



PECULIARITIES OF THE OLD PRUSSIAN VERB

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There is no commonly accepted description of the Prussian grammar today in spite 190 years having passed after the first attempt of Johann Severin Vater in 1821.¹ Uncertainty of whether only four cases (attested in the Catechisms) really existed² in Prussian declension is only a trifle in comparison with contradictory explanations of the verb, where still exist incompatible views on the expression of entire categories, as e.g. the optative. The forms *aupallai* III 81,20, *podingai* III 79,17 being “difficult” for Stang because of the part. *aupallusis*, he finds no better way out as to treat it as a relic of the IE **-oi-* optative.³ This is done in spite of a lot of analogous forms in *-ai* which clearly have nothing to do with the optative. However V. Mažiulis cautiously repeats this view even in 1996 when speaking about *podingai* III 79.⁴ On the other hand, A. Kaukienė seems to have removed this problem in 2004 saying that “the diphthong *ai / ei* was generalized in many forms”.⁵ However W.R. Schmalstieg demonstrated a more distinct approach to this problem as early as in 1968: “We note that the orthographic sequence *-ai* in word-final position frequently alternates with *-a* [...] Since there is great vacillation between orthographic *e* and *a*, also such doublet forms as *powaidinne*, *powaidinnei* are also to be placed in this category”. This inventive idea remained undisclosed except a hint to “an addition of a particle */-ai/* which is known in Lithuanian”.⁶ Later M. Klussis and L. Palmitis in vain tried to draw attention of linguists to clearly prosodic origin of this alternation (see further).

¹ Vater J.S. *Die Sprache der alten Preussen*. Braunschweig 1821.

² Cf. Dini P.U. *Le lingue baltiche*. La Nuova Italia: Scandicci 1997, § 6.3.2 (a iii).

³ Stang Chr. S. *Vergleichende Grammatik der baltischen Sprachen*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966, p. 361.

⁴ Mažiulis V. *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas*, 3, L–P. Vilnius 1996, p. 303.

⁵ Kaukienė A. *Prūsų kalbos tyrinėjimai [I]*. Baltistikos centras: Klaipėdos universitetas 2004, p. 212–213.

⁶ Schmalstieg W.R. *The Old Prussian Verb*. In: *Baltic Linguistics*, Magner Th. F. & Schmalstieg W. R., Eds. Papers presented at the Symposium on Baltic Linguistics, Pennsylvania State University, April 5–6, 1968. Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania 1968, p. 129.



This is only one sample of unsolved problems concerning the Prussian verb. P.U. Dini sees the purpose of such problems in the fragmentary character of the Prussian written monuments and in the tendency to explain Prussian through linguistic categories of Lithuanian and Latvian.⁷ Nobody can argue this, however the main purpose has been shown by V. Mažiulis already in his lectures to the students of the 70s, as well as in his *Etymological Dictionary*: 1) Insufficient analysis of the orthography of the monuments when it sheds necessary light on phonetics of different Prussian dialects and consequently on their grammatical features;⁸ 2) Ignorance of the ways of derivation in Prussian and in Baltic in general.

Main orthographic marks significant for understanding phonetic meaning

One finds grammatical inflection in texts, but only separate grammatical forms occur in the Elbing Vocabulary accidentally.

Long vowels (or toned components of diphthongs) are usually (but not always) indicated with a dash over a vowel (*ā, ē, ī, ō, ū*) in the 3rd Catechism (III). Vowels without the dash usually (but not always) render corresponding short vowels, however the letter “e” may render a reduced unstressed short wide *i* (*bela* I vs. *byla* II, *billa* / *billai* III, *prowela* I, II vs. *prawilts* III), but the letter “o” may render a short wide, stressed or unstressed, wide *u* (*prosnan* vs. *prusnan* III, *nuson* vs. *nusun* I). For both cf. *pekollin* I vs. *pickullien* III.

⁷ Dini P.U. Op. cit., (a iv).

⁸ E.g. A. Kaukiene proceeds straight with grammar with no phonetic (not to say orthographic) part in the 1st volume of her “Studies in Prussian”, Kaukienė A. *Prūsų kalbos tyrinėjimai*, [I]. A 2nd volume appeared in 2011: eadem, *Prūsų kalbos tyrinėjimai*, II. Baltistikos centras: Klaipėdos universitetas 2011. The author tries to compare O. Curonian and Prussian vocalism on 10 pages with minimum attention to spelling. She ignores the main phonetic contribution of Vytautas Mažiulis to Prussian (as well as to Baltic–Slavic) reconstruction of traditional Baltic mid **ō* phoneme as wide unaccented and narrow accented allophones of **ō* side by side with Baltic low back open **ɔ̃* phonem, but she repeats an impossible traditional view of Sambian **ā* having turned into **ū* after the labials and gutturals (p. 17). However she does not explain German records of Sambian toponyms with the “Elbing” **ō* (*Wosebirgo* 1331), and she parallels a narrowing *ē* > *ī* in direction clearly opposite to broadening of the Baltic **ō* > *ā* in the Catechisms (*stāt*), cf. Palmaitis L. *Prūsų katekizmy kalbos identifikacijos klausimu*. / In: *Vakarų baltų kalbos ir kultūros relikta*, III. Klaipėdos universiteto baltistikos centras 2000, p. 15–19, and here further, fn. 34. In such a way one ignores the role of the accent in development of the Baltic (as well as Slavic) vocal system, cf. Казлаускас И. *К развитию общепалтийской системы гласных*. / Вопросы языкознания 4, 1962, p. 24. Cf. further fn. 32.

On the other hand the letter “o” may also render an unstressed *a* of the ending *-an* (*daton* III 75) and very often – a short *a* after *p-* in prefix *pa-* (*po-* I, II, III).

Compound spelling *ye, yie* renders long *ī* in II (*ryeki* II vs. *rīki* III, *styienuns* II vs. *stinons* III, *turryetwei* II vs. *turrītwei* III).

One should carefully analyse spelling variations *-ian, -yan, -ien, -yen* at the end of the word which in no way mean the same. E.g. *rekian* I corresponds to *rickijan* III (*i* in *ri-*, of whatever origin, being short in both cases), but this (cf. also *Marian* / *Marīan* III with a long *ī* in **-ījan*, as in *rick-ijan*) in no way equals to *twaian* III / *twayen* II or to *schian* / *schan* III, *geytien* II / *geitien* III, *mūtien* III with *i* used as a Polish-like sign of palatalization (cf. parallel *geitin*, *mūtin* III). For the latter cf. a precise correspondence to traditional Polish spelling in *mien* III vs. Polish *mie*, *tien* III vs. Polish *tie*, *sien* III vs. Polish *sie*. One used letters *yi* to this purpose in II: *pyienkts* II vs. *piēncts* III / *penckts* I (cf. Polish *pieć*). All said supports neither W. Smoczyński’s “*swints-rule*” (all *-iem/nC-*, *-im/nC-* reflect **-em/ nC*) and “*ian-rule*” (*-ian, -yen* reflect **-ījan*),⁹ nor attempts (as e.g. of J.F. Levin¹⁰) to negate palatalization in Prussian.

