Miguel Villanueva Svensson’s competent review (2010) of my work (2009) has made clear that I have not always been sufficiently explicit about the argumentation for my reconstructions. Here I shall briefly comment on two points where he evidently found my reasoning unconvincing.

The first point concerns my reconstruction of the PIE 3rd pl. ending *‑o in the thematic present beside *‑ont in the thematic aorist, *‑nt in the athematic aorist, and *‑(e)nti in the athematic present. According to what Villanueva calls the “traditional view”, in its most extreme form represented by Cowgill (1985), the endings of the thematic present were identical with the endings of the athematic present, preceded by the thematic vowel *‑e/o‑. The alternative view that the thematic present endings were entirely different from those of the athematic present was defended by Meillet, Pedersen, Watkins (1969) and others and can hardly be called less traditional (cf. Kortlandt 2007 passim). Villanueva states that “apart from Baltic, the only piece of evidence [Kortlandt] adduces [for thematic 3rd pl. *‑o] is TB 3 sg. āśāṃ, 3 pl. ākem, allegedly from 3 sg. *h₂eḡ‑e, 3 pl. *h₂eḡ‑o + enclitic ‑ṃ in spite of TA 3 pl. ākeņc < *h₂eḡonti”. This is a gross simplification. In fact, I have argued that Latin ‑unt, Old Irish ‑at and Old Church Slavic ‑ǫtъ cannot simply be derived from *‑onti (2009, 162). The Toch. B clitic ‑ṃ in 3rd sg. āśāṃ ‘agit’, 3rd pl. ākem ‘agunt’ and its Toch. A counterpart ‑ṣ were established by Holger Pedersen (1941, 142). The Toch. A 3rd pl. ending ‑eņc represents *‑o plus added *‑nti from the athematic present, as is clear from the coexistence of such forms as tāke beside tākeņc ‘will be’, predominantly in an archaic text. In Indo-Iranian, the thematic present endings are reflected in the subjunctive, where the 3rd pl. ending ‑an represents *‑o plus added *‑nt and cannot possibly be derived from *‑onti (cf. Beekes 1981). The only branch of Indo-European which unambiguously points to 3rd sg. *‑eti and 3rd pl. *‑onti is Germanic.

Villanueva cites Endzelin’s suggestion that the original 3rd pl. verbal ending was preserved in the nom.pl. form of the active participle in Lithuanian,
e.g. degą̃ ‘burning’. This view cannot be correct because there is an apophon-
ic difference between the participial forms ėsą̃ ‘being’, ėją̃ ‘going’ (cf. Korte-
landt 2009, 298f., with o-vocalism from the thematic flexion) and the original
3rd pl. forms *senti, *ienti, which would yield *seį̃, *jeį̃ and perhaps
merge with the gerund (Daukša) saį̃t, eį̃t. The nom. pl. form of the participle
continues the original neuter sg. form, as in jąi nųo dą̃rbo ranką̃ suką̃ ‘(she
said) her arms ache from work’ (Ambrazas 1997, 371), which ultimately
reflects the PIE ergative construction (cf. Kortlandt 2010 passim).

The second point to be discussed here concerns the PIE gen. pl. ending
*-om. I have argued that original *-om was raised to *-um in early Balto-
Slavic times and that the stem vowel of the o-stems was restored in Lith.
acc. sg. -ą̃ and in the Prussian nominal paradigm, where it was generalized
and extended to the ā- and u-stems. Villanueva finds “the analogy relatively
unproblematic for Lithuanian, but not so for Prussian (especially not for the
genitive plural)”. This is remarkable because Trautmann already observed
that the Prussian gen. pl. ending “-on wurde aber zu -an nach den überwie-
genden Kasus mit a umgestaltet: grecon und grecun I; sonst griquan II, grikan,
grijkan, grikan III” (1910, 220). Villanueva acknowledges the difference in the
genitive plural between nominal -an and pronominal -on in Old Prussian but
does not mention other instances of *-om, which is regularly reflected as -on
except for the acc. sg. ending of inflected o-stem nouns, where it is replaced
by -an (with the single exception of deickton 3× ‘stead, something’). Thus,
we find -on in niainonton ‘nobody’, muisieson ‘larger’, pauson ‘because’, enter-
pon ‘useful’, dessīmton ‘ten, tenth’, and in the passive participles aingemin-
ton, niwinūton, ismajtinton, perklantīton, polaipinton, pogauton, potaukinton,
billīton, (po)dāton, (po)peisāton, pogalbtōn, poquītīton, prolīetion. It follows
that -on is the phonetic reflex of PIE *-om in Old Prussian and that -an con-
tains an analogical vowel which was taken from other case forms.

