

gil-eagur ‘horseleech’ (P o k o r n y 1959, 44; M a n n 1984–1987, 24; he adds Breton *aer* ‘snake’, but considering Middle Breton *azr* id., it belongs to Middle Cornish *nader*, Welsh *neidr*, Old Irish *nathir* ‘natrix, serpens’, etc. – see P e d e r s e n I, 134). The *r*-derivative from **ang^{uh}*- also occurs in the Lesbian dialectism ἰμβηρίς ἔγγελος . Μηθυμναῖοι (Hesych.; cf. F r i s k I, 440). The word is derivable from **enbēr^o* and further from **anbēr^o*, cf. Mycenaean *a₂-te-ro*, Doric, Aeolic ἄτερος : Attic, Ionic ἕτερος ‘the other, another’ (F r i s k I, 581); *-b-* should be a reflex of a labiovelar, but before the front vowel one would expect *-d-* or *-θ-* in classical and late Greek, depending on the priority of **-g^u*- or **-g^{uh}*-. It seems most probable to see here a word from some Palaeo-Balkanian language where the labiovelars are changed into labials and the voiced stops and voiced aspirates are neutralized. Regarding these conditions the donor-language could be ancient Macedonian.

Note: Latin *anguilla* ‘eel’ has usually been interpreted as the diminutive of *anguis* ‘snake’. But the really attested diminutive is *anguiculus* (Cicero, *Fin.* 5.42). Reconstructing **anguilua* as the Latin starting-point, H i r t (1907, 65–68) offered to see here a compound consisting from the word for ‘snake’ and the component corresponding to Germanic **ǣla-* ‘eel’. To confirm this idea, K a t z (1998, 323) cites the Latin hapax *illa σκοληξ*, i.e. ‘worm’. B l a ž e k (1993, 33) and independently K a t z (1998, 318–21) propose the idea that the name of the Hittite snake-like dragon *Illuyankas*, acc. *Elliyankun*, represents the same compound, only in the opposite order. Greek ἔγγελος ‘eel’ (from Il.) should be a continuant of a hypothetical protoform **ang^{uh}elus*. H i r t (1907, 67) proposed delabialization **g^{uh}* > **g^h*, perhaps via dissimilation to the stem in *-u-*. The regressive assimilation **a .. e* > *e .. e* was documented above. Summing up, it seems there were two designations for ‘eel’, based on IE **ang^{uh}(i)-* ‘(water) snake’, the compound **ang^{uh}(i)-* & **ǣl-* and the derivative in **-er-/*-or-*, more probably with grammatical than lexical function.

affegis ‘Perf/k’ (E 572) = ‘Barsch / perch / *Perca fluviialis*’ < **azegīs* (M I, 204–05; T 305; To I, 133–34; F 118; G 11); cf. also the lake-name 1319 *Asegewad*, 1331/35 *Asigewadde*, 1425 *Asegewayde* = Prussian *assegis* & Polish *woda* ‘water’ (G e r u l l i s 1922, 11).

Balto-Slavic **az(e)gja-/*ez(e)gja-* ‘ruffe / Kaulbarsch / *Gymnocephalus cernuus*’ (T r a u t m a n n 1923, 73: **ěžgja-*) > Baltic: Lithuanian *ežgys* & *ežegys*, but also *ažgỹs* id., plus the river-names *Ažagỹs*, *Ažagėlė* (V a n a g a s 1981, 54); Yatvingian lake-name *Azāgis* by Leipalingis (ibid.) | Slavic **ězgjь* ‘ruffe / Kaulbarsch / *Gymnocephalus cernuus*’ > Czech *ježdík*, Polish *jazdź* (ESSJ VI, 60: **ěždžь*), also Polish *jazgarz*, *jazgierz*, *jezgarz*, Ukrainian *jážgyr*, Byelorussian *džgir* id. It seems that this ichthyonym is derived from the same root as the word for ‘hedgehog’, i.e.

*eġʰ-/ *oġʰ- (cf. Lewy 1913, 160; Iljinskij 1923–1924, 256; P 292) which should describe its spine fin resembling hedgehog's or porcupine's spines.

Note: West Germanic *askō > Old Saxon, Old High German *asco*, Middle High German *asche*, Modern High German *Äsche* 'grayling / Thymallus thymallus' (Kluge & Seebold 1999, 56) are not related for phonetic differences, in spite of Toporov (To I, 133). The only relation between Balto-Slavic and West Germanic fish-names could be a borrowing. Similarly the old comparison of Hirt (1907, 69) with Celtic *esoks, gen. *esokos 'salmon' > Gaulish *esox* (Plinius, *Hist. Nat.* IX, 44), Old Irish *éo*, gen. *iach id*, and Brythonic variant *esāko- > Middle Welsh *ehawc*, Welsh *eog*, Cornish *ehoc*, Middle Breton *eheuc*, Breton *eok id*. In Basque *izokin* 'salmon' the Celtic influence has also been sought (Schraeder Nehrting II, 1), but it may be borrowed from Latin *esocīna* (Delamarre 2001, 140). It is acceptable only as the borrowing from Celtic (or a common substratum) into (West) Germanic. The idea of Pijnenburg (1987, 244–252) to reconstruct the starting point *pisōk- related to Latin *piscis* 'fish' only confirms this point of view.

blingis 'Bleye' (E 577) = 'Blicke / white bream / Abramis Bjoerkna' < *blingīs < Baltic *blingja- (M I, 148; T 312; To I, 235–36).

Baltic: Derived from the verbal root *bling-, attested in Lithuanian *blinksėti* = *blingsėti* 'to twinkle', and in another apophonic grade *blāgnytis* 'sich aufhellen'. Cf. Old High German *bleihha* 'Plötze / Blicca bjorkna', Modern High German *Bleim.*, *Blei(h)e f.* 'bream / Abramis brama' < Low German, cf. Middle Low German *blei(g)*, (Middle) Dutch *blei*, English *blay & bley*, all from West Germanic *blajjōn, besides *Blicke id.* < *blikka- (Kluge & Seebold 1999, 119), Danish *blege id.* : Modern High German *blinken* < Middle Low German *blenken & blinken*, Middle Dutch *blinken*, further Germanic *blanka- > Old Norse *blakkr* 'fahl', Old English *blanca* 'Schimmel', Old High German *blanc* 'glänzend weiss' (> French *blanc*, Italian *bianco* 'white'), besides Middle Low German, (Middle) Dutch *blaken* 'glimmem, glühen, brennen' (Kluge & Seebold 1999, 115, 119) || Latin *fulgeo* 'blitze, schimmere, leuchte', *flamma* 'flame' < *flag-ma || Greek φλέγω 'flamme' || Old Indic *bhārga-* 'Glanz' || Tocharian AB *pālk-* 'brennen, leuchten'. Formally the closest parallel occurs in Lithuanian *blizgė* 'sunbleak / Leucaspius delineatus' : *blizgėti* 'flimmern, blicken'.

blingo 'Mut'lofen', i.e. 'Muterlofen' (E 580), German-East Prussian *mutterloseken* = 'Moderlieschen / sunbleak / Leucaspius delineatus' < *blingā (M I, 150; T 313; To I, 236).

Of the same origin as the preceding ichthyonym.

brunfe ‘Plocze’ (E 573) = ‘Plötze / roach / *Rutilus rutilus*, earlier *Leuciscus rutilus*’ < **brunsē* (M I, 160–61; T 314; To I, 257).

Baltic: Lithuanian *brunšis*, *bruņšas*, *bruišis* m., *bruņšė*, *bruišė* f. ‘Rotauge, Plötze’ (F 60). Mažiulis and others find the same root in Prussian *bruneto* ‘haselhun’ (E 769) = ‘Haselhuhn’ (M I, 159–160; T 314; To I, 254–255), reflecting **brūn-* ‘brown’. But it is an evident borrowing from Middle High German *brūn* ‘brown’, similarly Lithuanian *brūnas* id.

