A NOTE ON OLD PRUSSIAN *WISSEGARBE*
AND *WISSEDARGE*

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Smoczyński (1997) studies certain Old Prussian (OP) names which he suggests might be formed on the model of Old Polish names. He writes that there are also calques in which one of the members is Prussianized and the other is borrowed from Polish: *Wisse-garbe* < Old Pol. *Wysze-sław*. The OP element *garb-* is to be connected with Lith. *garbẽ* 'praise, glory, honor' and the element *wisse-* = [visə-] with the regular substitution of the Old Pol. sibilant [š] with the OP dental [s]. Smoczyński (1997: 348) does not, however, mention the view of Trautmann (1925: 157) who derives the initial element from OP *wissa* 'all' which figures in many other OP names: *Wissa-bel*, *Wissa-geide*, *Wiss-alge*, etc. See also Vanagas (1989: 1234). It seems to me more likely that the OP name could fit into the category of two-stemmed nouns formed with OP roots, perhaps again on the basis of a Slavic model, cf., e.g., *Vьse-slavъ* (11th century Polock prince, see Šaxmatov 1916: 211). In any case compounding seems to be a common procedure in various Indo-European languages and it is a bit difficult to be sure whether an individual Baltic compound is a calque from Slavic or not. Note the Greek common noun πανδοξία 'perfect fame, absolute glory' derived from πάν 'all' and δόξα 'glory.' In Smoczyński's view (1997: 348) *Wisse-darge, -darx* derives from Old Pol. **Wsze-darg*, which gave the attested *Świedarg*, the element *Świe-* (**Szwe-*) deriving from a metathesis of **Wsze-*. Trautmann (1925: 119, 157) assumes here also the OP initial element *Vis-* 'all.' Toporov (1975: 300-301) gives a number of additional OP names with the element **darg-* and suggests a connection with *dar*

t, disgusting; angry, irritable' and *dérgia* 'it's snowing mixed with rain.' He also notes another possibility, viz. a connection with Latv. *dãrgs* 'dear,' a notion supported by Mažiulis (1988: 179-180) who mentions also the cognate Russ. *dórog* 'dear' and that the original meaning of the word would have been 'holding out, persevering.' Salys (1983: 271, 283) lists a Lithuanian proper name *Vìsdargas*, although the name is missing from Vanagas (1989) so perhaps Salys accidentally misplaced this OP name among the Lithuanian proper names. Salys (1983: 271) does, however, connect the name with the Lithuanian verb *dergti* 'to rain and snow simultaneously.' The Lithuanian name *Dárgis* and variants are listed by Vanagas (1985: 462) who also connects it with *dargùs*. It therefore seems possible that *Wisse-darge* was a completely OP name not directly influenced by Old Polish. Cf. Gk. παν-άξιος 'all-worthy' derived from πάν 'all' and άξιος 'worth.'

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Dėl prūsų kalbos dvikamienių pavadinimų *Wissegarbe* ir *Wissedarge*
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Patyrinėjęs prūsų kalbos dvikamienius pavadinimus *Wissegarbe* ir *Wissedarge*, Smoczyński (1997) linkęs manyti, kad jie yra vertiniai (kalkės), sudaryti pagal senosios lenkų kalbos dvikamienių pavadinimų darybos modelį. Jis teigia, kad *Wissegarbe* antrasis dėmuo *garbe* yra prūsiškas, o pirmajame dėmenyje *wisse-* = [visə] senosios lenkų kalbos šnypščiamasis [ʃ] pakeistas prūsų kalbos dantiniu [s]. Smoczyński manymu, (1997: 348) durinio *Wisse-darge* dėmuo *-darx* gali būti kildinamas iš senosios lenkų kalbos **Wsze-darg*. Dvikamienių pavadinimų darybos tipas populiarus indoeuropiečių kalbose, tad dažnai sunkoka nustatyti, kuriais atvėjais toks pavadinimas būna susiformavęs baltų kalbose, o kuriais gali būti vertinys iš slavų kalbų.