

On the development of diminutives in the Baltic languages

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The paper gives a diachronical survey of the Baltic diminutives in comparison with the corresponding forms in other Indo-European languages. The following strata of Baltic diminutives are distinguished: 1) diminutives with the determinative *-k- dating back to Proto-Indo-European; 2) derivatives with the determinatives *-l-, *-g- || -g', *-s- and the adjective suffix *-īno-, which acquired diminutive meaning in the separate Indo-European dialects at early stages of their formation; 3) derivatives with the determinative *-t-, the adjective suffixes *-ino-, *-injo and *nomina attributiva* affixes *-io-, *-ēno- used to form diminutives in Baltic only.

The Baltic languages are characterized by a great abundance and variety of diminutives. Most of the suffixes of Baltic diminutives are ancient, with equivalents in other related languages. However, their distribution in the Baltic languages and their dialects as well as their use in other Indo-European language groups varies. The data of the Baltic languages in comparison with related languages help us to gain a better insight into the development of this derivative category.

Most suffixes by means of which the Baltic diminutives are formed originated from the root determinatives *-k-, *-l-, *-g', *-s-, *-t-. Another group of suffixes was extracted from adjectives and *nomina attributiva*.

DERIVATIVES WITH THE DETERMINATIVE *-k-

There are several diminutive suffixes formed with this ancient determinative added to different nominal stems: *i, ī, u, ā, ē, o/e*.

*-i-ko-

Diminutives with this suffix are common in Old Prussian, e.g.: acc. sing. *gannikan* (Frewlein) III 105₂₅, *madlikan* (Gebetlein) 79₁₀, nom. sing. *malnij-kix* (Kindlein) 113₆, *stündicks* (Stündlein) 59₉ and others (Ambrazas 1991:6-7).

There are only relics of this derivative type in Lithuanian. For instance, Gerullis and Stang (1933:25) recorded two diminutives with the suffix *-ikas* from the fishermen's dialects in East Prussia: *puodikas* 'small cup', *staldikas* 'small stables'. A few derivatives of this type are found in the 17th-19th century Lithuanian dictionaries of East Prussia: *brolikas* 'brother's son', *karalikas* 'the king of birds, a dwarf', *stirnikas* 'roebuck', *žandikas* 'small cheek'. At present they are very rare in the dialects, e.g.: *bernikas* 'young lad' (Valkininkai), *galikas* 'the very end' (Mielagėnai), cf. also the derivatives with the compound suffix *-ik-utas* in the Zietela dialect: *bernikūtas* 'young lad', *paršikūtas* 'piglet' and others (Vidugiris 1969:151). However, diminutives with the suffix *-ikas* could formerly have been more common in the western part of Lithuania. This is attested by the suffix *-ikė*, by means of which in the greater part of Samogitia and in some West High Lithuanian dialects diminutives are not unfrequently formed, e.g.: *katikė* 'little cat', *mergikė* 'little girl', *lazdikė* 'short stick' etc. (LKA III, Map No. 116, p. 131).

In Latvian, diminutives with the suffix **-iko-* are rare as well. They can be found only in some western dialects (mostly in Courland), e.g.: *aūņiķis* 'little lamb', *ganiķis* 'little shepherd' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:300-305).

It thus seems more probable that diminutives with the suffix **-iko-* were characteristic of the West Baltic languages.

This derivative type is quite common in Slavic (Boškovič 1984:206-245) and probably in Tocharian (Ivanov 1958). Diminutives with **-iko-* can be found in Greek, Indo-Iranian and some other Indo-European languages as well (Chantraine 1933:385-386; 1966; Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954:311-318 and references).

*-ī-ko-

Diminutives with the suffix *-yka* are recorded in the Zietela dialect, e.g. *sesyka* 'sister', *ausyka* 'ear', *kalýka* 'bitch' etc. Some masculine gender derivatives have a corresponding suffix *-ykas*: *liežuvýkas* 'tongue', *brolykas* 'brother' (Vidugiris 1969:149-150). The derivative *brolykas*, meaning 'brother's son',

is recorded in the Lithuanian dictionaries of East Prussia. The derivative *dalýkas*, meaning 'part' in old writings, could be of diminutive origin too. Both derivatives have equivalents in Old Prussian: nom. pl. *bratikai* (Brüder) III 89₅, *dellijks* (Artickel) 39₁₆, acc. sing. *dellikans* (Stück) 65₈.

In Latvian only two derivatives with the suffix *-īca* || *-īce* are found: *mātīca* || *matīce* 'mother in law', *masīca* || *masīce* 'husband's sister; sister's daughter' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:298-300).

It is possible that the suffix **-iko-* entered the Baltic languages from Slavic, where *ī* stem nouns were widely used (Ambrazas 1991a:29-30). In Slavic (especially Eastern and Western) diminutives with the corresponding suffix *-ikъ* are also very productive (Boškovič 1984:229-231). Some of them, such as **brat(r)ikъ* 'brother' (cf. OPr. *bratikai*) are reconstructed for Proto-Slavic.

*-u-ko-

Diminutives with the suffix **-uko-*, such as *arkl(i)ūkas* 'pony', *bern(i)ūkas* 'lad', *berž(i)ūkas* 'small birch', are common almost everywhere in Lithuania, except the very northern part of Samogitia (LKA III, Map No. 116, p. 130-131).

In Latvian this derivative type is productive only in some northern dialects (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:276-286, Map No. 3).