Note: Machek 1944, 59 compared this ichthyonym with Bulgarian *băzdruga*, Polish dial. *bzdreğa*, with the variant (*v*)*zdręga*, proposing their substratal origin. Mažiulis (M I, 160–61) believes in inherited character of the Baltic ichthyonyms, comparing the suffix **-šē* with the termination of Lithuanian *laūkšė* ‘blessige Stute’ : *laūkas* ‘blessig’.

dubelis ‘Halpviščz’ (E 581), in reality ‘Tobel’ (E 582) = ‘Döbel / chub / *Leuciscus cephalus*’ < **dubelis* (M I, 235).

Borrowed from East Prussian German *Dubel*, *Dübel*, *Döbel*, *Dîbel* ‘*Cyprinus dobula*’ (according to Frischbier and Ziesemer, see T 324; To I, 386). Polish *dubiel* ‘chub / *Leuciscus cephalus*’ and Pomerian Slovincian *děvēl*, *dēmēl* ‘Nerfling / ide / *Leuciscus idus*’ (Brückner 1898, 503; Usačeva 1973, 139, 147) are of the same origin. It is interesting to mention the homonymous Lithuanian hydronyms: *Dubėlio ūpė*, the lakes *Dubėlis* and *Dubėlė* (Vanagas 1981, 93).

efketres ‘Stoer’ (E 567) = ‘Stör / sturgeon / *Accipenser sturio*’ < **esketr’s* < **esketras* (M I, 288–89; To II, 88–91).

The closest Baltic cognate is Lithuanian *ešketras* used by Bretkūnas as the equivalent of Luther’s ‘Walfisch’, i.e. ‘cete’ in Vulgata. But Žulys (1966, 152–53) demonstrated that Bretkūnas had borrowed this word from Prussian. In the 18th and 19th cent. the same meaning (‘Balaena’) was ascribed to the form *erškėtris* (Brodowski; Kurschat, quoted after To II, 89), while in the modern language *erškėtas*, *erškėtras*, dial. also *arškėtas* (Szyrwid), means ‘sturgeon’. The forms in *er-* were probably contaminated with *erškėtis*, *erškėtys* ‘Dorn, Schlehdornbusch’ which is related to Latvian *ērksķis* ‘Dornstrauch, Stachel’ (and further perhaps with Old Indic *ṛkṣara-* ‘Dorn’, see Bezenberger 1881, 235–36; Iljinskij 1923–1924, 258; F 122–23). Accepting this idea and considering Slavic **esetrǔ* / *osetrǔ* (**(j)ersetrǔ* after Jagić; see Iljinskij 1923–1924, 258), it is possible to speculate about the Baltic starting-point of the type **ešetra-* (so Būga, RR I, 328, 594; II, 216–17) or **ašetra-* (so Rozwadowski who saw here a relative with **ašetra-* ‘perch’; see Trautmann 1923, 72) | Slavic **esetrǔ* / **osetrǔ* ‘sturgeon’ > Bulgarian *esètār*

& *esètra*, Macedonian *esetra*, Serbo-Croatian *jèsetra*, Slovenian *jeséter*, Slovak, Czech *jeseter*, Upper Sorbian *jasotr*, Lower Sorbian *jesotr*, Polish *jesiotr*, Kashubian *jasoter* & *jesoter*, Byelorussian *asetr* (> Lithuanian *asētras*, *asietras*), Ukrainian *osetér*, dial. *osjátér*, *osétr*, *jásétr*, Russian *osëtr* || ?Latin *excētra* ‘Hydra from Lerna’ (Plautus, *Persa* 3), later ‘snake’ (first We i s e 1881, 234; recently again accepted by P i s a n i 1968, 20–21 who is right that the Latin – Balto-Slavic comparison is more convincing than the origin of Latin *excētra* in Greek ἔχιδνα via the virtual Etruscan mediation). B e z z e n b e r g e r (1902, 163) and T o p o r o v (To II, 90–91) also mention the Greek gloss ἰκταρ, ἰκτάρα· ἐθνικῶς ἰχθυῶς (Hesych.). I l j i n s k i j (1923–1924, 258) derived ἰκταρ from **ēk-ter-*, where **ē* has to be a reduced grade of the initial **e*. To the Balto-Slavic isogloss H i r t (1907, 69) tried also to add Old High German *sturio*, German *Stör*, reconstructing the starting-point **oséteros*. But the German forms together with Old Saxon *sturio*, Old English *styria* and Old Icelandic *styrja* reflect Germanic **sturjōn* (K l u g e & S e e b o l d 1999, 798–99) which is compatible with Latin *sariō* ‘trout / *Salmo trutta*’ (if it is borrowed from Gaulish) and further derivable from the common protoform **s_rHjōn-* (W i t c z a k 1991, 107 who demonstrates the regular development **s_rC°* > Germanic **sturC°*).

Etymology: There are at least two alternative possibilities to etymologize this etymon:

(1) With respect to Latin *acipēnsēr*, *acipēnsis*, and older *acupēnsēr*, all probably ‘sturgeon’, the etymology has been sought in IE **ak’-/*ok’-* (***H₂ek’-/**H₂ok’-*) ‘sharp’ (see W a l d e & H o f m a n n I, 9 who quote the attempts to connect the second component with Norwegian *fnas* ‘Schuppe, Achel’; F a l k & T o r p I, 246 relate it with Swedish *fnas* ‘dünne Schale’ and Old English *fnæs* ‘Frase’, deriving them from **(s)knes-*; maybe Old English *fin(n)*, Middle Low German *finne*, Middle Dutch *vinne* ‘fin’ could represent a better candidate for etymology of the second component). In Balto-Slavic, the first component could be extended in *-s-*, i.e. **ak’(e)s-* or **ok’(e)s-*, continuing e.g. in Greek ὀξύς ‘sharp’, ἡκέες . ὀξύ (P 21). This ‘sharp’-etymology implies priority of the Baltic *a-* and Slavic *o-* forms. On the other hand, Latin *excētra* is compatible only in the case of the regressive assimilation from **axcētra*. If the Balto-Slavic & Latin comparison is correct, it is necessary to explain the second component of this compound. A hypothetical candidate may be identified in Greek κῆτος ‘grosses Seetier, Meerungeheuer’ (Il.), ‘Walfisch’ (Arist.).

(2) There is a tempting possibility to analyze here the preposition **ek’s-* ‘out (of)’ (so M a n n 1984–1987, 237), plus the own ichthyonym of the type Greek κῆτος ‘grosses Seetier, Meerungeheuer’ (Il.), ‘Walfisch’ (Arist.), extended by the *ro-* suffix, hence **ek’s-kēt-r°* ± ‘super-κῆτος’.

grundalis ‘Grundel’ (E 578) = ‘Gründling / gudgeon / Gobio gobio’ < **grundalīs* or **grundal’s* < **grundalas* (M I, 417; T 343; To II, 318–19).

Borrowed from Middle High German *grundele*, cf. German *Grundel*, *Gründel* ‘Neogobius fluviatilis’ and *Gründling* ‘gudgeon / Gobio gobio’, all from *Grund* ‘bottom’. Of the same origin are Polish *grundal* (Brückner 1898, 503 opened a possibility that the Prussian fish-name could be borrowed from Polish), Lithuanian *grundalas*, *grundulys*, *gruñdulas*, Latvian *grundalis*, *grundul(i)s*, *gruñdals*, also Estonian *grundilt* id. Toporov (To II, 319) mentions that the designations of ‘gudgeon / Gobio’ in other languages have also been connected with the meaning ‘bottom, sand or soil of bottom’: Russian *peskár* ‘Gobio’ : *pesók* ‘sand’, Swedish *Sandkryparben*, Lithuanian *žemgriaužis*, Latvian *akmeņgrauzis* etc.

kalis ‘Welz’ (E 569) = ‘Wels / wels / Silurus glanis’ < **kalīs* < **kal(i)ja-* (M II, 88; T 351); cf. the place-names 1419 *Calyen*; 1303 *Calis*; 1400: *Kalow* (Gerullis 1922, 54).

?Baltic: There are no appellative cognates in East Baltic, only in hydronymy: Lithuanian *Kaliavai* (Gerullis l.c.), *Kalūpė / Kālupis* (Vanagas 1981, 88).

