

folgende Alternative: 1. < balt. *kerdā (apr. *kerdan* 'Zeit'), 2. < urgerm. **χerðā* (ahd. *herta* 'Wechsel'). Nun werden in SKES s.v. *fi. haava* 'Wunde; Mal', das von DIEFENBACH⁷ als germanisches Lehnwort (dt. *hauen* usw.) gedeutet wird – eine Ansicht, die neuerdings auch KOIVULEHTO vertritt – als Parallelen für die Entwicklung der Bedeutung 'Mal' in den Wendungen *täällä haavaa* 'diesmal', *yhtä haavaa* 'einmal' usw., estn. *haaval* 'auf einmal' aus einer älteren 'Schlag, Hieb', lit. *kařtas* 'Mal', eigtl. 'Schlag, Hieb' (*kertū* 'ich schlage', slav. *razb* id., *raziti* 'schlagen', ukr. *vraza* 'Wunde' und fr. *coup* 'Schlag': *à tous coups* 'jedesmal' genannt. Dem in Rede stehenden ostseefinnischen Wort könnte im Lichte dieses Befundes auch ein urbaltisches **kirtā* zugrunde liegen, vgl. apr. *kirtis* 'Schlag' – das im Hinblick auf lit. *kiřtis* 'Hieb, Schlag, Streich, Narbe' wohl kein **kirtas* vertritt –, das u.a. in altruss. *čьrta* 'Linie', russ. *čertá* 'Linie, Grenze, Rand' (vgl. lit. *kirtà*) seine Kognaten hat⁸.

Baltic-Fennic reflexes of Baltic liquid diphthongs
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In the paper it is argued that Baltic-Fennic *-erC* resp. *-ä(ä)rC* corresponding to Lith. *-irC* in Baltic loanwords does not reflect pre-Baltic **ʃ* as proposed by Collinder, but is rather due to preceding *h* or *k*. In the light of this hypothesis a new explanation for *fi. kerta* 'x-times; layer' is proposed.

⁷ Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, Frankfurt am Main 1851.
⁸ V.N. TOPOROV, *Prusskij jazyk*, K-L, Moskau 1984.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE OLD PRUSSIAN CATECHISMS*

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Elsewhere I have presented a comparative analysis of the three Old Prussian catechisms (1998). I first put together the three texts which translate the same German original. The collation will be reproduced here for the sake of reference.

I (1545)	II (1545)	E (1561)
Staeÿ dessempts Pallapsaey.	Staeÿ dessimpts Pallapsaey.	Stai Dessimton Pallaipsai.
Pirmas.	Pirmois.	Stas Pirmois Pallaips.
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.	Stas Antars Pallaips.
Thou <i>ny</i> tur schan emnen twayse deiwas <i>ny</i> anterpinsquan menentwey	Tou <i>ni</i> tur sten emnen twayse dey- was nienbânden westwey.	Tou turri stan Emnan twaysei Dei- was ni enbândan westwei.
Tirts.	Tirtis.	Stas Tîrts Pallaips.
Thou tur schan lankenân deinan swintintwey.	Tou tur stan lankinan deynan swyntintwey.	Tou turri stan Lânkinan Deinan Swintint.

* This contribution was presented at the 8th International Congress of Baltic Linguistics, Vilnius, October 1997.

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 Tâwan bhe Mûtien smûnint.
Penckts.	Pyienkts.	<i>Stas Piêncts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur gallintwey.	Tou ni tur gallintwey.	Tou niturri gallintwei.
Wuschts.	Vsts.	<i>Stas Vschts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur pattinskun 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 Rânctwei.
Asmus.	Asmus.	<i>Stas Asmus Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur falsch widekausnan waitiatun preiken twaian tawischen	Tou ni tur reddi weydikausnan waytaton preyken twayien tau- wyschen.	Tou niturri reddewijdikausnan dâtwei prijki twaian tawischan.
Newints.	Newyntz.	<i>Stas Newînts 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 Dessîmts Pallaips.</i>
Thou ny tur pallapsittwey twaisei tawischis gennan, waikan, merg- wan, pecku, adder 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, Mêrgan, Peckan, adder ka tennêison ast.
Stas Dröffs.	Stan Druwin.	<i>Stas Swînts 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 assastan swintan naseilen, Gem- mons assastan jungkfrawen 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,	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 bhe enquoptzt. Semmay lysons prey pykullien, An tirtien deynan etskyuns hæse gallans. Vnsei gubons nadengon. Syndens preytickaray deywas wysssen mukis thawas,	As drewê 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 Marian, Stînon po Pontio Pilato, Skrîsits, Aulauns, bhe en- kopts, Semmailjons prei Pickullien, Entîrtan deinan etskiuns esse gallan, Vnsaigû- bons no Dangon, Sîdons prei tickrômien Deiwas <i>steise</i> wissemusîngin Tawas

Stwendau per-
gubuns wirst
preyleiginwey stans
geiwans bha
aulauwussens.

