

MISCELLANEA

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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MYTHONYMS OPRUSS. WORSKAITO / BORSSKAYTO (S. GRUNAU) // YATV. WOURSCHKAITE (YATVIGIAN BOOK)¹

Słowa kluczowe:

Simon Grunau, *Książeczka Sudawska*, *Worskaito / Borsskayto*, *Wourschkaite*, mitonimy bałtyckie, analiza etymologiczna

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Introduction

It should be noted that there is no direct connection between Simon Grunau's *Preussische Chronik* and *Yatvигian Book* (hereinafter YB), as Albert of Prussia (*Albrecht von Preussen*), the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and the first ruler of the Duchy of Prussia, to quote Johannes Voigt², received a copy of *Preussische Chronik* only in 1541 y³. The YB is thought to be have been created in 1525 y. in Prussia⁴.

Kazimieras Būga⁵, a well known linguist for writing a number of fascinating papers on Baltic etymology, did not analyse the origin of these mythonyms. He ascribed them to the type of pagan clergy names. Moreover, it should be noted that such an opinion tended to predispose in the studies of the scholars of the 19th and

¹ The preparation of the article was supported by the Research Council of Lithuania according to the Development Programme of Researcher teams' projects (№ P-MIP-17-4).

² J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens, von den ältesten zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens*, Bd. 1, Königsberg 1827, p. 619.

³ J. Dworzaczkowa, *Kronika pruska Szymona Grunaua jako źródło historyczne*, in: *Studia Źródłoznawcze* II. Poznań 1958, p. 123.

⁴ R. Kregždys, *Sūduvių knygelės autorystės problema*, *Knygotyra*, T. 72, 2019, p. 266, 268.

⁵ K. Būga, *Rinktiniai raštai*, T. 1, Vilnius 1958, p. 172, 180.

20th cc⁶. These mythologemes were used to refer social and hierarchic⁷ status or age limit⁸ of the pagan priests.

Matthew Praetorius (*Matthäus Prätorius*), who had **not** a good command of the Prussian language⁹, recorded a hieronym *Wurszkaitis* and ascribed it to the estate of superintendents of the altar¹⁰. Later the said mythologeme was associated with the designation of the different rank of pagan clergy resp. with the **priests**¹¹.

It is to be emphasized that some researchers the said mythonyms used to name a hero or deified human being¹². Others state the opposite. They indicated the lexemes with the designation of an ordinary man, e.g., a leader, a commander, a man of fortune¹³.

It should be noted that scholars did not identified the functional subordination of the said mythonyms¹⁴, as information of the different written sources (i.e.

⁶ T. Narbutt, *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego*, T. I: *Mitologia litewska*, Wilno 1835, p. 282; J. I. Kraszewski, *Litwa. Starożytne dzieje, ustawy, język, wiara obyczaje, pieśni, przysłowia, podania i t.d.*, T. I: *Historia do XIII wieku*, Warszawa, 1847, p. 163; Th. von Grienberger, *Die Baltica des Libellus Łasicki. Untersuchungen zur litauischen Mythologie*, in: *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 18, Berlin 1896, p. 75; Ł. Okulicz-Kozaryn, *Życie codzienne Prusów i Jaćwiegów w wiekach średnich (IX-XIII w.)*, Warszawa 1983, p. 179.

⁷ Cf. “wurszajtis”, czyli główny ofiarnik” (Ł. Okulicz-Kozaryn, op. cit., p. 179) resp. “wurszajtis”, or the high priest”.

⁸ Cf. “Wurszajtosi, byli to **starcy** znający modlitwy” (L.A. Jucewicz, *Litwa pod względem starożytnych za- bytków, obyczajów i zwyczajów*, Wilno 1846, p. 300) resp. “Wurszajtosi were prayerful **forefathers**”; “jaćw. wurszajtis ‘**starzec**-kapłan ofiarujący kozła” resp. “Yatv. wurszajtis ‘**forefather** – a priest making a goat sacrifice” (K.T. Witczak, *Wurszajtis – jaćwiński kapłan-ofiarnik. Przyczynek do identyfikacji „gwar pogańskich z Narewu”*, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, T. 20, 1989, p. 274). Moreover, it should be noted that such a mythological property is also recorded in YB (see footnote 44).

⁹ For more details see K. Būga, op. cit., p. 155.

¹⁰ M. Pretorius, *Prūsijos įdomybės, arba Prūsijos regykla*, T. 3, Vilnius 2006, pp. 398–399, 438–439, 466–467, 494–495.

¹¹ Definition ‘a priest’ is commonly presented in Encyclopaedias, cf. “Das preußische Volk der Sudinen beging das Feft Ozinek auf diese Weise [...] Der Wurfchayt, ihr **Opferprieſter**” (F. Wachter, *Ozinek*, in: *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. In alphabetischer Folge von genannten Schriftstellern bearbeitet und herausgegeben von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber. Dritte Section O–Z. Leipzig 1836, p. 235) resp. “Sudovians, a Prussian folk, started to celebrate they festival Ozinek in the way [...] Wurfchayt, their **priest**”. Georg Ernst Sigismund Hennig (*Preußisches Wörterbuch worinnen nicht nur die Preußen gebräuchliche eigenthümliche Mundart und was sie sonst mit der niedersächsischen gemein hat, angezeigt, sondern auch manche in preußischen Schriftstellern, Urkunden, Documenten und Verordnungen vorkommende veraltete Wörter, Redensarten, Gebräuche und Altherthümer erklärt werden*, Königsberg 1785, p. 306) indicated the sememe ‘**Oberprieſter** resp. **the high priest**’. Also see: see A. Мѣржинскій, *Прусскій жрецъ „Sicco”*, in: *Труды восьмого археологического съезда въ Москвѣ 1890*. Т. 2. Ред. П. С. Уварова, М. Н. Сперанскій, Москва 1895, p. 188; idem, *Ромове. Археологическое изслѣдованіе*, Москва 1899, p. 32; A. Brückner, *Osteuropäische Götternamen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie*, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, Bd. 50(3/4), 1922, p. 168; J. Mališauskas, *Baltische Elemente im Werk von Simon Dach*, *Annaburger Annalen über Litauen und deutsch-litauische Beziehungen*, Bd. 17, 2009, p. 188; R. Kregždys, *Sėduvių knygelė – vakarų baltų religijos ir kultūros šaltinis. I dalis: formalioji analizė*, *Lituanistica*, T. 55 (3–4 [79–80]), 2009, p. 176, 178–179, idem, *Baltų mitologemų etimologijos žodynas I: Kristburgo sutartis*, Vilnius 2012, p. 206

¹² J. I. Kraszewski, op. cit., p. 137.

¹³ J. Lelewel, *Polska. Dzieje i rzeczy jej*. Tom V, Poznań 1863, p. 481.

¹⁴ M. Pretorius, op. cit., pp. 266–267.

data of the works by S. Grunau, Hieronim Malecki, M. Praetorius, M. Strykowski etc.) was applied. Therefore, there were presented many random, i.e. questionable functional links of the mythologemes, cf. 'a god, a deity'¹⁵ ↔ 'a hero' ↔ 'a priest'¹⁶. Some researchers indicated the binding of different sources, e.g., a form *Wurskait* recorded in c compilation of YB (cf. Yatv. *Wurfkayt* c¹⁷) was identified with the meaning of 'an epithet of *Worskaito*' presented in S. Grunau's *Chronik*¹⁸.

Christophor Hartknoch was the first who tried to solve this problem¹⁹. He consciously neglected the usage of the sememe 'a god, a deity'. On the basis of the explanation of the mythological data presented by Jan Malecki, he indicated the sememe 'a priest' as the only right: "Notandum est, Joannem Meletium, quem alii sequuntur, in hoc capite Ducem, Vorskaitum non referre inter Deos, sed statuere, nomen hoc fuisse Waidelottarum, id est, Prufficorum Sacerdotum" resp. "It is to be emphasized that Jan Malecki, who's information is used by others, does not ascribe a chief Vorskaitum to any god, but indicates his name with the Waidelottarum, i.e. with the Prussian priesthood"²⁰. Antoni Mierzyński was of the same opinion²¹.

Special attention is to be focussed on the information presented by Maciej Strykowski. He was the first who recorded a sememe 'a sorcerer': "Wurfchait ich, to iest ofiarnik, albo raczej **Czarownik**", "przed Wurfchaita, albo onego **Czarownika**"²², resp. "their Wurfchait is a priest or rather a **sorcerer**", "before Wurfchait or rather the **sorcerer**". Later, this information was repeated by Alexander Guagnini – "Wurschait **czarownik**"²³, resp. "Wurschait, a **sorcerer**"²⁴ and Ewaryst Estkowski: "tam ich Wurszajt **czarownik**"²⁵ resp. "there is their **sorcerer** Wurszajt".

¹⁵ Editors of the writings by M. Praetorius state this function of the mythonym was historically motivated. Therefore, they use the term *theonym* (see Ibidem, p. 719).

¹⁶ J. I. Kraszewski, op. cit., p. 137, 163.

¹⁷ W. Ditmar, *Kurtzer Auszug Der Ankunfft, Regierung, vnd lebens, aller Hohemeister des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen, sampt den Ceremonien, so vnter jrem Regiment für der erkenntnis Göttlichs Worts sein gehalten worden, Auch wie lange sie regirt, vnd was sie gestiftet haben*, Elbing 1564, p. 133, 134, 135.

¹⁸ M. E. Běťáková, V. Blažek, *Encyklopedie baltské mytologie*, Praha 2012, p. 48.

¹⁹ Chr. Joh. Hartknoch, *Selectae dissertationes historicae de variis rebus Prussicis. Opera & studio Christophori Hartknoch*, Francofurti & Lipsiae; Jenae 1679, p. 140.

²⁰ Also see: Chr. Manlius, *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum Antiqui & recentiores, Seu Opus, In quo Lusiticae Gentis Origines, Res gestae, Temporum vices... recensentur: quidam nunc primum ex Manuscriptis eruti, inter quos Christophori Manlii Rerum Lusaticarum Commentarii diu desiderati deprehenduntur, nonnulli vero ex Libellis fugientibus, ob raritatem in Corpus conjecti, ex Bibliotheca Senatus Zittaviensis editi*, Lipsiae & Budissae 1719, p. 185.