The palatalization is discernible not only due to insertion of “*i*”, or “*y*” between a consonant and a following vowel. It is obvious in changing quality of the vowel from back to front, cf. *mayien* II vs. *mayian* II, *twaian* I / *twayien* II vs. *twaian* III, *gēide* [= **geid’a*] III (cf. a counterpart *giēidi* III generalized as an *-i(ja)*-stem according to palatalization). Such spelling was due to a phonetic feature I shall discuss later.

Phonetic features of Old Prussian dialects significant for understanding verb forms

The presence of *o* (**/ō/*) in the Elbing Vocabulary against *-a* < **-ā, ā /ā/* in Samlandian Catechisms is the main feature which differentiates these dialects, cf. *Towis* E vs. *Tāws* III. The long Baltic *e* (**/ē/*) unifies Elbing Vocabulary with the 1st Catechism, however it differentiates the latter from II and III with a long (or shortened) *i / ī* on its place there, cf. *Swetan* E, *swetan* I vs. *swytan* II, *swītan* III.

The following features are present in all Catechisms but not testified in the Elbing Vocabulary:

⁹ Smoczyński W. *Untersuchungen zum deutschen Lehngut im Altpreußischen*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2000, p. 13 f., 108, 142, 159. See an exhaustive review by V. Mažiulis in *Baltistica*, 2001, 35 (1), p. 103–108.

¹⁰ Cf. Mažiulis V. *Prūsų kalbos paminklai II*. Vilnius: Mokslas, 1981, p. 254.

- 1) There is long \bar{u} instead of Baltic (trad.) $*\bar{a}$, $*\bar{o}$ (“Elbing” $*/\bar{o}/$) after the labials and gutturals in Catechisms (*mutien* II, *Mütien* III vs. *Mothe* E, *poūton* III vs. *Paodaminan* E, *Accodis* E¹¹).
- 2) The stressed long \bar{u} and \bar{i} (not coming from the long “ \bar{a} ” $/\bar{o}/$ and \bar{e}) tend to diphthongization.¹²
- 3) Except long compounds (*stūrintickrōms* III), only one length may be present in one word in the stressed position, an unstressed length being shortened (*dereis* III $< *d\bar{i}$ -, *kurpi* III vs. *kurpe* E, beside *semmē* III (further I shall show why the stressed final $-\bar{e}$ could not turn into $-\bar{i}$ in the Catechisms).
- 4) In German spelling short (and often) accented syllables are usually indicated by doubling a consonant which directly follows previous vowel, while long syllables are often recognizable due to an undoubled consonant after a vowel.¹³ This rule is not in force when the next consonant is *s* in non-German texts. In this case a competition between length of the previous vowel and meaning of the letter *s* takes place, i.e. whether the letter means the sound $[z]$, or the sound $[s]$. Very often indication of a short vowel enjoys priority in comparison with the indication of $[z]$: cf. *assaran* [*azaran*] or *passoles* [*pazulis*] E, *massimai* [*mazimai*] III.
- 5) If not supported by the system, all originally short final vowels are apocopated in words which are not one syllable particles or compounds with such particles, cf. *tur* I, II – cf. old $-ti$ infinitives with a clipped $-i$, as *enimt* III, *erlaikūt* III.¹⁴

A [-i / -ija] RULE. This means that such relics of the *i*-stem verbs as *turri* III = *grīki(si)* do not present any original final short $-i$ (represented in zero *tur* I, II), but are a result of replacement of the $-i > zero$ -inflection with an *ija*-stem ending $*-ija > -ij / -\bar{i} > -i$. A typological possibility of the existence of similar

¹¹ This is a famous hypothetical diminutive masc. “Lith.” $^{\circ}akutis$ of the fem. *akis* in some well-known too bold conjectures.

¹² This process is poorly reflected in the 1st Catechism in which several samples, as *Thou*, *noumans*, *preyleigintwey*, either witness slight pronunciation at the beginning of the process $\bar{u} > o\bar{u}$, $\bar{e} > e\bar{i}$, or have got into the text from other dialects, cf. Palmaitis M.L. *Über strukturelle Besonderheiten des preußischen (altpreußischen) Verbs*. Baltistica, 1999, XXXIV (2), p. 189, notes 4–6. The spellings *ou*, *ei* cannot reflect any special way to mark accent in the 1st Catechism because of the only one case of *ou* in non-monosyllabic words (*noumans*) there.

¹³ Such cases as *pallapsittwey*, *turretwey* are simple misspellings of I, corrected in II (*pallapsitwey*, *turryetwey*).

¹⁴ Original short $-i$ is present in such cases as *arwi* due to the system influence of the neuter forms, or *digi* III / *deyg* I, $-gi$ being an attached particle.



doublets is widely confirmed by Lithuanian and Latvian, cf. Lithuanian *-i/-ija* type *trūni / trūnija*.¹⁵

B [ai / a, ei / e] RULE. Long vocalism is diphthongized in the stressed¹⁶ position in the Elbing Vocabulary (cf. the barytones *doalgis*, *soalis* vs. the oxytone *wosee*, the barytone *peadey* vs. oxytone *queke*), but the first component of the stressed circumflex diphthong is lengthened (*coysnis*, *scroysles*, *droanse*, *peempe*,¹⁷ *teansis*, *mealde*). This first component often absorbs the second component *i* (*moasis*, *seamis*, *semo*).

The latter feature occurs in the Catechisms too (*pallapsaey* I, *pallapsit-twey* I, *pallapse* III, *seggēsei* III).¹⁸ This is extremely important for the explanation of the alternations *ai / a*, *ei / i* in Prussian, which became an obstacle to understand 3rd person verb forms ending in *-ai* (cf. above about the idea of W. R. Schmalstieg).

With all probability such alternation goes back to circumflex diphthongs *āi / ā*, *ēi / ē*, but later it was generalized at the end of the word first in *-āja > -āi / -ā*, *-ēja > -ēi / -ē* verbal forms which became circumflex diphthongs after apocoping the final vowel. The same took place in nouns, cf. a hyper-correction *giwei* III = *giwē*,¹⁹ Latv. *dzīve* (with a broken pitch pointing to a mobile accent and a stressed ending in the nominative consequently).

*This is why the stressed ending -ē preserved (not turned into -ī) in Samlandian: cf. semmē III systemically equal to *zemēi!*²⁰

¹⁵ Palmaitis L. *Baltų kalbų gramatinės sistemos raida* [BR]. Kaunas: Šviesa, 1998, p. 141.

