

# 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 schauerhaftes 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)
Staey dessempts Pallapsaey.	Staey dessimpts Pallapsaey.	Stai Dessimton Pallaiipsai.
Pirmas.	Pirmois.	<i>Stas</i> Pirmois <i>Pallaiips.</i>
Thou ni tur kittans deiwans tur- rettwey.	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>Pallaiips.</i>
Thou <i>ny</i> tur schan	Tou <i>ni</i> tur sten	Tou turri stan

emnen twaise deiwas ny anterpinsquan menentwey	emnen twayse dey- was nienbænden westwey	Emnan twaisei Dei- was ni enbândan westwei
Tirts	Tirtis	<i>Stas Tirts</i> <i>Pallaips</i>
Thou tur schan lankenā deinan swintintwey	Tou tur stan lankinan deynan swyntintwey	Tou turri stan Lânkinan Deinan Swintint
Ketwerts	Ketwirtz	<i>Stas Kettwirts</i> <i>Pallaips</i>
Thou tur twaian thawan bha mut- tin somonentwey	Tou tur twayien thawan bhæ mutien smunintwey	Tou turri twaian Tâwan bhe Mûtien smûmint
Penckts	Pyienkts	<i>Stas Piênckts</i> <i>Pallaips</i>
Thou ny tur gallintwey	Tou ni tur gallintwey	Tou niturri gallintwei
Wuschts	Vsts	<i>Stas Vschts</i> <i>Pallaips</i>
Thou ny tur pattiniskun lembtwey	Tou ni tur salobisquan limtwey	Tou niturri Sallûbanhmtwei
Sepmas	Septmas	<i>Stas Septmas</i> <i>Pallaips</i>
Thou ny tur rancktwey	Tou ni tur ranktwey	Tou niturri Rânctwei
Asmus	Asmus	<i>Stas Asmus</i> <i>Pallaips</i>
Thou ny tur falsch wïdekausan wartiatun preiken twaien tawischen	Tou ni tur reddi weydikausan waytaton preyken twayien tau-	Tou niturri reddewïdikausan dâtwei prijki twaian tawischan

	wyschen.	
Newints.	Newyntz.	<i>Stas Newints Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur pallapsittwey twaisei tawischis buttan.	Tou ni tur pallapsitwey twaysis tauwyschis butten.	Tou ni turri Pallaipsitwei, twaisei ta- wischas buttan.
Dessimts.	Dessympts.	<i>Stas Dessimts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur pallapsittwey twaisei tawischis gennan, waikan, merg- wan, pecku, ader katanassen asch.	Tou ni tur pallapsitwey twaysis tau- wyschies, gennan, waykan, merg- wan, pecku, adder katanæssen hest.	Tou niturri pallapsitwei twaisei Tawi- schas Gannan, Waikan, Mërgan, Peckan, adder ka tennëison ast.
Stas Dröffs.	Stan Druwin.	<i>Stas Swints Cri- stiâniskas Druwis.</i>
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 assa <i>stan</i> swintan naseilen, Gem- mons assastan jungkfrauen Ma- rian. Stenuns po Pontio Pylato, skresits, aulawns	ES drowy en Deywan, Thawan wissemokin, kas est tykynnons dæn- gon bhe semmien. Bhæ en Jesum Christum swaien aynen Sounon nouson reykyen, Kas pagauts æst hæse swyntan naseylien. Gemmons æsestan jungprawan Marian. Styienuns po Pontio Pylato, skresitzt, aulauns	As druwë 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 Marfan, Stînon po Pontio Pilato, Skrîsits, Aulauns,

bah encops. Sam  
 may lesuns  
 preipekollin,  
 Tirtin deinam  
 att skiwuns assa  
 gallans. Vnsey  
 gobuns andangon,  
 Sin-  
 dats preitickray  
 Deiwas wismo-  
 singis Thawas,  
 Stwendau per-  
 gubuns wirst  
*preyleiginwey* stans  
 geiwans bha  
 aulauwussens.  
 As drowe an  
 swintan naseilen,  
 Ainan swintan  
 krixtianiskun kir-  
 kin, *Ainan*  
 perroniscon  
 swintan,  
 Et werpsannan  
 grecon,  
 At skisen-  
 na menschon, Ba  
 prabitscun gei-  
 win. Amen.

bhe enquoptzt.  
 Semmay lysons  
 prey pykullien,  
*An tirtien* deynan  
 etskyuns hæse  
 gallans. Vnsei  
 gubons nadengon.  
 Sydens  
 preytickaray  
 deywas wyssen  
 mukis thawas,  
 Stwendau  
 wirst pergubons  
 leygenton stæns  
 geywans bhe  
 aulaunsins.  
 Es drowy en  
 swyntan naseylien,  
 Aynan swyntan  
 krichstianisquan  
 kirken,  
 Perronisquan  
 swyntan,  
 Etwerpsennian  
 griquan,  
 Etskysnan  
 menses, Bhe pra-  
 busquan geywien,  
 Amen.

