The Greek 3rd pl. endings

The Vedic 3rd pl. active ending is -ur instead of -an in the following instances:

1. root presents with fixed stress, e.g. inj. taksur of tāksaṁi 'they fashion';
2. reduplicated imperfects, e.g. ādadhur of dādhati 'they put';
3. sigmatic aorist -sur;
4. root aorists of roots in a laryngeal, e.g. ādhur 'they put';
5. optative -yur.

Besides, the ending -ur is found in the perfect. Elsewhere I have argued that -ur replaced earlier *-at from syllabic *-nt in those athematic forms where the stress was either on the root or on a preceding syllable. It follows that inj. ādhur adopted the vocalism of ind. ādhur, whereas the converse substitution took place in ind. āvrān 'they covered', inj. urān. This view is supported by the apophonic difference between 3rd pl. indicative and injunctive forms in the middle root aorist: ākrata 'they made', ārata 'they went' versus kranta, ranta 2). It also provides an explanation for the remarkable 3rd pl. middle subjunctive ending -anta, which must originally have been the inj. ending corresponding to ind. -ata from syllabic *-nto. This ending was evidently reinterpreted as a subjunctive because it differed from the other inj. endings by the presence of an initial vowel.

What is the expected distribution of full and zero grade 3rd pl. endings in Greek? In the thematic flexion we expect -ov, -ovt (−ουσι), -ovto, -ovtoi (−ουται). Outside the thema-
tic flexion, the sigmatic aorist, and the original static
I find no evidence for an original paradigm with fixed stress
in Greek. I therefore expect zero grade 3rd pl. endings in
the sigmatic aorist, reduplicated and augmented forms, the
optative, and the original static, and e-grade endings in
unreduplicated athematic presents and augmentless root aorist
forms. I claim that the actual distribution is closer to this
expectation than is usually assumed. In the following, page
numbers will refer to the discussion of the 3rd pl. forms by
E. RISCH\(^3\).

The ending -εντι (ενσι) is attested in Myc. ε-ε-σι /εησι/ 'they are', contracted in Ionic είσι and West Greek εντί (324),
also in Myc. κτ-τι-εσι /κτίςεσι/ 'they cultivate', Vedic
संति, कशियांति. RISCH puts the middle verbs κε- 'lie', ἡσ-
'sit', and Ἰσ- 'wear' in the same category, which is inappro-
priate because these represent original statics with a root-
stressed 3rd pl. form, e.g. κέαται, εῦατο, which are in per-
fekt agreement with the corresponding Vedic forms. The origi-
nal zero grade ending -άτι (-ασι) from syllabic *-nti is well
preserved in the perfect, e.g. Hom. πεφύκασι 'they have grown'.
Elsewhere we find -αν and -αντί (ασι) for the zero grade
active endings.

Turning now to the reduplicated presents and the root aorists,
we find the zero grade 3rd pl. endings in Attic τιθέασι, δι-
δόασι, Arcadian σωσέας, Cyprian ka-te-ti-ja-ne /katethiyan/,
Boeotian and Locrian ἀνέθεαν, also Arc. imp. ὄνθεάντω beside
καθέντω, Elean opt. ἐπιθείαν, γνοίαν (325). These forms have
not received an adequate explanation. RISCH's comment deserves
full quotation (327):

Die Tatsache, daß der Typus ἔθεαν, ἐδοαν sowohl im
Arkadischen als auch im Kyprischen gilt, spricht m.E.
eindeutig dafür, daß er wenigstens bei dieser Dialekt-
gruppe alt ist. Auch das Böotische ist ein Dialekt, der neben verschiedenen Neuerungen doch manches Alte bewahrt hat, so z.B. die Endung -ψι in ἐπιματρόφων, pronominale Formen mit -νι in προτηνι 'früher', Patronymika auf -τος. Also darf ἐθεαν auch im äolischen Bereich eventuell als alt betrachtet werden. Dafür spricht auch das Zeugnis des homerischen Gebrauchs. Bekanntlich haben wir hier bei den langvokalischen Aoristen sowohl ἔσταν als auch ἔστησαν, sowohl ἔφανεν als auch ἐφάνησαν usw., wobei die längere Form typisch ionisch-attisch ist und die kürzere vermutlich dem Äolischen zugewiesen werden kann. Ebenso ἔφαν und ἔφασαν und bei -νοί με ἐξεύγνυνον und ἐξεύγνυσαν. Um so überraschender ist, daß nur ἐθεσαν, ἐδοσαν ἐδίδοσαν, nie ἔθεν, ἔδον ἐδίδον vorkommen. Der Schluß liegt nahe, daß auch das vorhomerische Äolisch sie nicht kannte, sondern vermutlich ἐθεαν, ἐδοαν (oder *ἔδοεν?) hatte, die dann ohne weiteres durch metrisch gleichwertiges ἐθεσαν, ἐδοσαν ersetzt werden konnten.

