A NEW LOOK AT THE OLD PRUSSIAN PRONOUN

In this paper I shall attempt to establish normalized paradigms of the Old Prussian pronouns[1]. Although for Old Prussian it is difficult to establish any kind of underlying phonological system, for the purposes of this paper I shall assume a four-vowel system as given below[2]:

$$\bar{\imath} \qquad\qquad \breve{u}$$
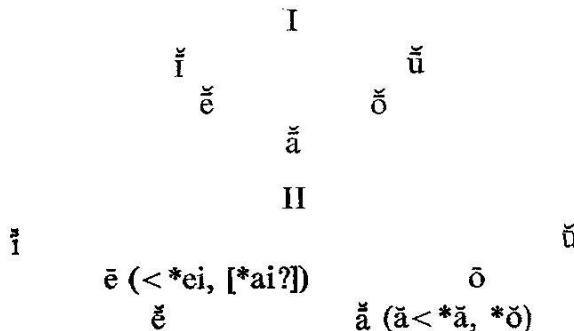$$\breve{e} \qquad\qquad \breve{a}$$

Following (*j*) or palatalized consonants there was no contrast between (*e*) and (*a*). In the transcription I shall write according to etymology, but it should be under-

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[1] This paper is intended eventually to serve as a part of a grammar of Old Prussian, which I am now preparing. I have already published one section entitled „The Old Prussian Verb" in Baltic Linguistics, pp. 127—156.

[2] As far as the vocalic system is concerned, one should see Michael Burwell's article, „The Vocalic Phonemes of the Old Prussian Elbing Vocabulary" in Baltic Linguistics, pp. 11—21.

One might note that the Old Prussian system with four vowels is the same as that which can be posited for pre-Slavic. The fact that East Baltic does not merge etymological $*(\bar{a})$ and $*(\bar{o})$ seems to be true archaism. Itwould be possible to argue that the merger of East Baltic $*(\breve{a})$ and $*(\breve{o})$ is connected with the monophthongization of $*(ei)$ [and $*(ai)$?] under strees. When $*(ei)$ [$*(ai)$?] passed to $*(\bar{e})_2$ the etymological original Indo-European $*(\breve{e})$ were lowered. The lowering of the $*(\breve{e})$ was accompanied by the lowering of its short counterpart $*(\breve{o})$ and hence brought about its merger with $*(\breve{a})$. The old $*(\bar{o})$, however, was not lowered, but remained as the counterpart of the new $*(\bar{e})_2$.

In other words the chronological steps were as follows:

$$\text{I}$$
$$\breve{\imath} \qquad\qquad \breve{u}$$
$$\breve{e} \qquad\qquad \breve{o}$$
$$\breve{a}$$

$$\text{II}$$
$$\bar{\imath} \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \breve{u}$$
$$\bar{e}\ (<*ei,\ [*ai?]) \qquad\qquad \bar{o}$$
$$\breve{e} \qquad\qquad \breve{a}\ (\breve{a}<*\breve{a},\ *\breve{o})$$

In Old Prussian, however, the merger of $*(\breve{a})$ and $*(\breve{o})$ may have been simultaneous as it could have been in Slavic.

stood that there was probably no surface structure distinction between (*je*) and (*ja*). Since I do not rely very greatly on the orthography I give the morphophonemic transcription between parentheses and then the various orthographic representation as found in the Old Prussian texts. Letters between brackets [ ] signify the possibility of the existence of a phoneme in the word. In the morphophonemic transcription I have marked palatalization of consonants only before non-front vowels. Such palatalization is automatic before front vowels and therefore not marked in the transcription.

I have already pointed out (1968, 189—193) that frequently an orthographic *o* or *u* after a labial or velar consonant in Old Prussian may well denote an etymological (*ă*). The choice of the back rounded vowel by the German scribe was dictated by the fact that he heard the labialization of the preceding consonant. German scribes were not good at distinguishing palatalization either. Sometimes they marked it, e.g. *pyienkts* 'fifth', but sometimes not, e.g. *penckts* 'fifth'.

One might suspect that one Middle Low German orthographic habit has rendered the Old Prussian texts even more ambiguous. Lasch (1914, 24—27) writes that frequently in a two-letter sequence the occurrence of the vowel *e* or *i* as the second letter may denote length. Thus in Middle Low German, the orthographic sequence *ai* or *ae* may merely denote a phonemic (*ā*). I presume this to be the case frequently in Old Prussian. Thus an orthographic *ai* may denote either a phonemic (*ai*) as, e.g. in the dat. sg. fem. *schissai* (*šisai*) 'to this' or *ai* may denote phonemic (*ā*) as in the nom. sg. fem. reflexive pronoun *subbai* (*subā*), nom. sg. fem. *mensai* (*mensā*), *īdai* (*ēdā*), *crixtisnai* (*krikstisnā*), etc.

