



A NOTE ON THE TRADITION OF THE OLD PRUSSIAN GrH

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Introduction

It is known that the second extant Old Prussian dictionary (the so-called Grunau's Vocabulary = Gr) was included by the monk Simon Grunau from Tolkemit (cf. Yčas 1922) in his Prussian Chronicle (*Preussische Chronik*), which was written between 1517 and 1526 (cf. Perlbach et al. 1875-1889, pp. 92-93). It is proposed that the Gr was created and used for religious or administrative aims, but the assumption was also proposed that Grunau rewrote an already existing (German-Latin?) textbook of conversational speech (cf. Rosenkranz 1957).

The original Gr does not survive today. There exist only several copies dating to different epochs, created by different people and published by modern scholars.

GrA, from the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century, was kept in the university library of Königsberg. GrC, dating to approximately 1750, was kept in the Königsberg city archives. GrG was discovered in Göttingen and published by E. Hermann (1949); the order of words there is different, and probably, more ancient than in GrA; there are several new lemmas, and some lemmas are absent (notably, the absence of foreign words). A copy of GrF was found in 1970 and is kept in the Helsinki Library (cf. Kiparsky 1968, 1970); T.S.B. Regiomontanus, the author of GrF, translated Prussian forms to Latin, making many mistakes; the relationship of this text to others is rather complicated, but several common errors compel one to suppose the presence of one archetype for GrC and GrF.

Finally, GrH is the name given to the text which Christoph Hartknoch published in two of his books.

As I already mentioned elsewhere (cf. Dini 1997: 242 footnote 27) the two versions of GrH published at Hartknoch's differ from each other in several minor instances. Until now this fact was not yet noticed. To observe it properly and to comment on this peculiarity is the aim of the present short note.



Two variants of Hartknoch's *GrH*

A text of Grunau's Vocabulary is to be found in the *Dissertatio V, De lingua Veterum Prussorum Dissertatio* (cf. Hartknoch 1679: 89-90) whereas the other one is to be found in the 4th chapter of the first part of the book *Alt- und Neues Preußen* (cf. Hartknoch 1684: 95-96).

IV. Verūmenimverō Iubet etiam ex Simone Grunovio Catalogum quarundam Prussicarum vocum annexere, ut eō pleniorē de veteri lingua Prussica, quae jam jam animam agit, imō propemodum jam extincta est, inde cognitionem hauriamus:

Devus Gott.	Ruggis Koggen.
Angol Engel.	Gayde Gerst.
Maifta Städt.	Mayse Weyzen.
Ludis Mensch.	Wyfge Haber.
Caymo Dorff.	Geyto Brod.
Camnel Pferdt.	Sause Teig.
Cluth ein Kuh.	Pogeys trincke.
Sangor Zund.	Walge esser.
Ricke Herr.	Wymis spey.
Wunda Wasser.	Plavis bezahle.
Pevo Bier.	Crage Kanne.
	m Skuara

From Hartknoch 1679, p. 89

Was für Dialecti in der alten Preussischen Sprach gefunden werden?

Aus diesem allen nun ist zu ersehen/ daß diese beyde Auffertigungen des Preussischen Catechismi von einander nicht sonderlich / von der Redensart aber / die bey dem Grunovio zu finden/ gar sehr unterschieden sind. Darnach wird auch ein fleißiger Leser leicht urtheilen können / daß kein Ding dem andern ähnlicher seyn kan / als wie der alten Preussen und der im Mecklenburgischen Herzogthum wohnenden Werlen Sprachen einander gleich seynd. Denn wenn man das Vater unser / wie es bey dem Wolffgango Lazio zu finden/ mit dem Alt-Preussischen Vater unser auf dem Grunovio dagegen hält / wird mans befinden / daß sie fast von Wort zu Wort gleich lauten. Über dieses wollen wir / damit also nichts fehlen möge / auf dem Grunawen ein Register vieler Alt-Preussischen Wörter beybringen / dadurch denn das / was bisher erwiesen / mehr und mehr kan bestätigt werden.

Des Grunawen Register.

Devus Gott.	Caymo Dorff.
Angol Engel.	Camnel Pferdt.
Maifta Städt.	Cluth eine Kuh.
Ludis Mensch.	Sangor Hund.
	Ricke Herr.
	Wunda Wasser.
	Pevo Bier.
	Skavvca Sau.
	Debica Groß.
	Ganna Hausfrau.
	Ruggis Koggen.
	Gayde Gerst.
	Mayse Weizen.
	Wyfge Haber.
	Geyto Brod.
	Sause Teig.
	Pogeys Trincke.
	Walge Esser.
	Wymis Spey.
	Plavis Bezahle.
	Crage Kanne.
	Aucte Butter.
	Paute Eyer.
	Skunna Schrein.
	Docti Tochter.
	Tave Vater.
	Sus Jahr.
	Peile Käse.

