

OLD PRUSSIAN-EAST BALTIC HYBRID FORMS

STEVEN YOUNG

University of Maryland Baltimore County

<young@umbc.edu>

Most of the numerous Baltic examples which Praetorius records in his manuscript *Deliciae Prussicae, oder Preussische Schaubühne*¹ (completed in 1703) are Lithuanian, and are found in his ethnographic descriptions of traditional life in Nadrovia (Nadrauen), the East Prussian province where he lived and worked. Among the few true Old Prussian forms adduced are some with apparent traces of Lithuanian (or Latvian) inflectional and derivational morphology. These merit attention as genuine, since Praetorius's linguistic data are, on the whole, accurately recorded for his time (see Pierson 1871: ix, Young 2004).

Just such a mixed inflection is found in the present tense paradigm of OPr. **druv-* 'believe': 1 sg. *Druwiu*, 2 sg. *Druwi*, 3 sg./pl. *Druwe*; 1 pl. *Druwemai*, 2 pl. *Druwetai*, which Praetorius (AB 544) offers as a correction to Abel Will's (*as*) *druwē* 'I believe', (*tu*) *druwē* 'you believe'² in Catechism III. Here, as in the two earlier catechisms, the 3rd person form of all thematic verbs is extended to the 1st and 2nd persons singular (Smoczyński 2005: 413 §2), a practice also found in the works of Rehehusen and Langius for 17th-century Latvian (Endzelin 1944: 154-55). Praetorius ascribes this generalization of the third person to Will's lack of knowledge of the correct forms, and notes his concomitant need to use pronouns to clarify the syntax: "weil er [Abel Will] die conjugationes und flexiones der verborum nicht gewust, hat er sich nothwendig bedienen müssen, der Interpreten der Articulorum oder vielmehr Pronominum, denn man ihn sonst gar nicht verstehen könte" (AB 544-45). While 1 pl. *Druwemai*, 2 pl. *Druwetai* do in

¹ References to published pieces of the work are as follows: AB: Praetorius, M. 1731; V: Vater, J. S. [1821] 1996 (Vater's publication contains a number of printing errors in representing Praetorius's forms); P: Pierson, W. 1871; K: Kraštinaitis, E., typewritten copy of Praetorius's *Deliciae Prussicae*. For details, see Young 2004: 276.

² Unlike Stang and others, Smoczyński 2005: 414 considers the *-se* of *druwēse* Catechism III 71¹², 71¹⁷ a reflexive particle, rather than a marker of the 2nd person singular.

fact occur in Catechism III (as *druwēmai* and *druwētei*), Praetorius's 1 sg. *Druwiu* and 2 sg. *Druwi*, if they are not in fact the original Old Prussian forms which are lacking in the catechisms, show the corresponding East Baltic endings (the verbal base itself does not occur in Lithuanian or Latvian).

Elsewhere Praetorius mentions, in his repeated etymology of *Weidiwuitis* (~ *Weydiwuitis* ~ *Weidywuitis*) "angeblich der Name des ältesten Oberpriesters" (Nesselmann 1873: 196) and also, according to Praetorius, "ein Nomen officii u[nd] bedeutet einen Mann, der Vogt oder Vorsteher ist" (K 1772)³, an OPr. *weidiu* "ich weiß" (P 40), which has the East Baltic 1 sg. ending but no direct correspondent in Lithuanian or Latvian; it matches the OPr. infinitive *waist* (PKEŽ IV 215: **vaistvei* 'to know': 2 sg *waisei*, 1 pl *waidimai*, 2 pl *waiditi*). The same 1 sg. ending is also found in *waldui*⁴ "ich hersche, gebiethe" (AB 69), cf. *wāldnik*- 'king' (Smoczyński 2005: 392); here we may be dealing with a form of Lith. *veldėti* (3 sg./pl. *vėldi*) 'turėti savo valdžioje' (LKŽ), although like *weidiu*, *waldui* lacks the affrication typical of Lithuanian. Also lacking in affrication is *Girdiu* 'sprechen, reden, Wort halten' (AB 71), which Mažiulis (PKEŽ I: 354) regards as "Lithuanianized" by Praetorius from an Old Prussian **gerdau* (< **gerdauja*) 'sakau, sako'.

While Praetorius gives a genuine Old Prussian ending in the 1 pl. *Druwemai* (see above), for two other Old Prussian bases he supplies the corresponding Lithuanian *-me*. Thus where Catechism III has only *kīrdimai* 113⁹, 113¹⁷, Hartknoch 1679: 83, citing "Cl. Vir M. Praetorius amicus meus honorandus," relates the form *Mes kirdime* (alongside the Lithuanian *girdime* and the Couronian [*kursenieks*] *sirdime*, i.e., (*d*)*zirdime*). The form is found again in Praetorius (AB 539) "der Preuß saget: *mes kirdime*, nos audimus," and yet again in "Mylas Gennis *mes kirdime*" (V 157), Praetorius's "Lithuanianized" reproduction of Abel Will's "Mijlas ginnis, *mes kīrdimai* 113⁹" "Lieben Freunde, Wir hören". Similarly, Praetorius's citation "Mes Rykiei *esme*, d. i. wir sind Herren" (AB 62) shows a "Lithuanianized" 1 pl. *esme*⁵, while the corresponding form in Catechism III is *asmai*. Praetorius's source for this phrase is apparently the purported Old Prussian "Μῆς ῥίκοι ἀσμεν" from F. Zamelius's poem "De Galindis ac Sudinis, Carmen, In quo multa de Veteri Lingua Prussica occurrunt," found in Hartknoch 1679: 106 and 1684: 113, in which ἀσμεν is actually a conflation of OPr. *asmai* and Gr. ἑσμεν.

