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IV.—FLUCTUATION BETWEEN *o*- AND *ā*-STEMS IN LITHUANIAN.

A striking feature of Lithuanian declension, which is not recognized in the grammars, is the frequent appearance of the same noun in two or more stem forms. An extreme example is a word for 'lunar halo or corona' which appears (Nesselmann Dict. 156) in five stem forms: *drigna -os*, *drignė -ės*, *drignas -o*, *drignis -io*, *drignus -aus*. But there are well above 500 Lithuanian nouns with at least two different stem forms. More than half of these fluctuations are those between *o*- and *jō*-stems on the one hand and *ā*- and *jā*-stems on the other hand. Three fourths of this half are fluctuations between pure *o*- (Lith. *a*-) stems and pure *ā*-stems; this is by far the most common variation and may fairly be taken as representative of the others.

In the treatment of individual pairs of this type one author or another has assumed the one form as normal and the other as archaic or dialectic, depending upon the author's standpoint. Thus Kurschat (LDWb.) accompanies the (to him) familiar *tarbas* 'lederne Tasche, Bettelsack' with a *tarbà* which he places within brackets and designates as Polish-Lithuanian. Thus Leskien (Bildung der Nomina 179) cites an "*atsodas* . . . , wo jetzt fem. *atsoda*." Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Is the fluctuation between *o*- and *ā*-stems then a matter of dialect or of period? In individual words it may, of course, be either or both, but in general it is characteristic of the entire language; it has operated from the earliest times of which we have record; it is still operating; and there is no general tendency away from one stem to the other. Noun pairs of this sort are found in the same dictionary, in the same dialect (e. g. Godlewa *lazarētà*: *lazaretas* 'Lazaret' in Leskien-Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen, pp. 207, 268), in the same author (e. g., in Schleicher's Donaleitis, *porà*: *póras* 'Paar,' *smàkrà*: *smàkeras* 'Kinn'), and even in the same poem (e. g. *manėra*: *manėras* 'Manier' in Rūdenio gerybės, ll. 490, 789).

Bezzenberger (Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahr-

hunderts, pp. 94 ff.) lists and classifies a large number of these fluctuations of all kinds (interchanges of *o*- and *ā*-stems are found on pages 96 and 97 as well as on 94 and 95), but the examples on those pages are all taken from Nesselmann. The latter only rarely indicates his sources, which are varied and for the most part written or printed. Nesselmann consequently offers little or no evidence as to period or dialect.

The dictionaries of Kurschat (Lithuanian-German) and Lalis (Lithuanian-English), on the other hand, are to a large extent products of personal experience with the language; the former is essentially Prussian-Lithuanian, the latter is based primarily on the speech of Kovno in the heart of Russian Lithuania; the latter was written a generation later than the former and is distinctly more modern. A comparison of the *o*- and *ā*-stems in the two dictionaries should therefore offer evidence as to whether the fluctuation between the two stem types is a matter of dialect or period.

The lists that follow include only nouns that are of one stem in one dictionary and of the other stem in the other dictionary. They are further restricted to words which do not appear in the above-mentioned lists of Bezenberger; thus my lists will serve as addenda to his. Unless otherwise indicated the word or words before the colon are from Kurschat; those after it are from Lalis.

1. *ā*-stems in Kurschat, *o*-stems in Lalis:

