In this paper is presented a new hypothesis regarding the development of the so-called "endingless locative" construction of Indo-European. It is argued that locative formations in *-e and *-i came to appear in the 2-stem nouns through the monophthongization of word-final *-oi and *-ei before word-initial consonants. These formations were analogically extended to the other stem-classes, with the suffix *-e, frequently hypercharacterized by the locative particles *-i or *-u, becoming the primary marker of the locative function in the i- and u-stems. On the basis of such apparently "endingless" locative constructions, old consonant-stem nominative (-accusative) formations in *-∅ were reinterpreted as locatives as well.

One of the most puzzling constructions with which Indo-Europeanists must deal is the endingless locative. Although it is now generally recognized that "the cases expressing adverbial relationships (instrumental, dative, ablative, locative, and the genitive in some uses) are late" and therefore "the development of the adverbial cases belongs then to the study of late Proto-Indo-European and the individual dialects" (Lehmann 1958: 182-183), the form of the endingless locative appears to be very ancient indeed. This situation in part led Benveniste (1935: 98-99) to conclude: "... ce que l'on dénomme 'locatif' repose
comme un bon nombre de nominatifs-accusatifs, sur un 'cas indéfini', qui avait en indo-européen la forme même du thème neutre.' Likewise, Hirt (1927: 48) says: "Der Lokativ ist... ursprünglich endungslos gewesen. Er entspricht also dem Kasus indefinitus, und er wird so, um mit Ludwig, Der Inf. im Veda, S. 9, zu reden, 'zu einem Nachweis des Hereinragens der Epoche, wo die Sprache keine Biegung kannte, in die Zeit vollständig ausgebildeter Flexion'." In this paper I wish to present an alternative hypothesis which attempts to reconcile the apparent archaic formal properties of the construction and its apparently recent functional properties.

Burrow (1973: 234) describes the endingless locative construction as follows: "The oldest form, the locative without ending, appears in n-stems (āhan, mūrdhān, šīrṣān, cf. Gk. aiēn 'always', and infinitives like dōmen, etc.), and in the vṛddhi forms of the i- and u-stems. It also appears sporadically elsewhere, e.g. in perūṭi 'last year' as opposed to Gk. pērusi, pērūti, a compound whose last member (-ut) is the weak form of the wet that appears in Hitt. wett-, Gk. ἕτως 'year'. In Avestan there appears a locative without ending from a root noun man- 'mind' in the phrase mān ēa daidyāi 'and to put in the mind, remember'."¹ In addition to this locative type, there appears a formation in '-i', which is attested in all stem-classes, even those which show endingless forms as well, e.g. Skt. vīkē 'on the wolf', Gk. oixoi 'at home', Osc. tereī 'on the ground', etc.

Before proceeding with my proposal regarding the origin of this construction, I must outline a recent hypothesis about Indo-European phonology made by Schmalsteig (1973), which I see as fundamental in understanding the origin of the endingless locative. He argues that "the Indo-European diphthongs in word-

¹ Brugmann (1911: 174) says that the endingless locative "erscheint bei Stämmen auf -i, -u, Nasal, Liquida, -s."
final position could occur before a word beginning with a vowel or before a word beginning with a consonant" (1973: 101). These diphthongs "either remained as such (if the following word began with a vowel) or were monophthongized ... (if the following word began with a consonant)" (1973: 101). "Included among these monophthongizations are the passage of *-øy to *-ē and the passage of *-ey to *-e.2 In support of his conclusions, he argues, for example: 'The elementary form *bhe 'to be, to become' could have taken the suffix -y to create the morpheme *bhe-y > *bhī in pre-consonantal sandhi position. The form *bhī is reflected in Lat. fī-s, fit 'becomes, is made', Gk. phīτu, 'shoot, scion', OCS bi-mo 'I would be'. Perhaps Old English beo, bīo belong here also. Forms such as Lith. -bīte, -bīme are to be added here also. The short vowel of such forms is due to their use in enclitic position according to Stang, 1966: 429. The form *bho-y in pre-consonantal position is attested in the OCS third singular imperfect form bē and perhaps in the Old Prussian preterit bēi = /bē/, both of which forms reflect Indo-European *bhī (1973: 107-108). Likewise, 'the Indo-European root for 'to drink' seems to have been *pe- or *po- variously suffixed with -y or -w. The form *pī- (< *pe-y) in pre-consonantal position lives on in Slavic piti 'to drink', Gk. pīo 'I drink' (with the

2 Schmalstieg's theory of Indo-European monophthongizations has been criticized recently by Pajares (1976: 162-171). However, Schmalstieg 1978 neatly disposes of these objections.