²¹ A. Мѣржинскій, op. cit., p. 32.

²² M. O. Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiej Rusi*, Królewiec 1582, p. 147.

²³ *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai* [BRMŠ], red. N. Vėlius, t. 2, Vilnius 2001, p. 468.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 482.

²⁵ E. Estkowski, *Zbiorek rzeczy swojskich ku nauce i rozrywce dla młodzieży*, Poznań 1859, p. 186.

Correlation of the graphic variants of the mythonyms

S. Grunau was the first who mentioned alternative variants of the mythologeme with the different initial consonants²⁶, i.e. OPr. *Worskaito*, *Wurschayto*, *Wursskaito* ↔ OPr. *Borsskayto*, *Borsskaito*, *Borsz kayto* 'a god of the cattle (sememe predetermined by apotheosis) ← a name of the king and high Prussian priest of the Early Period resp. OPr. *Bruteno*'.

The alternative forms of the said mythonyms recorded in YB due abundance of graphical and declinational variants are to be correlated according to the formal grammatical attribution, i.e. on the approach of systematic gradation of declension (resp. *nom. sg.*, *gen. sg.*... → *nom. pl.*, *gen. pl.*...). The said method is very sufficient for the identification of some sacral characteristics of the mythonyms wrongly interpreted by translators of *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai*²⁷:

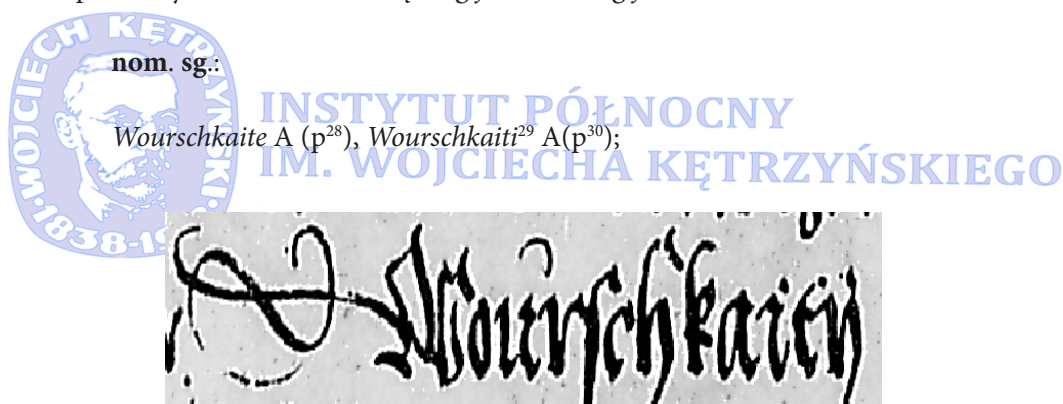


Illustration 1 – a 728v: a fragment of a manuscript written in the German *fractura* script – mythonym *Wourfchkaiti* (nom. sg.)

BGPAN(PR): Ms. 1277

²⁶ Simon Grunau's *preussische Chronik* (Die preussischen Geschichtschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts), Bd. 1, Hrsg. M. Perlach, Leipzig 1876, p. 79, 95–96; also see BRMŚ, p. 76, 113; M. Waisselius, *Chronica Alter Preusscher, Eifflendischer vnd Curlendischer Historien*, Königsberg 1599, p. 18.

²⁷ See footnote 31.

²⁸ W. Mannhardt, *Letto-Preussische Götterlehre*, Riga 1936, s. 247, 253.

²⁹ For more details about the variation of the nom. sg. flexional formants of *n. propria* EHG / G -e (↔ West-Balt. [OPr.; Yatv.] *-is, *-as) ↔ EHG / G -i see: R. Kregždys, op. cit., s. 100.

³⁰ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., s. 248, 249, 250.

Wourfchkaity α 728v (see illustration 1), *Wourfchaitenn*³¹ α 729r, *wourfchaitj* α 725r³², *Woürfchaitj*³³ α 729v, *Woürfchlaity*³⁴ α 730r, *Wourfchaiti* α 730v, *Woürfchaite* α 732r

wourfchllkaity B 725r³⁵, *wourf kayte* B 728v, *Wourf kayti* B 729r, *Wourfchkaity* B 730r (x 2), *Wourfchayti* B 731r, *Wourfchkaity* B 732v

wourfchayte C 2r, *wourfchaythj* C 3v (x 2), *wourfchaythj* C 4v, C 7r

wurfchllkaytt E 377v³⁶, *wurfch kaytt* E 378r, *wurfch kaytt* E 379r (x2), E 381v, *wurfchllkaytt* E 380r

Wurschkaytte †F³⁷

wourfchayte G 3r, *wourfchaythi* G 4r, *wourfchaythy* G 4r, *wourfchayty* G 5r, *wourfchaythi* G 6v

Wurßkaite G(p)³⁸, *Wurkaite* G(p³⁹), *Wurkaito* G(p⁴⁰), *Wurskaito* G(p⁴¹)

Wurfch kayt J(p⁴²) (x 4), *Wurfch keyt* J(p⁴³)

warfowothei K 166r⁴⁴,

³¹ This form commonly used to represent the case of **dat. pl.** found in EHG writings (see: *Frühneuho-chdeutsche Grammatik* [FrG] von Robert Peter Ebert, Oskar Reichmann, Hans-Joachim Solms und Klaus-Peter Wegera, Hrsg. Oscar Reichmann, Klaus-Peter Wegera, Tübingen 1993, s. 166, 174), cf. the examples recorded in A(p) and C manuscripts, i.e. “vor **denen** Wourschkaiten” A(p) [W. Mannhardt, op. cit., s. 247] ↔ “vor **denen** I Wourfchayten” C 2v). The scribe of a manuscript transferred the form to the beginning of the next sentence (cf. “Wourfchaitenn fo hebt” α 729r, i.e. he predetermined fallacious usage of the lexeme which was to be in the case of **nom. sg.**

³² See footnote 33.

³³ W. Mannhardt (op. cit., s. 248) presented an inflection -j of the form *Woürschaitj* A(p), but he left unexplained the phonological status of the grapheme. It should be noted that -j is not a primary ending of the mythologeme, as the selfsame declensional form of the same manuscript (resp. *wourfchaitj* α 725r) reflects an ending -i (resp. *Wourfchaiti* α 730v). In fact, no doubts arise about the secondary origin of the inflectional formant -j. The assumption is based on the usage of the alternative ending -j instead of primary -i commonly found in EHG writings (see FrG, s. 43; also see footnote 34).

³⁴ Variation of the graphemes i, j, y (also used with diacritics) is often found in EHG written monuments of the 16th c (see FrG, ss. 43–44). It should be noted that vowel y with diacritic (resp. *ÿ*) is not to be related with EHG *i-longa*, as there is no lexemes with the ending *-ij presupposing long *i* recorded in YB. Moreover, the inflectional formant -ÿ commonly was used in the lexemes of foreign origin (see FrG, s. 44).

³⁵ See footnote 34.

³⁶ See footnote 76.

³⁷ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., s. 249.

³⁸ *M. Lucas David's Preußische Chronik*, Bd. 1, Königsberg 1812, p. 88, 89 (x 2), 90. The usage of the form with the voiceless spirant *s-fortis* (resp. **ß**) as an alternant of grapheme *s* (see FrG, pp. 110–115) recorded by Lukas David (ibid.) is of special importance for the verification of the primary status of voiceless /s/, but not /ʃ/, as tri-graph *sch* resp. /ʃ/ was **not** used to represent *s-fortis* in EHG written monuments (see FrG, pp. 115–117).

³⁹ *M. Lucas David's Preußische Chronik*, Bd. 1, p. 89.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, s. 90.

⁴¹ Ibidem, s. 91.

⁴² M. Waisselius, op. cit. s. 20.

⁴³ Ibidem, s. 21.

⁴⁴ The form presupposes a few morphonological changes untypical to the lexemes presented in the same position of the other manuscripts of YB:

(1) the origin of the vowel -a- (short *ä* due the structure of the syllable) is to be explained due –

α. graphical alternation of *ä* ↔ *ö* found in the EHG written sources (see FrG, p. 38, 45–46), cf. EHG *warzel*

*Wurfcheithi*⁴⁵ K 166r
wurfchailti X 763, *Wurschkaiti* X 764, 765, *wurfchkaiti* X 764, *Wurschlaite* X 767⁴⁶
Wurfkayt c x3⁴⁷, *Wurfchkeyt* c⁴⁸
Wurfchkayt e x3⁴⁹, *Wurschllkayte* e⁵⁰, *Wufschkayte*⁵¹ e⁵², *Wurfchkayte* e⁵³ / a⁵⁴
gen. sg.
*Wurfkaiten*⁵⁵ G(p⁵⁶)
dat. sg.:

'a wart' ↔ EHG *worcel* 'ditto' (L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, *Hoch- und Nieder-deutsches Wörterbuch der mittleren und neueren Zeit*, Basel 1885, p. 894), as EHG *ō* occasionally was replaced by diphthong *ou* (see FrG, p. 60). The usage of the vowel is also found in the dialects of Prussia, cf. adv. G *bald* /bält/ 'rapidly, swiftly' (E.-M. Krech, E. Stock, U. Hirschfeld, L. Chr. Anders, *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*, Berlin & New York 2009, p. 350 [KSHA]) ↔ G dial. (EPr.) *bōul* 'ditto' (see W. Ziesemer, *Die ostpreussischen Mundarten*, Königsberg 1924, p. 130; also see *ibidem*, s. 17; R. Kregždys *Sūduvių knygelės etnomitologinė faktografija: mitonimų Swayxtix, Auschauts etimologinė raida ir semantinė transformacija*, Baltu filologija, T. 27(1/2), 2018, p. 49);

β. variation of the vowels *ā* ↔ *ō* (↔ G dial. [EPr.] *ōu*), cf. EHG *warsager* 'seer, oracle resp. MLat. *veridicus*' (L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, op. cit., s. 892) ↔ Yatv. *warfo* /*wothei* K 166r, *warfkeyten* K 165r / EHG *worseger* 'seer' (A. Götz, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar. Zweite, stark vermehrte Auflage*, Bonn 1920, p. 232) ↔ OPr. *Worskaito* (*Simon Grunau's preussische Chronik*, p. 79; also see footnote 142) / *Wourschkaite* A(p [W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 247, 253]), cf. verb. G dial. (EPr.) *plōgā* ↔ *plōgā* 'to disturb' ↔ verb. G *plagen* /pla:gn/ 'ditto' (see section 2).

