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A NOTE ON THE *-ā STEM NOMINATIVE, DATIVE, ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR CASES IN BALTO-SLAVIC

In an earlier article (2004) I proposed a scenario to explain the common origin of the *-o stem dative, accusative and instrumental singular cases, all of which I derive from the morpheme *-oN ($N = n$ or m) in Balto-Slavic. In those Indo-European languages which show the neuter *-o stem nominative-accusative singular *-oN (cf., e.g., Gk. ζυγ-όν ‘yoke’, Lat. *jug-um*, Old Indic *yug-ám*), I would connect also the neuter *-o stem nominative case (Schmalstieg 1997, 401f.). In Balto-Slavic and Germanic, however, with the possible exception of Old Prussian there seems to be no trace of a neuter *-o stem nominative in *-oN (Schmalstieg 2003, 276). In this article I will comment on the origin of the *-ā stem nominative, dative, accusative and instrumental singular cases in Balto-Slavic.

In my view the *-ā stem nouns derive originally from *-ǎ stem forms (Schmalstieg 1980, 64). Remnants of the original *-ǎ may be seen in the Balto-Slavic vocatives, e.g., Lith. *rañka*, OCS *roĭk-o* ‘hand’, perhaps the Latin nominative singulars of the type *terr-ǎ* ‘land’ (if they are not the result of a shortening of *-ā according to the Latin iambic shortening rule [Baldi 1999, 318]) and Greek nouns with the ending -ǎ such as voc. or nom. sg. *νύμφ-α* ‘bride’ (Schwyzer 1959, 558).

Traditional analyses of inflectional endings begin with the positing of monster original forms that yield the attested forms by means of (mostly phonological) deletions. I assume, on the contrary, the primordial existence of original stems to which various deictic or directional particles were added and which, in the course of time, began to acquire the various meanings that we now ascribe to the cases (see now Adrados 2007, 11–22). In addition to the bare stem there was originally a morpheme *-s[-] denoting source and a derived partitive meaning which led to a possible collective and plural meaning. This morpheme is now encountered in the genitive singular and in various plural cases, cf., e.g., Lith. gen. sg. *galvõs* ‘head’, nom. pl.

gálvos, dat. pl. *galvóms*, etc. The morphemes *-i[-], *-u[-], *-m[-] or some combination of the preceding developed some kind of rather vague adverbial meaning. The etymological directional or deictic particles *-i or *-m could be added to the stem vowel *-ā to give word-final *-āi or *-ām which remained as such (in etymological prevocalic sandhi position) or merged as *-ā (in etymological preconsonantal sandhi position). In other words ** -āi or ** -ām + V[owel] > *-āi (*-āy) or *-ām (i.e., no change), whereas ** -āi and ** -ām + C[onsonant] > *-ā (Schmalstieg 1980, 25–28). The passage of /ai/ to /ā/ is a fairly common type of monophthongization, cf. Old English *stān* ‘stone’ with Gothic *stains* (Prokosch 1939, 106) or cf. the Lithuanian dialect form *b'ernát'is* for standard Lithuanian *bernáitis* ‘lad’ (Zinkevičius 1966, 91). Similarly retention of the short vowel plus nasal consonant before stop consonant vs. loss of the nasal and lengthening of the preceding vowel are attested in standard Lithuanian in word-final position and before spirant, thus acc. sg. *rañkq* ‘hand’, and *kqsti* ‘to bite’.

In the course of time the original Indo-European word-final sandhi doublets lost their phonological conditioning and became the independent morphemes *-āi, *-ām and *-ā. In the oldest attested Indo-European languages these morphemes or various combinations or contaminations thereof were gradually separated into the more or less syntactic nominative and accusative, and the more or less semantic dative, instrumental, locative and vocative cases.

