

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRUSSIAN LANGUAGE IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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Eduard Hermann writes (1916: 147): “Darüber, daß Wills Übersetzung des Enchiridions ein ganz schauderhaftes Preußisch ist, herrscht **eine** Stimme. Nur darüber sind die Meinungen geteilt, ob Will ein Stümper war und nichts vom Preußischen verstand oder ob das Preußische seiner Zeit dermaßen entartet war, daß Kasus und Formen fast beliebig miteinander wechseln konnten.” This is a splendid formulation of the problem. Hermann’s article should be compulsory reading for students of historical syntax.

In search of a solution to this problem, I have applied the following procedure. First I have put together the minor catechisms with those parts of the Enchiridion which translate the same German text. Words which are missing in any of the three versions have been italicized. The result is shown below.

I (1545)	II (1545)	E (1561)
Staeÿ dessempts Pallapsaey.	Staeÿ dessimpts Pallapsaey.	Stai Dessimton Pallaipsai.
Pirmas.	Pirmois.	<i>Stas</i> Pirmois <i>Pallaips.</i>
Thou ni tur kittans deiwans tur- retwey.	Tou ni tur kittans deiwans tur- ryetwey.	Tou niturri kittans Deiwans <i>pagâr</i> <i>mien</i> turrîtwei.
Anters.	Anters.	<i>Stas</i> Antars <i>Pallaips.</i>
Thou <i>ny</i> tur schan emnen twaise deiwas ny anterpinsquan menentwey	Tou <i>ni</i> tur sten emnen twaise dey- was nienbænden westwey.	Tou turri stan Emnan twaisei Dei- was ni enbândan westwei.
Tirts.	Tirtis.	<i>Stas</i> Tîrts <i>Pallaips.</i>

Thou tur schan lankenā deinan swintintwey.	Tou tur stan lankinan deynan swyntintwey.	Tou turri stan Lānkinan Deinan Swintint.
Ketwerts.	Ketwirtz.	<i>Stas Kettwirts Pallaips.</i>
Thou tur twaian thawan bha mut- tin somonentwey.	Tou tur twayien thawan bhæ mutien smunintwey.	Tou turri twaian Tāwan bhe Mûtien smûnint.
Penckts.	Pyienkts.	<i>Stas Piēncts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur gallintwey.	Tou ni tur gallintwey.	Tou niturri gallintwei.
Wuschts.	Vsts.	<i>Stas Vschts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur pattiniskun lembtwey	Tou ni tur salobisquan limtwey.	Tou niturri Sallûbanlimtwei.
Sepmas.	Septmas.	<i>Stas Septmas Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur rancktwey.	Tou ni tur ranktwey.	Tou niturri Rānctwei.
Asmus.	Asmus.	<i>Stas Asmus Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur falsch widekausnan waitiatun preiken twaien tawischen	Tou ni tur reddi weydikausnan waytaton preyken twayien tau- wyschen.	Tou niturri reddewijdikausnan dâtwei prijki twaien tawischen.
Newints.	Newyntz.	<i>Stas Newînts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur pallapsittwey twaisei tawischis buttan.	Tou ni tur pallapsitwey twaysis tauwyschis butten.	Tou ni turri Pallaipsîtwei, twaisei ta- wischas buttan.
Dessimts.	Dessympts.	<i>Stas Dessîmpts</i>

Thou ny tur
pallapsittwey
twaisei tawischis
gennan,
waikan, merg-
wan, pecku, ader
katanassen asch.

Stas Dröffs.

AS drowe an Deiuan,
Thawan wismosing,
kas ast
taykowuns dangon
bah semmin,
Bah an Je-
sum Christû
swaian ainan
Sunun nusun
rekian, Kas
patickots ast
assastan swintan
naseilen, Gem-
mons assastan
jungkfrauen Ma-
rian. Stenuns po
Pontio Pylato,
scrisits, aulauns
bah encops. Sam
may lesuns
preipekollin,
Tirtin deinam
att skiwuns assa
gallans. Vnsey
gobuns andangon,
Sin-
dats preitickray
Deiuas wismo-
singis Thawas,
Stwendau per-
gubuns wirst

Tou ni tur
pallapsitwey
twaysis tau-
wyschies, gennan,
waykan, merg-
wan, pecku, adder
katanæssen hest.

Stan Druwin.

ES drowy en Deywan,
Thawan wissemokin,
kas est
tykynnons dæn-
gon bhe semmien.
Bhæ en Jesum
Christum
swaian aynen
Sounon nouson
reykyen, Kas
pagauts æst
hæse swyntan
naseylien. Gemmons
æsestan
jungprawan Marian.
Styienuns po
Pontio Pylato,
skresitz, aulauns
bhe enquoptzt.
Semmay lysons
prey pykullien,
An tirtien deynan
etskyuns hæse
gallans. Vnsei
gubons nadangon.
Syndens
preytickaray
deywas wysse
mukis thawas,
Stwendau
wirst pergubons

Pallaipts.

Tou niturri
pallapsitwei
twaise Tawi-
schas Gannan,
Waikan, Mêrgan,
Peckan, adder
ka tennêison ast.

Stas *Swints Cri-
stiâniskas* Druwis.

As druwê en Deiwan,
Tâwan Wisse-
musîngin kas ast
teikûuns, Dangon
bhe semmien.
Bhe en Jesûm
Christum,
swaian ai-
nan Soûnon noûson
Rikijan, kas
pogauts ast,
esse Swintan
Noseilien, Gemmons
esse stan
Jumprawan Mariân,
Stînon po
Pontio Pilato,
Skrîsits, Aulauns,
bhe en-
kopts, Semmailîsons
prei Pickullien,
Entîrtan deinan
etskiûuns esse
gallan, Vnsaigû-
bons no Dangon,
Sîdons
prei tickrômien
Deiwas *steise*
wissemusîngin Tawas
isquen dau *tâns*
pergûbons wijrst,

preyleiginwey stans
geiwans bha
aulauwussens.
As drowe an
swintan naseilen,
Ainan swintan
krixianiskun kir-
kin, *Ainan*
perroniscon
swintan,
Et werpsannan
grecon,
At skisen-
na menschon, Ba
prabitscun gei-
win. Amen.