bhe en-  
 kopts, Semmailjons  
 prei Pickullien,  
*Entfirtan* deinan  
 etskfuns esse  
 gallan, Vnsaigû-  
 bons no Dangon,  
 Sidons  
 prei tickrômien  
 Deiwas *steise*  
 wissemusfingin Tawas  
 isquen dau *tâns*  
 pergûbons wijrst,  
*prei ligint* stans  
 gijwans bhe  
 aulaunsins.  
 As Druwê ên*stan*  
 Swintan Noseilien  
 ainan Swintan  
 Cristiâniskan  
 kijrkin *Stan*  
 perôniskan  
 Swintan  
 etwerpsennian  
*steise* grijkan  
 etskfisnan  
 mensas, bhe  
*ainan* prâbut-  
 skan gijwan, AMEN.

Sta Thawe nuson.

Stan Thawe nouson.

Stas Tâwa Nouson.

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

THawe nouson kas  
 thou æsse æn-  
 dengon, Swyntits  
 wirse tways emmens,  
 Pareyse *noumans*  
 tway ia ryeky,

Tâwa Nouson kas  
 tu essei Endangon.  
 Swintints  
 wîrst twais Emnes.  
 Perêit  
 twais Rijks.

Twais quaits  
audasseisin

na sem-  
mey key audangon.  
Nusan deini-  
nan geittin dais  
numons schin-  
deinan. Bha  
atwerpeis noumans  
nuson auschautins,  
kay mas  
atwer pimay  
nuson  
auschantnikamans.  
Bha ny wedais mans  
enperban-  
dan. Sclait is  
rankeis mans assa  
wargan. Amen.

Assa stan  
Crixtisnan.

Nuson Rekis  
Christus  
bela prey *swaians*  
*maldaisins*,  
Jeithy  
en wissan swetan,  
mukinaity wissans

poganans, bha  
cixtity  
dins en emmen  
Thawas,  
bha Sunos,

Tways quaits  
audaseysin

nasemmiey 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.  
Slait is  
rankeis mans æsse  
wargan. Emmen.

Assæ stan  
Crixtisnan.

Nouson rykyes  
*Jsus* Chricstus  
byla prey *swayrens*  
*maldaysins*,  
Jeiti  
en wyssan swytan,  
mukineyti wyssens

poganens, bhæ  
Cixtidi-  
diens en emnen  
Thawas,  
bhæ sou-

Twais Quâits  
Audâsin,  
kâgi Endan-  
gon *tijt dêrgi*  
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.  
Schlâit isrankeis  
mans, esse *wissan*  
wargan. AMEN.

*Stas Sacraments*  
stessei *swintan*  
cixtisnan.

*Kâigi* Noûson Rikijs  
*Jesus* Christs  
bille, prei *Markon*  
*en pansadaumannien*,  
Jeiti *stwen*,  
enwissan swîtan,  
mukinaiti wissans  
*amsin adder*  
pogûnans, bhe  
Cixteiti  
tennans, en Emnen  
*steise* Tâwas,  
bhe *steise* Saûnas

bha swinte  
Naseilis,

Kas drowe bha  
cixtits wirst,  
stas wirst  
dei wuts, Kas *aber*  
nidruwe, stas  
wirst proklantitz

Assa Sacramentan  
*biets eden*

Nusen rickis  
Jesus Christus,  
anstan nactin  
kadan  
proweladin,  
ymmits stan  
geittin, dinkowats  
bha limatz bha  
dait swaimans  
maldaisemans bha  
belats, ymayty  
stwen, edeitte,  
sta ast mais ker-  
mens, kas  
perwans dats  
wirst, stawedan  
segeitty  
prey mayan  
menissnan

Stasma polleygo  
jmmitz deyg  
stan kelkan pho  
*stan* betten eden,  
dinkowatz bha daitz

nons, bhæ swyntas  
naseylis,

Kas drowe bhæ  
cixteits wirst,  
stes wirst  
deywuts, kas  
nidruwe, stes  
wirst preclantitys

Assa Sacramenten  
*bytis ydi*

Nouson reykeis  
Jsus Chricstus  
anstan naktin  
kaden  
proweladin  
ymmeits sten  
geytien, dinkautzt  
bhe lymucz, bhe  
dayts swaymans  
maldaysimans, bhe  
bylaczt, ymayty  
stwen, *bhe* ydieyty,  
stæ æst mays ker-  
mens, kas  
perwans daeczt  
wirst, Steweyden  
segeyty  
premayien me-  
nisnan

