one of them points to the presence of an object. Therefore, Hopper and Thompson talk about high and low transitivity. These parameters are as follows:

| Parameter          | HIGH                                      | LOW                                      |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| A) PARTICIPANTS    | 2 or more participants, A and O.         | 1 participant                            |
| B) KINESIS         | action                                    | non-action                               |
| C) ASPECT          | telic                                     | atelic                                   |
| D) PUNCTUALITY     | punctual                                  | non-punctual                             |
| E) VOLITIONALITY   | volitional                                | non-volitional                           |
| F) AFFIRMATION     | affirmative                               | negative                                 |
| G) MODERITY        | realis                                    | realis                                   |
| H) AGENCY          | A high in potency                         | A low in potency                         |
| I) AFFECTEDNESS OF O| O totally affected                      | O not affected                           |
| J) INDIVIDUATION OF O| O highly individuated                  | O not-individuated                      |

The parameters I) and J) concern the object. An object highly individuated has the following properties: proper, human/animate, concrete, singular, count, and referential/definite. On the other hand, an object non-individuated comprises the following properties: common, inanimate, abstract, plural, mass, non-referential. E.g., the possessive verb *turėti* ‘to have’ requires an object, so it is transitive in the usual sense, but it does not have at least three other properties: kinesis (action), aspect (telic), and punctuality (punctual).
Morphosyntactically, the low transitivity of turëti ‘to have’ manifests itself in its inability to make the passive voice, e.g. Lith. Jis turi mašiną → *Mašina yra jo turëta / He has a car → *The car is had by him (see Benveniste 1960 [1966]). Hopper and Thompson (1980, 253) illustrated variation in the degree of transitivity by means of the sentences Jerry likes beer and Jerry knocked Sam down. The verb in Jerry knocked Sam down represents high transitivity as it displays the following properties: kinesis (action), aspect (telic), punctuality (punctual), affectedness of object (total), and individuation of object: high, referential, animate, and proper. Lithuanian týrė ‘investigated’ has at least two properties that are missing in ischtirra: volitionality and individuation of object. In the case of the volitionality parameter, the agent acts purposefully – cf. the difference between I wrote your name (volitional) and I forgot your name (non-volitional); see Hopper, Thompson (1980, 252). Lith. ischtirra ‘found out’ is non-volitional, e.g. He found out about it accidentally. The difference between ischtirra and týrė is well visible if we compare ex. (1) with ex. (8) [Bretke’s Bible; Ecclesiastes 12, 9]:

(8) O tas Köfnadieia ne tiktau buwa přafchminingas, bet ir βmones mokie giera pamokľa, ir daboios, tīres ir futaife daugia kalbeľų (Ecclesiastes 12, 9)
‘Derselbe Prediger war nicht allein weise, sondern lehrte auch das Volk gute Lehre und merkte und forschte und stellte viel Sprüche.’ (Luther 1545)
‘And moreover, because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge; yea, he gave good heed, and sought out, and set in order many proverbs’. (King James Bible, www.kingjamesbibleonline.org)

In ex. (1), Pharaoh found out (audīvitque in Vulgate) about Moses’s crime, but it is less possible that Pharaoh himself was involved in the investigation. A completely different situation is observed in (8), where the agent was engaged personally in seeking out proverbs. Also, the object in (1)–(7) is non-individuated: inanimate, common, and sometimes abstract (5). Hermann Kolln, when trying to describe the Old Greek opposition of thematic aorist: sigmatic aorist used the terms effective: ineffective verbs instead of transitive: intransitive. Ineffective verbs denote that there is no effect upon the object, e.g. to see, to hear. In other words, ineffective verbs correspond semantically to middle voice. The opposition of týrė ‘investigated’ : ischtirra ‘found out’ matches Kolln’s differentiation of effective: ineffective verbs, and the
verb *ischtirra* is a complex mental event. These kinds of events are related semantically to middle voice, too (Kemmer 1993, 137–142).