Sta Thawe nuson.

THawe nuson kas
thu asse an-
dangon. Swintints
wirst twais emmens.
Pergeis
twais laeims.
Tways quaits
audasseisin

na sem-
mey key audangon.
Nusan deini-
nan geittin dais
numons schin-
deinan. Bha
atwerpeis noumans
nuson anschautins,
kay mas
atwer pimay
nuson
auschantnikamans.
Bha ny wedais mans
enperban-

leygenton stæns
geywans bhe
aulaunsins.
Es drowy en
swyntan naseylien,
Aynan swyntan
krixianisquan
kirken,
Perronisquan
swyntan,
Etwerpsennian
griquan,
Etskysnan
menses, Bhe pra-
busquan geywien,
Amen.

Stan Thawe nouson.

THawe nouson kas
thou æsse æn-
dengon, Swyntits
wirse tways emmens,
Pareysey *noumans*
tway ia ryeky,
Tways quaits
audaseysin

nasemmey kay
endengan,
Nouson deyninan
geytiey days
noumans schian
deynan. Bhæ
etwerpeis noumans
nouson anschautins,
kay mes
etwerpymay
nouson an-
schautinekamans.
Bhæ ni wedeys mans
enperbandasnan.

prei ligint stans
gijwans bhe
aulausins.
As Druwê ên*stan*
Swintan Noseilien
ainan Swintan
Cristiâniskan
kijrkin *Stan*
perôniskan
Swintan
etwerpsennian
steise grijkan
etskîsnan
mensas, bhe
ainan præbut-
skan gijwan, AMEN.

Stas Tâwa Noûson.

Tâwa Noûson kas
tu essei Endangon.
Swintints
wîrst twais Emmes.

Perêit
twais Rijks.
Tways Quâits
Audâsin,
kâgi Endan-
gon *tijt dêigi*
nosemien.
Nouson deinennin
geitien dais noû-
mans schan
deinan. Bhe
etwerpeis noûmas
nousons âu-
schautins, kai mes
etwêrpimai
noûsons au-
schautenikamans.
Bhe ni weddeis mans
emperbandâsnan.

dan. Sclait is rankeis mans assa wargan. Amen.	Slait is rankeis mans æsse wargan. Emmen.	Schlâit isrankeis mans, esse <i>wissan</i> wargan. AMEN.
Assa stan Crixtisnan.	Assæ stan Crixtisnan.	<i>Stas Sacraments</i> stessei <i>swintan</i> cixtisnan.
Nuson Rekis Christus bela prey <i>swaians</i> <i>maldaisins</i> , Jeithy en <i>wissan swetan</i> , mukinaity <i>wissans</i>	Nouson rykyes <i>Jsus Chricstus</i> byla prey <i>swayiens</i> <i>maldaysins</i> , Jeiti en <i>wyssen swytan</i> , mukineyti <i>wyssens</i>	<i>Kâigi Noûson Rikijs</i> <i>Jesus Christs</i> bille, prei <i>Markon</i> <i>en pansadaumannien</i> , Jeiti <i>stwen</i> , en <i>wissan switan</i> , mukinaiti <i>wissans</i> <i>amsin adder</i>
poganans, bha cixtity dins en emmen Thawas, bha Sunos, bha swinte Naseilis,	poganens, bhæ Cixtidi- diens en emnen Thawas, bhæ sou- nons, bhæ swyntas naseylis,	pogûnans, bhe Cixteiti tennans, en Emnen <i>steise Tâwas</i> , bhe <i>steise Saûnas</i> bhe <i>steise Swintan</i> Noseilîs.
Kas drowe bha cixtits wirst, stas wirst deiwuts, Kas <i>aber</i> nidruwe, stas wirst proklantitz.	Kas druwe bhæ cixteits wirst, stes wirst deywuts, kas nidruwe, stes wirst preclantyts.	Kas <i>stwi</i> druwê bhe Cixtits wijrst, stas wijrst Deiwuts, kas <i>adder</i> ni Druwe, stas wijrst perklantîts.
Assa Sacramentan <i>bietis eden</i> .	Assa Sacramenten <i>bytis ydi</i> .	Stas Sacraments <i>Steisei Altari</i> .
Nusen rickis Jesus Christus, anstan nactin kadan proweladin, ymmits stan geittin, dinkowats bha limatz bha	Nouson reykeis <i>Jsus Chricstus</i> anstan naktin kaden proweladin, ymmeits sten geytien, dinkautzt bhe lymucz, bhe	Noûson Rikijs Jesus Christus, ênstan Nack- tien, kaden <i>tans</i> prowilts <i>postâi</i> , imma <i>tans</i> stan- geitin dînkauts bhe lîmauts, bhe

