

The accentuation of the ending-stressed word-forms of the Baltic and Slavic mobile paradigms

1. Prerequisites

1.1. “Mobile paradigms” in Baltic and Slavic

Example: *ā*-stems. See Table 1.

1.2. “Ending-stressed word-forms”

Lithuanian and Slavic mobile paradigms consist of an alternation of

(1) word-forms with root-stress and

(2) word-forms with ending-stress.

1.3. Corresponding forms in Vedic and Greek

Words with mobile accentuation in Baltic and Slavic correspond to words with stress on the first syllable of the ending in Vedic and Greek. See Table 2.

2. Problem

The accentuation of the ending-stressed word-forms. In endings consisting of two syllables, which of the two was stressed in Balto-Slavic and Indo-European?

3. Material – dissyllabic endings in Lithuanian and Slavic

See Table 3 for Lithuanian and Table 4 for Slavic.

Vedic and Greek seem to indicate that the first syllable of the ending was stressed. Lithuanian and Slavic, on the other hand, usually have stress on the second syllable of the ending (but notice the exceptions in the Lithuanian dative plurals and the Slavic *ā*-stems).

4. Traditional solutions

4.1. Balto-Slavic has preserved the old state of affairs – Vedic and Greek have innovated

Supported by e.g. Chr. Stang.

Problems: No support from other languages than Baltic and Slavic. The forms with stress on the first syllable of the ending are left unexplained.

4.2. Vedic and Greek have preserved the old state of affairs – Balto-Slavic has innovated

Supported by e.g. Carl Ebeling, F.H.H. Kortlandt and the Leiden School.

Problems: Unnatural explanation of Baltic and Slavic ending-stress. The forms with stress on the first syllable of the ending are left unexplained.

5. More prerequisites: two accent laws

5.1. Saussure's law in Lithuanian (proposed 1892)

The accent moved forward from a short syllable to a following syllable containing a long monophthong.

5.2. Dybo's law in Common Slavic (proposed 1962)

The accent moved forward from a short syllable to a following syllable.

6. Alternative solution

In Indo-European and Balto-Slavic the stress was on the first syllable of the ending.

Only Saussure's law in Lithuanian and Dybo's law in Slavic made most of the forms look finally stressed.

Table 1: The declension of a mobile \bar{a} -stem in Lithuanian, Russian, Štokavian and Čakavian

	Lithuanian	Russian	Čakavian SCr.	Štokavian SCr.
nom. sg.	<i>galv-à</i>	<i>golov-á</i>	<i>glāv-ǎ</i>	<i>glāv-a</i>
acc. sg.	<i>gálv-a</i>	<i>gólov-u</i>	<i>glāv-u</i>	<i>glāv-u</i>
gen. sg.	<i>galv-ōs</i>	<i>golov-ý</i>	<i>glāv-é</i>	<i>glāv-ē</i>
dat. sg.	<i>gálv-ai</i>	<i>golov-é</i> (old <i>k stóron-ě</i>)	<i>glāv-ì</i>	<i>glāv-i</i>
instr. sg.	<i>gálv-a</i>	<i>golov-ój(u)</i>	<i>glāv-ín</i>	<i>glāv-óm</i>
loc. sg.	<i>galv-ojè</i>	<i>golov-é</i>	<i>glāv-ì</i>	<i>glāv-i</i>
nom. pl.	<i>gálv-os</i>	<i>gólov-y</i>	<i>glāv-e</i>	<i>glāv-e</i>
acc. pl.	<i>gálv-as</i>	<i>gólov-y</i>	<i>glāv-e</i>	<i>glāv-e</i>
gen. pl.	<i>galv-ŭ</i>	<i>golov-</i>	<i>glāv-</i>	<i>glāv-ā</i>
dat. pl.	<i>galv-óms</i>	<i>golov-ám</i>	<i>glāv-án</i>	<i>glāv-ama</i>
instr. pl.	<i>galv-omìs</i>	<i>golov-ámi</i>	<i>glāv-àmi</i>	<i>glāv-ama</i>
loc. pl.	<i>galv-osè</i>	<i>golov-áx</i>	<i>glāv-àx</i>	<i>glāv-ama</i>

Table 2: The declension of an ending-stressed \bar{a} -stem in Vedic and Greek.