If we accept Kolln’s hypothesis, we may assume that the difference of *ištirā <ischtirra>* ‘found out’ : *týrē* ‘investigated’ is a continuation of the older opposition of thematic aorist : sigmatic aorist, and interestingly, both aorists are testified in Slavonic languages. Christoph Koch (1990, 435–439) noticed that Old Church Slavonic *otrь* (recorded in Codex Assemanius) and Serbo-Croatian *třh, tř, tř* come from the older sigmatic aorist *třh₁-s-* ‘rub’ > Proto-Slav. *tīr-s-s, *tīr-s-t > Serbo-Croatian *třh, tř, tř.* On the other hand, thematic aorist is testified in OCS *otъre* (Codex Marianus and Codex Suprasliensis), and therefore, we may establish a formal adequacy between Slavonic and Baltic data in the area of sigmatic aorist:

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{třh}_1-s- & \rightarrow \text{Proto-Slav. }*\text{tīr-s-s} \text{, } *\text{tīr-s-t} > \text{S-Cr. } \text{třh, tř, tř} / \text{OCS } \text{trь} \\
*\text{třh}_1-s- & \rightarrow \text{Proto-Balt. } *\text{tīr-s-t} > *\text{tīr-ē-} (\text{Lith. } \text{týrē})
\end{align*}
\]

and thematic aorist:

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{třh}_1-e- & \rightarrow \text{Proto-Slav. } *\text{tire-} \rightarrow \text{OCS } \text{otъre} \\
*\text{třh}_1-e- & \rightarrow \text{Proto-Balt. } *\text{tire-} / *\text{tira-} \Rightarrow \text{OLith. } \text{ištirā}
\end{align*}
\]

Now we may use Lith. *týrē* ‘examined’ as an argument for Peti’s (2004, 353–358) hypothesis, according to which, the lengthening in Baltic -ē-preterites is the result of phonetic development in a group of sigmatic aorists with the root structure -VRH-s-. Due to the substitution of sigmatic aorist by -ē-preterite (in short: sigm. aor. => -ē-pret.), the syllable boundary moved, preventing the shortening of the long vowel; e.g.:

Baltic aor. *gerH-s-t* ‘drunk’ > *gēr-s-Ø* (cf. OCS sigm. aor. *po-žrēxъ*) => *gēr-ē-Ø*.

According to Kuryłowicz’s model (1968, 321–322), after the shortening of long diphthongs in the anteconsonantic position, i.e. *gērti > gērti* ‘to drink’, the only difference between laryngeal and non-laryngeal verbs was the intonation, i.e. *gērti* ‘to drink’ (IDE *gěr̥h̊-) vs. *ber̊ti* ‘to strew’ (IDE *běr̊er̊-). After the *gěr̥e* type pattern, new preterites of the *běr̊e* type came into existence. The lengthening of verbs with root structure CVC, e.g. pres. *plēcia* : pret. *plētē* (inf. *plěsti* ‘to broaden’) appeared only at the last stage. This stage is the latest, as the process has been conducted only partially in the Latvian preterite, where alongside the younger preterite *plētu*, the older *pletu*
has been maintained (cf. also the lack of lengthening in inf. *plest alongside *plest); similarly Latvian pret. *lecu occurred alongside the older lecu ‘leaped’ (in Lithuanian only lēkė and plētė). This explanation also has the advantage that it allows for elucidating the lack of lengthening in the preterite of -īti-verbs, e.g. Lith. valyti ‘to clean up’, pret. vālē (not *volē), the derivative from Lith. vēlti ‘to press’ (IDE *welhître). The sigmatic aorist *walH-ī-š- excluded the lengthening and prevented its analogical spread among non-laryngeal verbs, e.g. manyti ‘to think’ : pret. mānē (not *monē), sakyti ‘to talk’ : pret. sākē (not *sokē) etc.

