

What are they all fighting about?

The different schools of Balto-Slavic Accentology

Yoko Yamazaki

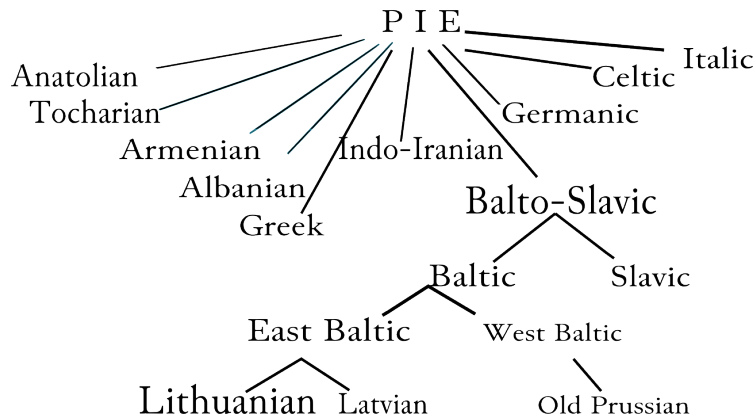
Baltic Languages, Stockholm university

Språkhistoriska seminariet, Dec. 15, 2016



Stockholm
University

The Baltic and Slavic Languages I



- ▶ "Genetic relationship:" sister branches

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

The Baltic and Slavic Languages II

► Cognates I:

Lith.	Latv.	OCS	
<i>vienas, -à</i>	<i>viēns, -a</i>	<i>jedinъ, -a, -o</i>	'1'
<i>dù/dvì</i>	<i>divi</i>	<i>dъva</i>	'2'
<i>trỹs</i>	<i>trîs</i>	<i>trъje</i>	'3'
<i>keturì, -ios</i>	<i>četri, -as</i>	<i>četyre</i>	'4'
<i>penkì, -ios</i>	<i>pìeci, -as</i>	<i>pętъ</i>	'5'
<i>šeši, -ios</i>	<i>seši, -as</i>	<i>šestъ</i>	'6'
<i>septynì, -ios</i>	<i>septiņi, -as</i>	<i>sedmъ</i>	'7'
<i>aštuonì, -ios</i>	<i>astôņi, -as</i>	<i>osmъ</i>	'8'
<i>devynì, -ios</i>	<i>deviņi, -as</i>	<i>devętъ</i>	'9'
<i>dėšimt</i>	<i>desmit</i>	<i>desętъ</i>	'10'

Stang (1966: 276ff.)

Endzelīns (1923: 356ff.)

Lunt (2001: 71ff.)

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

The Baltic and Slavic Languages III

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

► Cognates II:

Lith. *bŭti*, Latv. *bŭt*

SCr. *bŭti* 'be'

Lith. *dŭoti*, Latv. *duōt/duōt*

SCr. *dāti* 'give'

Lith. *dŭmai*, Latv. *dŭmi*

SCr. *dŭm* 'smoke'

OLith. *mōtē*, Latv. *māti*

SCr. *māti* 'mother'

Lith. *draũgas*, Latv. *drāugs*

SCr. *drŭg* 'friend'

Lith. *vīl̃kas*, Latv. *vīlks*

SCr. *vŭk* 'wolf'

Lith. *šveñtas*, Latv. *svēts*

SCr. *svēt* 'holy'

Lith. *miẽgas*

SCr. *mŭg* 'sleep'

Stang (1957)

The Baltic and Slavic Languages IV

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

► Tonal correspondence:

Baltic: Lithuanian, Latvian, Old Prussian,

Slavic: Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian

Baltic		Slavic	
Lithuanian	Latvian	Serbo-Croatian	Slovenian
acute			
Ų	Ū	Ǘ	ǘ
falling	sustained	short falling	long rising
	ǘ		
	broken tone		
non-acute			
circumflex			
ǘ	ǘ	ǘ, ĩje	â
rising	falling	long falling	long falling

The Baltic and Slavic Languages V

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

other types of non-acute

˘

grave accent
(on short V)

ˊ

long rising

˘

short rising

The Baltic and Slavic Languages VI

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

- ▶ PBS non-acute $*\bar{e} > \text{PS } \acute{e} > \text{SCr. } \ddot{i}je$
cf. Lith. *sniẽgas*, Latv. *snìegs* 'snow' \sim SCr. *snìjeg*
- ▶ The contrast between the tones labeled "acute" and "circumflex" has been a main issue in the accentology for a long time.
 - ▶ acute root \sim non-acute root
Acute root PBS $*d\bar{o}$ -:
Lith. *dúoti*, Latv. *duõt/duôt*, SCr. *däti* 'give'

 - Non-acute root PBS $*droug$ -:
Lith. *draũgas*, Latv. *dràugs*, SCr. *drûg* 'friend'

What is discussed under “Balto-Slavic Accentology”?