	Vedic	Greek
nom. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-á</i>	<i>tīm-é</i>
acc. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-ám</i>	<i>tīm-én</i>
gen. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-áyās</i>	<i>tīm-ēs</i>
dat. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-áyai</i>	<i>tīm-ēi</i>
instr. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-áyā</i>	–
abl. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-áyās</i>	–
loc. sg.	<i>pr̥iy-áyām</i>	–
nom. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-áh</i>	<i>tīm-ai</i>
acc. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-áh</i>	<i>tīm-ás</i>
gen. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-ánām</i>	(Hom.) <i>tīm-áon</i>
dat. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-ábhyaḥ</i>	<i>tīm-aĩs</i>
instr. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-ábhiḥ</i>	–
abl. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-ábhyaḥ</i>	–
loc. pl.	<i>pr̥iy-ásu</i>	–

Table 3: Dissyllabic ending-stressed forms of different Lithuanian stem-classes

<i>i</i> -stem instr. sg.	<i>žvēr-imi</i>
<i>u</i> -stem instr. sg.	<i>sūn-umi</i>
<i>o</i> -stem dat. pl.	<i>lang-áms, Daukša darb-ámus</i>
<i>ā</i> -stem dat. pl.	<i>galv-óms, Daukša szak-ómus</i>
<i>i</i> -stem dat. pl.	<i>žvēr-ims, Daukša wag-ímus</i>
<i>u</i> -stem dat. pl.	<i>sūn-ùms, Daukša sun-úmus</i>
<i>ā</i> -stem instr. pl.	<i>galv-omìs</i>
<i>i</i> -stem instr. pl.	<i>žvēr-imìs</i>
<i>u</i> -stem instr. pl.	<i>sūn-umìs</i>
<i>o</i> -stem loc. pl.	dial. <i>mišk-uosù / mišk-úosu</i>
<i>ā</i> -stem loc. pl.	dial. <i>šak-osù / šak-ósu</i>
<i>i</i> -stem loc. pl.	dial. <i>av-isù, ak-ysù / ak-ýsu</i>

Table 4: Dissyllabic ending-stressed forms of different Slavic stem-classes

	Štokavian SCr.	Čakavian SCr.	Mod. Russ.	Slovene	Com. Sl.
pron. d./i. du.	<i>dv-jěma</i>	<i>(dv-ín, dv-ìmi)</i>	<i>(dv-umjâ)</i>	<i>dv-ěma</i>	* <i>dv-ěmà</i>
<i>ā</i> -st. dat. pl.	<i>(gláv-ama)</i>	<i>gor-án</i>	<i>golov-ám</i>	<i>gor-ám</i>	* <i>golv-ámr̃b</i>
<i>ā</i> -st. instr. pl.	<i>(gláv-ama)</i>	<i>golov-ám</i>	<i>golov-ámi</i>	<i>gor-ámi</i>	* <i>golv-ámi</i>
<i>i</i> -st. instr. pl.	<i>(kòst-ima)</i>	<i>(kòst-àmi)</i>	<i>det'-mí</i>	<i>kost-mí</i>	* <i>zvēr-ьmi</i>
<i>ā</i> -st. loc. pl.	<i>(gláv-ama)</i>	<i>gor-àh</i>	<i>golov-áx</i>	<i>gor-àh</i>	* <i>golv-áxb</i>
prs. 1. pl.	<i>nes-émo</i>	<i>peč-emò</i>	<i>(nes-ëm)</i>	<i>nes-émo</i>	* <i>nes-emò</i>
prs. 2. pl.	<i>nes-éte</i>	<i>peč-etě</i>	<i>nes-ëte</i>	<i>nes-éte</i>	* <i>nes-etè</i>

Note: Prs. 2. pl. Ukrainian *neseté*, Belarusian *vedz'ac'é*