Therefore, the first component of the compound, evidently, presupposes the primary form **wārs-* resp. **corrected** variant of the mythonym (not found in the old manuscripts of YB), modified due to the assumption of its genuine semantic value disclosed by the scribe of K manuscript (see footnote 154);

(2) the etiology of the second component of the composite word *-wothei*, evidently, is to be justified by the contamination with MLG *voit* 'pastoral **elder** etc.' (A. Lübben, Chr. Walther, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Darmstadt 1888, p. 975), which was transformed to **voti*. The assumption is based on the information of YB presented in the fourth part of the written source, i.e. "Sie erwelen **alte Menner**" A(p [W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 244]) resp. "They use to elect elders" (~ EHG *altman* 'an old man, elder' [A. Götz, op. cit., p. 8; *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* 1–11... Hrsg. O. Reichmann, Berlin & New York 1986–2016 (<https://fwb-online.de/>) [FHNDWe]]). Therefore, the scribe of K manuscript might have ascribed the said information of YB with EHG *alterman* 'an **elder**, community leader etc.' (FHNDWe).

⁴⁵ The vowel *-e-* in the root of the form is secondary, i.e. graphic alternant of the vowel *a* found in EHG written monuments (see FrG, pp. 38–39), cf. EHG *wartz* 'a wart' ↔ EHG *wercz* 'ditto' (L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, op. cit., p. 894).

⁴⁶ It should be noted that all forms of the said mythonym presented in X manuscript (including equivalents recorded in E, G[p], J[p] copies of YB) reflect the radical vowel *-u-* used instead of the diphthong *-ou-* found in the old copies of YB (see footnote 76).

⁴⁷ W. Ditmar, op. cit., p. 133, 134, 135.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

⁴⁹ V. Schlieff, [H. Meletius] *Wahrhaftige Befchreibung der Sudawen auf Samland, jammt ihrem Bockheiligen und Ceremonien*, in: *Erleutertes Preußen* 5, Königsberg, 1742, p. 708, 713.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 709.

⁵¹ The form presupposes *lapsus calami*, i.e. grapheme *-r-* was missed.

⁵² V. Schlieff, op. cit., p. 710.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 711.

⁵⁴ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 247.

⁵⁵ The infection *-en* of the form presupposes the usage of the formant gen. sg. *-en* found in MLG written sources, as *n. propria* with the ending *-e* belong to the type of the weak declension (see A. Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, Halle a.S. 1914, p. 201, 203).

⁵⁶ M. Lucas David's *Preussische Chronik*, p. 90.

*Wurfkayti*⁵⁷ B 729r

*Wurfkayto*⁵⁸ G(p⁵⁹)

Wurfch kayten e⁶⁰

acc. sg.:

Wourschkaiti A(p⁶¹), *Wourschkaiten*⁶² A(p⁶³)

Wurfchkaiti α 729r, *Wurfchkaithy* α 730v, *Woürschaitj* α 731r⁶⁴

Wurfłkayti B 730v, *Wurfkayten* B 731v,

wurfchaythi C 4v, *wurfchaythenn* C 5v

wurfch kaytenn E 378r⁶⁵, *wurfch kaytenn* E 379v

wurfch kaythen G 3v⁶⁶, *wurfchaythi* G 5r, *wurfchaythen* G 5v

Wurfkaiten G(p⁶⁷)

Wurfch kayten J(p⁶⁸),

warfkeyten K 165r⁶⁹

wurfch kayti X 763, *Wurfchayti* X 765, *Wurfch kayti* X 765

Wurfch kayten c (Ditmar 1564: [133]), *Wurfkayten* c (Ditmar 1564: [135]),

*Wurfkayten*⁷⁰ c (Ditmar 1564: [135])

Wurfch kayten e x2⁷¹

⁵⁷ The inflection *-i* (nom. sg.) as unified declentional formant was used by the author of B manuscript (see footnote 29).

⁵⁸ L. David (op. cit.) used Latin inflection dat. sg. *-o* which is commonly found in the structure of non-inherited lexemes (see W. D. Whitney, *A Compendious German Grammar. Sixth Edition*, New York 1888, p. 42).

⁵⁹ M. Lucas David's *Preussische Chronik*, Bd. 1, p. 88.

⁶⁰ V. Schlieff, op. cit., p. 708 – also see footnote 62.

⁶¹ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 250.

⁶² The ending *-(e)n* was commonly added to the forms of EHG and MLG *n. propria* in dat. / acc. sg. (see W. D. Whitney, op. cit., p. 42; A. Lasch, op. cit., p. 203).

⁶³ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 251.

⁶⁴ Also see footnote 33.

⁶⁵ See footnote 31.

⁶⁶ See footnote 31.

⁶⁷ M. Lucas David's *Preussische Chronik*, p. 88.

⁶⁸ M. Weisselius, op. cit., p. 19, 21.

⁶⁹ For more details about the radical vowel *-a-* see footnote 44

⁷⁰ It should be noted that voiceless spirant /ʃ/ most frequently was graphically represented by digraph *sc*, but not by trigraph *sch* in EHG and MLG written monument of the 14th c (for more details see H. Penzl, *Die mittelhochdeutschen Sibilanten und ihre Weiterentwicklung*, Word, 24(1–3), p. 341; Lasch, op. cit., p. 21). Therefore, in the discussions of the origin of digraph *sc* in the form *Wurfch kayten*, one can draw a cautious assumption about the example of imitation of an old graphical tradition (also see R. Kregždys, op. cit., p. 18) presented in the reprint c by Wolfgang Dietmar, typographer of the city Elbing (see J. Sekulski, *Bibliografia druków elbląskich 1558–1772*, Warszawa 1988, p. 29; F. Freise, *Elbing*, in: *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit. Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum. Bd. 1: Augsburg–Gottorf*, Hrsg. W. Adam, S. Westphal, Berlin & Boston, 2012, p. 490), who named himself Wolff Ditmar (see W. Ditmar, op. cit., p. 17).

⁷¹ V. Schlieff, op. cit., p. 710, 711.

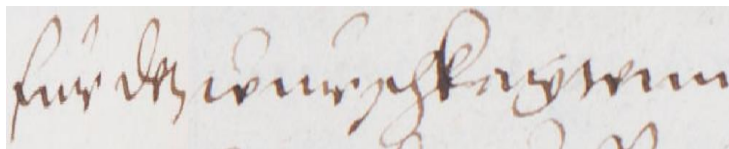


Illustration 2 – E 379v: a fragment of E manuscript – *für den | würschkaytenn* WBPCKT: Rps 95

dat. pl.:

Wourschkaiten A(p⁷²)

Wourfchayten C 2v⁷³

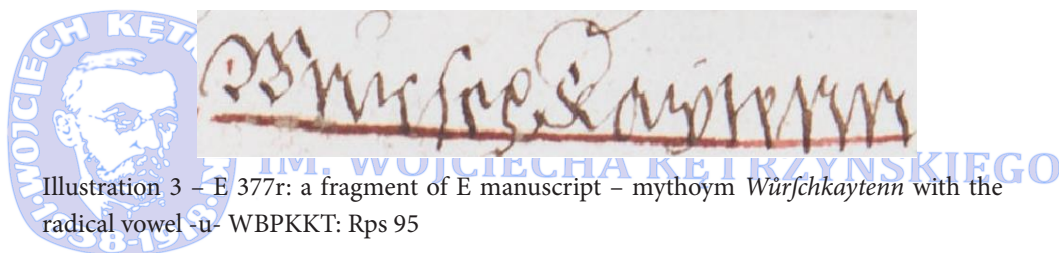


Illustration 3 – E 377r: a fragment of E manuscript – mythoym *Würfchkaiten* with the radical vowel -u- WBPCKT: Rps 95

acc. pl.:

Wourschkaity A(p⁷⁴)

Wurfchkaity α 727v

Wourfchaity B 728r

*Wairfchkaity*⁷⁵ C 1r (see illustration 4)

*Wurfchkaytenn*⁷⁶ E 377r / †ε, †F⁷⁷

Wurfchkaithi G 2r

Wurfchkayten J(p⁷⁸)

⁷² W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 247.

⁷³ Also see footnote 31.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 244.

⁷⁵ The etiology of the diphthong -ai-, evidently, is to be justified by the cause of analogy (resp. -ai- ← -ou-) due to the influence of diphthong -aj-, which was predetermined by regressive assimilation, i.e. *-ou-...-aj- → -ai-...-aj-, cf. the same change in the structure of mythonym *Baidonaihs* X 762 ↔ *Bardonayhs* α 728r.

Editors of W. Mannhardt's book only mentioned the exclusiveness of the form, cf. "Wairschkayt C, „durch“ Zusatz des Herausgebers, fehlt allen Hss. u. Drucken" ibidem, p. 244).

⁷⁶ It should be noted that this form is recorded with the radical vowel -u- (i.e. *Wur-* [see illustration 3]) for the first time, repeatedly presented in J(p) manuscript, frequently mentioned by the editors of W. Mannhardt's book (ibidem, pp. 247–251). The structure of this form, evidently, should not be ascribed to innovated, as the author of E manuscript might have used the later variant of the diphthong EHG /ou/, i.e. vowel *u* which was a variant of grapheme *û* found in the written sources of the 15th c (see FrG, p. 47).

⁷⁷ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 245.