In Old Prussian only the derivative *wosux* (Bok) E 675 (cf. Lith. *ož(i)ūkas* 'goat') is attested.

The particular diminutives with **-uko-* found in the Slavic languages are not clearly opposed to other derivatives with **-ko-*, cf. **domikъ* 'little house', **synskъ* 'little son' (Belić 1901:137; Slawski 1974:93-94). Sanskrit derivatives with this suffix (e.g. *śiśukah* 'baby': *śiśuṣ* 'child') are formed by adding **-ko-* to *u* stem nouns in the same way as to nouns with other stems (Edgerton 1911; Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954:515-540).

The suffix **-uko-* could thus become a distinct suffix in the Baltic languages. Diminutives with **-uko-* were most commonly used in Eastern and Central Lithuania where hydronyms with **-uko-* are widespread (Vanagas 1970:193-198, 418).

**-ā-ko-*

In East and South High Lithuanian dialects diminutives with this suffix usually denote things, persons and animals of medium size, e.g.: *berniōkas* 'lad of average stature', *ančiōkas* 'duckling of medium size', *akmeniōkas* 'stone of medium size' (Skardžius 1943:133-134; Urbutis 1965:279-280).

In the eastern dialects of Latvian derivatives with the corresponding suffix *-āks* are also used, cf. Lith. *berniōkas* and Lett. *bernāks* 'lad of average stature', Lith. *kumeliōkas* and Lett. *kumelāks* 'foal of medium size'. There, however, they are rarer than in the East High Lithuanian dialect (cf. Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:289-294).

Diminutives with the corresponding suffix, attested in the Slavic languages, are comparatively new (e.g.: Pol. *kociak* 'cat', Byeloruss. *konjak* 'bad horse', Czech. *synák* 'little son', see Brugmann 1906:501; Gätters 1955:47). In Polish, for instance, they appeared only in 18th century, when old derivatives with *-ę* began to disappear (Rospond 1979:185). On the other hand, in the Slavic *nomina attributiva* and *nomina agentis* have been formed by means of the suffix **-āko-* from ancient times (Vaillant 1974:326-329). In other Indo-European languages, the suffix **-āko-* was used to form adjectives and *nomina attributiva* (Brugmann 1906:498-500).

It is thus quite possible that diminutives began to be derived by means of the suffix **-āko-* in Proto-Baltic, and, first and foremost, in its eastern dialects.

**-ē-ko-*

This suffix most likely is of Proto-Baltic origin.

In the Latvian dialects (especially in Latgale) diminutives with the suffix *-ēks-* are somewhat more productive than the corresponding derivatives with the suffix *-āks-* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:295-296).

In Lithuanian the corresponding suffix *-ėkas* is now used only in some southern and eastern dialects (Skardžius 1943:126; Urbutis 1965:283). There are some derivatives of this type common to both languages, e.g.: Lith. *bernėkas*, Lett. *berņēks* 'lad', Lith. *šunėkas*, Lett. *suņēks* 'poor dog'.

**-o-ko-* || *-e-ko-*

In Lithuanian and Latvian dialects only single diminutives with this suffix have been recorded, e.g.: Latv. dial. *berņaks* 'child', *suņaks*, *teļaks* 'rude cruel man' (in proverbs, see Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:124), Lith. *kalvaka* 'hill' Nes-selm. Wört.; South High Lith. *bernėk-šis* 'simple lad', *kirvėk-šis* 'bad axe', *žmonėk-šė* 'bad wife' and others (Urbutis 1965:285; Grinaveckis 1991:230). Lith. *lydėkas*, *lydekà*, Latv. *līdeks* 'pike' (cf. Lith. *lydys* 'pike'), Lith. *melek-ėlis* 'uvula' (cf. Latv. *mēle* 'tongue') are likely to belong to this derivative type. They seem to be comparable to Skt. *aśvakaḥ* 'pony' : *aśvaḥ* 'horse', Gk. *μειραξ* 'young girl' (Gätters 1955:48).

The data discussed here entitle us to assume that in Proto-Baltic diminutives were formed by means of the suffix **-ko-* added to different nominal stems. Thus, derivatives with **-iko-* are common in one dialect of Proto-Baltic, derivatives with **-uko-* prevail in another dialect, while derivatives with **-āko-* are frequent in a third one.

Diminutives with the suffix **-ko-* || *-k-*, which formed a basis for the compound suffixes mentioned above, are very old, they are widespread in many Indo-European languages (Ewald 1924) and have equivalents in other Nostratic (Boreal) languages (Illič-Svityč 1971:14). It is possible that initially this diminutive type had a broader individualizing meaning, cf. OCS *kamykŭ* 'a particular stone' : *kamy* 'stone', Pol. *kostka* 'kernel, dice' : *kości* 'bones', Lith. *ožkà*, Slav. **koza* 'she-goat' : IE. **ag²* 'he-goat', Avest. *pasuka-* 'domestic animal' : *pasu-* 'animal' (cf. Knobloch 1958; Otrębski 1967: 219-220; Otrębski 1968:135-136). This explains the fact that not only diminutives but also adjectives derived from nouns as well as *nomina attributiva* have been formed by means of **-ko-* || *-k-*.

Other Baltic types of diminutives are more recent.

DERIVATIVES WITH THE DETERMINATIVE **-l-*

On the basis of the old root determinative **-l-*, the diminutive suffixes **-eliō-*, **-ėliō-*, **-oliō-*, **-uliō-* have been formed.