Research of the “tones” of Baltic and Slavic languages from a few viewpoints:

- ▶ investigating the tone systems of the Baltic and Slavic languages synchronically or diachronically;
- ▶ reconstructing the accent system of Proto-Balto-Slavic (to contribute to the reconstruction of the PIE prosodic system);
- ▶ answering the question as to whether the accentual mobility in the nominal and verbal paradigms of the Baltic and Slavic languages is inherited from PIE or not....?
- ▶ investigating the origin of the tonal contrast “acute vs. circumflex.”

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

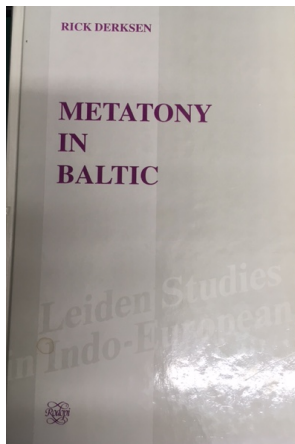
Difference in Views

Summary

References

Research History — Some References I

Good summaries/introductions are available in the introductory part of R. Derksen (1996) *Metatony in Baltic*, Rodopi. (for Leiden School)



What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Research History — Some References II

Chapter 1 in T. Olander (2009) *Balto-Slavic Accentual Mobility*, Mouton.



What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

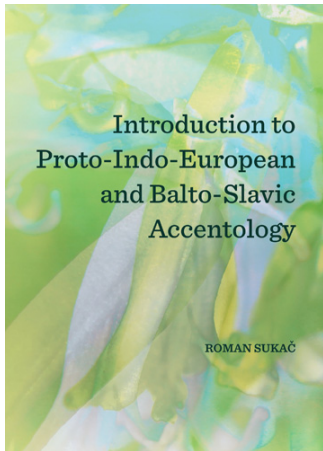
Difference in Views

Summary

References

Research History — Some References III

R. Sukač (2013) *Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and Balto-Slavic Accentology*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.



What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Ferdinand de Saussure I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

de Saussure (1894: 492ff.) compared the Lithuanian tones and the long vowels in the cognates of IE languages:

- ▶ Lith. *nósis* 'nose' ~ Skt. *nāsā* '(a pair of) nostrils'; Lith. *stóti* 'to stand' ~ Skt. *sthā-* 'id.'; Lith. *ménuo* 'month, moon' ~ Goth. *mēna* 'moon'
- ▶ Lith. *girti*, past pass. part. *girtas* ~ Skt. *gūrtá-* 'pleasant,' Lat. *grātus* 'beloved' (< PIE **gṛtos* [**grHtos*])
- ▶ Lith. *dantis* 'tooth' (*dañtj* acc.sg.) ~ Skt. *dant-* 'tooth' (< PIE **dont-* [**h₁d-ont-*])
- ▶ Lith. *vil̃kas* 'wolf' ~ Skt. *vṛkas* (< PIE **u_̊lk^wos* 'wolf')

He also introduced a concept of **métatonie**:

Ferdinand de Saussure II

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

▶ *métatonie douce*:

dýgti 'to spring, shoot' → *dỹgis* 'prick, stab;' *šókti* 'to jump' → *šõkis* 'jump'

kója 'leg' → *pakõjui* 'in step;' *véjas* 'wind' → *pavějis* 'lee, leeward'

▶ *métatonie rude*:

sveĩkas 'healthy' → *svéikinti* 'to greet'

In addition, he developed the “Laryngeal Theory.”

Laryngeal Theory I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

► Background (cf. Lindeman 1987)

- “usual” ablaut pattern:

e-grade

Gk. π*έ*λομαι ‘become’

Gk. λ*έ*πω ‘leave’

o-grade

π*ό*λος ‘axis’

λέλ*ο*ιπα (pf.)

zero-grade

ἔπλετο (aor.mid.)

ἔλιπον (aor.)

- “unusual” ablaut patterns:

ē, ō for normal grade

Lat. *fēcī* ‘made’ (pf.)

