On the development of *nomina collectiva* in the Baltic languages

SAULIUS AMBRAZAS

(Vilnius)

Abstract

The following chronological strata of nomina collectiva in the Baltic languages have been established in the present paper: 1. the old nomina collectiva with the derivative ending *-ā-, 2. derivatives with the adjective affixes *-no-, *-to-, *(i)io-, 3. concretized nomina qualitatis.

Nomina collectiva are one of the oldest Indo–European derivative categories. In the Baltic languages the old derivatives of this category have almost disappeared, many of them having acquired the meaning of *nomina loci*. After the morphological category of number had been formed, *nomina collectiva* became to a certain extent redundant in the language. In the Baltic languages they are formed by means of derivative affixes which have originated from the derivative ending *-ā- and the adjective affixes *-no-, *-to-, *-(i)io-. Some *nomina qualitatis* have acquired a collective meaning.

THE OLD *nomina collectiva* WITH *-ā-

In the Old Prussian language there exist quite a number of neuter gender nouns of a collective origin with the derivative ending *-ā which is thought to be the oldest means forming *nomina collectiva* in the Indo–European languages, e.g. *austo* (Munt) E 89 (cf. OCS *usta* 'mouth'and Skt. *osthaḥ* 'lip'), *slayo* (Slete) E 307 (cf. Lith. *šlãjos* 'sledge') : *slayan* (Sletekuffe) E 309,

warto (Thöre) E 210 (cf. OCS *vrata* 'gates') etc. (Mažiulis 1981; 1988:124–125; Degtjarev 1991).

In the East Baltic languages this derivative type is almost extinct. Only some of its hardly recognizable relics can be traced. The following deserve to be mentioned in the first place: Lith. *álksna/alksnà* 'alder grove; bog; vale, valley', Lett. *alksna* 'marshy area', Lith. *kárkla* 'willow thicket', *kaimyna* 'neighbours', *sìbrà* 'partners, accomplaces', *Prūsa* 'Prussia', *Kursa* 'Curonia'. On the basis of the hydronims *Léndra*, *Švéndra* A. Vanagas (1970:44) reconstructs the derivatives **léndra*, **švéndra* 'reeds'. The following nouns are very likely to be of a collective origin: *daũsos* 'the skies; the tropics; Eden, paradise' : **dausas* (cf. Slav. **duxъ* 'spirit', see Būga 1958:553–554), *dervà* 'resin, tar, pitch; rosin' (cf. OCS nom. pl. *dreva* 'trees' : nom. sing. *drevo* 'a tree' and also Goth. *triu* 'fire–wood, a tree' etc.), *nagà* 'a hoof' (cf. OCS *noga* 'a foot') : *nãgas* 'nail' (Skardžius 1943:46), the adverb *namõ* 'home' (Schmidt 1989:39), such numeral derivatives as *dvejó–pas* 'of two kinds, double' (Brugmann 1911:234), such compound words as *keturió–lika* 'fourteen', forms of neuter pronouns *tõ* 'that', *kõ* 'what', *šìto* 'this' and the like (Valeckienė 1984:205–208).

Lately attempts have been made to revive G. H. Mahlow's (1879:4, 81) and J. Schmidt's (1889) hypothesis according to which such forms as Lith. *vilkaĩ* 'wolves', *geraĩ* 'well', *taĩ* 'it; this; that', *kaĩ* 'when; while; as' originate from *nomina collectiva* with the derivative ending **-ā/-ə*, cf. OPruss. *warto* and Lith. *vaĩtai* 'gates', Lat. *loca* (alongside with *loci*) : *locus* 'a place', Gk. *κέλευθα* (alongside with *κέλευθοι*) : *κέλευθος* 'a road'.

For example, V. Illič–Svityč (1963:53–55), like formerly J. Schmidt, stated that the accent of some Lithuanian *o* stem nouns in nom. pl. (especially *pluralia tantum*) reflect the old accentuation of *nomina collectiva* with **-ā-* (e.g. *linaĩ* 'flax' from **linā́*, *plaušaĩ* 'bast, fibre, filament' from **plousā́*). A. Valeckienė (1978:69–81, 93; 1984:208–217, 220–221) presented some new arguments asserting the derivation of the neuter gender pronoun *taĩ* from **tā + i*. A. Rosinas (1988:183–188) gives a different explanation of the origin of the latter pronoun.

