FOUNDATIONS OF
BALTIC
LANGUAGES

PIETRO U. DINI

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His main interests lie in the fields of comparative historical linguistics and history of Baltic Linguistics. His book *Le lingue baltiche* (1997) has been translated into Lithuanian (*Baltų kalbos. Lyginamoji istorija*, 2000), Latvian (*Baltu valodas*, 2000), Russian (Балтийские языки, 2002); a new updated and corrected version is now presented in English.

Dr. Dini's other main books in chronological order: *L'Anello Baltico. Profilo delle nazioni baltiche di Lituania, Lettonia, Estonia* (Marietti, Genova, 1991); *H. J. Lysius. Mažasis Katekizmas* (Vilnius, LKI, 1993), *L'Inno di S. Ambrogio di Martynas Mažvydas. Studio filologico-linguistico del testo antico lituano (1549) e delle sue fonti latine e polacche* (Roma, La Fenice, 1994), *Mitologia Baltica. Antologia di studi sulla mitologia dei popoli baltici* (co-edited with N. Mikhailov, Pisa, ECIG, 1995), *Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics. In Honor of William R. Schmalstieg* (co-edited with Ph. Baldi, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, Benjamins, 2004), *Giacomo Devoto. Baltistikos raštai. Scritti baltistici* (co-edited with B. Stundžia, Vilnius, VUL, 2004), *Giuliano Bonfante. Baltistikos raštai. Scritti baltistici* (co-edited with B. Stundžia, Vilnius, VUL, 2008), *L'Anello Lituano. La Lituania vista dall'Italia: viaggi, studi, parole* (Livorno, B&C-Vilnius, LKI, 2007); *Aliletoescvr. Linguistica baltica delle origini* (Livorno, B&C, 2010); *Baltų flologijos studijos. Rinktiniai straipsniai 1991-2007* (Vilnius, LKI, 2010), *Prelude to Baltic Linguistics. Earliest Theories about Baltic Languages* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2014), *Ins undeudſche gebracht. Sprachgebrauch und Übersetzungsverfahren im altpreußischen Kleinen Katechismus* (Academy of Sciences of Göttingen, de Gruyter, 2014).

P.U. Dini is also the editor of the international journal "Res Balticae. Miscellanea italiana di studi baltistici", co-founded with N. Mikhailov in Pisa (1995-, 13 vols.).

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It is a river, this language,
Once in a thousand years
Breaking a new course
Changing its way to the ocean.

Carl Sandburg, 1916

Knowledge may have its purposes,
but guessing is always
more fun than knowing.

Wystan H. Auden, 1974

Preface

Introductory reference works in Baltic linguistics and philology, compared to other philological domains, are few in number and (with some important exceptions) they do not usually exceed the measure of an article. This book would at least fill this vacuum. It could thus furnish a somewhat modest contribution to the vast amount of material subsumed under the label "Baltistics", which would cover the main purpose that the author set out for himself.

I am conscious of the fact that many arguments are by necessity hardly mentioned, others are only pointed out and still others are compressed owing to the necessity for synthesis which characterizes this work. But one hopes that readers will appreciate the novelty of the attempt to compare in their entirety from their antiquity up to the present the changes of the *Baltia*, and specifically of the Baltic linguistic community, although they will be displayed according to an original chronological–cultural model which does not only take the linguistic stages of the Baltics into account. For these reasons it is hoped to attract a larger number of readers than the very narrow circle of specialists.

*

From the Middle Ages until the present, the social hierarchy established in the Baltics has been imposed many times by the presence of *élite* ruling foreigners (Germans, Swedes, Russians, Poles) as opposed to the autochthonous subordinate majority (Prussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Livonians and others) who did not have a written language. The appearance of the written languages in the 16th century with the victory of Lutheranism and then of Catholicism, and the subsequent translation of texts for religious preaching among the native Baltic populations also signified the

beginning of the end of the cultural subordination of the Balts and the linguistic privilege of the other ethnicities (except, of course, for political, economic and family ties).

The long and slow process of liberation underwent a sudden acceleration in the 19th century, but was completed suddenly during the post World War I period when Lithuanian and Latvian became the official languages in the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Latvia respectively. Then, with the incorporation of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union in the middle of the 20th century, the use of the two Baltic languages became still more restricted and their status was reduced again to the rank of vernacular languages.

Twenty-five years ago the scene radically changed again: Lithuanian and Latvian are once more official languages in their respective independent Republics. Since May 1st 2004 Lithuanian and Latvian are official languages of the European Union and at the end of secular changes they find themselves in a position to meet future challenges.

*

This book's concentration on historical problems is not something to regret, not only because the achievements of general linguistics notoriously spring from the resolution of problems of historical character. To some it may still appear that Baltic linguistics has some difficulties in emancipating itself from the status of a historical discipline, which it has been from its very beginnings as a part of historical Indo-European grammar in the 19th century.

I must say that I do not completely agree with this point of view. Firstly, because I really do not think that it is the case any more, and everybody can easily observe the abundance of synchronic studies and structural descriptions of and about the Baltic languages which have been published both within and outside the Baltic countries. And secondly, because I also think that it is not necessarily good to follow what is in fashion at a specific point in time.

Differently from many other linguistic approaches determined by the prevalent trend of an epoch, the historical approach to the linguistic phenomenon will probably remain, at least in Baltic studies, the fundamental part of the discipline; the one which does not appear or disappear according to what is *à la page*, and the one with which the other approaches will also converge sooner or later.

*

It is the aim of this book to provide a starting point for dialogue, where the disciplinary relations between multiple approaches could be evaluated. This should also consider the concern and need for interdisciplinary communication and collaboration (instead of the traditional relative isolation and autonomy of methodology) which arises from the variety of linguistic methods in use today.

We must note that it is impossible to avoid now and then taking a middle road, and one which is rich in contaminations, that takes into account (to put it in well-known Saussurian terms) the point of view of external and internal linguistics such that one passes often from consideration of the languages to that of the community of their speakers with frequent references to their history and culture. But this work should also serve as a preliminary contribution to the social history of the Baltic languages which has yet to be written. If one observes the last half millenium, one notes that their *status* has always been in the balance between that of vernacular and that of language; moreover their development has been determined more by the action of external factors than by internal factors.

*

"Baltistics" (or "Baltic philology") is here conceived as *totius balticitatis cognitio*. Whether the author succeeded in this purpose or not will be determined by the readers. After all, the same concept of "Baltistics" or "Baltic Philology" came into being and was elaborated by looking at Baltia from the outside. Namely, what is historically known by different names (such as *baltische Philologie* or *filologia baltica* or *philologie baltique* or *bałtycka filologja* and so on), i.e., known by this international label, was capable of grasping and examining the Baltic linguistic and cultural world as a whole.

Is it not true that a look from outside or from a distance may make it easier to encompass the entirety and the unity of the Baltia? Every scientific specialization without universalizing is a blind act, whereas every universalizing without specialization is just a soap bubble. The two aspects are important for the advancement of the historical sciences: both as special investigations and with regard to the universal context of the research. According to an ancient aphorism, in science it is important to look at the trees without ignoring the forest... I would dare to say that the maintenance of the forest's portrait has probably been the main historical mission of Baltistics practiced outside of the Baltic countries.

Otherwise, I want to stress that those who are looking at the forest from the outside do not have any priority in Baltistics, because the contribution to science of those who live close to the trees and know their characteristics and properties is essential in order not to distort the forest's portrait.

It seems to me that both in the past and in the present there has existed and still exists in this discipline a useful dialectic among Balticists active in the Baltic countries and Balticists active abroad. This dialectic is, I would say, harmonious. And it is this way because both kinds of Balticists together make up a solid and united team of scholars which has as its base what I like to call "our *common balticitas*" (cf. *KB*, 11, 2005; *LZAVēstis*, 64; *BF*, 19).

<div align="right">P.U.D.</div>

Abbreviations:

Languages:

Alb.	Albanian		MLG	Middle Low German
AS	Anglo-Saxon		OArm.	Old Armenian
Arm.	Armenian		OBret.	Old Breton
Avestan	Avestan		OCorn.	Old Cornish
BG	Baltic–German		OCS	Old Church Slavic
Blruss.	Belarussian		OEng.	Old English
Bulg.	Bulgarian		OGr.	Old Greek
Cimr.	Cimric		OHG	Old High German
Curon.	Curonian		OIcel.	Old Icelandic
Cz.	Czech		OInd.	Old Indic
Eston.	Estonian		OIr.	Old Irish
Finn.	Finnic		OLat.	Old Latin
German	German		OLatv.	Old Latvian
Goth.	Gothic		OLG	Old Low German
Hitt.	Hittite		OLith.	Old Lithuanian
HLatv.	High Latvian		ON	Old Nordic
HLith.	High Lithuanian (Aukštaitian)		OPr.	Old Prussian
IE	Indo-European		ORuss.	Old Russian
Latin	Latin		Pol.	Polish
Latv.	Latvian		Russ.	Russian
Lith.	Lithuanian		S-Cr.	Serbo-Croatian
LLatv.	Low Latvian		Sor.	Sorabian
LLith.	Low Lithuanian (Žemaitian)		Ukr.	Ukrainian
MBret.	Middle Breton		Tokh.	Tokharian
MCorn	Middle Cornish		Welsh	Welsh
MG	Middle German		Yatv.	Yatvingian
MHG	Middle High German		Žem.	Žemaitian
MIr.	Middle Irish			

Works:

CC	OLatv. *Catechismvs Catholicorum* (1585).
DP	OLith. *Postil* (1590) by M. Daukša.
ED	OLatv. Elger Dictionary (1683).
Ench., III	OPr. 3rd Catechism, the so-called *Enchiridion* (1561).
EV	OPr. Elbing Vocabulary.
G	OLatv. *Gospel* (1753).
Germ.	*Germania* by Tacitus.
LDL	*Lettisches=Deutsches Lexicon* (1685) by J. Langius.
MGa	OLith. *Hymn of Saint Ambrosius* (1549) by M. Mažvydas.
MGk	OLith. *Christian Hymns* (1570) by M. Mažvydas.
MK	OLith. *Catechism* (1547) by M. Mažvydas.
Nat. Hist.	*Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder.
TB	OPr. Trace of Basel (between 1369/1460).
VGr	OPr. Vocabulary of Grunau.
Vln	OLith. *Catechism* (1579) by B. Vilentas.

Others:

acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
demonstr.	demonstrative
def.	definite
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
instr.	instrumental
loc.	locative
masc.	masculine
nom.	nominative
pers.	person
plur.	plural
pron.	pronom
sing.	singular
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative

LINGUISTIC PREHISTORY OF THE BALTIC AREA

The first question one has to face in dealing with Baltic linguistics is that of terminology. It is not uncommon to encounter ambiguous terminology in the domain of Baltic linguistics. In order to resolve troublesome misconceptions one should initially define certain terms and fundamental concepts.

1.1. INTRODUCTION AND ISSUES OF TERMINOLOGY

1.1.1. Baltic and Baltia

If at first glance there is no acknowledged difference between two diverse usages of a single term in everyday language, the scientific realm recognizes a pressing need for a precise definition (Belardi 1993). In the case of the term *Baltic*, among others, European languages recognize two usages: one appellative and the other toponomastic.[1]

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[1] For English, cf. *OED* ([2]1989, vol. 1, p. 916): "1. Of, pertaining to, designating or bordering upon an almost landlocked sea in N. Europe (Russ. *Балтийское Море*), called by the neighbouring Germanic countries 'East Sea' (Germ. *Ostsee* etc.); *spec*. of or belonging to the states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and their inhabitants; 2. Applied to a branch of the IE languages comprising Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian, usu. classified with the Slavic group". *Webster* (1911, vol. 1, p. 176): "*Baltic*. Of or pertaining to the sea which separates Norway and Sweden from Jutland, Denmark, and Germany; situated on the Baltic sea." *Webster* (1963, vol. 1, p. 144): "[1]*Baltic*, 1. pertaining to the Baltic Sea, which separates Norway and Sweden from Denmark, Germany, and Russia; 2. situated on the Baltic Sea; 3. of the Baltic States"; a second lemma Baltic is devoted to the languages: "[2]*Baltic*, the western branch of the Balto–Slavic languages [sic!], including Lithuanian and lettish." *Webster* (1989, vol. 1, p. 115): "*Baltic*, 1. of, near, or on the Baltic Sea. 2. of or pertaining to the Baltic States. 3. of or pertaining to a group of languages, as Lettish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian, that constitute a branch of the Indo-European family. 4. the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages." – For German, cf. *DW*, vol. 1, p. 503: "*baltisch* 1. das Baltikum betreffend, zu ihm gehörig, aus ihm stammend." – For French, cf. *GRLF*, vol. 1, p. 831: "*Balte*. Se dit des pays et des populations qui avoisinent la mer Baltique. *Les pays baltes* (Estonie, Lettonie, Lituania). Originaire de ces pays. *Les populations baltes*. N. *Les Baltes*" (no mention in *DLF*). – For Spanish, cf. *DLE*, vol. 1, p. 169: "*báltico, ca*. [1.] Aplícase al mar comprendido entre Suecia, Finlandia, Estonia, Letonia y Lituania. 2. Dícese de estos cuatro últimos países. 3. Perteneciente o relativo a estos países o al mar Báltico." – For Italian, cf. *VLI*, p. 391: "Designazione del mare ancora oggi così chiamato... fu poi adoperato, con notevole varietà, per designare sia tutti sia alcuni dei popoli o terre o stati rivieraschi, e loro caratteristiche." – On the history of the term 'baltic', cf. Berkholz (1882).

The first usage conveys primarily a geographical and ethnological connotation, but one immediately realizes that there is a broader meaning in everyday language than in the technical language of philology and linguistics. From a geographical perspective, all the countries facing the Baltic Sea are called Baltic; these include Sweden, Finland, Estonia, as well as Lithuania, Latvia, Poland and Germany as far as its border with Denmark. However, it is obvious that there is no correspondence between the geographic and ethnolinguistic descriptions. In fact, peoples that are very different linguistically and ethnically are combined under the same label. Finns and Estonians are not Indo-Europeans but rather Finno-Ugric peoples who speak languages closely related to the Finnic group; while the rest, on the other hand, are Indo-Europeans: Swedes, Germans and Danes (Germanic peoples speaking related languages), and Poles (a Slavic people speaking a west Slavic language). Only two extant peoples – the Lithuanians and the Latvians – are Balts from every perspective: geographic, ethnic and linguistic.

Thus, when I say *Baltic*, the term is understood primarily in its accepted technical and linguistic meaning. On this basis, one cannot speak exclusively of Latvians and Lithuanians, since in preceding epochs the Baltic peoples – understood as such – were more numerous than their present-day representatives [see 5. and 6.].