Sal.

From Hartknoch 1684, p. 95

Both texts count 95 words and at a first glance they really appear very similar. Nevertheless several minor differences emerge as the result of an accurate analysis.

In the following simple scheme I present the material. The column on the left shows the text of 1679 and the column on the right that of 1684. The order of the words in the two texts does not coincide. Below the order of the words of the younger text (see numbers) has been adapted to that of the older one:

N.ro	GrH ¹ (1679)	N.ro	GrH ² (1684)
1	<i>Devus GOtt.</i>	1	<i>Devus Gott.</i>
2	<i>Angol Engel.</i>	2	<i>Angol Engel.</i>
3	<i>Maifta Stadt.</i>	3	<i>Maifta Stadt.</i>
4	<i>Ludis Menfch.</i>	4	<i>Ludis Menfch.</i>
5	<i>Caymo Dorff.</i>	5	<i>Caymo Dorff.</i>
6	<i>Cammel Pferdt.</i>	6	<i>Cammel Pferdt.</i>
7	<i>Cluth ein Kuh.</i>	7	<i>Cluth eine Kuh.</i>
8	<i>Sangor Hund.</i>	8	<i>Sangor Hund.</i>
9	<i>Ricke Herr.</i>	9	<i>Ricke Herr.</i>
10	<i>Wunda Waffer.</i>	10	<i>Wunda Waffer.</i>
11	<i>Pevo Bier.</i>	11	<i>Pevvo Bier.</i>
12	<i>Ruggis Roggen.</i>	15	<i>Ruggis Roggen.</i>
13	<i>Gayde Gerft.</i>	16	<i>Gayde Gerft.</i>
14	<i>Mayfe Weyzen.</i>	17	<i>Mayfe Weitzen.</i>
15	<i>Wysge Haber.</i>	18	<i>Wysge Haber.</i>
16	<i>Geyto Brodt.</i>	19	<i>Geyto Brodt.</i>
17	<i>Saufe Teig.</i>	20	<i>Saufe Teig.</i>
18	<i>Pogeys trincke.</i>	21	<i>Pogeys Trincke</i>
19	<i>Walge effet.</i>	22	<i>Walge Effet.</i>
20	<i>Wyms fpey.</i>	23	<i>Wyms Spey.</i>
21	<i>Plavis bezahle.</i>	24	<i>Plavis Bezahle.</i>
22	<i>Crage Kanne.</i>	25	<i>Crage Kanne.</i>
23	<i>Skaura Saw.</i>	12	<i>Skavvca Saw.</i>
24	<i>Debica groß.</i>	13	<i>Debica Groß.</i>
25	<i>Ganna Hausfraw</i>	14	<i>Ganna Haußfrau</i>
26	<i>Docti Tochter.</i>	29	<i>Docti Tochter.</i>
27	<i>Tave Vater.</i>	30	<i>Tave Vater.</i>
28	<i>Sus Jahr.</i>	31	<i>Sus Jahr.</i>
29	<i>Peile Käß.</i>	32	<i>Peile Käfe.</i>
30	<i>Salme Stroh.</i>	33	<i>Salme Stroh.</i>

