

# Caland Adjectives in *\*-nt-* and Participles in Sanskrit and Proto-Indo-European

John J. Lowe  
University of Oxford

The suffix *\*-nt-* is taken for granted as a Caland suffix in two of the most recent and important works on the Caland system (Nussbaum, 1976; Rau, 2009); common examples include Sanskrit *járant-* (Greek *γέρον*), *bṛhánt-*, *tápant-*. However the history of *\*-nt-* within the Caland framework is somewhat marginal: mentioned merely in a footnote by Caland (1892, p.267, fn.1) himself, the suffix is absent from Wackernagel's (1897, p.8–14) extension of the 'law' to Greek and Indo-European, it is mentioned again in a footnote by Bartholomae (1900, p.136, fn.2), and is then largely ignored (e.g. by Risch, 1937, 1974) until the works of Bader (1975) and Nussbaum (1976). Even after Nussbaum (1976), de Lamberterie (1990) makes no mention of *-nt-* as a Caland suffix.

One of the major question marks over the inclusion of *\*-nt-* in the Caland system is the connection to active participles in *\*-nt-*. Firstly, every one of the proposed Caland adjectives in *\*-nt-* has alternatively been analysed as a (lexicalized) participle. The most widely accepted Caland adjective in *\*-nt-* is seen in Skt. *bṛhánt-* 'high', with cognates in Germanic and Caland variants seen in Avestan *bərəzi-* and Hittite *parku-*; but even this has been treated as an inherited participle by Klingenschmitt (1982, p.107–108). Do we then need a Caland suffix in *\*-nt-*? Secondly, even if we distinguish a Caland *\*-nt-* suffix from the participial *\*-nt-* suffix, in what ways can they be synchronically and diachronically distinguished from participles? These questions have never been properly addressed; even the most recent work on the Caland system is ambiguous on the matter (Rau, 2009, p.176 and fn.139).

This paper re-examines the evidence for a category of *\*-nt-* adjectives associated with the Caland system distinct from the categories of active present and aorist participles. This demands consideration of not only morphological but also syntactic and semantic evidence to assess which forms can reasonably be related to the Caland system. Morphological evidence includes ablaut patterns and accent in compound; syntactic and semantic evidence includes a previously unrecognized restriction against participles being used as adverbs in the neuter singular.

I also consider several forms in Indo-Iranian which have not previously been treated as potential Caland adjectives: *citánt-* (beside *citrá-*), *śucánt-* (beside *śukrá-*, *śúci-*), *tujánt-* (beside *túgra-*, *túji-*), *bhrájjant-*, *sáhant-*, *pīṣant-* and the first element of *bṛbáduktha-*. Several of these are forms which are traditionally subsumed under the heading of aorist participles, a difficult and unclear category in Indo-Iranian and a label which is often used to cover any participle-like adjective which cannot reasonably be called a present or perfect participle.

Detailed consideration of the many potential Caland adjectives in *\*-nt-* shows that no single form *must* be analysed as a Caland adjective in contra-distinction to anything else; on the other hand, the combined weight of evidence supports the supposition that a synchronically distinct adjectival suffix *\*-nt-* did exist in PIE.

A morphological argument supporting a synchronic distinction between *\*-nt-* Caland adjectives

and active present/aorist participles in PIE is that Caland adjectives show evidence for amphidynamic accentuation and ablaut, whereas I argue there is no absolute evidence for this in \*-nt-participles. This contrasts with one commonly found analysis of participial declension in PIE which holds that participles originally had amphidynamic declension. In particular, one of the most important cognate sets used to support an early amphidynamic participial declension, Skt. *usánt-*, Gr. *ἐκών*, is argued to reflect an inherited Caland adjective rather than synchronic participle.

The morphological evidence for a distinction between Caland adjectives and participles in -nt- however also suggests that there may be a deeper connection between the two: although amphidynamic participles cannot be reconstructed for PIE, it is possible that the ablaut patterns found, particularly the o-grade well-known from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ónt-*, may reflect an earlier (pre-PIE) amphidynamic paradigm. It may then be that a pre-PIE change of ablaut first permitted a distinction between participles and Caland adjectives in \*-nt-. The connection between the participial and Caland systems here may be paralleled in the possible relation between \*-u- and the perfect participle suffix \*-u<sub>os</sub>- (Gusmani, 1968, p.91–119).

## References

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