I have dated the raising of *-om to *-um before the loss of final *-t/d,
among other things because the difference between the Slavic thematic aorist
endings 1st sg. -ą̃ < *-om and 3rd pl. -q < *-ont was preserved when final
*-t was lost. Villanueva proposes to “assume for a moment that *-oN > *-uN
was posterior to the loss of final *t/d (a chronology compatible with the
traditional view that this is an exclusively Slavic sound change)” so that the
two endings would merge into *-ą̃ and supposes that “a proportional analogy
*-ętą̃ : *-ę = *-ętą̃ : X, X = *-q (with *-q replacing lautgesetzlich *-ą̃) would
have been quite trivial at any stage”. This is not so because there is no reason
why a redundant morphological distinction in the present tense should be copied in the aorist. If the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. endings had merged into *-v, the obvious solution would be to eliminate the homonymy by adopting the 3rd pl. ending *-e of the productive sigmatic aorist in the thematic paradigm instead of creating a new ending for which there was no motivation.

It must be regretted that Villanueva does not mention the principal reason to date the raising of *-om to *-um before the loss of final *-t/d, viz. the fact that PIE barytone neuter o-stems became masculine in Slavic whereas PIE oxytone neuter o-stems remained neuter. This development was established by Illič-Svitýč (1963). New barytone neuter o-stems arose as a result of Hirt’s law, which was a Balto-Slavic development. It follows that the raising of *-om to *-um and the rise of a distinct ending in the oxytone neutron o-stems preceded Hirt’s law and therefore belonged to the early Balto-Slavic period. The correctness of this analysis is confirmed by evidence from the three Baltic languages. All neuter o-stems which have been preserved in Old Prussian represent original oxytona (cf. Kortlandt 1983, 183). In Latvian, the new barytone neuter o-stems which arose from Hirt’s law adopted mobile stress at a more recent stage (after its separation from Lithuanian but before the fixation of the stress on the initial syllable), evidently because the other neuter o-stems had mobile stress (cf. Kortlandt 2009, 14f.). In Lithuanian, the nom. pl. endings of the Indo-European o-stems point to an earlier complementary distribution between unstressed masculine -ai < *-oi and stressed neuter -ie < *-aH-i (cf. Kortlandt 2009, 147–149). While the former ending was common to masculine nouns with fixed and mobile stress, as is clear from Serbo-Croatian nom. pl. vȗci ‘wolves’, the latter was limited to neuters with mobile stress, which points to the absence of neuters with fixed stress at an early stage.

As an alternative to my reconstructions of Lith. akmuō ‘stone’ (Slavic kamy) < *-ōn, dū vilkû ‘two wolves’ < *-oH, and gen. sg. vīko < *-ō, Villanueva mentions the possibility of deriving these endings from *-ō, *-ē, and *-ā, respectively, assuming “an earlier intonational contrast” and a vowel *ā in the gen. sg. ending of the o-stems. These are arbitrary assumptions for which there is simply no evidence. Since I have discussed these issues in detail elsewhere (1983, 167–170), there is no reason to return to the matter here.
SANTRAUKA

Ide. 3 pl. tematinio prezenso galūnė buvo *-o ir virto lie. -a, pr. -a. Ide. o kamieno gen. pl. galūnė buvo *-om ir virto lie. -y, pr. -on.

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