Stæsmu polejgo  
ymmeys deyg  
sten kelkan,  
*postan* bitans ydi,  
dinkauczt bhe daitz

bhe *steise* Swintan  
Noseilis

Kas *stun* drowē bhe  
Cixtits wijrst,  
stas wijrst  
Deiwuts, kas *adder*  
ni Druwe, stas  
wijrst perklantits

Stas Sacraments  
*Steisei Altari*

Noûson Rikjys  
Jesus Christus,  
ênan Nack-  
tien, kaden *tans*  
prawilts *postai*,  
imma *tans* stan-  
geitin dinkauts  
bhe limauts, bhe  
dai swaimans,  
maldaysimans, bhe  
billâts, immaiti  
stwen, îdeiti,  
sta ast mais  
kêmens, kas  
pêrwans dâts  
wirst, Sta-  
widan seggitei  
prei maian  
pomissnan

Stesmu empolygu  
immats dijgi  
stan Kelkin  
pobitas idin,  
Dinkauts, bhe dai

<i>swarmans</i>	<i>swaymans</i>	<i>stan sternans</i>
<i>maldaisemans</i>	<i>maldaysimans</i>	
bha belats, jm-	bhæ bilats, ymmay	bhe billâts, Jmaiti
maitty stwen, bha	ti stwen bhe	stwen, bhe
pugeitty wissay	puieyti wyssay	poieiti wissai
is stasma, schis	istesmu, Sis	isstesmu, Schis
kelchs ast sta	kelkis æst stæ	kelks ast stas
nawans testamentan,	neuwenen Testa-	nauns Testaments
an maian	menten en mayiey	en maian
kraugen, kha	kræuwiey, ka	krawian, kas
perwans palletan	per wans praliten	perwans pralieiton
werst, pray att	wirst, prey et-	wirst, prei etwer-
werpsannan gre-	werpsennian	psennien <i>stêison</i>
kun, steweydan	griquan, Stewidan	grijkan, Stawîdan
segeitty, <i>kodesnim-</i>	segeyti <i>kudesnamma</i>	seggîtei
<i>ma yous pogeitty</i>	<i>joes puetti</i>	
pray maian	prey mayian	prei maian
menisnan.	minisnan.	pominîsnan.

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 *Staey*, E *Stai* to represent the same form, which I shall write "Stai". However, I keep I, II *Pallapsaey* distinct from E *Pallaiptsai* and write I, II "Pallapsai", especially because we find I *pallapsittwey* (2x), II *pallapsitwey* (2x) beside E *pallaipts-* (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: "Pallaiptsai". 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 "Dessimon". The result is shown below.

## I (1545)

Stai dessemts  
Pallapsai.

Pirmas.

Tou ni tur kittans  
deiwans turretwei.

Anters.

Tou *ni* tur šan  
emnen twaise deiwas  
ni enterpinsquan  
menentwei

Tirts.

Tou tur šan  
lankenan deinan  
swintintwei.

Ketwerts.

Tou tur twajan  
tawan ba mutin  
smonentwei.

Penkts.

Tou ni tur  
gallintwei.

Wušts.

Tou ni tur

## II (1545)

Stai dessimts  
Pallapsai.

Pirmois.

Tou ni tur kittans  
deiwans turretwei.

Anters

Tou *ni* tur stan  
emnen twaise deiwas  
ni enbandan  
westwei.

Tirtis

Tou tur stan  
lankinan deinan  
swintintwei

Ketwirts.

Tou tur twajan  
tawan ba mutien  
smunintwei.

Pienkts.

Tou ni tur  
gallintwei.

Ušts.

Tou ni tur

## E (1561)

Stai Dessimton  
Pallaipsai.

*Stas* Pirmois  
*Pallaips*.

Tou ni turri  
kittans Deiwans  
*pagâr mien*  
turritwei.

*Stas* Antars  
*Pallaips*.

Tou turri stan  
Emnan twaisej  
Deiwas ni enbândan  
westwei.

*Stas* Tirts  
*Pallaips*.

Tou turri stan  
Lânkinan Deinan  
Swintint\_.

*Stas* Ketwirts  
*Pallaips*.

Tou turri twajan  
Tâwan be Mûtien  
smûnint\_.

*Stas* Piênkts  
*Pallaips*.

Tou ni turri  
gallintwei.

*Stas* Ušts  
*Pallaips*.