There is only one exact cognate: Germanic **hwal-az*, *-iz* ‘wels’ > Old Icelandic *hvalr*, Icelandic *hvalur*, Old English *hwæl*, English *whale*, Old High German (*h*)*wal* m. ‘Walfisch’, *walira* f., late Middle High German *wels* ‘Wels’ (*s*-stem) – see Kluge & Seebold 1999, 872. Marstrander (1945, 351) supposed the Germanic origin of *kalis*. But in this case the initial **qu-* would be expectable (cf. Trautmann 1923, 113: ‘Entlehnung anzunehmen besteht kein Grund’). On the other hand, Rodriguez (1989, 177–80) connects this Germano-Prussian isogloss with the Young Avestan mythical fish *Kara* from the river *Raṅha* (usually connected with Uralic **kala* ‘fish’, but more probably borrowed from Fenno-Ugric / Uralic **kärz* ‘sterlet’), and other forms with the initial **sk^h-*: Latin *squalus* ‘a big fish; shark, tope’ | Greek ἀσπάλους· τοὺς ἰχθύας. Ἀθαμᾶνες (Hesych.), ἀσπαλιεύς ‘fisher’ | Old Indic *chāla-* ‘red freshwater fish’, but their relationship is doubtful for *a-* in Greek and a problematic attestation of the Old Indic form. It is also difficult to accept a borrowing of Prussian *kalis* ‘wels’, the fish typical for the European rivers in east from Rhine including southern Sweden, from Balto-Fennic (< Fenno-Ugric < Uralic) **kala* with the generic meaning ‘fish’. Summing up, the only safe comparison outside of Baltic occurs in Germanic **hwalaz*, *-iz* ‘wels’, indicating the starting-point **k^hol-*.

lalaffo, corr. *lafaffo*, ‘Lachs’ (E 563) = ‘Lachs / salmon / Salmo salar’ < **lasasā* (M III, 31–32; T 368; To V, 101–10).

Baltic: Lithuanian *lāšis* m. ‘Lachs’, *lašša* (Lalis), *lasaša* (Szyrwid), *lašišà* f. ‘Lachs, Lachsforelle’, cf. also the river-names as *Lašaša*, *Lašišà*, *Lāš-upis* (Vanagas 1981, 181–82); Latvian *lasis* ‘Lachs’ (> Livonian *laš*), *lasēns* ‘Lachsforelle’; Baltic > Balto-Fennic: Finnish, Karelian, Olonets, Veps, Votic *lohi*, Estonian *lõhi*; both Lappic *luossa* and Russian *lox* id. are of Balto-Fennic origin (F 341–42; Thomsen 1890, 194; SKES 300). The Baltic origin of the hydronyms of the type *Loša* (Dniepr basin: 3x), *Loša*, *Loška*, *Lošnja* (Oka basin), *Lóša*, *Lóšnica*, *Lóšyca* (Byelorussia), is very probable (To V, 99) | Slavic **losos’b* ‘Salomo salar’ > Slovak, Czech *losos*, Upper & Lower Sorbian *losos*, Polish *losoś*, Slovencian *losos*, Kashubian *losos(k)*; Old Russian *losos’b*, Russian *losós*, Ukrainian *losós*, Byelorussian *lasós* id. (ESSJ 16, 88; To V, 102; Witczak 2005, §4: **lokoċjus* with the same termination as Lithuanian *lašišius*). The South Slavic forms, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian *lósos*, represent apparently later borrowings. Slavic > Old Hungarian *laszos*, modern Hungarian *lazac* ‘salmon’ (Diebold 1985, 57, fn. 7; Witczak 2005, §4 speculates about Iranian origin of *lazac*, cf. Ossetic *læsæzg* ‘salmontrout’) || Germanic **lahsaz* id. > Old Saxon, High German *lahs*, German *Lachs*, Middle Low German *las* (> Polabian *laš* id.; see To V, 102), Old English *leax*, Old Norse, Icelandic, Swedish *lax*, Norwegian, Danish *laks* ‘salmon’ (Kluge & Seebold 1999, 498; de Vries 1962, 348–49) || Romance **locca* ‘loach / Nemachilus’ > Old French *loche*, dial. *loque*, Provençal *loco*, Italian *locc(i)a* (Meyer-Lübke 1935, #5094b; Diebold 1985, 57, fn. 7; Id. 1976, 363–65 explains the geminate via assimilation from **loks°*, while Witczak 2005, §3 proposes a syncope from pLatin **lócīcā*, perfectly corresponding with Lithuanian *lašišà*; Witczak, l.c., mentions that the alternative starting-point **loksikā* > pLatin **lócīcā* would give **losca*, surprisingly agreeing with Italian *lasca* ‘a freshwater fish’, quoted by Mann 1984–1987, 661 as the reflex of the salmon-etymon) || Armenian *los-di*, *-ti* ‘salmontrout’, where *di* = ‘body’ (Mann 1984–1987, 661; Diebold, l.c.; Witczak 2005, §3 mentions that the root **los-* is derivable only from **lok-*, while **loks-* would continue in Armenian **loc’-*) || Iranian: Ossetic Digor *læsæg* ‘brown trout’ < **loksoko-* (Morgenstierne 1934, 120; the same suffix forms *xæræg* ‘ass’, Old Indic *yuvaká-* ‘Jüngling’ – see Krogmann 1959–1960, 177); the borrowing of Russian *losós* is improbable – Russian *o* is substituted by *o* or *a* in Ossetic, cf. *górod* > Ossetic *gorad* (Krogmann 1959–1960, 171) || Tocharian B *laks* ‘fish’ < **lksi-* (Adams 1999, 544; Adams & Mallory, EIEC 497: IE **lóks*, gen. **lksós*; the semantic generalization has analogy e.g. in Georgian *kalmaxi* ‘trout’ : Swan *kalmax* ‘fish’ – see Blažek 1993, 33).

The most convincing etymology was proposed by Loewenthal (1924, 52) who connected this fish-name with Lithuanian *lašas* ‘Tropfen’, Latvian *lāse*

‘geringe Quantität einer Flüssigkeit, Sprenkel, Fleck, Tupf’ (see F 342), Russian *losá & lása* ‘spot’ (To V, 109). K r o g m a n n (1959–1960) adds Old Indic *lašā-* ‘Harz, Gummi’ and Armenian *lac* ‘Träne’ (**loks-*). Loewenthal finds a support for this semantic motivation in Ausonius, *Mosella* 88: *purpureisque salar stellatus tergora guttis* or in Irish *earc* ‘salmon’, formally corresponding to Greek *πέρκοζ* ‘gesprenkelt’. B r ü c k n e r (1898, 503) saw in Prussian */lasasso/* a borrowing from Polish *łosoś* id.

Note: T h i e m e (1951, 209–16) tried to include here the Old Indic word *lākṣā* ‘Lack’ (AV V, 5.7; Manu X, 89, 92), identifying in it the feminine of the adj. **lākṣa-* ‘rot’ (**lachsfarben*) which should be a *vṛddhi*-formation from the hypothetical salmon-word **lakṣ(a)-*. This idea is undoubtedly acceptable from the point of view of semantics, cf. Ausonius, *Mosella* 97f: *nec te punico rutilantem viscere, salmo, tansierim...* But taking into consideration Iranian **raxša-* (Iranian > Armenian *erašh* ‘reddish’, Persian *raxš* ‘a mixture of red and white, a mottled or partridge-coloured horse’, Kurdish *raš* ‘black’, Sogdian *ryš* ‘bay horse’, Khotanese *rrāša-* ‘dark-coloured’, Wakhi *rakṣ* ‘grey, brown’, see B a i l e y 1979, 362), Indo-Aryan **lakṣa-/rakṣa-* ‘rot, Röte’ reflects **rekso-* with **-ks-*, in contrary to **-kṣ-* in the salmon-words (K r o g m a n n 1959–1960, 172).

liede ‘Hecht’ (E 561) = *lyda* (GrG) = *meida* (corr. */lieda/*) = ‘Hecht / pike / *Esox lucius*’ < **līdē & *līdā* (M III, 57; T 370).

S c h m a l s t i e g (1982, 58–60) determines the Prussian origin of Old Russian word *lidiě* in the sentence *a vo Šuě ni lidiě ni lovu* ‘in the river Šuja there is no pike, no catch’, known from the birch-bark no. 131 from Novgorod, dated to the 14th cent.