The gendered pronominal forms are reconstructed chiefly on the basis of Brugmann, 1904, 403—413. I reconstruct no forms, however, with long diphthongs. I assume that these, if they ever existed, were lost in an early Balto-Slavic period. Probably the only trace left in Balto-Slavic of the distinction between the long and short diphthongs is the difference between the acute and circumflex intonation. Wherever Sanskrit, for example, shows a long diphthong (i. e. vṛddhi grade), I assume that the Old Prussian counterpart has either shortened the diphthong or else (if in word-final position) the second element of the diphthong may alternatively be lost.

Any cut between stem and ending would seem quite arbitrary so the term ending here denotes that group of phonemes (or morphemes) which serves as a common case and number marker for all pronouns no matter what their stem may be. In certain of the cases the place for the morphemic cut between stem and ending would still be ambiguous, e.g. should one divide an acc. sg. *tan* as *t + an* or *ta + n*? I have no strong feeling on this, although in most cases I have chosen the maximal stem and the minimal ending.

My classification of many of the individual forms does not agree with that of Trautmann. Thus I class all the datives singular ending in -smu as masculine or neuter, whereas Trautmann classifies some as feminine (cf. Trautmann, 1910, 437). Similarly I would never classify a pronoun ending in -an or -on as being genitive singular. In my opinion syntactic errors on the part of the scribe have also frequently been enshrined as features of Old Prussian morphology.

Except for the nominative singular (and the nominative and accusative plural?) the neuter forms are all the same as those of the corresponding masculines. The nom. sg. masc. ending is (-s), the nom. sg. fem. ending is (ā) and the nom. sg. neuter ending is either (-n) or zero. The gen. sg. masc. ending is posited as either (-śa) < *(-sja), cf. Skt. tásya, kásya, etc. or (-sa), cf. Old Church Slavic česo, čьso. The gen. sg. fem. ending is posited as (-[ś]ās), cf. Skt. tasyās, asyās. In a form such as Old Prussian twaisas possibly the first s is a misprint for a y or i [cf. the gen. sg. fem. reflexive form swaias, possibly the gen. sg. fem. kawijdsa in which there may have been a reversal of the last two letters and the word may be read as (kavīdās)]. The form twaiasei may either stand for the masculine form or else it may be read as (tvajās) plus the emphatic particle (-ai). Probably twaias, which Trautmann (1910, 453) classes as of uncertain gender, is the most accurate representation of the feminine genitive singular.

The dat. sg. masc. ending is posited as (-smā), cf. Skt. dat. sg. masc. tasmāi, asmāi, Gothic þamma, ƕamma, Skt. ablative sg. masc. tasmād, asmād. The dat. sg. fem. ending is posited as (-[ś]ai) or (-[s]ai), cf. the Skt. dat. sg. fem. tasyāi, Gothic þizai. The acc. sg. masc. and acc. sg. fem. both end in (-n).

The nom. pl. masc. ending is (-i) and sometimes this ending is posited for the nom. pl. fem. as well. The latter form could well be a mistake for a masculine form, even though a nom. pl. ā-stem ending -ai seems to be assured for Proto-Indo-European by Greek χῶραι 'lands' and Latin equae 'mares'. But a comparison with the rest of Balto-Slavic would seem to indicate a nominative plural form (-s).

The gen. pl. masc. and gen. pl. fem. ending is (-[s]an). I would not assume a word-final *(-ōn) is reflected in Old Prussian. If one were to assume, for example, that the Lithuanian gen. pl. ending -ų indeed did represent the end result of a development *-ōn > *-uon > -un, then one would be forced to assume that the shortening of long diphthongs took place after the diphthongization of *(ō) to (ua), i.e. after the separation of East and West Baltic. A separate West Baltic shortening of the long diphthong *(ōn) to *(on) would mean a short (o) with a very limited distribution, viz. only in the gen. pl. (and perhaps acc. pl.) of inflectional endings.

The dat. pl. masc. and dat. pl. fem. ending is reconstructed as (-mans), see J. Kazlauskas, 1970, 87—91. The acc. pl. masc. and acc. pl. fem. ending is to be recon-

structed as (-ns). In no case would I consider a word-final *(-ōns) possible here since it would entail the assumption of a long diphthong.

