

# Indo-European heritage in the Balto-Slavic accentuation system

THOMAS OLANDER  
University of Copenhagen

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## Introduction

- 1 BS accentual mobility
- 2 Saussure
- 3 Meillet, Stang – Dybo
- 4 Kortlandt
- 5 Olander
- 6 PIE accent types
- 7 Conclusion

1. BS accentual mobility | 2. Saussure | 3. Meillet, Stang – Dybo | 4. Kortlandt | 5. Olander  
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## 1 BS accentual mobility (1)

- correspondence between accentuation of Vedic-Greek and BS vowel stems (Dybo and Illič-Svityč):

Ved.-Gk. acc.	PBS root	Lithuanian	Slavic
root	acute	root (AP 1)	root (AP a)
root	circumfl.	root + SL (AP 2)	desinence (AP b)
desinence	acute	mobile (AP 3)	mobile (AP c)
desinence	circumfl.	mobile + SL (AP 4)	mobile (AP c)

- PBS: AP I (root acc.) vs. AP II (mobile acc.)

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## 1 BS accentual mobility (2)

- *ā*-stems

	sg.		pl.	
	Lith.	CS	Lith.	CS
nom.	<i>galvā</i>	* <i>golvā</i>	<i>gálvos</i>	* <i>gólvy</i>
acc.	<i>gálvq</i>	* <i>gólvoq</i>	<i>gálvas</i>	* <i>gólvy</i>
gen.	<i>galvōs</i>	* <i>golvý</i>	<i>galvū</i>	* <i>golvǔ</i>
dat.	<i>gálvai</i>	* <i>gólvē</i>	<i>galvōms</i>	* <i>golvǎmǔ</i>
instr.	<i>gálva</i>	* <i>golvōjǫ</i>	<i>galvomis</i>	* <i>golvǎmi</i>
loc.	<i>galvojē</i>	* <i>golvě</i>	<i>galvosē</i>	* <i>golvǎxǔ</i>

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## 1 BS accentual mobility (3)

- *o*-stems

	sg.		pl.	
	Lith.	CS	Lith.	CS
nom.	<i>lángas</i>	* <i>lǫgǔ</i>	<i>langāi</i>	* <i>lǫzi</i>
acc.	<i>lángq</i>	* <i>lǫgǔ</i>	<i>langus</i>	* <i>lǫgy</i>
gen.	<i>lángo</i>	* <i>lǫga</i>	<i>langū</i>	* <i>lǫgǔ</i>
dat.	<i>lángui</i>	* <i>lǫgu</i>	<i>langāms</i>	* <i>lǫgǫmǔ</i>
instr.	<i>lángu</i>	* <i>lǫgomǔ</i>	<i>langāis</i>	* <i>lǫgy</i>
loc.	<i>langē</i>	* <i>lǫzē</i>	<i>languosē</i>	* <i>lǫzǔxǔ</i>

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## 2 Saussure

- accent retraction in medially stressed forms in hysterokinetic paradigm of consonant stems
- imitated by vowel stems

pre-Lith.	Lith.	pre-Lith.	Lith.
<i>duktǔ</i>	= <i>duktǔ</i>	<i>galvā</i>	= <i>galvā</i>
* <i>duktǔrǔj</i>	> <i>dūkterǔj</i>	* <i>galvāq</i>	→ <i>gálvq</i>
<i>dukterǔs</i>	= <i>dukterǔs</i>	<i>galvōs</i>	= <i>galvōs</i>
* <i>duktǔri</i>	> <i>dūkteri</i>	* <i>galvāi</i>	→ <i>gálvai</i>

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### 3 Meillet, Stang – Dybo

- Meillet and Stang
  - Balto-Slavic accentual mobility is inherited from PIE, also in vowel stems (except *o*-stems)
  - Vedic and Greek have lost accentual mobility in vowel stems, preserving it only in consonant stems
- Dybo
  - PBS ictus determined by tones inherited from PIE

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### 4 Kortlandt

- pre-2006:
  - “Loss of PIE accentual mobility, of which there is no trace outside the nominal flexion of the consonant stems”
- post-2006:
  - original PIE accentual mobility in  $\bar{a}$ -, *i*-, *u*-, *C*-stems is preserved in BS

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### 5 Olander (1)

- Mobility Law:
  - 1 accent is lost in pre-PBS in final syllables reflecting PIE  $*V(C)$  or  $*V(h)V(C)$ :
    - pre-PBS nom. sg.  $*lāʔnʔgas$  > PBS  $*lāʔngas$
    - pre-PBS dat. sg.  $*gāʔlʔaaʔj$  > PBS  $*gāʔlʔāj$
  - 2 accent is retained on the reflexes of PIE  $*\bar{V}$  or  $*Vh$ .:
    - pre-PBS nom. sg.  $*dukʔtē$  = PBS  $*dukʔtē$
    - pre-PBS nom. sg.  $*gāʔlʔāʔ$  = PBS  $*gāʔlʔāʔ$

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### 5 Olander (2)

- non-final syllables:
  - pre-PBS dat. pl.  $*lāʔnʔgamas$  = PBS  $*lāʔnʔgamas$  (Lith. *langáms*, CS *\*lǫgǫmь*)
- accent of PBS  $*lāʔnʔgamas$  = Vedic *devébhyaḥ* = PIE  $*dejjúomos$

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### 6 PIE accentuation types (1)

- 1 lexemes with COLUMNAR accentuation:
  - a non-desinential accentuation:
    - nom.  $*nókʔt-s$ , gen.  $*nēkʔt-s$
    - nom.  $*uʔhn-ah_2$ , gen.  $*uʔhn-ah_2-s$
    - prs. 3 sg.  $*stēy-ti$ , 3 pl.  $*stēy-nti$
  - b desinential accentuation:
    - nom.  $*dʔugə_2-tér$ , gen.  $*dʔugə_2-tr-ós$
    - nom.  $*bʔug-áh_2$ , gen.  $*bʔug-áh_2-s$
    - nom.  $*mʔt-í-s$ , gen.  $*mʔt-éj-s$
    - prs. 3 sg.  $*sup-é-ti$ , 3 pl.  $*sup-ó-nti$

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### 6 PIE accentuation types (2)

- 2 lexemes with MOBILE accentuation (several types):
  - $*h_2nér$ , gen.  $*h_2nr-ós$
  - $*pónt-ōh_2-s$ , gen.  $*pʔnt-h_2-ós$
  - $*mléy_h_2-ti$ , 3 pl.  $*mluh_2-énti$
- apparently without traces in Balto-Slavic
  - Russ. sg. *pólje* vs. pl. *poljá* is not inherited
- late PIE: speakers did not analyse morphemes, they counted syllables

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## 7 Conclusion

- Balto-Slavic accentual mobility in vowel stems
  - is an archaism inherited from PIE: Meillet, Stang, Kortlandt<sup>2006</sup>, Dybo
  - is an innovation based on analogy with mobility in consonant stems: Saussure, Kortlandt<sup>2006</sup>
  - is an innovation as the result of a sound law: Olander