Baltic: Lithuanian *lydys, lydekà, lydėkas, -is* ‘pike’, cf. the lake-names *Lydėkis, Lydėkinė, Lydekìnis*, and river-names *Lydėk-upis, Lydėk-žiogė*; Latvian *līdēks, līdēka, līdaka* ‘pike’, cf. the lake-names *Līdacis, Līdēku ežers* (F 364; V a n a g a s 1981, 188). F r a e n k e l (F 364) derived it from the base attested in Lithuanian *lydis* ‘Sprung, Lauf, Gefälle’, *lydavóti* ‘hüpfen, sich tummeln’.

linis ‘Slye’ (E 571) = ‘Schleie / tench / *Tinca tinca*, earlier *Cyprinus tinca*’ < **līn’s* < **līnas* or **līnīs* < **līnjas* (M III, 67; T 370); cf. the lake-name *Lynaw, Leynaw* (G e r u l l i s 1922, 89).

Baltic **līna-/līnja-* (H i r t 1907, 72; F 373) > Lithuanian *līnas* id., cf. the names of lakes as *Līn-ežeris, Līn-ežeris, Līnžeris*, and river *Līn-upis* (V a n a g a s 1981, 192); Latvian *līna, līn(i)s* id., cf. the hydronyms *Līna-pļava, Līns-purvs, Līnu-ežers, Līn-upe* (V a n a g a s 1981, 192) | Slavic **linь* ‘tench / *Tinca*’ > Church

Slavonic *linь* ‘tinca’, Bulgarian *lin* ‘tench / Tinca tinca’, Serbo-Croatian *linj*, *linj* ‘Tinca tinca’, Slovenian *linj*, Slovak *lieň* ‘Tinca vulgaris’, Old Czech *linj*, *lin* ‘tench’, Czech *lin* ‘Tinca vulgaris’, Czech *lin*, Old Russian *linь* ‘tench’, Russian *lin* id., dial. ‘Hucho taimen’, Ukrainian dial. *leń*, *linj* ‘tench’, Byelorussian *linj*, dial. *lyn*, *leń* id., and Slavic **linь* > Serbo-Croatian *lin* ‘tench’, Upper Sorbian *lin* ‘tench / Cyprinus tinca’, Lower Sorbian *lin* id., Old Polish *lin* ‘tench / Tinca vulgaris’, Polish *lin* id., dial. ‘Tinca tinca’, Slovencian *lin* ‘tench’, Kashubian *lin* ‘tench / Tinca vulgaris’, Russian dial. *lin* ‘Cyprinus tinca; species of carp’, Ukrainian *lyn* ‘tench / Cyprinus tinca’, Byelorussian *lin* ‘tench / Tinca tinca’ (Tr u b a č e v, ESSJ XV, 112–13: a derivative from the verb **lin’ati* ‘to moult’). U h l e n b e c k (1906, 259–60) saw in the Baltic forms the borrowings from Slavic; the Slavic form should have been derived from **lipnь*; he sought a support in another Slavic fish-name, namely **lipanь/b* ~ **lipenь/b* ~ **lipěň* ‘grayling / Thymallus thymallus’ (ESSJ XV, 117–18), deriving all from the root **lejp-* ‘to be sticky’. Sometimes the Slavic and Baltic ichthyonyms have also been compared with Greek *λιεύς* ‘Seebarbe’ (Prellwitz, Boisacq), but other scholars see here a back-formation from *λιεύω* ‘mit dem λίνον ‘Fischernetz’ Fische fangen’ (F r i s k II, 125). From the point of view of word-formation, it seems best to accept the traditional semantic definition ‘tench’ = ‘slippery, sticky’, based on its derivation from the verb **lejH-* ‘sich anschmiegen’ > Old Indic *lināti* (gramm.), *līyati*, *lāyate* ‘schmiegt sich an, liegt an, bleibt stecken, versteckt sich’, *līna-* ‘sich anschmiegend, anliegend’, Hittite *u-lesta* ‘versteckte sich’ (LIV 405), or **H₂lejH-* ‘besmieren’ > Greek *ἀλίνω* ‘bestreiche, salbe’, Latin *linō*, *-ere* : *lēvī* ‘besmieren, bestreichen’, cf. also Hittite *halina-* ‘Ton, Lehm’ (LIV 277). Other authors add West Germanic **sleiwa-/ō* ‘tench’ > Old English *slīw*, Middle Dutch *slie*, *sly*, Dutch *slij*, Middle Low German *sli(ge)*, Old High German *slīo*, *slīge*, German *Schlei* m., *Schleie* f. (K l u g e & S e e b o l d 1999, 726). The meaning is identical, but there are serious differences in sound correspondences and word-formation.

locutis ‘Brefme’ (E 562) = ‘Brachse / bream / Abramis brama, earlier Cyprinus brama’ (T 371; To V, 340–346).

Baltic: The Lithuanian river-name *Lakutė* (V a n a g a s 1981, 179: otherwise) and Latvian (Couronian) place-names *Lākutis*, *Lākuci* (D a m b e 1972, 59) can confirm *l-* in Prussian and exclude the comparison of B e z z e n b e r g e r (1911, 330) with the Lithuanian dialectism (Klaipėda) *jakutis* ‘an unknown fish’, implying the emendation *j-* instead of *l-* in Prussian. The suffix *-ut-* occurs in *nagutis* ‘nail’ too (S m o c z y ŋ s k i 2000, 108, fn. 143). T o p o r o v (To V, 340–46) sought etymology in the verb of the type Lithuanian *lakù* : *lakti* ‘auflecken, leckend

fressen, schlappen, saufen’, Latvian *lūoku* : *lakt* ‘leckend fressen, schlappen, mit der Zunge schlürfen’, Church Slavonic *lokati* ‘lambere’, Russian *lakat’* ‘(von Hunden) lecken, saufen’, etc. (F 337–38). Mažiulis (M III, 78–79) rejects it and offers his solution based on the reconstruction **lūkutīs* derivable from the root **luk-* : **lauk-* attested in Lithuanian *laūkas*, Latvian *lāuks* ‘blessig’ (F 344–45). But it is necessary to take in account the idea of Lewy (1913, 163) who sought a relative in Latin *lōcusta* ‘Heuschrecke; ein Meerkrebs’ (Walde & Hofmann I, 818 speculate about the derivation from the verbal root **lēk-* attested in Greek *ληκᾶν* ‘hüpfen’, Lithuanian *lekiù* : *lėkti* ‘fliegen’, Latvian *lēkāt* ‘fliegen, hüpfen, springen’ – see LIV 411; the semantic starting-point ‘jumper’ is acceptable for both fish and locust). Machek (1944, 64–65) offered another alternative – a comparison with semantically exactly corresponding Slavic **leščь* ‘bream / *Abramis brama*’ (ESSJ XIV, 142–43). Thomson (1890, 265), followed by Vasmer (II, 490), prefer the comparison of **leščь* and Latvian *leste* ‘Butt’ (> Estonian *lest*), etymologizable on the basis of Lithuanian *lėkštas* ‘flat’. On the other hand, Brückner (1898, 503) tried to identify here a borrowing from the proto-Polish designation of ‘ell’, namely **lokъtь* (i.e. the form after the change **olk°* > **lok°*, but before the fall of jers), cf. Russian *lokotník* ‘ell-long-fish’ (To V, 341). The comparison of Mikkoila (see T 371) with Finnish *lahna* ‘Brassen’ is more than problematic. The other Balto-Fennic languages do not allow to reconstruct other protoform than **la(k)šna(s)* or **laškna(s)*, cf. Estonian *lahn*, *lahnas*, Livonian *lō'nāz*, etc. (SKES 269) which is not compatible with Prussian *locutis*.

malkis ‘Stint’ (E 579) = ‘Stint / smelt / *Osmerus eperlanus*’ < **malkīs* (M III, 105; T 374).