⁷⁸ M. Waisselius, op. cit., p. 19.

wourfchaythÿ K 165r⁷⁹

Wurfchaiti X 762

Wurfchayten c⁸⁰

Wurßhkaiten e⁸¹

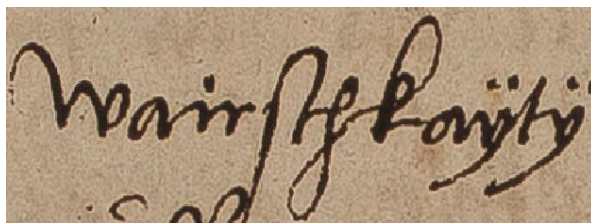


Illustration 4 – C 1r: a fragment of C manuscript written in the German cursive script – mythonym *Wairfchaytÿ* (acc. pl.) HABW: Cod. Guelf. 14.11 Aug. 4°

Given the typology of the indicated graphic alternation variants of the mythonym *Wourschkaite* A(p) etc., one can state that 3 main conclusions can be drawn:

1) 6 features of the graphic alternation are to be distinguished (see scheme 1) –

- 1.1) variation of the structural element *-ou-* ↔ *-u-* ↔ *-a-* (*-e-*);
- 1.2) alternative usage of the trigraph *sch* and graphemes *s*, *s-fortis* (resp. *ß*);
- 1.3) non-existence of the structural elements *-k-* and *-r-*;
- 1.4) innovative (i.e. late) changes of the second component of the compound;
- 1.5) change of the diphthong *ou* → *ai*;
- 1.6) alternation of the flexional formants *-i* (↔ *-j*, *-ÿ*) ↔ *-e*.

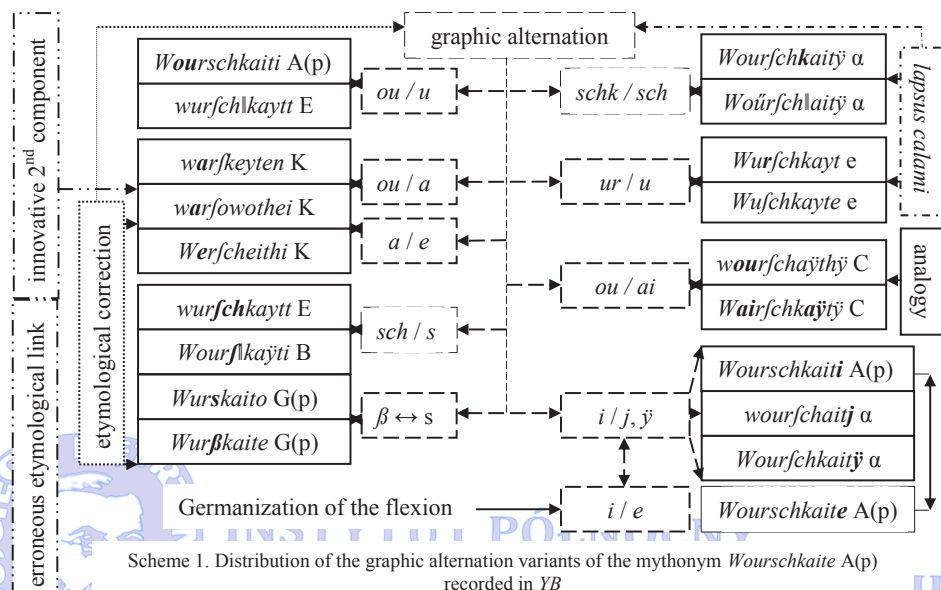
2) erroneous usage of *Wourfchaitenn* a 729r (dat. pl.) instead of nom. sg. form was corrected by the author of the manuscript B. The same change was adopted by the scribe of the copy E;

3) a few (but **not** a single) sacral rite performers (resp. sorcerers ↔ *Wourschkaity* A[p]) are mentioned in YB.

⁷⁹ Also see footnote 44.

⁸⁰ W. Ditmar, p. 132.

⁸¹ V. Schlieff, op. cit., p. 707.



2. Etymological analysis of the mythonyms OPr. *Wurschayto*, Yatv. *Wour-schkaite A(p)*

Quite a few descriptions of the origin of the mythologemes of OPr. *Wurschayto*, Yatv. *Wour-schkaite A(p)* are based on the principle of folk etymology, i.e. on the basis of mere formal similarity (of identical phonetic forms of lexemes) of the words of different origin. It was evidently for that reason fallacious etymological theories were presented, e.g.:

- 1) S. Grunau⁸² was likely the first who identified OPr. *Wurschayto* with sub. OPr. *werstian* 'calf' E 674, as he presented a function of the mythonym 'a god of the **cattle**', indicating the function of the mythonym 'deity of the **oxen**' (see section 1);
- 2a) particular explanation of the origin of the mythologeme was presented by the author of K manuscript. Trying to provide description of the etiology of the mythonym, he created a new composite Yatv. *warfowothei* K 166r with the second component *-wothei* which, evidently, reflects MLG *voit* 'pastoral elder'⁸³;
- 2b) a scribe of K manuscript beside the Yatv. *warfowothei* (nom. sg.) K 166r also presented a form with the same radical *-a-*, i.e. Yatv. *warfkeyten* (acc. sg.) K

- 165r, instead of using lexemes with radical *-ou-* recorded in the manuscripts of the earlier period, although once he used Yatv. *wourfchaÿthÿ* K 165r (acc. pl.);
- 3) M. Praetorius, evidently, in compliance with S. Grunau's information (see item 1), recorded a mythologeme ‡*Warszkaitis*, which was used, as he declared, by Nadruvians⁸⁴. The origin of this lexeme he has related with the name of the dish "Wurszke oder Warszke"⁸⁵, i.e. 'curd'⁸⁶. It was evidently for that reason he presented a new function of the mythologeme 'a deity of the **dishes**'. Theodor von Grienberger the said theonym description ascribed to nonsenses (cf. "ist sicher ein Unsinn")⁸⁷;
 - 4) Christophor Manlius stated that a name of the deity of cattle *Vorskaito* is a borrowing from Pol. *Wrozek*⁸⁸, i.e. MPL. *wrózek* 'fortune-teller, prophet'⁸⁹;
 - 5) Gottfried Ostermeyer, in accordance with the information of S. Grunau's *Chronik*, presented two forms of the theonym *Worŷzkátis* / *Werŷzukátis* 'a god of younger animals'⁹⁰. The origin of the mythologemes he related with sub. Lith. *Werŷjis* 'a calf'⁹¹;
 - 6) G. E. S. Hennig⁹² modified the form *Wurszkaitus* presented in M. Praetorius' work⁹³. He listed two forms of the mythonym in the shape of *Wurfchkaitus* and ‡*Woruszkaiten* which origin was linked with adj. OPr. *Woras* 'old'. The hypothesis in the long run was repeatable presented by Wilhelm Gaerte⁹⁴;
 - 7) Joachim Lelewel⁹⁵ slightly revised the ideas of the origin of the mythologeme and offered a new hypothesis presenting a lexeme with the radical *-i-* instead of *-u-*: "Nie *wurszajto*, ale *wirszajtis*, *wirszutis*, po prostu zwierzcchnik, rządca majątku" resp. "Not *wurszajto*, but *wirszajtis*, *wirszutis*, or simply 'chief', 'proprietor'" –

⁸⁴ M. Pretorijus, op. cit., p. 266.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 268.

⁸⁶ H. Usener, *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, Bonn 1896, p. 104; A. Brückner, op. cit., p. 169.

⁸⁷ Th. von Grienberger, *Die Baltica des Libellus Łasicki. Untersuchungen zur litauischen Mythologie*, in: *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, Bd. 18, Berlin, 1896, p. 76.

⁸⁸ Ch. Manlius, op. cit., p. 186.

⁸⁹ S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, T. 6, Warszawa 1814, p. 511.

⁹⁰ G. Ostermeyer, *Pastors zu Trempen im Amte Nordenburg. kritischer Beytrag zur Altpreußischen Religionsgeschichte*, Marienwerder 1775, p. 18.

⁹¹ R. Kregždys, *Gotfrydo Ostermejerio Kritischer Beytrag zur Altpreußischen Religionsgeschichte (1775) mitonimų etimologijos svarstymai*, Senoji Lietuvos literatūra, T. 41, 2016, p. 95.

⁹² G. E. S. Hennig, op. cit., p. 306.

⁹³ M. Pretorijus, *Prūsijos įdomybės, arba Prūsijos regykla*, T. 1, Vilnius 1999, p. 230.

⁹⁴ W. Gaerte, *Sakrale Herrschaftsform bei den heidnischen Preussen, Litauern und Letten*, in: *The Sacral Kingship. Contributions of the Central Theme of the VIII th International Congress for the History of Religions (Rome, April 1955) / La regalita sacra. Contributi al tema dell' VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni (Roma, aprile 1955)*, Leiden, 1959, p. 637.

⁹⁵ J. Lelewel, op. cit., p. 481.

- 7a. Ludwik Adam Jucewicz⁹⁶, most likely, in compliance with J. Lelewel's teaching, presented a mythonym *Wirszajt* (nom. sg.; without inflection) and a new one in plural form – *Wirszajtosy* (nom. pl.);
- 7b. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski⁹⁷, evidently, inspired by the same idea, reconstructed a form **Wirszucziáusas* with the meaning of 'the highest';
- 8) Adalbert Bezzenberger⁹⁸, in compliance with J. Lelewel's hypothesis (see supra), explained the origin of *Wourfchkaithi* G 2r (acc. pl.) identifying it with the reconstructed compound made from sub. Lith. *viršzus* and sub. OPr. *quaits* 'a will, wish' III 51₅⁹⁹, which, to quote A. Bezzenberger, presupposes sememe ‡'der den Himmel oder die Oberen bittende, θεοπρόπος resp. heathen prayer or foretelling things by a spirit of prophecy'¹⁰⁰;
- 9) T. von Grienberger linked G. E. S. Hennig's hypothesis with the J. Lelewel's guess (see supra). In the linguistic analysis of the mythologeme he applied the data presented by Jan Łasicki who used factographic information of Jan Malecki's compilation¹⁰¹. It was evidently for that reason the origin of the mythonyms *Wurschaiten* (acc. sg.), *Vvurschaites* (nom. sg.) 'sacrificulus'¹⁰² was explained on the basis of the reconstructed forms (a) **wurīskis* 'an old man, forefather', (b) **wurīskāitis* (→ **wurīskāitis*)¹⁰³. Such a conception was justified by the attempt to link the reconstructed lexemes with adj. OPr. *urs* 'old' (the origin of initial *w-* was based on the comparison with adj. Lith. *wóras* 'very old') or sub. Lith. *wiršūs* 'upstairs', sub. Lith. *wiršūnė* 'a top'¹⁰⁴.