¹⁶ Klusis M. *Prūsų kalba, I*. Vilnius: Prūsa, 1989, p. 22–23.

¹⁷ Cf. Latvian circumflex *pēmpis* – Mažiulis V. *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas* [PEŽ], vol. 3, L–P. Vilnius, Mokslas, 1996, p. 241. Pr. subst. fem. *peempe* is a feminine derivative from the subst. masc. **pempis* < adj. neutr. **pempan* ‘swollen’ with the circumflex tone, cf. Mažiulis, l.c. This word was barytone (cf. Lith. *pėmpė* with a metatony), occasionally written (or later rewritten) *peempe* instead **peampe*. As for the oxytone *dongo* E 403 (for the oxytone cf. Lith. *dangūs* as well as two (!) spellings in the same Elbing Vocabulary *Dangus* E 3, E 95 pointing to the stressed *u*), the spelling *dongo* instead of **dango* occasionally reflected an accented stem (Latv. *danga* with its “stiepta” tone on *n* is a borrowing from O. Curonian, the tone could be changed). The latter argument is not taken into consideration in *Klusis*, op. cit.

¹⁸ With less probability one can suspect similar monophthongization in *dewus*, *dewes* of the Dictionary of Simon Grunau too.

¹⁹ Palmaitis L. [BR], p. 223.

²⁰ Mažiulis V. *Prūsų kalbos istorinė gramatika* [PKIG]. Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2004, p. 17, points to the case of *druwē* III side by side with *drowy* [**druwī*] II < **druwī* < **druwē* with accidentally unstressed *-u-*. He reconstructs a corresponding substantive **druwis* with a short root too, but he explains the attested acc. *druwien* III as result of a later development *-uv-* > *-ūv-* (Mažiulis V. PEŽ, vol. 1, A–H. Vilnius, Mokslas, 1988, p. 232–233). However an *-ija / -ēja* doublet



When the process of shortening unstressed syllables took place in Samlandian dialects, the alternations $\tilde{a}i / \bar{a}$, $\tilde{e}i / \bar{e}$ were generalized in all final positions including unstressed $-ai / -a$, $-ei / -e$ too.

Thus various personal forms may be explained due to this alternation, not only suffixed forms, but also thematic root forms in which the alternation was generalized at the final stage of the process in an unstressed position.

Let us observe main forms with $*-\bar{e}ja$, $*-\bar{a}ja$ suffixes.

There is no difference between (III) *budē*, *milē* on the one hand and (III) *druwē* (as well as *billē*, *quoitē*, *stallē* on the other hand. First, the spelling *druwe* is attested 2x beside *drowy* 1x in the same II. If the ending $-y$ in the latter was really unstressed, the spelling of the stressed u as \bar{o} beside the spelling of the unstressed u as \bar{u} in two other instances in II should be doubtful. Secondly, in case the verbs *druwē*, *billē*, *quoitē*, *stallē* are not the same $\bar{e}ja$ -stem verbs as *budē* and *milē*, their stem vowel \bar{e} should be expected having turned into \bar{i} in plural forms, nota s one sees in III *druwēmai*, *billēmai*, *quoitēti*, *quotāmai* (probably $*kwait'\bar{a}imai = *kwait'\bar{e}imai$), *stallēmai*, *stallēti*. Anyway this \bar{e} should have been presented as \bar{i} at least once, in spite the fact that \bar{e} in plural may really come from the form of the 3rd person, as Vytautas Mažiulis states quite correctly.²¹ Therefore a secondary circumflex diphthong $-\bar{e}ja- > -\bar{e}j- = -\bar{e}i- > -\bar{e}-$ is credible in closed syllable in these plural forms. Such a diphthong is apparently preserved in 1 ps. pl. *enwackēimai* III 29 (/ *enwackēmai* III 117), as well as in the participle form (III 87) *waitiaintins = *vait'\bar{a}intins < *vaitjājantins*.²²

Since there is no apparent reason (except traditional opinions) to make difference between verbs (III) *budē*, *milē* and *druwē*, *billē*, *quoitē*, *stallē*, the spelling *drowy* (II) can be treated as reflecting a stressed suffix $*-ija$, i.e. $*druv\bar{i} = *druvij < *druvija / *druv\bar{e}ja$, cf. pairs Latv. *rūsūt / rūsēt*, Lith. *trūnija / trūni*.

For the verbs *billitwei*, *stallit* see further under the D-Rule.

Now let us go to thematic root forms and forms with $-na$, $-ina$ suffixes.

Irrespectively of person in singular (expressed with the same form), as well as of number, all instances with $-ai$, $-ina$, cf. *aupallai*, *ebimmai*, *klumstinai*, *pīdai*, *podingai*, *podrūktinai*, *swintinai* etc., and all instances with $-a$, $-ina$, –

can be suspected in II, because the verb of the $\bar{e}ja$ -stem is not attested with the 3rd person ps. $-i$ in any other instance. The instances *billi*, *stalli* occur in parallel *billā / billē*, *stallā / stallē* spelling, showing alternation $a(i) / e(i)$ after a palatal Samlandian l (see further), and thus a doublet stem $-i(ja) / -\bar{a}(ja)$ may be seen there. The type if. *turītwei* III, ps. *tur* I, II / *turri* III is excluded in the case of if. *druwīt* III, ps. *drowy* II (cf. *drowe* I, *druwē* III).

²¹ PKIG, 74.

²² Cf. Palmaitis L. BR, p. 223.



cf. *ertreppa*, *imma*, *kūmpina*, *senrīnka*, *polīnka*, *swintina*²³ etc., are the same because of the same noun pairs as *mensai* / *mensā*, *cixtisnai* / *cixtisnā* (the alternation should be older in case of the final accent!), or *dāiai*, *īdai* without attested counterparts.²⁴

Occasionally verbs with suffixes *-na*, *-ina* began developing toward *ja*-stems and even “-i”, i.e. *ija*-stems: *powaidinne* / *powaidinnei*, *pogauni* – cf. C-Rule further.

C [vengia / viange] RULE. As said, palatalization is often seen in spelling of the Catechisms changing quality of the vowel from back *a* to front *e* (*twaian* I / *twayien* II vs. *twaian* III, *gēide* [= **geid'a*] III).