B. Stundžia (1981; 1992) established that many of the *pluralia tantum* place names with *(i)o* stem and a oxytonic accent in the Lithuanian language (especially in the dialects of West High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian) are derived from barytonic proper names with *ā*, *ē* stems (e.g. *Bùrbai* : *Bùrba*, *Lapiaĩ* : *Lãpė*). He maintains that these names could be of a col-

lective origin because in some dialects the names of families or kinsfolk are denoted by the forms with *–(i)aĩ* of the proper names having *(i)o* stem and a oxytonic accent (e.g. *dveji, treji Dūdaĩ, Gudeliaĩ* 'two, three families of Dū́dos, Gudė́liai'). Besides, common nouns with *–(i)aĩ*, e.g. *liepaĩ* 'lime–groves': *líepa* 'lime–tree', *líepos* 'lime–trees', *siuvéjaĩ* 'the tailor's family': *siuvéjas* 'tailor', *siuvéjai* 'tailors', in some dialects are found. On this ground Stundžia concludes that the collective plural originated from the old *nomina collectiva* with **-ā-/-ə-* once used in the Lithuanian language. Earlier J. Otrębski (1956:28) advanced a similar hypothesis.

M. L. Palmaitis (1989:126–128) related such forms as Lith. *liepaĩ* 'lime–grove' to OPruss. *Stai Gennai* (die Weiber) III 93₁₂ and to the corresponding forms of the nom. pl. in Greek and Latin, e.g. Gk. *χῶραι*, Lat. *terrae*. Contrary to earlier investigators he regards them as archaisms derived from the collective nouns with **-ā-* rather than neologisms. Also, he maintains that the forms of nom. pl. with **-ei/-oi* (e.g. Lith. *jiẽ* 'they', *vilkaĩ* 'wolves') of both pronouns and *o* stem nouns have originated from collective adverbs, cf. Lith. *geraĩ* 'well', *namiẽ* 'at home', OPruss. *labbai* (wol) III 49₁₆, *bītai* (Abends) III 77₂₃, OCS *dobrě* 'well', Gk. *οἴκοι* 'at home'.

Thus, it is quite possible that in the Baltic languages the forms of nom. pl. with *–ai* (or at least part of them), especially *pluralia tantum* (cf. Lith. *linaĩ*, Lett. *lini* 'flax') have originated from *nomina collectiva* with **-ā-/-ə-* or from some other forms of a collective origin. This is in line with an old assumption that in the early Indo–European parent language there were no morphological plural forms: they appeared later and were formed first from *nomina collectiva* with the derivative inflection **-ā* (Schmidt 1889; Meillet 1934:291–292; Tronskij 1946; Lehmann 1958:189; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984:281–283 et al.).

The derivative ending **-ā* gave rise to some compound suffixes.

$$*-i\underset{\smile}{i}-\bar{a}-$$

The affix **-iiā-* used to form many Lithuanian *nomina collectiva* which have equivalents in other related languages could have originated from the *i*-stem extended by endings of the *ā*-stem paradigm, cf. Lith. hydr. *Kirmijà* : *kirmìs* 'a worm', Skt. *kulyā* 'a stream': **kuli-* (it is reconstructed from the hydr. *Kuli-śì* related to Lith. dial. *kũlis* 'a stone', see Schmid 1990) as well as Lith. *brolijà* 'brothers and sisters' (Vištytis), Slav. **brat(r)ьja* 'brothers', Gk. *φρᾱτρίᾱ* and *φρᾱ́τρᾱ* 'kinsfolk, kin, brothers and sisters'.

The fact that the derivatives with *-iiā- could have originated from old *nomina collectiva* with *-ā- rather than from the adjectives with *-iio- is corroborated by the rareness of adjectives with the affix *-iio- in the Baltic languages (Skardžius 1943:80; Endzelīns 1951:276–277) while *nomina collectiva* with *-iiā- are abundant. Besides, the affix *-iio- is most likely of a secondary derivation too, having arisen after the ending of the stem with *i* had been extended by the *o* stem forms (Benveniste 1935; Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954:816 with references) or as a result of the contamination of stems with *i* and *o* (cf. Mažiulis 1970:152).

*-(i)io- AND *-ā-io-

In Slavic, Germanic and Indo-Iranian languages *nomina collectiva* are often made by means of the affix *-(i)io-. In the Baltic languages such derivatives are few in number.

Lith. *galvijai* 'cattle, live-stock, neat' related to Slav. *(po)golvъje* 'the number of animals' has the pure suffix *-iio- (Martynov 1973:24).

In Latvian dialects some more derivatives of a collective origin are formed by means of the suffix *-ā-io-, e.g. *bērzãjs* 'birch grove', *smiltãjs* 'sands', *sūdãjs* 'a dungy field' (Endzelīns 1951:284–285).