Mažiulis (M III, 105) sees here the substantivized adjective **malka-* ‘minute’ (cf. *béras* ‘brown’ : *bėris* ‘bay horse’) and derives it from the verbal root **(s)melk-* / **(s)milk-* ‘to crumble, crush’ > Lithuanian *smelkti* ‘to crush, crumble’, Latvian *smēlkt* id., *smāks* ‘subtle’ (cf. F 839–40). The semantic development should have been confirmed by German *Stint* < Middle Low German *stint*, High German *stinz* : Middle High German *stunz* ‘kurz, stumpf’, Old Icelandic *stuttr* ‘kurz’ (Kluge & Seebold 1999, 797). There are two other solutions based on the same semantic development: (i) The relationship with Lithuanian *mālė* ‘Elritze, Pfrille, Pfelle, Rümpchen / *Phoxinus laevis*’, Latvian *male* ‘Blicke, Weissfisch / *Blicca agyroleuca*’ and Russian *mol’* ‘a little fish; smelt’ (F 401; accepted by Mažiulis, ibid.). (ii) The borrowing from some continuant of East Slavic **malькь* > Old Ukrainian *malьók*, Byelorussian and Russian *malėk*, pl. *mal’ki* ‘little fish recently developed from hard roe’, Russian dial. ‘minnow / *Phoxinus phoxinus*’ (St. Petersburg, Vjatka, Kama,

Ural), ‘gudgeon / *Gobio gobio*’ (Pskov), ‘a little perch (Volxov, Ilmen)’, etc. (ESSJ XVII, 182–83), all from Slavic **malъ* ‘little, small’ (ESSJ XVII, 173–77). It is possible to imagine that the East Slavic plural **malьki* was adapted into Prussian **maliks*.

palafallis, corr. *palafaffis*, ‘Bore’ (E 574) ‘Forelle / trout / *Salmo trutta*’ < **palasās* (M III, 214; T 388).

With the prefix *pa-* it may be interpreted as ‘salmon-like’.

rapis ‘Rape’ (E 583) = ‘Rapfen / asp / *Aspius aspius*, earlier *Cyprinus aspius*’ < **rapīs* (M IV, 14; T 414).

Borrowed from Middle Low German *rape* ‘Rapfen’ which is derived from *ra-pen* ‘raffen, reissen’ (‘der Rapfen ist der Räuber unter den Karpfen’). Brückner (1898, 503) stressed that the Prussian ichthyonym could also be borrowed from Polish *rapa* id. which is however of the same origin (similarly Serbo-Croatian *rapa* – see Usačeva 1973, 171).

sarote ‘Carpe’ (E 576) = Middle Low German *karpe* ‘Karpfen / carp / *Cyprinus carpio*’ < **zarātē* (M IV, 64–65; T 419).

Trautmann (T 419) quotes Berneker’s comparison with Lithuanian *žarótas* ‘schimmernd’, and further Prussian *sari* ‘Glut’ (E 43), Lithuanian *žarijā* ‘Kohle’, *žeriū* : *žerėti* ‘im Glanze strahlen’ | Old Church Slavonic *zarja* ‘Glanz’, *zbrěti* ‘sehen; blicken’, etc. On the other hand, Machek (1944, 65) prefers the comparison with Slavic **šaranъ* ‘carp’ > Bulgarian *šerán*, *šarán* > Rumanian *sarán*, Serbo-Croatian *šàran* ‘carp’, Old Czech (Klaret, 14th cent.) *šaran* ‘Stagnilocus’, Polish *szaran*, Russian, Ukrainian *šaran* ‘carp’, although he mentions the existence of similar ichthyonyms in Turkic languages (ibid.; Id. 1968, 602): Turkmenian *sāzan*, Turkish, Karaim *sazan* ‘carp’; the Slavic forms with the initial *š-* and medial *-r-* are derivable from a source of the type Old Bulgarian – Chuvash, cf. Räsänen 1969, 406; Vasmer IV, 407). Kolomeic (1983, 113) quotes Chuvash *sără* ‘colour’. Its unattested predecessor in Old Bulgarian could penetrate in Old Church Slavonic *šarъ* ‘colour’, Bulgarian *šar* ‘spot; speckled’, Serbo-Croatian *šàra* ‘speckledness’, Slovenian *šár* ‘speckled, spotted’ (ibid.).

seabre ‘Czerte’ (E 570) = ‘Zährte / zante / *Vimba vimba*, earlier *Cyprinus vimba*’ < **zēbrē* (M IV, 88–89; T 422).

Baltic: Lithuanian *žiobrỹs*, *žióbris* ‘Zährte / *Cyprinus* or *Abramis vimba*’, *žiabrỹs* id., *žobrýnas* ‘Plötze’ (**žiobrýnas?*), cf. the river-names *Žióbra*, *Žobrà*, *Žióbrikis* (Vanagas 1981, 403); Latvian *zebre* ‘Zährte’ (F 1311). Fraenkel prefers the

connection with Lithuanian *žėbras* ‘buntköpfig’ rather than the comparison with Slavic **žabra* ‘gills’ proposed by Lewy (1913, 164). In Slavic the etymon is attested in Slovak *žiabra*, pl. *žiabre*, Russian, Ukrainian *žábra* (Machek 1968, 721). With respect to Avestan *zafar* ‘jaws’ one would expect the Slavic initial **z-*. The really attested *ž-* indicates **zi-* and so confirms the corresponding cluster in Baltic.

smerlingis ‘Smerle’ (E 568) = ‘Schmerle / stone loach / *Barbatula barbatula*, earlier *Cobitis barbatula*’ < **smerlingīs* (M IV, 131; T 432).

The form closest to the source is attested in early New High German *smirlinc* = *smerle* id. This fish-name is formally comparable with Greek *σμαρίς* ‘ein kleiner gering geachteter Meerfisch’ (Hirt 1907, 70; Kluge Seebold 1999, 731). Machek (1944, 55–58) added Slavic **merna* ‘stone loach / *Barbatula barbatula*’.

starkis ‘Czandis’ (E 564) = ‘Zander / pikeperch / Sander *lucioperca*, earlier *Perca lucioperca*’ < **starkīs* < **starkas* or **starkīs* (M IV, 151; T 436); cf. the toponym 1469 *Stärklauken* = *starkis* & *laucks* ‘Acker’ (Gerullis 1922, 172).

Baltic: Lithuanian *stérka(s)*, dial. (Klaipėda) *stárkas*, *-is* ‘pikeperch’, cf. the river-names as *Stařké*, *Stařk-upis* (Vanagas 1981, 314); Latvian *stārks*, *stērks* id., *stārķis* ‘a kind of fish’ (F 897). For semantic reasons it is difficult to accept the comparison with Lithuanian *stėrkus* & *stařkas*, Latvian *stārks* ‘stork’ (cf. F 897, 902 who sees here the borrowings from Middle High German *stork* and Russian *stėrk* respectively). There are other possibilities, e.g. the connection with Lithuanian *strakūs* ‘hurtig’ or *straksėti* / *streksėti* ‘Sprünge machen, (herum)hüpfen’ (F 918, 920) and with their probable Slavic cognates in the verbs **stėrkati* > Czech *strkat*, Upper Sorbian etc. *storkać* ‘to push’ or **stėřkati* > Church Slavonic, Old Russian *stėřkati*, Russian *stėkát* ‘to pierce, sting’ (Machek 1968, 582; Vasmer III, 773–74). Finally, from the latter verb the adj. attested in Bulgarian *stėkásty* and Russian *stėkástnyj* ‘in speckled spots’ is derived (Vasmer, l.c.) and the designation of ‘pikeperch’ could also be motivated by its speckled fins.

stroyfles ‘Tobel’ (E 582), in reality ‘Halpvifchz’ (E 581) = ‘Halbfisch’, i.e. ‘Plattfisch, Seitenschwimmer / flounder / *Pleuronectus*’ (cf. T 324).