Stwendau
wirst pergubons
leygenton stæns
geywans bhe
aulaunsins.

isquen dau *tâns*
pergûbons wijrst,
prei ligint stans
gijwans bhe
aulausins.

As drowe an
swintan naseilen,
Ainan swintan
krixtianiskun kir-
kin, *Ainan*
perronisquan
swintan,
Et werpsannan
grecon,
At skisen-
na menschon, Ba
prabitscun gei-
win. Amen.

Es drowy en
swyntan naseylien,
Aynan swyntan
krixtianisquan
kirken,
Perronisquan
swyntan,
Etwerpsennian
griquan,
Etskysnan
menses, Bhe pra-
busquan geywien,
Amen.

As Druwê ênstan
Swintan Noseilien
ainan Swintan
Cristiâniskan
kijrkin *Stan*
perôniskan
Swintan
etwerpsennian
steise grijkan
etskîsnan
mensas, bhe
ainan prâbut-
skan gijwan, AMEN.

Sta Thawe nuson.

Stan Thawe nouson.

Stas Tâwa Noû-
son.

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

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

Tâwa Noûson kas
tu essei Endangon.
Swintints
wirst twais Emnes.
Perêit
twais Rijks.
Twaits Quâits
Audâsin,
kâgi Endan-
gon *tijt dêigi*
nosemien.

na sem-
mey key audangon.
Nusan deini-
nan geittin dais
numons schin-
deinan. Bha
atwerpeis noumans
nuson auschautins,
kay mas
atwer pimay

nasemmey kay
endengan,
Nouson deyninan
geytiey days
noumans schian
deynan. Bhæ
etwerpeis noumans
nouson anschautins,
kay mes
etwerpymay

Nouson deinennin
geitien dais noû-
mans schan
deinan. Bhe
etwerpeis noûmas
nousons âu-
schautins, kai mes
etwêrpimai

nuson
auschantnikamans.
Bha ny wedais mans
enperban-
dan. Sclait is
rankeis mans assa
wargan. Amen.

nouson an-
schautinekamans.
Bhæ ni wedeys mans
enperbandasnan.
Slait is
rankeis mans æsse
wargan. Emmen.

noûsons au-
schautenîkamans.
Bhe ni weddeis mans
emperbandâsnan.
Schlâit isrankeis
mans, esse *wissan*
wargan. AMEN.

Assa stan
Crixtisnan.

Assæ stan
Crixtisnan.

Stas Sacraments
stessei *swintan*
cixtisnan.

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

Nouson rykyes
Jsus Chricstus
byla prey *swayiens*
maldaysins,
Jeiti
en *wysson* swytan,
mukineyti *wyssens*

Kâigi Noûson Rikijs
Jesus Christs
bille, *prei* Markon
en pansadaumannien,
Jeiti *stwen*,
enwissan swîtan,
mukinaity *wissans*
amsin adder

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
steise Tâwas,
bhe *steise* Saûnas
bhe *steise* Swintan
Noseilis.

Kas drowe bha
cixtits wirst,
stas wirst
deiwwuts, *Kas aber*
nidruwe, stas
wirst proklantz.

Kas druwe bhæ
cixteits wirst,
stes wirst
deywuts, kas
nidruwe, stes
wirst preclantyts.

Kas stwi druwê bhe
Cixtits wijrst,
stas wijrst
Deiwuts, kas *adder*
ni Druwe, stas
wijrst perklantz.

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 daits swaimans maldaisemans bha belats, ymaity stwen, edeitte, sta ast mais ker- mens, kas perwans dats wirst, staweydan segeitty prey mayan menissnan.	Nouson reykeis Jsus Chricstus anstan naktin kaden proweladin, ymmeits sten geytien, dinkautzt bhe lymuczt, bhe 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.	Noûson Rikijs Jesus Christus, ênstan Nack- tien, kaden tans prawilts <i>postâi</i> , imma <i>tans</i> stan- geitin dînkauts bhe lîmauts, bhe dai swaimans, maldaisimans, bhe billâts, immaiti stwen, îdeiti, sta ast mais kêrmens, kas pêrwans dâts wîrst, Sta- wîdan seggîtei prei maian pominisnan.

Stasma polleygo jmmitz deyg stan kelkan pho stan 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.	Stæsmu poleygo ymmeyts deygi 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.	Stesmu empolijgu immats dijgi stan Kelkin pobîtas îdin, Dinkauts, bhe dai stan <i>steimans</i> 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 prei maian pominîsnan.
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Then I eliminated the orthographical differences between the three versions while maintaining the distinction between linguistic variants. Finally I assigned separate phonemic interpretations to the three versions on the basis of my review of the historical evidence (1988). I concluded that the three texts basically represent three successive stages in the development of the moribund Prussian language. Here I shall give a systematic account of the main differences between the three versions.