Typologically this reminds of umlaut, especially in such simple cases as umlaut resulting from synharmony in Turan (Turkian) languages. It is interesting that umlaut in Turk (*köz*) corresponds to palatalization in Lithuanian Karaites (*k'oz*, an information by Romualdas Firkovičius). A typological reason may be found in neutralization of short back *a* and short open *e* after a palatal consonant in Lithuanian. Illiterate Lithuanians make typical mistakes misspelling such words as *senas* ‘old’, *vengia* ‘avoids’ like *sianas*, *viangia*, *venge* or even *viange*. Spellings of this kind occur in Old Lithuanian written monuments too, cf. *prietelei* ‘prieteliai’ (Bretkūnas, Ps 102: 8), *apsaugoiey* ‘apsaugojai’ (Vilentas), *kurem* ‘kuriam’, *waykialej* ‘vaikeliai’, *giarame* ‘gerame’ (Petkevičius), *tikraiei* ‘tikrajai’ (Vaišnoras), *žadeiey* ‘žadėjai’, *broley* ‘broliai’, *sopuley* ‘sopuliai’, *dwasey* ‘dvasiai’ (1605 m. “Rytiečių katekizmas”), *kukaley* ‘kūkaliai’, *gieyduleys* ‘geiduliais’, *žiames* / *žiemes* ‘žemės’ (Sirvydas).

Similarly as in the case of *pogaunai*, *powaidinnei* > *pogauni*, one sees developing of the *ja*-stems toward “-i”, i.e. *ija*-stems too: *gēide* / *giēidi*, *kūnti*.

One finds these spellings of the *ja*-stem praesentia in singular in III: *etwerpe* / *etwiērpei*, *gēide* / *giēidi*, *kniēipe*, *kūnti*, *trinie* plus two more which are not a subject of our discussion.

D [L] RULE. A spelling nom. pl. *kaulei* of the thematic stem word *caulan* E 155 should be compared with *a* in the word *ladis* E 56 instead of awaited *e*. In the latter instance a possibility of velarization may be assumed. Of course, Samlandian essentially differed from other dialects and could have own

²³ The doublet *swintina* / *swintinai* cannot be identified with Latvian *-ināja-* stem verbs because of the past participles ending in *-innuns* (not in **-ināwuns*), cf. *potickinnuns*, *lassinnuns*, as well as a bit dubious *swintinnunns* III 119, i.e. **swintinunns* (hardly **swintinniunns* < ***swintinawunns*).

²⁴ As mentioned above, W.R. Schmalstieg was the first who recognized this apparent parallelism in verbs and nouns, cf. fn. 6.



peculiarities. Without their knowledge we nevertheless can unite both cases on the basis of two Samlandian spellings more, i.e. acc. pl. *kaūlins* III 101 vs. acc. sg. *kaulan* III 85. The latter occasionally corresponds to *caulan* E 155. There are a lot of signs pointing to generalization of the palatal-stem accusatives as *ja-* and *i-*stem forms in Samlandian Catechisms, i.e. when acc. sg. *-in* occurs instead of *a-*stem *-an* there. The *i-*stem declensional model hardly could influence even foreign translators to substitute with it much more frequent *a-*stem forms. One should take into consideration more frequent *ja-*stem forms (strongly mixed with *i-*stem forms) as well as a decaying difference between *ja-*, *i-* and *e-*stem accusatives [uniformly spelled as *-ian(s)* / *-ien(s)* / *-in(s)*]. A hard-stem accusative (*-an*, *-un*) was opposed to a palatal-stem accusative in which older inflections were neutralized and became allomorphs in Samlandian of the Catechisms. Therefore the triad *kaulei*, *kaūlins*, *kaulan* with the accusative forms parallel to acc. *-ian(s)* / *-in(s)* seems to simply show a palatal character of at least Samlandian (if not common Prussian, cf. *ladis* E) *l*.²⁵ Thus the spelling *kaulei* appears to be a usual sample of the C [*vengia* / *viange*] Rule (cf. spellings *broley* ‘broliai’, *sopuley* ‘sopuliai’ in Old Lithuanian written monuments). A resonant **l* being palatal, the spellings *billē* and *bilā* should reflect the same ps. (= pt.) **bilēj* [*bil’ēi* = *bil’āi*] < ps. **bilēja* (pt. **bilējā*) because of the if. *billūt*, not **billāt*!

The same is true for *stallē* = *stallā* < **stalēja*, **stalējā*.

There was a tendency in Samlandian to generalize the 3rd person (“singular”) forms as stems for the 1st and 2nd persons plural forms.²⁶ Therefore “*i-*”-stem innovations of the type *pogauni*, *giēidi*, *kūnti* induced generalization of the inflection 1st pl. *-imai* on ALL stems, where possible,²⁷ in the present tense in Samlandian of the Catechisms:

augaunimai, *auschpāndimai*, *bebinnimai*, *brewinnimai*, *epmēntimai*, *erzinnimai*, *etwērpimai*, *galbimai*, *girrimai*, *giwemmai* [**gīwimai*] (*e* short! cf. also *gīwū* < **gīwā*), *gunnimai*, *immimai*, *mēntimai*, *mukinnimai*, *pogaunimai*, *poprestemmai* [**paprestimai*] (*-i-* unstressed, cf. *teckinnimai* / *tickinnimai*), *postānimai*, *preistattinnimai*, *serrīpimai*, *tickinnimai*.

The verbs *klantemmai*, *perklantemmai*, *paikemmai* have nothing to do with the *ēja*-stem since the spelling *-emmai* points to a short *e*. These verbs should

²⁵ Cf. Palmaitis L. BR, p. 77 and *Borussica: 3. Über die Herkunft der Form kaūlins in der preußischen Katechismensprache*. Baltistica 1 26, 1990, p. 20 f.

²⁶ Mažiulis, see fn. 20.

²⁷ Cf. even the *ā*-stem 1 pl. *ersinnimai* if this was not the main pattern for the generalization itself (as an Indo-European “laryngeal” archaism, cf. Endzelin J. *Altpreussische Grammatik*. Riga: Latvju grāmata, 1944, § 234).



be of a mixed stem (-a or -ja in present, -ējā in preterit)²⁸ because of attested facts *klantīwuns* III 69, *popaikā* III 55 (a misprint instead of **popāika* since *kā* < **kāi*, instead of correct *kū*, was impossible in spoken Samlandian²⁹). The spelling -*emmai* points either to relics of original *ja*-stem form, or more likely renders a short *-*imai* with -*i*- reduced in an unstressed position (cf. *poprestemmai*).

As for *giwammai*, this may be a variant of *giwemmai* under the influence of the bilabial *w*. In this way I propose to treat this verb as the single sample of the type Latv. *daryti*, *dara* < **darā*, *darīja*, i.e. *giwīt* III 43, *gīwu* III 85 (and *giwa* III 43 as a result of the “Systemzwang”).

The spelling *perweckamai* III 29 seems to be a relic of an original *a*-stem form.

The inflection -*mai* occurs not only in the 1st person plural but also in singular. As V. Mažiulis emphasizes,³⁰ the coincidence Pr. 1 sg. = 1 pl. -*mai* was a recent innovation.