A completely different hypothesis was put forward by Miguel Villanueva Svensson (2014, 241), who proposed the change *sver-ijā- > svērē to explain the lengthening in the preterite. His assumption was based on Larsson’s (2004, 306) hypothesis, that if the accent in the sequence *-i(y)- was retracted to the preceding syllable with a short vowel, this vowel was regularly lengthened and there appeared circumflex. Villanueva Svensson’s proposal demands an extensive comment, which would relate to the hypothetical development *-ijā > -ē, the origin of the transitive preterite suffix -ē-, and the genesis of the opposition -sta-inchoatives : -ja-causatives (see Ostrowski 2001; 2006, 17–19 on the latter). On the origin of the transitive suffix -ē-, see Stang (1942, 151), Kurtyłowicz (1966), and Ostrowski (2006, 47). All these problems go beyond the scope of the present paper, however, I would like to use this occasion to share a few of my doubts concerning the development *sver-ijā- > svērē:

1) If I understand correctly, Miguel Villanueva Svensson seems to consider the change *-ijā > -ē as a phonetically regular process. In this case, however, a question arises: how can we explain the lack of the change *-ijā > -ē in eldijā ‘boat’ (Slav. *oldbji), vilkijā ‘pack of wolves’, etc.?

2) Among nouns with the so-called “Zugehörigkeitssuffix” *-ija-, we find two with “métatonie douce”, which is traditionally explained as a result of accent retraction, e.g. kiāušas (1, 3) ‘shell, skull’ : kiaūšis (2) ‘egg’, taukaĩ (3) [acc.pl. táukus] ‘fat’ : taũkis, -ē (2) ‘Symphytum officinale’ (Stang 1966, 146; Derksen 1996, 46). Both of these nouns belong to AP2, and Stang (1966, 146) compared this type with Skt. (Vedic) udaniya-‘watery’ and Greek γομφίος ‘molar’. Aside from these two instances, we find a whole series of nouns (old adjectives) with “Zugehörigkeitssuffix” *-ija- that mostly fall into AP2 and do not show lengthening in the root.
(Otrębski 1965, 64; Derksen 1996, 146), e.g.: kāras (4) ‘war’ : kāris (2) ‘army, cantoment’ / karīs (4) ‘soldier’, vakaraī (3b) ‘the west’ / vākaras (3b) ‘evening’ : vakāris (2) ‘westerly wind’, vāsara (1) ‘summer’ : vasāris (2) ‘February, summery’, vanduō (3b) ‘water’ : vandēnis (2) ‘supernatural being’, drāpana (1) ‘clothing, dress’ → drapânė (2) ‘wardrobe’, pākulos (1, 3b) ‘tow, oakum’ → adj. pakūlis, -ė (2) ‘made of tow’, pelenaī (3b) ‘ash’ → pelēnė (2) ‘ash pan’, sāmanos (1) ‘moss’ → samânė (2) ‘wild bee’. Some of them are still used as adjectives, e.g. samânė bītė ‘wild bee’. In my opinion, Lith. kėlis (2) ‘knee’ also belongs here; its adjective function is still visible in the sentence Kas tai keliai broliai (...) ‘Who are real brothers (lit. brothers of knee) (...)’ (Katkus 1931, 125; Ostrowski [in prep.]). Does it mean that all these examples, except Kiaũšis (2) and Taũkis, -ė (2), were rootstressed? How can such an overwhelming advantage of rootstressed adjectives over suffixstressed ones be explained?