Tou ni turri

patiniskun lemtwei	salobisquan lmtwei	Sallûban lmtwei
Sepmas	Septmas	<i>Stas</i> Septmas <i>Pallaips</i>
Tou ni tur ranktwei	Tou ni tur ranktwei	Tou ni turri Rânk <sub>1</sub> twei
Asmus	Asmus	<i>Stas</i> Asmus <i>Pallaips</i>
Tou ni tur falš widekausan waitiatun preken twajen tawišen	Tou ni tur reddi weidikausan waitiatun preken twajen tauwišen	Tou ni turri reddewydikausan dâtwei prijki twajan tawišan
Newints	Newints	<i>Stas</i> Newints <i>Pallaips</i>
Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisei tawišis buttan	Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisis tauwišis buttan	Tou ni turri Pallapsitwei, twaisei tawišas buttan
Dessimts	Dessimts	<i>Stas</i> Dessimts <i>Pallaips</i>
Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisei tawišis gennan, waikan, mergwan, pecku, ader ka tanasen ast	Tou ni tur pallapsitwei twaisis tauwišias gennan, waikan, mergwan, pecku, ader ka tanasen ast	Tou ni turri pallapsitwei twaisei Tawišas Gannan, Waikan, Mêrgan, Peckan, adder ka tennêison ast
Stas Drowfs	Stan Druwin	<i>Stas Swints Cri- stianskas</i> Druwis
As drowe en Deiwān, Tawan wišmosing-, kas ast taikowuns dangon ba semin,	As drowi en Deiwān, Tawan wissemokin, kas ast tikinnons dangon be semien	As druwê en Deiwān, Tāwan Wissemusfingn kas ast teikûuns, Dangon be semmien

Ba en Jesum  
 Christum swajan  
 ainan Sunun nusun  
rekian, Kas  
 patikots ast  
 ase *stan* swintan  
 naseilen, Gemmons  
 ase stan  
 jungkfrawen Marian  
 Stenuns po  
 Pontio Pilato,  
 skrisits, aulawns  
 ba enkops  
 Semmai lesuns  
 prei pekollin,  
 Tirtin deinan  
 etskiwuns ase  
 gallans Unsei  
 gobuns an dangon,  
 Sindats prei  
 tikrai Deibas

wismosingis Tawas,  
 Stwendau  
 pergubuns wirst  
 prei leiginwei  
 stans geiwans ba  
 aulauwusens  
 As drowe en  
 swintan naseilen,  
 Ainan swintan  
 krikstianiskun  
 kirkin, *Ainan*  
 peroniskon  
 swintan,  
 Etwerpsennan  
 grekon,  
 Etskisnan menson,  
 Ba prabutsun

Ba en Jesum  
 Christum swajan  
 ainan Sounon nouson  
rekian, Kas  
 pagauts ast  
 ase swintan  
 naseilien Gemmons  
 ase stan  
 jungprawan Marian  
 Stienuns po  
 Pontio Pilato,  
 skresits, aulauns  
 be enquopts  
 Semmai lisons  
 prei pikullien,  
*An tirtien* deinan  
 etskiuns ase  
 gallans Unsei  
 gubons na dangon  
 Sindens prei  
 tikrai deibas

wissenmukis tawas,  
 Stwendau  
 wirst pergubons  
 leigenton  
 stans geiwans be  
 aulausins  
 As drowe en  
 swintan naseilien,  
 Ainan swintan  
 krikstianisquan  
 kirken,  
 Peronisquan  
 swintan,  
 Etwerpsennian  
 griquan,  
 Etskisnan mensas,  
 Be prabusquan

Be en Jesum  
 Christum, swajan  
 ainan Sounon nouson  
 Rikian, kas  
 pogauts ast,  
 esse Swintan  
 Nouseilien, Gemmons  
 esse stan  
 Jumprawan Marian,  
 Stinons po  
 Pontio Pilato,  
 Skrisits, Aulauns,  
 be enkopts,  
 Semmai lisons  
 prei Pickullien,  
*En tirtan* deinan  
 etskiuns esse  
 gallan-, Unsa  
 gubons no Dangon,  
 Sidons prei  
 tikromien Deibas  
*steise*

wissemusingin Tawas  
 isquendau *tans*  
 pergubons wirst,  
 prei ligint-  
 stans giwans be  
 aulausins  
 As Drowe en *stan*  
 Swintan Nouseilien  
 ainan Swintan  
 Krikstianiskan  
 kirkin *Stan*  
 peroniskan  
 Swintan  
 etwerpsennian  
*steise* grikan  
 etskisnan mensas,  
 be *ainan* prabutskan

geiwin. Amen.

geiwien, Amen.

gīwan, Amen.

Sta... Tawe nuson.

Stan Tawe nouson.

Stas Tāwa Noūson.