abejā : *abejas*; *adamoszka* : *adamoszkas*; *apsiuvā*, *apsiuvas* : *apsiuvas*; *atlaidā* : *atlaidas*, *atlaida*; *brika*, *brikas* : *brikas*; *burtā* 'Zauberei' : *burtai*; *gyvatā* : *gyvatas*; *grivinā* : *grivinas*; *gvintā* : *gvintas*; *kāntā* : *kantas*; *kasztā* : *kasztas*; *kaurā* : *kauras*; *kerplėsza* : *kerplėszas*; *kraikā* : *kraikai*; *krijā* : *krijas*; *kriuszā*, *kruszā* 'Hagel' : *kriuszai*, *kriusza*, *krusza*; *ostā*, *ostas* 'Mündung eines Flusses' : *ūstas* 'haven, harbor, port'; *pamatā* : *pamatas*; *parėdkā* 'Form, Modell' : *parėdkas* 'order, regulation'; *pažadā* : *pažadai*; *perlā* : *perlas*; *prėžada* : *prėžadas*; *prjžada* : *prjžadas*; *rauka*, *raūkas* : *raukas*; *rėma*, *rėmas* : *rėmai*; *rėszā* : *rėszas*; *rūczkā* : *rūczkas*; *saljėkla*, *seljėkla* : *saljėklas*, *seljėklas*; *sėlvartā* : *sėlvartas*; *serbentā* : *serbentas*; *skrijos* : *skrijas*; *skundā* : *skundas*; *smakrā* : *smakras*; *svirna* :

svirnas; szinkà : szinkas; trópta : troptas; údra : udras, udra; úsztësa : úztësas; valaka : valakas; vëkà : vëkas; žëgzdros : žëgzdras.

2. *o*-stems in Kurschat, *ā*-stems in Lalis:

apgëlaĩ : apgëlos; apýgardas : apygarda; āpmaudas : apmauda, apmaudas; atmatas : atmata; brindas : brinda; brōgas : broga; dūbai, dūbos : dubos; iszdagas : iszdaga; iszvaizdas 'Bild, Ebenbild' : iszvaizda 'appearance, look, aspect'; ĩtaikas 'was jemand zu Gefallen geschieht' : ĩtaika 'pleasedness'; ĩtakas : ĩtaka; kalavijas : kalavija; kóksztas, kuksztas : kukszta, kúkszta; kvitas : kvita; (?) Nesselmann latákas 'Wasserröhre, Wasserleitung,' Kurschat latākas 'zusammengelauenes Wasser': Lalis lataka 'funnel, spile'; lažas : laža; lýras : lýra; liur̄bas : liurba; lupinaĩ, lupinos : lupyna; lūmas : lūma, lūmas; medegas 'Holz, Gehölz im Walde' : medega 'material, matter, substance' (cf. Leskien Nomina 525); mēvas : mēva; mōrkas : morka; narsas 'mächtiger, gewaltiger Zorn' (Nesselmann also 'Eifer, Ernst') : narsa 'prowess' (cf. Leskien Nomina 595); nēgandas, nēganda : neganda; notūras : notura; nūmas, nūmà : nūma; nūmaras : nūmara; nūtakas 'Abhang' : nūtaka; nūvalaĩ, nūvalos : nūvalos; pākraikas, pakraĩkos : pakraikos; pārvas : parva; prāszmatas : praszmata; prēsas : prēsa; sagas, sagà : saga; saladynai, saladynos : saladynos; skrándas : skranda; slyvas "bei Tilsit," slyvà "in Südlitt." : slyva; slogas 'weight' : sloga; spirgas : spirga; starostas, stórastas : starosta, storasta; stirtas, stirta : stirta; szēpas, szēpa : szēpa; tãksas : taksa; užlas 'der Estrich über dem Kamin,' užlaĩ 'die kleinen Balken in der Scheune,' užlos 'was in der Klete (Vorratshäuschen) auf dem Boden ist' : užlos 'loft, story, floor'; vanuszkaĩ 'Königskerze, Verbascum thapsus' : vanuszka 'foxglove, Digitalis purpurea' (both plants belong to the family of the Scrophulariaceae); velkëtas (cf. Kurschat LDWb. s. v. žirglës, DLWb. s. v. Schleife) : velketa (cf. Lalis ELDict. s. v. drag); voveruszkaĩ : voveruszka.