In the Lithuanian language such derivatives are very rare: dial. *liepójas* 'lime-grove', *riešutójas* 'a nut-tree', *samanójai* 'moss tucked in between logs', cf. the derivatives with the double suffix *-yn-ojas* in the Low Lithuanian dialect: *balynójas* 'marshland', *beržynójas* 'birch grove', *kelmynójas* 'stubby place'.

Derivatives with the suffix *-ā-io- originated from *nomina collectiva* with the derivative ending *-ā which was extended by the affix *-io-, cf. Lith. *álksna/alksnà* and Lett. *àlksnâjs* 'alder grove'.

*-ā-to-

The same derivative ending *-ā- of *nomina collectiva*, but with the extended suffix *-to-, gave rise to the suffix *-ā-to- by means of which *nomina collectiva* are sometimes formed (mostly in the Low Lithuanian dialect), e.g. *alksnótas* 'alder grove' (cf. *álksna/alksnà*), *ap(v)ynótas* 'hop-garden', *apuš(r)ótas* 'aspen grove', *beržótas* 'birch grove' (cf. *béržta* 'birch grove' Jušk. Žod.).

According to K. Būga (1958:160–165) some Baltic place names with *-ā-to- can be of a collective origin, e. g. Lith. *Apušotas, Liepalotai* : *liepãlė* 'a small lime-tree', *Pušalotas* : *pušãlė* 'a small pine-tree', OPruss. *Rickayot* : *rikijs* (Herr) III 37$_{12}$.

*-ou̯-ā

The derivative ending *-ā when joined to the *eu̯/ou̯/u stem gave rise to the suffix *-(i)ava* (Skardžius 1943:381, Mažiulis 1967:39–41) which is used mostly to form hydronyms. In the Lithuanian language, however, some collective place names were formed by it too. Its later variants are *-(i)uva* and *-auja*, cf. Lith. *brol(i)avà* and *broluvà* 'brothers and sisters', *velniavà* and *velniuvà* 'devils; a devil; devilish job', *šunavà* and *šunaujà* 'a pack of dogs or a crowd of angry people'.

DERIVATIVES WITH OTHER ADJECTIVE SUFFIXES

*-īno-

The adjective suffix *-īno- was used to form *nomina collectiva* in Baltic, Slavic and partly in Latin (Brugmann 1906:278, 649; Lohmann 1932:15). The Baltic and Slavic languages are especially close in this respect as the suffix *-ynas* in Lithuanian and the suffix *-ina* in Slavic (mostly South Slavic) are used to form forest names, cf. Lith. *beržýnas* and Slav. *berzina* 'birch grove' (Sławski 1974:121, 123). These suffixes differ only in their form.

There are only a few Lithuanian *nomina collectiva* with the suffix *-yna* directly corresponding to the Slavic suffix *-ina*. A well-known and commonly used derivative *šeimýna* 'family; household; domestics' corresponds to the Old Prussian derivative of the masculine gender *seimīns* (Gesinde) III 83$_4$ (cf. also OCS *sěminъ* 'belonging to the family; a slave'). There are a few more of them found in the Lithuanian writings of East Prussia, e. g. *molyna* 'clayey place; loam-pit', *pušyna* 'pine forest'. Such derivatives are likely to have existed in the Old Prussian language too, cf. the place name *Spandyno* (Gerullis 1922:253).

The *ē*-stem variant of this suffix is more characteristic of the Lithuanian language. It has been used in the dialect of the West High Lithuanian to form *nomina loci* from nouns since olden times. For instance, in the XVIIth century dictionary *Lexicon Lithuanicum* of East Prussia there

are more derivatives with *–ynė* (7) than of those with the suffix *–ynas* (5): *aužuolynė* 'oak-wood' 27, *beržynė* 'birch grove' 18, *drebulynė* 'asp grove' 33, *elksnynė* 'alder grove' 30, *kadagynė* 'juniper bushes' 102a, *klampynė* 'swamp' 85a, *skroblynė* 'hornbeam place' 27. In the East High Lithuanian dictionary by K. Sirvydas we find only one derivative with the suffix *–ynė kelmynė* 'stubby place' Sirv. Dict.[3] 51.