In view of this, the West Greek forms τύθεντι, ἐτιθεν, ἐθεν, δίδοντι, ἐδίδον, ἔδον can hardly be ancient. They are easily explained as the result of a secondary development, while their replacement by forms in -αντι (-ασι) and -αν in the other dialects can hardly be motivated.

RISCH thinks that the Attic forms τιθέασι, διδόασι, ίασι, ίστασι are recent4) because we find Myc. δι-δο-σι /didonsi/, -τι-τε-σι /-hýensí/, and Hom. τικεσι, ἵεσι, διδόσι, ίστασι, where he attributes the accent to the influence of ἔστασι, τεθνάσι from -άασι (329). The problem is that the perfect provides a small and none too obvious basis for such an analogical development. Moreover, the ending -αντι (-ασι) from syllabic *-nti must have been introduced into the perfect from the
reduplicated present. It seems much more plausible that the zero grade ending was never eliminated from the reduplicated present in Attic and was replaced by the regular athematic ending -εντι (=-εισι) in Ionic. Thus, we may surmise that τιθεϊσι, διδοϋσι represent earlier *τιθέεσι, *διδοϋσι,5). Since neither the replacement of -ανσι by -ενσι, nor the converse replacement can easily be motivated, we may conjecture that the two endings were alternative solutions for the elimination of an irregular ending. In this way I arrive at the tentative reconstruction of the 3rd pl. forms *τιθέασι, *διδόασι for Attic-Ionic.

The situation in Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian is different. Though the evidence of these dialects points to the aorist forms έδοσα, έθεασα, it appears that the present forms were replaced by τύθεντι,, δίδοντι, as they were in West Greek (where the substitution may have taken place independently at a more recent stage). First, Myc. δί-δο-σί and -ι-δο-σί seem to reflect /didonsi/ and /hiyensı/. Second, RISCH has called attention to Arc. present πούενσυ beside imperfect παρεκάλεαν (329). This can hardly be a recent distribution. Third, there is evidence for *τύθεισυ beside τιθεϊσι in the Hom. imperfect (329):

Es ist vielleicht auch nicht zufällig, daß bei Homer zwar keine Aoriste vom Typus έθεαν, wohl aber einige Imperfekta dieser Art, nämlich τεν M 33, ξφνεν A 273, μέθιεν φ 377 (stets vor der Hephthemimeres-Zäsur), dazu als Lesung Aristarchs πρότιθεν α 112 (cod. προτίθεντο) neben sonstigen τιθεασαν, διδοσαν, ἵστασαν bezeugt sind.

These must be Aeolic forms. Fourth, the remarkable spread of the secondary ending -εν in Thessalian requires an explanation. The raising of a to e before and after i in Thess. -εν, διδα for -αι, διά does not suffice to explain the rise of the end-
The Greek 3rd pl. endings

ing -αεν for -αν, e.g. ὀνεθέαεν beside ὀνέθεικαν. The spread of -εν suggests the earlier replacement of *έτιθεαν by ἔτιθεν, which presupposes the replacement of *τιθέατι by τίθεντι, as in West Greek. Putting the evidence together, I tentatively reconstruct the following distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd pl.</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Greek</td>
<td>τίθεντι</td>
<td>ἔτιθεν</td>
<td>ἔθεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeolic</td>
<td>τίθεντι</td>
<td>ἔτιθεν</td>
<td>ἔθεαν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcado-Cyprian</td>
<td>τίθενσο</td>
<td>ἔτιθεαν</td>
<td>ἔθεαν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attic-Ionic</td>
<td>τίθέασι</td>
<td>ἔτιθεαν</td>
<td>ἔθεαν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This scheme does not necessarily reflect a single chronological layer. In particular, the Aeolic state of affairs may be a younger development of the one posited for Arcado-Cyprian. The West Greek simplification may have taken place at any stage; the Elean optative forms in -αν, e.g. ἐπιθεύεαν, suggest that it was a recent development. In any case, the Attic-Ionic distribution is evidently archaic, and the cleavage between this dialect and Arcado-Cyprian must be ancient.

