

A Brief Description of Prussian Dialects

1. Samlandian

Samlandian, as one can judge from material of the three Old Prussian catechisms, is known in two dialects: that with a preserved Baltic long \bar{e} (the 1st Catechism), and that with a long \bar{i} in place of earlier Baltic \bar{e} (the 2nd and the 3rd Catechisms). Huge phonological and, as a result, morphonological deviations from the language of the Elbing Vocabulary (“Pamedian”) forced me to assume the language of the Catechisms being samlandized Sudovian of people resettled there by the German Order at the end of the 13th c.: all Samlandian geographical names were recorded in a “Pomesanian” phonetics from the very beginning, but the period of 200 years was not sufficient for huge phonological changes. As for the Catechisms, the vowel Balt. $*\bar{e}$ was narrowed to $*\bar{i}$ in initial, middle and unaccented final position in dialects of the 2nd and the 3rd Catechisms. However it survived in an accented final position as an allophone of $*\bar{e}i$ (cf. *giwei* $*[g\bar{i}v\bar{e}]$ III = $*g\bar{i}v\bar{e}$) due to a circumflex contraction of the accented diphthong $\bar{e}i > \bar{e}$ in reduced apocopated $*-\bar{e}j(a)$ endings¹. Long original Baltic \bar{u} and \bar{i} tended to be diphthongized, maybe due to Yatvingian process $\bar{u} < \bar{o}$, \bar{a} (< West-Balt. \bar{o}) after labials and guttural consonants (attested in Yatvingian territory, *Gubiniten* 1259).

1. Vocals:

		long		short	
the 1 st Cat.		the 2 nd , the 3 rd Cat.			
$*\bar{u}$	$*\bar{i}$	$*\bar{u}$	$*\bar{i}$	$*u$	$*i$
$*\bar{o}$	$*\bar{e}$	$*\bar{o}$	$*ei$ ($*\bar{e}i$) / \bar{e}		
$*\bar{a}$		$*\bar{a}$		$*a$	$*e$

Diphthongs were *ai, ei, au*, as well as *an, en, am, em, in, im, al, el, il* in close syllables. There was also a new triphthong *auī* < $*auj(a)$.

There was a **syllabic accent (tone)**, having a strengthened beginning and a lengthened continuation (a circumflex tone, e.g. \bar{a}), and a higher finale (an acute tone, e.g. \acute{a}), as in Greek. In diphthongs the circumflex tone was placed on their first component but the acute was placed on their second component. The circumflexed diphthongs $\bar{a}i$, $\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}m$, when stressed, were pronounced $[\acute{o}i]$, $[\acute{o}n]$, $[\acute{o}m]$, their first components being even diphthongized in turn.

We spell the diphthongs *aī, eī, aū, āi, ēi, āu, ān, ēn, ām, ēm, īn, īm, āl, ēl, il* to Abel Will’s manner, but one must have in mind that not length, but tone is marked in this way (the tone somehow lengthens the first or the second component of the diphthong in respect to the other component of course).

¹ For polemics cf. fn. 43 in: Vytautas Mažiulis, *Historical Grammar of Old Prussian. A translation of Lithuanian edition of 2004 and comments by Dr. L. Palmaiūtis*, p. 50, <http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/prussian/mazgr.pdf>.

2. Consonants:

Labial stops *b, p*, labial resonant *m*, bilabial resonant *w*.

Dental stops *d, t*, dental resonant *n*.

Guttural stops *g, k*.

Sibilants *s, z*, and (probably rustling-hissing alveolo-palatals) *ś, ź* (cf. German spellings *schan* *[*śan*] vs. *līse* *[*līza*], cf. also Pomesanian E *crausios* *[*krauš'ōs*] < **kraušjōs*)².

Linguovelar *r*, palatal linguolateral *l* (cf. III *kaulei* / *kaulan* / *kaūlins*, cf. also Pomesanian E *keleranco* *[*kel'arankō*], *ladis* *[*l'ed's*], with a Lithuanian-like open *e* after a palatal (cf. *wargien* *[*var'an*] vs. *gertistian* *[*gertist'an*])³.

Palatal resonant *j*.

Spelling of the Catechisms demonstrates a very strong positional **palatalization** in Samlandian (cf. numerous variations e.g. *-tian* / *-tien* / *-tin* or 3 pers. praes. *gēide* / *giēidi*). Due to strong palatalization a broad short *e* became neutralized with *a* in all positions except initial (similarly to Lithuanian). Thus a phonological opposition of palatal and non-palatal consonants in dialects of the Catechisms (*b-b'*, *p-p'*, *m-m'*, *w-w'*, *d-d'*, *t-t'*, *g-g'*, *k-k'*, *n-n'*, *r-r'*) was possible (minimal pairs not examined) except palatal *l* (see above) and *j*.

An instance *tlāku* shows that the compositions *dl, tl* were preserved in dialects of the Catechisms.

3. Derivation (Pomesanian Elbing Vocabulary, E, and other sources also used):

A stem may be thematic (with a historical vowel *a* / *e* before an ending), or athematic (i.e. without this “theme”).

A suf. *-j(a)* was used to derive substantives from nouns and verbs: E *seamis* *[*zēimīs*] = Saml. **zēimis* ← **zeimō*, E *boadis* *[*bōdīs*], Saml. **bādīs* ← (*em*)-*badd*-(*ussisi*).

With a suf. *-inīk(a)* / *-enīk(a)* substantives meaning “possessor of a feature” were derived from other substantives

and verbs (E *balgniniks* ← *balgnan*, *medenix* ← *median*).

A suf. *-ik(a)* with a thematic vowel *a* derived agent nouns from infinitives (E *schuwikis*, Saml. **šūwiks* ← **šūt-*; here and further the letter ‘š’ is used traditionally for theoretical sound *ś*, see above), as well as to mark male animals in respect to basic feminine appellative (E *lonix* = **lōniks* ← **lōnī*), or to derive substantives from adjectives (*swintickens*, sg. **swintiks* ← *swints*). Sometimes it may be met as an archaic diminutive suffix (E *kuliks*, III *gannikan*).