**-eliō-*

The diminutive suffix *-elis*, *-ė* is widely used in all Lithuanian dialects and in the written language from the 16th century onward. In most cases



diminutives with this suffix are formed from disyllabic nouns, e.g. *kalnėlis* 'hill' : *kálnas* 'mountain', *tėvėlis* 'dad' : *tėvas* 'father', *vištėlė* 'chicken' : *višta* 'hen'. In Samogitian and in some eastern regions of High Lithuanian (Ignalina, Švenčionys, Breslauja, Apsas, Lazūnai) derivatives with *-elis*, *-ė* were also formed from polysyllabic nouns, e.g.: *vainikėlis* 'little wreath' : *vainikas* 'wreath', *dobilėlis* 'little clover' : *dobilas* 'clover', *siuvėjėlė* 'little needlewoman' : *siuvėja* 'dressmaker' and so on (LKA III, Map No. 117, p. 131-132). However, derivatives with this suffix might not be old in some dialects of Lithuanian. For instance, hydronyms with *-elis*, *-ė* are very infrequent in Samogitia and in part of West High Lithuanian (Vanagas 1970:113-124, 396).

In the Latvian dialects, this derivative type is much less common. It is most characteristic of the western and central parts of Courland and Semigalia. Besides, in these dialects derivatives of this type often have a palatalized consonant preceding the suffix (e.g.: *s* → *š*, *z* → *ž*). Some Latvian derivatives almost coincide with the Lithuanian ones, e.g.: *maišelis* 'little bag' : *maiss* 'sack' (cf. Lith. *maišėlis*), *vištele* 'chicken' : *vista* 'hen' (cf. Lith. *vištėlė*), *āželis* 'little goat' : *āzis* (cf. Lith. *ožėlis*) etc. (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:246-270). For this reason A. Bielenstein (1863:308-309) and A. Leskien (1891:481) assumed the Latvian diminutives with *-elis*, *-ė* to have arisen under the influence of Lithuanian. J. Endzelīns (1909:376; 1951:343) and V. Rūķe-Draviņa (1959:259-262) doubted the correctness of this view because this derivative type is spread not only near the Lithuanian border. Besides, the suffix *-elis*, *-ė* is not preceded everywhere by a palatalized consonant (cf. *sunelis* 'doggie', *maiselis* 'small bag'). No influence of the Lithuanian language can be discerned in such derivatives as *čaurumelis* 'little hole', *čučele* 'small cow' etc.

In Old Prussian the kinship term *patowelis* (Stiffater) E 179 (cf. Lith. *patėvis* 'stepfather') and the proper nouns *Madelle*, *Jannel*, *Katell* as well as the place names *Grabelle*, *Scadelle*, *Wribelle* (Gerullis 1920:250; Trautmann 1925:175; Endzelīns 1943:48) are formed by means of the corresponding suffix. Derivatives with a clearly diminutive meaning have not been found in Old Prussian. The diminutives with the suffix **-eliō-* are thus likely to have extended to some Baltic languages only.

**-eliō-*

In a great part of the High Lithuanian dialect the suffix *-ėlis* (a variant of *-elis*) is widely used for the derivation of diminutives from polysyllabic

nouns, e.g.: *vainikėlis* 'little wreath' : *vainikas* 'wreath', *gžuolėlis* 'young oak' : *gžuolas* 'oak', *lelijėlė* 'small lily' : *lelijà* 'lily' and so on (LKA III, Map No. 117).

In the Latvian dialects, diminutives with the suffix *-ėlis*, *-e* are exceedingly rare and they are usually formed from disyllabic nouns, e.g.: *sunėlis* 'doggie', *vištele* 'chicken' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 270-271).

In some South High Lithuanian dialects, owing to the closed articulation of the vowel *e*, the diminutive suffix *-elis* is pronounced almost like *-ėlis*, e.g.: *dun'ktėlis* 'cover' (Šumskas, see LKA II 30-31). In the same dialects, derivatives with a short vowel *e* in the corresponding suffix have a different meaning and denote things or persons of larger size, e.g.: *bernėlis* 'big lad', *kirvėlis* 'big ax', *svetėlis* 'great guest' (Grinaveckis 1991:230). This leads us to the conclusion that the suffix **-eliō-* has originated from **-eliō-* due to the lengthening of the vowel *e* which became more closed in a stressed position.

**-oliō-*

Lithuanian derivatives with this suffix are often used alongside with the derivatives with **-eliō-* in the western part of Samogitia once inhabited by Curonians (Kuršiai), e.g.: *krantėlis* 'small bank', *miestėlis* 'small town', *vištėlė* 'chicken' and so on (LKA III, Map No. 117, p. 132). They have exact equivalents in Old Prussian, cf. Lith. *puodėlis* 'small cup' and OPr. *podalis* (Bosetop) E 351, as well as the proper nouns *Petralle*, *Micalle*, *Waikalle* and others (Trautmann 1925:176; Endzelīns 1943:48). Very few diminutives with the suffix *-ala* || *-aļa* are recorded in Latvian, e.g.: *māmaļa* 'mummy', *naktal-iņa* 'night', *žurkal-ēns* 'young rat' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:276).

The distribution of hydronyms with **-oliō-* shows that derivatives formed by means of this suffix might be inherited from Curonian (cf. Endzelīns 1934:134; Vanagas 1970:84-90, 392).