3 "The element -y may originally have had a meaning of 'here, now'... We may perceive a remnant of the old element -y in such Hittite 3rd sg. forms as da-a-i 'takes', Skt. 3rd sg. aor. passive adhāyī (dhē- 'put'), ajani (jan- 'be born'), or perhaps in the Gk. 3rd pres. phērei 'carries'... This particle, which may have been originally a third person marker, was then felt to be part of the verbal stem and personal endings of the first and second persons were added to this" (Schmalstieg 1973: 107). A similar view of the particle *-i appears in Watkins 1962: 102-103.

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imperative pāthi according to Frisk, 1970,540), Skt. pītā 'drunk, sucked' and pīti 'drinking, a draught'. The -y- element may also be present in the reduplicative syllable of Latin bi-
bit 'drinks'. The form *po-y is apparently only found in such causatives as Slavic po[j]itī 'to give to drink, to cause to
drink'. The Sanskrit causative stem pāy- shows a phenomenon we shall see over again in this language. * po-y in pre-consonantal position passed to *pə-, a form attested in Skt. pāti 'drinks' ....

What we actually find, however, is a contamination of the pre-
vocalic and the pre-consonantal forms of this morpheme, i.e.
*pāy-, a form with the length of the pre-consonantal form and
with the -y from the pre-vocalic form* (1973:108)" (Shields
Forthcoming c).

Now the o-stem locative singular appears to show clearly two
prevocalic sandhi variants, one in *-o-i (Gk. Att. oikoi 'at
home', Lat. hū-c 'whither', OE ēag 'by day', OCS vlačě 'on the
wolf') and the other in *-e-i (Gk. Att. ekeī 'there', Gk. Dor.
teī-de 'here', pel ē where', Lat. domī 'at home', Osc. mānīkeī
tereī 'on common ground'). Phonological developments in certain
dialects prevent the determination of which variant is attested
there, e.g. Skt. vhiçe (< *-oi or *-ei) 'on the wolf', OIr.
cinn (< *kuennoi or *-ei) 'at the end', OLith. dievie-p (<-ie-
*-oi- or *-ei-) 'with God'. I believe that traces of a pre-
consonantal sandhi variant in *-ē (< *-oi) continue to exist in
this declensional class. That the reconstruction of such a loca-
tive ending is by no means a novel idea is demonstrated by
Brugmann's observation (1911: 175): "Einen gleichartigen Lok.
auf *-ē von o-Stīmmen hat Walde Ausl. 7ff. angenommen für den
lit. Lok. auf -ē, vilkē, und für die lokativisch gebrauchten
ahd. dūrt ags. ham u. dgl." Likewise, Hirt. (1972:48) says: "Im
Litauischen lautet der Lok. o-Stīmme vilkē, .... ē muss aber
doch wohl auf *ē zurückgehen."4

Endzel'Ins (1971: 135) argues that the Lithuanian suffix
"developed from an acuted -en," but this is not a necessary
assumption.
The preconsonantal sandhi variant *-₁ (<*-₁₁) has apparently disappeared from this declensional class. Of course, the formation in *-₅ (and similarly *-₁) was reinterpreted as *-ᵄ₋ᵦ.