It is to be emphasized that J. Lelewel's hypothesis (see supra) about the possible link between lexemes with alternation of radical elements *-ur-* (resp. *w-ur-szajto*) and *-ir-* (cf. sub. Lith. *v-ir-šūs* 'upstairs; a cap, an edge; a top; an offset etc.'¹⁰⁵) is **essentially fallacious** for **non-existence** of such an alteration *-u- ↔ -i-* in Lithuanian¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁶ L. A. Jucewicz, op. cit., p. 300.

⁹⁷ J. I. Kraszewski, op. cit., p. 163.

⁹⁸ A. Bezzenberger, *Altpreussisches*, Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, Bd. 2, 1878, p. 136.

⁹⁹ V. Mažiulis, *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas*, T. II, Vilnius 1993 [PEŽ II], pp. 324–325.

¹⁰⁰ A. Brückner, op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁰¹ BRMŠ, p. 573.

¹⁰² J. Lasicius, *De Diis Samagitarum Libellus*, Riga 1868, p. 19.

¹⁰³ The author of the hypothesis used the grapheme *escet* as an alternant of G /j/ resp. a variant of a tri-graph *sch*.

¹⁰⁴ Th. von Grienberger, op. cit., p. 75; also see: G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Thesaurus linguae Prussicae*, Berlin 1873, p. 196; A. Brückner, op. cit., p. 169.

¹⁰⁵ *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (t. 1–20, 1941–2002) elektroninis variantas. Antrasis elektroninis leidimas, red. kolegija: G. Naktinienė ir kt., Vilnius 2013 [LKŽe].

¹⁰⁶ Б. Савукина, *К проблеме западнобалтийского субстрата в югозападной Литве*, Baltistica, T. 1(2), p. 167; also see PEŽ II, p. 23; D. Petit, *Untersuchungen zu den baltischen Sprachen*, Leiden & Boston 2010, p. 21.

Jan Otrębski's¹⁰⁷ guess about the possible example of such phonological phenomenon was based on the associative assumptions of comparison hydr. Lith. *Dūlgas* (lake; Leipalingis) with the reconstructed adj. Yatv. **dulga-* 'long', allegedly related to the development of sonant Proto-Balt. **l* > **ul* which is **not** attested in East Baltic languages, cf. adj. EBalt. **ilga-* 'long' < adj. Balt. **ilga* 'ditto'¹⁰⁸.

Moreover, it should be noted that Bronys Savukynas¹⁰⁹ related the origin of hydr. Lith. *Dūlgas* **not** with adv. OPr. *ilga* 'a great while' III 95₃ etc.¹¹⁰, but with hydr. OPr. *Dulgen* 1331¹¹¹. These arguments, for some reason, are consciously neglected by some scholars¹¹².

It is to be emphasized that T. Grienberger's hypothesis is based on the associative assumptions of comparison of homophones or homonyms (presupposed by the atomistic method), i.e. the examples of absorption of the structural element *-i-* (cf. **wur-i-βkāitis* → **wurβkāitis* [see supra]) are **not** presented¹¹³. The scholar was not able to provide description of the morphophonetic change in the word structure due to **non-existence** of *n. agentia* type with the suff. **-isk-* in West Baltic languages¹¹⁴, as well as the **absence** of the lexemes of the same type with binary suff. **-isk-aīt-*¹¹⁵. Unfortunately, this phantasmagoric hypothesis lately was actualized by Letas Palmaitis¹¹⁶;

10) given the reference of the mythonym OPr. *Worskaito* (presented by S. Grunau) to adj. OPr. *urs* 'old' III 63₁₄ (< adj. OPr. **vāra-* 'ditto'¹¹⁷), Viacheslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov, in compliance with G. E. S. Hennig's and T. Grienberger's hypotheses (see supra), indicated the sememe 'elder' without further etymological analysis¹¹⁸;

¹⁰⁷ J. Otrębski, *Das Jatwingerproblem*, Die Sprache, Bd. 9, 1963, p. 161.

¹⁰⁸ PEŽ II, p. 23; for more details see D. Petit, op. cit.

¹⁰⁹ Б. Савукина, op.cit., pp. 165–176.

¹¹⁰ PEŽ II, p. 23.

¹¹¹ G. Gerullis, *Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin und Leipzig 1922, p. 32.

¹¹² K. T. Witczak, *Wurszajtis – jaćwieski kapłan-ofiarnik. Przyczynek do identyfikacji „gwar pogańskich z Narewu”*, Acta Baltico-Slavica, T. 20, 1989, p. 342; idem, *Węgra – dawny hydronim jaćwieski*, Onomastica, T. 59, 2015, pp. 274–275.

¹¹³ It should be noted that Prussian onyms with suff. OPr. **-isk-* do **not** presuppose alternative forms with the absorption of the vowel *-i-*, cf. n. prop. OPr. *Biriske* 1299 (A. Lewy, *Die alpreussischen Personennamen*, Breslau 1904, p. 18, 44, 67; R. Trautmann, *Die altpreußischen Personennamen*, Göttingen 1974, p. 19, 174), OPr. *Matske* (A. Lewy, op. cit., p. 35, 53, 67), i.e. forms **Birske*, **Matske* are **not** recorded. Therefore, one can draw a cautious assumption that reconstructed forms **wur-i-βkis*, **wur-i-βkāitis* **never** existed.

¹¹⁴ See footnote 113.

¹¹⁵ Cf. a mythonym ‡*Woruszkaiten* invented by G. E. S. Hennig, op. cit., p. 306.

¹¹⁶ P. Kawiński, *Staropruskie słownictwo aksjologiczne i sakralne w ujęciu etnolingwistycznym*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie, No.1(271), 2011, pp. 53–54; idem, *Sacrum w wyobrażeniach pogańskich Prusów. Próba interpretacji na pograniczu historii i etnologii religii*, Olsztyn 2018, p. 156.

¹¹⁷ PEŽ IV, p. 211.

¹¹⁸ Вяч. Вс. Иванов; В. Н. Топоров, *К проблеме лит. Jutis и балтийского близнечного культа*, в: *Балто-славянские исследования* 1982, Москва, 1983, p. 172; Вяч. Вс. Иванов. *Труды по этимологии*

- 11) the attempt to relate theonym OPr. *Wurschayto* / *Wursskaito* 'a deity of **cat-tle**'¹¹⁹ with OPr. **Kurvaitas* 'an owner of a **bull** (bulls)'¹²⁰ is not meaningful due to the newest results of the formal analysis of YB¹²¹ and etymological analysis of the mythonym, i.e. the first component of the compound OPr. *Wursch-* / *Wurs-* presupposes the identification of an authentic form of Germanic origin, but not an inherited Baltic relic (see further).

In the linguistic analysis of the morphological evolution of mythologemes OPr. *Wurschayto*, Yatv. *Wourschkaite* A(p) and its variants, attention is to be paid to specific characteristics of word formation, typical to lexemes of the sacred sphere, reflected in the structure of the words in that specific lexical layer, and these peculiarities – (I) identification of the language of the written source the mythonyms are described in. It presupposes the definition of the mythologeme ethnicity; (II) identification of the possible West Baltic inherited forms; and (III) the implication of the determinational relationship between the grammatical form and meaning of the mythonyms:

- I. due presentation of **parallel** forms with the first component *Wur-* / *Bor-*, lexical data recorded by S. Grunau is of special importance.

A combination of Early New High German and Middle Low German is the characteristic feature of the language used by a Dominican priest from Tolkemit near Frauenburg¹²², i.e. the author of *Preussische Chronik*. True, it has been stated that it was written in Middle Low German¹²³. Such a conception can be justified by the usage of EHG lexemes instead of MLG equivalents found in S. Grunau's *Chronik*, cf. EHG *abgot(t)* 'an idol; pagan deity, extraneous god; a god from Antiquity etc.'¹²⁴ ↔ MLG *afgod* / *affgod* 'an idol'¹²⁵ etc. It is to be assumed that S. Grunau resided in monasteries of Gdansk and Elbing¹²⁶.

The same characteristics of the linguistic attribution of the written source are also typical to YB¹²⁷. Therefore, in the examination of the said mythonyms, they

индоевропейских и древнепереднеазиатских языков 2, Москва 2008, p. 385; also see: B. H. Топоров, *Прусский язык: Словарь* 2, Москва 1979, p. 91 [ПЯ II]; R. Kregždys, *Baltų mitologemų etimologijos žodynas I*, p. 88.

¹¹⁹ Simon Grunau's *preussische Chronik*, pp. 95–96.

¹²⁰ R. Kregždys, op. cit., p. 347; idem, *Gotfrydo Ostermejerio Kritischer Beytrag*, p. 95.

¹²¹ Idem, *Sūduvių knygelės etnomitologinė faktografija: mitonimų Dėywoty Zudwity, Ockopirmus*, p. 55, 73–74; idem, *Sūduvių knygelės etnomitologinė faktografija: mitonimų Swayxtix, Auschauts*, p. 13.

¹²² Idem, *Sūduvių knygelės nuorašų formalių analizė bei analitinė eksplikacija*, p. 116.

¹²³ Ph. Baldi, *The Foundations of Latin*, Berlin & New York 1999, p. 35.

¹²⁴ Simon Grunau's *preussische Chronik*, p. 53, 78–79, 94–95; also see FHNDWe.