The origin of pl. -*mai* is connected with Lith. dial. 1 pl. (*neša*)-*mies*, 2 pl. (*neša*)-*ties* < *-*mei*, *-*tei*. First, the presence of a diphthong is important, not relations to singular (and even not the quality -*ai* or *-*ei*) because, similarly to Lithuanian, a diphthong is attested in Pr. 2 pl. -*tei* too.³¹ Therefore, secondly, inflections 1, 2 pers. pl. with a diphthong may be treated as a Common Baltic feature. Not trying to explain the origin of Pr. 1 pl. -*mai*, 2 pl. -*tei* [/ -*te* in accordance with usual Samlandian -*ei* / -*e*], I will only present a simple explanation of 1 sg. *asmai*. The latter is nothing else but a well-known Baltic “thematized” *-*mi* form **asma* = Pr. (Cat.) *asmu* < **asmū* (= oxytone *asmau* III 37,12?) < **asmō* = Lith. dial. *esmu* = Latv. *esmu*. Pr. 1 sg. **asma* had *-*a* instead of *-*u* in accordance with all thematic inflections 1 sg. -*a* due to systemic morphological reasons (Systemzwang). However it (in its manifestation *asmai*, see further) was not rare (in comparison with a “normal” *asmu*) because of the influence of 1 pl. -*asmai*, of course. As for the difference between 1 sg. *asmai* and **asma*, there was no difference at all since both variants were allomorph due to usual alternation -*ai* / -*a*, -*ei* / -*e* etc. As said, the variant **asma* is not attested because the existence of 1 pl. *asmai* (which in its turn was equal to **asma*) factually neutralized morphological difference of number in the 1st person. The diphthong form (which in plural was equal to **asma*, but was

²⁸ Palmaitis L. *Old Prussian Written Monuments*. Kaunas: Lithuanians’ World Center for Advancement of Culture, Science and Education, p. 225.

²⁹ Therefore the spelling *aupaickēmai* III 37 is a misprint in its turn instead of *aupāickemai*.

³⁰ Baltistica, I Priedas, 1972, p. 97.

³¹ Mažiulis V. PKIG, p. 73.



supported by diphthongs 2 pl. *-tai, -tei*) appeared to be stronger, therefore the variant **asma* (although existing) was rare and accidentally was not used by translators. This explanation is correct on synchronic level of the language of the Catechisms. As such it cannot fully deny a questionable possibility of some archaic “medial” *-mai* (cf. Gk. $-\mu\alpha\iota$) < **-mi* + medialperf. **-ai*, which could exist independently. For this cf. OLith. 1 sg. refl. (*duo*)-*mies* beside 1 pl. (*neša*)-*mies*, if these East-Baltic instances, including Latvian, are not a simple result of generalizing vocalism of 2 sg. *-ie-* before refl. *-s(i)*.

Crucial changes in grammar caused by phonetic changes

Crucial changes took place in phonetics and grammar in Samlandian of the Catechisms due to the process of reduction of the unstressed short final vowels and shortening of the unstressed long vowels.

Further, basing myself mainly on results of the research of Vytautas Mažiulis, I shall show what grammatical differences had to be implicated by distinctive phonologic features of the dialects of the Catechism in their grammar in comparison with dialects where these features were not presented (as e.g. in the Elbing Vocabulary).

To understand essential difference between the language of the Catechisms and the language of the Elbing Vocabulary, a number of common changes in the long vocalism of the low and the middle height must be recognized. According to J. Kazlauskas and V. Mažiulis, in Common Baltic the phoneme **/ō/* of the middle height (< trad. Balt. **ō*) manifested in 2 allophones: the narrower **ō̄* and the broader **ō̄̄* both appearing in complementary distribution. The narrower allophone **ō̄* occurred in the stressed position but the broader allophone **ō̄̄* occurred in the unstressed position. In West Baltic the open back Balt. **ō̄̄* of the low height < trad. Balt. **ā* (cf. *Brote* E, *brāti* III) coincided with the broader allophone **ō̄̄* of the phoneme **/ō/* of the middle height < trad. Balt. **ō̄̄* (cf. the barytone *cixtia* III).³²

³² Mažiulis V. *Baltų ir kitų indoeuropiečių kalbų santykiai* [BS]. Vilnius: Mintis, 1970, p. 22–23. On page 24 (§ 13), while speaking about common Baltic processes, V. Mažiulis mentions oxytone Lith. *dosnus* < unstressed **dō-* as sample of the same process which resulted in Prussian of the Catechisms as *cixtia* III with its *-a* < **-ā* < **-ō̄̄*, generalized from analogous but barytone grammatical forms, or *dātwei* III with its *-ā* < **-ō̄̄* generalized from the oxytone forms. With no doubts this leads to clear and simple explanation also of the East-Baltic thematic genitive singular Lith. *vilko*, Latv. *vilka* < barytone Balt. **-ō̄̄* (with the subsequent Mažiulis’ theory of lengthened thematic stems, paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic cases etc.), not < trad. **-ā* < mythological Common-IE “ablative” **-o-ed*, as Zinkevičius Z. *Lietuvių kalbos kilmė*. Vilnius, Moksas, vol. I, 1984, p. 200.

Later, but also in the Common Baltic period, the long diphthongs were shortened. On some of the last stages of West Baltic the ending of the nominative singular of the thematic stems was shortened [cf. *Deywis* E, *Deiws* III, but still occurred sporadically (*lāisk*)*as* (III) when it was difficult to pronounce clusters of the consonants].³³ Earlier, as in Common Indoeuropean, there was only one inflection **(a)s* further splitting into the nom. **(a)s* and the gen. **(a)s* as in Hittite.³⁴

Two phonemes merged in the phoneme /ā/ in Samlandian of the Catechisms: 1 – the open back Balt. **ō* of the low height < trad. Balt. **ā* (cf. *brāti* III), and 2 – NOT the narrower **ō* of the middle height < Balt. **ō*, but only its unstressed or generalized unstressed broader allophone **ō* < trad. Balt. **ō* (cf. the barytone *cixtia* III or *naseylis* II with occasionally stressed second syllable in the latter). The stressed narrower allophone **ō* of the narrower **ō* of the middle height < the same Balt. **ō* remained as the phoneme /**ō*/, cf. *perōni* III.

Unfortunately, both phonemes (1, 2) were used as markers in grammatical forms, i.e. in the *a*-stem thematic dative singular, in the thematic ending of the 1st singular IE **-ō*, and in the Baltic verbal stem-ending trad. **-ā*.

The form of the suffixal 1st sg. *cixtia* III, with its *-a* < **-ā* < the unstressed broader allophone **ō* of the middle height phoneme Balt. **ō*, shows that quite analogous was the barytone ending of the 1st person singular in the root verbs too. Since to the time of the Catechisms the former broader allophone **ō* of the middle-height phoneme **/ō/* < trad. Balt. **ō* had already merged in one phoneme together with the low-height back open phoneme Common-Pruss.