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  
aušautnikamans.  
Ba ni wedeis mans  
en perbandan.  
Sklait isrankeis  
mans ase  
wargan. Amen.

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

Tāwa Noūson kas tu  
essei En dangon.  
Swintints wirst  
Twais Emnes.  
Perēt  
twais Riks.  
Twais Quāits  
Audāsin, kāigi En  
dangon tijt dēigi  
no semmien.  
Nouson deinennin  
geitien dais  
noūmans šan  
deinan. Be  
etwerpeis noūmas  
nousong  
aušautins, kai mes  
etwērimai noūsong  
aušautenikamans.  
Be ni weddeis mans  
emperbandāsnan.  
Šlāit isrankeis  
mans, esse *wissan*  
wargan. Amen.

Assa stan  
Krikstisnan.

Assa stan  
Krikstisnan.

Stas Sacraments  
stessei swintan  
krikstisnan.

Nuson Rekis  
Christus  
bela prei swajans  
maldaisins,  
Ieiti  
en wissan swetan,

Nouson rikigs  
Jesus Christus  
bila prei swajans  
maldaisins,  
Ieiti  
en wissan switan,

Kāigi Noūson Rikis  
Jesus Christus  
bille, prei Markon  
en pansadaumannien,  
Ieiti *stwen*,  
en wissan swītan,

mukinaiti wissans

poganans, ba  
krikstiti dins  
en emnen  
Tawas,  
ba Sunos,  
ba swinte  
Naseihis,

Kas drowe ba  
krikstiti wirst,  
stas wirst  
deiwuts, Kas aber  
ni druwe, stas  
wirst proklantits

Assa Sakramentan  
*bietis eden*

Nusen rikis  
Jesus Christus,  
anstan naktin  
kaden prowela *din*,  
immits  
stan getin,  
kinkowats ba  
limats ba daitis  
swaimans  
maldaisimans ba  
belats, imaiti  
stwen, edeite,  
sta ast mais  
kermens, kas  
perwans dats  
wirst, staweidan  
segeiti prei maian  
menisnan

mukinaiti wissans

poganans, ba  
Krikstiti diens  
en emnen  
Tawas,  
ba sounous,  
ba swintas  
naseihis,

Kas druwe ba  
kriksteits wirst,  
stas wirst  
deiwuts, kas  
ni druwe, stas  
wirst preklantits

Assa Sakramentan  
*bitis idi*

Nouson reikeis  
Jesus Christus  
anstan naktin  
kaden prowela *din*,  
immeits  
stan getien,  
dinkauts be  
limuts, be daitis  
swaimans  
maldaisimans, be  
bilats, imaiti  
stwen, be idjeiti,  
sta ast mais  
kermens, kas  
perwans dats  
wirst, Staweidan  
segeiti prei majan  
menisnan

mukinaiti wissans  
*amsin adder*

pogunans, be  
Kriksteiti tennans,  
en Emnen *steise*  
Tawas,  
be *steise* Saunas  
be *steise* Swintan  
Noseilis

Kas stur druwê be  
Krikstiti wirst,  
stas wirst  
Deiwuts, kas *adder*  
ni Druwe, stas  
wirst preklantits

Stas Sakraments  
*Steisei Altari*

Noûson Rikis  
Jesus Christus,  
enstan Naktien,  
kaden *tans* prawilts  
*postai*, imma\_ *tans*  
stan getin  
dinkauts be  
limauts, be dai\_  
swaimans,  
maldaisimans, be  
billats, imaiti  
stwen, ideiti,  
sta ast mais  
kermens, kas  
perwans dats  
wirst, Stawidan  
seggitei prei maian  
pominisnan

Stasma poleigo immuts deig- stan kelkan po <i>stan beten</i> <i>eden</i> , dinkowats ba daitis <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaiseimans</i> ba be <u>lats</u> , immaiti stwen, ba pu <u>jeiti</u> wissai is stes <u>ma</u> , šis kelks ast sta nawans testamentan, en majan krau <u>jen</u> , ka per wans pa <u>letan</u> werst, prei etwerpsennan gre <u>kun</u> , stewe <u>idan</u> segeiti, <i>kodesnimma ious</i> <i>pogeiti</i> prei majan me <u>nisnan</u>	Stasmu poleigo imme <u>its</u> deigi stan kelkan, po <i>stan bitans</i> idi <u>l</u> , dinkauts be daitis <i>swaimans</i> <i>maldaisimans</i> ba bilats, immaiti stwen be puieiti wissai is stesmu, Šis kelk <u>s</u> ast sta nauwan <u>en</u> Testamentan en majan krauwien, ka per wans pra <u>litan</u> wirst, prei etwerpsennian gri <u>quan</u> , Stewidan segeiti <i>kudesnammi ives</i> <i>puetti</i> prei majan minisnan	Stesmu <u>empohju</u> immats d <u>igi</u> stan Kelk <u>in</u> po bitas fidin, Dinkauts, be dai <u>l</u> <i>stan steimans</i>  be billats, Im <u>aiti</u> stwen, be pu <u>ieiti</u> wissai is stesmu, Šis kelks ast stas nauns Testaments en majan krawi <u>an</u> , kas per wans pra <u>leiton</u> wirst, prei etwerpsennian <i>staison</i> grikan, Stawidan segg <u>itei</u> prei majan <u>pominis</u> nan
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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 Palapsai
Pirmas	Pirmois	<i>Stas</i> Pirmois <i>Palaps</i>
Tou ni tur kitans dei <u>wans</u> tur <u>etwei</u>	Tou ni tur kitans dei <u>wans</u> tur <u>ietwei</u>	Tou ni turi kitans dei <u>wans</u> pag <u>ar mien</u>

