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THE EAST BALTIC *-ā* STEM LOCATIVES

I should like to dedicate this brief note to the memory of Prof. Jonas Kazlauskas, whose *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika* has been a constant source of inspiration for me since 1968. vi. 22 when Prof. Kazlauskas graciously gave me an autographed copy of this volume. As a result of constant use this book has now become worn and dog-eared, and the binding is in need of replacement.

Kazlauskas (1968, 128) writes that in the Lithuanian Samogitian dialects (Kretinga, Klaipėda, Priekulė, Plungė and elsewhere), where the dual as a category is used until today, some of the dual forms are somewhat different from those in other dialects and, in addition, here the newly created specific genitive dual form is still used. He gives the following paradigms:

Masculine	Feminine
Nom.-acc. *du laukù* 'two fields'	Nom.-acc. *dvì dienì* 'two days'
Gen. *dvijŷ laukŷ* || *dum̃s laukum̃s*	Gen. *dvijŷ dienŷ* || *dvim̃s dienim̃s*
Dat. *dùm laukùm*	Dat. *dvìm dienìm*
Instr. *dum̃ laukum̃*	Instr. *dvim̃ dienim̃*

According to Kazlauskas (1968, 128) it is clear that some old dual forms have been recreated on the basis of the nominative-accusative form, i.e., the inherited dual dative *dvíem laukám*, dual instrumental *dviêm laukam̃* on the basis of the dual nom.-acc. *dù laukù* were transformed into dat. *dùm laukùm*, instr. *dum̃ laukum̃*, just as the inherited dual dative *dvíem dienóm*, instrumental *dviêm dienõm* on the basis of the nom.-acc. dual *dvì dienì* were transformed into dat. *dvìm dienìm*, instr. *dvim̃ dienim̃*. The genitive dual forms *dum̃s laukum̃s* and *dvim̃s dienim̃s* were created by adding *–s* to the newly created instrumental dual form. The -s comes from the genitive singular forms according to Kazlauskas (l968, 128).

Another example of the creation of a new form on the basis of a nominative

case is supplied by the Lithuanian dialect *-*ā* stem definite fem. gen. sg. *marg-õjos* 'variegated' for standard Lith. *marg-õsios* (Z i n k e v i č i u s 1966, 282). Concerning this Lithuanian dialect Zinkevičius (op. cit.) writes that from the paradigms given one sees an evident tendency to align the other cases to the more commonly used nominative singular, thereby replacing the initial element of the forms of the other cases with the vowel *o* which along with the *j* tends to form a special suffix *oj*. The phenomenon of using an inflected form as the basis for further inflection or derivation has been termed by Haudry *hypostase* (1982, 41). It seems to me that in Kazlauskas' and Zinkevičius' data we have examples of *hypostase* which I would anglicize [rehellenize?] as *hypostasis*.

Perhaps explanations of the origin of other cases should take into consideration the possible use of the nominative or some other case as a stem for their creation. The Baltic *-*ā* stem locative singular is explained in the following way by Kazlauskas (1968, 188): *rankoje* '(in the) hand', cf. Latv. *rokā*, derives from **rankāi* by the addition of the postposition *en* (cf. Lith. adessive sg. *mergaip* '[near the] girl', Old Church Slavic loc. sg. *rǫčě* '[in the] hand', Latin *Romae* '[in] Rome'). Slightly differently from Kazlauskas I would suggest that the stem form was the nom. sg. **rankā* to which the postvocalic form of the postposition **-jen* was added. One does not, then, have to assume the retention of the long diphthong into a late period of Baltic. The adessive form *mergaip* retains the original dative-locative form, the addition of the postposition *-p(i)* certainly being much later than any possible shortening of the reconstructed long diphthong **-āi*. My colleague Evgenij Filimonov suggests that this form of the locative might have been created in order to differentiate morphologically the locative from the common dative-locative ending *-ai*, the possible locative meaning of which is still observed in the adessive noted above. In other words the old dative-locative singular is retained in the adessive, cf. above, and the locative *rankoje* is an innovation. I propose that the derivation of the *-*ē* stem locative singular is similar, viz. nom. sg. *žẽmė* 'land' + postposition **jen* > loc. sg. *žẽmė -je*.