In the Low Lithuanian dialect they are also rare. Only five derivatives of this type are found in the dictionary by V. Vitkauskas *Šiaurės rytų dūnininkų šnektų žodynas* (Vilnius, 1976) alongside with 47 corresponding derivatives with the suffiks *–ynas*. They are: *maurynė* 'a place overgrown with duck-weed', *varputynė* 'a place overgrown with couch-grass', *žvyrynė* 'soil abounding in gravel', *motinynė* 'mother's household', *kęsynė* 'a place abounding in moulds'. However, the derivative *pātalynė* 'bedding; bed-clothes' which has retained a collective meaning is widely used in the Low Lithuanian dialect. Besides, the names of food, especially those of soups, are formed by means of the suffix *–ynė* in this dialect (e.g.: *bulvynė* 'potato-soup', *burokynė, lapynė* 'beat-root soup', *kiaušynė* 'scrambled eggs', see *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* 1977, Map No 29, p. 83–84; 1993, Map No 125, p. 138–139).

So, it is likely that *nomina collectiva* with the suffix *–ynė* in Low Lithuanian and High Lithuanian dialects acquired a concrete meaning in different ways. In the High Lithuanian (especially West) dialect they acquired the meaning of *nomina loci*. This could have happened due to the influence of *nomina loci* derived from verbs with the homonymous suffix *–ynė* (originating, probably, from *–inė* due to the influence of the verbs with the suffix *–yti*, e.g. *bradynė* 'mud', *šėrynė* 'a place where animals are fed' and others, see Ambrazas, forthcoming, §§84, 387). In the Low Lithuanian dialect *nomina collectiva* with the suffix *–ynė* acquired the meaning of food.

–eino–/–oino–

In the formation of Lettish *nomina collectiva* the suffix *–ei-no/–oi-no–* is used instead of the related suffix *–ī-no–*, cf. Lith. *eglýnas* and Lett. *egliens* 'fire-grove', Lith. *kelmýnas* and Lett. *celmiens* 'stubby place' and also Lett. *skaîdiena* 'wood scrap yard' (Endzelīns 1951:323–324).

There are only a few of such Lithuanian derivatives, exclusively of a feminine gender, e.g.: *ražienos* 'stubble-field', *mergiena* 'girls' (Tauragnai), *molienà* 'clayey place' (Kernavė). In most cases the suffix *–iena* is used to

form *nomina loci*, indicating a place where one or another kind of crop is grown, e.g. *aguoniena* 'poppy field', *bulviena* 'potato field', *kopūstiena* 'cabbage field' etc. (Skardžius 1943:288; Urbutis 1965:400). They can also be of a collective origin.

In the Lettish language *nomina collectiva* are formed also by means of a variant of the mentioned suffix *–ains, –aine*, e.g. *alksnaine* 'alder grove', *eglaine*, dial. *aglaîns* 'fir-grove' (Endzelīns 1951:327). This derivative type is very rare in Lithuanian. The shade of a collective meaning can be discerned only in the following derivatives: *dirsainė* 'bread with brome grass' Jušk. Svotb. rėda 39 (cf. the adjective *dirsaînis, –ė* 'of brome grass'), *ratainė* 'a shed for keeping carts and other things' (Telšiai).

Collective nouns with the adjective suffix *–eino–/–oino–* existed in the Old Prussian language too. On the one hand, this is proven by the existence of the derivative *seweynis*, i.e. *suveinis* or *sveinis* (Sewstal) E 229 (cf. Lat. *sūs*, Gk. *ὕς* and Lett. *suvēns* 'sucking pig', OCS *svinъ* 'for pigs', see Trautmann 1911:425–426; Endzelīns 1943:46, 246; Mažiulis 1981:279) and on the other, it is corroborated by the presence of place names, cf. *Alkayne, Alkeyne* and Lith. *alkas*, Lett. *èlks*, Goth. *alhs* 'a shrine', OPruss. *Zanseynen : sansy* (Gans) E 719 (Gerullis 1922:252).

–ino–

In the Lithuanian language there are some collective nouns formed with the adjective suffix *–inis, –ė*, e. g. *kāpinės* 'cemetery', *kopūstinis* (Liškiava), *kopūstinė* 'a cabbage patch' (Nočė), *kupstinė* 'a place abounding in mounds' (Rudamina), *pātalinė* 'bedding' (Marijampolė). However, derivatives with the suffix *–inė* usually indicate a dish or a room, cf. the derivatives *avinė* 'a sheepfold', *druskinė* 'salt-cellar' a. o. *Nomina loci* with a similar suffix *–(ъ)n'a* in the related East or West Slavic languages could have influenced their origin, e. g. Pol. *owczarnia* 'a sheepfold', Russ. *konjušnja* 'a stable' (cf. Boškovič 1984:250–266; Sławski 1974:138–139).