Third person personal pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(tán[a]s) tāns, tans 'he'
Gen. sg. masc.	(tanaśa) or (tanasa) tennessei
Dat. sg. masc.	(tanásmā) or (tanaismā) tennēismu, tennijsmu, tenesmu, tennesmu
Acc. sg. masc.	(tanan) tennan, tennen
Nom. pl. masc.	(tanai) tennei
Gen. pl. masc.	(tanásan) or (tanáisan) tennēison, tenneison, tanassen, tanaessen
Dat. pl. masc.	(tanámans) or (tanáimans) tennēimans, tennēimons
Acc. pl. masc.	(tanans) tennans, tannans
Nom. sg. fem.	(taná) tennā, tannā, tenna
Dat. sg. fem.	(tanái) tennēi
Acc. sg. fem.	(tanan) tennan
Gen. pl. fem.	(tanásan) or (tanáisan) tennēison
Acc. pl. fem.	(tanans) tennans

First person singular possessive pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(ma[j]is) mais, mays 'my'
Gen. sg. masc.	(maiśa) or (maisa) maisei
Dat. sg. masc.	(majásmā) maiāsmu
Acc. sg. masc.	(majan) maian
Acc. pl. masc.	(majans) maians
Nom. sg. fem.	(majā) maia
Dat. sg. fem.	(majai) mayiey. Trautmann, 1910, 373, considers this neuter, but I suggest that it is fem. It occurs in the expression *en mayiey krœuwiey]* 'in my blood', the word for 'blood' could well be fem. in OP, since we find a nom. sg. form *krauwia* in the IIIrd Catechism, 47, 34. Endzelīns, 1943, 90, thinks that perhaps the whole expression is to be corrected to *mayien krœuwien* and that it might be in the accusative case.
Acc. sg. fem.	(majan) mayan, maian, mayian, mayien
Acc. sg. neuter	(majan) maian

First person plural possessive pronoun

Dat. sg. masc.	(nūsasmā) noūsesmu, nousesmu, noūsmu 'our'
Acc. pl. masc.	(nūsans) noūsons, nousons
Nom. sg. fem.	(nūsā) nousā

Second person singular possessive pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(tva[j]is) twais, tways 'thy, thine'
Gen. sg. masc.	(tvaiśa) or (tvaisa) twaise, twayse, twaisei, twaisai, twaisei. In the examples *twaysis* (2x) the word final -*s* is added under the influence of the following noun which the first time is *tauwyschis*, the second time *tauwyschies*, see Trautmann, 1910, 271 and Endzelīns, 1943, 90.
Dat. sg. masc.	(tvajásmā) twaiāsmu, twaismu
Acc. sg. masc.	(tvajan) twaian, twaien, twayien
Acc. pl. masc.	(tvajans) twaians
Nom. sg. fem.	(tvajā) twaiā, twayia
Gen. sg. fem.	(tvajās) twaisas, twaiasei, twaias
Acc. sg. fem.	(tvajan) twaian
Acc. pl. fem.	(tvajans) twaians, twaias

Second person plural possessive pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(jūs[a]s) ioūs 'your, yours'
Gen. sg. masc.	(jūs[a]śa) or (jūs[a]sa) iousai
Dat. sg. masc.	(jūs[a]smā) ioūsmu
Acc. pl. masc.	(jūsans) ioūsans, ioūsons
Nom. sg. fem.	(jūsā) iousā
Acc. pl. fem.	(jūsans) ioūsans

According to Trautmann, 1910, 347, the only form which occurs more than once is the acc. pl. fem. *ioūsans* which occurs twice.

Reflexive pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(sub[a]s) sups, subs 'oneself'
Gen. sg. masc.	(sub[a]śa) or (sub[a]sa) supsei, supsai
Dat. sg. masc.	(sub[a]smā) subbsmu, supsmu
Acc. sg. masc.	(suban) subban
Acc. pl. masc.	(subans) subbans
Nom. sg. fem.	(subā) subbai
Gen. sg. fem.	(sub[a]sās) supsas
Dat. sg. fem.	(sub[a]sai) supsai
Acc. sg. fem.	(suban) subban
Acc. sg. neut.	(suban) subban

Reflexive possessive pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(sva[j]is) swais 'one's own'
Gen. sg. masc.	(svaiśa) or (svaisa) swaise, swaisei
Dat. sg. masc.	(svajásmā) swaiāsmu, swaiasmu
Acc. sg. masc.	(svajan) swaian, swian, swaain, swaīan, swaien
Dat. pl. masc.	(svaimans) swaimans, swaymans
Acc. pl. masc.	(svajans) swaians, swayiens
Inst. pl. masc.	(svajais) swaieis. Unless this is a mistake for *swaiens* which is an acc. pl. masc.
Nom. sg. fem.	(svajā) swaia
Gen. sg. fem.	(svajās) swaias
Dat. sg. fem.	(svajai) swaiai; (svajásmā) swaiāsmu, swaiasmu
Acc. sg. fem.	(svajan) swaian, swaiau
Acc. pl. fem.	(svajans) swaians
	Acc. sg., gender uncertain (svajan)