For diminutives a suf. *-ika* was widely used (*bratrīkai*). There were also diminutive forms with a suf. *-uk(a)* (sometimes used to derive a name of a male animal from that of a female animal, cf. E *wosux* ← *wosee*), as well as with the suffixes *-uz'(a)* / *-uzē-* (*geguse*), *-el-* (E *patowelis* ← *towis*).

A suf. *-ist'(a)* derived neuter gender diminutives from names of young animals (E *gertistian*).

Suf. *-in(a)*, **-ilja-* were used to derive masculine names of animals (E *awins*), insects (E *sirsilis*) from substantives.

A suf. *-il(a)* was used to derive masculine agent nouns from verbs (Doc *Waidel* = **waidils* ← **waid-*).

² Baltistica 45(1), 2010, 137–138.

³ *Old Prussian Written Monuments: Texts with facsimile and transliteration, reconstruction and comments.* / Bibliotheca Clossiana, Lingua Borussica Vetus, II. Lithuanians' World Center for Advancement of Culture, Science and Education. Kaunas 2007, p. 209, fn. 4.

Suf. *-tāj(a)*, **-ēj(a)*, *-ij(a)* were used to derive agent nouns from verbs and nouns (E *artoys* ← **ar-*, E *gewineis* = **gewinējs* = Saml. **gewinīs* ← **gewin-*, E *medies* = **medīs*, gen. **medijas* ← **med'-ṣt-*).

A suf. *-eīla-*, *-eīlē*, *-aīlē* was used to derive substantives from nouns (E *crupeyle*, *scritayle* ← **skrita-*).

A suf. *-inī/-injā-* was used to derive feminine substantives from masculine substantives (E *lūdini* ← *lūdis*).

A suf. *-ain(a)* was used to derive adjectives from nouns (substantivized E *denayno* ← *deinan*: the quality *ay*, not **oy*, points to an acute tone on the second component of the diphthong).

A suf. *-in(a)* was used to derive adjectives from substantives (*deininan* ← *deinan*) and verbs (*lānkinan*).

A suf. *-ūst(a)* was used to derive adjectives from adjectives (*kailūst* ← *kail-s*).

Suf. *-ew(a)*, *-aw(a)*, **-awā-* were used to derive adjectives (later substantivized) from other adjectives (*garrewingi*, *drūktaw* ← *drūktai*, **drūkts*, E *gabawo* ← **geb-*).

A suf. *-m(a)* was used to derive ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers (*septmas*).

Suf. *-im(a)*, *-um(a)*, *-ōm(a)* were used to derive adjectives from other adjectives (*aucktimm-iskū*, Doc *Auctume* ← **aukt-*, *aucktai-*, *-tickrōms* ← *tickra*).

A complex suf. *-mīn(a)* was used to derive ability adjectives from verbs (*enimumne* = **enima-mīna* ← *en-im-*).

An archaic suf. *-(j)es-* derived adjective and adverb comparatives from adjectives (*mūisieson* = **mūisesan* < **māis-es-*). Its variant suf. *-(j)isja-/isi-* was used to derive adjective and adverb comparatives from stems: *-a* (*maldaisins* < **malda-jis-*), *-i* (*tālis*), **-au/-u* (*tauwyschies* < **tauwjisjas*, **gilu-isi-s*), or zero (*tūls* < **tūl-isi*).

A particle *uka* was used to derive superlatives from adjectives (*ucka isarwiskai*).

A suf. *-āt(a)* was used to derive quality adjectives, sometimes later substantivized, from substantives (*deiwūtai* ← *deīws*).

A suf. *-īngja-* < *-inīga-* (later Saml. *-īngja-*) was widely used to derive adjectives (possibly substantivized) from nouns (E *ragingis* ← *ragis*).

A suf. *-isk(a)* was used to derive adjectives from nouns (*prūsiskan*, *deiwūtiskan*).

Adjectives with the suffix fem. **-iskā-* could be substantivized in an abstract meaning (*labbisku*).

With suf. **-īstā*, **-ībē* abstract substantives were derived from concrete substantives (E *crisionisto*, *pagonbe*).

A complex suf. **-ūnē* was used to derive abstract substantives from adjectives (acc. *maldūnin* < nom. **maldūnē*).

A complex suf. **-ānē* was used to derive abstract substantives from verbs (E *medione* < **medj-ṣ-*).

A suf. *-ā* was used to derive nouns from verbs (E *corto* < **kurt-*, E *stroio* < **stru-/strau-*).

A suf. *-agā* was used to derive substantives with a concretized meaning from other substantives (E *karyago* ← *kragis* = **karīs*), but a suf. *-igā* was used to derive substantives meaning instruments from verbs (*wedigo*).

-t(a) resp. *-tā* was a suffix used in primarily derived ordinal numerals (*kettwirts*) and passive past participles (*enimts*) as in all Baltic and Slavic languages. Besides that, it was used to derive later substantivized adjectives (E *meltan* = **miltan*) and other adjectives from verbs (← **mil-* / **mel-* / **mal-*; *aucktai-*, **aukta-* ← **aug-*).

A suf. *-etā* / *-atā* was used to derive substantives (sometimes abstract substantives) from nouns (E *bruneto* ← **brūn-*, *giwato* ← *gijwan*).

A “participle” athematic suf. *-(e)nt-* was used to derive substantives from verbs and substantives (as early as in West-Baltic or Proto-Baltic): E *dantis*, *smunents*.

A suf. *-ut'(a)* was used to derive substantives with a concretized meaning (*nagutis*).

A suf. **-aitā* was used to derive substantives with a collective meaning from nouns (*slīwaytos*).