Diminutives with the suffix **-elo-* || *-olo-* (< *o||e* + **-lo-*) are also found in Slavic (cf. Lith. *brolielis*, *broterėlis* and Slav. **bratel'ь* '(little) brother', see Ślowski 1974:108), Germanic, Italic (cf. Lith. *paršėlis* and OHG *farheli*, Lat. *porculus* 'little pig', see Brugmann 1906:366; Meid 1967:87) and, apparently, Tocharian (Ivanov 1958:59-60).

Latin derivatives with the suffix *-culus* (< **-ko-* + **-lo-*) indicate that this derivative type became prevalent later than the diminutives with **-ko-*,

cf. Lat. *homullus*, *homunculus* and *homuncio* 'small man, poor man', *ovculus* 'small sheep' and OCS *овца*, Skr. *avikā* 'sheep' (Hofmann, Leumann 1928:216; Tuttle 1975).

*-ulio-

In the South High Lithuanian dialect derivatives with this suffix are formed from various two-syllable nouns, e.g.: *alūlis* 'beer', *arklūlis* 'pony', *dukrūlė* 'little daughter' (Grinaveckis 1991:228). Some derivatives of this type, formed mostly from kinship terms, are used in other dialects too (Otrębski 1934:152-153; Grinaveckienė 1961:240; Vidugiris 1969:151; Senkus 1972:159).

In Latvian the rare diminutives with the suffix *-ulis*, *-e* are usually derived from proper names (e.g.: *Jānulis*, *Līžulis*) and from names of animals (e.g.: *jērulīšs* 'lamb', *kazulis* 'goat'). Some of them are based on kinship terms and have equivalents in Lithuanian, cf. Lith. *tētūlis* and Latv. *tētulis* 'dad' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:271-275).

The existence of diminutives with *-ulio- in Old Prussian is suggested by such proper names as *Mattule* (cf. Lith. *Matūlis* : *Mātas*, see Trautmann 1925: 176; Endzelīns 1943:43).

Diminutives with *-ulo- (< u + *-lo-) are attested in other Indo-European languages too, cf. Goth. *magula* 'small boy' (Meid 1967:87), Gk. *ἄρκτύλος* 'small bear' (Schwyzer 1939:485).

Diminutives with *-l- are likely to have originated from such augmentative derivatives as Lith. *didelis* : *didis* 'big' (Schulze 1966:75-79). The latter, in their turn, could have arisen from the forms of the heteroclite declension attested by Gk. *μεγάλο-* and Lat. *magnus* 'big', Hitt. *ḫaštai* and *ḫaštal* 'bone' (Benveniste 1935; Ivanov 1965:49).

In Baltic, the determinative *-l- was used for the derivation of diminutives to a varying extent. In Lithuanian, diminutives with *-l- became prevalent in the course of its independent development.

DERIVATIVES WITH THE DETERMINATIVE *-g'

In Lithuanian, especially in folk songs, diminutives with the suffix *-užis*, *ė*, e.g.: *brolūžis* 'small brother', *vaikūžis* 'small child', *girūžė* 'grove' etc. (Urbutis 1965: 275) are widely used.

The derivative *mergūžė* 'lass' has its equivalent in OPr *merguß* (Mayth) GrA 88.

In some Latvian dialects diminutives with the suffix *-uža*, usually derived from proper names, are used (e.g.: *Annuža*, *Karluža*). They are seldom based on common names, e.g.: *pirtuža* 'small bath-house', *mātuža* 'bad mother' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 313-315), cf. Lith. *vaikūžas* 'urchin' in Nesselmann's dictionary.

The following derivative suffixes with the determinative *-g'- occasionally yielding diminutives in Lithuanian dialects deserve mention: *-(i)ūzas* (*piemenūzas* 'brat', *vaikūzas* 'urchin'), *-iūza* (*arkliūza* 'poor horse'), *-ėzas* (*vaikėzas* 'urchin'), *-ezas* (*vaikėzas* 'urchin'), *-iozas* (*vaikiōzas* 'urchin').

In Lithuanian the root determinative *-g- || -g' gave rise to a number of compound suffixes (cf. *-ėgas* and *-ėžas*, *-agis* and *-ažis* and the like) characteristic of *nomina agentis* with a pejorative meaning (Ambrazas, forthcoming, § 267-270). Similar derivatives from verbs and nouns are found in Slavic (Slawski 1974:65-70). The Germanic diminutive suffix *-k-* is thought to have originated from the determinative *-g- as well, e.g.: ME *hillock* 'hill', MLG *hoveke* 'small village', also OHG *gesink-līn* 'small toy', MLG *vogelk-en* 'birdie' (Meid 1967:214-218). Some diminutives with *-g- are also recorded in the Greek language, e.g.: *λαίγξ* 'small stone', *ραδάμιγξ* 'crumb' (Brugmann 1906:609, 676).

DERIVATIVES WITH THE DETERMINATIVE *-s-

Several suffixes arose on the basis of this determinative in the Baltic languages (especially in Lithuanian).

Some Lithuanian diminutives have the suffix *-šė*, e.g.: *meiḡšė* 'bad girl', *bōbšė* 'plain old woman', *kumėlšė* 'bad mare', *kepuršė* 'bad cap' (Urbutis 1965: 276-277). J. Endzelīns (1951:373-374) connects them with the Latvian derivatives *depsis* : *depis* 'plump little child', *lapsa* 'fox', cf. Lith. *lāpė* 'fox'.