–ītio–

In some East and West High Lithuanian dialects *nomina collectiva* with the suffix *–ytė* denoting the concentration of some things or plants in one place are used, e. g. *alksnytė* 'alder grove', *gžuolýtė* 'oak-wood', *kelmytė* 'a stubby place' and others.

On the basis of such place names as *Apsīte, Kelmīte, Zvirgzdīte* and the like, it is supposed that *nomina collectiva* with the suffix *-īte* existed in the Lettish language as well (Endzelīns 1951:388).

Further such derivatives can be linked with the Germanic derivatives with the suffix *-īde* (< *-ītio-*) having a collective meaning, e. g. MHG *pfluogīde* 'a pair of oxen', *geveterīde* 'parents' (Meid 1967:149).

By means of the suffix *-ītio-*, common to the Baltic, Slavic and Germanic languages, which had been created by joining the affix *-io- to the suffix *-īto-*, first of all *nomina attributiva* were formed (e. g. Lith. *ausýtė* 'a cap with ear-tabs', Lett. *lēnītis* 'warm southern or eastern wind', South Slav. *golitь* 'a naked, poor man', MHG *vingerīde* 'a finger ring'), and later they acquired other meanings, including a collective one (for more information about it see Ambrazas 1991:18–19). This could have been due to the tendency to form *nomina collectiva* by means of the affix *-io-*.

CONCRETIZED *nomina qualitatis*

In High Lithuanian nomina collectiva are formed by means of the suffix *-(i)uomenė*, whereas in Low Lithuanian and in some High Lithuanian areas it has the variant *-(i)ūmenė*, cf. *kar(i)úomenė* and *kar(i)úmenė* 'army', *jaunúomenė* and *jaunúmenė* 'young people', *didúomenė* and *didúmenė* 'aristocracy, nobility' and others (Vitkauskas 1977:103; *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* 1993, Map No 126, p. 139–141).

P. Skardžius (1943:237) supposed that the suffix *-(i)uomenė* originated from the adjective suffix *-uom-* extended by the suffix *-enė*. Like K. Būga (1959:338), he related the derivative *didúomenė* to the derivative *diduomis* 'a noble' recorded in S. Daukantas' writings and presumably derived from the adjective *diduomas*. The derivative *tikrúomenė* 'real people' (Gruzdžiai) was related to OPruss. *stūrin-tickrōms* (eiueriger) III 37₁₃. This is, however, questionable as the suffix *-uom-* seems to have only two derivatives in the Lithuanian language: the referred to *diduomis* and *visuomis* 'universal' which are found only in S. Daukantas' writings. Thus, they might be neologisms. Moreover, *nomina collectiva* are not formed by means of the suffix *-enė* in the Lithuanian language.

Much more convincing is J. Endzelīns' (1924:124) hypothesis, according to which the Lithuanian suffix *-uomenė* is traced to *-ōmen-* (a variant of the suffix *-men-*) and is related to its equivalent in the Old Germanic languages, cf. Goth. dat. sing. *aldōmin* 'for old age' (Gk. orig. γήρει), OE

ealdom 'respect for the old'. This supposition is substantiated by the fact that some derivatives with the suffix *-uomenė* in the East High Lithuanian dialect have retained the qualitative meaning, e. g. *jaunúomenė* 'youth', *mažúomenė* 'childhood, infancy'. Also, alongside with *mažúomenė* there exists the derivative *mažménė* which, apart from its abstract meaning of 'childhood, infancy', carries a collective meaning of 'small things' (Tauragnai). The very suffix *-ōmen-* is a variant of the suffix *-men-*. By means of the latter suffix not only *nomina actionis* (Ambrazas, forthcoming, §69) but also *nomina qualitatis* (cf. Lith. *gilmenà* 'depth' Jušk. Žod. I 703, *gelmė̃*, Lett. *dzelmenis, dzelme* 'depth', OPruss. hydr. *Gilmen*) which have equivalents in Slavic (Bernštejn 1974:181), Germanic (Meid 1967:129) and, especially, in Sanskrit (Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954:355–356, 754–755) have been formed. Later *nomina qualitatis* with the suffix *-ōmen-* acquired a collective meaning in the Lithuanian language.