A suf. **-ijā-* was used to derive substantives with a collective meaning from other substantives (Top *Warnye*, *Warnien* 1341 = *Warn-ijō* ← E *warne*).

A complex suf. *-ewja-* was used to derive names of profession from verbs (*mukinewis* ← *mukin-t*).

A suf. *-wā* was used to derive names of space or places (Top *Siddau* – *Seduwo* 1419).

Suf. *-lē*, *-wā* were used to derive substantives from infinitives; these substantives meant a product of an action (*peisālei* ← *peisā-ton*, E *stolwo* = *scolwo* ← **skel-*).

Athematic *i*-stem suf. *-ti-* and *-sti-* were used to derive names of tools from verbs (*pagaptis*, **krumpstis*).

Suf. *-tl-*, **-ulē*, *-ūn(a)-* were used to derive names of tools from verbs (*piuclan*, *wadule*, *malunis*).

A suf. *-t(u)wē-*, *-t(u)w(a)-* was used to derive names of tools or means to do smth. from verbs (E *schutuan*).

A suf. *-eín(a)-* was used to derive substantives meaning a place for what was meant by a substantive from which they were derived (E *seweynis* = **suweins*).

Suf. *-snā* / *-sen(ja)-* was used to derive names of action from corresponding verbs (*etwerpsnā*, *bousennis*).

A suf. *-ā* (inf. *-ā-*) was used together with the full grade of the root vowel to derive causative verbs from other verbs (*lāiku*, *laikūt* ← *lik-t*, *polinka*).

A suf. *-ā* (inf. *-ī-*) was used to derive verbs from adjectives (*giwa*, *giwu* ← *gijwans*).

Suf. *-ija-* was used to derive verbs from nouns (*grīki sī* < *grīkas*).

Suf. *-āja-*, *-ēja-* were used to derive verbs (iteratives among them) from verbs and nouns (*dwigubbū*, *dwibugūt* ← **dwigubs*, *druwē*, *druwīt* ← *drūwis*).

A suf. *-in(a)-* was used to derive causative verbs and iteratives (often with the full grade of the root vowel) from verbs and nouns (*swintina*, *swintint* ← *swints*).

A suf. *-īna-* was used to derive names of dwellers from the names of places of dwelling (*kaimīnan* ← E *caymis*).

A suf. *-al* was used for (quasi-) onomatopoeic derivation of names of birds (E **parpolis*, E *gegalis*, E *penpalo*).

Suf. *-ālē* was used to derive characteristics for living beings, mostly animals (E *gramboale*).

Suf. *-an(a)-*, *-āim(a)-*, *-āūt(a)-*, *-aín(ja)-*, *-eíkā*, *-eín(ja)-*, *-en(ja)-*, *-sa* were used to derive characteristics for masculine persons from verbs (Pers *Diwanus*, *Candeym*, *Gedaucz*, *Begayne*, *Jodeyko*, *Cropeyns*, *Dargenne*, *Lixa*).

Suf. *-ītja-*, *-íta-*, *-etā* / *-ētā*, *-elja-* / *-elē*, *-ul-*, *-áita-*, *-aínja-*, *-eína-*, *-inā*, *-ānā* / *-ānē*, *-ijā*, *-āja-*, *-istja-*, *-men-* were used to derive geographical names (Top *Sirgite*, *Wusiniz*, *Algetos*, *Labelles*, *Aucul*, *Wangayten*, *Alkayne*, *Golteynis*, *Spandyno*, *Kympone*, *Warnye*, *Laxdogen*, *Perwangsten*, *Gilmen*).

4. Pronouns and their declension (here and further a mixed German-Latvian-type orthography is used):

	1 pers. sg.	2 pers. sg.	3 pers. refl.
(1) <i>Nom</i>	as / es	tū	–
(2) <i>Gen</i>	maise	twaise	swaise
(3) <i>Dat</i>	mennei, mi	tebbei, ti	sebbei, si
(4) <i>Acc</i>	men / min / mi	ten / tin / ti	sin / si
	1 pers. pl.	2 pers. pl.	
1	mes	jūs	
2	nūse	jūse	
3	nūmans	jūmans	
4	mans	wans	

1 pers. sg. possess.sg.

1	maise / majs, majā, majjan
2	maise, majjas, maises, maise
3	majasmu, majjasei, majasmu
4	majjan

pl.

1	majāi, majjas, majāi
2	maisan
3	majammans, majāmans
4	majjans

1 pers. pl. possess. sg.

1	nūse / nūss, nusā, nūsan
2	nūse, nūses, nūse
3	nūsmu, nūsei, nūsmu
4	nūsans

pl.

1	nusāi, nūsas, nusāi
2	nusēisan
3	nūsamas, nusāmans, ..
4	nūsans
5	

dem. sg. masc.

1	tāns / šis
2	tenesse, šisse
3	tenesmu, šismu
4	tennan, šin

dem. pl. masc.

1	tenēi, šāi
2	tenēisan, šēisan
3	tenēimans, šēimans
4	tennans, šins

2 pers. sg. possess.

twaise / twajs, twajā, twajjan
twaise, twajjas, twaises, twase
twajasmu, twajjasei, twajasmu
twajjan

pl.

twajāi, twajjas, twajāi
twaisan
twajammans, twajāmans
twajjans

2 pers. pl. possess. sg.

jūse / jūss, jusā, jūsan
jūse, jūses, jūse
jūsmu, jūsei, jūsmu
jūsans

pl.

jusāi, jūsas, jusāi
jusēisan
jūsamans, jusāmans, jusammans
jūsans

dem. sg. fem.

tenā, šī
tenesses, šisses
tenessei, šissei
tennan, šan

dem. pl. fem.

tennas, šās
tenēisan, šēisan
tenēimans, šēimans
tennans, šans

3 pers. possess..

swaise / swajs, swajā, swajjan
swaise, swajjas, swaises, swaise
swajasmu, swajjasei, swajasmu
swajjan

pl.