³³ The reason seems to be morphologic but not phonetic (some researchers speak about shortening of the hypothetical ending of the gen. sg. masc. **-ase* > **-as*, nevertheless short endings still are not reduced in the Elbing Vocabulary). The shortening of the nominative singular had to take place provided the genitive singular was of the same form. Therefore and especially having in mind archaic character of the Baltic languages, it cannot be excluded that the language structure of Common Baltic was still the same as of Common Indoeuropean: it was not “accusative”. For a pre-accusative language structure of Indoeuropean cf. Гамкрелидзе Т.В., Иванов Вяч. Вс. *Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы*. Издательство Тбилисского университета, т. I, 1984, p. 267–319; cf. a modified view with the explication of the term “fientivity” in: Palmaitis L. BR, p. 26–34.

³⁴ There had to be an intermediary period between the non-accusative (the so-called “active”, or fientive) and the accusative structure in Baltic, when sentences with living agent in the fientive (“active”) case (opposed to inactive subject in the “inactive” case) were still possible. This was reflected in a common form fient. > nom., gen. *-as* as in Hittite. In order to differentiate the nominative singular from the genitive singular the ending of the former was reduced (the latter could not be shortened since its form *the vowel + -s* was supported by many instances of the genitive in other stems). Cf. Mažiulis V. BS § 52, Palmaitis L. *Dėl baltų kalbų nenominatyvinės praeities*. Baltistica II Priedas, 1977, p. 115.

/ɔ/ < trad. Balt. *ā, and since one can hardly imagine different personal inflections in oxytone and in the barytone personal forms in the same language, one must conclude that the ending 1st sg. *-ā was generalized also in the oxytone forms (cf. the opposite generalization Lith.-Latv. 1st sg. -u < the stressed narrower allophone *ō of the middle height phoneme **/ō/ < trad. Balt. *ō).

The quality of the low-height back vowel was **ō* in Pomesanian, not **ā* in Samlandian, therefore the discussions concern only “Prussian Soudovian” (late yatvingized Samlandian?) here (first German records of Samlandian settlements before bringing Soudovians in their “Corner” show the same phonetics as in the Elbing Vocabulary, however a 200 years period of time was too short for a number of huge phonetic transformations to take place³⁵).

After the thematic ending of the 1st person present singular **-ō* had been generalized as **-ā* (**krikstij-ā > much later -a, crixtia* III), in barytone forms it coincided with the inflection **-ā* of the 3rd person *ā*-stem preterit of the thematic verbs and the 3rd person present of the *ā*-stem verbs: praet. **lazinā* (much later *> lasinna* III), praes. **bijā* (much later *> bia* III) in Samlandian. With no doubt the same happened also to the inflection of the barytone 1st person singular of the *ā*-stem preterit of the thematic verbs and the 1st person singular present of the *ā*-stem verbs: trad. **-ā-ō* (in fact **-ōō*) *> *ō > *-ā*.³⁶ On this stage paradigms of the following type had to appear (the verb *beigeite*, testified by H. Maletius, is taken conditionally):

	<i>Thematic stems</i>	<i>ā-stems</i>
Present		
1 st sg.	<i>*(bēg)ā</i>	<i>*(bij)ā</i>
3 rd	<i>*(bēg)a</i>	<i>*(bij)ā</i>
Preterit		
1 st sg.	<i>*(bēg)ā</i>	[<i>*-ājā</i>]
3 rd	<i>*(bēg)ā</i>	[<i>*-ājā</i>]

³⁵ 1) West Baltic **ō, *ō > ū / B-, G-, 2) *ō (not *ō) > *ā* in other positions, 3) the broader allophone **ō* having been eliminated from the system, only the narrow and rare phoneme **ō* remained, 4) this caused the narrowing **ē > *ī*, supported by the narrow *ū* coming from **ō, *ō* after the labials and the gutturals. The processes (1)–(3) took place before resettling the Soudovians to Samland, but the process 4) started approximately at the time of the resettling. At the same time the appearance of the quality *ā* instead of *ō* allows to speak about a strong influence of Yatvingian on Prussian in Samland. See Palmaitis, L. *Prūsų kalbos identifikacijos klausimu*; idem, *W kwestii identyfikacji języka Katechizmów pruskich*. / Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie, 2000, Nr 3 (229), p. 501–507.³⁶ The 1st pers. sing. *ā*-stem inflection East-Balt. Lith. *-au* (*[sak]au = [lik]au*) emerged no earlier as the East-Balt. **ō* turned into **uo* and began to alternate with **au*. In Common West-Baltic *ā*-stems the 1st pers. sing. inflection coincided with the 3rd person inflection, but in Proto-Slavic such a coincidence was eliminated by borrowing endings from the athematic paradigm (Indo-Aryan may be of interest in this respect in turn).



After that, the process of shortening of the unstressed long vowels and reduction of the unstressed short final vowels began, what could be possible due to the retraction of the accent from the final syllable to the root. There are no data to presume other reason of this retraction as only mixing different languages (Prussian and Yatvingian) in Samland. All forms with the ending *-ā* had to turn into forms with the ending *-a* (e.g. **bēga*, **bija*) but the accent was leveled and the mobile accent paradigm was lost (all verbal forms became barytone). The form of the 3rd person present of the thematic verbs had to lose its inflection and to become a zero-ending form, e.g. **bēg*,³⁷ as in Latvian or in the Samogithian dialect of Lithuanian. Nevertheless such zero-ending 3rd person thematic form could not appear in Prussian. In Latvian and in Samogithian the zero-ending is opposed to the ending which from the very beginning was of another quality: 1st sg. praes. *-u* < **-uo*. In Prussian of the Catechisms, in the intermediary period of facultative parallel use of the shorted and non-shortened endings (cf. *viņš nezina* / *viņš nezin* in modern colloquial Latvian), the forms were mixed: 1st sg. praes. **bēgā* / **bēga* beside the 3rd pers. **bēga* / **bēg*. Differently from Latvian or Samogithian, the necessity to distinguish between the 1st and the 3rd persons was not supported by other forms in Samlandian. There were a great plenty of instances in Samlandian when these forms had not been distinguished already in the previous epoch: 1st sg., 3rd praes. **bijā* > **bija*, 1st sg., 3rd praet. **bēgā* > **bēga*. As a result, since the period of the use of facultative parallel forms (see above) there became fixed such variant of the form of the 3rd person of the thematic verbs in Samlandian of the Catechisms, which coincided with the form of the 1st person singular in the present tense, i.e. **(bēg)a*, i.e. in full correspondence with the coincidence of the 1st person singular and the 3rd person in historical *ā*-stem preterit of the thematic verbs and in the present and preterit of the *ā*-stem verbs.