<p>daits swaimans maldaisemans bha belats, ymaity stwen, edeitte, sta ast mais ker- mens, kas perwans datz wirst, staweidan segeitty prey mayan menissnan.</p>	<p>dayts swaymans maldaysimans, bhe bylaczt, ymayti stwen, <i>bhe</i> ydieyti, stæ æst mays ker- mens, kas perwans daeczt wirst, Steweyden segeyti premayien me- nisnan.</p>	<p>dai swaimans, maldaisimans, bhe billâts, immaiti stwen, îdeiti, sta ast mais kêrmens, kas pêrwans dâts wîrst, Sta- wîdan seggîtei prei maian pominisnan.</p>
<p>Stasma polleygo jmmitz deyg stan kelkan pho <i>stan</i> betten eden, dinkowatz bha daitz <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaisemans</i> bha belats, jm- maitty stwen, bha pugeitty wissay is stasma, schis kelchs ast sta nawans testamentan, an maian kraugen, kha perwans palletan werst, pray att werpsannan gre- kun, steweydan segeitty, <i>kodesnim-</i> <i>ma vous pogeitty</i> pray maian menisnan.</p>	<p>Stæsmu poleygo ymmeyts deysi sten kelkan, <i>postan</i> bitans ydi, dinkauczt bhe daits <i>swaymans</i> <i>maldaysimans</i> bhæ bilats, ymmay ti stwen bhe puieyti wyssay istesmu, Sis kelkis æst stæ neuwenen Testa- menten en mayiey kræuwiey, ka per wans praliten wirst, prey et- werpsennian griquan, Stewidan segeyti <i>kudesnammi</i> <i>joes puietti</i> prey mayian minisnan.</p>	<p>Stesmu empolijgu immats dijgi stan Kelkin pobîtas îdin, Dinkauts, bhe dai <i>stan steimans</i></p> <p>bhe billâts, Jmaiti stwen, bhe poieiti wissai isstesmu, Schis kelks ast stas nauns Testaments en maian krawian, kas perwans pralieiton wîrst, prei etwer- psennien <i>stêison</i> grijkan, Stawîdan seggîtei</p> <p>prei maian pominîsnan.</p>

The next step is the elimination of orthographical differences between the three versions. It is essential that no linguistic information must be lost at this stage. Thus, I take the first word I, II **Stacy**, E **Stai** to represent the same form, which I shall write “Stai”. However, I keep I, II **Pallapsaey** distinct from E **Pallaipsai** and write I, II “Pallapsai”, especially because we find I **pallapsittwey** (2x), II **pallapsitwey** (2x) beside E **pallaips-** (25x). The two instances of E **pallaps-**

may have been taken from an earlier version. I shall underline the relevant part of a variant which is not found in the parallel texts: “Pallaipsai”. In a similar way, I have eliminated the epenthetic **-p-** in I **dessempts**, II **dessimpts** because it is clearly automatic, but maintained the vocalism of I “dessempts” and the ending of E “Dessimton”. The result is shown below.

I (1545)	II (1545)	E (1561)
Stai dessempts Pallapsai.	Stai dessimpts Pallapsai.	Stai Dessimton Pallaipsai.
Pirma <u>s</u> .	Pirmois.	<i>Stas Pirmois Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur kittans deiwans turre <u>t</u> wei.	Tou ni tur kittans deiwans turri <u>t</u> wei.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i kittans Deiwans <i>pagâr mien turri<u>t</u>wei.</i>
Anters.	Anters.	<i>Stas Antars Pallaips.</i>
Tou <i>ni</i> tur <u>š</u> an emnen twaise deiwas ni <u>enterpinsquan</u> <u>menent</u> wei	Tou <i>ni</i> tur stan emnen twaise deiwas ni enbandan westwei.	Tou tur <u>r</u> i stan Emnan twaise <u>i</u> Deiwas ni enbândan westwei.
Tirts.	Tirt <u>i</u> s.	<i>Stas Tîrts Pallaips.</i>
Tou tur <u>š</u> an lanken <u>a</u> n deinan swintintwei.	Tou tur stan lankin <u>a</u> n deinan swintintwei.	Tou tur <u>r</u> i stan Lânkin <u>a</u> n Deinan Swintint <u>.</u>
Ketwerts.	Ketwirts.	<i>Stas Ketwirts Pallaips.</i>
Tou tur twajan tawan ba mut <u>i</u> n smon <u>e</u> ntwei.	Tou tur twajan tawan ba mutien smunintwei.	Tou tur <u>r</u> i twajan Tâwan be Mûtien smûnint <u>.</u>
Penkts.	Pienkts.	<i>Stas Piênkts Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur gallintwei.	Tou ni tur gallintwei.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i gallintwei.

<u>W</u> uŝts.	U <u>ŝ</u> ts.	<i>Stas Uŝts</i> <i>Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur patiniskun <u>l</u> emtwei	Tou ni tur salobis <u>q</u> uan limtwei.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i Sallûban limtwei.
<u>S</u> epmas.	Septmas.	<i>Stas Septmas</i> <i>Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur ranktwei.	Tou ni tur ranktwei.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i Râunktwei.
Asmus.	Asmus.	<i>Stas Asmus</i> <i>Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur <u>f</u> alŝ <u>w</u> id <u>e</u> kausnan waitiatun preiken twajen tawiŝen	Tou ni tur reddi <u>w</u> eidikausnan waitiaton preiken twajen tauwiŝen.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i reddewijdikausnan <u>d</u> âtwei <u>p</u> rijki twajan tawiŝan.
Newints.	Newints.	<i>Stas Newînts</i> <i>Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisei tawiŝis buttan.	Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisi <u>s</u> tauwiŝis buttan.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i Pallaipsîtwi, twaisei tawiŝas buttan.
Dessimts.	Dessimts.	<i>Stas Dessîmts</i> <i>Pallaips.</i>
Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisei tawiŝis gennan, waikan, mergwan, pecku, ader ka tanasen ast.	Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisi <u>s</u> tauwiŝias gennan, waikan, mergwan, pecku, ader ka tanasen ast.	Tou ni tur <u>r</u> i pallapsitwei twaise Tawiŝas Gannan, Waikan, Mêrgan, Peckan, adder ka <u>t</u> ennêi <u>s</u> on ast.
Stas Dr <u>ö</u> ffs.	Stan Druwi <u>n</u> .	<i>Stas Swints Cri-</i> <i>stiâniskas Druwis.</i>
As drowe en Deiwan, Tawan wis <u>m</u> osing <u>u</u> , kas ast <u>t</u> aikowuns dangon ba sem <u>i</u> n,	As drowi en Deiwan, Tawan wissemok <u>i</u> n, kas ast tik <u>i</u> nnons dangon be semien.	As dru <u>w</u> ê en Deiwan, Tâwan Wissemu <u>s</u> ingin kas ast <u>t</u> eikûuns, Dangon be semmien.

