

Germanic preterite presents as a reflex of a PIE derived stative category

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We address the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) origins of the Germanic (Gmc) preterite presents (**daug*, **mag*, **wait*, **dars*, **man*, **nah*, **parf*, **kann*, **ann*, **skal*, **lais*, **aih*, **ōg*, **ar*, **mōt*). We review previous analyses which derive these verbs from PIE perfects, and we identify morpho-semantic features which do not support this derivation, notably the lack of reduplication, and the stative (rather than stative-resultative) semantics of the class. We build on the idea of a stative PIE verb category of Rix (1988/2001), Kümmel (1996/2000), Gotō (1997), Mottausch (2003) and others, who have associated some of the preterite presents (**daug*, **mag*) with this stative category. But, while they posit only root statives, we also envisage a stative (not stative-resultative) stem inflection formed to aorist roots. We offer a model for two PIE inflections, the perfect and stative. Our model describes these inflections as functions, having morphological and semantic effects on a verb root argument. While in Sanskrit and Greek the former unreduplicated PIE stative stems join the productive classes of middle and perfect, in Gmc the preterite presents survive as a separate class.

The PIE stative inflection is denoted by the function **S**. Semantically it takes as its argument not only stative roots (**s**) to make root statives, but also eventive-telic (aorist) roots (**et**) to make derived statives. In both cases a purely stative (not stative-resultative) stem is formed, i.e. **S(s)→s** and **S(et)→s**. Morphologically, we denote verb forms in terms of sg/pl root Ablaut on the pattern {**x/y**}, and in terms of inflection by 3sg/3pl stative endings **-é/ré**. Root statives combine a stative root with a stative inflection, symbolized, e.g. by **S{ø/ø}→{ø/ø}-é/ré**; thus PIE root **d^hug^h/d^hug^h* → PIE 3sg/3pl **d^hug^h-é/d^hug^h-ré* (> Gmc **dug/dug-* by regular sound change, and then > **daug/dug-* by analogy with other preterite-presents; cf. Goth. *daug* ‘is capable’). A stative inflection can also be applied to derive a stative stem from an eventive-telic root: **S{é/ø}→{ø/ø}-é/ré**; here the accented ending causes apophony in the sg root vowel. Note there is no reduplication in derived statives. An example is Gmc **wait*: PIE root **wéyd/wid* (semantically type **(et)** ‘catch sight of’, morphologically type {**é/ø**}) → PIE unreduplicated 3sg/3pl **woyd-é/wid-ré* ‘know’ (i.e. **S(et)→s**, **S{é/ø}→{ø/ø}-é/ré**); later > Gmc **wait/wit-*. Note the semantic effect of the stative inflection here: it takes an eventive-telic root (**et**) and creates a purely stative, not stative-resultative, stem. We derive some preterite-presents from root statives, but most from derived statives.

The PIE perfect derives diachronically from the PIE derived stative (as just described), but applies only to eventive roots. The PIE perfect is a reduplicated stative and adds the notion of a prior event. Morphologically it suffixes the same stative endings, but also adds a reduplicating prefix. Semantically it can be applied to both eventive-telic (**et**) and eventive-atelic (**ea**) roots to create stative-resultatives (**sr**) and iterative-intensives (**it**) respectively. These functions are denoted semantically by **PF(et)→sr** and **PF(ea)→it** respectively, and morphologically by **PF{é/ø}→Ce-{ø/ø}-é/ré** (where **Ce-** denotes a reduplicating prefix). The reflexes of these inflections are seen in the reduplicating perfects of Sanskrit and Greek, and in the Gmc strong preterite (where most lose their reduplication); in all these languages, the same form also acquired anterior as well as, or instead of, stative-resultative semantics.

The wider implication of our approach for PIE is the existence of pure statives formed not only to stative (**s**) but also to eventive-telic (**et**) roots. This category bears similarities to the perfect, but it lacks both the morphological reduplication and the resultative reference to a prior event. The existence of a stative inflection formed to non-stative roots as **S(et)** may represent an intermediate stage in the development of the productive inflection of the reduplicated perfect **PF(et, ea)** in PIE from earlier root stative forms **S(s)**. Morphologically it is similar to the Hittite *hi*-conjugation, although our current research has not yet fully addressed this connection.