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## *An analysis of the Prussian First Catechism*

In the following I intend to compare Klussis' reconstructed text of the Prussian First Catechism (1995) with my own interpretation of the same text (1998a, 1998b). Unlike my analysis, which is based on a direct comparison of identical passages in the three catechisms, Klussis' reconstruction depends heavily on the comparative (especially Lithuanian) evidence. This approach leads to an elimination of the Prussian articles, and even to an emendation of the word order in the Ten Commandments, where "real Baltic constructions, such as *Tū ni tur turētwei kitans deiwans*," are substituted for "such calqued German syntactical constructions with the verb in final position" as *Thou ni tur kittans deiwans turrettwey* (Klussis 1995: 54). As I have discussed the problems of Old Prussian accentuation elsewhere (1974, 1999), I shall leave this topic out of consideration here and omit the accent and tone marks (but not distinctive vowel length) in the transcriptions given below.

I (1545)	Klussis	Kortlandt
Staey dessempts Pallapsaey.	Desimt pala(i)psāi.	Stai desimts Palapsai.
Pirmas. Thou ni tur kittans deiwans tur- rettwey.	Pirmas. Tū ni tur turētwei kitans deiwans.	Pirmas. Tou ni tur kitans deiwans turētwei.
Anters. Thou ny tur schan emmen twaise deiwas ny anterpinsquan menentwey	Anters. Tū ni tur nianterpinskwan minintwei emnen twaisei Deiwas.	Anters. Tou ni tur šan emnen twaisei deiwas ni enterpinskwan minintwei
Tirts. Thou tur schan lankenā deinān swintintwey.	Tirts. Tū tur swintintwei lānkinan deinān.	Tirts. Tou tur šan lankinan deinān swintintwei.

Ketwerts.  
Thou tur twaian  
thawan bha mut-  
tin somonentwey.

Ketwirts.  
Tū tur  
zmōnintwei twajan  
tāwan ba mūtin.

Ketwirts.  
Tou tur twajan  
tāwan ba muotien  
zmuonintwei.

Penckts.  
Thou ny tur  
gallintwey.

Pēnkts.  
Tū ni tur  
galintwei.

Penkts.  
Tou ni tur  
galintwei.

Wuschts.  
Thou ny tur  
pattiniskun  
lembtwey

Ušts.  
Tū ni tur  
lintwei  
patiniskun.

Wušts.  
Tou ni tur  
patiniskwan  
lintwei.

Sepmas.  
Thou ny tur  
rancktwey.

Septmas.  
Tū ni tur  
rāngtwei.

Septmas.  
Tou ni tur  
ranktwei.

Asmus.  
Thou ny tur  
falsch widekausan  
waitiatun preiken  
twaien tawischen

Asmus.  
Tū ni tur  
waiṭā tun redi  
wīdikausan preiken  
twajan tawišan.

Asmus.  
Tou ni tur  
falš weidikausan  
waitiāton preiken  
twajan tawišan.

Newints.  
Thou ny tur  
pallapsittwey  
twaisei tawischis  
buttan.

Newīnts.  
Tū ni tur  
pala(i)psītwei  
twaisei tawišis  
butan.

Newints.  
Tou ni tur  
palapsītwei  
twaisei tawišis  
butan.

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

Desīmts.  
Tū ni tur  
pala(i)psītwei  
twaisei tawišis  
gennan,  
wāikan, mērgan,  
peku ader  
ka tanasan ast.

Desimts.  
Tou ni tur  
palapsītwei  
twaisei tawišis  
gennan,  
waikan, mergwan,  
peku, ader  
ka teneison ast.

Stas Dröffs.

AS drowe an Deiuan,  
Thawan wismosing,  
kas ast  
taykowuns dangon  
bah semmin,  
Bah an Je-  
sum Christū  
swaian ainan  
Sunun nusun  
rekian, Kas  
patickots ast  
assastan swintan  
naseilen, Gem-  
mons assastan  
jungkfrawen Ma-  
rian. Stenuns po  
Pontio Pylato,  
scrisits, aulawns  
bah encops. Sam  
may lesuns  
preipekollin,  
Tirtin deinan  
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  
krixianiskun kir-  
kin, Ainan  
perroniskon swintan,

Drūws.