Ba en Jesum Christum swajan ainan <u>Sunun</u> <u>nusun</u> <u>rekian</u> , Kas <u>patikots</u> ast ase <i>stan</i> swintan naseilen, Gemmons ase stan <u>jungkfr</u> awen Marian. <u>Stenuns</u> po Pontio Pilato, skrisits, <u>aulawns</u> ba enkops. Semmai <u>lesuns</u> prei <u>pekollin</u> , <u>Tirtin</u> deinan <u>etskiwuns</u> ase gallans. Unsei <u>gobuns an</u> dangon, <u>Sindats</u> prei tikrai Deiwas	Ba en Jesum Christum swajan ainan Sounon nouson <u>reikian</u> , Kas pagauts ast ase swintan naseilien. Gemmons ase stan <u>jungpr</u> awan Marian. <u>Stienuns</u> po Pontio Pilato, skresits, <u>aulauns</u> be <u>enquopts</u> . Semmai lisons prei pikullien, <i>An</i> <u>tirtien</u> deinan etskiuns ase gallans. Unsei gubons <u>na</u> dangon. <u>Sindens</u> prei tikrai deiwas	Be en Jesum Christum, swajan ainan Soûnon nouson <u>Rikian</u> , kas <u>pogauts</u> ast, esse Swintan <u>Noseilien</u> , Gemmons esse stan <u>Jumpr</u> awan Marian, <u>Stinons</u> po Pontio Pilato, Skrisits, <u>Aulauns</u> , be enkopts, Semmai lisons prei Pickullien, <i>En</i> <u>tirtan</u> deinan etskiuns esse gallan_, <u>Unsaï</u> <u>gubons no</u> Dangon, <u>Sidons</u> prei <u>tikromien</u> Deiwas <i>steise</i> <u>wisemusingin</u> Tawas <u>isquendau tans</u> pergubons wîrst, <i>prei</i> <u>ligint</u> stans <u>giwans</u> be <u>aulausins</u> . As <u>Druwê</u> ên <i>stan</i> Swintan <u>Noseilien</u> ainan Swintan <u>Kristianiskan</u> <u>kirkin Stan</u> <u>peroniskan</u> Swintan <u>etwerpsennian</u> <i>steise</i> <u>grikan</u> <u>etskisnan mensas</u> , be <i>ainan</i> <u>prabutskan</u> <u>giwan</u> , Amen.
wisמושגיס Tawas, Stwendau pergubuns wîrst <i>prei</i> <u>leiginwei</u> stans <u>geiwans</u> ba <u>aulauwusens</u> . As <u>drowe</u> en swintan naseilen, Ainan swintan <u>krikstianiskun</u> <u>kirkin, Ainan</u> <u>peroniskun</u> swintan, <u>Etwerpsennan</u> <u>grekon</u> , <u>Etskisnan menšon</u> , Ba <u>prabutskun</u> <u>geiwîn</u> . Amen.	wissenmukis tawas, Stwendau wîrst pergubons <u>leigenton</u> stans <u>geiwans</u> be <u>aulausins</u> . As <u>drowi</u> en swintan naseilien, Ainan swintan <u>krikstianisquan</u> <u>kirken</u> , <u>Peronisquan</u> swintan, <u>Etwerpsennian</u> <u>griguan</u> , <u>Etskisnan mensas</u> , Be <u>prabusquan</u> <u>geiwien</u> , Amen.	Stas <u>Tawā</u> Nouson.

Tawe nuson kas tu
 asse an dangon.
 Swintints wirst
 twais emmens.
 Perjeis
 twais laims.
 Twais quaits
 audasei sin
 na semei kai
 en dangon.
 Nusan deininan
 geitin dais
 numons šin
 deinan. Ba
 etwerpeis noumans
 nuson
 aušautins, kai mes
 etwerpimai nuson
 auschautnikamans.
 Ba ni wedeis mans
 en perbandan.
 Šlait isrankeis
 mans ase
 wargan. Amen.

Assa stan
 Krikstisanan.

Nuson Rekis
 Christus
 bela prei *swajans*
maldaisins,
 leiti
 en wissan swetan,
 mukinaiti wissans

poganans, ba
 krikstiti dins
 en emnen
 Tawas,

Tawe nouson kas tou
 asse an dangon,
 Swintints wirse
 twais emmens,
 Pereisei *noumans*
 twaja rieki,
 Twais quaits
 audasei sin
 na semiei kai
 en dangan,
 Nouson deininan
 geitien dais
 noumans šian
 deinan. Ba
 etwerpeis noumans
 nouson
 aušautins, kai mes
 etwerpimai nouson
 auschautenikamans.
 Ba ni wedeis mans
 en perbandasnan.
 Slait isrankeis
 mans ase
 wargan. Amen.

Assa stan
 Krikstisanan.