Schmidt (1871, 100) wrote: "wo *n* vor consonanten wirklich geschwunden ist, hat es zunächst seine spur in der verlängerung des vorhergehenden vocals hinterlassen, so im acc. pl. *-ōs*, *-ās* aus *-ons*, *-ans*…"[1]. Following Schmidt

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[1] I should like to thank herewith Evgenij Filimonov who pointed out this book to me and downloaded it on to my computer for me.

I suggest that the passage of *-ans to *-ās led to the merger of the ā-stem accusative plural with the nominative plural. This ensuing identity is retained in the nom.-acc. pl. Skt. *sénāḥ* 'armies', Goth. *gibos* 'gifts'. Nevertheless the accusative marker *-N retained in the **singular** in sandhi position before following words beginning with vowels was commonly transfered to the plural declension providing us with, e.g., the Doric Gk. *-ā stem acc. pl. τιμάνς 'honors' (B u c k 1933, 175). Apparently Lithuanian retains evidence of both the older form without the nasal in the definite acc. pl. *ger-ós-ias* 'good' (Samogitian dialect *ger-úos-es*) and the newer form with the analogical nasal in standard *ger-ą́s-ias* (Z i n k e v i č i u s 1980, 194). The Old Prussian acc. pl. forms *deinans* 'days', *gennans* 'wives' seem to supply evidence of the reconstituted accusative plural with the nasal.

Zinkevičius (1980, 199) derives the loc. pl. *rañkose* '(in the) hands' from the acc. pl. *-ā́s + *én. As noted above, I believe that a phonological merger led to the homonymy of the *-ā stem nominative and accusative plural forms. Therefore phonologically it seems quite as possible to derive the locative plural forms from the nominative plural (homonymous with the accusative plural) just as we have derived the locative singular from the nominative singular.

Zinkevičius (1980, 196) writes furthermore that the loc. pl. *-osè* is a secondary postpositive form. The old writings and contemporary dialects have retained the old locative ending *-osu < -āsu*, e.g., *šakosù* '(in the) branches'.

As far as the *-ē stem locative plural is concerned a derivation from the nom. pl. *žẽmės* to produce *žẽmėse* would seem quite plausible. Zinkevičius (1980, 197) quotes the form *giesmėsù* '(in the) hymns'.

For Slavic I presuppose an etymological *-ā stem nom. pl. ending *-ās (= Skt. -ās, Lith. -os) which merged with the nom. sg. ending *-ā when final *-s was lost as a result of the action of the "law of open syllables". Thus an old nom. pl. *rǫka (< **rǫkās) became homonymous with the nom. sg. rǫka and was therefore replaced by the acc. pl. *rǫky < *rank-aNs (in which the nasal has been restored on the basis of the acc. sg. *rank-aN). A trace of the old nominative plural ending *-ās is encountered, however, in the Slavic loc. pl. ending *-axъ < *-asъ with analogical substitution of the *-x-* from other stems, e.g., from the *-o stem loc. pl. *-ěxъ (< *-oisu) for etymological *-s-. The Slavic loc. pl. *-axъ is equivalent therefore to Skt. *-āsu* = Lith. *-osu*. In

fact then, the Indic, Baltic and Slavic nom. pl. ending *-ās has been supplied with particle *-u to create the locative plural case *-āsu.

RYTŲ BALTŲ KALBŲ *ā* KAMIENO LOKATYVAI

Santrauka

Loc. sg. *rankoje* kilo iš nom. sg. **rankā*, prie kurio buvo pridėta postpozicijos **-jen* postvokalinė forma. Taigi nereikia suponuoti ilgojo diftongo išlaikymo iki vėlyvosios baltų epochos. Adesyvas *mergaip* yra išlaikęs pirminę datyvo-lokatyvo formą, o postpozicija *-p(i)* buvusi pridėta neabejotinai vėliau už bet kokį galimą rekonstruojamo ilgojo diftongo **-āi* sutrumpėjimą. Naujoji lokatyvo forma galėjusi būti pasidaryta siekiant morfologiškai atskirti lokatyvą nuo bendrojo datyvo-lokatyvo su galūne *-ai*, kurio galima lokatyvinė reikšmė dar įžvelgiama minėtoje adesyvo formoje. Panaši ir *ē* kamieno vienaskaitos lokatyvo kilmė, t. y. nom. sg. *žēmė* + postpozicija **-jen* > loc. sg. *žēmė-je*. Daugiskaitos lokatyvas su **-āsu* buvo pasidarytas pridedant galūnę **-u* prie indų, baltų ir slavų kalbų daugiskaitos nominatyvo galūnės **-ās*.

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