As druwē an Deiwan,  
Tāwan wismuzingin,  
kas ast  
taikōwuns dangun  
ba zemīn.  
Ba an Jēsūn  
Kristun  
tanesa aīnan  
Sūnun nūsūn  
rikijan, kas  
pagaūts ast  
aza swintan  
nā seiļan, gemuns  
aza  
jumprawan Marijan.  
Stēnuns pa  
Pōntiju Pilātu,  
skrizīts, aulaūwuns  
ba ēnkaps. Zamāi  
lēzuns  
prei pikulin.  
Tirtin deinan  
atskiwuns aza  
galan. Unzai  
gōbuns an dangun,  
sīndants  
prei tikrai  
Deiwas wismuzingis  
Tāwas,  
stwendau  
wirst pergūbuns  
līgintwei  
gīwans ba  
aulaūwusins.  
As druwē an  
swintan nā seiļan,  
aīnan swintan  
krikstāniskan kīrkin,  
aīnan  
perōniskan swintun,

Stas Drufs.

As druwē en Deiwan,  
Tāwan wismusingin,  
kas ast  
teikuowuns dangon  
ba zemien.  
Ba en Jesum  
Christum  
swajan ainan  
Sūnon nūson  
rikīan, kas  
pateikuots ast  
ase stan swintan  
naseilin, Gemons  
ase stan  
jungkfrawan Mariān.  
Stēnuns po  
Pontio Pilato,  
skreisits, aulauwuns  
ba enkopts. Zemai  
lēzuns  
prei pikulin,  
Tirtien deinan  
etskiwuns ase  
galans. Unsei  
guobuns na dangon,  
Sindans  
prei tikrai  
Deiwas wismusingis  
Tāwas,  
stwendau  
perguobuns wirst prei  
leigintwei stans  
geiwans ba  
aulauwusins.  
As druwē en  
swintan naseilin,  
ainan swintan  
krikstiāniskwan  
kirkin, ainan  
peroniskwan swintan,

Et werpsannan  
grecon,  
At skisen-  
na menschon, Ba  
prabitscun gei-  
win. Amen.

atwērpsanan  
grēkun,  
atskīnan  
mēnsas, ba  
prābutiskan gīwin.  
Amen.

etwerpsnan  
grēkon,  
etskīsnan  
menson, ba  
prabutskwan geiwien,  
Amen.

Sta Thawe nuson.

Tāwa nūsun.

Sta Tāwe nūson.

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

Nūsun tāwa kas  
asei an  
dangun. Swintints  
wīrsei twajs emens.  
Perēisei  
twajā riki.  
Twajs kwāits  
audāsei sin  
na zemei  
kāi an dangun.  
Nūsan deininan  
geitin dāis  
nūmans šan-  
deinan. Ba  
atwērpeis nūmans  
nūsun āušautins,  
kāi mes  
atwērpimai  
nūsun  
aušautenikamans.  
Ba ni wedais mans  
en perbāndan.  
Sklāit izrankīs  
mans aza  
wargan. Amen.

Tāwe nūson kas  
tu asei an  
dangon. Swintints  
wirst twais emnes.  
Perjeis  
twais laims.  
Twaits kwaitis  
audāsei sien  
na zemien  
kai en dangon.  
Nūson deininan  
geitien dais  
noumans šien  
deinan. Ba  
etwerpeis noumans  
nūson aušautins,  
kai mes  
etwerpimai  
nūson  
aušautneikamans.  
Ba ni wedeis mans  
en perbandan.  
Sklait isrankeis  
mans ase  
wargan. Amen.

Assa stan  
Crixtisnan.

Aza  
krikstīsnan.

Asa stan  
Krikstisnan.

Nuson Rikis  
Christus

Nūsun Rikīs  
Kristus

Nūson Rikīs  
Christus

bela prey swaians  
 maldaisins,  
 Jeithy  
 en wissan swetan,  
 mukinaity wissans  
 poganans, bha  
 crixtity  
 dins en emmen  
 Thawas,  
 bha Sunos,  
 bha swinte  
 Naseilis,  
 Kas drowe bha  
 crixtits wirst,  
 stas wirst  
 deiwuts, Kas aber  
 nidruwe, stas  
 wirst proklantitz.

bilā prei swajans  
 maldaisins:  
 Jeiti  
 en wisan swētan,  
 mukinaiti wisans  
 pagōnans, ba  
 krikstīti  
 dins en emnen  
 Tāwas,  
 ba Sūnus,  
 ba swintas  
 Nāseilis;  
 Kas druwē ba  
 krikstīts wīrst,  
 stas wīrst  
 deiwūts, Kas ader  
 ni druwē, stas  
 wīrst praklantīts.

bilā prei swajans  
 maldaisins,  
 Jeiti  
 en wisan swētan,  
 mukinaiti wisans  
 poganans, ba  
 krikstiti  
 dins en emnen  
 Tāwas,  
 ba Sūnos,  
 ba swintas  
 Naseilis,  
 Kas druwē ba  
 krikstitis wirst,  
 stas wirst  
 deiwuots, kas aber  
 ni druwē, stas  
 wirst preklantīts.