Anters.

Tou *n* tur šan  
emnen twaisei  
deiwas ni  
enterpinskwan  
minintwei.

Tirts.

Tou tur šan  
lankinan deinan  
swintintwei.

Ketwirts.

Tou tur twajan  
tāwan ba muotien  
zmuonintwei.

Penkts.

Tou ni tur  
galintwei.

Wušts.

Tou ni tur  
patiniskwan  
limtwei.

Septmas.

Tou ni tur  
ranktwei.

Anters.

Tou *n* tur stan  
emnen twaisei  
deiwas ni enbāndan  
westwei.

Tirtis.

Tou tur stan  
lankinan deinan  
swintintwei.

Ketwirts.

Tou tur twajan  
tāwan ba mūtien  
zmūnintwei.

Pienkts.

Tou ni tur  
galintwei.

Ušts.

Tou ni tur  
saloubiskwan  
limtwei.

Septmas.

Tou ni tur  
ranktwei.

turitwei.

*Stas* Antars  
*Palaps.*

Tou turi stan  
emnan twaisei  
deiwas ni enbāndan  
westwei.

*Stas* Tirts  
*Palaps.*

Tou turi stan  
lānkinan deinan  
swintint.

*Stas* Ketwirts  
*Palaps.*

Tou turi twajan  
tāwan be mūtien  
zmūnint.

*Stas* Piēnkts  
*Palaps.*

Tou ni turi  
galintwei.

*Stas* Ušts  
*Palaps.*

Tou ni turi  
saloūban limtwei.

*Stas* Septmas  
*Palaps.*

Tou ni turi  
rānktwei.

Asmus	Asmus	<i>Stas Asmus</i>
Tou ni tur falš weidikausnan waitiâton preiken twajan tawišan	Tou ni tur redıweidikausnan waitiâton preiken twajan tawišan	<i>Palaps</i> Tou ni turi redıwıdikausnan dâtwei priki twajan tawišan
Newints	Newints	<i>Stas Newınts</i>
Tou ni tur palapsıtwei twaisei tawišis butan	Tou ni tur palapsıtwei twaisei tawišis butan	<i>Palaps</i> Tou ni turi palapsıtwei twaisei tawišas butan
Desımts	Desımts	<i>Stas Desımts</i>
Tou ni tur palapsıtwei twaisei tawišis genan, waikan, mergwan, peku, ader ka teneison ast	Tou ni tur palapsıtwei twaisei tawišis genan, waikan, mergwan, peku, ader ka teneison ast	<i>Palaps</i> Tou ni turi palapsıtwei twaisei tawišas genan, waikan, mêrgan, pekan, ader ka tenêison ast
Stas Drufs	Stan Druwin	<i>Stas Swınts Kruk- stıâniskas Druwis</i>
As druwê en Deıwan, Tâwan wısmusingın, kas ast teıkuowuns dangon ba zemien Ba en Jesum Christum swajan ainan Sûnon nûson rikıan, kas pateıkuots ast ase <i>stan</i> swıntan naseılın, Gemons ase stan jungkfrawan Marıan	As druwê en Deıwan, Tâwan wısemûkın, kas ast tikınons dangon be zemien Ba en Jesum Christum swajan ainan Sounon nouson rikıan, kas pagauts ast ase swıntan naseılın, Gemons ase stan jungprawan Marıan	As druwê en Deıwan, Tâwan wısemusingın, kas ast teıkûns dangon be zemien Be en Jesum Christum swajan ainan Soûnon noûson rikıan, kas pogauts ast ese swıntan noseılın, Gemons ese stan jumprawan Marıan