The second usage of the term in question is toponomastic and serves to name the sea, and it is firstly recorded in encyclopedic works.[2] However, since the 1940s the name has appeared in an accepted geopolitical meaning that embraces what otherwise is labeled as the *Baltic Countries* or the *Baltic Republics* (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia).[3] Moreover, the Germ. *Balticum*, *Baltikum* is a relatively recent term, indicating as much a geographical as a political and administrative reality, in this case limited to the Baltic provinces (*baltische Provinzen*, *baltische Länder*) of Courland, Livonia and Estonia, usually excluding Lithuania.[4] The Russian name *Прибалтика* is similar: it is used to identify the whole region occupying the eastern coast

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[2] Cf. e.g. *NEB* I ([15]1993, p. 847-848) *Baltic Sea*; *EI* (1930, vol. 6, p. 3) *Baltico, Mare*.

[3] This geopolitical designation is found in the titles of many geographical and political science publications in the period between the two World Wars, e.g. in Germany, cf. Friederichsen (1924); in France, cf. Montfort (1933); in Italy, cf. Pavolini (1935); Frate (1940); Cialdea (1940); Giannini (1940); in Spain, cf. Friederichsen (1930) [a Spanish translation of Friederichsen (1924)]), but today as well, e.g. Lieven (1994); Demskis, Makalajūnas (1991); Plasseraud (1991a); Dini (1991b) etc. The vagueness of the question has also produced dubious neologisms (probably as calque from Russ. Прибалтика) which could easily be avoided, but are nevertheless still in use occasionally in scientific literature.

[4] Cf. Svennung (1953). Such a usage is found e.g. in von Pistohlkors (1994).

of the Baltic Sea, equivalent to the special expression *Прибалтийские страны* 'Baltic countries', noted in official Russian administrative usage dating from 1859.[5] The Russian henceforth supports the source of Latvian *Baltija*, attested in the press for the first time in 1868, and perhaps also the source of the Lith. *Báltija*, which had a primarily geographical meaning and only occasionally a political one.

Moreover, the same situation surfaces in the literary realm where the three literatures (Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian) are typically combined under the term "Baltic Literatures".[6]

From this brief sketch it is easy to observe that even non–Baltic ethno–linguistic groups such as the Estonians and the Livs are legitimately included in the cultural and geopolitical concept "Baltic". In this context, one notes the need for a definition which will serve to designate unambiguously the Baltic peoples in the precise sense discussed above. The term *Baltia* is a useful neologism for primarily scientific application, and I use it to indicate an ethno–linguistic Baltic dominion taken in the narrow sense, although diachrontopically subject to variations. The *Baltia* is a community of diverse peoples and cultures speaking Baltic languages of the IE family, characterized by a specific element of pre–Christian pagan religion. The term Baltia is also employed to designate the Baltic cultural community in a broad sense (just as for instance Romània or Slavia, etc.).

1.1.2. Hypotheses regarding the name of the Baltic Sea

A similar sounding name for the Baltic Sea is attested in the Middle Ages (*mare Balticum*) and appears around 1300 as well in Arabic sources from ash-Shīrāzī [1003-1083].[7] On the other hand, the peoples who lived along its shores called it by quite different names over time (Spekke 1959). Thus, turning from the west toward the northeast one encounters these primary names for the sea: Germ. *Ostsee* 'Eastern Sea', Danish *Østersøen*, Swedish *Östersjön*, Finnic *Itämeri* 'Sea of the Levant' (a calque from Swedish because for the Finns it is located to the west and not to the east); the Russians called it the *Варяжское море* 'Varangian Sea' until the 17th century, at which point they introduced the term *Шведское море* 'Swedish Sea', and

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[5]   Karulis (LEV I, p. 103). Cf. also the adj. *прибалтийский* 'Baltic, of the Baltic' and the designations *Прибалтийские народы, Прибалтийцы, Прибалты* 'Baltic peoples'. On Russ. *прибалт*, cf. Klubkov (2001).

[6]   E.g. Devoto (1963), which also includes Finnic literature; Scholz (1990a).

[7]   For more general information regarding medieval Arabic sources, cf. Spekke (1937).

only at the end of the 18th century does one find the first occurrences of *Балтийское море* 'Baltic Sea', the usual contemporary usage. The Estonians, however, called it *Lääne meri* 'The Western Sea'; the Latvians *Lielā jūra* 'The Great Sea' (*Mazā jūra* 'The Small Sea' is the Gulf of Riga)[8] and in Lithuanian folklore there is no difference between *jū́ra* and *mãrios* 'sea' (directly from *Žemaičių jū́ra* 'The Sea of the Samogitians', as used by the historian Simonas Daukantas [1793-1864], and the *Palanginė jū́ra* 'The Sea of Palanga' in the Samogitian dialect).[9]

1.1.2.1. Adam of Bremen. A German chronicler of the second half of the 11th century, referred to as canon Adam of Bremen, was famous for his excellent work in the field of history. He was the author of, among other works, a history of the bishopric of Hamburg (*Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* 1075-1976, written after a trip to Denmark between 1072 and 1076). In this work, besides useful descriptions of the Nordic countries, he also provides geographical information concerning the sea:[10]

> *Mare orientale seu mare Barbarum sive mare Scithicum vel mare Balticum unum et idem mare est, quod Marcianus et antiqui Romani Scithicas vel Meoticas paludes sive deserta Getharum aut Scithicum littus appellant. Hoc igitur mare ab occidentali occeano inter Daniem et Nordwegiam ingrediens versus orientem porrigitur longitudine incomperta.*

> [The Eastern Sea or the Sea of the Barbarians or the Scythian or the Baltic Sea are one and the same sea, which Marcianus and the ancient Romans called the Scythian or Meotican (?) marshes the deserts of the Gethae or the Scythian shores. This sea, therefore, from the western Ocean between Denmark and Norway going to the east extends to an unknown length.]

Besides the customary German name of 'Eastern Sea', Adam of Bremen introduces several interesting variants (*Balticum fretum*, *Balticum mare*, *Balticum mare vel Barbarum*, *Balticus sinus*, etc.), from which it can be deduced that he was probably the first to use the name of the sea with the stem **balt-*. This notwithstanding, many other names for the sea still survived

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[8] Extensive research on the name of the sea in the Latvian language and folklore can be found in Laumane (2013).
[9] Cf. Kabelka (1982, p. 10-14). A broad and comprehensive study of the names for the Baltic Sea is provided in Svennung (1953) and in Laur (1972); cf. also Berkholz (1882).
[10] Pagani (1996, p. 438), Book IV, *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, Chap. X, Scholium n. 116. Cf. also Krabbo (1909), Schlüter (1910), Schmeidler (1917), Christensen (1948), Heine (1986).

for a long time, without the stem *balt-* (still in normal use even today), and only in the 17th century are the first occurrences found of German *baltisch*, Danish *baltisk*, English *Baltic*, French *baltique*, Russian *балтийский*.

Another relevant passage in the works of Adam of Bremen reads (Ibid. IV:10):

> *Sinus ille ab incolis appellatur Balticus, eo quod in modum baltei longo tractu per Scithicas regiones tendatur usque in Greciam, idemque mare Barbarum seu pelagus Sciticum vocatur a gentibus, quas alluit, barbaris.*

> [This bay is called Baltic by the natives, because like a long belt drawn through the Scythian regions it stretches as far as Greece, and the same name is used by the barbarian people which live next to the Sea of the Barbarians or the Scythian Ocean.]

Whoever the inhabitants (*incolae*) of the coast were, it is unlikely that they called their sea by a Latin name. Perhaps Adam of Bremen would have heard this name from the people whom he met during his travels in Denmark, or in Bremen proper, a busy Hanseatic commercial center and charming destination for sailors and merchants from Prussia or from other Baltic regions. From about 1230 one finds the name *Belltis sund* in Old Icelandic literature, and from 1329 it recurs in Nordic sources, and in 1334 *Baltasund* even appears in a Papal document. It is very possible that Adam of Bremen knew the name of the two straits of Jutland, the Great Belt (already attested in 1228 as *Belt*) and the Little Belt, as well as the name *Beltessund* (also *Beltissund*), which in Danish refers to a western part of the Baltic Sea. Since all these names are connected to the Danish noun *bælte* 'ribbon, belt,' the hypothesis was put forth that in composing his Latin text the German chronicler probably ended up latinizing this word as well, especially since – and this is conceivable – he observed the phonetic similarity to Latin *balteus*, *balteum* 'belt': he therefore wrote *Balticum* (in place of **Belticum*). Thus, the name of the Baltic Sea was derived, according to this very prevalent hypothesis (for more detail cf. Svennung 1953), with the aid of Adam of Bremen from the Danish name for the strait.[11]

1.1.2.2. The island of Balcia in Pliny. According to others, the Latin name *mare Balticum* can be explained as coming from the name of an island referred

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[11] Endzelīns (1945, p. 6) poses the question whether Adam of Bremen could have also heard a word with the stem **balt-* from the Germans of Samogitia (Low Lith. region) as reconstructed on the basis of its correspondence with *palz* 'ribbon' in Aukštaitija (High Lith. region).

to by Pliny the Elder (Plinius Secundus Gaius [23 A.D. – August 25, 79 A.D.], *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 95):

> *Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse inmensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat.*
>
> [Xenophon Lampsacenus[12] reports that after three days' navigation from the Scythian coast there is an island by the name of Balcia, of indeterminate size; it is the same one that Pytheas calls Basilia.]

It is further narrated that this island was rich in amber and that its inhabitants sold this valuable material to the neighboring Germans at a great profit. Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear what island is being referred to. It appears that Pliny used a work of Pytheas, which tells of a large and wild island facing the 'Scythian coast' called *Basilia*, meaning 'kingdom' or 'royal place', because of its size or because it was governed by many rulers. However that may be, Pliny refers to it by various names: the name *Baltia* is found in more recent manuscripts and *Balcia* in older ones, so that some have thought that this last reading (and the variants *abalcia* and *abaltiam* in Solino) could reflect the Greek form Βαλκία. More than a few proposals have been advanced regarding the identification of the island. Firstly by Voigt J. (1827), followed by the ethnographer and linguist Šmits (1936), the island was identified as Sambia (Germ. *Samland*) the Prussian territory, rich in amber and encircled by the sea on all sides, so that it appears to be a true island. Paleography has also shown that in the works of Pliny <t> and <c> often alternated (and are used promiscuously), and linguistics that a certain phonetic approximation between the groups *ti* plus vowel and *ci* plus vowel had already taken place in the 2nd century B.C. On this basis, Svennung (1974) does not consider it necessary to amend Pliny's text, and in explaining the name shows a distinctive relationship on the basis of which the island *Baltia* is related to *balteum* 'belt (of the sea; today Kattegat)', more or less as *Skapnia (Latin *Scandiae*, with successive metathesis) is related to *skaþan 'harm', from which arose 'injured country'.[13]

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[12] Xenophon of Lampsacus was famous as a geographer of the 2nd-1st century B.C. The scattered reports of Pliny create the impression of a fantastic voyage around the northern part of the continent; the various designations for the island and the fact that several reports are contradictory probably indicate a multitude of sources, at the basis of which lies, however, an imprecise notion of an amber island. On the ancient ideas about the lands where amber was produced, cf. Kolendo (1985).

[13] One should, however, also mention the opinion expressed by Nalepa (1971d) according to whom the name *Scand-* is to be connected with the OPr. place-names *Skanda*, *Skandawa*, *Skandlack* and further to OPr. *au-skandisnan* 'Sündflut; flood', Lith. *skę̃sti*, *skandìnti* 'to drown' et al.

Structurally, one sees the same toponymic designation 'near, close by' in *Balt-ia* and in **Skaþn-ia*.

The Latvian linguist Brence (1985) completed a study of all the referenced variants of the island *Balcia* (*Baltia*) in the works of the ancient historians and comes to the conclusion that in any case the name can be traced back to the concept of 'white, clear', for example: *Basilia*, *Balisia* < **Bals-*, cf. Lith *bal̃sis* 'a white animal'; *Balcia* < **Balk-*, cf. Lith. *bálkti* 'to turn pale; to become white'; *Abalus* < **At-bal-*, cf. OLatv. *atbala* 'reflection of the setting sun'.

Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 93-136) has asserted the balticity of all the above mentioned names (*Baltia*, *Balcia*, *Basilia*, *Abalus*), and considers them as types of denominations of the Baltic Sea, which might have been interpreted as 'the island of enormous magnitude'.

1.1.2.3. The theories of Bonfante and Blese. Bonfante (1936) proposes a different approach to the problem. He suggests a derivation of the name of the Baltic Sea from the Illyrian word **balta*, which is reconstructed on the basis of Alb. *baltɛ* 'mud, slime' and Romanian *balta* 'marsh, pond, lake', related to OCS *blato*, Pol. *błoto*, Russ. *болото* (< Protosl. **balto*). The comparison with Baltic anticipates Lith. *balà* 'pool, puddle', Latv. *bala* id., OPr. **balta-* 'marsh, bog' (cf. e.g. the toponym *Namuynbalt*); in addition related to Lith. *báltas* 'white', *bálti* 'to turn pale', Latv. *balts* 'white', *bāls* 'pallid'. According to Bonfante's argument the origin of these terms can be traced to words signifying colors by virtue of the empirical observation that a marsh region, with its particularly thick vegetation, can effectively produce in the observer the impression of a variety of colors. An analogous phenomenon is found in Lith. *pélkė*, Latv. *pelce*, OPr. *pelky* 'marsh' and Lith. *pìlkas* 'gray' or from Lith. *pur̃vas*, Latv. *purvs* 'mud' and OGr. πυρρός 'red fire'; from Swedish *alv*, Norwegian *elv* 'river' and Latin *albus* 'white'.[14]

On the other hand, according to Blese (1938), it is possible to demonstrate the Baltic origin of names occurring in Adam of Bremen (*mare Balticum*) and in Pliny (*Balcia*, *Baltia*) and in similar sources, traceable in a vast area of Europe, based essentially on the fact that the stem **balt-* occurs in toponyms of the Baltic region (especially hydronyms cf. Latv. *Balt-inava*, *Balt-iņa ezers*, etc.; Lith. *Baltà*, *Balt-ẽlė*, *Bálta-balė*, *Bált-ežeris*, OPr. *Peuse-balten*, etc.; the scant Curonian data **[see 5.2.4.]** also attest hydronyms with

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[14]   Regarding the linking of the designations of swamp and of colors, cf. Schülze (1933, p. 117-118).

this root, cf. *Balteuppe*, *Baltegallen*, *Balthe*), all of which can be related to the Latv. appellative *balt*s 'marsh, stagnant water'. In the marshy region of Belarus, toponyms also occur containing *белый* 'white;' they retain features of calques from Baltic (Lithuanian) toponyms with the stem **balt-* 'a marshy place'.