Demonstrative pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(šis) schis, sis 'this'
Gen. sg. masc.	(šeiśa) or (šeisa) schiēise
Dat. sg. masc.	(šismā) schismu
Acc. sg. masc.	(šʹan) schan, schian, schien
Loc. sg. masc.?	(šisman) schisman
Nom. pl. masc.	(šai) schai
Gen. pl. masc.	(šesan) or (šeisan) (cf. Slavic sixъ) schiēison
Acc. pl. masc.	(šāns) schans, schiens
Gen. sg. fem.	(šiśās) or (šisās) schisses
Dat. sg. fem.	(šisai) schissai
Acc. sg. fem.	(šʹan) schan, schin, schen, schian, schien
Acc. pl. fem.	(šʹans) schiens
Dat. sg. neuter	(šismā) schismu
Acc. sg.,	gender undetermined (šʹan) sien
Nom. sg. masc.	(stas) stas, stes 'this, the'[3]

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[3] Trautman (1910, 436—438) labels the different forms of the pronoun *stas* as definite article, demonstrative pronoun or 3rd person pronoun, according to its function in the text. It seems more likely to me that the form is simply a demonstrative pronoun, frequently used incorrectly by the translators.

Gen. sg. masc.	(stéśa) or (stesa) or (staiśa) or (staisa) stēisei, stēisi, stēise, steisei, steise, stessei, stesse, stetse, steiseisei
Dat. sg. masc.	(stesmā) or (staismā) stēismu, stēsmu, steīsmu, steismu, stesmu, stessemu, stesma, stasma, staesmu, steismo. The orthographic *u* or *o* after the *m* is a result of the interpretation of the labialization in the phonemic sequence (*mā*).
Acc. sg. masc.	(stan) stan, ston, sten, schan
Nom. pl. masc.	(stai) stai, staey, stāi
Gen. pl. masc.	(stésan) stēison, steison, stēisan, steisan. Or is the form to be phonemicized (staisan), cf. OCS gen. pl. masc. *těxъ*?
Dat. pl. masc.	(stémans) stēimans, steimans, steīmans. Or is the form to be phonemicized (staimans), cf. OCS *těmъ*?
Acc. pl. masc.	(stans) stans, staens
Nom. sg. fem.	(stā) sta, stai, stā
Gen. sg. fem.	(steśās) or (stásās) or (staiśās) steises, stesses, stessias, stessies
Dat. sg. fem.	(stéśai) or (stáśai) or (stáiśai) stēisei, steisei, steiseai, stesse, stēisai, stessei, stessiei, steisiei, stessie
Acc. sg. fem.	(stan) stan, schan
Nom. pl. fem.	(stai) stai
Gen. pl. fem.	(stésan) or (stáisan) stēisan, steison, stēison
Dat. pl. fem.	(stémans) or (stáimans) steīmans, steimans, stēimans
Acc. pl. fem.	(stans) stans
Nom. sg. neuter	(sta) staey, sta, stae; (stan) stan
Gen. sg. neuter	(stésa) or (stéśa) stēisei, steise, stesse
Dat. sg. neuter	(stésmā) stesmu, steismu, staesmu, stasma
Acc. sg. neuter	(stan) stan
Gen. pl. neuter	(stésan) or (stáisan) stēison, steison

The case of the first word of the expression *stu ilgimi* 'until' is unclear.

Interrogative-relative pronoun

Nom. sg. masc.	(kas) kas 'who, which'
Dat. sg. masc.	(kasmā) kasmu
Nom. pl. masc.	(kai) quai, quoi
Acc. pl. masc.	(kans) kans
Nom. sg. fem.	(kā) quai, quoi
Nom. sg. neuter	(ka) ka
Dat. sg. neuter	(kasmā) kasmu

Acc. sg. neuter   (ka) kai, ka; (kan) kan
Inst. sg. neuter   (ka) ku

Trautmann, 1910, 364, suggests that the initial element of *kudesnammi, kodesnimma* 'as often [as]' and *kuilgimai* 'as long [as]' reflect also instrumental forms of this pronoun.