Nouson rikies
Jesus Christus
 bila prei *swajans*
maldaisins,
 leiti
 en wissan switan,
 mukinaiti wissans

poganans, ba
 Krikstiti diens
 en emnen
 Tawas,

Tāwa Noūson kas tu
essei En dangon.
 Swintints wirst
 twais Emnes.
 Pereit
 twais Riks.
 Twais Quāits
 Audāsin, kāigi En
 dangon *tijt dēigi*
 no semmien.
 Nouson deinennin
 geitien dais
 noūmans šan
 deinan. Be
 etwerpeis noūmas
 nousons
āušautins, kai mes
 etwērpimai noūsons
 auschautenikamans.
 Be ni wedeis mans
 em perbandāsnan.
 Šlait isrankeis
 mans, esse *wissan*
 wargan. Amen.

Stas Sacraments
 stessei *swintan*
 krikstisanan.

Kāigi Noūson Rikīs
Jesus Christus
 bille, prei *Markon*
en pansadaumannien,
 leiti *stwen*,
 en wissan swītan,
 mukinaiti wissans
amsin adder
 pogūnans, be
 Kriksteiti tennans,
 en Emnen *steise*
 Tāwas,

ba Sunos, ba swinte Naseilis,	ba <u>sounous</u> , ba swintas naseilis,	be <i>steise</i> Saûnas be <i>steise</i> Swintan Noseilîs.
Kas drowe ba krikstits wirst, stas wirst deiwuts, Kas <i>aber</i> ni druwe, stas wirst proklantits.	Kas druwe ba kriksteits wirst, stas wirst deiwuts, kas ni druwe, stas wirst preklantits.	Kas <i>stwi</i> druwê be Krikstits wirst, stas wirst Deiwuts, kas <i>adder</i> ni Druwe, stas wirst preklantîts.
Assa Sakramentan <i>bietis eden.</i>	Assa Sakramentan <i>bitis idi.</i>	<u>Stas</u> Sakraments <i>Steisei Altari.</i>
Nusen rikis Jesus Christus, anstan naktin kaden prowela <i>din</i> , immits stan geitin, dinkowats ba limats ba daits swaimans maldaisemans ba belats, imaiti stwen, edeite, sta ast mais kermens, kas perwans dats wirst, staweidan segeiti prei maian menisnan.	Nouson reikeis Jesus Christus anstan naktin kaden prowela <i>din</i> , immeits stan geitien, dinkauts be limuts, be daits swaimans maldaisimans, be bilats, imaiti stwen, <i>be</i> idjeiti, sta ast mais kermens, kas perwans daets wirst, Staweidan segeiti pre_ majan menisnan.	Noûson Rikîs Jesus Christus, ênstan Naktien, kaden <i>tans</i> prawilts <i>postâi</i> , imma_ <i>tans</i> stan geitin dînkauts be lîmauts, be dai_ swaimans, maldaisimans, be billâts, imaiti stwen, îdeiti, sta ast mais kêrmens, kas pêrwans dâts wîrst, Stawîdan seggîtei prei maian pominisnan.
Stasma poleigo immits deig_ stan kelkan po <i>stan beten</i> <i>eden</i> , dinkowats ba daits <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaisemans</i> ba belats, imaiti stwen, ba pujeiti	Stasmu poleigo immeits deigi stan kelkan, po <i>stan bitans</i> idi_, dinkauts be daits <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaisimans</i> ba bilats, imaiti stwen be puieiti	Stesmu <i>empolijgu</i> immats dîgi stan Kelkîn po bîtas îdin, Dinkauts, be dai_ <i>stan steimans</i> be billâts, Imaiti stwen, be poieiti

wissai is stesma, šis kelks ast sta nawans testamentan, en majan kraujen, ka per wans <u>paletan</u> werst, prei etwerpsennan g <u>re</u> kun, steweidan segeiti, <i>kodesnimma ious</i> <i>pogeiti</i> prei majan menisnan.	wissai is stesmu, <u>Šis</u> kelk <u>is</u> ast sta nauwan <u>en</u> Testamentan en majan krauwien, ka per wans <u>pralitan</u> wirst, prei etwerpsennian g <u>ri</u> quan, Stewidan segeiti <i>kudesnammi ioes</i> <i>puietti</i> prei majan minisnan.	wissai is stesmu, Šis kelks ast sta <u>š</u> nauns Testament <u>š</u> en majan krawi <u>an</u> , ka <u>š</u> per wans <u>pralieiton</u> w <u>ir</u> st, prei etwerpsenni <u>en</u> <i>stêison</i> grikan, Staw <u>id</u> an segg <u>itei</u> prei majan <u>p</u> ominisnan.
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The final step of the procedure should yield separate phonemic interpretations of the three versions. For the historical background underlying my analysis I refer to Kortlandt 1988 and the publications cited there. The result is shown below.

I (1545)	II (1545)	E (1561)
Stai desimts Palapsai.	Stai desimts Palapsai.	Stai desimton Palaiipsai.
Pirmas.	Pirmois.	<i>Stas</i> Pirmois <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur kitans deiwans turêtwei.	Tou ni tur kitans deiwans turietwei.	Tou ni turi kitans deiwans <i>pagâr mien</i> turîtwei.
Anters.	Anters.	<i>Stas</i> Antars <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou <i>ni</i> tur šan emnen twaisei deiwas ni enterpinskwan minintwei.	Tou <i>ni</i> tur stan emnen twaisei deiwas ni enbandan westwei.	Tou turi stan emnan twaisei deiwas ni enbândan westwei.
Tirts.	Tirtis.	<i>Stas</i> Tirts <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou tur šan lankinan deinan swintintwei.	Tou tur stan lankinan deinan swintintwei.	Tou turi stan lânkinan deinan swintint.