The importance of the o-stem class to the general evolution of the Indo-European noun was very great since this was by far the largest of all classes. As Burrow (1973: 255) notes in regard to Vedic Sanskrit, "The stems in -a are the most numerous type in the language (45 per cent of all nominal stems in the Rgveda)." Thus, one frequently observes the extension of the endings of the o-stems to other stem-classes. For example, in the instrumental singular Indo-Iranian attests the transfer of the o-stem ending -₅ (<*-₅) to the consonantal stems (Skt. śōna 'dog') (Brugmann 1911: 193-194); and in the instrumental plural Germanic shows a similar extension of the o-stem suffix to the consonantal stems (Go. guman 'men') (Brugmann 1911: 264). Likewise, Germanic i-stem genitive singulars such as Go. gostis, OHG gastes 'of the guest' "zeigen den Ausgang der o-Stämme, gleichwie im Dat. got. gasta ahd. gaste" (Brugmann 1911:157).

Italic and Avestan attest the extension of the ablative singular o-stem suffix in *-₅ to other stem-classes (Burrow 1973: 233), while the genitive plural suffix found in all stem-classes (*-ᵄᵋ: Gk. -ᵄᵋ, Skt. -ᵄᵋ, Lat. -₅ᵋ) probably has its origin in the o-stems, cf. Schmalstieg 1977: 130.

I believe that the rarity with which the preconsonantal sandhi variants *-₁ and *-₁ appear in the o-stem class is a result of the fact that they were largely transferred to and subsequently specialized in other declensional classes. The suffix *-₁ seems to have come to mark the locative singular in the consonant-stem nouns, although it generally disappeared there as well, yielding to other formations. Thus, Meillet (1964: 295) says: "En latin, la forme qui conserve un type spécial de locatif est en -₁: Karthagin-₁." Likewise, Brugmann (1886: 157) notes that "along with -₁ we have -₁ in Greek and Sanskrit, Hom."
petr- and the like ..., Ved. vaktar- and the like ...

The suffix *-e, on the other hand, came to be specialized largely in the i- and u-stems: Skt. Ved. ávā (ávī-s 'snake'), agna (agni-s 'fire'); Hom. pölōi (<*-e hypercharacterized by the locative particle *-i) (pōli-s 'city'), OIr. faith (<*-e or *-i) (faith < yāti-s 'seer'), Go. anstai (<*-i) (anst-s 'favor') OCS nošti (<*-i) (nošta 'night'); Skt. sūnā (<*-e hypercharacterized by the locative particle *-u) (sūna-s 'son'), Lat. noctū (<*-e) (adv. 'by night'), Go. sunau (<*-eu) (sunu- 'son'), OCS synu (<*-ou <-eu <-eu) (syna 'son'). The extension of *-e (and similarly *-i) to these declensions was

5 Wackernagel and Debrunner (1930: 207) are uncertain about the origin of this long-vowel suffix. They note that "metrisch gedehntes -tarti ist möglich," although "doch kann es an den in Betracht kommenden Stellen auch als NA Sg. Neutr. gefasst werden." Perhaps this ending is also attested in the i-stems of Sanskrit, since Whitney (1973: 117) observes: "Half-a-dozen locatives in I ... are made from i-stems," e.g. vādī (past participle of ved- 'know' without iti). But these very rare forms may be better explained in other ways, cf. Wackernagel and Debrunner 1930: 154-155. The Latin forms in -I (which alternate with those in -e <-i> are generally explained as showing the specifically Latin sporadic transfer of the o-stem ending (OLat. -ei > -i) to the consonant-stems, cf. Buck 1933: 186, but this is not a necessary assumption.

6 Hirt (1927: 11-12) describes this particle as follows: "Erweitert haben wir ü in l. ubi 'wo', l. u-iti 'so', aw. uiti, gr. ε-άτε 'gleichwie', ai. u-tā 'auch sogar'. Aus dem Gegensatz von i-bi und u-bi ergibt sich wohl die Beudeutung 'hier' und 'da' für i und u." This particle is also probably seen in the locative plural suffix *-su (Skt.-su, OCS -cha), which alternates with *-si (Gk. -si).

