



OLD PRUSSIAN PARTICIPLES

FREDERIK KORTLANDT

Leiden

Prussian appears to have an active present participle in *-nts, -nt-*, an active past participle in *-uns, -us-*, and a passive past participle in *-ts, -t-*. The latter two are particularly frequent. The Balto-Slavic passive present participle in *-m-* is reflected in the isolated form *poklausīmanas*, which requires an emendation. I agree with Benveniste (1933: 6) that the form must be corrected to **poklausīman* because the predicative adjective should be neuter singular according to the rules of Prussian syntax: *Kai as turri auschaidīwings boūt stawīdas madlas ast steismu Tāwan Endangon enimmewingi bhe poklausīmanas* "Das ich soll gewisz sein solche Bitte sind dem Vatter im Himel angenehme vnd erhöret", where *-as* was presumably the result of a "transfert fautif des désinences du sujet" *stawīdas madlas*. The rejection of this view by Endzelin (who admits that "ein neutraler nom.s. zu erwarten wäre", 1935: 141) and Stang (who finds the explanation "psychologisch wenig überzeugend", 1966: 446) is a consequence of their comparative background and insufficient appreciation of the peculiarities of Prussian syntax. The form *enimumne* "angenehme" is unclear and cannot therefore be used as evidence.

When we look at the undisputed participles, it is instructive first to examine the instances in the First and Second Catechisms in comparison with the Enchiridion (cf. Kortlandt 1998):

I	II	E
<i>taykowuns</i>	<i>tykynnons</i>	<i>teikūuns</i>
<i>patickots</i>	<i>pagauts</i>	<i>pogauts</i>
<i>gemmons</i>	<i>gemmons</i>	<i>gemmons</i>
<i>stenuns</i>	<i>styienuns</i>	<i>stīnons</i>
<i>scrisits</i>	<i>skresitzt</i>	<i>skrīsits</i>
<i>aulauns</i>	<i>aulauns</i>	<i>aulauns</i>
<i>encops</i>	<i>enquoptzt</i>	<i>enkopts</i>

<i>lesuns</i>	<i>lysons</i>	<i>lisons</i>
<i>att skiwuns</i>	<i>etskyuris</i>	<i>etskiuns</i>
<i>gobuns</i>	<i>gubons</i>	<i>gūbons</i>
<i>sindats</i>	<i>syndens</i>	<i>sīdons</i>
<i>pergubuns</i>	<i>pergubons</i>	<i>pergūbons</i>
<i>aulauwussens</i>	<i>aulausins</i>	<i>aulausins</i>
<i>swintints</i>	<i>swyntits</i>	<i>swintints</i>
<i>cixtits</i>	<i>cixteits</i>	<i>cixtits</i>
<i>deiwuts</i>	<i>deywuts</i>	<i>deiwuts</i>
<i>proklantitz</i>	<i>preclantyts</i>	<i>perklantīts</i>
<i>dats</i>	<i>daeczt</i>	<i>dāts</i>
<i>palletan</i>	<i>praliten</i>	<i>pralieiton</i>

The active present participle I *sindats*, II *syndens*, E *sīdons*, *sīdans* "sitzend" suggests a form /sindants/ which was replaced by the active past participle /sīdons/ in the Enchiridion. Other instances of the *nt*-participle in the Enchiridion are: *dīlants* "Arbeiter" (2x), *skellānts*, *skellants*, *schkellānts* "schuldig", nom.pl. *skellānts*, *skellāntei*, *skellāntai*, acc.sg. *ri̇pintin*, *ri̇pintin<ton>* "folgende", *nidruwīntin* "vngleubige", acc.pl. *emprijki waitiaintins* "Widersprecher", *wargu-seggīentins* "Vbelheter", gen.sg. masc. *niaubillīntis* "vnmündigen", dat.sg. fem. *nianbillintai*, and *emprijkisins* "gegenwertig", dat.sg. *emprikisentismu*, gerund *giwāntei* "lebendig", *stānintei*, *stāninti* "stehend". Apart from the gerund, all of these examples appear to be lexicalized forms, so that there is no evidence for an active present participle as a living category in the Enchiridion. This may explain the replacement of /sindants/ by the active past participle /sīdons/. The gerund was evidently an uninflected form, as is clear from the syntax of *Nostan poquelbton adder stānintei* "Darauff kniendt oder stehend". Note that the ending of nom.pl. *skellānts* in *kai iōūs skellānts astai* "was jr schuldig seid" may actually represent the original nom.pl. ending of the consonant stems **-es*, while *skellāntei* and *skellāntai* show the regular pronominal and nominal endings. The gen.sg. ending of *niaubillīntis* is regularly built on the acc.sg. ending *-in* (cf. Van Wijk 1918: 73).