Ketwirts.	Ketwirts.	<i>Stas Ketwirts</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou tur twajan tâwan ba muotien zmuonintwei.	Tou tur twajan tâwan ba mûtien zmûnintwei.	Tou turi twajan tâwan be mûtien zmûnint.
Penkts.	Pienkts.	<i>Stas Piênkts</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur galintwei.	Tou ni tur galintwei.	Tou ni turi galintwei.
Wušts.	Ušts.	<i>Stas Ušts</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur patiniskwan limtwei.	Tou ni tur saloubiskwan limtwei.	Tou ni turi saloûban limtwei.
Septmas.	Septmas.	<i>Stas Septmas</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur ranktwei.	Tou ni tur ranktwei.	Tou ni turi rânktswei.
Asmus.	Asmus.	<i>Stas Asmus</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur falš weidikausnan waitiâton preiken twajan tawišan.	Tou ni tur rediweidikausnan waitiâton preiken twajan tawišan.	Tou ni turi rediwidikausnan dâtwei prîki twajan tawišan.
Newints.	Newints.	<i>Stas Newînts</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur palapsîtwei twaisei tawišis butan.	Tou ni tur palapsîtwei twaisei tawišis butan.	Tou ni turi palaipsîtwei twaisei tawišas butan.
Desimts.	Desimts	<i>Stas Desîmts</i> <i>Palaiips.</i>
Tou ni tur palapsîtwei twaisei tawišis	Tou ni tur palapsîtwei twaisei tawišis	Tou ni turi palaipsîtwei twaisei tawišas

genan, waikan,
mergwan, peku, ader
ka teneison ast.

Stas Drufs.

As druwê en Deiwan,
Tâwan wismusingin,
kas ast teikuowuns
dangon ba zemien.
Ba en Jesum
Christum swajan
ainan Sûnon nûson
rikîan, kas
pateikuots ast
ase *stan* swintan
naseilin, Gemons
ase stan
jungkfrawan Mariân.
Stênuns po
Pontio Pilato,
skreisits,
aulauwuns
ba enkopts.
Zemai lêzuns
prei pikulin,
Tirtien deinan
etskîwuns ase
galans. Unsei
guobuns na dangon,
Sindans prei
tikrai Deiwas
wismusingis
Tâwas, stwendau
perguobuns wirst
prei leigintwei
stans geiwans ba
aulauwusins.
As druwê en
swintan naseilin,
ainan swintan
krikstiâniskwan

genan, waikan,
mergwan, peku, ader
ka teneison ast.

Stan Druwin.

As druwê en Deiwan,
Tâwan wisemûkin,
kas ast tikinons
dangon be zemien.
Ba en Jesum
Christum swajan
ainan Sounon nouson
rikîan, kas
pagauts ast
ase swintan
naseilien, Gemons
ase stan
jungprawan Mariân.
Stienons po
Pontio Pilato,
skreisits,
aulauuns
ba enkopts.
Zemai liezons
prei pikulien,
An tirtien deinan
etskîuns ase
galans. Unsei
gûbons na dangon,
Sindans prei
tikrai Deiwas
wisemûkis
Tâwas, stwendau
wirst pergûbons
leiginton
stans geiwans ba
aulauusins.
As druwê en
swintan naseilien,
ainan swintan
krikstiâniskwan

genan, waikan,
mêrgan, pekan, ader
ka tenêison ast.

Stas *Swints Krik-*
stiâniskas Druwis.

As druwê en Deiwan,
Tâwan wisemusîngin,
kas ast teikûuns
dangon be zemien.
Be en Jesum
Christum swajan
ainan Soûnon nouson
rikîan, kas
pogauts ast
ese swintan
noseilien, Gemons
ese stan
jumprawan Mariân.
Stînons po
Pontio Pilato,
skrîsits,
aulaûuns
be ênkopts.
Zemai lîzons
prei pikulien,
En tîrtan deinan
etskîuns ese
galans. Unsai
gûbons no dangon,
Sîdons prei
tikrômien Deiwas
steise wisemusîngin
Tâwas, iskwendau
tâns pergûbons
wîrst *prei* ligint
stans gîwans be
aulaûusins.
As druwê *ênstan*
swintan noseilien,
ainan swintan
krikstiâniskan

<p>kirkin, <i>ainan</i> perôniskwan swintan, etwerpsnan grêkon, etskîsnan menšon, ba prâbutskwan geiwien, Amen.</p>	<p>kirkin, perôniskwan swintan, etwerpsenien griekon, etskîsnan mensas, ba prâbutskwan geiwien, Amen.</p>	<p>kîrkin, <i>stan</i> perôniskan swintan, etwerpsenien <i>steise</i> grîkan, etskîsnan mensas, be <i>ainan</i> prâbutskan gîwan, Amen.</p>
<p>Sta Tâwe nûson.</p>	<p>Stan Tâwe nouson.</p>	<p>Stas Tâwa noûson.</p>
<p>Tâwe nûson kas tu asei an dangon. Swintints wîrst twais emnes. Perjeis twais laims. Twaits kwaitis audâsei sien na zemien kai en dangon. Nûson deininan geitien dais noumans šien deinan. Ba etwerpeis noumans nûson aušautins, kai mes etwêrpimai nûson aušautneikamans. Ba ni wedeis mans en perbandan. Šklait isrankeis mans ase wargan. Amen.</p>	<p>Tâwe nouson kas tu asei an dangon. Swintints wirsei twais emnes. Pereisei <i>noumans</i> twajâ reiki. Twaits kwaitis audâsei sien na zemien kai en dangon. Nouson deininan geitien dais noumans šien deinan. Ba etwerpeis noumans nouson aušautins, kai mes etwêrpimai nouson aušautineikamans. Ba ni wedeis mans en perbandâsnan. Šlâit isrankeis mans ase wargan. Amen.</p>	<p>Tâwa noûson kas tu asei en dangon. Swintints wîrst twais emnes. Perêit twais rîks. Twaits kwâits audâst sien, kâigi en dangon <i>tît dîgi</i> no zemien. Nouson deinenien geitien dais noûmans šan deinan. Be etwerpeis noûmas nousons âušautins, kai mes etwêrpimai noûsons aušautinîkamans. Be ni wedeis mans en perbandâsnan. Šlâit isrankeis mans ese <i>wisan</i> wargan. Amen.</p>
<p><i>Asa</i> stan Krikstisan.</p>	<p><i>Asa</i> stan Krikstisan.</p>	<p><i>Stas Sakraments</i> stesei <i>swintan</i> Krikstisan.</p>
<p>Nûson Rikîs Christus bilâ</p>	<p>Nouson Rikîs <i>Jesus</i> Christus bilâ</p>	<p><i>Kâigi</i> Noûson Rikîs <i>Jesus</i> Christus bilê</p>