Proposing the emendation **scroysles*, Mažiulis (M IV, 161) reconstructs **skrāislēs* which has to be a derivative in **-slē-* from the Baltic verbal root **skraid-*, attested in Lithuanian *skraidyti* ‘hin und herfliegend oder schnell reitend Kreise schlagen, fliegen, schweben’, Latvian *skrāidīt* ‘viel laufen, rennen’, cf. Lithuanian *žūvys skraido* ‘fishes are jumping out from water’. This idea is certainly acceptable from the point of view of word-formation, but not semantically. For ‘flounder’ the

jumping is not typical. Maybe, a plausible cognate could be sought in Lithuanian *sriegas* ‘(Fisch)schuppe’, *srieguotas* ‘schuppig (von Fischen), mit Schuppen bedeckt’ (F 889), and / or *s(t)ráigė* ‘Blindschleiche, Schnecke’ (F 887). Let us mention that this fish has its eyes on the only side of its body. Lewy (1913, 164, after Pierson) compared *stroyfles* with Greek *τρίγλα* ‘Seebarbe’. Both comparisons imply the graphic replacement *g* → *f*.

suckis ‘Vyšč’ (E 560) ‘Fisch / fish / Piscis’ < **zukʰs* < **zukas* < **zuv(i)-ka-s* (M IV, 167) or **zúv-ukas* (Smoczyński 1989, 40), cf. also acc. pl. *suckans* (Ench. 67, 11), or **zuukis* < **zuvukis*, cf. Lithuanian dimin. *žuvùkė* & *žuvìkė* ‘little fish’ (Smoczyński 2003, 107) = ‘Fisch’ (M IV, 167; T 441).

Baltic: Lithuanian *žuvìs*, gen. sg. *žuviẽs* (secondary *i*-stem after the accusative in **-m̃* > **-im* > **-in*), gen. pl. *žuvĩ* ‘fish’ = Greek *ἰχθύων*, with other derivatives in *žvejỹs* ‘fisher’, *žvynė*, *-as* ‘Fischschuppe’ < **žuvyn°*, cf. *žvìnìs* adj. ‘of fish’ (Smoczyński 2001, 113–14; he reconstructs the starting-point nom. **žūs* : obl. **žuv°*), further *žukmistras* ‘Fischmeister’, *žuksparnis* ‘Fischaar’, perhaps of Prussian origin (Smoczyński 2003, 107 explains it from meta-analysis of *žuklỹs* ‘fisher’), while *žuklỹs* ‘Fischer’ is better to interpret as *nomen agentis* from the verb *žũstu* : *žũti* ‘fischen, Fische fangen’ (F 1322); Latvian *zivs*, dial. *zuvs* m. & f. ‘fish’, cf. also *zutis* ‘eel’ (F 1323) < **zuv-itìs* (Smoczyński 1989, 40) and other derivatives as *zvejuôt* ‘fischen’, *zviņi* ‘Fischschuppe’, cf. the river *Ziv-upe* (= Lithuanian *Žiúpe* < **Živ-upė*) and lake *Zivēn*, similarly the Lithuanian river *Živintà* with the Latvian-like vocalism, supported by Lithuanian dialectism *živė*, *živìs* ‘fish’ from Zietela (Vanagas 1981, 405); Yatwingian *žuwo* = Polish pl. ‘ryby’ (Zinkevičius 1984, 21: **zju°*) | Slavic **zōveno* (from the unattested adj. **zōv-enō* ‘of fish’) > Polish (*d*)*zwonko* ‘a piece of fish’, Old Polish *zwono* ‘a piece of fish excised across its body’, Russian *zvenó* id. (Smoczyński 2001, 114 and 2003, 106–08 reconstructs the starting-point **zy* < **zūs* in analogy with **kry* ‘blood’ : adj. **krōv-enō*; Vaillant, RES XVI, 190; 18, 246; contra Vasmer II, 87) || ?Old Swedish *gius*, Swedish *gös* ‘Perca lucioperca’, German dial. *giesen* ‘Cyprinus cephalus’; the simplification of the expected initial cluster **dʰgʰ-* is regular, cf. Gothic *guma* = Latin *homō* ‘man’ : *humus*, Hittite *tēkan* ‘earth’ < **dʰégʰōm* || Greek *ἰχθῦς* ‘fish’ || Armenian *jukn* ‘fish’ (P 416–17), all from IE **dʰgʰū-*.

sweikis ‘Dursch’ (E 585) = ‘Dorsch / cod-fish / Gadus morrhua, earlier Morrhua callarias’ < **z(u)veikis* (M IV, 172–73).

Mažiulis reconstructs the stem **zuvi-* ‘fish’ extended by the suffix *-eik-* which is also identified in *sweykis* ‘Pflugpferd’ (E 432) < **asveikīs* (M IV, 172).

sylecke ‘Hering’ (E 572) = ‘Hering / herring / Clupea harengus’ < **silikē* (M IV, 107; T 426).

Baltic: Curonian *šilėke*, Lithuanian *silė*, Latvian *silke*, *silkis* ‘herring’ (F 785); the same ichthyonym occurs in Balto-Fennic too: Finnish *silakka*, dial. *sil(l)ahka*, *silhakka* ‘herring’, Estonian *silk*, gen. *silgu* and *silakas*, etc. Both Baltic and Balto-Fennic probably represent the independent loans from Swedish *sillaka* < *silli* ‘herring’ & *laka* ‘salt water’ (SKES 1023). Less probable is the solution of Berneker kept e.g. by Mažiulis (M IV, 107–08) who derive the Baltic forms from **sild(i)kē*, to compare it with Slavic **sьldь* attested in Czech *sled’*, Polish *śledź*, Russian *sel’d’*, Ukrainian *selédec*, Byelorussian *seledzéc* ‘herring’. The North Slavic ichthyonym had to be borrowed from some Scandinavian source before the 12th cent. (Vasmer III, 597), cf. Old Norse *sild*, *síld* id., Icelandic *síld*, Norwegian, Danish, Old Swedish *sild*, Swedish *sild*, id. Old Norse > Welsh *siled* ‘small fish’ (de Vries 1962, 475); proto-Norse **silāðā* > Lappic Lule *sallēt*, North Lappic *sálléd* id. (SKES 1023). The Scandinavian ichthyonym is probably related to Dutch *zeelt* ‘Tinca tinca’, and further with Old Norse *síl* ‘Tobiasfisch’, Icelandic *síli* ‘heringartiger Fisch’, Faeroese *síl* ‘trout’, Norwegian, Swedish *sil* ‘Tobiasfisch’ (hence Lappic of Norway *sivllo* id.). Considering Icelandic *síli*, Faeroese *síl*, Swedish *sil* ‘Fischbrut’ (hence English dial. *sile* ‘Heringbrut’), the relation with Old Irish *síl* ‘Saat’ is not excluded (de Vries 1962, 475: **sīplō* ~ **sīðlō*).

wilnis ‘Quappe’ (E 566) = ‘Quappe / burbot / Lota vulgaris’ < **vilnīs* (M IV, 239; T 461).

The most convincing solution seems that what was proposed by Lidén (1920), accepted by Trautmann (1923, 359) and Būga (1959, 152), who compared Prussian *wilnis* with Gutnic *ylla* f. ‘Quappe / Lotta vulgaris’ (**wulliō(n)-*), both derivable from **ulāno-*, originally probably connected with **ulāno-* (***(H)ulHno-*) ‘wave’ (cf. Mažiulis IV, 239). Trautmann’s solution (T 461) based on Prussian *wilnis* ‘roc’ (E 477), *wilna* ‘Rock’ (Gr 48), Lithuanian *vilna*, Latvian *vilna* ‘Wolle’ etc., is less argued semantically. Berneker’s comparison with Latvian *vilnis* ‘eine Art Pilz’ (F 1253) was rejected already by Hirt (1907, 72: ‘gehört kaum dazu’).

Note: In the list of fish-names from Elbing Vocabulary ‘cray-fish’ is not a real fish. That is why it is analyzed separately:

rokis ‘Krebs’ (E 584) = ‘Krebs / crayfish / Astacus astacus’ < **rāk’s* < **rākas* (M IV, 31; T 416).

Borrowed from Polish *rak* id. (Brückner 1898, 502). The Slavic origin is also apparent for Lithuanian *rōkas* id. (M IV, 31). Slavic **rakъ* ‘crayfish’ > Bulgarian

rak, Serbo-Croatian *ràk*, Slovenian *ràk*, Slovak, Czech, Upper Sorbian, Lower Sorbian, Polish *rak*, Russian-Church Slavonic *rakъ*, Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian *rak* id. (Vasmer III, 437). There is no unambiguous etymology. Perhaps Iljinskij (quoted after Vasmer III, 437) could be right, seeking etymology in the Baltic verbs of the type Lithuanian *ra(n)kù* : *ràkti* 'mit einem spitzen Gegenstand stochern, aufstechen, aufpicken' (F 694).