Goth. *doms*
‘judgment’

zero-grade

Lat. *factus* (ppp.)

ā for normal grade

Gk. Dor. στ*ᾶ*(-μων) ‘warp’

Lith. st*ó*ti ‘stand’

zero-grade

στ*α*τός (ppp.)

ō for normal grade

Lat. *dōnum* ‘gift,’ Gk. διδ*ω*μι ‘give’

zero-grade

datus (ppp.)

e for normal grade

Skt. bh*á*vati ‘become’

ṽ in zero grade

bh*ū*-tá- (ppp.)

Laryngeal Theory II

- ▶ De Saussure proposed two sonants in Proto-Indo-European:
 - ▶ Gk. Dor. $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ (-μων) 'warp' : $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$
→ *steA- : *stA-to-
 - ▶ Lat. *dōnum* 'gift,' Gk. $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ 'give' : Lat. *datus* (ppp.)
→ *deQ- : *dQ-to-
- ▶ colored the neighboring *e vowels (*steA- > *staA-),
- ▶ vocalized between consonants (*stA-to- > *sta-to-),
- ▶ lengthened the preceding vowel in a position between a vowel and consonant before being lost (e.g. *staA-C... > *stā-C...).
- ▶ Hermann Møller added one more sonant *E*, assuming, for example, PIE *dhē- to be *dheE- 'place' (cf. Skt. *dadhāti*, Gk. $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$). He further named the sonants, *A*, *E*, *Q*, *Laryngeals*.

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Laryngeal Theory III

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

- ▶ Later, Kuryłowicz identified these laryngeals with the h sound in Hittite, e.g., $*Aent-$ \sim Hitt. $h_2antuzzi-$ 'first.'

Nowadays, the laryngeals are notated as follows:

- ▶ $E = h_1$
- ▶ $A = h_2$
- ▶ $\underset{\cdot}{Q} = h_3$

Therefore, $*Aent-$ = $*h_2ent-$.

Kuryłowich I

Kuryłowicz (1948: 1ff.) shows that long diphthongs, as well as long syllabic sonants, received the acute accent when they were shortened in the Proto-Balto-Slavic stage. He proposed that those long diphthongs and long syllabic sonants are generated as the result of compensatory lengthening caused by laryngeal loss: $*\bar{R}H$, $*VRH > *\bar{R}$, $*\bar{V}R > \text{Lith. } \grave{i}R, \acute{V}R$.

- ▶ Lith. *vìlna*, Skt. *úrnā-* < PIE $*\bar{u}H\text{-neh}_2$ 'wool';
Lith. *gìrti*, past pass. part. *girtas*, Skt. *gūrta-* 'pleasant,'
Lat. *grātus* 'beloved' (< $*g\bar{r}tos$) < PIE $*grHtos$
- ▶ *gérti* 'to drink' < PIE $*g^w\text{erh}_3-$ vs. *penkì*, f. *peñkios*,
Skt. *pāñca*, Gk. πέντε 'five' < PIE $*penk^we-$.

The Balto-Slavic tone resulting from [Vowel + laryngeal] is acute:

- ▶ Lith. *výras* (1), Latv. *vīrs* 'man'
cf. Skt *vīrá-* < $*\bar{u}iH\text{-ró-}$

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

- ▶ Lith. *pìlnas* (3), Latv. *piĩns*, SCr. *pÿn* 'full'
cf. Skt *pūrṇá-* < *p|H-nó-
- ▶ Lith. *dūmai*, Latv. *dūmi*, SCr. *dìm* 'smoke,' Sln. *díti* 'scent'
cf. Hitt. *antuwaḫḫas* 'man' < *en-d_yeh₂-os- 'making smoke'
- ▶ Lith. *dúoti*, Latv. *duõt/duôt*, SCr. *däti* 'give'
cf. Lat. *dōnum* 'gift,' Gk. *δίδωμι* 'give' < *deh₃-

Laryngeal Theory revealed that **most of the long vowels which were believed to be plain long vowels in fact go back to sequences *-VH(-C...)**.

Christian Stang II

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Stang reconstructed three Accentual Paradigms for Proto-Slavic (Stang 1957: 56ff.):

- ▶ (a) constant root stress (SCr. *dìm*) ~ Lith. *dūmai* (1), Latv. *dūmi* 'smoke'
- ▶ (b) constant end stress (SCr. *dvôr* 'door' Čak. *ženà*, ORu. *žená* 'woman')
- ▶ (c) mobile stress (SCr. *gláva*, *glâvu* (acc.sg.) 'head,' SCr. *drûg* 'friend') ~ Lith. *gálvą* (3; acc. sg.), Latv. *gaíva* 'head;' Lith. *draũgas* (4), Latv. *dràugs* 'friend'

He also demonstrated the correspondence of the mobile/immobile paradigms in Baltic and Slavic with rich data (cf. Vermeer 1998: 249).