7 Brugmann (1904: 88) suggests that the simple *-e found
motivated by the following proportion:

\[
\text{Noun-}~\text{Ending} : \text{Noun-}~\text{Ending} (\ast \text{-} \emptyset)
\]

\[
\text{Noun-}~\text{Ending} : \text{Noun-}~\text{Ending} (\ast \text{-} \emptyset)
\]

That is, since \(*\text{-}\emptyset\) had already been interpreted as a stem-forming element with a \(-\emptyset\) ending, it was appropriate that it came to serve the same function in the \(\text{i-}\) and \(\text{u-}\) stems. It was important for the entire stem-formation to be transferred because the \(*\text{-}\emptyset\) marker alone would not have characterized the construction as distinctively locative. Its appearance, e.g., in the nominative-accusative singular neuter demonstrates this fact.

Now I believe "that the ablaut variations of Indo-European have a number of different sources (of which the effects of accent are only a part) and that ablaut variation only gradually emerged as a morphological device" (Shields Forthcoming b), cf. Shields 1976, 1977, 1978: especially 194-197. Although ablaut had become a morphological indicator at the stage of Indo-European under consideration, it is probably true that its development, especially in regard to lengthened grade, had not yet reached the level of complexity attested in the historical dialects themselves. (See below.) In any event, the analogically extended \(\text{o-}\) stem suffix \(*\text{-}\emptyset\), contaminated with the locative particles \(*\text{-}\text{i}\) and \(*\text{-}\text{u}\), came eventually to be interpreted as a vulgarized form of the stem-element of the \(\text{i-}\) and \(\text{u-}\) stems, just as the suffix \(*\text{-}\emptyset\) probably came to be interpreted as a lengthened grade form of the stem-formant in the \(\text{o-}\) stems, although its rarity in attested words prohibits definitive analysis. However, the secondary character of this suffix in the locative singular of the \(\text{i-}\) and \(\text{u-}\) stems is perhaps evidenced by the fact in some of these forms results from the fact that "schon im Uridg. müssen unter gewissen Bedingungen \(\text{i}\) und \(\text{u}\) in den Langdiphthongen geschwunden sein." However, this is not a necessary assumption.
that the vrddhied form of the stem-element is not usual there. As Meillet (1964: 307) says about athematic declension, "Le locatif singulier a un vocalisme prédésinentiel caractéristique; voyelle brève "e", ainsi dans skr. netā-ı 'chez le conducteur' avec a représantant "e ...; de même le locatif véd. dyā-ı 'au ciel', identique à lat. Iou-e (de "dyew-ı"), s'oppose au génitif à vocalisme prédésinentiel zéro véd. div-āh, cf. gr. Διή-ς." In thematic declension, with the exception of the relic suffix in "-ē", one sees the o-grade or the e-grade of the stem-vowel, cf. Meillet 1964: 322-323. Vrddhied forms thus appear generally in endingless locatives of the i- and u-stems and in a few other isolated formations, e.g. Greek adverbs of the type νόκτορ 'by night', etc. The analogical origin of some of these will be discussed below.

I believe, cf. Kurylowicz 1964: 195-200, that the most ancient locative formation in the i- and u-stems was also terminated in "-ē" and that it was largely replaced by the analogically extended o-stem suffix "-ē"). But traces of this original construction

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8 Burrow (1973: 234) further explains: "The [locative -- K.S.] type aksnī is the latest. According to the grammarians the locative of r-stems may be in -ani or -ni (rājani, rājūi; sakthāni, sakthnī), but in the language of the Ṛgveda the latter type does not appear, and is therefore clearly an innovation. It is due to an analogical tendency to put the loc. sg. on the same footing as the other oblique cases by accenting the termination and weakening the suffix. In many of the consonantal stems this tendency had already become general in the pre-Vedic period (adātī, bhāgzavatī, vidūsī, etc.), but the older type with accent and guma of the suffix is preserved in the an-stems, in r-stems (svāsāri, pitārī), to which certain monosyllabic stems can be added: kaśrī, dyāvī (beside divī)."
continue to exist in these declensional classes well into the historical period. The i-stems seem to show it in such dialectal forms as Hom. pōsei, pōsei < "-e-i- 'husband', Att. pōlei < "-e-i- 'city', Osc. Fuutreī < "-e-i- 'Geneticī', and perhaps Ved. ṛjāyī < "-e-i- 'contest', although the retention of *a- in Sanskrit is unexpected in this phonological environment, cf. Brugmann 1904: 92. Brugmann (1911: 182) suggests therefore that this Vedic locative formation is "eine Neubildung," as do Wackernagel and Debrunner (1896: 199), but if the latter word and the very few like it (see Wackernagel and Debrunner 1930: 154 in this regard) are relic forms, then the retention of *a- may be explained simply as residue, cf. Chen and Wang 1975. The validity of this hypothesis is perhaps suggested by Sihler's conclusion (1977: 6) that "in medial sequences ... the loss of y before i ... took place either just prior to or concurrent with the early Vedic period." The u-stems also clearly attest a locative construction in *-i: Hom. hedāt < "-eu-i 'sweet',