3. Prefixed aorists in Baltic and Slavonic

As Rudolph Aitzetmüller (1962) pointed out, in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian, the verbs that were nondurative in Proto-Indo-European, and formed aorists preserved their nondurative meaning in prefixed forms. On the other hand, simplex forms appeared only if they had a durative meaning, e.g. durative mrěti ‘to die’ and nondurative u-mrěti; the starting point here was the IDE aorist; see Vedic mṛta. Moreover, in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian texts, sometimes only prefixed forms occur, whilst there is no evidence of simplex forms, e.g. požrěti ‘to swallow’ (not *žrěti), provrěti ‘to stick through’, zavrěti ‘to close’ (not *vrěti), razdrěti ‘to tear apart’ (not *drěti), prostrěti ‘to spread’ (not *strěti), oprěti sę ‘to lean on’ (not prěti sę), načęti ‘to start’ (not *čęti), pripęti, ‘to enclose’ (not *pęti). The whole set of prefixed verbs together with their attestations is provided by Aitzetmüller (1962) and Koch (1990, 441–453). It is also a common phenomenon in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian texts that some aorists are recorded exclusively with prefixes, e.g. OCS umrětъ ‘died’ (not *mrětъ), požrětъ ‘swallowed’ (not *žrětъ), zavrětъ ‘closed’ (not *vrětъ), načętъ ‘started’ (not *čętъ), propętъ (not *pętъ), oprětъ sę ‘leaned on’ (not *prětъ sę). Many of them go back to IDE aorists, e.g. Ved. (ápa) āvar ‘hat geöffnet’ (LIV 203; IDE *Hwer–), Ved. conjunctive aorist garan ‘sollen verschlingen’ (LIV 189; IDE *gwerh3–), Ved. astarīš ‘hast hingebreitet’ (LIV 545; IDE *sterh3–), Arm.
hani ‘webte, nähte zusammen’ (Klingenschmitt 1982, 235; IDE *spenh₁r-), Ved. mā āpa spheṛāṣ ‘stoße nicht weg’ (LIV 532; IDE *spʰerH-). A brilliant Slavic–Lithuanian parallel is delivered by OCS *otbre, recorded only with a prefix, and Old Lithuanian ištirā (it lacks *tirā).

In Lithuanian, a large group of prefixed preterites are ingressive verbs with the prefixes iš- and pra-, e.g., išvysti ‘to see, to catch sight of, to glimpse’, išgirišti ‘to hear’, and pravyzdēti ‘to get to see, to start seeing’, praražečti ‘to start seeing’, pražištiti ‘to light up (intr.’), pražysti ‘to start to flower’. Their origin was elaborated by Ostrowski (2004) and especially by Ostrowski (2006, 55–64). Ingressive verbs of the presented type come from atelic stative verbs, i.e., regeti ‘to see’ → prarežečti ‘to get to see’, žydēti ‘to blossom’ → pražysti ‘to start to flower’, and they appeared because of a need to express a state as an event. As the perfective aspect in Baltic (and Slavonic) languages focuses on indicating the boundary of the action, a.k.a. the feature of perfective : imperfective aspect is [+/- limitation] (Seržants, Wiemer 2017, 245), then in the case of derivatives from atelic stative verbs, only the initial boundary of the state is possible. This in turn explains the ingressive meaning of verbs with prefixes iš- and pra-, derived from very stative verbs. Such an interpretation is supported by the Old Greek ingressive aorist, e.g. βασίλευω ‘I rule’ : εβασίλευσα ‘I started ruling’, French passé simple, e.g. savoir ‘to know’ : (il) sut ‘he got to know’, se taire ‘to be silent’ : se tut ‘he fell silent’, and Spanish conocer ‘to know’ : conocí (simple past) a Pedro hace muchos años ‘I got to know Pedro many years ago’ (Comrie 1995, 19). A brilliant analogy in Lithuanian is delivered by the prefixed verb patikti, patiņka, patiko ‘to appeal, to like’, where the preterite points to the initial boundary of the state, e.g. Jonui patiko Onutę ‘John got to like Ann’, but the present expresses the result of the past action, i.e. Jonui patinka Onutę ‘John likes Ann’. Lithuanian verb pažinti, pažista, pažino ‘to get to know; to know sb’ (it lacks simplex *žinti) is another case in point; more on that in section 3.1. These parallels suggest that the preterite was the first stage in the development of the presented ingressesives, so žydēti ‘to blossom’ → pražydo ‘it started to flower’, girdēti ‘to hear’ → išgirdo ‘got to hear’, and the present forms were only created later. This assumption is in turn supported by the ratio of preterite and present forms in Daukša’s Postil (1599), where we observe an evident prevalence of preterite forms (see Kudzinowski 1977):
The analysis of data included in LKŽ yields similar results:

- **išgirišti** — preterite 25x : present 3x
- **išvysti** — preterite 27x : present 1x
- **pražibti** — preterite 6x : present 1x

Unprefixed verbs, e.g. *gišti*, if they appear, are seldom and recorded very late. In Old Lithuanian texts, only *išgirišti*, *išvysti* and *pražibti* are testified. Disregarding these facts does not allow the derivational system of Old Lithuanian verbs to be precisely grasped.