Stênuts po  
Pontio Pilato,  
skreisits,  
aulauwuns  
ba enkopts  
Zemai lêzuns  
prei pikuhin,  
Tirtien deinan  
etskîwuns ase  
galans Unsei  
guobuns na dangon,  
Sindans prei  
tikrai Deiwās  
wisumusngis  
Tâwas, stwendau  
perguobuns wîrst  
*prei* leigintwei  
stans geiwans ba  
aulauwusins  
As druwê en  
swintan naseilin,  
anan swintan  
krikstîâniskwan  
kirkîn, *aman*  
perôniskwan  
swintan,  
etwerpsnan  
grêkon,  
etskîsnan menšon,  
ba prâbutskwan  
geiwien, Amen

Sta Tâwe nûson

Tâwe nûson kas tu  
asei an dangon  
Swintints wîrst  
twais emnes

Stienons po  
Pontio Pilato  
skreisits,  
aulauuns  
ba enkopts  
Zemai liezons  
prei pikuhin,  
*An* tirtien deinan  
etskîuns ase  
galans Unsei  
gûbons na dangon,  
Sindans prei  
tikrai Deiwās  
wisemûkis  
Tâwas, stwendau  
wîrst pergûbons  
leiginton  
stans geiwans ba  
aulauusins  
As druwê en  
swintan naseilien,  
anan swintan  
krikstîâniskwan  
kirkîn,  
perôniskwan  
swintan,  
etwerpsemien  
griekon,  
etskîsnan mensas,  
ba prâbutskwan  
geiwien, Amen

Stan Tâwe nouson

Tâwe nouson kas tu  
asei an dangon  
Swintints wîrsei  
twais emnes

Stîmons po  
Pontio Pilato,  
skrîsits,  
aulaûuns  
be ênkopts  
Zemai lîzons  
prei pikuhin,  
*En* tîrtan deinan  
etskîuns ese  
galans Unsei  
gûbons no dangon,  
Sîdons prei  
tikrômin Deiwās  
*steise* wisemusîngin  
Tâwas, iskwendau  
*tâns* pergûbons  
wîrst *prei* lîgint  
stans gîwans be  
aulaûusins  
As druwê *ênstan*  
swintan noseilien,  
anan swintan  
krikstîâniskan  
kirkîn, *stan*  
perôniskan  
swintan,  
etwerpsemien  
*steise* grîkan,  
etskîsnan mensas,  
be *aman* prâbutskan  
gîwan, Amen

Stas Tâwa noûson

Tâwa noûson kas tu  
asei en dangon  
Swintints wîrst  
twais emnes

Perjeis  
twais laims.  
Twaiss kwaitis  
audāsei sien  
na zemien kai  
en dangon.  
Nūson deininan  
geitien dais  
noumans šien  
deinan. Ba  
etwerpeis noumans  
nūson aušautins,  
kai mes  
etwēpimai nūson  
aušautneikamans.  
Ba ni wedeis mans  
en perbandan.  
Šklait isrankeis  
mans ase  
wargan. Amen.

Pereisei *noumans*  
twajā reiki.  
Twaiss kwaitis  
audāsei sien  
na zemien kai  
en dangon.  
Nouson deininan  
geitien dais  
noumans šien  
deinan. Ba  
etwerpeis noumans  
nouson aušautins,  
kai mes  
etwēpimai nouson  
aušautneikamans.  
Ba ni wedeis mans  
en perbandāsnan.  
Šlait isrankeis  
mans ase  
wargan. Amen.

Perēit  
twais rikis.  
Twaiss kwāits  
audāst sien, kāigi  
en dangon *tīt dīgt*  
no zemien.  
Nouson deinenien  
geitien dais  
noūmans šan  
deinan. Be  
etwerpeis noūmas  
nousons aušautins,  
kai mes  
etwēpimai noūsons  
aušautinikamans.  
Be ni wedeis mans  
en perbandāsnan.  
Šlait isrankeis  
mans ese *wisan*  
wargan. Amen.

*Asa stan*  
Krikstisnan.

*Asa stan*  
Krikstisnan.

*Stas Sakraments*  
stesei *swintan*  
Krikstisnan.