¹²⁵ L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, op. cit., p. 8; 8; K. Schiller, A. Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Bd. 1, Bremen 1875, p. 24; also see O. Buurman, *Hochdeutsch-plattdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Bd. 1. *Auf der Grundlage ostfriesischer Mundart*, Neumünster 1962, p. 66.

¹²⁶ *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, T. 7 [LE VII], Bostonas 1956, p. 528.

¹²⁷ R. Kregždys, op. cit., p. 116.

are obligatorily determined in accordance with EHG and MLG lexical data and the grammatical peculiarities of these languages.

II. S. Grunau¹²⁸ presented these mythologemes as **alternative** forms (see section 1):

OPr. Wurschayto / Wursskaito / Worskaito ↔ OPr. Borsskayto / Borsskaito / Borszkayto

Therefore, one can draw a cautious assumption about the different lexicological status of the lexemes. The forms with the first component of **Germanic**¹²⁹ origin are to be ascribed to the type of interpretative words used by newcomers from Germany. Lexemes in the shape of inherited words with the features of borrowed morphological structure presuppose loan-translations.

The assumption is based on the different origin of the Germanic and West Baltic lexical alternatives (appellatives and onyms):

(α) Germanic lexemes – EHG *worseger* ‘a seer’¹³⁰;

(β) semantic equivalents of West Baltic languages – p. n. OPr. *Burthe*, *Burtin*, *Burtims*, *Burtim*¹³¹.

Representatives of β type presuppose reconstruction of the hieronym *‘a sorcerer’, cf. the statement by Jan Malecki: “eēdem gentes habent inter se sortilegos¹³², qui lingua Rutenica **Burty** uocantur”¹³³ resp. “these people are keeping the sorcerers, calling them Burty in Ruthenian language”¹³⁴;

III. (α1) sub. EHG *wor-seger* ‘a seer’, a compound of *tatpuruṣa* type (with its graphical alternatives), presupposes the long radical vowel *-ā- of the first component¹³⁵: sub. EHG *war-seger*, *war-seyger*, *war-sager*, *war-sack* ‘seer, oracle, for-

¹²⁸ Simon Grunau's *preussische Chronik*, p. 79, 95–96.

¹²⁹ A. Mierzyński (A. Мѣржинскій, *Прусскій жрець „Sicco“*, p. 188) the form *Wurfchikayt*, which is presented in *e* reprint of YB (V. Schlieff, op.cit., p. 708, 713), ascribed to **German** lexicon.

¹³⁰ A. Götze, op.cit., p. 232.

¹³¹ See: R. Trautmann, op. cit., p. 21; also see ПЯ I, pp. 266–267. Cf. etymological equivalents of the East Balts: top. Lith. *Būrtkaimis* (LATŽ, p. 45), top. Latv. *burtnieki*, *apburtais ceļš* (J. Plāķis, *Latvijas vietu vārdi un latviešu pavārdi. II. Zemgales vārdi*, in: *Latvijas universitātes raksti* V(5), Riga, 1939, p. 364, 368).

¹³² Cf. MLat. *sortilega* ‘sorcerer, magician’ (A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs du Moyen-Age. Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevii*, Trnholti 1994, p. 855).

¹³³ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 296; also see BRMŠ, p. 205.

¹³⁴ Cf. also the examples recorded by M. Praetorius: *Burtonei*, *Burtonei*, *Burtones*, *Burtininks*, *Burteninkai*, *Burteniker*, *Burten*, *Burtii*, *Udburtulli* ‘sorcerers’ etc. (W. Mannhardt, pp. 549–550, 556–557, 605; M. Pretorius, op. cit., pp. 238–241, idem, Pretorius, *Prūsijos įdomybės, arba Prūsijos regykla*, T. 3, pp. 390–391, 398–403, 412–413, 428–431, 438–439, 574–575, 646–647; also see ПЯ I, pp. 266–267).

¹³⁵ F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 24 Aufl. Bearb. von Elmar Seebold. Berlin & New York 2002, p. 968.

tune-teller resp. MLat. *veridicus*¹³⁶ ↔ sub. MLG *wâr-seger*, *wâr-sager* ‘ditto’¹³⁷ ← sub. EHG *war*, *ware* ‘truth’¹³⁸ / sub. MLG *wâr*, *wahr* ‘truth, law’¹³⁹ + verb. EHG *sagen* ‘to teach, to explain; to report; to advise’¹⁴⁰ / MLG *segen* ‘to baptize; to sanctify; to discuss; to enchant’¹⁴¹.

It should be noted that EHG *ā* was diphthongized to EHG /*ou*, *ao*/ in German dialects, also used in the shape of interjacent vocal element *ō*, remained un-
aired in FrG, cf. sub. EHG *worseger* ‘fortune-teller’ ↔¹⁴² sub. G *Wahrsage(r)* ‘seer, oracle; fortune-teller, sorcerer’¹⁴³ resp. OPr. *Worskaito*¹⁴⁴. The said diphthong *ou* (← **ā*) is found in the mythonyms which are recorded in the **oldest** manuscripts of YB: Yatv. *Wourschkaite* A(p¹⁴⁵), *Wourfchkaitj* α 728v, *wourfkayte* B 728v etc.

The mythologemes with the radical vocal element -*u*- (resp. OPr. *Wurschayto* / *Wursskaito*) presented by S. Grunau reflect **graphic** but not the phonological variant *u* of the diphthong EHG /*ou*/ (see scheme 2)¹⁴⁶. The said diphthong *ou* in the written sources of the 15th c (EHG period) is found to be written in the shape of the letter *ū*¹⁴⁷. It is also recorded in YB mythonyms, cf. Yatv. *W-u-rfchkaytenn* E 377r / †ε, †F → *W-u-rschkayten* J(p) etc. Therefore, variation of vocal elements *ou* (← EHG *ā* [cf. *warfowothei* K 166r, *warfkeyten* K 165r]) ↔ *u* is to be justified by graphical alternation¹⁴⁸.

¹³⁶ L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, op. cit., p. 892; L. Diefenbach, op. cit., s. 612 (also see footnote 44).

¹³⁷ L. Diefenbach, op. cit., p. 612; A. Lübben, Chr. Walther, op. cit., pp. 1111–1112. Cf. also sub. MHG *wârsager* / *wârseger* ‘seer, oracle; fortune-teller, sorcerer resp. *aruspex*, *divinator*, *propheta*, *sortilegus*, *veridicus*, *veriloquus*’ (MLex III, p. 696) / sub. G *Wahrsage(r)* ‘ditto’ (*Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* [DWG]. 16 Bde. in 32 Teilbänden, Leipzig 1854–1961 (Quellenverzeichnis – 1971), p. 970, 974–976; also see footnote 154).

¹³⁸ A. Götze, op. cit., p. 223; L. Diefenbach, op. cit., p. 613.

¹³⁹ A. Lübben, Chr. Walther, op. cit., p. 1107; Cf. also adj. EHG *ware*, *war*, *waer*, *wair* ‘true, right’ (L. Diefenbach, op. cit., p. 615).

¹⁴⁰ A. Götze, op. cit., p. 182; L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, op. cit., p. 827; Cf. adj. G *wahr* ‘true, right’, verb. G *sagen* ‘to say, to tell’ (DWG XIII, p. 970).

¹⁴¹ A. Lübben, Chr. Walther, op. cit., p. 680.

¹⁴² A. Götze, op. cit., p. 232; Cf. also sub. EHG *worschein* ‘probability’ (L. Diefenbach, E. Wülcker, op. cit. p. 892) ↔ G (arch.) *Wahrschein* ‘ditto’ (DWG XIII, p. 994). For more details see FrG, pp. 49–50, 59–60.

¹⁴³ See footnote 137.

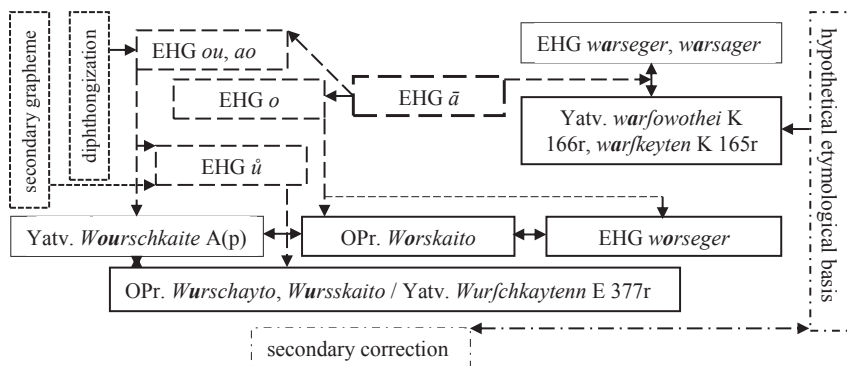
¹⁴⁴ *Simon Grunau's preussische Chronik*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁵ W. Mannhardt, op. cit., p. 247, 253.

¹⁴⁶ However, one can not relate the origin of the vocalic element -*u*- with alternation of EHG *ō* (↔ *ou*), as it does not presuppose the usage of the alternative sequence of the graphemes *ā* ↔ *ō* ↔ *ū* (see FrG, pp. 38–39, 46–47, 49–50, 56).

¹⁴⁷ For more details see FrG 47; also see footnote 76.

¹⁴⁸ See footnote 76.