In the endings of the *-āja* / *-ēja* suffixed verbs (e.g. *peisāi* III, i.e. 1st pers. sg. praes. **peisājā*, 3rd pers. **peisāja*, 1st pers. sg. praet. **peisājā*, 3rd pers. **peisājā*), on the contrary, the long ending of the 1st singular person, when reduced into the short ending, was clipped together with the reduced short ending of the 3rd person, because of the tend to shorten the long words and because the 1st singular person and the 3rd person were coinciding in many other cases at the same time. The resulting **-āja* > *-āi* / *-ā*, *-ai* / *-a*, **-ēja* > *-ēi* / *-ē*, *-ei*

³⁷ Cf. analogous shortening in the *i*-stem verbs: a relic *tur* I, II, yet not ousted by the *ija*-stem model as in *turri* III = *grīki*(*si*) III – cf. above the A-Rule, as well as CATECHISMUS IN PREUßNISCHER SPRACH, UND DAGEGEN DAS DEUDSCHE. First published: 1545. 6th reprint: Vilnius 1995. Introduction, text, philological comments, reconstruction. / In: Bibliotheca Baltica. Vilnius: Pradai 1995, p. 92, note 26.



/-e forms were subsequently generalized on the preterit due to the coincidence of the preterit and the present form in many other cases:

	<u>Thematic stems</u>	<u>ā-stems</u>
Present		
1 st sg.	*(bēg)a	*(bij)a
3 rd	*(bēg)a	*(bij)
Preterit		
1 st sg.	*(bēg)a	[*-āja > -āi / -ā, -ai / -a]
3 rd	*(bēg)a	[*-āja > -āi / -ā, -ai / -a]

Such lack of distinction between the 1st and the 3rd persons in singular was the first step toward analytism. A subsequent necessity to use pronouns, which specified persons, inevitably caused the third stage of the development: ousting of the form of the 2nd person and its replacement with the form of the 1st / 3rd person in singular: *kas du Gīwu bhe Rikawie en Prabutskan* III 85, 14, i.e. **kas tū gīwu be rikaūja en prābutskan* (here the final -u in *gīwu* reflects former long -ā after the labial w) “der du lebest vnd regierest in ewigkeyt”.

Nevertheless, such a process was hindered by the presence of personal forms which still were discerned in the athematic verbs in singular: the 1st sg. *-m or *-mā > -mu and -ma / -mai, the 3rd person -t as well as the 2nd person sg. -sei. The latter could be occasionally borrowed to replenish the thematic paradigm in present: *druwēse* III = [*druwēise* / *druwēisei*], *seggēsei* III = [*segēisei* / *segēise*]:

	<u>Thematic stems</u>	<u>ā-stems</u>
Present		
1 st sg.	*(bēg)a	*(bij)a
2 nd sg.	*(bēg)a / *(bēg)asei	*(bij)a / *(bij)asei
3 rd	*(bēg)a	*(bij)a
Preterit		
1 st sg.	*(bēg)a	[*-āja > -āi / -ā, -ai / -a]
3 rd	*(bēg)a	[*-āja > -āi / -ā, -ai / -a]

Relic of the original form of the 2nd person singular may be *sātuinei* III 85,3: *Toū etwēre twaian rānkan/ bhe sātuinei wissan...*, t.y. **toū etwerja twajan rānkan be sātwinei wisan...* “Du thust deine handt auff/ vnd settigest alles...”.

We see that the difference between the present and preterit form had to also be lost in many cases on the second and the third stages of the development. The present and the preterit forms could be distinguished if only different stems

were used for them in athematic verbs, or in case of the apophonic, nasal, *sta-* or *ja-*present. This was the second step toward analytism, because in order to specify tense, when it was not clear from the context, one was forced to use perfect forms or impersonal participles instead of personal forms. Both possibilities may be illustrated by corresponding Latvian and Lithuanian examples (although the similar necessity may be found in Latvian only): perfect instead of preterit – Latv. *es esmu runājis* (praet. *runāju* coincides with the praes. *runāju*); participle instead of the personal form – Lith. *aš ten buvęs* (instead of *aš ten esu buvęs*, of another nature). In other words, in order to be understood correctly, a Samlandian Prussian (Soudovian) had to specify tenses in the following way: (the 1st sg.) **as bīga*, (the 2nd sg.) **tū bīga*, (the 3rd pers.) **tāns bīga* in the present tense and (the 1st sg.) **as asmu (asmai / asma) bīguns* or **as bīguns* instead of **as bīga*, when the latter was not comprehensible from the context, (the 2nd sg.) **tū asei bīguns* or **tū bīguns* instead of **tū bīga*, (the 3rd sg.) **tāns ast bīguns* or **tāns bīguns* instead of **tāns bīga* in the past tense.

To add, one may remember the Slavic innovative *l*-preterit of the participle origin, although the Slavic development was not the same.

Having in mind all said above about grammatical changes caused by phonetic changes in Samlandian of the Catechisms, it is not difficult to describe a structure without these changes. With no doubt, this was the structure of the language reflected in the Elbing Vocabulary and probably spoken even later on all territory of proper Baltic Prussia except Samland.

	<u>Thematic stems</u>	<u>ā-stems</u>
Present		
1 st sg.	<i>*(bēg)ō</i>	<i>*(bij)ō</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>*(bēg)ei</i>	<i>*(bij)ai < -*ōi</i>
3 rd	<i>*(bēg)a</i>	<i>*(bij)ō</i>
Preterit		
1 st sg.	<i>*(bēg)ō</i>	<i>[-*ōjō]</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>*(bēg)ai < -*ōi</i>	<i>[-*ōjai < -*ōi]</i>
3 rd	<i>*(bēg)ō</i>	<i>[-*ōjō]</i>

Since no data may be shown pointing out to any process of vowel reduction in this language, one may assume that the reconstructed situation was contemporary to that of the Prussian Catechisms of the 16th century.

Forms of the 1st person singular and the 3rd person could coincide in the present of the thematic and athematic verbs in Samlandian only. In other (pure Prussian, not Yatvingized) dialects these forms could coincide only in the barytone forms in the *ā*-stem preterit of the thematic verbs as well as in the

present and preterit of the *ā*-stem verbs and in the preterit of the *āja*-, *ēja*-, *ija*-stem verbs. In the root and in the *ā*-stem verbs of the mobile accent paradigm the form of the 1st person singular had the accented ending and therefore it always differed from the form of the 3rd person. Thus there was no such need in use of pronouns specifying persons in this language as it was in Samlandian of the Catechisms. No trends toward analytism may be traced.