The tendency to acquire a concrete meaning is characteristic of other Lithuanian *nomina qualitatis* as well. Thus, the derivative *jauniškė* does not only denote 'youth' but also has the meaning of 'young people' in the Low Lithuanian dialect and the old writings of East Prussia (e.g. Bretk. Post. I 169₁₇). It should be noted that the formation of *nomina qualitatis* by means of the adjective suffix *-isko-* is a common Baltic and Germanic innovation. Such derivatives are especially productive in Old Prussian, e. g. *deiwūtiskan* (Seligkeyt) III 75₂₂, *labbisku* (Gute) 85₂, acc. sing. *ginniskan* (Freuntschaft) 125₂₋₃ and so on. In the Lithuanian language, apart from the above-mentioned derivative *jauniškė̃*, two other derivatives *berniškė* 'childhood, infancy', *vieniškė̃* 'loneliness' are known only from the old writings based on the West High Lithuanian dialect. Such derivatives are rare in old Germanic languages, e. g. Goth. *barniski*, OSkand. *bernska* 'childhood', *fólska* 'folly' (Meid 1967:197; Range 1977:128).

There are other Lithuanian *nomina qualitatis* which have acquired a collective meaning, especially those with the suffix *-mo-*, e.g. *jaunimas* 'young people', *mažimas* 'small children' (Armoniškės) alongside with 'childhood' Daukš. Post. 28₁₄, *senimas* 'old people'. In Old Lithuanian the derivative *jaunùmas* was used in the meaning of 'young people', cf. also dialectal derivatives: *tikrumaĩ* 'the closest relatives' (Surviliškis), *žalùmas* 'grass-plots' (Pažaislis, Kupiškis) and the derivatives with *-uma: didumà* 'nobility' (Pagėgiai), *jaunumà* 'the young' (Gervėčiai), *senumà* 'old things' (Lazūnai). Derivatives *jaunumė̃* 'young people' (alongside with 'youth'), *mažumė̃* 'poor

people' (alongside with 'childhood') are common in many Lithuanian dialects, cf. a rarer derivative *didumė̃* 'nobility' (Linkmenys).

It is very likely that due to the influence of these derivatives in some High Lithuanian dialects, alongside with the suffix *-(i)uomenė*, there appeared derivatives with the suffix *-(i)umenė*, cf. *kar(i)ùmenė* 'army', *didumė̃nė* 'nobility', *mažumė̃nė* 'infancy, childhood', and with the suffix *-uomė*, cf. *diduomė̃* 'nobility', *jaunúomė* 'young people', *mažuomė̃* 'childhood'.

Also, besides the suffixes *-(i)uomenė*, *-(i)ūmenė*, *-(i)umenė* in some dialects (mostly in those of East Lithuania) their variants *-(i)uominė*, *-(i)ūminė*, *-(i)uminė* are found, cf. *kar(i)úominė*, *kar(i)ū́minė*, *kar(i)ùminė* 'army'; *jaunúominė*, *jaunū́minė* 'young people'; *visúominė*, *visū́minė* 'society' and others (*Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* 1993, Map No 126, p. 140). V. Grinaveckis (1977:75–76) maintains that these suffixes were formed when the unstressed vowel *e* turned into *i* in a heterosyllabic position with the consonants *m, n*. However, *i* in these suffixes might be the reduced grade of vowel–gradation in the corresponding suffixes *-(i)uomenė*, *-(i)umenė*, cf. Lith. *akmuõ*, *ãkmenas* and *ãkminas*, Lett. *akmens* and *akmins* 'a stone', OCS *kamьnije* alongside with *kamenije* 'stones' (Brugmann 1906:233–234), also, Lith. *ėdmė̃nė*, *ė̃dmenys* 'food, meal', Lett. *ēdmenis*, *ēdmanis* and *ēdminis* 'bait, lure', Lith. *juosmuõ*, *juosmenу̃s*, Lett. *juosmenis* and *juosminis* 'waist, middle', Lith. *lekmė̃nė*, Lett. *lekmenis* and *lekminis* 'quagmire, swamp', Lith. *tešmuõ*, Lett. *tesmenis* and *tesminis* 'an udder', Lith. *želmuõ*, Lett. *zeľmenis* and *zeľminis* 'fresh grass' and others (Urbutis 1981:187).

The derivative categories of *nomina qualitatis* and *nomina collectiva* could drew closer to one another during the time of the formation of the Indo–European inflexional stem *-ā-*.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the data presented above the following chronological strata of *nomina collectiva* in the Baltic languages can be established:

1. The oldest *nomina collectiva* are those which came from the Indo–European parent language and which have the derivative inflexion *-ā-*. They are best preserved in Old Prussian and have become almost extinct in the East Baltic languages. The derivative ending *-ā-* laid a foundation for some derivative suffixes. The oldest of them is the suffix *-i̯ā-* which,

most likely, dates back to the Indo–European times. The suffixes *-ou̯-ā-*, *-ā-i̯o-*, *-ā-to-* have been formed already in the Baltic languages.