Turning to the stem formation of the *nt*-participle, we may note that the forms in *-ānt-* are thematic < **-ont-* while the forms in *-int-* can be thematic, e.g. *waitiaintins* < **-ājont-*, cf. *seggīentins*, or athe-

matic < **-nt-*, e.g. *ri̇pintin* (cf. Kortlandt 1987). The formation of *-sins*, *-sentismu* is of particular interest because it shows an original alternation between zero and full grade (cf. Van Wijk 1929: 162). Since the *e*-grade in the dat.sg. form must have been taken from the casus recti, the zero grade in the nom.sg. form cannot possibly have been taken from the oblique cases and must be original. It follows that we must reconstruct a Balto-Slavic nom.sg. form **esints*, which is in accordance with Beekes' theory (1985: 64-77). This reconstruction is supported by the corresponding Old Lithuanian participle in Daukša's Postille, for which Kudzinowski lists the following ablaut grades of the root (1977: 127f.):

	<i>es-</i>	<i>s-</i>
nom.sg. masc.	62	zero
nom.sg. fem.	10	10
gen.sg. masc.	2	7
gen.sg. fem.	6	10
dat.sg.	zero	4
acc.sg. masc.	7	33
acc.sg. fem.	2	7
inst.sg.	3	2
loc.sg.	9	2
nom.pl. masc.	33	zero
nom.pl. fem.	1	8
gen./dat./acc. pl.	zero	11
uninflected	zero	2

The statistics show that the masc. nom.pl. form represents the original neuter singular **esint* which was used predicatively, not the original finite 3rd pl. form **sent(i)*. For the verb *eiti* "to go", Kudzinowski lists the following ablaut grades of the root in the *nt*-participle (1977: 194):

	<i>ei-</i>	<i>e- < *je-</i>
nom.sg./pl. masc.	4	zero
other cases	zero	14

This distribution confirms Beekes' analysis of Latin *iens* (1985: 70).

The active past participle ends in *-uns* or *-ons*. Elsewhere I have argued that /o/ was a variant of /a/ and /u/ which became phonemicized as a result of the Prussian progressive accent shift (1988: 90). If the accent shifted in *gemmons* "geboren", as I think it did, the ending *-ons* is regular under the stress in all three catechisms. In the parallel texts, the unstressed ending is written I *-wuns* (2x), *-wns*, II *-uns* (2x), E *-uns* (3x) after a vowel and I *-uns* (4x), II *-ons* (3x), *-uns*, E *-ons* (5x) after a consonant. This is evidently the result of an analogical substitution of *-ons* for *-uns* after the accent shift. For other instances of the *us*-participle I refer to Trautmann, who counts for the masc. nom.sg. form 81x *-uns*, 3x *-wuns*, 35x *-ons*, 8x *-ans*, and once *-ins* for *-uns* in the whole corpus (1910: 255). I regard deviations from the expected distribution of *-ons* and *-uns* as irregularities and occurrences of *-ans* or *-ins* as mistakes. In the Enchiridion I find 9x *-uns* for *-ons* after a consonant and no instances of *-ons* for *-uns* after a vowel, further 8x *-ans*, once *-as* and once *-ins* for *-ons* (9x) or *-uns* (once). An appreciation of these instances requires an examination of the place in the text where they occur because the number of incorrect forms appears to increase toward the end of the text, as I intend to show in more detail on another occasion. For practical purposes I divide the Enchiridion into six parts:

	Trautmann	Königsberg	Dresden	Number of pages
E0	19	17	1	half
E1	23-51	27-77	11-61	26
E2	51-61	79-97	63-81	10
E3	61-69	99-109	83-93	6
E4a	69-77	111-123	95-107	7
E4b	77-81	125-133	109-117	5

E3 is the "Trawbüchlein" and E4 is the "Tauffbüchlein". The instances of *-uns* for *-ons* are found in E2 (2x), E3 (3x), and E4 (4x). The only instance of *-ans* for *-uns* is found in E1, viz. *tāns ast etskīans* "er ist auferstanden", where *-ans* was evidently adjusted to *tāns*. The other instance of *-ans* in E1 is found in the line after the disputed form *poklausīmanas*, viz. *tans sups ast noūmas laipinnans* "er

selbs hat vns geboten", where dat.pl. *noūmas* is an elliptic variant of regular *noūmans*. The other instances of *-ans* are found in E4a (once) and E4b (5x), and the only instance of *-ins* is found on the last page but one of E4b. The producer of the text was evidently in a hurry at this stage. Nothing interesting can be said about the form *gubas* "gegangen" in E2, which is used imperatively, like *enmigguns* "geschlaffen" on the following page.

The form in *-uns* (with variants) is frequently used as a nom.pl. form (12x), which suggests that the phonetic loss of the original ending **-es* of the consonant stems obliterated the distinction between singular and plural here. The alternative nom.pl. ending *-usis* (4x) is evidently built on the acc.pl. ending *-usins*. The alternation of the root vowel between *gemmons* and acc.sg. *ainan-gimmusin* "Eingebornen" suggests the existence of the same original ablaut as in the *nt*-participle. The fem. nom.sg. form *aulausē* "todt" shows that this proterodynamic formation adopted the corresponding hysterodynamic flexion in Prussian (cf. Kortlandt 1997: 162).

I have little to add about the passive past participle in *-t*. Elsewhere I have discussed the accent and vocalism of *enkopts* "begraben" (1988: 90f.), *cixtits* "getauft", *skrisits* "gecreutziget", *pralieiton* "vergossen" (1998: 124), and the acc.sg. and neuter forms in *-ton* (1978: 288-290). The masc. nom.pl. ending is nominal *-ai* (4x) or pronominal *-ei* (2x); the alternative zero ending in the predicative forms *isrankīt* "erlöset", *perklantīt bhe ismaitint* "verdampft vnd verlornt", *empijrint* "versamlet" is suspect because all four instances are found on two successive pages in E4a, which renders their probative value negligible.

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