9 The stem-formant *-e-i- is attested elsewhere in the i-stems, just as *-e-u- is attested elsewhere in the u-stems: these so-called strong-grade forms also "appear in the gen. sg. and voc. sg., and in ... the dat. sg., ... , and nom. pl." (Buck 1933: 173). However, only the locative singular shows the lengthened grade in *-e-i and *-e-u.

10 Chen and Wang (1975: 256) explain: "A phonological rule gradually extends its scope of operation to a larger and larger portion of the lexicon, until all relevant items have been transformed by the process. A phonological innovation may turn out to be ultimately regular, i.e. to affect all relevant lexical items, given the time to complete its course. But more often than linguists have thought, a phonological rule peters out towards the end of its life span, or is thwarted by another rule competing for the same lexemes."
Att. dorî < *dorî̯ 'wood, spear', Ved. sunāvi < *-eu-i 'son', and perhaps ORuss. domov < PS *domovs 'home', cf. Brugmann 1911: 182. The consonant stems give quite definitive evidence of the antiquity of this construction, e.g. n-stems: *-en-i, Go. hanin 'cock', Skt. mūrdhāni 'head', Gk. poimēni 'shepherd', Lat. homīne 'man'; r-stems: *-er-i, Skt. mātāri 'mother', Hom. pētāri 'father', Armen. 特斯 'daughter'. The problem remains, however, to explain the development of an endingless locative formation in nouns of this type.

The appearance of a *-∅ ending in nouns like these crucially involved a change described in Shields 1978: 195–196: "In the case of the [masc.–fem. -- K.S.] l-, r-, m-, n-, and s-stems, the nominative came to differ from the corresponding vocative by what is generally termed lengthened grade ablaut: Gk. κῦων 'dog', κῦον 'O, dog'; Gk. μῆτηρ 'mother', μῆτερ 'O, mother'; Skt. dūrmanas 'troubled one', dūrmanas 'O, troubled one'; Skt. dātā 'giver', dātar 'O, giver'. Again, the traditional explanation concerning the origin of this quantitative difference involves the operation of accent. However, another interpretation is possible ... Schmalstieg (1973) argues that a number of monophthongizations occurred in Indo–European, thereby giving rise to pairs of sandhi variants. For example:

\[ \text{e} + \text{r}, \text{l}, \text{m}, \text{n} > \text{∅} \] in preconsonantal position
\[ > \text{e} + \text{r}, \text{l}, \text{m}, \text{n} \] in prevocalic position
\[ \text{o} + \text{r}, \text{l}, \text{m}, \text{n} > \text{∅} \] in preconsonantal position
\[ > \text{o} + \text{r}, \text{l}, \text{m}, \text{n} \] in prevocalic position.