2. In Slavic, Germanic, Indo–Iranian *nomina collectiva* are often formed by means of the adjective affix *-(i)i̯o-*. However, such derivatives are especially rare in the Baltic languages. The adjective suffix *-ī-no-* was used to form *nomina collectiva* in Baltic, Slavic and, partly, Latin. In Protobaltic *nomina collectiva* were formed by means of another suffix *-ein-o/-oin-o-*, originating from the suffix *-no-* and preserved particularly in Lettish. Baltic and Germanic *nomina collectiva* are sometimes formed by means of the suffix *-ītio-* (< *-īto-* + *-i̯o-*).

3. Some *nomina qualitatis* in Lithuanian acquired a collective meaning, especially those with the suffix *-ōmen-* common to both the Baltic and the Germanic languages.

References

Ambrazas, S. (1991), "Baltų ir slavų kalbų vardažodžių daryba (senosios bendrybės ir skirtybės)", *Baltistica* 27 (1), 15–34.

— (forthcoming), *Daiktavardžių darybos raida. Lietuvių kalbos veiksmažodiniai vediniai*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla.

Benveniste, E. (1935), *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, Paris

Bernštejn, S. B. (1974), *Očerk sravnitel'noj grammatiki slavjanskich jazykov: Čeredovanija. Imennye osnovy*, Moskva: Nauka.

Bošković, R. (1984), *Osnovy sravnitel'noj grammatiki slavjanskich jazykov. Fonetika i slovoobrazovanie*, Moskva: Vysšaja škola.

Brugmann, K. (1906–1911), *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2, 1–2, Straßburg: K. J. Trübner.

Būga, K. (1958–1963), *Rinktiniai raštai*, t. I–III, sudarė Z. Zinkevičius, Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla.

Degtjarev, V. J. (1991), "Refleksy indoevropejskoj formy sobiratel'nosti na *-ā- v bal-tijskich i slavjanskich jazykach", in: Rosinas, A., ed., *VI tarptautinis baltistų kon-gresas, Vilnius 1991 m. spalio 2–4 d. Pranešimų tezės*, Vilnius.

Endzelin, J. (1924), "Germanisch–baltische Miszellen", *Kuhns Zeitschrift* 52, 110–128.

Endzelīns, J. (1943), *Senprūšu valoda*, Rīgā: Universitātes apgāds.

— (1951), *Latviešu valodas gramatika*, Rīgā: Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība.

Gamkrelidze, T. V., Ivanov, Vjač. Vs. (1984), *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy*, Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Tbilisskogo universiteta.

Gerullis, J. (1922), *Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin u. Leipzig: Vereinigung wissen-schaftlicher Verleger, Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Grinaveckis, V. (1977), "Dėl lietuvių kalbos tarmių balsio *e* pakitimo heterosilabinių *m, n* aplinkoje", *Baltistica*, 2 Priedas, 74–82.

Illič–Svityč, V. M. (1963), *Imennaja akcentuacija v baltijskom i slavjanskom*, Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.

Lehmann, W. P. (1958), "On earlier stages of the Indo-European nominal inflection", *Language* 34, 179–202.

Lietuvių kalbos atlasas 1–3 (1977–), Vilnius: Mokslas.

Lohmann, J. (1932), *Genus und Sexus*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Mahlow, G. H. (1879), *Die langen Vocale ā, ē, ō*, Berlin.

Martynov, V. V. (1973), *Praslavjanskaja i baltoslavjanskaja derivacija imen*, Minsk: Nauka i technika.

Mažiulis, V. (1967), "K baltijskomu i indoevropejskomu dativu ed. č.", *Baltistica* 3 (1), 29–45.

— (1970), *Baltų ir kitų indoeuropiečių kalbų santykiai*, Vilnius: Mintis.

— (1981), *Prūsų kalbos paminklai*, t. 2, Vilnius: Mokslas.

— (1988), *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas*, I: A–H, Vilnius: Mokslas.

Meid, W. (1967), *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*. Bd. 3: *Wortbildung*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Meillet, A. (1934), *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, Paris: Libraire Hachette.

Otrębski, J. (1956), *Gramatyka języka litewskiego*, t. III. *Nauka o formach*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Range, J. (1977), "Zur Entwicklung der Wortbildungskategorie 'Nomen loci' im Baltischen und Slavischen", *Baltistica*, 2 Priedas, 124–130.