Assa Sacramentan  
 bietis eden.

Aza Sakramentan  
 (bētis ēden).

Asa Sakramentan  
 bētis ēdin.

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

Nūsun rikīs  
 Jēzus Kristus,  
 anstan naktin,  
 kadan  
 prawilā din,  
 imēts stan  
 geitin, dīnkawāts  
 ba limāts, ba  
 dāits swaimans  
 maldaisimans, ba  
 bilāts: imaiti,  
 ēdeiti,  
 sta ast mais kērmens,  
 kas  
 pēr wans dāts  
 wīrst; stawīdan  
 sagēiti  
 maise  
 minītun.

Nūson rikīs  
 Jesus Christus,  
 anstan naktin  
 kaden  
 prawilā din,  
 imēts stan  
 geitien, dinkawuts  
 ba lēmuts, ba  
 dāits swaimans  
 maldaisimans, ba  
 bilāts, imaiti  
 stwen, ēdeiti,  
 sta ast mais kermens,  
 kas  
 perwans dāts  
 wirst, stawēidan  
 segeiti  
 prei majan  
 minīsnan.

Stasma polleygo jmmitz deyg stan kelkan pho stan betten eden, dinkowatz bha daitz swaimans maldaismans 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, kodesnim- ma yous pogeitty pray maian menisnan.	Stesma palīgu imēts dīg stan kelkan pa stan bētis ēden, dīnkawāts ba dāits swaimans maldaismans ba bilāts: immaiti, ba pūjaiti wisai iz stesma, šis kelks ast sta naunan testamentan, an majai krāujai, ka pēr wans palētan wīrst, grēkamans atwērp̄tun; stawīdan sagēiti, ku deznima jūs pūjati maise minītun.	Stesmu poleigu imēts deigi stan kelkan po stan bētin ēdin, dinkawuts ba dāits swaimans maldaismans ba bilāts, imaiti stwen, ba puojeiti wisai is stesmu, šis kelks ast sta nawans Testamentan en majan kraujan, ka per wans palēitan wīrst, prei etwerpsnan grēkon, staweidan segeiti kudesnami ious puojeiti prei majan minīsnan.
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The differences between Klussis' reconstruction and my analysis of the text bear upon the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of the language.

1. Phonology. Klussis consistently distinguishes four short vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, and five long vowels /ī/, /ē/, /ā/, /ō/, /ū/ in accordance with the orthography of the text. On the other hand, I have tried to keep as close to the text as possible while elucidating the systemic differences between the three catechisms. Thus, I assume a diphthong [uo] in *muttin*, *somonentwey*, *taykowuns*, *patickots*, *gobuns*, *pergubuns*, *deiwuts*, *pugeitty*, *pogeitty*, where Klussis assumes /ō/ or /ū/. A similar diphthongization of /ē/ to [ie] is found in *bietis eden* and in the second and third catechisms. Conversely, I assume diphthongization of /ū/ to [ou] in *Thou* (10x) and *noumans*, but not in *Sunun*, *Sunos*, *nuson* [nūson] (cf. already Saussure 1892: 80-82), and /ī/ to [ei] in *widekausan* [weidikausan], *preiken*, *scrisits* [skreisits], *leiginwey*, *geiwans*, *geiwin*, *auschantnikamans* [aušautneikamans], *staweidan*, *polleygo*, *deyg*, *steweydan*. Klussis assumes a distinction between short and long diphthongs, as in Latvian (1995: 54f.), e.g. /twaisei deiwas/, /lānkinan deinan/, /preīken/,