Thus, early Indo–European *p̥̄t̥̄er 'father' became *p̥̄t̥̄e (Skt. pītā, Avest. ptā) before a word-initial consonant and *p̥̄t̥̄er (Skt. pītar, Avest. pītar, Gk. pater) before a word-initial vowel. Schmalstieg (1974: 186) maintains that the new form assumed the primary function of the nominative ... whereas the secondary function, the vocative case, was retained by the older form phonologically'. The frequently reconstructed nominative singular form *p̥̄t̥̄e (Gk. pater, Lat. pater) merely represents an analogical restoration of the final resonant by means of a
contamination of the two variant stems. Also through analogy the long vowel was introduced into the s-stems (Skt. *durmanas 'troubled one', Gk. *dusmenēs 'ill-disposed one', Avest. *duśmanē 'one thinking evil', Skt. *úsas, Gk. *eos 'dawn'). I suggest that this analogical lengthening occurred after the introduction of *-s as the marker of the nominative (specializing *-o in the secondary vocative function in the animate nouns of all declensions except those with the naturally occurring long vowel and the s-stems ...). Since the phonetic sequence *s-s was an impossible one in the Indo-European of this era (Brugmann 1916: 812), the s-stem nouns adopted the long vowel in order to integrate themselves into the existing system of animate nouns, which clearly indicated the vocative by means of the *-o termination and the nominative through the marker *-s or vowel lengthening. 11

Now the old prevocalic variant did, in a general sense, assume the vocative function, but because of the peculiar accentual pattern of the vocative, 12 it remained phonologically distinct from the old nominative (i.e. nom. *pater vs. voc. *pater). I would now like to suggest that the prevocalic variant which served as the old nominative apart from the vocative became reinterpreted as a locative. The motivation for this reanalysis was provided by the fact that it shared a *-o ending with the

11 On the origin and development of the s-stems within the context of this theory, see Shields 1977.

12 As Brugmann (1904: 377) explains: "Der Vok. war ohne Kasusformans. An der Spitze des Satzes stehend war er uridg. orthoton, mit Accent auf der ersten Silbe, z.B. ai. pitar, gr. pater 'O Vater'; daher noch mit vollstufiger erster Silbe ai. santva Vok. zu satyā-s 'wahrhaft, treu'... Sonst war der Vok. unbetont, z.B. ai. idām indra sṛṇuhi 'dies, Indra, höre'.'
locatives of the $\alpha$, $\iota$, and $\upsilon$-stems. That linguistic change is by nature a gradual and variable process explains the continued existence of the variant, an obvious prerequisite for its re-analysis. As Bailey (1973: 157) says, "... we should take notice of discoveries concerning the spread of language changes in the geographical dimension that have been made by advocates of the new lectology .... [A change — K.S.] begins variably rather than categorically; that is, it begins as a rule that sometimes operates and sometimes does not." The neuter nouns, which retained normal grade in the nominative-accusative singular, show the preconsonantal (lengthened-grade) sandhi variant in the plural (Avest. ayaθi 'days', vaca 'words', naman 'names', Go. fidwōr 'four', hairtōna 'hearts', Ved. bhūma 'beings', āha 'days', sīrā 'heads'). In the neuter class the specialization of variants did not proceed in the same fashion because the need for neuter vocatives was minimal. "The new long-vowel forms ... were analyzed as non-singulars, probably on analogy with non-singular nouns terminated in a long vowel [e.g. nom.-acc. neut. pl. $\alpha$-stem $*-\bar{a}$, cf. Ved. yugā 'yokes', nom.-acc. neut. pl. $\iota$-stem $*-\bar{i}$, cf. Ved. śāci 'pure ones', nom.-acc. neut. pl. $\upsilon$-stem $*-\bar{u}$, cf. Ved. mādhū 'honeys' — K.S.], since the neuter nouns (especially the consonant-stems) probably lacked a firmly established non-singular form at this time. That a morphologically-marked non-singular category developed in the neuter declension at a late date is suggested by the fact that "the neuter plural appears still in the Vedic language in some cases undifferentiated from the singular: e.g. in ुधार divyāni 'divine udders', viśvāni vāsu 'all goods', yōjanā purā 'many leagues', sām aranta pārva 'the joints came together' (Burrow 1973: 237), just as it does in Homeric Greek (hēmera 'day(s)') and Hittite (wetar 'water(s)'), and that a wide variety of endings are attested in the various dialects" (Shields Forthcoming a). See Shields Forthcoming a for a fuller discussion of these developments. But this nominative-accusative singular prevocalic variant of the neuter consonant-stem
declensions tended to assume the locative function on analogy with the animate nouns. This natural analogical pressure was augmented by the fact that the accusative case itself had a secondary locative function, which Brugmann (1904: 442) describes as "Der Akk. der Raum- oder Zeiterstreckung." Likewise, Hirt (1934: 34) suggests that there existed in Indo-European a true "Akkusativ der Zeit": "So heist es gr. próter- on gegenüber ai. prātar 'früh', gr. authēmeron gegenüber hēmar, ai. naktam neben divā. Dieses naktam und ähnliche Fälle haben dann weitergewuchert und einen Akk. der Zeit hervorgerufen. Vgl. ai. tā purve-djuh (Lok.) pitarō vindann, uttaram ahar (Akk.) devāh 'am vorhergehenden Tag fanden ihn die Väter, am folgenden die Götter'." He also posits an "Akk. des Ortes ... z.B. l. dom-um ire 'nach Hause gehen'; ai. dūr-am 'in die Ferne'; gr. apēkhei d'he Plataia von Theben stadious hebdomēkonta 'Plataia ist von Theben 70 Stadien entfernt'" (Hirt 1934: 35). However, these locative forms, because of their homophony with the nominative-accusative singular, never really did gain much of a foothold in the language, as the rarity of attested forms indicates. Thus, Burrow's statement (1973: 244) in regard to the n-stems that "no forms of the loc. sg. without ending are preserved, though such presumably existed at one time" must be rethought: the lack of forms is not to be attributed to the disappearance of an archaic formation but to the inability of an innovation to become adopted generally.13