The above lists show no marked tendency in the direction either of *o*- or of *ā*-stems; if the lists had not been restricted to examples not cited by Bezzenberger, the proportion between 1 and 2 would still be almost exactly as above. We may then conclude that the fluctuation between the two stem forms is not

a matter of period or dialect. That such fluctuations appeared in the oldest texts has been amply shown by Bezenberger (pp. 98 ff.). However, he apparently ignores (p. 102) the fact that the interchange between *o*- and *ā*-stems had its beginning in Indo-European (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss II, 1, 148 ff.). But the majority of such pairs of nouns cannot be traced as such beyond the Lithuanian, and Bezenberger's explanation is by no means without justification and application: that with the almost complete loss of the neuter in Lithuanian the distinctions of grammatical gender were weakened, and the noun stems that had been neuter became in part masculine, in part feminine, and in part masculine and feminine at the same time. Furthermore, the declensional boundary between *o*- and *ā*-stems was blurred by the fact that a number of inflectional case forms were essentially identical in the two declensions (cf. the acc., dat., gen., loc. in the sing. and the acc., dat., loc. in the plu.).

That these fluctuations are still common in the language, especially in connection with new words, is a matter of observation. Thus I have noticed in Lithuanian-American newspapers *paczta* for Lalis's *pacztas* 'post, post-office, mail'; and the word for 'industrial strike' appears almost indifferently as *streikas* and *streika*.

Substantival -ėna

To the feminine nouns in *-ėna* listed by Leskien (*Bildung der Nomina*, pp. 413, 414) may be added, from Lalis, the following:

1. Flesh, meat. *ėrėna* 'lamb's meat, lamb' : *ėras* 'lamb'; *girėna* 'game, venison, deer' (a late analogical formation; cf. Kurschat *girėnas* 'Waldbewohner') : *girė*, *giria* 'forest'; *koszelėna* 'gelatin, jelly, hog's-headcheese' (new form in *-ėna* by analogy with the words for 'meat'; cf. *koszelėnė* 'Sulze,' Kurschat s. v., Leskien *Nomina* 414) : to some derivative of *kósztis* 'to strain, filter'; *lapėna* 'fox meat' : *lāpė* 'fox'; *merlėna* 'carcass, carrion' : *merlėna* (Kurschat); *pauksztėna* 'game' : *paūksztis* 'bird'; *stirnėna* 'venison' : *stirna* 'roe, deer'; *szvėžėna* 'fresh meat' (a new formation) : *szvėžias* 'fresh'; *zuikėna* 'hare meat' : *zuikis* 'hare.'

2. Field. *bulvėna* 'potato field' : *bulvė* (Lalis), *bulvis* (Kurschat) 'potato'; *vasarojėna* 'field from which the spring corn is removed; stubble field' : (Lalis) *vasarojus* 'spring corn,'

(Kurschat) *vasarójis*, *vasarójus* 'das Feld, auf welchem bei der Dreifelderwirtschaft das Sommergetreide wächst.'

3. No category. (?) *purëna* 'yellow water poppy.'

-*ena* in words for 'pelt'

-*ena* seems to have developed a slight degree of productivity in feminine noun stems denoting 'pelt,' but its productivity is restricted by its limited semantic scope. The suffix hangs closely together with the preceding -*ëna* but, at least in Lalis, is not identical with it. Notice *ożena* 'Bocksfell,' *szunëna* 'Hundefell,' *vilķëna* 'Wolfschur' (Leskien Nomina 413, but Kurschat *vilķenà* 'Wolfspelz').

The following are from Lalis. *lapenos* 'fox fur' (cf. *lapëna* 'fox meat') : *lāpë* 'fox'; *meszkenos* 'bearskin coat, bear's fur' (cf. *meszķëna* 'Bärenfleisch') : *meszķà* 'bear'; *ożkena* 'goat-skin, goat fur' (cf. *ożķëna* 'goat's meat, kid meat') : *ożka* (*oszķà*) 'goat'; *vilķena* 'wolf's skin, fur of wolves' (cf. *vilķëna* 'Wolfsfleisch') : *vilķas* 'wolf.' From this list is to be excluded *szarmenos* 'robe of ermine, ermine' : *szarmũ* (*szarmen-*) 'ermine.'

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