The following derivative suffixes are used in Lithuanian: *-ušis*, *-ė*: *tētūšis* 'dad; granddad' (cf. Latv. *tētusišs*), *brolūšis* 'brother's son', *motūšė* 'mother'; *-iušas* (*vagiūšas* 'pilferer'), *-išas* (*vagišas* 'pilferer'), *-išius* (*vagišius* 'pilferer, pilcher').

W. P. Schmid (1990:205-206) relates the *vagišius* type derivatives to Skr. *kṛṣṇaśa-* 'blackish' : *kṛṣṇa-* 'black', *hariśa-* 'yellowish' : *hari-* 'yellow', *bābhruśa-* 'brownish' : *bābhru-* 'brown', cf. also Albanian *vogl's* 'very tiny' :

vogėlė 'tiny' (Gäters 1955:50). The diminutive meaning can be discerned in all of them.

The determinative *-s- (> -š-, cf. Ambrazas, forthcoming, § 274) was integrated into some Lithuanian suffixes: *-ek-šis* (see p. 4), *-el-šė* (*bobėlšė* 'old slattern', *trobėlšė* 'shabby little hut'), *-ok-š-nis* (*krūmókšnis* 'small bush', *upókšnis* 'stream'), *-(i)ok-š-lis* (*berniókšlis* 'short lad', *upókšlis* 'stream'), *-(i)ok-š-tis*, *-ė* (*arkliókštis* 'poor horse', *mergiókštė* 'flapper; young girl'), *-uk-šis* (*bernūkšis* 'urchin'), *-(i)ūkštis*, *-ė* (from *-ūtis*, *-ė*, e.g.: *debesiūkštis* 'small cloud', *vaikiūkštis* 'urchin', *mergiūkštė* 'maiden'), *-yk-š-tis*, *-ė*, (from *-ytis*, *-ė*, e.g.: *bulbýkštė* 'small potato', *šunýkštis* 'poor small dog'), *-aik-š-tis* (from *-aitis*, e.g.: *botāgaikštis* 'bad whip', *pagalaikštis* 'small stick').

The same determinative *-s- is likely to be contained in the Old Prussian diminutive suffix *-is-tian*: *eristian* (Lam) E 681, *gertistian* (Kuchel) 765, *prastian*, i.e. **parsistian* (Ferkel) 686, *wolistian*, i.e. **wosistian* (Czickel) 678, *werstian*, i.e. **wersistian* (Kalb) 674 (Endzelīns 1943:53), most probably *camstian*, i.e. **camistian* (Schoff) 678 (Mažiulis 1981:41) *swintian*, i.e. *swinistian* (Swin) E 682 (Karaliūnas 1992:19-20) belong here too. Corresponding derivatives are recorded in southern Lithuanian, in the region formerly inhabited by Sudovian tribes related to the Old Prussians, e.g.: *ėriščias* 'lamb', *kėlmiščias* 'small stump', *vaikiščias* 'urchin', *meřgiščia* 'teenage girl' (Būga 1958:305; 1959: 229; Skardžius 1943:332, 767). They seem to have equivalents in Illyric as well (Specht 1938; Fraenkel 1941:92).

The determinative *-s- is likely to be contained in the Proto-Indo-European suffix **-is-ko-* by means of which Greek diminutives were commonly formed (e.g.: *ἀνθρωπίσκος* 'little fellow', *σαμβάλισκον* 'small sandal', *παίδισκη* 'girl'). In Baltic, Slavic and Germanic this suffix was used to form adjectives (e.g.: Lith. *tėviškas*, Latv. *tėvisks* 'father's', OPr *tawiskan* (vatterlicher) III 41₁₂, OCS *dětysko* 'childish, childlike', Goth. *mannisks* 'human').

DERIVATIVES WITH THE DETERMINATIVE *-t-

Some Baltic diminutive suffixes have been formed with the determinative *-t- attached to the stem *u* || *ū*.

Diminutives with the suffix *-(i)utis*, *-ė* are used in many Lithuanian dialects, mainly in the southern and southwestern part of Lithuania, e.g.: *kelūtis* 'small path', *zuikūtis* 'small hare', *saujūtė* 'small handful', *virvūtė* 'small string'. An older form of this suffix *-utas*, *-a* is found in the regions

of Kaišiadorys, Prienai, Lazūnai and Zietela, e.g.: *langūtas* 'small window', *vaikūtas* 'small child', *mergutā* 'girl'.

The suffix *-(i)utis*, *-ė* is found in Samogitia and in part of the South and East High Lithuanian dialects, e.g.: *langūtis* 'small window', *vaikūtis* 'small child', *šlajūtės* 'small sledge' and the like (LKA III, Map No. 118, p. 133). In East High Lithuanian the derivative *keliūta* 'small, rarely used road' with the older suffix *-iūta* is used alongside with the derivative *keliūtė*.

Very few diminutives with the suffixes *-utis*, *-uta* are found in Latvian, cf. Lith. *alūtis* and Latv. *alutis* 'beer', Lith. *rogūtės* and Latv. *ragutas* 'sledge' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:243-244).

In Old Prussian the suffix *-ut-* is recorded in the following derivatives having a concrete non-diminutive meaning: *nagutis* (Nagel) E 117, *locutis* (Bresme) 562, in the proper names: *Brangut*, *Geruthe*, *Ackute*, *Jagutte* etc. and in the place name *Wangutkaym* (Gerullis 1925:258; Trautmann 1925:182; Endzelīns 1943:52).