1.1.2.4. The theory of Toporov. The obvious limitation of Bonfante's theory is that he assigned the lexeme **balt-* exclusively to Illyrian, when in fact it is found in all the languages from the Baltics to the Balkans as far as the Mediterranean coast, in northern Italy (cf. *palta*, *pauta*, *paltan*, *palte* which occur in the dialects of Piedmont, Lombardy, Liguria, Triest, Friuli, etc., which can be connected to the hydronym *Dora Baltea*), in the Adriatic (cf. Dalmatian *balta*, *Dibaltum*) and in the Balkans (Thracian Δεβελτός; Phrygian *Beltā*, cf. Crevatin 1973). Toporov (*PrJ* I, p. 189) integrated these factors in an important way, providing a valid foundation based on hydronymic data. Thus, taking into consideration *a)* the existence of pairs such as OPr. *Namuyn-balt* along with *Namoyum-pelk*, from which it can be argued that the Prussian lexeme **balt* probably meant 'swamp' (cf. Lith *pélkė* id.), and *b)* the opposition between Lith. *júra*, OPr. *iūrin* '(open) sea' on the one hand, and Lith. *mãrios*, OPr. *mary* 'mare (closed) lagoon' on the other hand,[15] Toporov puts forward the theory that the original meaning of the OPr. root **balt-* was 'a zone of a closed sea', understood both as 'white' or 'marshy, swampy', cf. the hydronym *Balaton* in Hungary; a meaning preserved in the present-day Lith. stem *mar-* (Biolik 1993ab).

1.1.3. Linguistic Baltia

Given that the *Baltic languages* and the *languages of the Baltics* are two separate realities, it becomes clear that only the former constitute the subject of the present work. The official designation of the Baltic languages currently in use today throughout the world (French *langues baltiques*, Eng. *Baltic languages*, Germ. *baltische Sprachen*, Russ. *балтийские языки*, Lith. *báltų kal̃bos*, Latv. *baltu valodas*) goes back to the German name for the Baltic Sea (*Baltisches Meer*), which in turn is a calque from the Latin name

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[15] The same meaning of 'closed sea, lagoon' is preserved in Engl. *mere* and *moor*, as well as in the derivative *marsh*; also Germ. *Moor* 'swamp', *Marsch* 'marsh' and *Meer* 'sea' (in opposition to Germ. *See* 'lake'); finally, Latin *mare* also originally meant 'swamp'.

(*mare Balticum*). Today the Baltic language group consists of only two living languages (Lithuanian and Latvian), a few other dead languages and languages that are meagerly attested (Prussian or Pruthenian, Curonian, Yatvingian, Galindian, Selonian, Semigallian). Many of the linguistic changes which give a particular profile to the Baltic linguistic family took place long before the appearance of the first written texts (16th century) and even before the Baltic peoples made their entrance into history with the Crusades on the medieval Baltic frontier (12th-13th centuries). The notable importance of these languages for comparative IE linguistics is the abundance of research material for their prehistory, while overall studies devoted to more recent epochs are relatively few.

The first modern evidence of a particular interest in Baltic languages – i.e. if one omits data from classical antiquity [see 1.3.] and from so-called Renaissance palaeocomparativism [see 7.3.] – goes back to at least the 18th century, when the famous Russian scientist Lomonosov became interested, in a surprisingly modern way, in the linguistic connections among the Baltic languages themselves and between Baltic and Slavic languages.[16] However, it was only with the advent of the historical–comparative method that it became possible to evaluate fully the specific character of the Baltic linguistic family. Among the founders of modern linguistics, the first to realize the importance of the Baltic languages – and of Lithuanian in particular – for comparative purposes was Rasmus Chr. Rask [1787-1832] in his work *Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse* (København, Gyldendal, 1814 [1818]). From 1823 Lithuanian also entered the sphere of interest of Franz Bopp [1791-1867] as well, who later included it in his famous comparative grammar *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Lithauischen, Gothischen und Deutschen* (Berlin, Dümmler, 1833-1852). Subsequently a study by August Friedrich Pott [1802-1887], *De Borusso–Lithuanicae tam in Slavicis quam Letticis linguis principatu commentatio* (2 vols., Halle, in Libraria Gebaueria, I 1837, II 1841) was published, relating to the connections between Baltic and Slavic (cf. Lotsch 1987; Bense 1994), and Schleicher published the first modern scientific grammar of Lithuanian, *Handbuch der litauischen Grammatik* (2 vols., Prague, Calve, 1856-1857), basing it on a version of eastern Prussian (Schleicher 1856-1857, 2008-). However, during this period the Baltic languages had already become

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[16]   Cf. Lomonosov (1952, vol. 6, p. 205-209). For an overview, cf. Tichovskis (1973); Palionis, Sabaliauskas (1990, p. 4).

the common domain of IE scholars, and many linguists of succeeding generations became interested in them and made references to them in varying degrees. Still at the end of the 18th century, Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro considers both the Baltic and the Slavic languages as Scytho-Illyrian (Dini 1997a).

In 1837 the German linguist Zeuss, followed by certain Russian scholars, applied the term *aistisch* to denote the Baltic languages; this name also became well accepted in the Lithuanian context (*áisčiai, áisčių kalbos*) by Jaunius and at an early stage by his student Būga (1908, 1924c.): both are convinced of the Baltic origin of the historical *Aesti* [see 1.3.3.].[17]

Toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, other scholars, primarily German, used different terms, e.g. *Letticae linguae* (A. F. Pott), *Lituslavisch* (A. Brückner, A. Leskien), *Lettoslavisch*; or simply *Litauisch* or *Lettisch* (Prellwitz 1891) to indicate all of the languages in the group. It was only in the second half of the 19th century that Nesselmann (1845, p. xxviii) proposed the present term, having analyzed the misunderstandings caused by the use of various terms. He wrote:

> *Ich würde vorschlagen, diese Familie die der Baltischen Sprachen oder sonst irgend wie zu nennen*
>
> [I would propose calling this family the family of Baltic languages or something similar.]

The new term was not immediately accepted, but after competition with the other variants, it became definitively affirmed in the first decade of the 20th century.[18]

At the beginning of the 20th century the Baltic languages became a subject of interest for many linguists:[19] besides the already mentioned August Schleicher [1821-1868], August Leskien [1840-1916], Karl Brugmann [1849-1919] and Aleksander Brückner [1856-1939] (1917, p. 80) recommend to their students a kind of pilgrimage to Lithuania to hear with their own ears: "das getreuste Abbild der Ursprache" (i.e., the

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[17] Curiously enough, considering Baltic a rather "unhappy denomination", Alinei (2000b, p 262-263) regretted the fact that the term *aistisch* (and its correspondences in the different languages) has been abandoned. An exhaustive investigation of the Aistian from an archaeological point of view has been begun by Jovaiša (2012).

[18] The first to accept the new term was Caspar Wilhelm Smith [1811-1881] in his work *De locis quibusdam grammaticae linguarum Balticarum et Slavonicarum*, Havniae, 4 vols., I–II (1857), III-IV (1859).

[19] Cf. *LKTI* I; a good sketch centered on Latvian is Stradiņš (2009, p. 471-496).

truest reproduction of the original language).[20] At this point many important works by Adalbert Bezzenberger [1851-1922], Friedrich Kurschat [1806-1884], Maximilian J. A. Voelkel, Antanas Baranauskas [1835-1902] appeared and support this idea. Antoine Meillet [1866-1936] probably also wrote something similar:[21]

> *Qui veut retrouver sur les lèvres des hommes un écho de ce qu'a pu être la langue commune indo-européenne, va écouter les paysans lituaniens d'aujourd'hui.*

> [Whoever wants to rediscover on the lips of men an echo of what could have been the common IE language, that person should listen to the Lithuanian peasants of nowdays.]

Since it is impossible to enumerate the many other linguists who pursued these languages,[22] I limit the discussion to Ferdinand de Saussure, who expressed his desire to hear this language in a live setting.

In connection with de Saussure's trip to Lithuania, Benveniste was still writing of "un point obscure dans sa bibliographie" in 1965 (Benveniste 1965, p. 23). For a long time it remained wrapped in a sort of mystery because of the haste with which it was apparently arranged, and also because Saussure's fellow students remained unaware of it. Equally unknown remained the duration, destinations and itinerary of the trip. Thanks to the investigation of Daniel Petit, it has become evident that the famous linguist went to Lithuania in the summer of 1880.[23] His trip, which was brought about by a growing interest in the Lithuanian language, was arranged in the interval of time between his studies in Leipzig and his Parisian period. Now many details about this trip are known, thanks to the evidence recently discovered among Saussure's papers; a great deal of material collected in Lithuania by Saussure himself is now available.[24]

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[20] On Brugmann's trip to Lithuania, cf. Schmitt, Brugmann (2009, p. 87-91). Leskien and Brugmann (1882) also published an anthology of Lith. popular songs and tales.

[21] This sentence by Meillet has been cited in various places (e.g. Schmittlein 1937, p. 9; Sabaliauskas *LKTI* I, p. 109), but it is impossible to discover its exact source. A special study, in which D. Petit also actively participated, gave no results. One gains the impression that Meillet never wrote these words.

[22] For more details, cf. *LKTI*, *LKE*, *VL*.

[23] On Saussure's travels in Lithuania, cf. De Mauro (1968, p. 298-299) and the latest works of Godel (1973), Redard (1976). Still more recently, Petit started a fundamental study on this point thanks to newly discovered material, cf. Petit (2009a, 2011, 2012, 2013); Petit, Mejia (2008).

[24] Saussure's interest in Lithuanian and Baltic linguistics is exemplified by about ten papers which have now been collected in a single volume by Petit, Stundžia (2012). Specifically for the manuscripts on Lith. accentuation, cf. Jäger, Buss, Ghiotti (2003) within a more general project digitizing Saussure materials, cf. Buss, Ghiotti (2001). See also Joseph (2009).

1.2. GEOLINGUISTIC RANGE OF BALTIA IN PREHISTORY

There is no doubt that our knowledge of the prehistoric range of Baltia underwent a notable qualitative advance with the intensification of hydronymic studies. After the research of the first half of the 20th century (Sobolevskij 1911, 1927; Būga 1913ab; Vasmer 1941, 1960), this particular field received a vigorous impetus from the hydronymic research undertaken in the basin of the upper Dnepr (Toporov, Trubačev 1961, 1962) and from the numerous and varied reactions, both critical and accepting, which it evoked.[25] The picture which emerges allows us, on the one hand, to confirm the presence of Baltic hydronymics in certain areas where they appeared only sporadically or were only presupposed, and, on the other hand, allows us to expand the range of their diffusion into areas heretofore inconceivable. If the research in the upper Dnepr region particularly brought to light the diffusion of the Baltic element in the northeast, then its diffusion in the west was studied to no less a degree. The opinion is now accepted that the traditional boundary along the Vistola must be adjusted, although the question as to how far this zone should be moved toward the west still remains open; this western border appears in Baltic philology as the "new frontier", in the sense that it opens up untapped perspectives for research. However, it should be noted that if, with the discovery of Baltisms in the hydronymy of vast regions, it is possible to delineate two large Baltic *Randgebiete*, situated at the two opposite ends of the Baltic region proper, this notable – and from certain standpoints surprising – area of expansion of the Baltic element demands a rigorous methodology for studying hydronyms to avoid the rise of a new panacea capable of explaining everything: panBaltism. This warning could also be beneficial in attempts (both legitimate and inevitable) to prepare a map of the dialectal assignment of hydronymic Baltisms, given that it is only a single step to undermine the traditional internal subdivision of the Baltic into two branches (one western and one eastern [see 1.4.2.]).

1.2.1. A brief overview of archaeologic research

The first archaeologic excavations date back to the 16th–17th centuries, but only toward the middle of the 19th century did research on this region progress appreciably, thanks to the historical societies and commissions

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[25]   Pisani (1963); Schall (1964–1965); Antoniewicz (1966); Tret'jakov (1966); Arumaa (1969).

which were formed in the Baltic capitals, e.g. *Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* (Riga 1834); *Gelehrte ästnische Gesellschaft* (Tartu 1838) and *Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia* (Königsberg 1844).

The results of a series of excavations carried out by Tiškevičius in Lithuania and Belarus promoted various publications and the creation of an Archaeologic Commission and museum in Vilnius; through intense publishing activity and excavations, the Prussian Museum in Königsberg also gained distinction. In the Baltic territories, former provinces of the Tsar, no independent initiatives of any kind were undertaken; still, toward the end of the 19th century, an Archaeologic Society was founded in Moscow in 1864. The Society presided over archaeologic congresses throughout the Empire, and turned its attention to the antiquities in the Baltic region; finally in 1876 the first works in this field appeared (O. Montelius, C. Grewingk). But the epoch of the excavations crucial for the formation of the description of present knowledge was between the two World Wars, during the period of independence of the Baltic Republics. During these years the study of the western and southern zone of eastern Prussia, of Masuria, and of the territories of the Yatvingians [see 5.3.] was undertaken by Polish archaeologists; in subsequent years Soviet scholars, on the other hand, concentrated their interests upon the area around Kaliningrad (formerly Königsberg; Šturms 1954).

After World War II many new and important discoveries were made by the noted Lithuanian-American archaeologist Marija Gimbutas; these are contained in her numerous contributions, to which I will return later, and which of course will be referenced [see 1.2.1.2.].

1.2.1.1. More remote cultures. Regarding the study of the more remote epochs (Mesolithic and Neolithic) in the Baltic region, some researchers have discovered numerous sites relating to the extended period from 7000 to 2500 B.C., which allow us to identify the so-called Culture of Kunda which, thanks to the improvement of climatic and ambient conditions, flourished in the eastern Baltic region during the Mesolithic period and then continued to exist into the Culture of Narva during the Neolithic period.[26] These cultures, the principal centers of which, besides Kunda and Narva, were Šventoji in Lithuania and Sārnate in Latvia as far as the region of Kaliningrad, are

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[26] Zagorskis (1967); Jaanits (1968); Vankina (1970); Rimantienė (1979, 1980); Loose, Liiva (1989); Girininkas (1994a); Rimantienė, Česnys (1994). For a summary, cf. Gimbutas (1992b) and for a more detailed contemporary picture, Girininkas (1994b, 2011).

characterized by rich layers of peat; also well attested is the presence of wood handiwork, amber ornaments, and the cultivation of vegetable fibre.

The cultural picture underwent a radical change with the subsequent arrival of the carriers of two other cultures. At first the so-called Culture of the Comb-marked Pottery spread over a wide territory in northeast Europe, with offshoots in western Lithuania; the carriers of this culture, which emerged during the Neolithic period, were nomadic tribes, given to hunting and fishing, probably predecessors of (Ugro-)Finnic populations. These peoples retreated to the north in successive waves and introduced into these same territories the so-called Culture of the Corded Pottery, which extended between the natural boundaries of the Rhine in the west and the Volga in the east. It is supposed that its carriers were Indo-Europeans, based on the fact that its establishment in the territory of central-eastern Europe corresponds with the generally accepted date for the diffusion of IE languages in this region. However, the identification of the center from which this culture spread throughout Europe remains a subject for research (as has been noted, not a few hypotheses have been put forth on this score).