Additional analogical changes involving the endingless locative formations should be mentioned in closing. The lengthened grade

13 It is possible that such n-stem forms, though rare, did exist. Traces of the formation may be seen, e.g., in Skt. āhan-divi 'day by day', "which is naturally associated with non-nominal forms such as Skr. antār 'inside, inwards' (beside antārī-kṣa-), Lat. inter, Gk. ἀνάπερ Lat. s-uper" (Brugmann 1886: 159).
of the locative singular of the o-, i-, and u-stems tended to exert analogical pressure on the new endingless forms of the consonant-stems, resulting in the appearance of such forms as Avest. ayaŋ < *-ən 'day', OPers. nama < *-on 'name', and perhaps OIr. toimte < *-tion 'opinion'. In the i-stems the -u- of forms like Skt. pātyau 'husband' probably results from the influence of the dative (pātya) and the instrumental (pātya) (Brugmann 1911: 176). Although the -u here is frequently explained as a transfer from the u-stems, I prefer to see it as an original locative particle in *-u. It also appears in i-stem forms such as agnā 'fire' (without the -u-), u-stem forms like Skt. vásto 'with flashing', Avest. daŋho < *-eu 'province' are analogical formations showing the normal grade of the stem-element like other classes, e.g. Skt. pitār-i 'father'. i-stem forms like Avest. garo 'mountain' show a transfer of -o from the u-stems (Brugmann 1911: 175).

I realize that the proposals made here lie beyond the realm of absolute proof. But they do lie within the realm of plausibility and therefore should be given serious consideration as explanatory statements.

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I wish to thank Professor William R. Schmalstieg for his helpful comments about an earlier version of this paper. Of course, any errors which remain are my own.
Članek predlaga novo hipotezo o razvoju indoevropskega tako imenovanega "brezkončniškega mestnika". Zagovarja misel, da so se pojavile mestniške oblike na *-∅ in *-i najprej pri ojevskih samostalniških osnovah, pri katerih sta se izglasna *-oi in *-ei monoftongirala, kadar se je naslednja beseda začenjala s soglasnikom. Te tvorbe so se z analogijo razširile v druge osnove, pri čemer je postala končnica *-∅, pogosto dodatno označena z mestniško členico *-j ali *-u, glavni nosilec mestniške funkcije pri osnovah na i in u. Izhajajoč iz takih na videz "brezkončniških" mestnikov so tudi imenovalnike(-tožilnike) na *-∅ starih soglasniških osnov pretolmačili v mestnike.