Ingressive verbs with *iš*— point to the percipient; the source of the impetus perceived by the subject is outside of the subject, so the second actant is obligatory and the verb is transitive, e.g. *išvysti kal* ‘to see sb / sth’. On the other hand, among the ingressive with *pra*—, the action comes from the subject itself and is directed from inside the subject, e.g. *pragysti* ‘to start singing’ (*: giedoti* ‘to sing’), *prabilti* ‘to start talking’ (*: byloti* ‘to talk’), *prakažbti* ‘to start talking’ (*: kalbėti* ‘to talk, to speak’). The difference between the ingressive with *iš*— and *pra*— is best visible in the opposition between transitive *išvysti kal* ‘to see sb / sth’ (subject is a percipient and already has the ability to see) and intransitive *pravyzdeti* ‘to start seeing (about a blind man)’ (the subject has only just acquired the ability to see). Striking is also the functional similarity of Lithuanian *pra*— and Latin *pro*. Benveniste (1949 [1966], 133) describes the latter as meaning rather ‘outside of’ than ‘in front of’, more precisely as a result of leaving a place assumed to be inside or hidden, e.g. *prodeō* ‘to come forth, to appear’, *progenies* ‘progeny’[^3], cf. also Lat. *pro-for*, *pro-fari* ‘to speak’ and Lith. *prabilti*, *prakažbti* ‘to start talking’; Old Greek προλέγω ‘foretell; proclaim’.

[^3]: “1º Pro ne signifie pas tant «devant» que «au-dehors, à l’extérieur»; c’est un «en avant» réalisé par un mouvement de sortie ou d’expulsion hors d’un lieu supposé intérieur ou couvert (cf. *prodeo*, *progenies*); 2º Ce mouvement crée séparation entre la position initiale et la position pro; c’est pourquoi pro, indiquant ce qui vient se mettre «devant» le point de départ, peut marquer, selon le cas, couverture, protection, défense, ou équivalence, permutation, substitution; 3º le sens même de ce mouvement crée entre le point de départ et le point pro une relation objective, qui n’est pas exposée à s’inverser si la position de l’observateur change.” (Benveniste loc. cit.).
To sum up this part, in the past of the Lithuanian language, there was a group of preterites that always functioned with prefixes and functionally corresponded to the old aorists. On this ground, I maintain that the old aorists were reinforced in Baltic and Slavonic languages by adding prefixes. Reasons for this process are unclear, but we are here witnesses of the change from the older inflectional aspect to the innovative, derivational aspect. The coexistence of both aspect systems can be observed in Old Church Slavonic, Old Russian, and Bulgarian; the development of Old Russian has been thoroughly described by Seržants (2009). The description of the Old Lithuanian tense–aspect system presented here is preliminary, and future considerations need to include Old Lithuanian compound tenses of perfect (būti + part. praet. act.) and imperfect (būti + part. praes. act.) as well. At this moment, I want to highlight that traces of coexistence of the inherited aspect (“Grammatischer Aspekt” in Seržant’s terms), based on the distinction of perfective : imperfective tenses, and innovative aspect expressed by word formation (“Lexikalischer Aspekt” in Seržant’s terms) can also be found in Old Lithuanian. Section 3.1 is devoted to this topic.