Nūson Rikīs  
Christus bilā  
prei *swajans*  
*maldaissins*,  
Jeiti en  
wisan swētan,  
mukinaiti wisans

Nouson Rikīs  
*Jesus* Christus bilā  
prei *swajans*  
*maldaissins*,  
Jeiti en  
wisan swietan,  
mukinaiti wisans

*Kāigt* Noūson Rikīs  
*Jesus* Christus bilē  
prei *Markon en*  
*pansdaumanen*,  
Jeiti *stwen* en  
wisan swītan,  
mukinaiti wisans  
*amzin ader*  
pogūnans, be  
kriksteiti tenans  
en emnen  
*steise* Tāwas,  
be *steise* Soūnas,

poganans, ba  
krikstiti dins  
en emnen  
Tāwas,  
ba Sūnos,

poganans, ba  
krikstiti dins  
en emnen  
Tāwas,  
ba Sounos,

ba swintas  
Naselis,

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

Asa Sakramentan  
*bêtis êdin*

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

Stesmu poleigu  
imêts deigi  
stan kelkan  
po *stan* bêtin  
êdin, dinkawuts ba  
dâits *swaimans*

ba swintas  
Naselis,

Kas druwê ba  
krikstits wîrst,  
stas wîrst  
deiwûts, kas  
ni druwê, stas  
wîrst preklantīts

Asa Sakramentan  
*bietis iedin*

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

Stesmu poleigu  
imêts deigi  
stan kelkan  
po *stan* bietas  
iedin, dinkautš ba  
dâits *swaimans*

be *steise* swintan  
Noseelis

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

Stas Sakraments  
*Steiser Altari*

Noûson rikis  
Jesus Christus,  
ênstan naktin  
kaden *tans* prawilts  
*postâi*, ima *tans*  
stan geitien,  
dinkautš be  
limuts, be dâi  
swaimans  
maldaisimans, be  
bilâts, imaiti  
stwen, îdeiti,  
sta ast mais  
kêrmens, kas  
pêrwans dâts wîrst,  
stawidan segtei  
prei majan  
pominisnan

Stesmu empolîgu  
imats dîgi  
stan kelkan  
po bîtas  
îdin, dinkautš be  
dâi *stan stermans*

<i>maldaisimans</i>	<i>maldaisimans</i>	
ba bilâts, imaiti	ba bilâts, imaiti	be bilâts, imaiti
stwen, ba puojeiti	stwen, ba pûjeiti	stwen, be poujeiti
wisai is stesmu,	wisai is stesmu,	wisai is stesmu,
šis kelks ast	šis kelkis ast	šis kelks ast
sta nawans	sta nawanan	stas nauns
Testamentan en	Testamentan en	Testaments en
majan kraujan, ka	majan krawian, ka	majan krawian, kas
per wans palêitan	per wans pralieitan	per wans praliêiton
wirst, prei	wirst, prei	wirst, prei
etwerpsnan	etwerpsenien	etwerpsenien
grêkon,	griekon,	<i>stêison</i> grikan,
staweidan segeiti	staweidan segeiti	stawîdan segîtei
<i>kudesnamı ıous</i>	<i>kudesnamı ıous</i>	
<i>puojeiti</i> prei majan	<i>pûjeiti</i> prei majan	prei majan
minîsnan.	minîsnan.	pominîsnan.

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 *turrettwey*, II *turryetwey*, E *turrîtwei* suggest a phonetic development of /ê/ > /ie/ > /î/ 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 *reddewydikausnan dâtwei pryki* shows monophthongization and lexical simplification in comparison with II *reddı weydikausnan waytaton preyken*. The genitive I *tawischis*, II *tawischı(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 *Souñon nouñon* are apparently further developments of I *taykowuns* /teikuowuns/ and *Sunun nusun* /sûnon nûson/. The

prefix /no-/ of E *Noseihen* 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 *Styuenuns*, E *Stînons* show once more the development of /ê/ > /ie/ > /î/. We find the new ending /-an/ in E *tîrtan* for I *Turtin*, II *turtien*, and the loss of /w/ in E *etskiuns*, II *etskyuns*, cf. I *att skrwuns*. 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 *wismosingus*, II *wyssen 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 *leiqmwey*, II *leygenton* and I *gerwans*, II *geywans* is monophthongized in E *ligint*, *gywans*, and /w/ is lost in /aulaûsins/, 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 *grykan*. We find both monophthongization and replacement of the ending in E *gywan*, cf. I *gerwin*, II *geywinen*.

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 *Perêt*, *Audâsin*, and the feminine II *ryeky* by the masculine E *Ryks*. 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 aûschautenikamans*. 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 *tennans*. 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 prawults postâi*, and of the preterit with subject clitic I *ymmuts*, II *ymmeits* by the present with full subject pronoun E *imma tans*. The diphthongs of I *stawerdan segetty*, II *Steweyden segeyti* and further I *steweydan segetty*, II *Stewidan segeyti* are monophthongized in E *Stawidan seggîter* (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 empolîgu imats dîgi/. There is evidence for raising and subsequent diphthongization in I *pugeyti*, *pogeyti*, II *pueyti*, *pueyti*, E *poieti* (2x), cf. /uo/ in I *muttn*, *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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