swajāi, swajjas, swajāi
swaisan
swajēimans
swajans

dem. sg. neutr.

tennan, šin
tenesse, šisse
tenesmu, šismu
tennan, šin

dem. pl. neutr.

tenēi, šāi
tenēisan, šēisan
tenēimans, šēimans
tennans, šins

5. Adjectives and their declension:

	<i>aj. sg. masc.</i>	<i>aj. sg. fem.</i>	<i>aj. sg. neutr.</i>
1	labs, arwis	labā, arwi	labban, arwi
2	labbas, arwjas	labbas, arwjas	labbas, arwjas
3	labasmu, arwismu	labbai, arwjai	labasmu, arwismu
4	labban, arwin	labban, arwjan	labban, arwi
	<i>aj. pl. masc.</i>	<i>aj. pl. fem.</i>	<i>aj. pl. neutr.</i>
1	labāi / nawwai, arwjai	labbas, arwjas	labāi / nawwai, arwjai
2	labban, arwin	labban, arwin	labban, arwin
3	labammans, arwimans	labāmans, arwimans	labammans, arwimans
4	labbans, arwins	labbans, arwins	labbans, arwins

6. Substantives (neutra pl. as oxyton collectiva⁴, contamination of palatal stems in accusatives and genitive plural):

	<i>a-stem sg.</i>	<i>ā-stem sg.</i>	<i>ja-stem sg.</i>	<i>jā-stem sg.</i>	<i>ē-stem sg.</i>
1	wīrs, buttan	mūsā, genā	kūgis	martī	appi
2	wīras, buttas	mūsas, gennas	kūgas	mārṭas	appis
3	wīru, buttu	mūsai, gennai	kūgu	mārṭai	appei
4	wīran, buttan	mūsan, gennan	kūgin / kūgan = -gen ⁵	mārtin / mārtan = -ten	appin / appen = app ¹ an
	<i>a-stem pl.</i>	<i>ā-stem pl.</i>	<i>a-stem pl.</i>	<i>jā-stem pl.</i>	<i>ē-stem pl.</i>
1	wīrai / butāi	mūsas, gennas	kūgai	mārṭas	appis
2	wīran / buttan	mūsan, gennan	kūgin ⁶ / kūgan = -gen	mārtin / mārtan = -ten	appin / appen = app ¹ an
3	wīramans, butammans	mūsamans, genāmans	kūgamans	marṭāmans	appimans
4	wīrans, buttans	mūsans, gennans	kūgins / kūgans = -gens	mārtins / mārtans = -tens	appins / appens = app ¹ ans
	<i>i-stem sg.</i>	<i>u-stem sg.</i>	<i>Cons.-stem sg.</i>		
1	klītis, aks	sūns, meddu	dānts	mūti	
2	klītis, akkis	sūnus, meddus	dāntis	mūtis	
3	klītei, akkei	sūnu, meddu	dānti	mūtei / mūtrei ⁷	
4	klītin, akkin / klīten, akken = -ṭan, -ṭan	sūnun, meddu	dāntin / dānten = -ṭan	mūtin / muten = -ṭan	
	<i>i-stem pl.</i>	<i>u-stem pl.</i>	<i>Cons.-stem pl.</i>		
1	klītis, akkis	sūnus, medāi	dāntei	mūtis	
2	klītin, akkin / klīten, akken = -ṭan, -ṭan	sūnun, medun	dāntin / dānten = -ṭan	mūtin / muten = -ṭan	
3	klītimans, akimmans	sunummans, medummans	dantimmans	mūtrimans	
4	klītins, akkins / klītens, akkens = -ṭans, -ṭans	sūnuns, medduns	dāntins / dāntens = -ṭans	mūtins / mutens = -ṭans	

⁴ Neuter declension was defected in plural, for this and for possible substitute in plural cf. *Baltų kalbų gramatinės sistemos raida*. Kaunas: Šviesa 1998, p. 234–237 and p. 97–99.

⁵ Phonetically, cf. Mažiulis, p. 41, fn. 32. For contamination of palatalized stems cf. Mažiulis, p. 52 (§ 113).

⁶ For gen. pl. *-in* see Mažiulis, p. 47 (§ 99), where the role of “casus generalis” (gen. pl. = acc. sg.) is emphasized.

⁷ Plg. III *bratrikai*.

7. Verbs and their conjugation:

Present Indicative

<i>athematic</i>		<i>thematic</i>			
as	asma mes asmai	treppa treppimai	imma immimai	glabja glabbimai	alksta alkstimai
tu	assei jūs astei	treppa treppitei	imma immitei	glabja glabbitei	alksta alkstitei
tāns, tenēi	ast	treppa	imma	glabja	alksta

Past Indicative

as	bēi mes bēimai	treppa treppamai	immi immimai	glābi glābimai	alka alkamai
tu	bēi jūs bēitei	treppa treppatei	immi immitei	glābi glābitei	alka alkatei
tāns, tenēi	bēi	treppa	immi	glābi	alka

Present Indicative

<i>athematic</i>		<i>thematic</i>		
as	jāi mes jāimai	līnka līnkimai	lēnka lēnkimai	tur turrimai
tu	jāsei jūs jāitei	līnka līnkitei	lēnka lēnkitei	tur turritei
tāns, tenēi	jāt	līnka	lēnka	tur

Past Indicative

as	jāi mes jāimai	likka likkamai	lēnki lēnkimai	turēi turēimai
tu	jāi jūs jāitei	likka likkatei	lēnki lēnkitei	turēi turēitei
tāns, tenēi	jāi	likka	lēnki	turēi

Present Indicative

half thematic (athematic)

as	maitāi mes maitāimai	segēi segēimai
tū	maitāi jūs maitāitei	segēi segēitei
tāns, tenēi	maitāi	segēi

Past Indicative

as	maitāi mes maitāimai	segēi segēimai
tū	maitāi jūs maitāitei	segēi segēitei
tāns, tenēi	maitāi	segēi

8. Text (Pater Noster in Experimental Prussian):

Nüss Tāwa, kas assei en dāngu, pastāsei swintintan Twajs emmens, perēisei Twajā rikī, Twajs kwāits audāsei si kāigi en dāngu, tīt dīgi na zemmin. Nūsan dēininan geitin dāis nūmans šandēinan, be etwērpjais nūmans nūsans

āušautins, kāigi mes etwērpimai nūsamans aušautenīkamans. Be ni weddais mans en perbandāsnan, šlāit izrankīs mans ezze wārgu, beggi Twajā ast rikī, warē be zmūnis emprābutskan. Amen.