Baltic diminutives with *-ut-* are compared to the Slavic diminutives with *-stv*: **nogstv* 'nail', *lapstv* 'patch', **palstv* 'part of a carcass' (Belić 1901:183; Otrembskij 1968:137; Martynov 1973:43-44). They denote concrete things without any clear diminutive implication.

In Lithuanian derivatives with the suffix *-utas* denoting concrete things are also found, e.g.: *āšutas* 'horse-hair' (cf. Slav. **osstv* 'thistle', IE **os-* 'sharp'), *degūtas* 'tar' (cf. Latv. *deguts*, Lith. *dėgti* 'to burn'), *grūmutas* 'cluster' (cf. *grūm-ulas* 'piece, clod'), *kėkutas* 'heap, company' (: *kėkė* 'cluster'), *kiūkutas* 'shell' (cf. *kiūk-las* 'shell', Lat. *caucum* 'goblet' etc.), *kriaukutaĩ* 'frog-spawn' (cf. *kriauk-alaĩ* 'frog-spawn', *kriaūk-las* 'mussel-shell, snail-shell, shell'), *riešutas* 'nut' (cf. OPr *bucca-reisis* (Buchecker) E 593, Slav. **orěchstv* 'nut'). It should be pointed out that *riešutas* has retained the nom. pl. form of the consonant declension *riešutes* 'nuts' in some East Lithuanian dialects. The Old Czech forms *dehet* 'tar', gen. sing. *dechte*, lead us to the assumption that the derivative *degūtas* could also have had the forms of the consonant *t* declension (Trautmann 1923:49, 241).

The Sanskrit derivatives with the suffix *-ut-* originating from the determinative *-t- have concrete non-diminutive meanings: *Marut-* 'the storm god', *garmut-* 'kind of grass', *garut-mant* 'winged', *kapuc-chala* 'hair on the back of the head', the latter is compared to Lat. *caput-*, OIcel. *hǫfuð* 'head' (Burrow 1950:165; Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954:483-485).

Thus, such derivatives as OPr *nagutis*, Slav. **nogstv*, Lith. *riešutas*

etc. seem to reflect an earlier state when derivatives with determinative *-t- had no diminutive meaning yet (cf. Mažiulis 1988:163-164; Smoczyński 1989:43-44).

Diminutives with the suffix *-ut- || -ūt- most probably arose in Baltic under the influence of the derivatives with the suffix *-ūtio- (see p. 13-14). This motivation has mainly affected Lithuanian, while Old Prussian has retained the older state.

The determinative *-t- has also been attached to some of the suffixes, cf. Lith. *bōbšė* and *bōbštė* 'plain old woman', *vaikėšas* and *vaikėstis* 'urchin', and the above-mentioned suffixes Lith. -ok-š-tis, OPr -is-tian (see p. 9).

The determinative *-t- itself may have been abstracted from the corresponding element of the heteroclitite declension (Ivanov 1965:48).

DERIVATIVES WITH THE ADJECTIVE SUFFIX *-no-

*-ī-no-

In South High Lithuanian, derivatives with the suffix -ynas, -a have a properly diminutive meaning (e.g.: *bernýnas* 'young lad', *kelmýnas* 'small stump', *motýna* 'mother'). In East High Lithuanian they have a pejorative meaning (e.g.: *arklýnas* 'poor horse', *balýna* 'big bad puddle', *bernýnas* 'tall good-for-nothing lad', see LKA III, Map No. 119, p. 134-135). In the past diminutives with the suffix -ynas, -a were also used in the western part of Lithuania; they are attested in the fishermen's dialect of East Prussia, e.g.: *vaikýnas* 'very small child', *žqšýnas* 'very small goose with soft thin feathers' (Gerullis, Stang 1933:26-27). The derivative *vaikýnas* 'young lad' is recorded by A. Juška in Skirsnemunė and *mótyna* 'mother' is used both in East and West High Lithuanian (Būga 1959: 147). Corresponding Latvian diminutives with -ins, -a are found in two separate regions: in the south-western corner near the Lithuanian border and in a large north-eastern area adjoining Estonia (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:198-199, Map No. 1).

On the other hand, adjectives with *-īno-, which gave rise to the diminutives mentioned above (e.g.: Lith. *mėlynas* 'blue', Latv. *tālins* 'distant', OPr *alkīns* (nuchtern) III 87₂) are very rare in Baltic. The diminutive use of derivatives with *-īno- also seems to be very old. This assumption is confirmed by the existence of corresponding diminutives in Slavic, Germanic, Italic, Celtic and Greek.

*-i-no-

Alongside with the old derivatives with *-īno-, diminutives with the adjective suffix *-ino- arose in Baltic.

Latvian diminutives with the suffixes *-īno- and *-ino- are distributed approximately in the same regions, only diminutives with *-ino- are rarer, e.g.: *liēpin* 'small lime-tree', *darzinc* 'small garden' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:200-201, Map No. 1).

Diminutives with the suffix -ynas and -inas were used side by side in the Lithuanian fishermen's dialect of East Prussia. Derivatives with -inas, however, denoted somewhat larger objects than the corresponding derivatives with the suffix -ynas did (see p. 11), e.g.: *vištinas* 'half-grown chicken which does not lay eggs yet', *žqšinas* 'young goose with feathers', *vaikinas* 'teenager' (Gerullis, Stang 1933:26-27). Diminutives of this type are included in F. Kuršaitis' dictionary too.