The period of maximum expansion of the Culture of Corded Pottery relates to just before the end of the Neolithic period (circa 2000-1800 B.C.). Already in this epoch this culture was not presented as homogeneous, but was broken up internally into several groups: one of these is known as the Baltic coastal Culture (Lith. *Pamarių kultūra*, Germ. *Haffküstenkultur*),[27] comprising a territory between the river Vistola in the west, the Pripjat' in the south, the Dnepr basin in the east and extending as far as the Daugava (western Dvina) in the north; almost all the traces of this culture have been discovered in the strip of land between the Hel peninsula (in the Gulf of Danzig) and the Nemunas, next to the bay of the Aesti (Lith. *Aismarės*, Germ. *Frisches Haff*), the Curonian lagoon (Lith. *Kuršių mãrios*, Germ. *Kurisches Haff*) and especially in certain villages (Rzucewo, Suchacz, Tolkemit) situated on the Baltic Sea. Generally researchers unanimously identify the carriers of this culture with the ancestors of the IE Balts (Kilian 1955; 1983, p. 93; Loze 1994), and it seems that one can discern similar features in the discoveries related to cultures found in the upper and central streams of the Dnepr in the upper Volga (Fat'janovo) and in eastern Russia (Balanovo); in these territories are found traces of isolated and particularly rich burial sites (perhaps a remnant of the so-called Battle-Axe Culture). It is much more difficult, on the other hand, to establish the

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[27]   On the *Pamarių kultūra*, cf. Butrimas, Česnys (1990) [see 1.2.1.1., 1.5.3.3.].

derivation of the indigenous populations that were already inhabiting these areas, who integrated with the newly arrived Indo-Europeans to create the Balts; research by Česnys (1986, 1994) also indicates the possible presence of an eastern element in the anthropological substratum of the Balts in Prussia and Lithuania.
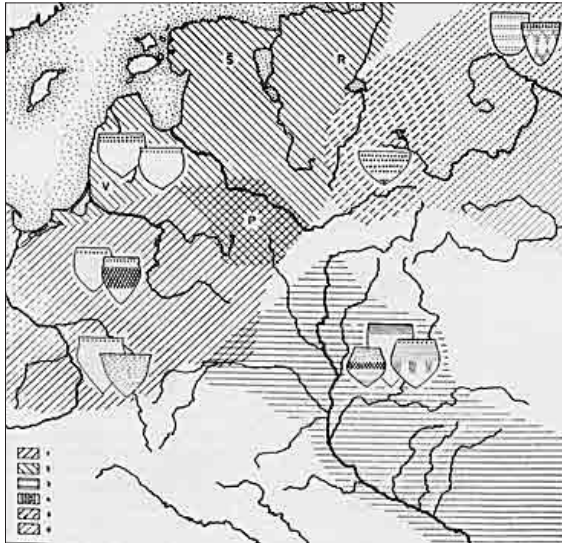
Early neolitic cultures in east Europe.
1. Narva, 2. Nemunas, 3. Volga High Basin,
4. Dnepr-Donec

1.2.1.2. The theory of Gimbutas. At the risk of diminishing some of the richness of the exceptional research of the Lithuanian-American archaeologist Gimbutas, one can attempt to summarize her principal conclusions, also useful for linguistics, in five points.[28]

a) The speakers of one of the IE dialects from which the linguistic system called Proto-Baltic would develop advanced across the territory of modern Ukraine, along the Dnepr as far as western Russia and modern Belarus; a second group cut across Poland and settled in turn on the Baltic coast, from the Oder to the east and to the southwest from Finland in the north.

b) The division of the Balts into two groups, western and eastern, dates from the Bronze Age: the former (which Gimbutas also calls the maritime Balts), the ancestors of the Curonians and Prussians, were carriers of a culture connected with the Illyrian culture of central Europe,

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[28] Cf. Gimbutas (1963ab); other summary studies set forth her subsequent research, cf. Gimbutas (1992a, p. 16–21; 1992b, p. 405–406).

and during the first Iron Age, with the Celts and Germans; the latter (also called continental Balts), were ancestors of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Selonians, eastern Galindians and others, and were less mobile and more connected with their southern (Slavs) and eastern (Volga Finns) neighbors; it is not possible to establish whether there existed a linguistic distinction as well as a cultural differentiation between the two groups.

c) Regarding relations with adjacent populations, the close linguistic affinity between Baltic and Slavic can be explained by the long-lasting period of closeness between the Balts who lived in the basin of the Pripjat' river in modern Belarus, and the Slavs who occupied the south territory of the Volyn, the Podolsk and the central basin of the Dnepr to the south of Kiev.

d) Archaeology does not provide sufficient evidence of the existence of a common Balto-Slavic culture [see 3.1.], but it seems obvious to Gimbutas that both groups were originally descended from the same roots, and had belonged to the same culture in the period preceding the 2nd millenium B.C.; but judging from the number of Baltic linguistic borrowings in the Balto-Finnic languages [see 3.2.], there were prolonged and intense exchanges with the Finnic peoples who settled in the north and east.

e) In its turn the Amber Road provided the Balts contact with central Europe and with the Mediterranean world [see 4.2.3.]; along this route the ancestors of the present Baltic people had interrelations with other peoples of the ancient world; the Phoenecians valued Baltic amber and Greek and Roman coins have been discovered in excavations carried out in Latvia.

1.2.1.3. Mid-1980s discoveries. Archaeologic excavations conducted in the mid-1980s along the lower reaches of the Nemunas in Lithuania (e.g. in the regions of Dauglaukis, Greiženai, Kreivėnai, Sodėnai, Vidgiriai, etc.; cf. Šimėnas 1989, 1990a) produced surprising and in many aspects unique discoveries which have no equal in the bordering Slavic and Germanic areas. Comparable analogies have been found only in areas very distant from the Baltic arena (e.g. in the Altai Mountains, on the coasts of the Black Sea, along the middle Danube or on the Islands of Gotland and Öland). Thus, while earlier research (Puzinas, Gimbutas) suggested a gen-

eral decline of material culture in the middle of the Iron Age (1st millenium B.C.), new evidence discovered in the lower Nemunas incline us toward alternative and more innovative interpretations (Kazakevičius, Sidrys 1995). Archaeologists (e.g. Kazakevičius 1983 where he examines the possibility of an invasion of Huns into Lithuania), historians (e.g. Gudavičius 1987) and anthropologists (Česnys 1987; Deņisova 1989) agree on the now rather probable proposition that the Baltic area was affected by the great migrations, and consider it necessary to re-evaluate several aspects of the ethnogenesis of the Balts. This process is not simply an uninterrupted development of indigenous tribes, but rather a participation in the great migrations and the formation of diverse, ethnically mixed groups. It also appears certain that around the middle of the 5th century A.D. a wave, probably not more definable than as being poly-ethnic, advanced from the southern regions of the middle Danube as far as Baltia (Šimėnas 1990b).

This direction in archaeologic research is also of notable interest for linguistics, which, through its independent investigations of prehistoric Baltic hydronyms [see 1.2.2.-3.], confirms the data. Still, at present there are no specific discoveries, although the participation of the Balts in the great migrations, as archaeologists today represent them, can give new vigor to the discussion of linguistic questions [see 3.4.3.].

1.2.2. Survey of hydronymic research

During the opening years of the 20th century our knowledge regarding the territory occupied by the Balts in the prehistoric era changed significantly. The conception prevalent until then, based mainly on archaeologic data, was that the Balts lived in a limited territory, delineated in the north by the ethnographic border between the Latvians and Estonians, in the south by the plateaus of the Nemunas and Narew, and in the west by the lower stream of the Vistula. I make no claim of presenting an exhaustive exposition of all the arguments, but rather will dwell here only upon the most important ones, according to the chronology of the research.

At the congress of Russian archaeologists which was held in Riga in 1896, Kočubinskij (1897) presented a paper in which he proposed for the first time the thesis that this area must be significantly widened toward the east and south, as far as the northern basin of the Pripjat', and to the east, as far as the basin of the Berezina. This important methodological innovation consisted in the fact that in his investigation the Russian scholar relies

extensively on the analysis of hydronyms. On the same basis Pogodin and Sobolevskij altered the borders again even further to the east, as far as the basin of the Oka, while Šachmatov (in his courses on Russian historical dialectology at the University of St. Petersburg) expanded them to a broad territory in northeast Europe. This research on the relations between the Slavs and Celts in antiquity stimulated important contributions by Būga (1913ab, 1924ac), similar in approach to the linguistic conceptualization of Otto Schrader in which the problem of the prehistoric resettlement of the Balts was re-examined.

The works of Būga in themselves constitute an entire epoch for the study of Lithuanian (and Baltic) hydronyms, but here I will indicate Būga's most important discovery: a significant number of Baltic hydronyms in the territory of modern Belarus, thus proving that prior to the Slavic expansion to the north the Balts had already inhabited the zone to the north of the Pripjat' river, in the basin of the upper Don and the upper Nemunas.[29] Būga established his claim based on the inventory of the numerous names of rivers found in the Belarussian territory (e.g. the Russ. river-names Лучеса, Очеса, Волчеса etc.) which, after reconstructing the original form (bearing in mind that Russ. *u* < *au*; Russ. *č* < *k*), reveal their Baltic origin, just as the corresponding Lithuanian names (e.g. *Laukesà* a left tributary of the Daugava, cf. Lith. *laūkas* 'field'), as well as Latvian names (Latv. *Laucesa*, another left tributary of the Daugava)[30] **[see 3.1.7.]**. According to the traditional theory of migrations at the time, Būga holds that after the 6th century A.D. the great masses of Balts had moved from the east to the west as a result of the Slavic expansion to the north from the Kievan region.

The problem as a whole was taken up by Vasmer (1932), who significantly extends the eastern boundary of the prehistoric territory which should be considered ethnically Baltic, given the large number of new hydronyms he discovered in the districts of Smolensk, Tver (Kalinin), Kaluga, Moscow and Černigov; he was also the first to try to establish the historic borders between the Baltic and Ugro-Finnic populations.

Subsequently as well one can note important contributions to the subject such as those of Rozwadowski (1948), Lehr-Spławiński (1946),

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[29] In answer to Šachmatov, Būga wrote (1913b, p. 526): "Auf baltischem Gebiet hat es niemals Kelten gegeben. Positiv kann aber nur die Erkenntnis sein: das heutige Weissrussland war vor der Einnahme dieses Landes durch die Dregoviči und Kriviči – baltisch". Cf. Būga's summaries (1924cd), and also Katonova (1981).

[30] Holzer (2006) also considers the possibility that the palatalization (e.g. *Akesa* > *Ačesa*) could have already taken place in a (defunct) Baltic dialect before passing into Slavic (*Očesa*).

Serebrennikov (1957), Schmittlein (1963-1964; cf. Vanagas 1966), and others.

Particularly important was the study by Krahe (1943), who found Baltic hydronyms to the west of the Vistula, in Pomerania (*Karwen*, *Labehn*, *Powalken*) as far as the river Persante (Polish *Parsęta*); several interesting researches have been conducted in this direction (e.g. Schmid 1989c), and there are even those who advocate recognizing Baltic hydronyms as far as the Elba, in Saxony, on the island of Rügen, and in Niedersachsen, but these views are still awaiting confirmation (cf. Udolph 1999).

The geographical area which has been investigated most during recent years is without doubt Prussia (Blažienė 2005; Deltuvienė 2011) in general, and Sambia in particular (Blažienė 2000, 2001; on dehydronymic place-names Blažienė 2006, 2009). Deltuvienė (2011) has investigated the process of adopting the names of Prussian living places by Germans.

1.2.3. The boundaries of Baltic hydronymics

Although it is not impossible to definitively delimit the borders of Baltic hydronymics, and our knowledge of them changes according to the advances of research in this area, it is nevertheless possible to establish with a limited degree of certainty the area of maximum diffusion of Baltic hydronymics (Vanagas 1987). Its borders, chronologically encompassing the period of change of the two epochs (the last centuries B.C. – the first centuries A.D.), are given in the figure.

In this maximum area it is possible to distinguish a principal nucleus where Baltic hydronymics is indisputable, an area which covers the basins of the Nemunas, the Berezina, and the Sož', the territory between the Volga and the Oka, the basin of the upper Dnepr, the Desna, and the Narew, and the left bank of the Pripjat' marshes. I will discuss later the other marginal areas under study where traces of Baltic hydronyms have been discovered (such as the Moscow region, the basin of the Sejm, the right bank of the Pripjat', the vast region to the west of the Vistula). Now it is appropriate to note in very general terms that in this markedly expanded area of diffusion of Baltic hydronymics there is a much greater number of isoglosses common to the entire region than those which attest to a dialectal differentiation. As for lexematic structure, Vanagas (1981b, p. 130-138) has brought into in clear relief the existence of a surprising parallelism with IE hydronymics, extending over the whole Baltic area,

and more particularly, parallelism between Lithuanian hydronymics and hydronymics discovered in the stream of the upper Dnepr, which demonstrates a connection between geographical areas very distant from each other; in addition a preliminary comparison of hydronyms of the three principal Baltic languages has revealed a strong similarity of word-formation models.
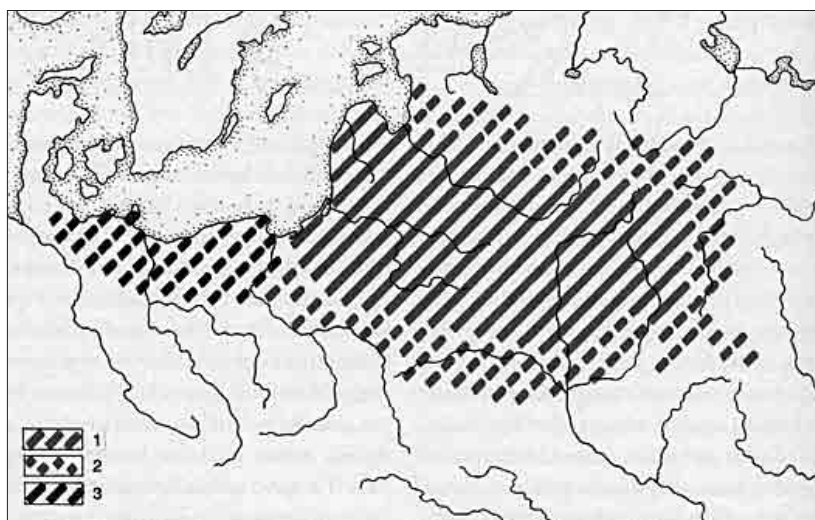
The extension of Baltic hydronymy. 1. High density, 2. Low density, 3. Rare and doubtful

1.2.3.1. Northern and northeastern borders. Thanks to the work of Toporov and Trubačev (1961, 1962) we possess complete toponomastic information relating to the upper Dnepr and the adjoining region, where the original Baltic toponomastic stratum underwent frequent and various changes in the territories of later Slavic colonization. It is probable that the Baltic races settled here as a result of successive invasions; moving from the south, in their expansion toward the northeast, they crossed unpopulated lands and very rarely encountered other tribes, probably of Finnic origin. Here the processes of assimilation and integration must have begun rather quickly, thus rendering it very difficult to recognize Baltic hydronyms in this immense territory today. This situation became further complicated by more recent slavonization. This also explains the considerable distances that separate the Baltic hydronyms. In the hydronymics of the upper Dnepr, researchers particularly observe that the traditionally stable phonetic peculiarities are not valid (based on the Baltic and Slavic lexicons) for Old Prussian, Lithuanian or Latvian hydronymics; proceeding from

the conclusions of the two Russian linguists to explain the source of Baltic toponomics, it is preferable to rely more on the study of affixation rather than on lexical analysis.