[*The same from the 3rd Catechism:*

Tāwa noūson kas tu essei endangon. Swintints wīrst twais Emnes. Perēit twais Rijks. Twais Quāits audāsin kāgi endangon tijt dēigi nosemien. Nouson deinennin geitien dais noūmans schan deinan. Bhe etwerpeis noūmas nousons āuschautins, kai mes etwērpimai noūsons auschautenīkamans. Bhe ni weddeis mans emperbandāsnan. Schlāit isrankeis mans esse wissan wargan.]

2. Pomesanian (Pamedian)

Pomesanian, as one can judge from material of the Elbing Dictionary, as well as from geographical names of almost all regions of Baltic Prussia (even of Samland, recorded since the 13th c.) was near to Common Prussian reconstructed by Vytautas Mažiulis⁸:

1. Vowels:

long			short	
*ū	*ī		*u	*i
*ō				
*ɔ	*ē		*a	*e

The short a was back and near to o (ɔ). *ɔ and *ō were lower back open and higher narrow vocals respectively, but the phoneme *ō manifested in two allophones: a stressed narrower *[ō], an unstressed broader *[ɔ]. The latter coincided with the pronunciation of the phoneme *ɔ, but in Pomesanian all these differences seem to have been eliminated except several words where the phoneme *ō was still preserved.

Diphthongs were *ai, ei, au*, as well as *an, en, am, em, in, im, al, el, il* in close syllables.

There was a **syllabic accent (tone)**, having a strengthened beginning and a lengthened continuation (a circumflex tone, e.g. *ā*), and a higher finale (an acute tone, e.g. *á*), as in Greek. In diphthongs the circumflex tone was placed on their first component but the acute was placed on their second component. The circumflexized diphthongs *āi, ān, ām*, when stressed, were pronounced [ōi], [ōn], [ōm], their first components being even diphthongized in turn.

When we spell the diphthongs *aī, eī, aū, āi, ēi, āu, ān, ēn, ām, ēm, īn, īm, āl, ēl, il* to Abel Will's manner, one must

have in mind that not length, but tone is marked in this way (the tone somehow lengthens the first or the second component of the diphthong in respect to the other component of course).

2. Consonants:

Labial stops *b, p*, labial resonant *m*, bilabial resonant *w*.

Dental stops *d, t*, dental resonant *n*.

Guttural stops *g, k*.

⁸ Mažiulis, p. 21.

Sibilants *s*, *z*, and (probably rustling-hissing alveolo-palatals) *ś*, *ź* (cf. *crausios* **[krauś'ōs]* < **krausjōs*), as in Samlandian (cf. German spellings *schan* **[śan]* vs. *līse* **[līza]*)⁹.

Linguovelar *r*, palatal linguolateral *l* (*keleranco* **[kel'arankō]*, *ladis* **[l'ed'is]*), with a Lithuanian like open *e* after a palatal (cf. *wargien* **[var'ian]* vs. *gertistian* **[gertist'ian]*), cf. Samlandian *kaulei* / *kaulan* / *kaūlins*)¹⁰.

Palatal resonant *j*.

Whether there existed palatalization of consonants in Pamedian, is a problem. The above mentioned result of a historical palatalization *sj* + a back vocal > /ś/ is attested in *schutuan* (< **sjū*-) etc. Therefore, such spellings, as *garian*, *median* in the Elbing Vocabulary, rather reflect a pronunciation [*med'an*], [*gar'an*] than [*medjan*], [*garjan*]. For this cf. three instances *same* **[ś'emē]*, *samy'e* **[ś'em'en]* and *angurgis* **[angur'is]* only.

The fate of *dl*, *tl* is ambiguous (*addle* but *clokis*).

3. Derivation (Samlandian Catechisms, I, II, III, and other material also used):

A stem may be thematic (with a historical vowel *a* / *e* before an ending), or athematic (i.e. without this “theme”).

A suf. *-ja-* was used to derive substantives from nouns and verbs: *seamis* = **zēimīs* ← **zeimō*, *boadis* = **bōdīs* ← III (*em*)-*badd*-(*ussisi*).

With a suf. *-inika-* / *-enika-* substantives meaning “possessor of a feature” were derived from other substantives and verbs (*balgniniks* ← *balgnan*, *medenix* ← *median*).

A suf. *-ika-* with a thematic vowel *a* was used to derive agent nouns from infinitives (*schuwikis*, gen. **šūwikas* ← **sjūt*-: here and further the letter ‘š’ is used traditionally for theoretical sound ś, see above), as well as to mark male animals in respect to basic feminine appellative (*Ionix*, gen. **lōnikas* ← **lōnī*), or to derive substantives from adjectives (III *swintickens*, gen. sg. **swintikas* ← III *swints*). Sometimes it may be met as an archaic diminutive suffix (*kuliks*, III *gannikan*).

For diminutives a suf. *-ika* was widely used (III *bratrikai*). There were also diminutive forms with a suf. *-uka-* (sometimes used to derive a name of a male animal from that of a female animal, cf. *wosux* ← *wosee*), as well as with the suffixes *-uzja-* / *-uzē-* (*geguse*), *-elja-* (*patowelis* ← *towis*).

A suf. *-istja-* was used to derive neuter gender diminutives for the names of young animals (*gertistian*).