The phonological differences between the three catechisms largely result from the diphthongization of monophthongs and the monophthongization of diphthongs:

(1) *ē > I [ē] > II [ie] > E [ī].

I turrettwey, II turryetwey, E turrîtwei.

I stenuns, II styienuns, E stînons.

I lesuns, II lysons, E lisons.

I grecon, II griquan, E grijkan.

I swetan, II swytan, E swîtan.

I bietis eden, II bytis ydi, (E steisei altari.)

I edeitte, II ydieyti, E îdeiti.

I betten eden, II bitans ydi, E bîtas îdin.

I grekun, II griquan, E grijkan.

(2) *ēi > I [ēi] > II, E [iei].

I palletan, II praliten, E pralieiton.

(3) *ēn > I [ēn] > II, E [ien].

I penckts, II pyienkts, E piêncts.

(4) *ī > I, II [ei] > E [ī]. This close diphthong remains distinct from open *ei > I, II, E [æi].

I widekausnan, II weydikausnan, E wijdikausnan.

I preiken, II preyken, E prijki.

I scrisits, II skresitzt, E skrîsits.

I leiginwey, II leygenton, E ligint.

I geiwans, II geywans, E gijwans.

I geiwin, II geywien, E gijwan.

I auschantnikamans, II anschautinekamans, E
auschautenîkamans.

I crixtits, II crixteits, E crixtits.

I staweidan segeitty, II steweyden segeyti, E stawîdan
seggîtei.

I polleygo, II poleygo, E polijgu.

I deyg, II deysi, E dijgi.

I steweydan segeitty, II stewidan segeyti, E stawîdan seggîtei.

(5) *ā > *ō > I [uo] > II, E [ū].

I muttin, II mutien, E mûtien.

I somonentwey, II smunintwey, E smûnint.

I taykowuns, (II tykynnonns,) E teikûuns.

I patickots, (II pagauts, E pogauts.)

I gobuns, II gubons, E gûbons.

I pergubuns, II pergubons, E pergûbons.

I deiwuts, II deywuts, E deiwuts.

(6) *ōi > I [uoi] > II [ūi] > E [oui].

I pugeitty, II puieyti, E poieiti.

I pogeitty, II puieyti, cf. E poûis.

(7) *ū > I [ū] > II, E [ou].

I sunun nusun, II sounon nouson, E soûnon noûson.

I Thawe nuson, II Thawe nouson, E Tâwa noûson (2x).

I nusan, II, E nouson.

I numons, II noumans, E noûmans.

I, II noumans, E noûmas.

I nuson, II nouson, E nousons.

I nuson, II nouson, E noûsons.

I nuson, II nouson, E noûson.

I sunos, II sounons, E saûnas.

I nusen, II nouson, E noûson.

(8) *w > I [w] > II, E zero before rounded vowels.

I wuschts, II vsts, E vschts.

I taykowuns, (II tykynnonns,) E teikûuns.

I aulawns, II, E aulauns.

I att skiwuns, II etskyuns, E etskîuns.

I aulauwussens, II aulaunsins, E aulausins.

but: I deiwuts, II deywuts, E deiwuts.

I dinkowats, II dinkautzt, E dînkauts.

I dinkowatz, II dinkauczt, E dinkauts.

The declensional system was simplified by the elimination of irregular stem forms and endings:

(1) Replacement of i-, u- and consonant stems by a-stems.

I, II emnen, E emnan.

I tawischis, II tauwyschis, E tawischas.

I tawischis, II tauwyschies, E tawischas.

I, II pecku, E peckan.

I tirtin, II tirtien, E tîrtan.
 I geiwin, II geywien, E gijwan.
 (I laeims,) II ryeky, E rijks.
 I schin, II schian, E schan.
 I dins, II diens, E tennans.
 I sunos, II sounons, E saûnas.

(2) Regularization of a-stem endings.
 I, II mergwan, E mêrgan.
 I krixianiskun, II krichstianisquan, E crixtiâniskan.
 I perroniscon, II perronisquan, E perôniskan.
 I grecon, II griquan, E grijkan.
 I menschon, II menses, E mensas.
 I prabitscun, II prabusquan, E prábutskan.
 I grekun, II griquan, E grijkan.

(3) Elimination of the neuter gender.
 I sta Thawe nuson, II stan Thawe nouson, E stas Tâwa nouson.
 I sta nawans testamentan, II stæ neuwenen testamenten, E
 stas nauns testaments.
 I kha, II ka, E kas.

The conjugational system was simplified by a reduction of verbal categories:

(1) Replacement of the imperative by the indicative.
 I, II tur, E turri (10x).