3.1. Lithuanian pažinti and Baltic –jā–imperfect

There is one more reason to consider Old Lithuanian prefixed preterites presented in the previous section as archaic and to link them with the tense–aspect model similar to the one in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian. As is well known, perfective verbs in Baltic and Slavonic languages do not occur in sentences expressing extension in time, thus we cannot say in Polish *Przeczytałem książkę pięć godzin* or in Lithuanian *Perskaičiau knygą penkias valandas*. An exception is made for perdurative (e.g. Pol. *Przeżyłem tam trzy lata* ‘I lived there for three years’ and Lith. *Pragyvenau ten tris metus*) and delimitative verbs (e.g. Pol. *Posiedziałem godzinę* ‘I sat for one hour’ and Lith. *Pasėdėjau valandą*); see Holvoet (1995, 177–178). On the other hand, Old Greek was a language that did not know this kind of restriction, and the aorist could also occur in sentences that expressed extension in time, e.g. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τεσσέρα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη (Herodot 2.157.1) ‘Psammetichus reigned in Egypt for 45 years’; see Holvoet (1995, 179). Old Russian aorist functioned in a similar way; cf. an instance from Chronicles...: и созда столпъ то за 40 льт. и несвершенъ быс(тъ) ‘and it took him forty years to build (sozda) that pillar, and it was not finished’ (Berme 1997, 230). In Lithuanian, we can only find isolated traces of such a system; see instance (9) from Bretke’s Bible:
In modern Lithuanian, it is accepted in such a context only an unprefixe
form, i.e. slėpė ji tris mėnesius. Similarly, in the next example with the verb 
pasižino:

(10) Sabalius pasižino su juo daugiau kaip penkeri metai (LKŽ 20, 661)
‘Sabalius has been an ally of his for more than 5 years’.

Such a use of a prefixed verb is also unusual today, and we should treat 
it as an archaism comparable to the abovementioned instances of Old Greek 
and Old Russian aorist.

The verb pažinti, pažista, pažino ‘to get to know; to know sb’ is a 
continuation of IDE *g’enh₃ / g’nēh₃-. The root was nondurative and from it 
was formed root-aorist *{(e-)g’nēh₃-t; cf. Old Greek ἔγνων, Lat. (g)nouē, and 
OCS znachъ. The meaning of pažino points to the old aorist. Its emergence 
in Lithuanian relates to the thematicization of old root-aorist, i.e.:

(3 sg.) *(e)-žnéh₃-t : (3 pl.) *(e)-žinh₃-énti → *(e)-žinh₃-énti → (3 sg.) *žinh₃-é-t,

and after removing the apophony e : a, a new thematic aorist *žīna => pret. 
pažinā → pres. pažin-sta- appeared. A comparable process may be observed in 
Greek (Attic) aorist ἔτεμε ‘cut’, which continues an allomorph with a normal 
grade, and Doric ἔταμε based on the form of the 3 pl. *tmh₁-ént → *tm(h₁)-
on-t > *töm-on > ἔταμον; see Hárđarson (1993, 157–158, 160–161). The 
resultative meaning of the pres. pažista ‘knows’ alongside ingressive pret. 
pažino ‘got to know’ finds a good analogy in the abovementioned opposition 
patiko ‘got to like’ : patiñka ‘likes’. From ingressive preterite pažino ‘got to 
know’, a durative derivative pažinoti, pažinójo ‘know sb’ was formed. The 
derivation pažinti ‘to get to know’ → pažinotí ‘to know sb’ points to the 
character of arguments. In pažinti and pažinotí, the second argument is always 
a person, never a thing, e.g. pažinti: Visi šunys čia mani pažino ‘All dogs got 
to know me here’ (LKŽ 20, 660) and pažinotí: Jie mani nuo anksčiau pažinójo 
‘They knew me for a really long time’ (LKŽ 20, 660), Tėvuko aš nepažinójau,
[mirė] mes mažučiai dar buvom ‘I did not know daddy, [he died] when we were still small’ (LKŽ 20, 660). On the other hand, in žinoti ‘to know’, the second argument is non-personal, e.g. Aš tai jau ir užmiršus, o ana viską žino ‘I have forgotten all this, she knows this better’ (LKŽ 20, 642), Noriu, kad vaikai ir vaikų vaikai žinotų, koks jų protevių gyvenimas buvo ‘I want the kids and the kids of the kids to know the life of their ancestors’ (LKŽ 20, 643). This fact provides a few conclusions:

1) As the prefix pa- does not change the character of the arguments, then pažinoti cannot be a derivative from žinoti ‘to know sth’, but from pažinti ‘to get to know; to know sb’.