Scheme 2. Phonological correlation of EHG *ā* and its reflection in the structure of the mythonyms
OPr. *Worskaito*, *Wurschayto*, *Wursskaito* / Yatv. *Wourschkaite*

The existence of the identical phonological change of the long EHG *ā* (resp. -ah-) to *ō* (in particular before the **sonant** *r*¹⁴⁹, cf. sub. G dial. [EPr.] *ōrbait* ↔ sub. G *Arbeit* ‘a job’), which, in the case of conjunction with G dial. (EPr.) *ō*, was diphthongized (resp. *ō* > *ōu*), is found in the area of High German Dialect in East Prussia, cf. verb. G dial. (EPr.) *plōgə* ↔ *plōugə* ‘to disturb’ ↔ verb. G *plagen* /pla:gn/ ‘ditto’¹⁵⁰;

(α2) formal structural discrepancies of the mythonym, i.e. -s(s)- / -sch- alternation (resp. OPr. *Wurschayto*, *Wursskaito*, *Worskaito*) presented by S. Grunau and the author of YB (resp. Yatv. *Wourfkeyti* B 729r, *Wourfchkeyti* B 730r etc.), are likely might be explained by two causes:

(α2.1) by the convergence of the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/ which was characteristic feature of Sambia dialect, i.e. dental spirant after the **sonant** *r* became alveolar spirant, cf. sub. G dial. (EPr. [Sambia]) *woršt* ‘sausage’ ↔ sub. G *Wurst* /vuʳst/ ‘ditto’¹⁵¹, i.e. the form with voiceless spirant -s- /s/ is to be regarded as primary or etymological, cf. the mythonym with *s-fortis* (resp. β) *Wurfškaite* recorded in G(p) manuscript¹⁵²;

(α2.2) by contamination with the words of close semantic value, i.e. verb. MLG *warschouwen* ‘to prewise’¹⁵³, verb. G dial. (EPr.) *wahrschauen*¹⁵⁴ ‘ditto (resp.

¹⁴⁹ W. Ziesemer, op. cit., p. 125, 127.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 122; also see KSHA, p. 827.

¹⁵¹ W. Ziesemer, op. cit., p. 127; also see M. Hasiuk, *Bemerkungen zum Text Hieronymi Meletii „Wahrhaftige Beschreibung der Sudawen auf Samland, sammt ihrem Bockheiligen und Ceremonien“*, in: *Contributions to Baltic Linguistics (Linguistic and Oriental Studies – Monograph Supplement 2)*, Poznań, 1993, p. 84; R. Kregždys, *Sūduvių knygelės etnomitologinė faktografija: mitonimų Swayxtix, Auschauts*, p. 20; KSHA, p. 1061.

¹⁵² See footnote 38.

¹⁵³ A. Lübken, Chr. Walther, op. cit., p. 1111.

¹⁵⁴ FrG, p. 453. Cf. semantic alternant verb. MHG *wārsagen* ‘to divine, to make prophecies, to witch resp. ariolari, divinare, prophetare’ (MLex III, p. 696).

G *verwarnen*) ← *to foresee resp. to be a **seer**¹⁵⁵ (Fr II: 453), which presupposes reconstruction of sub. G dial. (EPr.) **Wahrschauer* *‘a seer, an oracle; a fortune-teller, a sorcerer’ (cf. G *Wahrschauer* ‘a man who admonishes, advises, prompts resp. monitor, disuasor’¹⁵⁶);

(α3) the second component of the compounds OPr. *Wur-schayto*, *Wur-sskaito*, *Wor-skaito* / Yatv. *Wour-schkaite* A(p) presupposes these forms are to be ascribed to the lexical group of **partial calques** related to hybrids, i.e. EHG (*war- / wor-)**seger*, (*war-)**sager* ↔ MLG (*wâr-)**seger*, (*wâr-)**sager* are likely were changed to West Baltic morphological and semantic equivalents: (*war- / wor-)**seger*, (*war-)**sager* ↔ OPr. (*Bor-)**sskayto*, (*Bor-)**sskaito*, (*Bor-)**szkayto* → OPr.; *Wur-schayto*, *Wur-sskaito*, *Wor-skaito*;

(α4) non-existence of consonant *-k-* in OPr. *Wurschayto* recorded by S. Grunau, also found in the forms of YB (cf. Yatv. *Wourſchajti* B 731r ↔ *Wourſch-k-aytj* B 732v) can be justified by sporadic absorption (resp. by phenomenon of *lapsus calami*) or assimilation¹⁵⁷, as well as by the effect of analogy, cf. G dial. (EPr.) **Wahrschauer* (see supra).

It should be noted that the said consonant *-k-* is found in all loan-translations, cf. OPr. *Borss-k-ayto* / *Borss-k-aito* / *Borsz-k-ayto*;

(β1) graphical alternation of *ũ* ↔ *ö* in OPr. *Borsskayto*, *Borsskaito*, *Borsz-kayto* ↔ Yatv. *Burty* can be justified by –

(β1.1) twofold phonological value of OPr. *ũ*, cf. OPr. *prusnan* ‘a face’ III 105₂₂–₂₃ ↔ OPr. *prosnan* ‘ditto’ III 105₁₄¹⁵⁸;

(β1.2) the parallel usage of the graphemes *ũ* ↔ *ö* in East Prussia dialects, cf. sub. G dial. (EPr. [Sambia]) *woršt* ‘sausage’ ↔ sub. G *Wurst* ‘ditto’¹⁵⁹;

(β2) the usage of the graphemes *-sz-* instead of *-ss-* (resp. OPr. *Borsskayto* ↔ *Borsz-kayto*) is a common characteristic feature of EHG written monuments, i.e. an example of *s-fortis* (resp. *ß*) graphical alternation¹⁶⁰.

In order to refute the prevailing opinion about phonological /*f*/ status of the trigraph *-sch-* in OPr. *Wurschayto*¹⁶¹ and fallacious link with sub. Lith. *viršaitis*, the mythologeme OPr. *Borsz-kayto* also recorded by S. Grunau is of special importance

¹⁵⁵ Cf. verb. G *wahrschauen* ‘to be able make prophecies’ (DWG XIII, pp. 992–993).

¹⁵⁶ DWG XIII, p. 994.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. top. OPr. *Au-c-tekaymen* 1354 ↔ *Autekaym* 1291, *Au-c-tigarbin* 1411 / 1419 ↔ *Autigarbe* 1419 (see G. Gerullis, op. cit., p. 13, 224).

¹⁵⁸ PEŽ III, p. 361; also see V. Mažiulis, *Prūsų kalbos istorinė gramatika*, Vilnius 2004, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ W. Ziesemer, op. cit., p. 122, 127; also see R. Kregždys, *Sūduvių knygelės etnomitologinė faktografija: mitonimų Dėwyty Zudwity, Ockopirmus*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁰ See FrG, pp. 113–114. True, a digraph *sz* was also used to represent EHG *s* (see Ch. Young, T. Gloning, *A history of the German language through texts*, London & New York 2004, p. 201; also see R. Kregždys, op. cit., p. 45) or affricate /*ts*/ (see Ch. Young, T. Gloning, op. cit., p. 200; also see FrG, p. 72, 130; R. Kregždys, op. cit., p. 53). In any case, no doubts arise about the phonological status of OPr. *Borsz-kayto*.

¹⁶¹ See α2.2; also see A. Мѣржинскій, op. cit., p. 188.

for digraph *sz* is **not** to be related to EHG *sch* /ʃ/¹⁶². Due to many grammatical and orthography mistakes found in S. Grunau *Chronik*¹⁶³, one can **not** ascribed the trigraph *-sch-* to the regular graphical variants of *s-fortis*, used in the intervocalic position in EHG writings¹⁶⁴. It is to be assumed that the trigraph *-sch-* in this position represents voiceless spirant /s/¹⁶⁵, cf. OPr. *Wor-s-kaito*.

On the made etymological analysis of the mythologemes OPr. *Borsskayto* / *Borsskaito* / *Borszskayto* recorded by S. Grunau, one can draw a cautious assumption about the reconstruction of a composite word OPr. **Būr(t)-skaitās(-īs)*, which, although made from lexical components of the Baltic origin¹⁶⁶, presupposes **German loan-translation**, i.e. compound of the *tatpuruṣa* type (evidently, with a parallel usage of the inherited OPr. **Burtenas(-īs)*¹⁶⁷:

n. agentis OPr. **būrt-skaitās(-īs)* ‘a sorcerer ↔ a person who pronounces and explains prophecies’ (with apocope of the structural element **-jas* due to the reduction of the flexion *-ā-s*¹⁶⁸, that presupposed the emergence of morphological link with suff. OPr. **-ait-* found in the personal names (resp. OPr. *-oyt-* / *-eyt-*) ← OPr.

**burt-skaitāj(a)s*¹⁶⁹

*‘fortune-teller resp. sorcerer’ with suff. OPr. **-tājas*¹⁷⁰ < EHG *war-seger*, *war-sager* / MLG *war-seger*, *wārsager* ‘a seer, oracle, **fortune-teller** resp. MLat. *ve-ridicus*’ etc. (see scheme 3).

¹⁶² FrG, p. 115.

¹⁶³ V. Mažiulis, *Prūsų kalbos paminklai*, Vilnius 1966, p. 33; BRMŠ, p. 38.

¹⁶⁴ FrG, pp. 113–115.

¹⁶⁵ FrG, p. 112.