A primary result is that the prehistoric Baltic boundary traced in this way reaches in the northeast to the basin of the Sož', a place particularly dense with Baltic hydronyms; e.g.: Упинька (< Balt. *up- 'river', cf. Lith. *upė*, Latv. *upe* id.), Вупенка (< Balt. *up-*, with Slavic labialization in anlaut), Натопа (< Balt. *Nat-up- ~ *Nat-ap-*, cf. Lith. *noterė* 'nettle', OPr. *noatis* id.), Рудея (< Balt. *Rudēja*, cf. Lith. Руде, Рудия; OPr. *Rudenik*, *Ruditen* ecc.), Реста (cf. Lith. *raistas* 'bog, swamp', OPr. *Reisten*, *Raystopelk*), and many others.

This confirms the previous hypotheses put forth by Būga (1913ab) and Vasmer (1932), as well as working on the basis of the larger number of Baltisms compared with what was known previously (or at least proposed).

From the basin of the upper Sož', Baltic hydronymics then crossed over to the middle and upper basin of the Desna; in this region the quantitative incidence of Baltisms diminishes gradually by about a third compared to the basin of the Sož', and the Baltic etymon is often less evident; e.g.: Болва (cf. Lith. *Balvis*, Latv. *Bolva*, OPr. *Balowe*), Локна (cf. Latv. *Lukna*, it. *Luknė*, OPr. *Lockeneyn*), Свидна (cf. OPr. *Swyden*, *Sweiden*) and others.

In the more northerly regions (the middle and upper basins of the Desna and further) no Baltisms had so far been discovered, and in fact names of non-Baltic origin occur more frequently; some newly discovered examples are: Абольна (cf. Latv. *Abula*, *Abuls*, *Obole*, *Оболь*, *Оболянка*), Дрягновка (cf. *drėgnas* 'humid', Latv. *dregns* id.); Вопь and Вопец (< Balt. *up- ~ ap-* 'river'), Неропля (< Balt. *Ner-upi̯ē ~ *Ner-api̯ē*). This leads us to consider that the northern boundary with its Finnic populations of the Volga[31] was probably located here, which brings up the question of the possibility of direct contact between the Balts and Finns during prehistory [see 3.2.]. Nevertheless it is not possible to define precisely the Baltic boundaries in the northeast; and research has continued progressively adding new territories to the Baltic hydronymics: for example, initially the substratum of the Moscow region was considered to be Baltic.[32]

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[31] A Baltic etymon – along with others – has also been proposed for the name of the Volga, cf. Lith. *Ilgupė* 'long river' from Lith. *ùpė* 'river' and *ìlgas* 'long', a feature which completely fits the Volga; this hypothesis formerly proposed by Trubeckoj was made popular by Toporov (1991).

[32] Toporov (1982ab) who connected this with the question of the presence of Galindians [see 5.4.]; also considered it probable that the name of the Moscow river was from a Baltic etymon, cf. Lith. *mazgóti* 'to wash'.

Specific studies have defined more precisely the relationship between the hydronymics of Latgalia and the eastern Slavic area (Toporov 1990b), as well as the hydronymics of Balto-Finnic origin in Latgalia itself (Zeps 1977, 1995; Breidaks 2003). Still other studies have again promoted for clarification of the discoveries of Toporov and Trubačev in the region between the Volga and the middle course of the Oka (and on rare occasions the lower course as well),[33] in the upper course of the Don, where several dozens of possible Baltic hydronyms have been found (Toporov 1992, 1997c), and in the northeast of the Russian area (Toporov 1995). The presence of Baltic elements has been proposed equally for all these territories, even though at times they are less obvious and less certain than elsewhere, and are of questionable dating.[34]

These new discoveries have raised the question of the fate of the Baltic tribes located here in prehistory, as well as the characteristics and linguistic derivation of their dialects which left traces in the toponomastics of the upper Dnepr (Sedov 1985). It should be noted that even from their first appearance the works of Toporov and Trubačev have not lacked critical opinions; these have related especially to the final argument and can be summarized by two points: *a*) the particular hydronymic dialects of the region studied were not sufficiently distinct, and *b*) there is insufficient consideration of the border areas where archaeologically mixed cultures occur;[35] if the second observation can be established from the archaeological perspective, the first often appears unfounded (especially when it comes from archaeologists).

However, one of these, Antoniewicz (1966) proposes a useful way to pose the problem: he departs from the interesting observation that in regions earlier occupied by Baltic tribes, various types of material culture correspond to particular hydronymic dialects, and he thus attempts to coordinate hydronymic and archaeological data, giving particular emphasis to the ancestors of the eastern and western Balts.

Ultimately it is useful to remember that in his favorable review of the works of the two Russian researchers, Pisani (1963, p. 219) observes:

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[33] Smolickaja (1971, 1974); Toporov (1988b, 1990a, 1997b); Otkupščikov (1989b, 2004).

[34] Cf. Tret'jakov (1966, p. 302-303). The present state of research is well summarized by Toporov (1995, p. 14): "Indeed, the quest for and research on the Baltic hydronyms of Eastern Europe for all of their advances are still far from the desired synthesis – especially since the inventory of Baltic elements in the hydronymics of the eastern European region is not completed and respective facts continue to come in from places where not so long ago no one thought to look."

[35] Thus according to Tret'jakov (1966); Antoniewicz (1966); cf. also Arumaa (1969).

Spesso gli autori parlano di Balti, Irani, Finni, Slavi; ma l'elemento uma-no sarà stato suppergiù sempre lo stesso, e si tratterà per la più gran parte di diffusione di tipi linguistici, adottati successivamente, sempre dalle popolazioni stabili, a seconda di supremazie politiche, culturali, econo-miche ecc. In secondo luogo le 'lingue' non sono organismi perpetuantisi nel tempo e costituitisi fin dalla 'divisione' di un'ipotetica lingua madre: una lingua è ad ogni momento la somma delle isoglosse esistenti nell'uso di una determinata comunità, somma formantesi pel confluire di elementi di varia provenienza negli atti linguistici degli individui appartenenti a quella comunità.

[Often the authors speak about Balts, Iranians, Finns, Slavs; but the human element is always more or less the same, and deals for the most part with the diffusion of linguistic types, gradually adopted by stable populations in correspondence with the political, cultural, eco-nomic hegemony, etc. In the second place, the "languages" are not organisms unchanging in time and constituting from the moment of "division" a hypothetical parent language: a language is at any given moment the sum of isoglosses existing in use within a determined community; a sum forming itself as a result of the confluence of ele-ments of diverse origin in the linguistic acts of individuals belonging to that community.]

According to Ageeva (1980; 1981; 1989), however, it is also possible to detect several Baltic hydronyms in the northwest region of the Lake Il'men', in the Novgorod oblast' (cf. also Toporov 2001). Toporov (1999, 2001) and Vasil'ev (2009) enlarged the study of hydronymy to the area at the fron-tier between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the towns of Novgorod and Pskov, and he also found here several new Baltisms along with other already known elements. This research, if continued successfully, could permit the enlargement of the prehistoric Baltic area toward the north and individuate a "peripheral" zone in the territory from Pskov to Novgorod and from Rž'ev up to the Volga river.

1.2.3.2. The southern and south-eastern borders. New results in the study of the prehistoric expansion of the Baltic territory have furnished new data regarding the southern border as well; contrary to the theses of Būga (regarding the original area of the ancestors of the Yatvingians [see 5.3.]), it

has now been established that the traditional boundary of the Pripjat' must be expanded, since Baltic hydronyms have been discovered on both sides of the Pripjat' marshes; e.g.: *Мажа* (cf. Lith. *Maž-upė*); *Бержица*, (cf. Lith. *beržas* 'birch', topon. *Beržuona*, Latv. *bērzs* 'birch'), *Мытвица* (cf. Lith. *Mituva*, Latv. *Mitava*), *Оражня* and *Орижня* (cf. OPr. *Aryngine*).

This makes us think that for the Balts this was not a zone of isolation, but also of transition and contact with bordering regions.[36] The boundary on the southeast was also significantly moved back as far as the source of the Sejm, where today about twenty Baltisms have been found. Here Baltic hydronymics bears witness to contacts of Iranian origin, and this circumstance throws new light on the possibility of direct Balto-Iranian contacts; in fact, since by moving all the names of major rivers (Dnestr, Don and perhaps even Dnepr) and the hydronymics in general even further to the south and east, one already sees an Iranian character, which allowed Toporov and Trubačev (1962) to hypothesize that the basin of the river Sejm was a place of direct prehistoric contact between the Baltic (Slav) and Iranian populations [see 1.4.4.2.].

The contribution of Sulimirski (1967) concentrates on the southern border and offers a critical analysis of archaeological results regarding the ethnic relatedness of various prehistoric cultures discovered in the area between the Pripjat' and the basin of the Sejm.[37] Also rather in-triguing is the observation that the lines of maximum penetration of the Baltic tribes to the south coincide with the borders of different ethno-logical phenomena placed in relief by the Polish school of ethnography (Czekanowski, Nasz) and are concentrated along an imaginary matrix which runs more or less parallel to the courses of the Vistula and Bug, then turns toward the east into western Volynya. This would coincide approximately with the boundary between central Europe and the east-ern Baltics, or with the Belarussian-Ukrainian linguistic frontier, which has remained valid until today.

In addition, the territory of contemporary Ukraine has become the object of hydronymic research. The study of the basin of the Ros' river was carried out by Petrov (1966, 1971, 1972), who underlined the presence of Baltic elements in this region. This investigation is being continued by

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[36] The situation in the territory of the actual Ukraine is being investigated by Železnjak (1999); Lučik (1999).

[37] For example, Jukhnovo, Zolničnaja, Milograd, Zarubincy, etc. Sulimirski is inclined to consider that the carriers of Jukhnovo culture were not of Baltic stock, but rather Thracian or Cimmerian. Attention to the presence of these cultures has been focused on in several recent studies, for example Holzer (1989), totally relying on the hypothesis of a Cimmerian substratum and its reflections in Proto-Baltic and Proto-Slavic.

other Ukrainian scholars (Abakumov 1999; Železnjak 1999) who are adding precision to the already known data and still discovering new data.

1.2.3.3. The western border. Traditionally, the Vistula is considered the western boundary for the expansion of Baltic hydronyms, although by the 1940s scholars of different schools had shown that to the west of the Vistula there were Prussian settlements in the historic era, evidence which extended the border as far as the Persante river (Pol. *Parsęta*) in Pomerania.[38] Again, in the mid-1960s Antoniewicz (1966) lamented that this area had still not been sufficiently studied by linguists. However, almost as a reaction to the intensified research in hydronymics in the watershed of the upper Dnepr in the east, research also started to appear based on material in the western regions, separating out Baltic toponyms not only generically in the region to the west of the Vistula,[39] but more precisely in the region between the Vistula and the Oder,[40] that is, in Pomerania and Mecklenburg (Toporov 1966a; Schmid 1987a), along the course of the Vistula;[41] and according to some scholars also to the west of the Oder or even as far as the Elba (Schall 1964-1965; an opposing point of view can be found in Witkowski 1969, 1970), or in Niedersachsen (Udolph 1999; Casemir, Udolph 2006). Indeed, as Toporov also observes, a significant portion of the toponomastics of this region, today inhabited by Slavic populations and labelled Slavic in the classic work of Trautman (1948-1956), could be re-interpreted anew as originally Baltic on the strength of exact correspondences found in the toponomastics of the present Baltic territory.

Schall (e.g. 1962, 1963, 1964-1965) has studied toponyms of Baltic origin, subsequently adopted and later modified by successive Slavic colonizers. He calculates that one can count at least a score of toponyms of this type in the entire northern zone of western Slavdom as far as the Elba (e.g. in Brandeburg–Lower Lusatia, including *Berlin*,[42] and in Mecklenburg-

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[38] Lorentz (1905); Kilian (1939, 1980); Krahe (1943); Brauer (1983, 1988), as well as extensive commentary contained in Toporov (1983a); cf. also Birnbaum (1984, p. 236-242).

[39] Cf. Pospiszylowa (1981, 1987) and related to this, Udolph (1991). Pospiszylowa (1989-1990) studied the toponomy of southern Warmia (Germ. *Ermland*), dividing it according to semantic fields reoccuring there, in light of the interaction of Prussian, German, and Polish; Kondratiuk (1985) examined the toponomy in the region of Białystok, and Kondratiuk (2001) the process of slavization. Extensive material is found in the works of Brauer (1983, 1988).

[40] Regarding hydronymics in the region, see the excellent collection *Hydronymia Europea* edited by W. P. Schmid; cf. Górnowicz (1985); Rzetelska-Feleszko (1987); Duma (1988); Biolik (1989); Przybytek (1993); Blažienė (2000, 2005). Cf. also Orël (1997).

[41] Schall (1970); the South-Western area of the Lower Vistula was investigated in Orël (1991).

[42] For a differing opinion cf. Witkowski (1966).

Pomerania, cf. Schall 1966), and for many of them there are interesting correspondences in the eastern Slavic area, where one finds that their Baltic base is better preserved. On several occasions and in various contexts Witkowski (1969, 1970) has underlined that there is no historical proof of a Baltic presence to the west of the Oder, but rather the archaeological data attest the presence of Slavs and that, finally, one can explain the toponyms catalogued above as Slavic, German or generically IE. Schall, in a rather questionable formulation, coins for these toponyms the term *slawobaltisch*, basing the attribution of such a category on the following criteria: *a*) the recurrence of an *Urform* or forms similar to Baltic; *b*) their diffusion in settled territories populated in the past or still today by Slavs; *c*) the changes in single sounds in Baltic forms according to rules of the individual Slavic languages.[43] This last condition seems particularly weak, since it is not at all required because one is dealing with forms of known Baltic languages. Whether this is true and to what degree must be proven! The hypothesis of some western Baltic dialect, related to known languages, but not necessarily identifiable with them, has been effectively pointed out by Schmid (1987a), who along with other scholars maintains an intermediate and more cautious position. In spite of this, several interesting conclusions follow:

i) that only to the east of the Persante can one track Baltic onomastics from the 12th to 13th centuries; *ii*) that internally in the area enclosed by the rivers Persante, Gwda, and Vistula one finds a type of onomastics showing close ties not only with Baltic onomastics in general, but especially with onomastics of the Curlandian coast; *iii*) that the chronological priority of Baltic in the region to the west of the Vistula also allows us to explain the exclusive lexical interchanges which the dialects of Pomerania have with Baltic (but not with Slavic),[44] which in its turn allows us to offer the hypothesis of a dialectical continuum along the shores of the Baltic Sea (traces are preserved in the correspondences between Prussian, Curonian, and Baltic of Pomerania).[45]

[43] Toporov (1966a, p. 104) speaks clearly of the essential limitations in the application of the concept *slawobaltisch* and similar labels in order to avoid confusion with the term Balto-Slavic.