At present, diminutives with the suffix -inas, -a are most common in the western part of Samogitia, approximately between Klaipėda and Šilutė (LKA III, Map No. 119, p. 135). They sometimes are also found in other districts far from this region, e.g.: *mūsinas* 'large fly' (Dusetos, Subačius), *paršinas* 'young pig' (not only in Grūšlaukis, Plikiai, Vainutas but also in Akmenė, Šatės, Liudvinavas, Pilviškiai, Paežerėliai, Alvitai). Besides, the derivative *mótina* 'mother', which has lost its diminutive meaning, as well as *merginà* 'single woman', *vaikinas* 'lad, teenager, child, son' are widely used in many dialects.

The suffix -inas, denoting males, is likely to have originated from diminutives (Schulze 1966:77; Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:201-204). They are very common in Lithuanian and have equivalents in Latvian and Old Prussian, cf. Lith. *āvinas* and Latv. *avins*, *āuns* 'ram', OPr. *avins* (Ster) E 679, Lith. *kātinās* and Latv. *katins* 'cat', Lith. *žqšinas* and Latv. *zūosins* 'gander', Lith. *pýlinas* and Latv. *pīlins* 'drake' (Endzelīns 1951:310).

The above-mentioned facts entitle us to assume the diminutives with the suffix *-ino- to be of Proto-Baltic origin.

*-i-n-īo-

Diminutives containing this suffix (a later variant of the suffix *-ino-, see Ambrazas 1991a:16) are very productive in Latvian, e.g.: *dēliņš* 'little son',

bērziņš 'small birch', *zvaigzņiņa* 'little star' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:168-169). However, adjectives with this suffix have themselves become very rare in Latvian, cf. Lith. *geležinis* and Latv. *dzelzinis* 'made of iron', Lith. *lapinis* and Latv. *lapīņš* 'made of leaves' (Endzelīns 1951:312-313).

In Lithuanian, on the contrary, adjectives with **-inio-* are widely used. Some of them have a tendency to become substantivized. However, the substantivized adjectives of this type usually acquire the meanings of *nomina attributiva*. This tendency is very old, cf. Lith. *aūštrinis* 'north-easterly wind' and Latv. *austrinis* 'easterly wind' (Endzelīns 1951:313), Lith. *drēvinė* 'wooden barrel for keeping fat' and OPr. *dravine* (Bote) E 393 (Mažiulis 1988:223-226). The diminutive meaning can be discerned only in single Lithuanian derivatives: *mergelinė* 'girl' (Švėkšna), *merginė* 'maid, servant' (Subačius, Pandėlis, Salos), *vaikinis* 'lad' (Donelaitis, *Metai*).

Thus, the data of Lithuanian reflect the initial stage of the rise of diminutives with **-inio-*, while in Latvian we can see the end of the process.

It is very likely that the diminutives with **-inio-* are not directly based on adjectives, but on the old derivational category of *nomina attributiva* which gave rise to the corresponding adjectives as well.

DERIVATIVES WITH SUFFIXES OF *nomina attributiva*

**-īt-īo-*

A lot of diminutives are formed by means of this suffix in Lithuanian, e.g.: *brolytis* 'little brother', *paukštytis* 'little birdie', *rankytė* 'little hand' (Urbutis 1965:272-274).

At present, this diminutive type is almost extinct in the Latvian dialects, but is still widely used in folklore, e.g.: *brālītis* 'little brother', *krūmītis* 'small shrub' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:232-239).

It is difficult to say what meaning the derivatives with **-ītīo-* had in Old Prussian, as this suffix is recorded only in proper names (e.g.: *Moldite*, *Bludīt*, *Waikitte*, see Trautmann 1925:182) and in place names (e.g.: *Laukiten*, *Pelite*, *Pelkiten*, see Gerullis 1923: 257).

The suffix **-ītīo-* (< **-īto-* + **-īo-*) itself is an innovation of the Baltic, Slavic and Germanic languages. At first, it was used to form *nomina attributiva* (e.g.: Lith. *eglytis* 'cloth woven in the herring-bone pattern', Latv. *lēnītis* 'warm southerly wind', South Slav. *gol'it'č* 'naked poor man'). Only

in the Baltic languages it was used for the derivation of diminutives, which, owing to ancient contacts between the Baltic and Slavic languages, entered the South Slavic languages, cf. Lith. *vilkytis* and South Slav. *vlčič* 'small wolf cub' (Ambrazas 1991a:18-20).

**-eit-īo-* || *-oit-īo-*

This suffix is an apophonic variant of **-ītīo-*, cf. Lith. *vokytiš*, Latv. *vācītis* and Lith. *vokietis*, Latv. *vācietis* 'German'. At first, it was used for the derivation of *nomina attributiva*, e.g.: Lith. *laukiniētis* 'resident of the countryside', *giminiētis* 'relative', *pašaliētis* 'stranger', Latv. *jaunietis* 'young man', *tautietis* 'bridegroom'; Lith. *giminaitis* 'relative', *jaunaitis* 'young man', *laukinaitis* 'resident of the countryside', Latv. *tautaitis* 'bridegroom'.

The diminutives with the suffix *-aitis*, *-ė* are widely used in Lithuanian (in the written language - from the 16th century), e.g.: *asilaitis* 'donkey', *našlaitė* 'orphan', *mergaitė* 'girl', *tarnaitė* 'maidservant etc. There are plenty of derivatives with the suffix *-a(i)tis*, *-ė* in the first collection of Lithuanian folk songs published by L. Rėza in the 19th century. These facts show that this derivative type was formed long before the beginning of the Lithuanian written language.