Rosinas, A. (1988), *Baltų kalbų įvardžiai*, Vilnius: Mokslas.

Schmid, W. P. (1990), "Zum vedischen Flußnamen *Kulíśī*", in: G. Holzer, ed., *Croatica. Slavica. Indoeuropaea. Wiener slavisches Jahrbuch*, Ergänzungsband 8, Wien.

Schmidt, J. (1889), *Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra*, Weimar.

Skardžius, P. (1943), *Lietuvių kalbos žodžių daryba*, Vilnius.

Sławski, F. (1974), "Zarys słowotwórstwa prasłowiańskiego", in: F. Sławski, ed., *Słownik prasłowiański* 1, Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 44–131.

Stundžia, B. (1981), "Daugiskaitiniai asmenvardiniai oikonimai ir jų reikšmė linksniavimo ir kirčiavimo sistemų rekonstrukcijai", *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 21, 185–197.

— (1992), "The category of collective and the development of nominal accentuation in East Baltic languages", in: W. Smoczyński & A. Holvoet, eds., *Colloquium Pruthenicum Primum. Papers from the First International Conference on Old Prussian held in Warsaw, September 30th – October 1st, 1991*, Warszawa: Wy-dawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 151–156.

Trautmann, R. (1911), *Die altpreußischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Tronskij, I. M. (1946), "K semantike množestvennogo čisla v grečeskom i latinskom jazykach", *Učenye zapiski LGU. Serija filologičeskich nauk* 69, 10, 54–74.

Urbutis, V. (1965), "Daiktavardžių daryba", in: *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika 1*, Vilnius: Mintis, 251–473.

— (1981), *Baltų etimologijos etiudai*, Vilnius: Mokslas.

Valeckienė, A. (1978), "Lietuvių kalbos bevardės giminės įvardžių kilmė", *Lietuvių kalbo-tyros klausimai* 18, 69–98.

— (1984), *Lietuvių kalbos gramatinė sistema. Giminės kategorija*, Vilnius: Mokslas.

Vanagas, A. (1970), *Lietuvos TSR hidronimų daryba*, Vilnius: Mintis.

Vitkauskas, V. (1977), "Šiaurės rytų žemaičių dūnininkų kai kurie morfofoneminiai di-alektizmai", *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 17, 97–108.

Wackernagel, J., Debrunner, A. (1954), *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. 2, 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lietuvos mokslų akademija
Lietuvių kalbos institutas
Antakalnio 6
2355 V i l n i u s
Lietuva

Saulius Ambrazas

Zur Herkunft der baltischen Ablautstufe ā

Alfred Bammesberger

(Eichstätt)

Abstract

Indo-European /oː/ and /aː/ are kept apart in Baltic (in contrast to Slavic), but in a number of instances we find /aː/ where we would expect /oː/ from the historical point of view. Lith. *sodinti* exhibits /aː/, which in the ablaut pattern of the root IE /sed/ must be an innovation. This innovation is morphologically conditioned. One major reason lies in the fact that the zero grade to roots ending in a laryngeal had the vowel *a*: /sta/ from IE */sth$_2$-/ is the zero-grade belonging to /staː/. On the basis of examples like /sta/ : /staː/ a new ablaut grade /aː/ could be created even in cases where /a/ was the reflex of IE /o/.

1. Während das hier relevante Material des Altpreußischen hauptsächlich wegen Unsicherheiten in der Orthographie nicht immer eindeutig bestimmbar ist, besteht jedenfalls kein Zweifel daran, daß im Litauischen und Lettischen die aus der Grundsprache ererbten Langvokale *ā* und *ō* bis zum heutigen Tag im wesentlichen getrennt sind. Im Gegensatz zum Slavischen, wo die Wurzelvokale von idg. **stā–ti–* 'stehen' und **dō–ti–* 'geben' in einem einheitlichen *a* zusammenfallen (aksl. *stati* und *dati*), sind sie in dem durch das Litauische und Lettische repräsentierten Baltisch unterschieden: lit. *stóti – dúoti*, lett. *stât – duôt*[1]. Freilich treten auch im Baltischen einige Fälle auf, bei denen die Fortsetzung von *ā* erscheint, obwohl man aufgrund etymologischer Erwägungen eher idg. *ō* für die entsprechende Grundform ansetzen würde. Einige dieser Besonderheiten sollen hier erörtert werden.

---

[1] Zu apr. *dā–t–* siehe 5.