
As D. Petit (P.) points out (3) the Baltic languages are often “nur ein toter Winkel in der Ausbildung der Indogermanisten”. This book, based on a series of lectures at the Indo-European Summer School in Berlin, 2006, is a most welcome attempt to bring Baltic historical linguistics to the attention of the general Indo-European reader. It consists of five autonomous chapters broadly divided into two parts: a presentation of a given topic followed by a discussion of a particular issue.

Chapter 1 offers an overview of Baltic dialectology: traits separating Baltic from the rest of Indo-European (pp. 6–11), differences between West Baltic and East Baltic (pp. 12–21), Old Prussian dialects (pp. 21–25), differences between Lithuanian and Latvian (pp. 25–35), Lithuanian dialectology (pp. 35–44), Latvian dialectology (pp. 44–48), including a list of ancient Lithuanian and Latvian texts (a couple of maps would also have been useful). Every section presents a similar structure: a short presentation of the basic facts is followed by a commented list of phonological, morphological and, specially, lexical isoglosses. P. also discusses areal and substrate approaches to the Baltic dialects and even to Baltic itself, which is seen as a “Zwischenzone” within Indo-European (pp. 48–51).

Chapter 2 presents a survey of the accentological and intonational system of the Baltic languages: Latvian intonations (pp. 55–60), Lithuanian intonations (pp. 60–64), correlation between Lithuanian accentual paradigms and Latvian intonations (pp. 64–71), Žemaitian intonations (pp. 71–75), Old Prussian (pp. 75–100). P. devotes considerable space to determine what the macron expressed in the
Enchiridion. Abel Will, however, states explicitly that ā ē ĭ ŏ ū ĭj express vowel length (PKP 2, 105). It follows that it provides only indirect information on stress position and intonations. P. then moves on to tackle a major point of disagreement in modern scholarship: the intonation of Indo-European long vowels in Balto-Slavic (p. 100–139). P. discusses possible instances of Indo-European long vowels in Baltic, most of which are dismissed as incorrect, unclear, or insufficiently grounded. P. concludes that the issue is still unsettled, but on the strength of dukte “daughter”, akmuo “stone” he provisionally favors Kortlandt’s theory that Indo-European long vowels yield long vowels with circumflex intonation.

Chapter 3 studies the decay of the neuter gender in Baltic. As P. points out, the history of the neuter in Baltic has been more complex than a cursory “preserved in the Elbing Vocabulary, reduced in the Catechisms, preserved only in adjectives and pronouns in Lithuanian, lost without traces in Latvian”. Of particular interest are the sections on the distribution of pronominal -an and -a in the Enchiridion (pp. 164–168), which P. convincingly attributes to German interference, on the pronominal neuter in Lithuanian (pp. 174–183), including discussion of forms like (ta)tau̯, kas, or on adverbial relics of neuter adjectives in Latvian (pp. 185–191). P. expresses considerable skepticism on the view that borrowings like Finnish silta “bridge” preserve a direct reflex of a thematic nom.-acc. sg. n. ending *-a (pp. 197f.). If P. is right (the issue clearly deserves a thorough study), we are only left with a thematic neuter adjective ending -a to be accounted for (against perfectly clear substantival *-an < *-om, pronominal *-a < *-od). In the last section (pp. 198–204) P. correctly criticizes the idea that forms like Lith. gėra represent an Indo-European archaism and provides a syntactic motivation for the adoption of pronominal *-a as the neuter adjective ending.

Chapter 4 begins with a survey of the Lithuanian and Latvian verb (pp. 206–221). P. properly stresses the fact that the principles governing the structure of the Baltic verb (autonomy of the infinitive stem, pivotal position of the third person, predictability of the preterit stem) are specifically Baltic. This is important, as it is not unusual to come across incorrect use of Baltic forms that are entirely predictable within the system. There is at present considerable debate concerning even some of the basics of the organization of the Old Prussian verbal system. P. (pp. 222–241) critically surveys the different approaches and concludes that it can be derived without great difficulty from a “Lithuanian-model” of the Baltic verbal system. Finally, P. briefly discusses the Indo-European origins of the Baltic “semithematic classes”: ā-presents, i-presents, ė- and ā-preterit (pp. 244–260).