N.ro	GrH ¹ (1679)	N.ro	GrH ² (1684)
31	<i>Puncka Acker.</i>	34	<i>Puncka Acker.</i>
32	<i>Malko holen.</i>	35	<i>Malko Holen.</i>
33	<i>Widra Wind.</i>	36	<i>Widea Wind.</i>
34	<i>Galbo Haupt.</i>	37	<i>Galbo Haupt.</i>
35	<i>Ranko Hand.</i>	38	<i>Ranko Hand.</i>
36	<i>Wielna Rock.</i>	39	<i>Wielna Rock.</i>
37	<i>Norte Hembd.</i>	40	<i>Norte Hemd.</i>
38	<i>Licte Licht.</i>	41	<i>Licte Licht.</i>
39	<i>Gotte Haut.</i>	42	<i>Gotte Haut.</i>
40	<i>Saycka Sack.</i>	43	<i>Saycka Sack.</i>
41	<i>Gerbeyfsa Beichten.</i>	44	<i>Gerbeyffa Beichten.</i>
42	<i>Grekoy Sünden.</i>	45	<i>Grekoy Sünden.</i>
43	<i>Kirkoy Kirchen.</i>	46	<i>Kirkoy Kirche.</i>
44	<i>Pafoygu fasten.</i>	47	<i>Pafoygu Fasten.</i>
45	<i>Kekyris Erbßen.</i>	48	<i>Kekyris Erbfen.</i>
46	<i>Peinnes Weck.</i>	49	<i>Peinnes Weck.</i>
47	<i>Meikte Schlaff.</i>	50	<i>Meikte Schlaff.</i>
48	<i>Salli Salz.</i>	51	<i>Salli Saltz.</i>
49	<i>Chelmo Hut.</i>	52	<i>Chelmo Hut.</i>
50	<i>Gertis Hund.</i>	53	<i>Gertis Hund.</i>
51	<i>Abbas Wagen.</i>	54	<i>Abbas Wagen.</i>
52	<i>Sneko Schnee.</i>	55	<i>Sneko Schnee.</i>
53	<i>Salta halt.</i>	56	<i>Salta Halt.</i>
54	<i>Liurti klein.</i>	57	<i>Liurti Klein.</i>
55	<i>Supana Braut.</i>	58	<i>Supana Braut.</i>
56	<i>Mutte Mutter.</i>	59	<i>Mutte Mutter.</i>
57	<i>Haltnika Kind.</i>	60	<i>Haltnika Kind.</i>
58	<i>Schoftro Schwester.</i>	61	<i>Schoftro Schwester.</i>
59	<i>Labbis Gutt.</i>	62	<i>Labbis Gutt.</i>
60	<i>Aucte Butter.</i>	26	<i>Aucte Butter.</i>
61	<i>Paute Eyer.</i>	27	<i>Paute Eyer.</i>
62	<i>Skunna Schrein.</i>	28	<i>Skunna Schrein.</i>
63	<i>Heida Herdt.</i>	63	<i>Heida Herdt.</i>
64	<i>Linno Flachs.</i>	64	<i>Linno Flachs.</i>
65	<i>Gnapfen Hanf.</i>	65	<i>Gnapfen Hanff.</i>
66	<i>Scuto Zwirn.</i>	66	<i>Scuto Zwirn.</i>
67	<i>Woykello Knecht.</i>	67	<i>Woykello Knecht.</i>
68	<i>Calte eine Marck.</i>	68	<i>Calte ein Marck.</i>
69	<i>Peifda der Arfch.</i>	69	<i>Peifda der Arfch.</i>
70	<i>Lapinna Geboth.</i>	70	<i>Lappinna Geboth.</i>

N.ro	GrH ¹ (1679)	N.ro	GrH ² (1684)
71	<i>Pipelko Vogel.</i>	71	<i>Pipelko Vogel.</i>
72	<i>Comatir Gevatter</i>	72	<i>Comatir Gefatter.</i>
73	<i>Sau dey geh weg.</i>	73	<i>Sau dey Geh weg.</i>
74	<i>Dirfos gintos from̃ Mann.</i>	74	<i>Dirfos gintos fromm Mann.</i>
75	<i>Manga Hure.</i>	75	<i>Manga Hure.</i>
76	<i>Tirtters ein Wächter.</i>	76	<i>Tirtters ein Wächter.</i>
77	<i>Ni koyten wiltu nicht.</i>	77	<i>Nikoyten wiltu nicht.</i>
78	<i>Wabelko Apffel.</i>	78	<i>Wabelko Apffel.</i>
79	<i>Bila Beyl.</i>	79	<i>Bila Beyl.</i>
80	<i>Moska Leimet.</i>	80	<i>Moska Leimet.</i>
81	<i>Angle Nolden.</i>	81	<i>Angle Nolden.</i>
82	<i>Glaffo Glaß.</i>	82	<i>Glaffo Glaß.</i>
83	<i>Mergus Magd.</i>	83	<i>Mergus Magd.</i>
84	<i>Kurpe Schuh.</i>	84	<i>Curpe Schuh.</i>
85	<i>Pomeles lecke.</i>	85	<i>Pomeles Lecke.</i>
86	<i>Deyn Tag.</i>	86	<i>Deyn Tag.</i>
87	<i>Imays nimb.</i>	87	<i>Imays Nim.</i>
88	<i>Saydit hũte dich.</i>	88	<i>Saydit hũte dich.</i>
89	<i>Pirmas zum erften.</i>	89	<i>Pirmas zum erften.</i>

One observes the following important shifts in GrH² with respect to GrH¹: after 14 *Ganna* one encounters 29 *Docti*; after 62 *Labbis* one encounters 26 *Aucte*; after 28 *Skunna* one encounters 63 *Heida*.