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Peculiarities of the Old Prussian Verb

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Knowledge of the phonetic system of Old Prussian remains insufficient after almost 200 years of research without necessary attention to spelling. This is the main reason of contradictory views even on morphology of this language. Phonetic system of the Elbing Vocabulary essentially differs from that of the Samlandian catechisms, in which palatalisation is indicated either in Polish manner with the letter "i", or by transformation of the back vocalism *a* into the front one *e*: *mayien* II vs. *mayian* II 'mine', *twaien* I / *twayien* II vs. *twaiian* III 'thine', *gēide* [= *geid'a] III 'awaits'. Four rules A, B, C, D are defined to understand verbal forms on phonetic grounds. A-Rule: Any verbal form with the final short *-i* is not of the *i*-stem, but of the original or secondary *-ija* stem (cf. *turri* III vs. *tur* I, II 'has' similarly to Lith. *trūnija* / *trūni* 'it rots', Palmaitis, 1998, 141). B-Rule: alternations *āi* / *ā*, *ai* / *a*, *ēi* / *ē*, *ei* / *e* occurred in the same way as a circumflex contraction did in *moasis* 'barley', *semo* 'winter' E or *pallapsittwey* I vs. *pallaiptsitwei* III 'to desire'. The alternations spread from the



final positions in verbs with suffixes *-āja*, *-ēja* > circumflex *-āi*, *-ēi* > nouns *mensā* / *mensai* ‘flesh’, *giwei* ‘life’ (Latv. *dzīve*, with a broken pitch, points to a mobile accent and a former stressed ending in the nominative consequently), further being generalized on unstressed positions after vanishing of the unstressed length. As a result alternative forms spread in the Catechisms: *swintina* / *swintinai* ‘consecrates’ (Palmaitis, 1998, 223). This is why the stressed ending *-ē* preserved (not turned into *-ī*) in Samlandian: cf. *semmē* III ‘earth’ systemically equal to **zemēi*. C-Rule: Both ways of indicating palatalization (with the letter “i” and with the shift of *a* to *e*) show neutralization of short *a* and *e* after a palatal consonant similarly as in Lithuanian (Palmaitis, 2007, 133, 221 etc.). Occasional palatalization is seen in such pairs as *powaidinne* / *powaidinnei* ‘points to’, *pogaunai* / *pogauni* ‘starts’ (Palmaitis, 2007, 265, 293), what also complements the A-Rule. D-Rule: Resonant *l* is rendered in a way showing its palatal character in all positions in Samlandian: a hardstem accusative (*-an*, *-un*) was opposed to a palatal-stem accusative (*-ian(s)* / *-ien(s)* / *-in(s)*), cf. the triad *kaulei*, *kaūlins*, *kaulan* ‘bones’ (Palmaitis, 1990). **l* being palatal, the spellings *billē* and *bilā* ‘speaks’ should reflect the same ps. (= pt.) **bilēj* [bil’ēi = bil’āi] < ps. **bilēja* (pt. **bilējā*) because of the inf. *billī*, not **billāt*. The same is true for *stallē* = *stallā* ‘stands = stood’ < ps. **stalēja*, pt. **stalējā* (Palmaitis, 2007, 139 etc.). There is no difference between (III) *budē* ‘is awake’, *milē* ‘loves’ on the one side and (III) *druwē* ‘believes’ (as well as *billē*, *quoitē* ‘wishes’, *stallē*) on the other side. First, the spelling *druwe* is attested 2x beside *drowy* 1x in the same II. If the ending *-y* in the latter was really unstressed, the spelling of the stressed *u* as *o* beside the spelling of the unstressed *u* as *u* in 2 other instances should seem doubtful. Secondly, in case the verbs *druwē*, *billē*, *quoitē*, *stallē* are not the same *ēja*-stem verbs as *budē* and *milē*, then their stem vowel *ē* should have but turned into *-ī* in plural forms (III) *druwēmai*, *billēmai*, *quoitēti*, *quotāmai* (probably **kwait’āimai* = **kwait’ēimai*), *stallēmai*, *stallēti* and should have been preserved as *ī* at least once if this *ē* had been really generalized from the form of the 3rd person, as Vytautas Mažiulis (2004, 74) states quite correctly. Therefore it seems quite credible to see a secondary circumflex diphthong *-ēja-* > *-ēj-* = *-ēi-* > *-ēin* closed syllable in these plural forms. Such a diphthong is well preserved in 1 ps. pl. *enwackēimai* III 29 (/ *enwackēmai* III 117) ‘invoke’, as well as in the participle form (III 87) *waitiaintins* = **vait’āintins* < **vaitjājantins* ‘talking’ (Palmaitis, 1998, 223). Since there is no apparent reason (except traditional opinions) to make difference between verbs (III) *budē*, *milē* and *druwē*, *billē*, *quoitē*, *stallē*, the spelling *drowy* (II) can be treated as reflecting a stressed suffix **-ija*, i.e. **druvī* = **druvij* < **druvija* / **druvēja*, cf. pairs Latv. *rūsīt* / *rūsēt*, Lith. *trūnija* / *trūni*. Special fate of long **ō* in Samlandian caused coincidence of personal forms in singular and other features which induced development of analytism.



Two phonemes merged in the phoneme /ā/ in Samlandian of the Catechisms: 1 – the open-low back Balt. *ō̄ < trad. Balt. *ā (cf. *brāti* III ‘brother’) and 2 – NOT the narrower *ō̄ of the middle height < Balt. *ō, but only its unstressed or generalized unstressed broader allophone *ō̄ < trad. Balt. *ō (cf. the barytone *cixtia* III ‘baptizes’ or *naseylis* II ‘spirit’ with occasionally stressed second syllable in the latter). The stressed narrower allophone *ō̄ of the narrower *ō̄ of the middle height < the same Balt. *ō remained as the phoneme /*ō̄/, cf. *perōni* III ‘community’ (Mažiulis, 1970, 22–23). Both phonemes (1, 2) were used as markers in grammatical forms, i.e. in the thematic ending of the 1st singular IE *-ō̄ and in the Baltic verbal stem-ending trad. *-ā. After the thematic ending of the 1st person present singular *-ō̄ had been generalized as *-ā (**krikstij-ā* > much later *cixtia* III), in barytone forms it coincided with the inflection *-ā of the 3rd person ā-stem preterit of the thematic verbs and the 3rd person present of the ā-stem verbs: praet. **lazinā* (> *lasinna* III ‘puts down’), praes. **bijā* (> *bia* III) ‘fears’. With no doubt the same happened also to the inflection of the barytone 1st person singular of the ā-stem preterit of the thematic verbs and the 1st person singular present of the ā-stem verbs: *-ā-ō̄ > *-āā > *-ā. The same quality of inflections of the 3rd person and the 1st sg., beside coincidence in present of the ā-stem 3rd person and the ā-stem 1st person with the a-stem 3rd person in preterit, made all inflections of this stem to fully coincide in singular after shortening of the unstressed length. In this way analytic means to express person and tense became necessary (Palmaitis, 2000).