We now come to the discrepancy between ἐβαν and ἐσταν on the one hand, and ἐθεαν and ἐδον on the other. There can be little doubt that the disyllabic forms are secondary. If they replace earlier ἔθεν and ἐδον, it is hard to see a motivation for the introduction of the new ending. Such a motivation is even more difficult to find in the case of *τιθέασι and *διδόσι if these replace earlier τίθεντι and δίδοντι. I therefore think that we have to start from *ἐθαν, *ἐδαν, *τίθατι, *δίδατι, where the introduction of the root vowel is a natural development. It follows that after a consonant the laryngeals were lost without a trace before a syllabic nasal, which was regularly vocalized to α, in spite of the fact that word-initial laryngeals were vocalized before a tautosyllabic nasal.
This brings us to a reconsideration of the *nt-participle. Since BEEKES' discussion of Latin iens we have to start from nom. *đhēnnts, acc. *đhēnentm, gen. *đhēntos, which now yields Gr. θεῖς, θέντα. *θατός. The oblique stem may be reflected in Arc. ἄντανθες, Elean ἀνταποδδόσα from *-δι-δόσασα (325). The original participle of ἔταν is preserved in τάλας 'wretched', which represents *tēlēhnts, *tēlz(e)nt-, while the 3rd pl. form ἔταν evident replaces *έταλαν. Similarly, I think that έγνων replaces *έγαναν from *-γνηής and cannot be used as evidence for a root aorist with fixed stress. After a consonant, the nom.sg. ending *-as from zero grade *-nts was replaced by *-ōnt, e.g. ἐκόν 'willing', evidently because polysyllabic consonant stems usually had an asigmatic nominative in Greek. Thus, the ending of ἑών, ἑόν, βαλών (not -εῖς) corroborates the reconstruction *h1eĩnts, *h1eĩnts, *gωelh1nts, as opposed to δοῦς, γνούς from *dhēznts, *gnehznts, cf. also δράκων beside δρακείς reflecting *derknts, *drkentm.

As I pointed out above, the Vedic evidence leads us to expect e-grade 3rd pl. endings in augmentless and unreduplicated forms, as opposed to zero grade endings in the forms which have just been discussed. This is actually what we find in the imperative θέντων, δόντων; the -a- of Arc. ὑσθεύνω beside καθένω must have been taken from the indicative. The e-grade ending is also found in the optative θέεν, as opposed to -σεαν in the sigmatic aorist7). There seem to be traces of the original distribution in the middle voice as well, cf. Hom. ξύμπληντο for *-βάλεντο, πλήντο for *-πάλεντο and *-πάλαντο, but θεμάται and θεμάτο for *θεβάλατο from *- Después. The 3rd sg. form ἐπίατο 'bought' for *ἐπίοτο must be based on augmentless πάλαντο from *kωrhentso, similarly διέντου 'they hasten' from *dih1ento, also ἐμίν 'they drank' for *ἐνίν on
The Greek 3rd pl. endings

The basis of *pHzient, and κέονται 'they lie'. The e-grade endings were largely replaced by the thematic o-grade endings outside the optative, where the model for this substitution was lacking. Thus, we find -o- for e-grade 3rd pl. endings in τανύουσι, ζεύγνυον, ωμυνον, δονυον, καταείνυον, τανύοντο beside the usual zero grade in δεικνύοντο, ζεύγνυσαν, δαίνυνται, δήγυνυτο. The accent of δαυνάσι, δηγνύσι may reflect earlier *-νάενσι, *-νύενσι, as in the case of τιθεύσι.

It appears that Greek preserved the original PIE alternations more faithfully than is generally assumed.

Footnotes:

2) Cf. A. MEILLET, MSL 21 (1920), 203, 205.
5) Note that West Greek τίθεντι may actually represent *τί-Θέεντι.
7) Cf. my paper for the 8th Fachtagung der Idg. Gesellschaft.