/wāikan/, /aīnan/, /zamāi/, /perēisei/, /twajs kwāits/, /atwērpeis/, /wargan/, for which I do not see sufficient evidence. In the short vowels I assume a recent distinction between /a/, /o/, /u/ (cf. Kortlandt 1988: 90 f.), e.g. *dangon, po Pontio Pylato, encops, grecon, nuson, poganans, Sunos, polleygo*, where Klussis assumes /u/ or /a/. I have been inconsistent in writing [e] for initial /a/ in *an* (5x), *anterpinsquan, att skiwuns, At skisenna, atwerpeis, atwer pimay, att werpsannan*, and for the final vowel of *assa* (6x), where I assume voiceless /s/ instead of Klussis' voiced /z/. I agree with Klussis that it is better to assume intervocalic voiced /z/ instead of voiceless /s/ in *wismosing(is)* and *scrisits*, also in *Jesus, Jesum* (where Klussis' /Jēsun/ must be corrected), and perhaps similarly in *Vnsey, is rankeis, kodesnimma*. These phonological differences account for most of the discrepancies between the two transcriptions given above. Additional points to be mentioned here are the initial consonant of *Wuschts* (cf. Kortlandt 1998b: 125), the voiceless consonant of *Dröffs*, and the pretonic vowel of *segeitty* (2x).

2. Morphology. I assume different case endings in the following 35 instances, which are listed here in the order in which they appear in the text: [desimts] 'ten', which may be a lapsus, [muotien], [patiniskwan], [mergwan], [teneison], [zemien], [naseilin], which must probably be corrected to [naseiljan] (cf. Kortlandt 1997: 158), [tirtien], [galans] (plural form), [unsei], [naseilin] (to be corrected to *-jan*), [krikstiāniskwan], [perōniskwan swintan], [menšon] or rather [menson] (plural form, cf. Derksen 1998: 134), [prābutskwan geiwien], [tāwe] (2x), [emnes] (based on the accusative *emnen*), [sien], [zemien], [nūson] (plural form, cf. Kortlandt 1998b: 128), [geitien], [šien] (cf. Kortlandt 1983: 314), [ēdin] (*i*-stem), [geitien], [stesmu], [bētin ēdin] (attraction), [stesmu], [nawans] (masc. form), [majan kraujan], [kudesnami] (doubtful). Almost half of these have diphthongal endings, where Klussis assumes single vowels. I cannot follow Klussis' interpretation of *katanassen* (1995: 58, cf. already Van Wijk 1918: XXIV for a similar view). In the verb, the discrepancies between the two transcriptions given above are the following: [teikuowuns] (cf. Kortlandt 1989: 110), [gemons], [sindans], [perjeis] (cf. Kortlandt 1998b: 126), [isrankeis] (cf. Kortlandt 1982: 8), [dinkawuts ba lēmuts] (cf. Van Wijk 1918: 43), [segeiti] (cf. Kortlandt 1982: 7), [puojeiti] (cf. Kortlandt 1982: 8; Klussis' /immaiti ba pūjaiti/ must be corrected to /imaiti ba pūjati/, cf. 1995: 67), [palēitan] (cf. Kortlandt 1998b: 124).

3. Syntax. Apart from the elimination of the Prussian articles and the change of word order in the Ten Commandments, Klussis has introduced the following syntactic discrepancies in his reconstruction: *preyleiginwey* /ligintwei/, *thu asse* /asei/, *ymaity stwen, edeitte* /imaiti, ēdeiti/, *prey mayan menissnan* /maise minītun/, *jnmaitty stwen, bla pugeitty* /im(m)aiti,

ba pūja(i)ti/, *pray att werpsannan grekun* /grēkamans atwērtun/, *pray maian menisnan* /maise minitun/. All of these emendations are based on the East Baltic evidence and meant to eliminate “calqued German *zu* = *prei*”, “calqued German *der du bist*”, *stwen* which “calques the German *hin*”, *prei* which is “calqued from German”, etc. (Klussis 1995: 61, 62, 66 f.).

4. Lexicon. Klussis adopts the following corrections from the Second Catechism: II *reddi, pagauts, Etwerpsennian, ryeky* for I *falsch, patickots, Et werpsannan, laeims*. He changes *poganans* to /pagōnans/ in order to restore “the authentic Prussian form of this Prussian (not German) Polonism” (1995: 64). This emendation is characteristic of the main objection which can be raised to his reconstruction of the text: the eagerness to eliminate all German influence brings his interpretation closer to an East Baltic prototype than is warranted by the Prussian material as it has come down to us.

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