prei *swajans*
maldaisins,
Jeiti en
wisan swêtan,
mukinaiti wisans

poganans, ba
krikstiti dins
en emnen
Tâwas,
ba Sûnos,
ba swintas
Naseilis,

Kas druwê ba
krikstits wîrst,
stas wîrst
deiwuots, kas *aber*
ni druwê, stas
wîrst preklantîts.

Asa Sakramentan
bêtis êdin.

Nûson rikîs
Jesus Christus,
anstan naktin
kaden prawilâ *din*,
imêts
stan geitien,
dinkawuts ba
lêmut, ba dâits
swaimans
maldaisimans, ba
bilâts, imaiti
stwen, êdeiti,
sta ast mais
kermens, kas
perwans dâts wîrst,
staweidan segeiti
prei majan
minîsnan.

prei *swajans*
maldaisins,
Jeiti en
wisan swietan,
mukinaiti wisans

poganans, ba
krikstiti dins
en emnen
Tâwas,
ba Sounos,
ba swintas
Naseilis,

Kas druwê ba
krikstits wîrst,
stas wîrst
deiwûts, kas
ni druwê, stas
wîrst preklantîts.

Asa Sakramentan
bietis iedin.

Nouson rikîs
Jesus Christus,
anstan naktin
kaden prawilâ *din*,
imêts
stan geitien,
dinkauts ba
liemuts, ba dâits
swaimans
maldaisimans, ba
bilâts, imaiti
stwen, *ba* iedeiti,
sta ast mais
kermens, kas
perwans dâts wîrst,
staweidan segeiti
prei majan
minîsnan.

prei *Markon en*
pansdaumanien,
Jeiti *stwen* en
wisan swîtan,
mukinaiti wisans
amzin ader

pogûnans, be
kriksteiti tenans
en emnen
steise Tâwas,
be *steise* Soûnas,
be *steise* swintan
Noseilis.

Kas *stwi* druwê be
krikstits wîrst,
stas wîrst
Deiwûts, kas *ader*
ni Druwê, stas
wîrst preklantîts.

Stas Sakraments
Steisei Altari.

Noûson rikîs
Jesus Christus,
ênstan naktin
kaden *tans* prawilts
postâi, ima *tans*
stan geitien,
dînkauts be
lîmuts, be dâi
swaimans
maldaisimans, be
bilâts, imaiti
stwen, îdeiti,
sta ast mais
kêrmens, kas
pêrwans dâts wîrst,
stawîdan segîtei
prei majan
pominîsnan.

Stesmu poleigu imêts deigi stan kelkan po <i>stan</i> bêtin êdin, dinkawuts ba dâits <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaismans</i> ba bilâts, imaiti stwen, ba puojeiti wisai is stesmu, šis kelks ast sta nawans Testamentan en majan kraujan, ka per wans palêitan wirst, prei etwerpsnan grêkon, staweidan segeiti <i>kudesnami ious</i> <i>puojeiti</i> prei majan minîsnan.	Stesmu poleigu imêts deigi stan kelkan po <i>stan</i> bietas iedin, dinkauts ba dâits <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaismans</i> ba bilâts, imaiti stwen, ba pûjeiti wisai is stesmu, šis kelkis ast sta nawanan Testamentan en majan krawian, ka per wans pralieitan wirst, prei etwerpsenien griekon, staweidan segeiti <i>kudesnami ious</i> <i>pûjeiti</i> prei majan minîsnan.	Stesmu empoliugu imats dîgi stan kelkan po bîtas îdin, dînkauts be dâi <i>stan steimans</i> be bilâts, imaiti stwen, be poujeiti wisai is stesmu, šis kelks ast stas nauns Testaments en majan krawian, kas per wans praliêiton wîrst, prei etwerpsenien <i>stêison</i> grikan, stawîdan segîtei prei majan pominîsnan.
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We may now try to formulate some conclusions. It appears that there is a clear continuity in the language of the three catechisms. I shall briefly discuss the linguistic differences between the Enchiridion and the earlier texts.

The word *Dessimton* already suffices to show that the language of the Enchiridion reflects an actual linguistic system because it shows the regular ending of uninflected numerals (cf. Kortlandt 1978: 289) and cannot have been taken from the earlier catechisms. The regular indicative form E *turri* replaces I, II *tur*, which may be an imperative. The forms I *turretwey*, II *turrietwey*, E *turrîtwei* suggest a phonetic development of /ê/ > /ie/ > /i/ in the 16th century. The replacement of I, II *emnen* by E *Emnan* is in progress in the Enchiridion, where we find 9x *-en* beside 4x *-an*. The infinitive in /-twei/ was being replaced by /-t/ in the Enchiridion (cf. Kortlandt 1990). The expression E *reddewijdikausnan dâtwei prijki* shows monophthongization and lexical simplification in comparison with II *reddi weydi-kausnan waytiaton preyken*. The genitive I *tawischis*, II *tauwisch(e)s* is replaced by E *tawischas* /-as/. The accusatives I, II *mergwan* /-wan/, *pecku* /-u/ are replaced by E *Mêrgan*, *Peckan* /-an/.