2) Lith. pažinoti is a defective verb; among finite forms it does not have any present form, but only preterite pažinójo. Since pret. pažino ‘got to know’ corresponds functionally to the aorist, therefore, it could also be used in sentences expressing an extension in time, and this is really supported by instance (10). However, along with the development of the derivational aspect, the prefixed forms were limited to the contexts in which they could only indicate the boundary of the process. In the case of pret. pažino ‘got to know’, this was the initial boundary. On the other hand, there was the need to express the durative action in the past, therefore alongside the preterite (aorist) pažino ‘got to know’ arose the new imperfective pažinójo ‘knew’. Therefore, we have to assume the following derivation:

perfective pret. pažino ‘got to know’ → imperfective pret. pažinójo-

The same kind of derivation can be observed in Old Lithuanian iterative tyrēti, -éja, -éjo ‘to investigate’, which is etymologically connected to pret. týrē ‘investigated’ (Ostrowski 2006, 20). In this regard, the following subsequent conclusions can be drawn:

a) Since imperfective preterite pažinójo has been formed from perfective pažino ‘got to know’, then we have to assume that the preterite suffix -jä- served as an imperfectivizing suffix added to the perfective (aoristic) forms; see Seržants, Wiemer (2017, 277–278) on the origin of the suffix -jä-. This in turn brings to mind the derivational model known from the Slavonic languages:

aor. bhra-xъ ‘took’ → imperf. bhra-ax-ъ
b) The derivation of perfective $pažino-Ø$ → imperfective $pažinó-jo-Ø$ finds its exact counterpart in the derivation of Lith. pret. $miné$ ‘remembered’ → $miné-jo-Ø$ ‘mentioned’. This process explains the almost total disappearance of IDE ingestive aorist with the suffix $*-eh₁*$ in Baltic, which has been preserved only in a few Lithuanian preterites: $miré$ ‘died’, $miné$ ‘remembered’, $viré$ ‘cooked’, and $gûlë$ ‘lay down’.

c) Imperfective preterites $pažinó-jo-Ø$ and $miné-jo-Ø$ suggest that $pažino$ and $miné$ had to be accented on the suffix, which is in line with the IDE model.

S. LIE. ischtirra ‘SUŽINOJO’ IR KELETAS PASTABŲ APIE PRETERITO RAIDĄ BALTŲ KALBOSE

Santrauka

Bretkūno raštųose randama preterito forma <ischtirra>/ištira/ ‘sužinojo’ iki šiol buvo nežinoma tyrėjams. Etimologijos požiūriu, <ischtirra> yra susijusi su tranzityviniu preteritu $týrë$, o formos požiūriu – abu atitinka ssl. $otbre$ (tematinis aoristas) ir $trb$ (sigmatinis aoristas). Šie faktai pagrindžia Danielio Pettit (2004) hipotezę apie pailgintojo laipsnio genezę baltų kalbų preterite. Antrojoje šio straipsnio dalyje aptariami kaitybinio (aoristas : imperfektas) ir darybinio (perfektyvas : imperfektyvas) veikslų koegzistencijos pėdsakai lietuvių kalboje.

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**Norbert OSTROWSKI**

*Katedra Językoznawstwa Ogólnego i Indoeuropejskiego*  
*Instytut Językoznawstwa*  
*Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie*  
*al. Mickiewicza 3*  
*PL-31-120 Kraków*  
*Poland*  
*[norbert.ostrowski@uj.edu.pl]*