Chapter 5 studies the position of clitics in Baltic. After establishing criteria for the identification of clitics in ancient texts, P. surveys the evidence of Old Prussian (pp. 264–271) and East Baltic, mostly Lithuanian (pp. 271–281). The evidence of the three languages permits a relatively straightforward recon-
struction of Baltic clitics, most of them of clear Indo-European pedigree (pp. 281–285). P. then goes on to establish the rules for the position of clitics in Baltic (pp. 285–307). In Baltic, as in Slavic, the position of enclitics has become strongly verb-oriented, thus restricting the application of Wackernagel’s law. The main question concerning the position of proclitics is the scope of tmesis in Baltic. As a remarkable archaism, the Latvian dainas still preserve examples of sentence-initial preverbs with sentence-final verbs. Otherwise preverbs are not separable from the verb, but there are many instances of clitics being inserted between preverbs or prepositions and the head (Lith. sūka-si vs. pa-si-suka; OLith. ing, nuog < *in-gi, *nuo-gi; OPr. ergi, surgi; etc.).

P.’s book is very well written and has obviously achieved its goal. Although it has been primarily conceived for Indo-Europeanists, it will no doubt be read with profit by Balticists as well. In spite of its unmistakable pedagogical bias, P. does fortunately not shy away from presenting his well-informed views on a number of issues.¹ There are, however,

¹ Sometimes one may wonder whether P. has not gone too far. For instance, he criticizes all theories on the origin of the Baltic preterit suffixes *-ā-, *-ē- because “entweder beruhen sie auf schwach begründeten indogermanistischen Ansätzen oder sie setzen wenig überzeugende analogische Prozesse voraus” (p. 251). These words apply perfectly well to his own scenario (pp. 252–254), which starts with an impressive amount of analogical remodeling (2 sg. *vedh-e-s, 3 sg. *vedh-e-t → *vedh-ē-s, *vedh-ē-t on analogy with the imperfect of the verb “to be” 2 sg. *ēs, 3 sg. *ēst < *e-hēes-s, *e-hēes-t; thematic aorist *sed-a-t → *sed-ā-t on analogy with the recently created ē-preterit).
larly damaging in chapter 2, as the intonation of inherited long vowels is clearly a topic in which Baltic and Slavic should be discussed together. In disregarding the Slavic evidence P. misses the best argument for Kortlandt’s theory in inlaut (the circumflex intonation of SCr. inf. dōni-
jeti “bring”, aor. 1 sg. dōnijeh, continuing an old sigmatic aorist *h₁nek-s-t), as well as powerful counterevidence (e.g. SCr. brême, Ru. berėmja < Sl. *bērmę a “load, burden” < *bhēr-men-, cf. Ved. loc. sg. bhārman “bei der Darbringung” RV 8.2.8). This is not the only case in which P.’s attitude has given rise to an error of judgment. For instance, he rejects Jasanoﬀ’s account of the type budēti, buđi “be awake” (i-inflection resegmented from 3 pl. mid. *bʰudʰ-ntoi > *bʰudʰ-intai → *bud-i-nti; Jasanoﬀ 2003, 158ff.) because it is impossible to prove the preservation of the 3rd plural or the middle in Baltic (p. 259). Jasanoﬀ, however, is proposing an early Balto-Slavic development (cf. OCS budēti, budi-), not an exclusively Baltic one.