Interrogative-relative pronoun-adjective

Nom. sg. masc.   (kavīd[a]s) kawīds, kawijds, kuwijds, kawids 'which'
Dat. sg. masc.   (kavīd[a]smā) kawijdsmu, kawīdsmu, kawīdsu
Acc. sg. masc.   (kavīdan) kawijdan, kawīdan

Nom. pl. masc.   (kavīdai) kawīdai
Acc. pl. masc.   (kavīdans) kawīdans, kawijdans, kawijdaus
Nom. sg. fem.   (kavīdā) kawida
Gen. sg. fem.   (kavīdās) kawijdsa (the inversion of the last two letters is probably a misprint)
Dat. sg. fem.   (kavīd[a]sai) kawijdsei
Acc. sg. fem.   (kavīdan) kawijdan, kawīdan, kawijden
Acc. pl. fem.   (kavīdans) kawīdans

Nom. sg. neuter (kavīdan) kawijdan
Dat. sg. neuter   (kavīd[a]smā) kawīdsmu
Acc. sg. neuter   (kavīdan) kawīdan, kawidan

Demonstrative pronoun-adjective

Nom. sg. masc.   (stavīd[a]s) stawīds, stawijds 'such, such a'
Dat. sg. masc.   (stavīd[a]smā) stavīdsmu, stawidsmu
Acc. sg. masc.   (stavīdan) stawīdan
Acc. pl. masc.   (stavīdans) stawīdans

Dat. sg. neuter   (stavīd[a]sma) stawīdsmu, stawijdsmu
Acc. sg. neuter   (stavīdan) stawīdan, staweidan, steweydan, steweyden, stewidan
Acc. sg. fem.   (stavīdan) stawijdan, stawīdan, stawidan
Nom. pl. fem.   (stavīdās) stawīdas

Acc. sg., gender uncertain (stavīdan) stawijdan, stawīdan

Non-gendered Personal Pronouns
First person singular

Nom.   (as) as, es 'I'
Gen.   (maiśa) or (maisa) maisei

Dat.	(menei) mennei
Acc.	(men) or (min) mien
Inst.	(ma[j]im) māim, maim. As Mažiulis, 1966, 43, says, the macron over the letter may denote a vowel followed by a nasal consonant so perhaps the form is to be read as (manim), cf. Lithuanian *manimì* (*manim̃*) 'id.'. For this and other suppositions see Endzelīns, 1943, 89.

First person plural

Nom.	(mes) mes, mas 'we'
Gen.	(nūsan) nuson, nusun, nusan, nusen, noūson, noūsou, nōson, noūsan, noūsen, nouson
Dat.	(nūma[n]s) nūmas, noūmas, numons, nūmans, noūmans, noumans, naūmans
Acc.	(mans) mans

Second person singular

Nom.	(tū) tū, tu, thu, toū, tou, thou, tau, tuo, du, ton 'thou'
Gen.	(tvaiśa) or (tvaisa) twaise
Dat.	(tebei) tebbei, tebbe
Acc.	(ten) or (tin) tien, tin

Second person plural

Nom.	(jūs) ioūs, iaūs, ious, yous, joes 'you'
Gen.	(jūsan) iouson, ioūsan, iousan
Dat.	(jūma[n]s) ioūmas, ioumas, ioumus, iūmans, ioūmans
Acc.	(vans) wans

Non-gendered Reflexive Pronoun

Gen. sg.	(svaiśa) or (svaisa) swaise, swaisei
Dat. sg.	(sebei) sebbei
Acc. sg.	(sen) or (sin) sien, sin

Enclitic pronoun

The ending -*ts* found in such verbal forms as *astits* 'is' *immats* 'took', *līmauts* 'broke', etc. may reflect an original pronoun **dis* or the pronoun **tas*. (See Trautmann, 1910, 273—274; Endzelīns, 1943, 75). If the -*ts* reflects the former, then it seems reasonable to reconstruct a nom. sg. masc. (*dis*). We also find an acc. sg. (both masc. and fem.) (*din*) *din, dien* and an acc. pl. masc. (*dins*) *dins, diens*. In the past the forms *di* and *die* have been carefully distinguished, the former being considered

a nom. sg. neuter and the latter a nom pl. masc. I would not distinguish the two forms and it is uncertain whether the forms are neuters, in which case perhaps the form should be phonemicized (*di*), or plurals, in which case the form should be phonemicized (*ďai*).

It would seem likely that those forms of the personal pronoun, such as (*men*) or (*min*) *mien* and (*ten*) or (*tin*) *tien, tin,* are also enclitics, cf. the corresponding Slavic enclitics *mę* and *tę*. Similarly the reflexive ending (*sen*) or (*sin*) *sien, sin* is to be compared to Slavic *sę*. The form (*si*) -*si* is also enclitic.

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