Different and common features of the two GrH variants

The differences between the two German columns are quite numerous. They are, however, mostly of graphic nature. Among them one distinguishes the following cases.

- a) Use of small vs. capital letter at the beginning of a word (14 ex.): 18 *trincke* ~ 21 *Trincke*; 19 *effet* ~ 22 *Effet*; 20 *spey* ~ 23 *Spey*; 21 *bezahle* ~ *Bezahle*; 24 *groß* ~ 13 *Groß*; 32 *holen* ~ 35 *Holen*; 44 *fasten* ~ 47 *Fasten*; 53 *halt* ~ 56 *Halt*; 54 *klein* ~ 57 *Klein*; 73 *geh* ~ 73 *Geh*; 85 *lecke* ~ 85 *Lecke*; 87 *nimb* ~ 87 *Nim*; 90 *komm* ~ 90 *Komm*; 95 *rot* ~ 95 *Rot*.
- b) Various other different graphic representations (10 ex.): 1 *GOtt* ~ 1 *Gott*; 14 *Weyzen* ~ 17 *Weitzen*; 25 *Hausfraw* ~ 14 *Haußfrau*; 29 *Kaß* ~ 32 *Kåße*; 36 *Hemdb* ~ *Hemd*; 44 *Erbßen* ~ 48 *Erbfen*; 47 *Salz* ~ 51 *Saltz*; 64 *Hanf* ~ 65 *Hanff*; 71 *Gevatter* ~ 72 *Gefatter*; 73 *from̃* ~ 74 *fromm*; 87 *nimb* ~ 87 *Nim*.

- c) Presence vs. absence of the period after the word (4 ex.): 39 *Haut.* ~ 42 *Haut*; 66 *Žwirn.* ~ 66 *Žwirn*; 71 *Vogel.* ~ 71 *Vogel*; 93 *er ift* ~ 93 *er ift*.
Other differences concern the morphology:
- d) A different grammatical gender of a word is given (2 ex.): 7 *ein Kuh* ~ 7 *eine Kuh*; 68 *eine Marck* ~ 68 *ein Marck*.
- e) A different grammatical number of a word is given (only 1 ex.): 43 *Kirchen* ~ *Kirche*.

More interesting are the differences one can observe between the two Old Prussian columns. Differently from the German texts there are only a few discrepant cases. Despite the scarce quantity they are not always easy to classify. In the majority of the cases one observes a redoubling of a grapheme inside a word (4 ex.):

- d) Writing of <v> ~ <u> vs. <vv> for /v/ (2 ex.): 11 *Pevo* ~ 11 *Pevvo*; 21 *Plavis* ~ 24 *Plavvis*; 23 *Skaura* ~ 12 *Skavvca*.
- e) Writing of <p> vs. <pp> for /p/ (1 ex.): 70 *Lapinna* ~ 70 *Lappinna*.
- f) Writing of <ls> vs. <ll> for /s/ (1 ex.): 41 *Gerbeyfsa* ~ 44 *Gerbeyffa*.
- g) Writing of <K> vs. <C> for /k/ (1 ex.): 83 *Kurpe* ~ *Curpe*.
- h) Writing of <r> vs. <e> for /r/ (1 ex.): 33 *Widra* ~ *Widea*.
- i) Different writing, e.g.: 90 *Mangofon* ~ *Mangafon*.
- l) The negative particle has been vs. has not been merged with the verb (1 ex.): 77 *Ni koyten* ~ 77 *Nikoyten*.

All the above mentioned differences between the two variants GrH¹ and GrH² are nevertheless of minor significance in comparison with the many common mistakes one can observe. In the following I am going to point out just the biggest ones.

- 1) The sequence: 13 *Gayde* ~ *Gerft*, and 14 *Mayfe* ~ *Weyzen* is the same both in GrH¹ and in GrH². It should be actually changed to: 13 *Gayde* ~ *Weyzen*, and 14 *Mayfe* ~ *Gerft*.
- 2) The entries 28 and 29 both in GrH¹ and in GrH² need an emendation: 28 *Sus* (read *<Sur>, cf. Lith. *sūris* ‘cheese’) corresponds to 29 *Kaß* (cf. German *Käse* ‘cheese’); both GrH variants show here the lack of correspondence for OPr. *Peile* and for German *Jahr*.
- 3) Both GrH¹ and GrH² show the same entries in *Liurti* “small” different from any other extant Gr.