[44] Labuda (1974, 1979); Hinze, Lorentz (1966); Hinze (1984); Popowska-Taborska (1991). Regarding the material collected in Pomerania, one should not ignore an (attempted) etymon on the basis of a Kashubian legacy, as pointed out by Hinze (1989a). Laučiūtė (1982) recognizes eight Kashubian words as Baltisms; the question has been considered again by Popowska-Taborska (1998, 2007) who regards only two of them (i.e. *kukla* 'doll, puppet' and *kuling* 'kind of water bird') as relics of the past lexical Baltic-Slavic similarities, whilst the remainder are explained differently.

[45] In this context one should also mention Curonian-Polabian and Prussian-Polabian toponymic correspondences investigated by Nepokupnyĭ (2006a, 2007).

Understandably, the new western border also remains open and again awaits a more precise demarcation; therefore it is a very relevant subject of research for Baltic scholars.[46]

1.3. BALTIC LANGUAGES AND PEOPLES IN ANCIENT SOURCES

Owing to the almost total absence of historical documents concerning the Balts, the entire 1st millenium relating to this area still remains proto-history. The general impression derived from the study of evidence from antiquity is that it contains only random episodic information concerning the Baltic ethnolinguistic region, especially concerning its outer borders (above all the southwest); this is probably thanks to the existence of the Amber Roads.[47]

Among the limited reports in the ancient world the references of Herodotus stand out, as well as those of Ptolemy[48] and Tacitus,[49] characterized by a rather exotic supplementary assignment in the reporting of certain presumably Baltic ethnonyms: thus Herodotus mentions the Budini and Neuri, who are unknown to Ptolemy and Tacitus; while Ptolemy mentions the Galindians and the Sudovians, both unknown to Herotodus and Tacitus; finally, Tacitus mentions the *Aestiorum gentes*, who remain unknown to the other two ancient authors.[50]

1.3.1. Herodotus

The most ancient source for geographic and ethnographic information concerning northeast Europe is the works of the Greek historian Herodotus [500-424 B.C.]. While describing the geography of ancient Scythia and narrating the march of Darius through the lands of the Scythians

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[46] For example, Dambe (1988), who uses data taken from old geographic maps; Szcześniak (1993, 1994), who relies on a manuscript of Toruń (mid 19th century), where he analyses Baltic place-names and mountain peaks of Masuria, Warmia and Silesia.

[47] Gudavičius (1987); Nowakowski (1990). Concerning the Amber Roads, cf. Spekke (1956); Todd, Eichel (1976); Bliujienė (2007); Błażejewski (2011); Kursīte (2012); on the names for amber in the Latvian *dainas*, cf. Gāters (1979). For the alleged Etruscan presence in the Baltic area, cf. Fogel, Makiewicz (1989). In addition, Trombetti (1928, p. 6) proposed a rather bold connection between the Etruscan god of death *Calu* (< *cvalu*), OPr. *gallan* 'death' and Lith. *Giltinė* so that the criticism in Canuti (2008, p. 72) does not surprise one at all.

[48] Cf. Łowmiański (1964).

[49] Cf. Matthews (1948); Šmits (1936, p. 53-67); Fraenkel (1950a, p. 19-23); Kabelka (1982, p. 19-30).

[50] There is almost never any reference to Baltia and the Balts in later Byzantine sources; nevertheless Spekke (1943) contains a thorough examination. On Calcondyla, cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 117-122, 284-285.

(512 B.C.), he also includes limited and fantastic reports concerning various peoples, including among others the Neuri and Budini.

Just as in the 19th century the opinion was circulated among linguists (Rask) and historians (Narbutt, Pierson) that the Geloni were ancestors of the Lithuanians, so also early in the 20th century there was a similar idea about the Getae, Dacians, Thracians, and among the latter, about the Neuri and Budini. Opinions differ regarding these two peoples as the ancestors of either the modern Slavs[51] or the Balts.[52]

1.3.1.1. Neuri. This ethnonym is mentioned six times in the Herodotian text in passages containing reports of varying value. These references are divided into *a*) geographical, *b*) historical, and *c*) ethnographical parenthesis (Corcella 1993, p. 30–31 and 118–121):

a) (IV, 17, 2) ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσει σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πρήσει. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί, Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων. ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὕπανιν ποταμόν ἐστι ἔθνεα πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος.

[North of the Alizones are farming Scythian tribes, who sow corn not for food but for selling; beyond these are the Neuri, and north of the Neuri the land in the direction of the Borea wind, so far as one knows, is uninhabited. These are tribes along the river Hypanis (= the Bug), west of the Borysthenes (= the Dnepr).]

b) (IV, 102, 1-2) οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἷοί τέ εἰσι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδοφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

[The Scythians, after concluding that by themselves they were not able to repel Darius in open warfare, sent off messengers to their neighbors, whose chieftains had already met and were forming plans to deal with a great army marching against them. The conference was attended by the chieftains of the following tribes: the Tauri,

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[51]　In Gołąb (1974 and later works) the discussion is undoubtedly about two ancestral peoples of the Slavs.
[52]　Cf. Šmits (1936, p. 36); Kabelka (1982, p. 19–21).

Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlaeni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae.][53]

c) (IV, 105, 1–2) Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μιῇ σφεας πρότερον τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς οὗ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τὠυτὸ ἀποκατίσταται. ἐμὲ μέν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον, καὶ ὀμνῦσι δὲ λέγοντες.

[The Neuri share Scythian customs and beliefs. A generation before the coming of Darius's army they were forced out of their country by snakes, which appeared all over the land in great numbers, while still more invaded them from the desert in the north, until the Neuri were so hard pressed that they were forced to move out, and dwell among the Budini. It is not impossible that these people were wizards; for there is a story current amongst the Scythians and the Greeks in Scythia that once a year every one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf for a few days, and then turns back into his former shape again. For myself, I do not believe this tale; all the same, they tell it, and even swear to its truth.]

To the extent that Herodotus relied on the stories of his informants, one can identify certain characteristics of the Neuri. From geographical information one can deduce that Herodotus placed the Neuri north of the Scythians, separated from them by a large lake often identified as the Pripjat' Marshes (Šmits 1936, p. 42). If one accepts this information as true, then it can be deduced that the Neuri were located in the northern basin of the Dnepr, that is, in a territory corresponding to the data of the hydronymic research, coinciding with that zone which archaeologists have assigned to the Vysocko culture or the Milograd culture.[54] All the historical accounts

[53] Similar accounts also occur in IV, 119 and IV, 125.

[54] There are differing opinions regarding the ethnic association of this latter culture; cf. Antoniewicz (1966, p. 12): "It seems that the Milograd culture should not be taken into account in our further considerations, as it has not much in common with peoples of Baltic origin," while according to Sulimirski (1967, p. 7): "It [the territory of the Milograd culture] lay entirely within the reach of the Baltic toponymy and it has, therefore, been considered to represent one of the ancient Baltic speaking peoples"; cf. also Gimbutas (1963a, Chap. IV).

are connected with attempts of the Scythians to defend themselves against the military campaign carried out against them by Darius. The Neuri are among those peoples who did not immediately form an alliance with the Scythians, but declared their neutrality until they were attacked directly, something that happened rather quickly and that prompted their flight to the north. Much more interesting are the ethnographical accounts concerning the Neuri.

Among other things one learns that they were emigrants from their land in the 6th century B.C. as the result of a huge invasion of snakes and that for two or three days every year they were transformed into wolves (Ridley 1976), something Herodotus himself seems to doubt. The reference to snakes causes scholars to ponder, given that these reptiles played an important role in the pagan mythology of the Balts [see 4.3.]. One should note, however, that beyond the region of the Neuri begins the *terra incognita*, a fantastic world populated by tribes whose expressive ethnonyms (Androphagi,[55] Melanchlaeni) emphasize the absence of reliable information.

References to the Neuri occur as well, albeit sparse, in Pliny the Elder (*Neuroe*), Ammiano Marcellino (*Neruiorum*)[56] and Bavarian the Geographer (*Neriuani*).[57]

Regarding the etymology of the form Neuri, there are still varying and opposing points of view.[58]

There are three principal versions:

a) it is of Slavic origin (per Niederle, Lehr–Spławiński, Safarewicz, Gołąb), coming from the hydronym *Nur* < *nouro-* (cf. *Nurzec* a tributary to the right of the Bug), OCS *nъrěti* 'to immerse', Russ. нырять 'to dive', Pol. *nurzyć* 'to plunge';

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55 According to the opinion of Tomaschek, cited by Wiklund (1926), and accepted by Šmits (1936, p. 46), and confirmed by archaeologists, the Androphagi can be identified with the Mordvinians (< Old Iranian *mard-xʷar* 'eaters of men, cannibals').

56 Selem (1973, p. 548): "Dein thenes a montibus oriens Nerviorum... intimatur" (i.e. And then the Borysthenes [= the Dnepr] which has its origin from the mountains of the Nervi... flows into); ibid., p. 1030: "Inter hos Nervi mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos praeruptos geluque torpentes, aquilones adstringunt" (i.e. Among them the Nervi inhabit Mediterranean places, close to high peaks, which are broken and stiffened by the frost and beaten by the north winds).

57 Cf. Niederle (1923, p. 173 [¹1902]); Matthews (1948, p. 53); Kiparsky (1970c); Dini (1996); Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* I, p. 31–42, and 52–80).

58 In the form of the ethnonym *Neriuani* found in Bavarian the Geographer (*Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*: "Neriuani habent civitates LXXVIII"), Otrębski (1961a) recognized the Latinized Baltic name of the inhabitants of the Narew basin, derived from the form *Neruv-ėnai* 'location of the inhabitants of the *Nerūs*, i.e., of the Narew'.

b) it is of Baltic origin (Šmits, Gimbutas, Kabelka) on the basis of similar hydronymic (cf. the names of the rivers *Nerìs*, *Nùrupis* and *Nū̃rupis*) and lexical parallels (Lithuanian *niaurùs* 'gloomy, dark');[59]

c) it is of Balto-Slavic origin (per Czekanowski, Kiparsky, Schmid).

Given this uncertainty there is a possible explanation whereby this etymon in question is not of hydronymic origin, but is a Baltic word adapted into Greek, and reconstructed on the ethnolinguistic principal 'to speak clearly/distinctly' *vs.* 'to speak obscurely/indistinctly.' The Baltic root **neur-* is probably hidden in the Greek form Νευροί with the diphthong *eu* still preserved (as in the resulting Baltic **eu* > Lith. *au* [see 2.1.1.3.]), reflected in Lith. *niauras* 'nasal speech' and in the recent derivatives *niurnéti* 'to emit noises; to speak indistinctly', *niauróti* 'to speak through the nose,' with various semantic nuances compared to *niùrti* 'to become dark'; supporting this explanation one can cite analogues in a Baltic context (OPr. *mixkai* 'in German' < **miksiskai* < **miks(a)-*, cf. Lith. *mikséti* 'to stammer, to stutter', *miksà*, *mìksius*, *mìksis* 'one who stammers or stutters';[60] Lith. *Gùdai*, Latv. *Gudi* the name for Belarusians, cf. Lith. *gaũsti* (*gaũdžia*) 'to moo, to sound, to complain,' etc., Latv. *gaust* id., *gudāt* 'to complain; to sing', etc.[61]) and in a Slavic context (Russ. немцы 'Germans' from немой 'dumb', говорить немо 'to speak muddled', etc.); in the same way the principal functions for the common label of peoples as 'barbarians'. It remains to be asked who is referred to by this ethnonym; it is probable that it was not an autonym, but rather in antiquity Baltic and Slavic populations designated each other reciprocally with this name.

Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 52-80) offers a new, interesting, although very complex, proposal. Firstly, one has to connect etymologically the ethnonym Νευροί with OGr. νεῦρον 'sinew, tendon; cord; nerve; strength', Latin *nervus* id. (with *-ur-* metathesis), Toch. B *ṣñaura* 'sinew, tendon' (< IE **(s)neurom*). Secondly, one should assume that in the Baltic languages the primitive forms **neura-*, **neuri̯a-* changed their root vocalism from *eu* to *au* (in a similar way to IE **teutā* and Lith. *tautà* 'people'), and gave

59 Wherever the Neuri are equated with the Balts (cf. Šmits 1934, 1936) the identification of the Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες of Herodotus with the ancient Slavs is also accepted. In this regard, Schmid (1978a) noted that if one admits that the Neuri were Slavs, then the hydronymics in the territory between the southern Bug and the Dnestr must have been of Slavic origin and the influence of Old Iranian on Slavic should have been greater than it actually is.

60 Cf. Mikkola (1925); Gerullis (1926); Van der Meulen (1943); Karaliūnas (2008).

61 This idea was widely investigated in Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* I, p. 154-218).

arise to *naura-, *nauria- (cf. Lith. *naur-iùkas*, *naur-ùkas* 'handle, grip, haft'). Thirdly, one should also assume for the Baltic form *neuroi*, plur., the semasiological shift: 'tendon; cord > crowd, company, regiment' (in a similar way as for Lith. *virvė* 'cord, string' and 'row, line, company', Latv. *valgs* and *valdziņi* id., et al.). Finally Karaliūnas joins Sulimirski (1967, p. 15) and maintains that it is very likely that the Neuri were a Baltic speaking people, the bearers of the Milograd culture.

1.3.1.2. Budini and Geloni. If the ethnic connection of the Neuri to the Baltic group remains largely a suggestion – but not without reservations – demonstrating this connection for the Budini is even more problematic. Herodotus's text, besides a mere mention, often together with the Neuri, provides a few brief references to these people (Corcella 1993, p. 120-123):[62]

> (IV, 108-109) Βουδῖνοι δέ, ἔθνος ἐὸν μέγα καὶ πολλόν, γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστι καὶ πυρρόν. πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Γελωνός· (...) εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἕλληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες οἴκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι· καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαιτα ἡ αὐτή·

> [The Budini are a numerous and great people; all of them have blue eyes and red hair. They have a city built of wood in their territory called *Gelōnós* (...) For the Geloni were Greeks by origin who were driven from their trading posts and settled among the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Scythian and Greek. The Budini do not speak the same language as the Geloni and do not live the same way.]