(2) Replacement of the infinitives in -twey and -ton by -t.
 I swintintwey, II swyntintwey, E swintint.
 I somonentwey, II smunintwey, E smûnint.
 I leiginwey, II leygenton, E ligint.

(3) Elimination of the nasal infix.
 I sindats, II syndens, E sîdons.

(4) Replacement of the optative by the indicative.
 I pergeis, II pareyse, E perêit.
 I audasseisin, II audaseysin, E audâsin.

(5) Replacement of the preterit by the present tense.
 I bela, II byla, E bille.
 I ymmits, II ymmeits, E imma tans.
 I jmmitz, II ymmeyts, E immats.

(6) Replacement of the active by the passive preterit.
 I, II proweladin, E tans prawilts postâi.

(7) Replacement of the optative by the imperative? (cf. Kortlandt 1982: 7)

I segeitty, II segeyti, E seggîtei (2x).

There are various discrepancies in the numerals, pronouns and adverbs:

I dessempts, II dessimpts, E dessimton 'ten'.
 I pirmas, II, E pirmois.
 I tirts, II tirtis, E tîrts.
 I schan, II sten, E stan.
 I schan, II, E stan.
 I dins, II diens, E tennans.
 I ymmits, II ymmeits, E imma tans.
 I, II stwendau, E isquen dau.
 I preiken, II preyken, E prijki.
 I vnsey, II vnsei, E vnsai after semmai (Van Wijk 1918: 59).

The prefix and preposition *na* was replaced by *no* after *po* (Van Wijk 1918: 51):

I naseilen, II naseylien, E noseilien (2x).
 I andangon, II nadengon, E no dangon.
 I na semmey, II nasemmey, E nosemien.
 I naseilis, II naseylis, E noseilîs.

The main syntactic innovations are the following:

(1) Introduction of the definite article.

E steise wissemusingin tawas, ênstan swintan noseilien, stan perôniskan, steise grijkan, steise tâwas, steise saûnas, steise swintan noseilîs, stêison grijkan.

(2) Introduction of a possessive pronoun.

I **nuson** auschautins, II **nouson** anschautins, E **nousons** âschantins.

I **nuson** auschantnikamans, II **nouson** anschautinekamans, E **noûsons** auschautenîkamans.

(3) Loss of inflection in the adjective.

I **wismosingis** thawas, II **wyssen mukis** thawas, E **steise wissemusîngin** tawas.

I **swinte naseilis**, II **swyntas naseylis**, E **steise swintan noseilîs**.

Lexical changes comprise the following:

I **ny anterpinsquan** menentwey, II **nienbænden** westwey, E **ni enbândan** westwei.

I **pattiniskun**, II **salobisquan**, E **sallûban**.

I **falsch**, II **reddi**, E **redde**.

I **waitiatun**, II **waytaton**, E **dâtwei**.

I **wismosing**, II **wissemokin**, E **wissemusîngin**.

I **patickots**, II **pagauts**, E **pogauts**.

I **preitickray**, II **preytickaray**, E **prei tickrômien**.

I **wismosingis**, II **wyssen mukis**, E **wissemusîngin**.

I **et werpsannan**, II, E **etwerpsennian**.

I **laeims**, II **ryeky**, E **rijks**.

I **perbandan**, II **perbandasnan**, E **perbandâsnan**.

I **menissnan**, II **menisnan**, E **pominisnan**.

I **att werpsannan**, II **etwerpsennian**, E **etwerpsennien**.

I **menisnan**, II **minisnan**, E **pominîsnan**.

I conclude that the second catechism occupies an intermediate position between the first and the third. Since the three texts represent three distinct varieties of the Old Prussian language, they must be kept apart in an analysis of the material. The older catechisms reflect a linguistic system which is clearly more archaic than the language of the Enchiridion. They give us a glimpse of what Prussian must have looked like before it succumbed to the pervasive influence of German. The analysis offered here provides a temporal dimension which is crucial for a correct evaluation of the historical

development.

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Senujų prūsų katekizmų kalba

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Savo pranešime 1995 m. Eichstätt'o konferencijoje autorius parodė, kad *Enchiridiono* kalba yra vėlyvesnis ankstesniųjų katekizmų kalbų vystymosi rezultatas. Stipri vokiečių kalbos sintaksės įtaka yra logiškai laukiama neišvengiamoje kalbos mirties situacijoje. Idiosinkrazijų nuoseklumas Will'o tekste aiškiai rodo jo neabejotiną prūsų kalbos mokėjimą. Šiame straipsnyje autorius bando parodyti šitų atradimų pasekmes gramatinės sistemos analizei. Išreiškia nuomonę, kad neteisingas istorinės raidos suvokimas iššaukia klaidingų prūsų kalbos priešistorijos hipotezių gimimą.