Although P. pays much attention to intonations, he curiously tends to disregard the broader accentological context (this has also been criticized by Larsson 2008, 147). Thus, when surveying the development of laryngeals in Baltic P. properly observes that the sequence -EHRT-yields a diphthong with acute intonation, exactly like -ERHT-. He fails to mention that -EHRT- triggers Hirt’s law, whereas -ERHT- does not, cf. Lith. dieveris 1, Latv. diēveris, Sl. *dēvero a “brother-in-law” < *deh₂-i-ýer- (cf. Gk. δᾶνη, Ved. devār-) vs. Lith. jāunas 3, Latv. jaūns, Sl. *jūns c “young” < *h₂jeu-h₃n-ó- (cf. Ved. yúvan-, Lat. iuuenis < *h₂ju-h₃on-). Hirt’s law is in fact not mentioned, and so the reader is left without an explanation of the intonational contrast between zero grade iēt “row”, buēt “conjure” and full grade cēlē “lift”, dzēt “drink” in the Latvian infinitive. Similarly, P. observes that it is unclear whether Lith. žvēris 3, Latv. zvērs, Sl. *zvērb c “wild animal” go back to *gʰyēr- or *gʰyeh₁r-. As it has been frequently observed (e.g. Larsson 2008, 148), mobility decidedly points to *gʰyēr-, as one would expect *gʰyeh₁r- to yield an immobile paradigm according to Hirt’s law.² P.’s lack of attention to accentology also affects his treatment of individual items. Thus, he equates Lith. ūostas, Latv. uōsts “port, harbor; mouth of a river” with OPr. ausō Elb., acc. sg. āustin Ench. (!), OCS nom.-acc. pl. n. usta “mouth” (pp. 150, 185). As Derksen (2001) has shown, this etymology creates extraordinary problems from an accentological point of view. The point, I believe, is important. While Indo-Europeanists not specializing in Balto-Slavic will normally know that the acute of Lith. tiltas “bridge” points to a laryngeal, it is my impression that the importance of accentology for Balto-Slavic historical morphology and etymology is less well understood.

P.’s command of Indo-European linguistics is, in general terms, as complete

² To be sure, the issue has been recently complicated by Kapović (2009, 240), who claims that there is evidence pointing to Sl. *zvērb a.

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and up-to-date as that of Baltic. There are cases, however, in which I miss some important evidence or references. For instance, P. (pp. 101f.) correctly observes that the apparent agreement between Lith. nom. sg. algà, gen. sg. algōs and Gk. ἀλφή, ἀλφῆ̋ needs not be explained through contrastive intonations in the parent language. He curiously fails to mention the Germanic Auslautgesetze and the disyllabic scansion of some long vowels in the Rgveda and the Gäthās. Although much more controversial, the idea that the divergent treatment of some final-syllable vowels in Slavic reflect earlier intonations should also have been mentioned. When discussing the words for “heart” and “fire” (pp. 145, 149) P. seems to assume that *-r was regularly lost in final position in Baltic. Although this is not stated explicitly, this view probably depends on the notion that nouns of the type Gk. νομή “village, district”, λώπη “mantle, husk” (< *kōm-eh₂, *lōp-eh₂) are derivationally related to original Narten presents (Katz apud Vine 1998, 697ff.) provides a rationale for the lengthened grade of Lith. nūoma 1 “lease, rent” or Latv. ruōta “adornment, toy”, which are thus to be added to the list of counterexamples against Kortlandt’s theory (cf. Villanueva Svensson thc., §§ 6.2–3). P.’s discussion of the present type Lith. mataũ, mataĩ, mātō etc. “see” also misses some important references. As shown by Cowgill (1959), all Germanic facts can be derived from *-āje/o-. The Baltic present stem suffix *-ā- (beside *-āje/o- < *-ah₂je/o-) thus stays isolated in the northern Indo-European area. P. derives Bl. *-ā- from athematic *-ā-mi. This is directly contradicted by the ḫḥi-conjugation of the factitive type newahh- “make new” in Old Hittite, cf. Jasanoﬀ 2003, 139ff. Rau (2009) has recently argued that the athematic inflection of Greek contract verbs is best understood if one starts from a h₂e-conjugation present *neuh₂-h₂e(i), -th₂e(i), -e(i).

These critical notes are not intended to diminish the highly positive evaluation that P.’s monograph deserves. Points of disagreement are only to be expected in a book that not only presents a very ac-
accurate picture to non-specialists, but also offers personal views on hotly debated issues. It is only to be hoped that P’s book will scatter a greater interest on Baltic among Indo-Europeanists and, I would add, on Indo-European among Balticists.

REFERENCES


Villanueva Svensson, Miguel (fthc.), On the origin of the Greek type νομάω.


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