Thus the Budini lived together with the Geloni at least in a large city within their territory and among them, just as the Neuri after the invasion of snakes referred to above. This means that these neighbors of the Neuri, as well as the Budini, can be placed along the stream of the upper Dnepr, where it has been established that Baltic populations lived in antiquity [see 1.2.3.]. This line of reasoning leads Kabelka (1982, p. 21) to advance the hypothesis of the ethnic connection of the Budini to the Baltic group as

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[62] Other references to the Budini occur in IV, 22, 102, 108, 119, 122, 123, 136. For an updated status for the question and bibliography, cf. Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 35-42).

well; as further evidence of this he also offers the etymology of the ethnonym which shows the suffix *-in-/-īn-*, typical for Lithuanian, Latvian and Prussian and the root **būd-/bud-/baud-*, likewise recurrent in Baltic onomastics. One can further add this observation: if the language of the Budini, according to the text of Herodotus, differed from that of the Geloni, being 'a mixture of Scythian and Greek', it was probably neither exclusively Scythian (= Slavic?) nor exclusively Greek, since such an attribute would have been easy to report, but it was rather something quite different.

According to Karaliūnas the passage of Herodotus should not be read literally. Basing on the fact that Lith. *geluonìs* 'sting (of a bee or serpent); core', Latv. *dzeluons* id. (< Baltic **gelōn-* < IE **ghelōn-*) coincide formally with the ethnonym Γελωνοί, he assumes that in Proto-Baltic times **gelōn-* meant *pars pro toto* a serpent, and considers both the ethnonym and the tribe to be of Baltic origin (for a more detailed discussion cf. Karaliūnas *BPIŠ* I, p. 42-51).

1.3.2. Ptolemy

Among the rare ancient citations probably referring to the Balts, the accounts of Ptolemy [90-168 A.D.] take on a definite significance, as contained in the fifth chapter of the third book of his *Geografia*. Ptolemy's knowledge of northern Europe does not represent anything new as distinct from that of Latin authors preceding him (Pliny, Tacitus); however, regarding the area covering the entire space of ancient *Sarmatia Europaea* (in modern terms: approximately from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea), the famous Greek scholar mentions several other ethnonyms to the east of the Veneti, which probably also indicate Baltic tribes: Galindians and Sudovians.[63]

1.3.2.1. Galindians and Sudovians. Several questions still remain unresolved regarding these Baltic tribes: in particular the question of their geographical location. The majority of scholars tend to identify the Galindians and the Sudovians (or Yatvingians) of Ptolemy with those peoples mentioned about one thousand years later (10th-13th centuries) by Peter Dusburg [see 4.3.1.1.], and to consider them to be continually distributed throughout the regions where they are placed during the historic period. Therefore the former are connected with the Mrągowo Culture and the latter with the

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[63] Book III, Chapter V, p. 425. The former name appears later in old German and Russian sources [see. 5.4.], and in place of the latter the name Yatvingians was recognized [see 5.3.].

Wegorzewo Culture, situated in the Masurian Lakes region (Łowmiański 1964). Together with this traditional point of view this absence of significant differences between the archaeological cultures to the east and west of the Masurian Lakes has subsequently been pointed out.[64] Thus, on the basis of new analyses of the text and maps of Ptolemy,[65] Astrauskas (1990) considers it possible to call into doubt the commonly acknowledged location and proposes alternatives (the eastern Masuria alone, the entire Masuria, the peninsula of Sambia, the middle course of the Nemunas, the region between the upper course of the rivers Šešùpė and Merkỹs).[66]

1.3.2.2. Other names. According to certain other scholars, ethnonyms mentioned by Ptolemy can also refer to the Balts, for example, those placed to the east or lower in respect to the Veneti, that is: the Βορουσκοι with the Borussi (Bednarczuk 1982, p. 57-58), the Prussians; the Καρεῶται with the Curonians (or perhaps the Karelians, a Finnic race); the Σούλωνες with the Selonians (Łowmiański 1964; Bednarczuk 1993). Obviously there are many more names and the question remains open and very vague.

An attempt at an exhaustive investigation both of ethnonyms and toponyms (hidronyms: Οὐιστούλα, Χρόνον, Ρούδων, Χέρσινος) in Ptolomy's European Sarmatia has been carried out by Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 191-317).

1.3.3. Tacitus, Jordanes, Cassiodorus and others

The three authors considered here and others mention the Aistians in their works. A huge investigation on the Aistians has been begun by Jovaiša (2012). He observes that Aistians is very probably a group name because Tacitus wrote *Aestiorum gentes*, i.e. the Aistian peoples, although it is difficult to know precisely who the Aistian peoples might have been at the time when Tacitus was writing **[see *ultra* for different hypothesis]**.

1.3.3.1. Aesti. In a passage from *Germania* of Tacitus, we find the most detailed account of the Aistians, which it is useful to report in full (*Germ.* 45:1-4):[67]

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[64] Cf. Okulicz (1973); Powierski (1975).
[65] Cf. Petrulis (1972); Šimėnas (1994, p. 26-30).
[66] This question can be further clarified by a retrospective study of the cultural heritage of the Yatvingians; however, one should keep in mind the objection of Šimėnas, according to whom one must rely on the maps of Ptolemy, which have not undergone modern changes.
[67] Cf. Rives (1999, p. 95-96).

Ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur. Insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis hominumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen

[To continue, then, the right shore of the Suebic sea washes the tribes of the Aestii, whose rites and fashions are those of the Suebi, although their language is closer to British. They worship the Mother of the Gods, and wear images of boars as an emblem of the cult: it is this, instead of the arms and protection of mortals, that renders the goddess' votary safe, even amidst enemies. The use of iron weapons is rare, but that of cudgels common. They cultivate grain and other crops more patiently than one might expect from the indolence typical of Germani. But they also search the sea, and are the only ones in the world to gather amber in the shallows and on the shore itself; they themselves call it *glesum*. As usual with barbarians, they have neither asked nor ascertained its nature or the principle that produces it; quite the contrary, it long lay unnoticed amidst the other jetsam of the sea, until our extravagance gave it a name. To them it is utterly useless: they collect it crude, pass it on unworked, and gape at the price they are paid.]

The Baltic Sea is called by Tacitus the Suebic Sea, and the inhabitants of its eastern coast (*dextro litore* is correct from the Roman point of view) are, however, designated as *Aestiorum gentes*, a name which the Germanic peoples gave to their northeastern neighbors and has today been inherited by the Estonians.[68]

The *Aesti* have long been an object of particular attention and study on the part of Baltic scholars: much has been written about them as the

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[68] Cf. Latin *Estii*, *Estones*; ONord. *Eistr*; Germ, *Esten*, *Estland*; Eston. *eesti*, *Eesti* [see *infra*]; both Būga and Endzelīns posit that this came about through the Germans who had already given this name to the Finns during the rule of the *Aesti*, when they discovered that the latter were called differently (Prussians, *Pruteni*), and the Finns simply *maarahvas* 'people of the land'; citing these opinions Kabelka (1982, p. 26) emphasizes that all this is pure speculation, however. On the ethnic identity of the Aistians and the origin of their name, cf. Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 138-180).

supposed ancestors of Baltic peoples, and opinions are varied. Meanwhile it seems that the hypothesis has been rejected that they are identified with a people located between the Rhine and Scythia, mentioned by Pytheas and revived by Strabo, whose name is phonetically similar to that of the *Aesti*, but in fact attested in variants.[69] However, other scholars are still prepared to see in them the ancestors not of the IE Balts, but of the present-day Finnic Estonians (Saks 1960).

Although there is no reliable basis to directly identify the *Aesti* of Tacitus with the Balts, still the fact that prior to this Tacitus mentions the Finns as well, makes one suppose that perhaps by this name the Latin historian indicated the Prussians or some segment of them, and that it was perhaps then extended to other Baltic tribes (*PrJ* I, p. 65). This is the prevalent opinion today, but there are other different points of view, such as that of Šmits (1936, p. 57), who maintains that this name does not indicate all the Balts, but only the Curonians [see 5.2.], neighbors of the Prussians, located on the Baltic coast. Laur (1954) dedicated a careful examination to this question, which leads us to definitely rethink the problem: having refuted the theories according to which either the Finns or Germans are the peoples identified with the name *Aesti*, Laur considers it a title of Germanic origin, but referring to the Prussians; he also poses the question whether such a name indicates a single people or a conglomerate of Baltic and Balto-Finnic peoples, with which the peoples of the east coast of the Baltic Sea between the Vistula and the Narva become designated. Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 11–187) rejects the hypothesis of a collective name to indicate various peoples of the Baltic coast and does not doubt that the first accounts of this people referred to the southern Prussians [see 1.3.3.5.].

According to Jovaiša (2012) one might believe that Tacitus had in mind the mouth of the Vistula, Sambian and Lithuanian coastal Aistians because it is just those coasts that are richest in amber, the collection of which Tacitus considered an important distinguishing feature of the Aistians.

1.3.3.2. Jordanes. In his works on the Goths, Jordanes twice refers to the *Aesti*, specifying their abode thus (V, 36):[70]

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[69] This ethnonym is noted by Strabo (*Geografia* I, 5; IV, 4,1 and 3) in one place as Ὀστιδέους, in another Ὀστιδαμνίων; their identification with the Aesti of Tacitus is supported by Zeuss; Lasserre (1963) opts for the variants Ὀστιαίους or Ὀστιδαίους and places the corresponding people on the other side of the Rhine, distinguishing them from the *Ostim(n)ieni* of Armorica.

[70] Cf. Giunta, Grillone (1991, p. 17). On *Vidivarii*, cf. Labuda (1948); on the ethnonym as an ancient Germanic formation in a Latin shape, meaning 'inhabitants of the *Vidā*' (> *Wda*, a river in Pomerania), cf. Schmid (1987c).

*Ad litus autem oceani, ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulae fluminis ebibun-
tur, Vidivarii resident, ex diversis nationibus adgregati. post quos ripam
oceani item Aesti tenent, pacatum hominum genus omnino.*

[But on the shore of Ocean, where the floods of the river Vistula
empty from three mouths, the *Vidivarii* dwell, a people gathered out
of various tribes. Beyond them the *Aesti*, a subject race, likewise hold
the shore of Ocean.]

In another passage it is told how they were subjugated to King Hermanaric
(XXIII, 119-120):[71]

*tunc omnes Hermanarici imperiis servierunt. Aestorum quoque similiter
nationem, qui longissimam ripam oceani Germanici insident, idem ipse
prudentia et virtute subegit, omnibusque Scythiae et Germaniae nationibus
ac si propriis labores imperavit.*

[yet at that time they were all obedient to Hermanaric's commands.
This ruler also subdued by his wisdom and might the race of the Aesti,
who dwell on the farthest shore of the German Ocean, and ruled all
the nations of Scythia and Germany by his own prowess alone.]

On the basis of the testimony of Jordanes, the archaeologist Šimėnas (1994,
p. 30-36) has developed several original hypotheses. He does not reject
the idea that, together with the Goths, a portion of the western Balts could
have reached the Black Sea (and the Dnepr) to establish close ties with the
Goths under Hermanaric [died 376] during the 2nd-4th centuries. More-
over, after the invasion of the Huns into the Baltic lands a portion of the
Balts participated in the great migrations. These displacements of large
masses of people could explain why in the Baltic area (as in the whole of
northern Europe) great changes in material culture took place toward the
middle of the 5th century [see 1.2.1.3.].

1.3.3.3. Cassiodorus. In the 6th century A.D. the *Aesti* (*Haesti*) are mentioned
by Cassiodorus in the heading of a letter[72] in which Theodoricus thanks
him for some gifts of amber, and in which it is revealed that the *Aesti* lived
on the edge of the sea, carried on relations with other tribes by means of
ambassadors ("Illo et illo legatis vestris venientibus") and knew the Gothic

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[71]   Cf. Giunta, Grillone (1991, p. 53).
[72]   Cf. Fridh, Halporn (1973 V, 2; p. 182-183): *Hestis Theodoricus Rex*; cf. also Spekke (1939).

language. One tends to confer importance to this document and bring it into play in the orbit of connections between the Balts and Goths, since it may show the *Aesti*, perhaps for the first time, in an active role, and not an object of episodic narration on the part of others, particularly because it signals their willingness to restore the interrupted trade in amber. Moreover, the relations with Theodoricus would, on the one hand, indicate the willingness of the *Aesti* to consolidate their power with important diplomatic connections, and, on the other hand, would strengthen analogous archaeological discoveries along the entire territorial zone which connects the Ostrogoths in Italy, the multiethnic group of the Baltic area and the islands of the Baltic Sea.[73]

1.3.3.4. Wulfstan. One must advance a full three centuries to when Eginhardus [770-840], the biographer of Carolus Magnus [742-814], wrote *Vita Caroli Magni*, an important source for the period. The *Aisti* are mentioned in this work in chapter 12. Later repeated verbatim by Adam of Bremen, Eginhardus cites the *Aisti*, along with the Slavs, among the inhabitants of the east coast. At the end of the 9th century the name of this people reoccurs in the detailed account of Wulfstan of his trips and stay in Truso [later: Germ. *Elbing*, Pol. *Elbląg*], near the mouth of the Vistula;[74] here it is reported that *Éstmere* (that is, the lagoon of the *Aesti*, cf. Lith. *Áismarės* and *Kuršių Nerija*, Germ. *Frisches Haff*) belonged to the *Esti* whose land (*Eastlande*) was great, with many castles and ruled by a prince; these people were militant, practiced special funeral rites, conducted special competitions on horseback (from which one can perhaps detect a nomadic influence)[75] and did not make beer but large quantities of hydromel mead (*mid Estum*). It is probable that Wulfstan recalled this ethnonym as he had heard it from Germanic peoples of the Samogitian coast in whose language *ai > e*, and he was, therefore, motivated to equate his *Esti* with the *Aesti* of Tacitus; on the other hand, the toponyms which he cites (*Eastland*, *Estmere*) are probably *ad hoc* formations by the traveller himself and both must refer back to the idea of 'East, Orient', suggested to him by the geographical position of the region.

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[73] Cf. Šimėnas (1994, p. 36-38); Werner (1977).

[74] The narrative of Wulfstan is given as an appendix in King Alfred's translation of Orosio's *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII*. Cf. (*SRP* I, p. 732-735); Poruciuc (1994). On the phenomenon of the Baltic transmigration of souls quoted by Wulfstan, cf. Krėgždys (2010). On Wulfstan, cf. Karaliūnas (*BPIŠ* II, p. 88-112); on the *Éstmere* (Lith. *Áismarės*) question Karaliūnas (2005, p. 180-187).

[75] Pašuto 1959 (= 1971, p. 79-80); Toporov (1990d).

1.3.3.5. Ethnonymics. In this regard there are at least three principal interpretations: common IE, Germanic and Baltic.[76] On the basis of the first thesis Gāters (1954) wanted to trace back this ethnonym to the stem *au(e)-* 'water, spring' plus the suffix *–ist–*. Others have explained it on the strength of comparisons with data on Germanic languages, cf. Goth. *aistan* 'to respect', from which its meaning 'respected people' (Müllenhof); Anglo-Saxon *ást*, Dutch *eest* 'drying stove, oven', from which 'men of ovens (for the drying of grain)' (Much, Falk); OIcel. *eisa* 'fire,' which recalls the luminescence of amber, or OIcel. *eista* 'foam', *eið* 'isthmus', with reference in one case to the breakers along the coast, in another to the lagoon (Karsten).

