Proto-Indo-European *-os in Slavic

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Indo-European matters even more

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‣ o   plan

1 problems
2 hypothesis
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4 historiographical notes
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1   CS *o*-stem masc. nom. sg. *-ъ   CS: Common Slavic

2   CS *ā*-stem gen. sg. *-y   ONR: Old North Russian

3   CS *ā*-stem nom. pl. *-y

4   ONR *o*-stem masc. nom. sg. -e

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5   ONR *ā*-stem gen. sg. -ě

6   ONR *ā*-stem nom. pl. -ě

7   CS *o*-stem masc. nom. pl. *-i

8   CS *e/o*-vb. ipv. 2/3 sg. *-i

·   today: no endings containing nasals

pre-PS *$\ddot{a}$ > *$\ddot{\partial}$ /_(R)S# (R = resonant, S = fricative)

PIE	pre-PS	PS	CS´	ONR
*-os	*-as	*-ə	*-ъ	-e
*-ah₂s	*-ās	*-ā̄	*-y	-ě
*-ah₂as	*-ās	*-ā̄	*-y	-ě
*-oi̯ + *s	*-ai̯š	*-əi̯	*-i	-i
*-i̯os	*-i̯as	*-i̯ə	*-i̯ъ	-i̯ъ
*-i̯ah₂s	*-i̯ās	*-i̯ā̄	*-i̯ě	-i̯ě
*-i̯ah₂as	*-i̯ās	*-i̯ā̄	*-i̯ě	-i̯ě
*-i̯oi̯ + *s	*-i̯ai̯š	*-i̯əi̯	*-i̯i	-i̯i

‣ 3   counterarguments

- PIE *s*-stem neut. nom.-acc. sg. *nébʰos* › CS *nebo*
  → CS *-o* from PIE pron. *-od*
- PIE *o*-stem masc. nom. sg. *-os* preserved in hypocoristics: Old Russian *Vъlčьko*, Old Polish *Mieszko*
  → alternative explanations of *-(k)o*
    - from original neuters, cf. German *Hänsel* ← *Hans*
    - from compounds, like Old Polish *Żyro* ← *Żyromir*
- ONR dat. pl. *-mъ*, not †*-me*, from PIE *-mos*
  → PS *-mə* › *-mъ* in all Slavic dialects? – *-ə* always after labial, always unaccented, ending is disyllabic
- ad hoc sound laws: PS *-ə* › ONR *-e*, but *-i̯ə* › *-jь*

‣ 4   historiographical notes

1 CS *o*-stem masc. nom. sg. *-ъ* ‹ PIE *-os*
   - Fortunatov etc.
2 CS *ā*-stem gen. sg. *-y* ‹ PIE *-ah₂s*
3 CS *ā*-stem nom. pl. *-y* ‹ PIE *-ah₂as*
   - Meillet, Milewski, Ferrell, Gălăbov, Zucha
4 CS masc. nom. sg. *-ъ|-e* ‹ PS *-ə* ‹ PIE *-os*
   - Dybo, Nikolaev, Zaliznjak
5 CS *ā*-stem gen. sg. *-y|-ě* ‹ PS *-ā̄* ‹ PIE *-ah₂s*
6 CS *ā*-stem nom. pl. *-y|-ě* ‹ PS *-ā̄* ‹ PIE *-ah₂as*
   - new

‣ 5   typological parallel

- Iranian
  - PIE *-os* > PII *-as* > PIr. *-ah* > Old Avestan -ə̄, Khotanese -*i*
  - PIE *-ah₂(a)s* > PII *-ās* > PIr. *-āh* > Old Avestan -ā̊, Khotanese -ē
  - through intermediate *-əh*, *-əh*?

‣ 6   conclusion

- hypothesis: *ẵ* > *ə̃* /_(R)S#
- combines ideas by Fortunatov, Meillet, Zaliznjak
- solves several Slavic morphological problems
- confirms special position of Old North Russian in Slavic
- traditional Common Slavic reconstructions should be rethought