Contribution of Moscow School: Illich-Svitych and Dybo I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

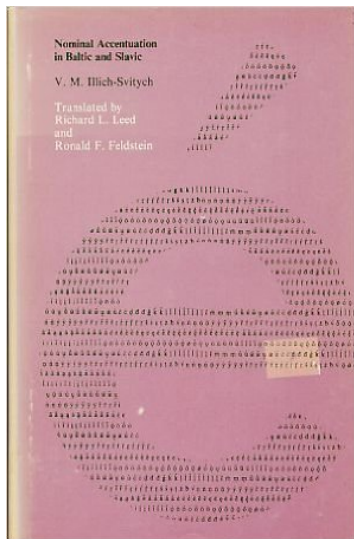
Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References



Contribution of Moscow School: Illich-Svitych and Dybo II

Illich-Svitych (1979) showed the correspondence of Baltic and Slavic Accentual Paradigms (AP) of nouns:

- ▶ Sl. AP (a) = Balt. immobile (or *baryton*), acute root (Lith. AP1)
- ▶ Sl. AP (b) = Balt. immobile, non-acute root (Lith. AP2)
- ▶ Sl. AP (c) = Balt. mobile (or *oxyton*) (Lith. AP3 and 4)

Notes on terminologies:

- ▶ immobile = baryton = root-accented
- ▶ mobile = oxyton = end-accented
 - ▶ immobile/mobile: the accentual mobility in the Baltic and Slavic paradigms is an inheritance of that in PIE (Meillet (1914: 74), Stang (1957: 175–178), among others).

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Contribution of Moscow School: Illich-Svitych and Dybo III

- ▶ baryton/oxyton or root-accented/end-accented: the accentual mobility in PIE was lost and restructured to root-accented (baryton) and end-accented (oxyton) types of paradigms in PBS (Kortlandt (1974), Derksen (1996)) .

Illich-Svitych (1979: 143–4) proposed an accent shift law that transformed the APb from a single baryton paradigm of the nominals with circumflex roots in Proto-Slavic. Dybo (1962) showed that the accent shift took place to verbal paradigms, thus in general, Slavic AP(a) and AP(b) developed from one baryton-type paradigm in Proto-Slavic.

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Winter (1978) proposed that a PIE short V is reflected as a long **acute** V in front of a PIE non-aspirated voiced stop (*D):

- ▶ Lith. *óbuolas*, Latv. *âbuols*, Sln. *jáblan* 'apple'
cf. OHG *aphul* < **h₂eb-*
- ▶ Lith. *ésti*, Latv. *êst*, SCr. *jèsti* 'eat'
cf. Skt. *átti* < **h₁ed-*
- ▶ Lith. *sésti*, Latv. *sêst*, SCr. *sjèsti* 'sit' < **sed-*
- ▶ Lith. *bégti*, Latv. *bêgt*, SCr. *bjègati* 'run, flee'
cf. Gk. *φέβομαι* 'be flying' < **b^heg^w-*

Different Schools

Different schools have different opinions on the origin of the tonal contrast.

- ▶ Leiden School
(Kortlandt, Derksen, Pronk, Kloekhorst, Matasović.....)
- ▶ Moscow School and their spin-offs
(Illich-Svitych, Dybo, Garde, Kiparsky, Sukač, etc....)
- ▶ Researchers more or less advocating the “traditional view”
 - ▶ American researchers
(Jasanoff and his students, Vine, Kim....)
 - ▶ European researchers (Rasmussen and his students from Copenhagen, among others), including moderators like (Olander, Villanueva Svensson....)

The most salient contrast stands between the Leiden School and the remaining schools.

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

How about Plain Long V's? – Fights start... I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

For example, Kortlandt vs. Jasanoff.

- ▶ Jasanoff, Jay. 2004a. “Acute vs. circumflex: some notes on PIE and post-PIE prosodic phonology,”
- ▶ Kortlandt, Frederik. 2004 “Balto-Slavic accentuation: [some news travels slowly](#),”
- ▶ Jasanoff, Jay. 2004b “Balto-Slavic accentuation: [telling news from noise](#),”
- ▶ Kortlandt, Frederik. 2005 “[Noises and nuisances](#) in Balto-Slavic and Indo-European linguistics.”