Suf *-ina-*, *-ilja-* were used to derive masculine names of animals (*awins*), insects (*sirsilis*) from substantives.

A suf. *-ila-* was used to derive masculine agent nouns from verbs (Doc *Waidel* = gen. **waidilas* ← **waid-*).

Suf. *-tōja-*, *-ēja-*, *-ija-* were used to derive agent nouns from verbs and nouns (*artoys* ← **ar-*, *gewineis* = **gewinējs* ← **gewin-*, *medies* = **medīs*, gen. **medijas* ← **medj-ōt*).

A suf. *-eīlja-*, *-eīlē-*, *-aīlē* was used to derive substantives from nouns (*crupeyle*, *scritayle* ← **skrita-*).

A suf. *-inī-* / *-injō* was used to derive feminine substantives from masculine substantives (*lūdini* ← *lūdis*).

A suf. *-aīna-* was used to derive adjectives from nouns (substantivized *denayno* ← *deinan*: the quality *ay*, not **oy*, points to an acute tone on the second component of the diphthong).

A suf. *-ina-* was used to derive adjectives from substantives (I *deininan* ← *deinan*) and verbs (III *lānkinan*).

A suf. *-ūsta-* was used to derive adjectives from adjectives (*kailūst-* ← *kail-s*).

A suf. *-ewa-*, *-awa-*, *-awō* was used to derive adjectives (later substantivized) from other adjectives (*garrewingi*, *drücktau-* ← **drūks*, III *drūktai*, *gabawo* ← **geb-*).

⁹ Baltistica 45(1), 2010, 137–138.

¹⁰ *Old Prussian Written Monuments*, p. 209, ftn. 4.

A suf. *-ma-* was used to derive ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers (*septmas*).

Suf. *-īma-*, *-uma-*, *-ōma-* were used to derive adjectives from other adjectives (III *aucktimm-iskū*, Doc *Auctume* ← **aukt*, III *aucktai-*, III *-tickrōms* ← **tikra-*, III *tickra*).

A complex suf. *-mina-* was used to derive ability adjectives from verbs (III *enimumne* = **enima-mina* ← *en-im-*).

An archaic suf. *-(j)es-* derived adjective and adverb comparatives from adjectives (III *muisieson* = **mūisesan* < **māis-es-*). Its variant suf. *-(j)isja-/-isi* was used to derive adjective and adverb comparatives from stems: *-a* (III *maldaisins* < **malda-jis-*), *-i* (III *tālis*), **-au /-u* (III *tauwyschies* < **tauwjisjas*, **gilu-isi-s*), or zero (III *tūls* < **tūl-isi*).

A particle *uka* was used to derive superlatives from adjectives (*ucka isarwiskai*).

A suf. *-ōta-* was used to derive quality adjectives, sometimes later substantivized, from substantives (III *deiwūtai* ← *deivs*).

A suf. *-īnga-* was widely used to derive adjectives (possibly substantivized) from nouns (*ragingis* ← *ragis*).

A suf. *-iska-* was used to derive adjectives from nouns.

Adjectives with the suffix fem. *-iskō-* could be substantivized in an abstract meaning (III *labbisku*).

With suf. *-istō-*, *-ibē-* abstract substantives were derived from concrete substantives (*crisionisto*, *pagonbe*).

A complex suf. *-ūnē-* was used to derive abstract substantives from adjectives (III acc. *maldūnin* < nom. **maldūnē*).

A complex suf. *-ōnē-* was used to derive abstract substantives from verbs (*medione* < **medj-ō-*).

A suf. *-ō-* was used to derive abstract substantives from verbs (*corto* < **kurt-*, *stroio* < **stru-/strau-*).

A suf. *-agō-* was used to derive substantives with a concretized meaning from other substantives (*karyago* ← *kragis* = **karis*), but a suf. *-igō-* was used to derive substantives meaning instruments from verbs (*wedigo*).

-ta resp. *-tō-* was a suffix used in primarily derived ordinal numerals (III *kettwirts*) and passive past participles (III *enimts*) as in all Baltic and Slavic languages. Beside that, it was used to derive later substantivized adjectives (*meltan* = **miltan*) and other adjectives from verbs (← **mil-* / **mel-* / **mal-*; III *aucktai-*, **aukta-* ← **aug-*).

A suf. *-etō /-atō-* was used to derive substantives (sometimes abstract substantives) from nouns (*bruneto* ← **brūn-*, *gīwato* ← III *gijwan*).

A “participle” athematic suf. *-(e)nt-* was used to derive substantives from verbs and substantives (as early as in the West-Baltic or Proto-Baltic): *dantis*, III *smunents*.

A suf. *-utja-* was used to derive substantives with a concretized meaning (*nagutis*).

A suf. *-āitō-* was used to derive substantives with a collective meaning from nouns (*sliwaytos*).

A suf. *-ijō-* was used to derive substantives with a collective meaning from other substantives (Top *Warnye*, *Warnien* 1341 = *Warn-ijō* ← *warne*).

A complex suf. *-ewja-* was used to derive names of profession from verbs (III *mukinewis* ← III *mukin-t*).

A suf. *-wō-* was used to derive names of space or places (Top *Siddau* – *Seduwo* 1419).

Suf. *-lē-*, *-wō-* were used to derive substantives from infinitives; these substantives meant a product of an action (III *peisālei* ← *peisā-ton*, *stolwo* = **skōlwō* ← **skel-*).

Athematic *i*-stem suf. *-ti-* and *-sti-* were used to derive names of tools from verbs (*pagaptis*, **krumpstis*).

Suf. *-tl- /-kl-*, *-ulē-*, *-ūna-* were used to derive names of tools from verbs (*piuclan*, *wadule*, *malunis*).

A suf. *-t(u)wē-*, *-t(u)wa-* was used to derive names of tools or means to do smth. from verbs (*schutuan*).