In addition to -ā the morpheme *-ā (< ** -āi or ** -ām + C) is the most commonly attested nominative singular, Gk. *χώρα-ā* ‘land’, Lith. *galvā*, Slavic *glav-a* ‘head’, Gothic *giba* ‘gift’, Old Indic *sen-ā* ‘army’, etc. The form *-āi is attested in the Lat. nom. sg. fem. *quae* ‘which’, *hae-c* ‘this’, *istae-c* ‘that’ and the Gk. voc. sg. *γύv-αι* ‘woman’ and the Old Indic voc. sg. *sen-e* ‘army’ (from the specifically Indic monophthongization of *-ai).

The stem form *-āi is better attested in the dat. sg. Lat. *port-ae* ‘gate’, Gk. *χώρα-α* ‘land’, Lith. *gálv-ai*, Slavic *glav-ě* ‘head’, Gothic *gib-ai* ‘gift’, etc. In the Old Indic dat. sg. *sen-āy-ai* ‘army’ one encounters reduplication of the ending *-āi[y(-)]. The Avestan dat. sg. *daēn-ay-āi* ‘inner being’ seems to represent the etymological *-ay- reinforced with the alternative *-āi.

The accusative case is represented by the addition of the suffix *-m to the stem in *-ā to give *-ām, cf. Old Indic *sen-ām* ‘army’, Gk. *χώρα-āv* ‘land’, Gothic *gib-a* ‘gift’, whereas Lith. *gálv-q*, Slavic *glav-q* ‘head’, Lat. *port-am* ‘gate’ may reflect either etymological *-am or *-ām.

I accept Mažiulis' (1970, 160f.) view that the Greek situation is somewhat more archaic than the Lithuanian in that the dative and instrumental meanings are still expressed by a single case in Greek. Note the following example of the instrumental meaning of the dative of several $*-\bar{a}$ stem nouns: (1) ἡ χρήμασιν (dat. pl.) ἐπαιρόμενος, ἡ τιμαῖς (< $*-ais$ [dat. pl.]), ἡ καὶ σώματος εὐμορφία (< $*-ai$ [dat. sg.]) 'exalted by fortune, or by honors, or by the beauty of the body' (Plato, Leges 716 A apud Humbert 1954, 291). Thus the morpheme $*-ai$ is attested with instrumental in addition to the well-known dative meaning.

The instrumental meaning of the morpheme $*-\bar{a}$ is also well known. Haudry (1977, 449) notes that the $*-\bar{a}$ stem instrumental (= Latin ablative) can be used with almost the same meaning as the nominative singular. Haudry compares the Latin sentences (2) *miles sagittā* (abl. sg.) *hostem vulnerat* 'the soldier wounds the enemy with an arrow' and (3) *militis sagitta* (nom. sg.) *hostem vulnerat* 'the soldier's arrow wounds the enemy'. Possibly the Latin nominative singular ending in $-ā$ is original as suggested above. On the other hand if the short vowel $-a$ of the Latin nominative singular is explained as the result of the generalization of the action of the iambic shortening law, then the Latin nominative and ablative (= Lat. instrumental) singular $*-\bar{a}$ stem forms would have been identical at some point just as the Old Indic nominative and instrumental were originally identical (as discussed below). At some time in the history of Latin apparently the element $*-d$ was added to the old ablative (= instrumental) ending $*-\bar{a}$, although this was soon lost (Baldi 1999, 319).

Instrument function can easily pass to agent function as the later Slavic *parallel* phenomenon shows, where the instrumental case replaced the genitive case to denote agent function with the passive participles, cf. Russian убитый Иваном (instr.) 'killed by John' vs. the syntactically more conservative Lithuanian *Jono* (gen.) *užmuštas*.

Thumb-Hauschild (1959, 45) write that the original form of the Old Indic instrumental singular of the etymological $-\bar{a}$ stems was $-\bar{a}$, still attested in Vedic *doṣā* 'evening' and *jihvā* 'tongue', both of which instrumental singular forms are identical with the nominative singular. Most likely both the later Old Indic and the Avestan instr. sg. $-ayā$ derive from a contamination of $-ay$ (a morpheme attested above in the dative singular) plus $-\bar{a}$, both with instrumental meaning (Thumb-Hauschild 1959, 45; Reichelt 1909, 197).