How about Plain Long V's? – Fights start... II

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Disputed Issues:

- ▶ PIE plain long V:
 - ▶ lengthened grade V in some Root nouns and aorist forms?? (see below)
 - ▶ the nom. sg. ending of consonantal stems
e.g., *akmuõ*, *vanduõ*, *ménuo*, *sesuõ*, *duktẽ*
- ▶ plain long V or in fact *-VH-C-...?
 - ▶ Nouns:
Lith. *žvėris*, Latv. *zvērs* 'wild animal' < * $\hat{g}^h u\bar{e}rs$ or * $\hat{g}^h u\bar{e}h_1rs$?
Lith. *nósis*, Latv. *nāss* 'nose' < * $n\bar{a}s$ or * neh_2s ?
 - ▶ acc. pl. ending
Lith. *-ùs/-úos-*, *-às/-ós-* (in illative), *is*, *-ùs*, *-ès*
Did their preforms have long vowels or a short vowel and a laryngeal?
- ▶ Different historical interpretations of some categories
e.g., s-aorists.

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Basic Views on Plain long Vowels I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Traditionalists assume....

- ▶ the reflexes are mostly **acute**:
 - ▶ Lith. *žvėrìs*, Latv. *zvêrs* 'wild animal' < * $\hat{g}^h u\bar{e}rs$
 - ▶ Lith. *nósis*, Latv. *nāss* 'nose' < * $n\bar{a}s$
- ▶ **circumflex** tone in the nom. sg. ending of consonantal stems (*akmuõ*, *vanduõ*, *ménuo*, *sesuõ*, *duktẽ*, etc.)
 - ▶ a long plain vowel in the absolute final position gained one more mora to develop to trimoraic vowel, which results in circumflex tone (Jasanoff (2004a))
 - ▶ secondary development (Yoshida (2012)) or analogy from monosyllabic forms (Hanssen (1885))
 - ▶ Moderating view: Kortlandt's view that PIE plain long \bar{V} is reflected as PBS non-acute is right only in the absolute final position (Olander (2009), Villanueva Svensson (2011))

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Basic Views on Plain long Vowels II

The ancestral supersegmental feature of the acute tone is assumed to be glottalization (Vaillant 1936: 114–115, Stang 1966: 137), and it is transcribed as ∨ (Jasanoff:2004) or ∨̣ (Olander 2015).

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Basic Views on Plain long Vowels III

Leiden School assumes....

The source of the acute tone should be the glottalization of a vowel in PBS. Glottalization was caused by two factors:

- ▶ Laryngeals in **VHC* and **VRHC* sequence
- ▶ New interpretation of Winter's Law: the PIE voiced unaspirated stops (**b*, **d*, **g*) are considered to have been glottalic stops (**p'*, **t'*, **k'*; **Glottalic Theory**), which caused glottalization of the preceding vowel. This phonetically explains Winter's Law (Kortlandt 1977, 1978).

Thus, they transcribe the acute vowel *V[?]*. In addition, they proposed a number of new reconstructions of proto-forms.

- ▶ **circumflex** tone in the nom. sg. endings of consonantal stem is the regular outcome.
- ▶ all the **acute** long vowels should be originated from ***-VH(-C...)** or Winter's Law.

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

On the Reconstruction of PIE Root Nouns I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

'wild animal'

Baltic: žvēris, Latv. zvērs (m.) < PB *žvēris

Slavic: OCS zvěrb (m.), SCr. zviĵer (f.), Sln. zvêr (f.)
< PS *zvērb (c)

PBS *žvēris ← *žvēr < PIE *ǵʰuēr

other IE¹: Gk. θήρ, θηρός (m.), Lat. fēra (f./n. pl.) 'wild beast'

Traditionalists assume...

- ▶ *ǵʰuēr/*ǵʰur-´ (Schindler 1972: 37)

Leiden School assumes...

- ▶ *ǵʰu^{eh}₁rs/*ǵʰu(e)h₁r-´ (Derksen 2008: 550, Pronk 2012: 216ff.)