Conclusion:

The studied ichthyonyms can be classified according to their origin as follows:

A. Borrowings

Prussian	(EV)	German	English	Lithuanian	Zoological term	Family	Donor-Language
<i>brunfe</i>	(573)	Plötze	roach	kuoja	<i>Rutilus rutilus</i>	Cyprinidae	MHG <i>brûn</i> 'brown'
<i>dubelis</i>	(581)	Döbel	chub	šapalas	<i>Leuciscus</i>	Cyprinidae <i>cephalus</i>	EPG <i>dubel</i>
<i>grundalis</i>	(578)	Gründling	gudgeon	gružlys	<i>Gobio gobio</i>	Cyprinidae	MHG <i>grundele</i>
<i>malkis</i>	(571)	Stint	smelt	stinta	<i>Osmerus eperlanus</i>	Osmeridae	ES <i>*malžkь</i>
<i>rapis</i>	(583)	Rapfen	asp	salatis	<i>Aspius aspius</i>	Cyprinidae	MLG <i>rape</i>
<i>smerlingis</i>	(568)	Schmerle	stone loach	šlyžys	<i>Barbatula</i>	Balitoridae <i>barbatula</i>	HG <i>smirlinc</i>
<i>sylecke</i>	(572)	Hering	herring	silké	<i>Clupea harengus</i>	Clupeidae	Sw. <i>sillaka</i>

Abbreviations:

EV Elbing Vocabular; E East, G German, H High, L Low, M Middle, P Prussian, S Slavic, Sw. Swedish.

B. Internal Baltic formations

Prussian	(EV)	German	English	Lithuanian	Zoological	Family	Etymology
<i>blingis</i>	(577)	Blicke	white bream	plakis	<i>Abramis bjoerkna</i>	Cyprinidae	<i>*bling-</i> 'twinkle'
<i>blingo</i>	(580)	Moderlieschen	sunbleak	blizgè	<i>Leucaspius delineatus</i>	Cyprinidae	<i>*bling-</i> id.

<i>liede</i>	(561)	Hecht	pike	lydys	Esox lucius	Esocidae	* <i>līd-</i> 'jump'
<i>locutis</i>	(562)	Brachse	bream	karšis	Abramis brama	Cyprinidae	* <i>lĕk-</i> 'jump, fly'
* <i>palafaffis</i>	(574)	Forelle	trout	upėtakis	Salmo trutta	Salmonidae	* <i>pa-lašašja-</i> 'salmon-like'
<i>sarote</i>	(576)	Karpfchen	carp	karpis	Cyprinus carpio	Cyprinidae	* <i>zarāt-</i> 'bright'
<i>seabre</i>	(570)	Zährte	zanthe	žiobrys	Vimba vimba	Cyprinidae	* <i>z(i)ēb-r-</i> 'gilled'
<i>starkis</i>	(564)	Zander	pike-perch	sterkas	Sander lucioperca	Percidae	* <i>sta/erk-</i> 'agile'
<i>stroyfles</i>	(582)	Plattfisch	flounder	plekšnės	Pleuronectus flesus	Pleuronectidae	* <i>straig-</i> 'scaled'
<i>sweikis</i>	(585)	Dorsch	cod-fish	menkė	Gadus morrhua	Gadidae	* <i>žuv-eik-</i> 'fish'

C. Ichthyonyms with extra-Baltic ichthyonymical cognates

Prussian (EV)	German	English	Lithuanian	Zoological term	Family	*IE (branches)	
<i>angurgis</i>	(565)	Aal	eel	ungurys	Anguilla anguilla	Anguillidae	* <i>H₂eng^h-e/or-</i> : S(GC)pB
<i>affegis</i>	(572)	Barsch	perch	ešerys	Perca fluviatilis	Percidae	* <i>H₁e/og^h-</i> : S
<i>efketres</i>	(567)	Stör	sturgeon	eršketas	Acipenser sturio	Acipenseridae	* <i>H₂e/ok'(s)-</i> : S(L)
<i>kalis</i>	(569)	Wels	wels	šamas	Silurus glanis	Siluridae	* <i>k^uol-</i> : G
* <i>lafaffo</i>	(563)	Lachs	salmon	lašiša	Salmo salar	Salmonidae	* <i>lok'(s)-</i> : SGIrT
<i>linis</i>	(571)	Schleie	tench	lynas	Tinca tinca	Cyprinidae	* <i>(H₂)liHno-</i> : S
<i>suckis</i>	(560)	Fisch	fish	žuvis	Piscis	Pisces	* <i>d^hg^huH-</i> : S(G)GrA
<i>wilnis</i>	(566)	Quappe	burbot	vėgėlė	Lota lota	Gadidae	* <i>(H)u^lHni-</i> : G

Abbreviations: A Armenian, G Germanic, Gr Greek, Ir Iranian, L Latin, pB Paleo-Balkanian, S Slavic, T Tocharian.

The results of our statistics are following: in 7 cases from the total number 25 the Prussian fish-names were probably borrowed, most frequently, in five times, from Middle High or Middle Low German, once from a source of the type East Slavic and once perhaps from Swedish. The most numerous part of the ichthyonymical microlexicon is represented by internal Prussian or Baltic formations. The most typical semantic motivation seems to be based on the colour or the characteristic motion. In 8 cases there are extra-Baltic ichthyonymical cognates which may indicate the inherited fish-names, most frequently in Slavic (6, including 2–3 exclusive isoglosses). Two exclusive isoglosses connect Prussian with Germanic. Prussian together with other Baltic languages preserve the most archaic IE generic term for ‘fish’, **d^hǵ^huH-*. From designations of the concrete fish, **lok(s)-*, the name of one of salmonids, and ‘eel’ formed from **H₂eng^{uh}(i)-* ‘snake’, seem most archaic.

PRŪSŲ KALBOS ŽUVŲ PAVADINIMAI

Santrauka

Prūsų kalbos 25 žuvų pavadinimų etimologinis tyrimas leidžia daryti tokias išvadas:

- 1) septyni žodžiai laikytini skoliniais: penkių šaltinio reikia ieškoti vidurio vokiečių aukštaičių ar žemaičių kalboje, po vieną yra kilę iš rytų slavų ir galbūt švedų kalbų;
- 2) didžiąją dalį tiriamos ichtioniminės leksikos sudaro prūsų ar baltų dariniai. Tipiškiausia semantinė motyvacija – žuvies spalva ar būdingi judesiai. Aštuoniais atvejais ichtioniminių giminaičių aptinkama ne baltų kalbose, dažniausiai – slavų (6 žodžiai, iš kurių 2 ar 3 laikytini separatinėmis izoglosomis). Dvi separatinės izoglosos prūsų kalbą sieja su germanų kalbomis;
- 3) prūsai drauge su kitomis baltų kalbomis išlaikė didžiai archajišką rūšinį žuvies pavadinimą ide. **d^hǵ^huH-*. Iš atskirų pavadinimų archajiškiausiais laikytini **lok(s)-* (vienos iš lašišinių šeimos žuvų vardas) ir unguorio pavadinimas, padarytas iš **H₂eng^{uh}(i)-* ‘gyvatė’.

REFERENCES

- A b a e v V. I., 1958–1989, Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovar’ osetinskogo jazyka, I–IV, Leningrad.
 A d a m s D., 1999, A dictionary of Tocharian B, Leiden.
 B a i l e y H. W., 1979, Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge.
 BB – Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.
 BE – Balkansko ezikoznanie.
 B e e k e s R. S. P., 1995, Comparative Indo-European linguistics, Amsterdam etc.
 BER – Bălgarski etimologičen rečnik, I, ed. V. Georgiev et al., Sofija, 1962.
 B e z z e n b e r g e r A., 1902, Anzeige zu Leo Meyer, Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie, Leipzig, – BB XXVII, 137–185.
 B e z z e n b e r g e r A., 1911, Anzeige zu R. Trautmann, Die Altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler, Göttingen, 1910, – KZ XLIV, 285–331.