Mažiulis (1970, 309f.) writes that the Balto-Slavic $*-\bar{a}$ stem accusative singular originally had the acuted form $*-\acute{a}n$ which became circumflex probably under the influence of the accusative singular inflection of the $-o$, $-i$, $-u$ and consonant stems. Mažiulis proposes an original Balto-Slavic instrumental singular ending $*-\acute{a}$ to which an $*-n$ had been added to give $*-\acute{a}n$, and that the difference in the accentuation between the accusative and instrumental is due to the influence of other nominal stems. Somewhat differently I assume an original identity of the Balto-Slavic accusative and instrumental forms that were only later in some accent classes differentiated by stress. Thus most likely the original Slavic $*-\bar{a}$ stem instrumental singular attested in such forms as OCS *rok-ŏ* ‘hand’, *slav-ŏ* ‘glory’, *sil-ŏ* ‘strength’ (Diels 1932, 175) did not differ, except by stress placement, from the accusative singular either. In the Greek sentence (1) above we have already seen the morpheme $*-ai$ [-ay] used with instrumental meaning. I suggest that (somewhat similarly to Old Indic) the Slavic $-ojŏ$ derives from a combination of the ending $*-ai$ [-ay] (already attested in the dative case) with the instrumental singular $-ŏ$ (< $*-am$ or $*-\bar{a}m$) identical with the accusative singular.

Further evidence of the originality of the morpheme $*-\bar{a}m(-)$ in the Balto-Slavic dative and instrumental cases is furnished by the plural and dual forms, cf., e.g., dat. pl. Lith. *šakóm-us* ‘branches’ (Zinkevičius 1980, 193), OCS *глав-ам-ъ* ‘heads’ (< $*-\bar{a}m-us$), instr. pl. Lith. *galv-om-īs*, OCS *глав-ам-и* (< $-\bar{a}m-\bar{i}-s$). The essential point is the attestation of the morpheme $*-\bar{a}m(-)$ in the dative and instrumental plural cases in Balto-Slavic. The Balto-Slavic dative and instrumental dual also attest to an original identity, thus OCS dat. instr. dual *глав-ам-а* (< $*-\bar{a}m-\bar{a}$), Lith. dat. *galv-óm* (< $*-\bar{a}m-u$ [?]), instr. *galv-õm* (< $*-\bar{a}m-\bar{i}-$ [?]).

Slavic shares its $*-\bar{a}$ stem dative and locative singular, cf., e.g., *glav-ě* ‘head’, but the Baltic and Old Indic languages make use of the locative singular stem form $*-\bar{a}i(-)$ [$*-\bar{a}y(-)$] in Old Indic reinforced with $*-\bar{a}m$, thus loc. sg. *sen-āy-ām* ‘army’, in Lithuanian with $-e$, thus loc. sg. *galv-oj-è* ‘head’.

The original meanings of these morphemes are quite unclear since they all seem to appear in the various attested case endings.

PASTABA DĖL BALTŲ IR SLAVŲ KALBŲ *ā* KAMIENO VIE- NASKAITOS VARDININKO, NAUDININKO, GALININKO IR INAGININKO

Santrauka

Analizė paremta prielaida, kad indoeuropiečių prokalbės linksniavimas yra susiformavęs jungiantis dalelytėms prie įvairių kamienų arba jau egzistuojančių linksnių galūnių, kaip matyti iš paliudytos baltų kalbų istorijos. Laikui bėgant šios kamienų su priaugusiomis dalelytėmis formos išriedėjo į linksnius, paliudytus įvairiose ide. kalbose. Be to, straipsnyje teigiama, kad ide. prokalbei buvo būdingos monoftongizacijos, panašios į vykusias paliudytų ide. kalbų istorijoje. Pavyzdžiui, *ā* kamieno nom. sg. **-ā* yra kilusi vienbalsėjant arba **-ā+i*, arba **-ā+m* (abiems atvejais galėjo būti reiškiamas ir instrumentalis).

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