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

On the Reconstruction of PIE Root Nouns II

'nose'

- Baltic: Latv. *nāss* 'nostril' < PB **nāsis*; also, *nāse* 'nose' in *ē*-stem
- Slavic: OCS *nosъ*, SCr. *nôś*, *nōsa*, Sln. *nôś* < PS **nosъ* (c) ← **nósa* [nom.pl ← nom./acc. du. (Bräuer 1969: 130–143; Fritz 1996: 15)] < **nás-oh₁*
- other IE: Skt. *nās-/nas-* (f.) 'nostril' (du. *nāsā* 'nose'), Lat. *nāris* (f.), PGmc. **nasō* (f.; < du. **nás-oh₁* (← **-h₁e*) cf. Kluge 1882: 509ff; Thöny 2013: 140ff.)

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

On the Reconstruction of PIE Root Nouns III

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Traditionalists assume...

There are many reconstructions:

- ▶ **nás-s* (> **nás̑s*)/**n̥s-ós* (Schindler 1972: 37)
- ▶ **nás̑s*/**nás-* (Rasmussen 1989: 260)
- ▶ **Hnás̑s*/**Hnas-´* (Mayrhofer 1986 96: II, 31)
- ▶ **Hnás̑s*/**Hnás-* (Griepentrog 1995: 341)
- ▶ **h₂énh₁-ōs*/**h₂n̥h₁-s-és* (Fritz 1996: 15)

Leiden School assumes...

- ▶ **neh₂s*/**nh₂-´* (Kortlandt 1985: 119)

On the Accusative Plural Endings

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

▶ For *o*-stem

Traditionalists assume....

- ▶ **-oms* > **-ons* (Sihler 1995: 262–263)
- ▶ **-oms* (noun), **-o_ims* > **-ōns* (pron.) (Rasmussen 1989: 139)
- ▶ **-oms* > **-ōm*/**-ōn* [Szemerényi's Law] (Kim 2012: 148ff.)
- ▶ **-ōms* (> PBS **-ōns*) (Olander 2015: 250)

Leiden School assumes....

PIE **-oHNs* (Kortlandt 1975: 46).

▶ For other stems

Traditionalists assume....

**-ims*, **-ums*, **-eh₂ms*

Leiden School assumes....

**-iHNs*, **-uHNs*, **-eh₂Ns*

On s-aorist I

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Traditionalists assume....

- ▶ Slavic forms like *věšb* 'I led' reflect the PIE s-aorist paradigms that had lengthened grade root in the singular and full-grade root in plural. Also, many Slavic s-aorists are sigmatized in Slavic, cf. SCr. 1sg. *däh*, cf. Skt. *ádāt* (root-aor.)
- ▶ The circumflex tone of forms like SCr. 2/3sg. *dâ* 'gave' can be attributed to its monosyllabicity (Rasmussen 2007: 32) or Meillet's Law (Kortlandt 1997: 29–30, Villanueva Svensson 2011: 18).

Leiden School assumes....

- ▶ lengthened grade in 2sg. **dēh₃-s-s*, 3sg. **dēh₃-s-t* (> SCr. 2/3sg. *dâ*)
- ▶ full-grade for other personal forms including 1sg. (!) **deh₃-s-(o)m* > SCr. *däh*

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

On s-aurist II

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

- ▶ assumption of laryngeal loss after a long vowel in $*d\bar{e}h_3-s-s$, $*d\bar{e}h_3-s-t$
However, Hitt. 3sg. *weḫzi* 'turns' < $*u\acute{e}h_2-$
But for this root, they reconstruct $*u\acute{e}ih_2-$
- ▶ rejection of Eichner's Law in $*d\bar{e}h_3-s-s$, $*d\bar{e}h_3-s-t$
cf. $*d\bar{e}h_3-s-s > *d\bar{e}s$ with Eichner's Law (no coloring by laryngeal)

Summary

What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Each side has their opinion on the origin of the Balto-Slavic tone, or as to which tone PIE plain long vowels should be reflected with.

We can see some different morphological/phonological interpretations or reconstructions of the same set of forms that are adduced as the supporting data by most schools, depending on their preferred theories....

It is in fact so difficult to have a neutral mind on this topic.

Tack!

What are they all
fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and
Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Bibliography IV

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Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References

Bibliography V

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Bibliography VI

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Bibliography VII

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Bibliography VIII

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

[Introduction](#)

[Research History](#)

[Accentology and Plain Long Vowels](#)

[Difference in Views](#)

[Summary](#)

[References](#)

Bibliography IX

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What are they all fighting about?

Yoko Yamazaki

Introduction

Research History

Accentology and Plain Long Vowels

Difference in Views

Summary

References