Bezenberger A., A. Fick, 1881, Nachträge zum indogermanischen Wörterbuch, – BB VI, 235–240.

Blažek V., 1993, Po stopách indoevropské pravlasti, – Slovo a slovesnost, LIV, 31–40.

Brückner A., 1898, Preussisch und Polnisch, – Archiv für slavische Philologie, XX, 480–515.
BSW – R. Trautmann, Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch, Göttingen, 1923 [1970].

Būga K., 1959, Rinkiniai raštai, II, Vilnius.

Dambe V., 1972, Sootvetstvija v toponimii Latvijskoj SSR s drevneprusskim jazykom, – Baltistica, I priedas, 55–62.

Daubaras F., 1978, O svjazjax prusskix gidronimov s nazvanijami životnyx i ptic, – Baltistica, XIV, 134–138.

Delamarre X., 2001, Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise, Paris.

Diebold R. A., 1976, Contribution to the Indo-European salmon problem, – Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Historical Linguistics, ed. W. M. Christie, Amsterdam, 341–387.

Diebold R. A., 1985, The evolution of Indo-European nomenclature for salmonid fish: the case of 'huchen' (Hucho sp.), Washington (= Journal of Indo-European Studies, Monograph series, V. E – Elbing Vokabular – quoted after T and PKP.

EIEC – Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture, eds. J. P. Mallory, D. Q. Adams, London etc., 1997.

ESSJ – Ètimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov, ed. O. N. Trubačev, Iff., Moskva, 1974ff.

EWAI – M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, I–II, Heidelberg, 1986–1996.

F – E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, I–II, Göttingen, Heidelberg, 1962–1965.

Falk H., A. Torp, 1909, Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit, Göttingen.

Falk H., A. Torp, 1960, Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, I–II, Oslo etc.

Frisk H., 1991, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, I–II, Heidelberg.

Gerstmeier R., T. Roming, 2003, Die Süßwasserfische Europas, Stuttgart.

Gr – Prussian vocabulary of Simon Grunau, quoted after PKP.

Hamp E. P., 1970, Productive suffix ablaut in Baltic, – Baltistica, VI (1), 27–32.

Hirt H., 1907, Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde, – IF XXII, 55–95.

Holthausen F., 1963, Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg.

Ilijinskij G., 1923–1924, Къ вопросу о чередовании гласныхъ гряда o, e въ начале словъ въ slavjanskixъ jazykaxъ, – Slavia II, 232–276.

K – K. Karulis, Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca, I (A–O), II (P–T), Rīga, 1992.

Katz J. T., 1998, How to be a dragon in Indo-European: Hittite *illuyankaš* and its linguistic and cultural congeners in Latin, Greek, and Germanic, – Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins, Ed. by Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert and Lisi Oliver, Innsbruck, IBS XCII, 317–334.

KEWA – M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, I–III, Heidelberg, 1953–1976.

Kluge F., E. Seebold, 1999, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Berlin etc., 23 Auflage.

Kolomeic V. T., 1983, Proisxoždenie obščeslavjanskix nazvanij ryb (K IX Meždunarodnomu sjezdu slavistov), Kyjev.

Krause W., 1961, Zum Namen des Lachses, – Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, IV, 83–98.

Lewy E., 1913, Preußisches, – IF XXXII, 160.

LIV – Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben, eds. H. Rix et al., Wiesbaden, 2001.

Loewenthal J., 1924, Ahd. *lahs*, – KZ LII, 98.

M – V. Mažiulis, Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas, I (A–H), II (I–K), III (L–P), IV (R–Z), Vilnius, 1988–1993–1996–1997.

- Machek V., 1944, Einige slavische Fischnamen, – Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie, XIX, 53–67.
- Machek V., 1968, Etymologický slovník jazyka českého, Praha.
- Mallory J. P., 1991, Kurgan and Indo-European fauna III: Fish, – JIES I, 263–279.
- Mann S. E., 1984–1987, An Indo-European comparative dictionary, Hamburg.
- Mäntylä K., 1970, Lachs, – Orbis, XIX, 172–174.
- Marstrander C. S., 1945, En germansk religiøs terminus i gammelprøysisk, – NTS XIII, 344–352.
- Meyer-Lübke W., 1922, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg.
- Morgenstierne G., 1927, An etymological vocabulary of Pashto, Oslo.
- Morgenstierne G., 1934, Munji *žūt* : Gothic *qibiþ*, – NTS VII, 116–120.
- Otrębski J., 1955, Aus der Geschichte der litauischen Sprache, – Lingua Posnaniensis, V, 23–40.
- P – J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern etc., 1959.
- Pedersen H., 1909–1913, Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen, I–II, Göttingen.
- Pijnenburg W. J. J., 1984 [1987], Oir. *eó*, Lat. *esox*, Basque *izoki(n)* ‘salmon’, – Orbis, XXXII, 241–251.
- Pisani V., 1968, Rom und die Balten, – Baltistica, IV (1), 7–21.
- PKP – V. Mažiulis, Prūsų kalbos paminklai, II, Vilnius, 1981.
- Räsänen M., 1969, Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türk Sprachen. Helsinki, – Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, XVII, 1.
- Rodriguez M. S., 1989, Indo-European **(s)k^waloi-s* ‘sheat-fish’, – JIES XVII, 177–180.
RR – Būga 1959.
- Schmalstieg W. R., 1976, Studies in Old Prussian, University Park etc.
- Schmalstieg W. R., 1982, Does Old Russian *lidie* come from Old Prussian *liede* ‘Hecht, pike, щука’?, – Baltistica, XVIII (1), 58–60.
- Schrader O., A. Nehring, 1917–1929, Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde, I–II, Berlin.
- SKES – Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja, I–VI, Helsinki, 1955–1978.
- Smoczyński W., 1989, Studia bałto-słowiańskie, I, Kraków.
- Smoczyński W., 2000, Untersuchungen zum deutschen Lehngut im Altpreussischen, Kraków.
- Smoczyński W., 2001, Język litewski w perspektywie porównawczej; Kraków.
- Smoczyński W., 2003, Hiata laryngalny w językach bałto-słowiańskich, Kraków.
- Snoj M., 2003, Slovenski etimološki slovar, Ljubljana.
- Szemerényi (Semeren’i) O., 1967, Slavjanskaja étimologija na indoevropskom fone, – Vja IV, 3–25.
- T – R. Trautmann, Die altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler, Göttingen, 1910.
- Thieme P., 1951, Der Lachs in Indien, – KZ XCVI, 209–216.
- Tischler J., 1981, Hethitisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis, Innsbruck, – IBS XXXIX.
- To – V. N. Toporov, Prusskij jazyk, Slovar’, I–V, Moskva, 1975–1990.
- TPS – Transactions of the Philological Society.
- Usačeva V. V., 1973, Materialy dlja slovarja slavjanskix nazvanij ryb, I (semejstvo Cyprinidae), – Étimologija 1971, 115–182.
- Van Windekens A. J., 1970, L’origine directe et indirecte de tokharien B *laks* ‘poisson’, – ZDMG CXX, 305–307.
- Van Windekens A. J., 1976, Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes, I. La phonétique et le vocabulaire, Louvain.
- Vanagas A., 1981, Lietuvių hidronimų etimologinis žodynas, Vilnius.
- Vasmer M., 1986–1987, Étimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka, I–IV, transl. by O. N. Trubačev, Moskva.

- VJa – Voprosy jazykoznanija.
- Vries J. de, 1962, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Leiden.
- Weise O., 1881, Etymologische Beiträge, – BB VI, 233–235.
- Witczak K. T., 1991, Indo-European *s₁rC in Germanic, – HS CIV, 106–107.
- Witczak K. T., 2005, Romanska nazwa śliza (**locca*) w indoeuropejskiej perspektywie, – *Studia Romanica et Linguistica Thoruniensia* (forthcoming).
- ZfSl – Zeitschrift für Slawistik.
- Zinkevičius Z., 1984, Pol'sko-jatvjažskij slovarik?, – BSI 1983, 3–30.
- Žulys V., 1966, Keleto retų žodžių istorija, – *Baltistica*, I (2), 151–161.