These and many other minor common mistakes confirm the supposition that the two extant GrH variants derive from an archetype. This should be very close to GrA as is proved by the common lack of 10 headwords (cf. Hermann 1949: 160). It is not even to be excluded that with respect to GrA, GrH is a codex descriptus. It is noteworthy that both works of Hartknoch were published in Königsberg and kept in the library of the same town together with the original of GrA.



GrH in the investigations on Gr

The GrH is generally the less quoted and used copy of the Grunau's Vocabulary. This is probably due to the fact that it is the youngest and the only printed (i.e. not a manuscript) copy.

Among the specialists in Old Prussian of the 19th century Nesselmann is the one who paid most attention to the data from GrH. Nesselmann (1845: xi-xiv) gives his own transcription of the Gr (from Perlbach's edition) and mentions GrH: «Die Abweichungen bei Hartknoch zeige ich nur an, wenn sie wesentlich, nicht, wenn sie bloß orthographisch sind.» (ibid., xi, footnote 5). The words he really quotes (almost always in the footnotes) from GrH are: *Caymo*, *Cluth*, *Geyto*, *Teig*, *Plawis* [sic], *Skawca* [sic], *Sus*, *Puncka*, *Heida* "Herdt", *Gnabsen*, *Camnel*, *Sangor*, *holen*, *Wydea*, *Gotte* "Haut", *Pafoygu*, *Kekyris*, *Peinnes* "Weck", *Salli*, *Gertis* "Hund", *halt*, *Liurti*, *Mutte*, *Skunna* "Schrein", *Comatir*, *Saudey*, *Tirters* "Wächter", *Ni koyten*, *Eugeke*. Nesselmann also observes the absence in GrH of the following words (with respect to GrG): GrG *Merga* "Jungckfrau", *Noye* "Beine", *Crayse* "Brey", *Kyrteis* "Slo". Nesselmann knew about the existence of two GrH, but from these data one sees that he quoted only GrH²; in fact some of the above listed lemmas are to be found only in the newest and most well known work of Hartknoch such as: 36 *Wydea* (vs. 33 *Widra*).

Although considering Grunau an «arger Phantast», Bezzenberger (1874: 1227) devoted careful attention to the data of Gr (cf. 1226-1230) but he did not even quote the variant published by Hartknoch.

As for the treatment of GrH Berneker (1896: 273-277) followed Nesselmann but he mentioned still fewer (26 vs. 29) lemmas from GrH and all (not respecting the original) with the small initial letter: *caymo*, *cluth*, *camnel*, *sangor*, *holen*, *geyto*, *haut*, *wyms*, *plawis*, *pafoygu*, *skawca*, *kekyris*, *peines* "weck", *salli*, *sus* "iar", *iurti*, *puncka*, *heida*, *mutte*, *gnabsen*, *comatir*, *saudey*, *tirters* "Wachter", *ni koyten*, *eugeke*, *warum*.

Trautmann (1910: xxvi) mentions the existence of the copies of Gr in the two works by Hartknoch, but does not cited any words from them.

No mention of GrH is to be found either in Endzelin (1944: 13-14) or in Stang (1975). Neither does Mažiulis (1966: 31-33 and 249-252).

Mažiulis (1981: 47-61), however, cites 9 words from GrH: *camnel*, *langor*, *geyto*, *wyms*, *falli*, *gnabfen*, *lkunna*, *heida*, *warum*. I must confess that I do not understand the reason for these quotations because there are other much more interesting words which have not been cited. All these forms are attested both in GrH¹ and in GrH². One should however observe that in the original texts all those words have a capital letter at the beginning. I guess Mažiulis simply took



these words from Berneker with <ſ> instead of <s>; this is suggested also by a common mistake: both have wrongly transcribed <gnabfen> whilst the originals of Hartknoch show rather <Gnapfen>.

The situation has not essentially changed at present. Thus, GrH is never quoted in the more recent investigations devoted to Gr (like e.g. at Vykupěl 1998ab) and it has been only sporadically (I would say asystematically, i.e. according to Mažiulis 1981) quoted in TITUS both by F. Kortlandt and W. Euler.

The quality and quantity of the common Leitfehler between GrH¹ and GrH² assure that the two texts are based on a common (of course lost) archetype. I hope the observations presented above will be convincing enough for distinguishing a GrH¹ from a GrH². The question arises if the above discussed differences are to be merely considered mechanical mistakes of the typesetter or not. Anyway I think there is no sufficient reason to leave this Old Prussian monument out of consideration in investigating the Old Prussian language.

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