E *teikûuns* and *Soûnon nouson* are apparently further developments of I *taykowuns* /teikuowuns/ and *Sunun nusun* /sûnon nûson/. The prefix /no-/ of E *Noseilien* is an innovation of the Enchiridion, where it replaced I, II /na-/ under the influence of /po-/ (cf. Van Wijk 1918: 51). This again demonstrates that the language of the Enchiridion reflects an actual linguistic system. The forms I *Stenuns*, II *Styienuns*, E *Stînons* show once more the development of /ê/ > /ie/ > /î/. We find the new ending /-an/ in E *tîrtan* for I *Tirtin*, II *tirtien*, and the loss of /w/ in E *etskûuns*, II *etskyuns*, cf. I *att skiwuns*. The ending of I *Vnsey*, II *Vnsei* was replaced by /-ai/ in E *Vnsai*, “offenbar nach” *Semmai* (Van Wijk 1918: 59). The preposition E *no* for earlier *na* is again typical of the Enchiridion. The nasal infix of I *Sindats*, II *Syndens* was eliminated in E *Sîdons*. The nominalized adjective in the dative of I, II /prei tikrai/ was replaced by a derived noun in the accusative, which is the regular case after prepositions in the Enchiridion (cf. Benveniste 1935), in E /prei tikrômien/. The genitive I *wismosingis*, II *wyszen mukis* was replaced by E *steise wissemusingin*. The demonstrative I, II *Stwendau* was replaced by the relative adverb E *isquen dau*, after which *tâns* was inserted. The diphthong of I *leiginwey*, II *leygenton* and I *geiwans*, II *geywans* is monophthongized in E *ligint*, *gijwans*, and /w/ is lost in /aulaûusins/, I *aulauwussens*. In the next few lines of the E version we find insertion of *stan* (2x), *steise*, *ainan*. The accusative ending /-wan/ is replaced by /-an/ in E *Cristiâniskan*, *perôniskan*, *prâbutskan*, and the gen.pl. ending /-on/ by /-an/ in E *grijkan*. We find both monophthongization and replacement of the ending in E *gijwan*, cf. I *geiwin*, II *geywien*.

The Lord’s Prayer again shows diphthongization in E *Noûson* (2x), *Nouson*, *noûsons*, *nousons*, *noûmans*, *noûmas*, II *nouson* (5x), *noumans* (3x), cf. I *nuson* (4x), *Nusan*, *numons*, 1x *noumans*. The optative of I *Pergeis*, *audasseisin* and II *Pareysej*, *audaseysin* is replaced by the indicative in E *Perêit*, *Audâsin*, and the feminine II *ryeky* by the masculine E *Rijks*. The preposition I, II *na* is again replaced by E *no*. The pronominal accusative I, II /šien/ appears to have been replaced by E /šan/ (cf. Kortlandt 1983: 314). The gen.pl. ending /-on/ received an analogical /-s/ in E *nousons aûschautins* and *noûsons aûschautenîkamans*. The final words of the prayer E *esse wissan wargan* cannot have been taken either from the earlier versions or from the German text and clearly presuppose a knowledge of the Prussian language.

The next section shows a replacement of the preterit I *bela*, II *byla* ‘sprach’ by the present E *bille* ‘spricht’, which is in accordance with the German text. The archaic pronoun I *dins*, II *diens* is replaced by the regular form E *tenmans*. The replacement of I, II /en emnen Tâwas, ba S(o)ûnos, ba swintas Naseilis/ by E /en emnen steise Tâwas, be steise Soûnas, be steise swintan Noseilis/ shows all the familiar characteristics: insertion of *steise*, diphthongization, new gen.sg. ending /-as/, loss of inflection in the adjective, and prefix /no-/ for /na-/.

The final part of the text shows a replacement of the active preterit with object clitic I, II *proweladin* by the passive construction E *tans prawilts postâi*, and of the preterit with subject clitic I *ymmits*, II *ymmeits* by the present with full subject pronoun E *imma tans*. The diphthongs of I *staweidan segeitty*, II *Steweyden segeyti* and further I *steweydan segeitty*, II *Stewidan segeyti* are monophthongized in E *Stawidan seggîtei* (2x), with replacement of the common ending /-ti/ by the imperative ending /-tei/ (cf. Stang 1966: 418). We find the same monophthongization and replacement of the preterit by the present in I, II /Stesmu poleigu imêts deigi/, E /Stesmu empoligu imats dîgi/. There is evidence for raising and subsequent diphthongization in I *pugeitty*, *pogeitty*, II *puieyti*, *puietti*, E *poieiti* (2x), cf. /uo/ in I *muttin*, *pergubuns*, *deiwuts* beside *somonentwey*, *taykowuns*, *patickots*, *gobuns*, corresponding to II -u- (5x), E -û- (5x), -u- (1x), and cf. E *poût*, *poutwei*, *poûton* (3x) beside *pûton* (1x). The neuter phrase I, II /sta nawan(-) Testamentan/ is replaced by the masculine in E /stas nauns Testaments/, and the neuter relative pronoun I, II /ka/ by the common form E /kas/.

It seems to me that the answer to Hermann's question is clear. There can be no doubt that the language of the Enchiridion is a further development of the language which is attested in the earlier catechisms. The strong influence of German syntax is precisely what can be expected in a situation of imminent language death. The consistent idiosyncrasies of Will's text unambiguously demonstrate his command of the Prussian language.

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