A suf. *-eina-* was used to derive substantives meaning a place for what was meant by a substantive from which they were derived (*seweynis* = **suweina-*).

Suf. *-snō* / *-senja*- was used to derive names of action from corresponding verbs (III *etwerpsnā*, III *bousennis*).

A suf. *-ō* (inf. *-ō-*) was used together with the full grade of the root vowel to derive causative verbs from other verbs (*lāiku*, *laikūt* ← *lik-t*, *polinka*).

A suf. *-ō* (inf. *-ī-*) was used to derive verbs from adjectives (III *giwa*, III *gīwu* ← III *gijwans*).

Suf. *-ija-* was used to derive verbs from nouns (III *grīki si* < III *grīkas*).

Suf. *-ōja-*, *-ēja-* were used to derive verbs (iteratives among them) from verbs and nouns (III *dwigubbū*, III *dwibugūt* ← **dwigubs*, III *druwē*, III *druwīt* ← III *drūwis*).

A suf. *-ina-* was used to derive causative verbs and iteratives (often with the full grade of the root vowel) from verbs and nouns (III *swintina*, III *swintint* ← III *swints*).

A suf. *-īna-* was used to derive names of dwellers from the names of places of dwelling (III *kaimīnan* ← *caymis*).

A suf. *-al* was used for (quasi-) onomatopoeic derivation of names of birds (**parpolis*, *gegalis*, *penpalo*).

Suf. *-ōlē* was used to derive characteristics for living beings, mostly animals (*gramboale*).

Suf. *-ana-*, *-āima-*, *-aūta-*, *-aínja-*, *-eíkō-*, *-éinja-*, *-enja-*, *-sō* were used to derive characteristics for masculine persons from verbs (Pers *Diwanus*, *Candeym*, *Gedaucz*, *Begayne*, *Jodeyko*, *Cropeyns*, *Dargenne*, *Lixa*).

Suf. *-ītja-*, *-ita-*, *-etō-*, *-elja-* / *-elē-*, *-ul-*, *-aíta-*, *-aínja-*, *-eína-*, *-inō-*, *-ōnō-* / *-ōnē-*, *-ijō-*, *-ōja-*, *-istja-*, *-men-* etc. were used to derive geographical names (Top *Sirgite*, *Wusiniz*, *Algetos*, *Labelles*, *Aucul*, *Wangayten*, *Alkayne*, *Golteynis*, *Spandyno*, *Kympone*, *Warnye*, *Laxdogen*, *Perwangsten*, *Gilmen*).

4. Pronouns and their declension can be reconstructed on the basis of the Catechisms in this way:

	<i>1 pers. sg.</i>	<i>2 pers. sg.</i>	<i>3 pers. refl.</i>
(1) <i>Nom</i>	es	tū	–
(2) <i>Gen</i>	majase	twajase	swajase
(3) <i>Dat</i>	meinei, mōi / mei / mi	tebei, twōi / tei / ti	sebei, swōi / sei / si
(4) <i>Acc</i>	men / mi	ten / ti	sen / si
	<i>1 pers. pl.</i>	<i>2 pers. pl.</i>	
1	mes	jūs	
2	nūse	jūse	
3	nūmans	jūmans	
4	mańs / mōs	wans / wōs	
	<i>1 pers. sg. possess.sg.</i>	<i>2 pers. sg. possess.</i>	<i>3 pers. possess.</i>
(1) <i>Nom</i>	majase / majs, majō, majan	twajase / twajs, twajō, twajan	swajase / swajs, swajō, swajan
(2) <i>Gen</i>	majase, majases, majase	twajase, twajases, twajase	swajase, swajases, swajase
(3) <i>Dat</i>	majasmō, majasei, majasmō	twajasmō, twajasei, twajasmō	swajasmō, swajasei, swajasmō
(1) <i>Acc</i>	majan	twajan	swajan
	<i>pl.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
1	majōi, majōs, majōi	twajōi, twajōs, twajōi	
2	majēisan	twajēisan	
3	majēimans	twajēimans	
4	majańs	twajans	

	<i>1 pers. pl. possess. sg.</i>	<i>2 pers. pl. possess. sg.</i>	
1	nūse / nūsis, nūsō, nūsan	jūse / jūsis, jūsō, jūsan	
2	nūse, nūses, nūse	jūse, jūses, jūse	
3	nūsmō, nūsei, nūsmō	jūsmō, jūsei, jūsmō	
4	nūsan	jūsan	
	<i>pl.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
1	nūsōi, nūsōs, nūsōi	jūsōi, jūsōs, jūsōi	swajōi, swajōs, swajōi
2	nūsēisan	jūsēisan	swajēisan
3	nūsēimans	jūsēimans	swajēimans
4	nūsans	jūsans	swajans
	<i>dem. sg. masc.</i>	<i>dem. sg. fem.</i>	<i>dem. sg. neutr.</i>
1	tāns / tōns, šis	tenō, šī	tenan, šin
2	tenese, šise	teneses, šises	tenese, šise
3	tenesmō, šismō	tenesei, šisei	tenesmō, šismō
4	tenan, šin	tenan, šan	tenan, šin
	<i>dem. pl. masc.</i>	<i>dem. pl. fem.</i>	<i>dem. pl. neutr.</i>
1	tenēi, šai / šoi	tenōs, šōs	tenēi, šai / šoi
2	tenēisan, šēisan	tenēisan, šēisan	tenēisan, šēisan
3	tenēimans, šēimans	tenēimans, šēimans	tenēimans, šēimans
4	tenans, šins	tenans, šans	tenans, šins