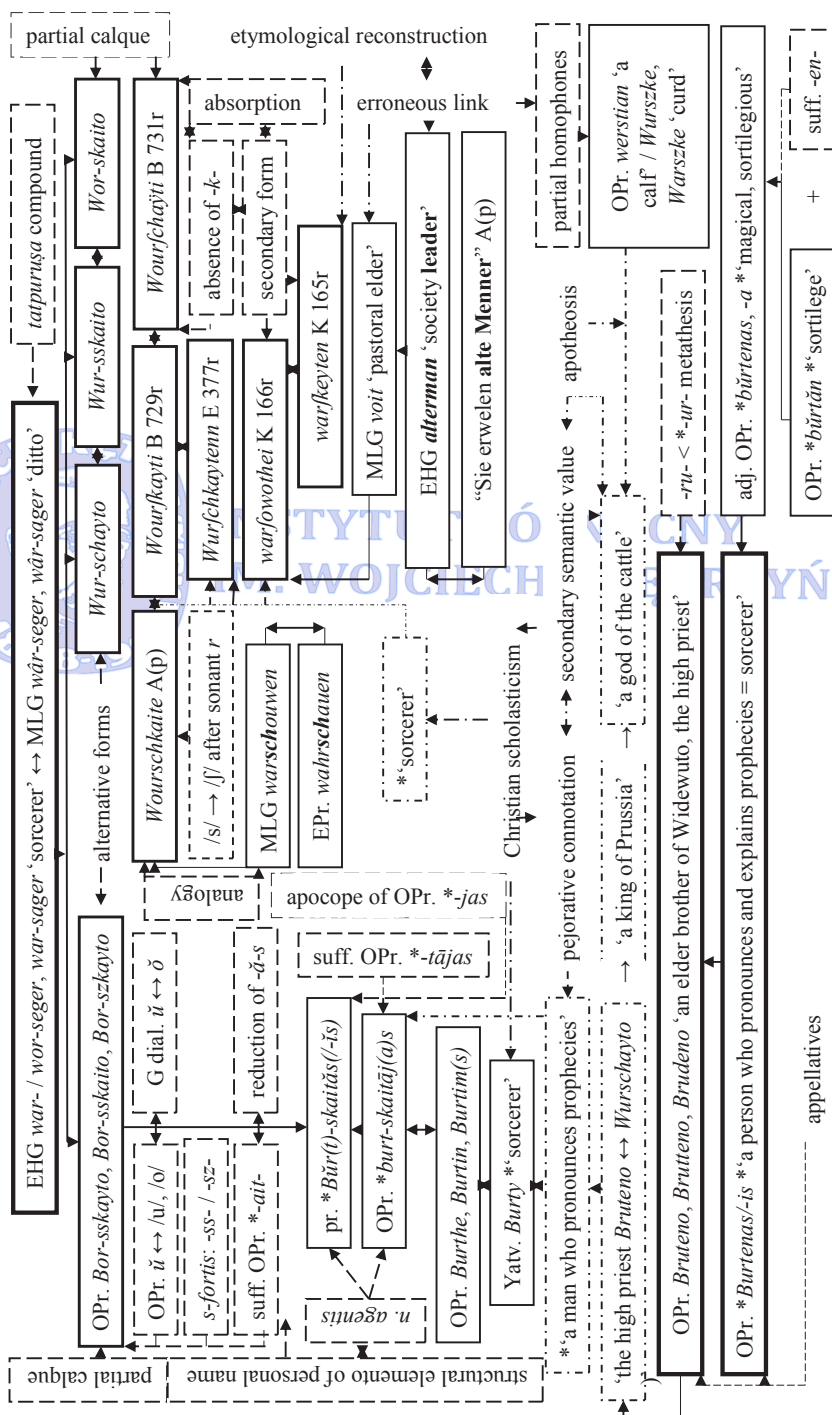
¹⁶⁶ Cf. equivalents of East Baltic languages: (1) sub. Lith. *būrta* ‘superstition, divination; destiny etc.’ (found in the written sources of the **ancient period** – Lithuania Minor or Prussian Lithuania [LKŽe]) ↔ sub. Latv. *burts* ‘a sign of a sorcerer’ (K. Mūlenbacha *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca*, T. 1 [ME I], red. J. Endzelins, Rīga 1923, p. 355); (2) verb. Lith. *skaityti* ‘to say grace’ (Lithuania Minor or Prussian Lithuania [LKŽe]) ↔ verb. Latv. *skāitīt* ‘to numerate; to interpret; to recite; to read’ (K. Mūlenbacha *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca*, T. 3 [ME III], red. J. Endzelins, Rīga 1927, pp. 866–867).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. etiological link of Prussian priest and Brutenis presented by S. Grunau (op. cit., p. 96): “wen is war ihr kirwait gewesen Bruteno”. Therefore, one can draw a cautious assumption about the **appellative** status of p. n. OPr. *Bruteno*, *Brutteno*, *Brudeno*, *Bruteni* ‘a brother of Widewuto, the high priest of Prussians’ (see BRMŠ, p. 47, 52–54, 56–59, 61, 64, 67, 68, 70, 75, 76; also see R. Kregždys, *Baltų mitologemų etimologijos žodynas I*, p. 30): p. n. OPr. **Burtenas(-īs)* *‘a man who pronounces and explains prophecies = a sorcerer’ (with metathesis of the cluster *-ru-* < *-ur-* [see G. Gerullis, op. cit., p. 224]; also cf. p. n. OPr. *Perbande* 1370 ↔ *Prebande* 1393 [R. Trautmann, op. cit., p. 76]) ← adj. OPr. **būrtenas*, *-a* *‘magical, sortilegious’ (for more details about the *n. propria* made with suff. OPr. *-en-* see R. Trautmann, op. cit., pp. 167–168) ← sub. OPr. **būrtān* g. neutr. *‘sortilege’ (see ПЯ I, pp. 266–267) + suff. *-en-* (for more details see V. Mažiulis, *Prūsų kalbos istorinė gramatika*, p. 27; R. Kregždys, *Baltų mitonimų kilmė: vak. bl. Pargrubi(j)us* (G[r]ubrium, *Pergrubrius* ir kt.), pp. 20–21).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. sub. OPr. *artōys* ‘a ploughman’ E 236 ← OPr. **artājas* ‘ditto’ (PEŽ I, p. 93). For more details about the reduction of the flexion OPr. **-ās* see: V. Mažiulis, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁶⁹ For more details see Trautmann, op. cit., pp. 180–181.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. morphological and semantic alternant of the East Baltic languages, i.e. sub. Lith. *skaitytojas* ‘a worshipper’ (Lithuania Minor or Prussian Lithuania [see LKŽe]). For more details see V. Mažiulis, op. cit., p. 35.



Scheme 3. Etymological development (explication of the structural characteristics) of the OPruss. Borsskayto / Yatv. Wourschkaite A(p) and its variants

Conclusions

1. The development of a vocal cluster EHG *ā* (→ *ou* [↔ *û*], *o*) presupposed the emergence of untypical phonotactic links in the first component of the mythonyms OPr. *Wor-*, *Wur-* (i.e. OPr. *Worskaito* / *Wurschayto*, *Wursskaito*) / Yatv. *War-*, *Wour-*, *Wur-* (i.e. Yatv. *warfkeyten* K, *Wourschkaite* A[p], *wursch-kaytt* E).
2. Mythonyms OPr. *Wurschayto*, *Wursskaito*, *Worskaito* ↔ OPr. *Borsskayto*, *Borsskaito*, *Borszkeyto* recorded by S. Grunau presuppose reconstruction of the *tatpuruṣa* compound type. These mythologemes are to be classified into loan-translations and partial calques – semantic Germanisms:
 - 2.1. loan-translations – OPr. *Bor-sskayto*, *Bor-sskaito*, *Bor-szkayto* ‘socerer’ (missed in *Yatvigian Book*) ← *n. agentis* OPr. **būrt-skaitas*(/–*īs*) **‘sorcerer ↔ fortune-teller’* ← OPr. **burt-skaitāj(a)s* ‘ditto’ ← EHG *war-seger*, *war-sager* / MLG *war-seger*, *wâr-sager* ‘a seer, oracle, fortune-teller resp. MLat. *veridicus*’.
 - 2.2. partial calques – OPr. *Wur-schayto*, *Wur-sskaito*, *Wor-skaito* ‘sorcerer’ ← EHG *war-* / *wor-(seger)*, *war-(sager)* / MLG *wâr-(seger)*, *wâr-(sager)* ‘fortune-teller’ (to this type belongs also Yatv. *Wour-schkaite* A[p] and its variants).
3. A few (but not a single) sacral rite performers (resp. sorcerers ↔ *Wourschkaity* A[p]) are mentioned in YB.

Abbreviations

acc. – accusative

adj. – adjective

adv. – adverb

Balt. – Baltic protolanguage

BGPAN(PR) – *Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej akademii nauk, Pracownia Rękopisów*

dial. – dialectal form

EHG – Early New High German

EPr. – East Prussian

G – German (New High German)

gen. – genitive

HABW – *Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*

hydr. – hydronym

Latv. – Latvian

Lith. – Lithuanian

MLat. – Medieval Latin

MLG – Middle Low German

MPl. – Middle Polish

Ms. – MLat. *manuscriptum* ‘manuscript’

nom. – nominative

OPr. – Old Prussian

pl. – plural

p. n. – personal name

sg. – singular

sub. – substantive

top. – toponym

WPBKKT – Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu

Yatv. – Yatvigion

Rolandas Kregždys, *O pochodzeniu staropruskiego mitonimu Worskaito*

Streszczenie

W niniejszym artykule, odwołując się do analizy etymologicznej, przedstawiona jest nowa hipoteza o pochodzeniu nazwisk mitologicznych pruskich *Worskaito* / *Borsskayto* (S. Grunau), oraz Jaćwingów – *Wourschkaite* (*Książeczka Sudawska*). Przywołana analiza dotyczy opisu derywacji i rozwoju semantycznego tych mitonimów.

Podsumowując wyniki tej analizy, można stwierdzić, że nazwiska mitologiczne *Worskaito* / *Borsskayto*, *Wourschkaite* należy do złożów typu *tatpuruṣa* pochodzenia niemieckiego (wczesno-nowo-wysoko-niemieckiego oraz średnio-dolno-niemieckiego), tj. te mitonimy pochodzą z wnnw. *war-seger*, *war-sager* / śrdn. *war-seger*, *wâr-sager* ‘jasnowidz, czarodziej, wróżbita, tj. śrlac. *veridicus*’.

Źródło: Rolandas Kregždys

Rolandas Kregždys, *Die Wurzeln der alten preußischen Mythologie Worskaito*

Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Artikel, der sich auf die etymologische Analyse bezieht, stellt eine neue Hypothese über die Herkunft der preußisch-sudauischen mythologischen Namen *Worskaito* / *Borsskayto* (S. Grunau), *Wourschkaite* (*Sudauerbüchlein*) dar. Die vorgenannte Analyse betrifft die Beschreibung der Ableitung und semantischen Entwicklung dieser Mythologemen.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Analyse lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: Es lässt sich konstatieren, dass die mythologischen Namen *Worskaito* / *Borsskayto*, *Wourschkaite* zum Typ von Komposita *tatpuruṣa* deutscher Herkunft (frühneuhochdeutsch und mittelniederdeutsch) gehören, d.h. diese Mythonymen stammen vom fnhd. *war-seger*, *war-sager* / mndd. *war-seger*, *wâr-sager* ‘Zauberer, Wahrsager, d.h. ml. *veridicus*’ ab.

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