³ Compare PKEŽ IV 235 s. v. *Widewut*.

⁴ The form appears in AB 69 as *Waldin* and in K as *Wldiu*; from these we can correct to *Waldui*.

⁵ This is the 1 pl. present form found in D. Klein's *Compendium* 96 (= Buch and Palionis 376).

In light of the occasional "Lithuanianized" personal forms of the Old Prussian verb noted above, we may suspect that the frequent infinitive in simple *-t*, used in Catechism III alongside the *tu*-stem *-twei* (e. g. *kirdīt* 111¹⁷ : *kirdītwei* 67¹⁵) while Catechisms I and II have only <*twei*>, was influenced by the infinitival *-t* of either the Latvian speech of the *kursenieki* or the colloquial Lithuanian of the time⁶. In this connection, Praetorius notes that "jetziger Zeit die noch übrigen Preußen in Samland werfen das *wey* in infinitivo weg" (V 152), i. e., they use *-t* for *-twei*. The assumption of East Baltic influence to account for the *-t* of Catechism III and Samland speakers of Praetorius's time removes the need to seek an explanation in an unattested **-ti* (Smoczyński 2005: 480) or **-tu* (Mažiulis 2004: 86).

A likely example of hybrid derivational morphology is found in the curious phrase *Stas Usperklantits* 'the accursed/bewitched', related by Praetorius (V 164): "wenn die alten Preußen jemand durch zauberey ins Verderben gefürzet, haben Sie ihn genennet, Stas Usperklantits der ist durch Zauberey zu Unglück kommen," in which we have the Old Prussian article *stas* coupled with a past passive participle *usperklantits*. The base of the latter is OPr. *perklantīts* Catechism III 65¹², 105¹⁰ 'damned, (ac)cursed'⁷, to which a preverb *us-* has been added. The preverb, with devoicing of the expected Old Prussian sibilant, is obviously equivalent to the *už-* of the semantically related Lith. *užkėikti*, *užbūrti* 'enchant, bewitch, lay a spell on'. It undoubtedly represents a Lithuanian borrowing (added to a base already felt as a single semantic unit), since Balto-Slavic **už*, so common as both preverb and preposition in Lithuanian and Latvian (and in Slavic as well: OCS *vъz-*, *vъzъ*), is otherwise unknown in Old Prussian; the suggestion that **už* may underlie the Old Prussian form *unsai/unsei*, found in the phrase *vnŕei gūbans [nadangon]* Catechism III 127¹³ (and elsewhere) "aufgefahren [gen Himmel]"⁸, has been challenged by Smoczyński 2000: 208, who analyzes *unsei* as a component of the bipartite preposition *unsey + an* 'auf ... gen', itself a borrowing from MHG *unz/unze + an* 'bis, bis zu'. Nor is it likely that the source of the *us-* was the (Latvian) speech of the *kursenieki*, since here the preverb in question is lengthened and diphthongized to *uoz-* (Endzelin 1922: 533).

If the above forms recorded by Praetorius are reliable, and I believe they are, they suggest a multilingual contact situation in which Old Prussian,

⁶ Regarding *-t* for *-ti* in the 17th-century Lithuanian of East Prussia, see D. Klein's *Grammatica* 87 (= Buch and Palionis 183) and *Compendium* 55 (= Buch and Palionis 335).

⁷ Smoczyński 2005: 258 s.v. *perklantīt* 'verdammt' establishes an inf. **perklantī:t* 'verdammen, verfluchen'.

⁸ Mažiulis (PKEŽ IV 210), following a suggestion by Endzelīns, sees a contamination with **en-*.

with a lexicon already characterized by numerous borrowings from German and Polish, was marked in its final stages (as speakers assimilated to local Lithuanian dialects, which themselves show Old Prussian phonological and lexical influence: Zinkevičius 1992: 66-7) by morphological borrowings from Lithuanian and possibly the speech of the Latvian-speaking *kursenieki* (Praetorius's "Curische Fischer" AB 81).

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Old Prussian-East Baltic hybrid forms

Steven Young, University of Maryland Baltimore County

M. Praetorius, in his *Deliciae Prussicae*, cites a number of Old Prussian forms which seem to show elements of East Baltic morphology. Perhaps the most familiar of these, since it also appears in the work of Hartknoch, is *kirdime* 'we hear', with an East Baltic ending. In derivational morphology, we have the phrase *Stas Usperklantits* 'the accursed/bewitched', which incorporates the Lithuanian element *-už-*. Such examples are seen as reflecting a period of morphological hybridization with East Baltic (the local Lithuanian and perhaps the speech of the *kursenieki*) in late Old Prussian.

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