The derivative *tarneitė* 'maidservant' with the suffix *-eitė* recorded in old Lithuanian writings can also be connected with the diminutives.

**-āit-īo-*

A number of diminutives are formed by means of this suffix in the East High Lithuanian dialect, e.g.: *mergiotė* 'girl, farmhand', *kumeliotė* 'young mare', *kojotė* 'foot' (Skardžius 1943:352; Urbutis 1965:280-281).

Only one derivative *kučate* : *kuce* 'bitch' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:244) seems to be made by means of the suffix *-āte* in Latvian.

The diminutives with **-āitīo-* can be related to such Lithuanian *nomina attributiva* as *qsōtis* 'jug' : *qsōtas* 'having an ear', *barzdōtis* 'someone with a beard' : *barzdōtas* 'bearded', *gyslōtis* 'plantain' : *gyslōtas* 'veiny', cf. also hydronyms *llogotis*, *Margotė* and the like (Vanagas 1970:190).

**-ēt-īo-*

Very few Lithuanian diminutives with this suffix are derived in a similar way: *vaikėtis* 'urchin' (Kabeliai), *varnėtis* 'young crow' Knyga Nobažn. 234₅, cf. *eglėtis* 'home made cloth woven in herringbone pattern': *eglėtas* 'having the appearance of fur needles'.

**-en-īo-*

In Latvian dialects diminutives with the suffix *-enis*, *-e* e.g.: *kucenis* 'young dog', *vēršenis* 'young bull', *meitene* 'girl' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:210-217), have the same suffix as some *nomina attributiva*, cf. Latv. *austrenis* 'southern wind', *zemenes* 'strawberries', *pienene* 'dandelion', Lith. *margēnis* 'motley cloth', *šaltēnis* 'spring', *mēlēnēs* 'blue' and the like.

**-ōl-īo-*

Lithuanian diminutives *bernuōlis* 'boy', *drauguōlis* 'friend; man', *merguōlė* 'grown up, single girl; teenager' are used side by side with *nomina attributiva* having an identical suffix: *jaunuōlis* 'young man', *gudruōlis* 'clever person', *kartuōlė* 'very bitter mushroom', *snieguōlė* 'snowflake' etc.

**-ēno-*

In Latvian, diminutives with the suffix *-ēns*, *-a* usually denote young animals, e.g.: *pūlēns* 'young duck', *kaķēns* 'young cat', but in some dialects (especially in the western part of Courland) they have other diminutive meanings, e.g.: *puīkeņš* 'little boy', *uōzoleņš* 'small oak', *mātēna* 'mummy' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:217-230).

In Lithuanian, diminutives with the corresponding suffix *-ėnas* are very rare. They are used only in some High (especially East) Lithuanian dialects and denote either little ones of animals or have a pejorative meaning, cf. *gyvatėnas* 'snake's child' (Tverečius), *kalėnas* 'big kitten', *arklėnas* 'young bad horse', *bernėnas* 'teenager, weak lad' (Dusetos), *botagėnas* 'small bad whip' (Tauragnai).

On the other hand, in High Lithuanian derivatives with *-ėnas* are especially widely used as *nomina attributiva* to denote people according to their origin

or place of residence and have no diminutive meaning, e.g.: *anykštėnas* 'resident of Anykščiai', *kupiškėnas* 'resident of Kupiškis' etc. (LKA III Map No. 110, p. 116). Such use dates back to the 16th-17th centuries. Kinship terms with this suffix, such as *brolėnas* || *brólėnas* 'brother's son', *seserėnas* 'sister's son', are also very old and have equivalents in Latvian and in the Slavic languages, cf. *brālēns* 'brother's son', Slav. **bratrěns* 'ib.', Latv. *māsēns* 'sister's child', Slav. **sestrěns* 'ib.' (Endzelīns 1951: 303-304; Rūķe-Draviņa 1959:226, 228-229; Slawski 1974:128-129). In Baltic and Slavic, *nomina attributiva* with **-ēno-* can also have other meanings, e.g.: Lith. *balėnas* 'cambium', *pelėnas* 'mice hawk', *varnėnas* 'starling'; Latv. *raibēns* 'speckled young calf', Slav. **molděns* 'young lad'.

Thus, the suffix **-ēno-*, characteristic of *nomina attributiva* since ancient times, was used for the derivation of diminutives in some Eastern Baltic dialects only. This suffix is likely to have originated from consonantal declension forms with **-ēn* expanded by the thematic vowel *o*, cf. Lith. *kolėnas*, Slav. **kolěno* (< **kolę*) 'knee' and Gk. *κωλήν* 'shoulder.bone' (Trubacov 1959:161).

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the data discussed above the following chronological strata of diminutives can be established:

1. The oldest derivatives are those with the determinative **-k-* which formed a basis for the category of diminutives in Proto-Indo-European.
2. In several Indo-European dialects during the oldest period of their development diminutives were formed by means of the determinatives **-l-*, **-g-* || *-g'*, **-s-* and the adjective suffix **-īno-*.
3. The following affixes were used to form diminutives in Baltic: the determinative **-t-*, the adjective suffix **-ino-*, **-iniō-* and the suffixes **-īo-* and **-ēno-* which came from *nomina attributiva*.

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