5. Adjectives and their declension can be reconstructed on the basis of the Catechisms and Lithuanian in this way:

	<i>aj. sg. masc.</i>	<i>aj. sg. fem.</i>	<i>aj. sg. neutr.</i>
1	labis, arwis	labō, arwī	laban, arwi
2	labase, arwise	labōs, arwjōs	labase, arwise
3	labasmō, arwismō	labai, arwjai	labasmō, arwismō
4	laban, arwin	laban, arwjan	laban, arwi
	<i>aj. pl. masc.</i>	<i>aj. pl. fem.</i>	<i>aj. pl. neutr. (?)</i>
1	labōi / nawai, arwīs	labōs, arwjōs	labōi / nawai, arwīs
2	labēisan, arwēisan	labēisan, arwēisan	labēisan, arwēisan
3	labēimans, arwēimans	labēimans, arwēimans	labēimans, arwēimans
4	labans, arwins	labans, arwjans	labans, arwins

6. Substantives and their declension can be reconstructed on the basis of the Catechisms in this way (oxyton neutr. pl. ¹¹):

	<i>a-stem sg. masc./neutr.</i>	<i>ā-stem sg.</i>	<i>ja-stem sg.</i>	<i>jā-stem sg.</i>	<i>ē-stem sg.</i>
1	wīris, butan	mūsō, genō	kūgīs	mārtī	apē
2	wīras, butas	mūsōs, genōs	kūgjas	mārtjōs	apēs
3	wīrō, butō	mūsai, genaí	kūgjō	mōrtjai	apei
4	wīran, butan	mūsan, genan	kūgjan	mōrtjan	apen
	<i>a-stem pl.</i>	<i>ā-stem pl.</i>	<i>ja-stem pl.</i>	<i>jā-stem pl.</i>	<i>ē-stem pl.</i>
1	wīrai / butōi	mūsōs, genōs	kūgjai	mōrtjōs	apēs
2	wīran / butūn ¹²	mūsan, genun	kūgjan	mōrtjan	apjan
3	wīramans, butamans	mūsōmans, genōmans	kūgjamans	mārtjōmans	apēmans
4	wīrans, butans	mūsans, genans	kūgjans	mōrtjans	apēns
	<i>i-stem sg.</i>	<i>u-stem sg.</i>	<i>C-stem sg.</i>		
1	klētis, akis	sūnus, medu	dōnts	mōtē	
2	klētis, akis	sūnus, medus	dāntis	mōteres	
3	klētei, akei	sūnui, medu	dōnti	mōteri	
4	klētin, akin	sūnun, medu	dōntin	mōterin	
	<i>i-stem pl.</i>	<i>u-stem pl.</i>	<i>C-stem pl.</i>		
1	klētīs, akīs	sūnūs, medōi	dōntes	mōteres	
2	klētjan, akjun	sūnun, medun	dāntun	mōteran	
3	klētīmans, akīmāns	sūnumāns, medumāns	dāntīmāns	mōterīmāns	
4	klētīns, akīns	sūnuns, meduns	dāntīns	mōterīns	

7. Verbs and their conjugation can be reconstructed on the basis of the Catechisms in this way:

Present Indicative

<i>athematic</i>		<i>thematic</i>			
es esmi mes esmē ¹³	trepō trepamē	imō imamē	glabjō glabjamē	alkstō alkstamē	
tū eseī jūs estē	trepeī trepatē	imeī imatē	glabeī glabjatē	alksteī alkstatē	
tāns, tenēi est	tropa	ima	glabja	alksta	

Past Indicative

es bēm mes bēmē	trepō trepōmē	imjō imēmē	glōbjō glōbēmē	alkō alkōmē
tū bēs jūs bētē	trepōi trepōtē	imjēi imētē	glōbēi glōbētē	alkōi alkōtē
tāns, tenēi bē	trepō	imē	glōbē	alkō

¹¹ Cf. above ftn. 4

¹² Gen. pl. *-un* in oxyton forms comes from the narrow allophon of the phonem **ō*, cf. Mažiulis, p. 46.

¹³ Cat. 1 pl. *-mai* comes from **-mēi* (cf. 2 pl. *-tēi*, III **-tei*) influenced by thematized 1 sg. **-ma* < **-mi* (to unstressed *a*, cf. III *crixía*), cf. Latv., Lith. *esmu*. **-mei*, **-tei* were phonetic allomorphs of **-mē*, **-tē* (cf. 2 pl. III *-ti*), cf. Mažiulis, p. 84, ftn. 89.

Present Indicative

<i>athematic</i>			<i>thematic</i>			
es jōmi mes jōmē	līnkō	līnkamē	lēnkjō	lēnkjamē	turjō	turimē
tū jōseī jūs jōtē	līnkeī	līnkatē	lēnkeī	lēnkjatē	tureī	turitē
tāns, tenēi jōt	līnka		lēnkja		turi	

Past Indicative

es jōjō mes jōjōmē	likō	likōmē	lēnkjō	lēnkēmē	turējō	turējōmē
tū jōjai jūs jōjōtē	likōi	likōtē	lēnkeī	lēnkētē	turējai	turējōtē
tāns, tenēi jōjō	likō		lēnkē		turējō	

Present Indicative

half thematic (athematic)

es maitōjō mes maitōjamē	segējō	segējamē
tū maitōjei jūs maitōjatē	segējei	segējatē
tāns, tenēi maitōja	segēja	

Past Indicative

es maitōjō mes maitōjōmē	segējō	segējōmē
tū maitōjai jūs maitōjōtē	segējai	segējōtē
tāns, tenēi maitōjō	segējō	

8. Text (Pater Noster in reconstructed Pomesanian):

Nūse Tōwe, kas esei en dōngu, pastōsei swentintan Twōise emens, perēisei Twōise rīkē, Twāise kwōitis āudōsei si kōigi en dōngui, tēt dīgi nō zemei. Nūsan dēininan geitin dōis nūmans šan dēinan, bēi etwērpjais nūmans nūsans āušaūtins, kāigi mes etwērpjamei nūsamans āušaūtenīkamans. Bēi nē wedais mans en perbōndan, sklōit izrankīs mans eze wargō, begi Twajō est rīkē, warē bēi zmōnīs emprōbūtiskan. Amen.