Advocates of the third line of interpretation are divided further among those who want to trace the ethnonym back to the Lith. hydronyms *Aistà* and *Aĩsetas* (Basanavičius, Endzelīns, Kuzavinis, Sabaliauskas; however this variant is not even considered in Vanagas 1981a, s.v. *Aĩsė*), or among those who look to Latv. *īsts* 'true', *īstnieks* 'kinsman, kindred' (Jaunius, Būga), according to the ethnolinguistic principal 'we = true men' (cf. *Istuasones / Istaevones*).[77]

A rather skeptical word on this matter is offered by Karaliūnas (1991, 1994b, and widely *BPIŠ* II, p. 11-54), who shows how the two opposite interpretive proposals are both insufficient to explain this ethnonym; as for the specific designation *Aesti*, it corresponds to an ethnolinguistic model diffused in the eastern Baltic area, according to which this ethnonym derives from the words for 'land', 'ground' and similar derivations.

1.3.3.6. Lingua Britannicae propior (Germ. 45:7). If the question posed above remains controversial, the assertion that the *Aesti* spoke a no less definite "lingua britannica" (*lingua Britannicae propior* [*quam Germanicae*]) generates several perplexities. This problem has been much discussed, not only because the Baltic languages are more akin to the Germanic languages than to the Celtic languages [see 3.4.1.], but also because Tacitus himself elsewhere uses the expression *lingua Gallica*. So it was supposed that the purpose of such an assertion was to reproduce the impression of phonetic similarity perceived by a certain Roman cavalryman in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 37, 3:45-46):

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[76]   For a specific bibliography, cf. Laur (1954); Kabelka (1982, p. 21-27). The possibility of a Finnic origin for the ethnonym has found little favor, and this thesis is disputed in Laur (1954, p. 228-233); the author tries to explain how this ethnonym subsequently came to designate the Estonians.

[77]   Gāters (1954); Kuzavinis (1966); *PrJ* I, p. 65.

DC M p. fere a Carnuto Pannoniae abesse litus id Germaniae, ex quo inuehitur [sc. sucinum], percognittum nuper, uituitque eques R. ad id comparandum missus ab Iuliano curante gladiatorum munus neronis principis. Qui et commercia ea et litora peregrauit, tanta copia inuecta, ut retia coercendis feris podium protegentia sucinis nodarentur, arma uero et libitina totusque unius diei apparatus in uaratione pompae singulorum dierum esset e sucino. Maximum pondus is glaebae attulit XIII librarum.

[The distance from Carnuntum in Pannonia to the coasts of Germany from which amber is brought to us is some 600 miles (i.e. ca. 889 km), a fact which has been confirmed only recently. There is still living a Roman knight who was commissioned to procure amber by Julianus when the latter was in charge of a display of gladiators given by the Emperor Nero. This knight traversed both the trade-route and the coasts, and brought back so plentiful a supply that the nets used for keeping the beasts away from the parapet of the amphitheatre were knotted with pieces of amber. Moreover, the arms, biers and all the equipment used on one day, the display on each day being varied, had amber fittings. The heaviest lump that was brought by the knight to Rome weighed 13 pounds.]

This Roman cavalryman, under Claudius, had travelled to Britain and along the Baltic coast as far as Sambia, in order to transport to Rome a large quantity of amber for a gladiator *munus* 'gift' in honor of Nero (Kolendo 1981).

The two languages could have perhaps seemed similar to him simply because both were very different from Germanic. Fowkes (1972) develops this speculation concerning the presumed Roman cavalryman in rather bold terms and seeks to give weight to the similarities between Baltic and Celtic which could have impressed a traveler; but the efforts do not seem to be crowned with success and it would be easy, however, to produce more numerous and better founded parallels between the Baltic and other linguistic families than between Baltic and Celtic. It should be noted that Tacitus, generally respectful of the importance of linguistic data as a criterion of ethnic differentiation, does not seem to have given much faith to the information from the presumed cavalryman, in as much as he considers all the *Aestiorum gentes* to be *Suebi*; this makes us think that in this case the Roman historian attributed more importance to the similarity of

their customs (*ritus habitusque*) to those of the Germanic tribes. However that may be, the importance of this passage in Tacitus is significant; and from it originated the so-called Celtic theory, which in regards, indeed, to Prussian, passed through the Renaissance (Conrad Gessner, Angelo Rocca and others [see 7.3.], cf. Dini 1997b) and re-emerged in modern times, for example in the works of Pierson (1873, 1874, 1875), who tries to give a linguistic foundation in the accounts of Tacitus.[78] It has had a continuation in the Slavistic arena, where Šachmatov (1911) maintains that on the basis of several lexical and toponomastic parallels direct prehistoric contacts between the Slavs and Celts existed (this did not however endure the prompt objections of Endzelīns 1911a, and Būga 1913b).

1.3.3.7. Glesum. The *Aesti* are portrayed by Tacitus as *soli omnium* [*Germanorum*], who gather amber, that is *sucinum*, *quod ipsi glesum vocant*. Since the term *glēsum* is Germanic (cf. Anglo-Saxon *glár* 'tree sap', OHG *glas*)[79] and, according to Tacitus, the *Aesti* shared with the Germanic peoples common customs, habits and religious beliefs (for example the veneration of the Mother of the Gods, which is not found among the Prussians), Sittig (1934-1935) has maintained 'the Germanic origin of the *Aesti* and their membership in the group of Swabians'. The argument was refuted by Endzelīns (1943, p. 11): external customs can change with time, and too little is known of their religion to build any serious hypotheses based on it; besides, the word *glēsum* could be a borrowing taken by the *Aesti* from their Germanic neighbors or from travellers arriving from the south; finally Latvian dialect form *glīsis* id. is attested, with the same development *ī* < *ē* as in the Prussian dialect. Etymologists differ concerning the Baltic name for amber (OPr. *gentars*, Lith. *giñtaras*, Latv. *dzintars* and *dzītars*).[80]

1.3.3.8. Hypotheses concerning the Lemovi. Another people among those mentioned in *Germania* of Tacitus have been offered to demonstrate the connection or at least a special closeness with the Baltic group. These are the

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[78] Pierson tries to show that in Prussia there is a strong Celtic (*Gählisch*) element which is impossible to consider a common legacy.

[79] *PKEŽ* I, p. 380, has traced the name for amber from the IE verbal root **ghlĕs-/ghlēs-* 'to glitter', considered a common isolexeme for Germans and Western Balts. See the wide discussion in Karaliūnas (2005, p. 54-79); for the hypothesis during the Renaissance period, cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 619-650.

[80] Cf. *LEW* I, p. 152; Bonfante (1985); finally, Schmid (1994), with a rich bibliography on the topic, embraces the hypothesis of Much, who connects the Baltic words with OIcel. *kynda* 'to set fire to' etc. from the stem **gn̥t-*, which would mean that the name amber consists in the simple concept of igniting, and not in protection (cf. Lith. *gìnti* 'to defend') from illnesses.

Lemovi, whom Tacitus merely mentions without, however, providing further details (*Germ.* 44:1):

> *Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.*

> [Straight on from there by the Ocean are the Rugii and Lemovii. The distinguishing marks of all these peoples are circular shields, short swords, and subservience to kings.]

Gudavičius (1981) has hypothesized that there is something here more than a mere phonetic similarity between the ethnonym Lemovi in Tacitus and the *terra Lamata* mentioned in certain Danish sources from the 12th century and located on the Lithuanian coast. In this connection it has been emphasized that the archaeological facts of the culture of the Lithuanian coast resemble those of Germanic sites; on the basis of this, and still other speculations, he has posited the problem of the supposed existence of a Germanic presence in the interior of the culture of the Lithuanian coast, or of the possibility that German linguistic and ethnic islands had penetrated into the Baltic bloc and only subsequently became assimilated by it. The question remains *sub iudice* and awaits confirmation or rejection above all by archaeological research.

1.3.3.9. A lost tradition? Tacitus's *Germania* became known thanks to the discovery of the *Codex Hersfeldensis* (together with the *Agricola* and the *Dialogus de oratoribus*) in the Fulda Abbacy in 1425. Parasole (2013) has investigated the attestations of the ethnonym in the works of some authors of the 16th century (e.g. Andreas Althamerus [ca. 1500-1539], Jodocus Willichius [see 6.1.4.] and Justus Lipsius [1547-1606]). It is interesting to note that in their editions and comments on the *Germania* they write *Ef(f)luorum gentes* instead of *Aestyorum gentes*. Only Beatus Rhenanus [1485-1547] gives *Aestyorum* (*Aestiorum*) from **Aestuorum* of the archetype. The variant of Rhenanus was successful and progressively eliminated *Ef(f)luorum*, *Ef(f)lui* which are totally unknown in modern editions. For all their antiquity, these forms represent, however, a variant which should be accounted for.

Beyond that, during the 16th century there was also a connection between *Aestii* and *Lemovii* with the ethnonym (or hyper-ethnonym) *Efluiß* / *Eyflender* / *Lifflinder* (and further with *Livoni* and *Livonia*).

1.4. PROTO-BALTIC AND ITS LINGUISTIC FRAGMENTATION

Direct evidence of a the existence of common language used in *Baltia antiqua* does not exist, but on the contrary doubts have been raised concerning the real possibility of reconstructing such a language, variously called: Proto-Baltic, common Baltic or simply Baltic (Lith. *baltų prokalbė,* Latv. *baltu pirmvaloda*). According to certain scholars the differences existing within the Baltic group are so absolutely profound that not only do they preclude a satisfactory reconstruction of prehistoric linguistic facts, but they even place its very existence in question.[81] Especially inadequate for the reconstruction of prehistoric linguistic facts are the data (incomplete, fragmentary and of use only with caution) relating to what may be called today marginal Baltic (or traditionally: western Baltic and Baltic of the Dnepr), while our knowledge of central Baltic (or traditionally eastern Baltic) is somewhat fuller. Still, on the basis of internal and external comparison, the majority of scholars identify certain characteristic features which can be attributed to the common proto-language of the Balts – in light of present knowledge – which serve to characterize it in the framework of IE; it is traditionally classified as a dialect of the northern IE area, which has undergone a certin peripheral Satemization [see 2.1.2.2.]. Moreover, archaeological and hydronymic research has established that such a group extended over a much vaster geographical area than that which is today occupied by the surviving Baltic languages.

1.4.1. Principal characteristics

Keeping in mind that I will return to individual points further on, I will provide here the principal characteristics of the Baltic group within the IE framework:

I   *i)* free accent; *ii)* transition of short vowels IE **ŏ, *ă > Baltic *ă* (Lith. *avìs* 'sheep', OLatv. *avis*, *avs*, cf. Latin *ovis*, OGr. ŏ(ϝ)ις id.; Lith. *ašìs* 'axis', Latv. *ass*, cf. Latin *axis* id.); *iii)* preservation and development of IE vocalic alternation (apophony); *iv)* preservation of *m* even before dentals (Lith. *šiñtas*, Latv. *simts*, cf. Latin *centum*).

II   *v)* productivity of stems in *-ē* (?< **-(i)i̯ā-*); *vi)* characteristic diminutive suffixes; *vii)* common personal terminations for each tense and

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[81] Cf. Endzelīns (1931b); Otrębski (1956-1965 I, p. 44); Schmitt-Brandt (1972). Mayer (1981) speaks decidedly against the hypothesis of Proto-Baltic (and Balto-Slavic) and proposes his own classification of the Baltic languages in terms of North (= Lith., Latv.) and South (= OPr.) Baltic, cf. Mayer (1994, 1996).

verbal mood; *viii*) typical absence of opposition of number in the 3rd pers. (Lith. *geria*, Latv. *dzer* 'he drinks; they drink')[82]; *ix*) total absence of the IE perfect and aorist tenses; *x*) preterite formed with formants *-ā- and *-ē- (OPr. *weddē*[*din*] 'he carried [it]', *kūra* 'he constructed', Lith. *vēdė*, *kū́rė* id.).

III *xi)* the presence of a large number of common characteristic lexical features, among which are onomastic elements.

1.4.2. Baltic dialects

The genealogical classification of Baltic dialects in traditionally schematized thus:

Proto-Baltic

Western Baltic   Eastern Baltic
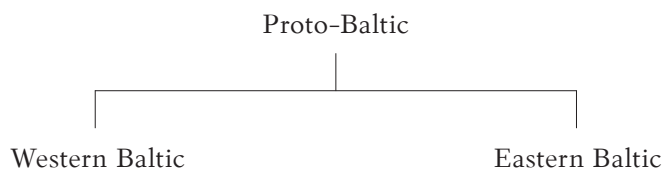
Today the formulation of the problem in a form corresponding to the data (on the whole already well established) produced from hydronymic studies on the northeastern borders of Baltia permit us to question if there is still a basis for validating the traditional subdivision into western and eastern Baltic. The traditional scheme can probably be expanded in the following way:

Proto-Baltic

| ? Pomeranian Baltic | Western Baltic | Eastern Baltic | Dnepr Baltic |
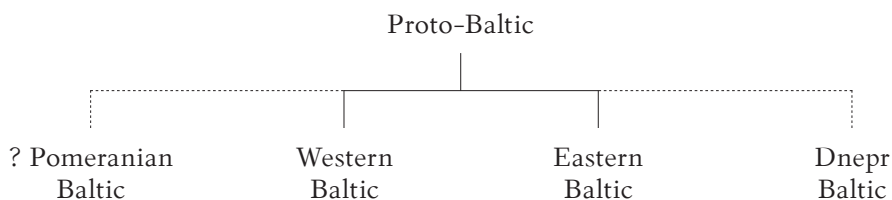
The traditional division into two groups, western and eastern, is based on linguistic criteria regarding the treatment of the diphthong **ei*. It is preserved in western Baltic, cf. OPr. *deiw*(*a*)*s* 'god'; in eastern Baltic **ei* has rather a dual development *ie/ei* (e.g. Lith. *dièvas*, Latv. *dìevs* 'god'; Lith. *deĩvė* 'goddess'; precisely this diphthong serves to fill the characteristic hole in the pattern of Proto-Baltic vocalism. Its dual development in eastern Baltic

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82   In Baltic languages the difference between 3rd pers. sing. and plur. verbal agreement can only be determined in those forms with participles.

is one of the more complex and controversial points of Baltic diachronic phonology. Two prevalent and non-interchangeable hypotheses exist to explain this: one is based on the position of the accent, the other on the nature of the consonant following the diphthong.

I) *ei* > Proto–Balt. *ei*

II) *ei* >
- West Baltic *ei* (OPr. *deiws*)
- East Baltic > *a)*
  - [– accent] *ei*
  - [+ accent] > *ẹ̄* > *ie*
  b)
  - + [palatal Cons.] *ei*
  - + [velar Cons.] > *ie*
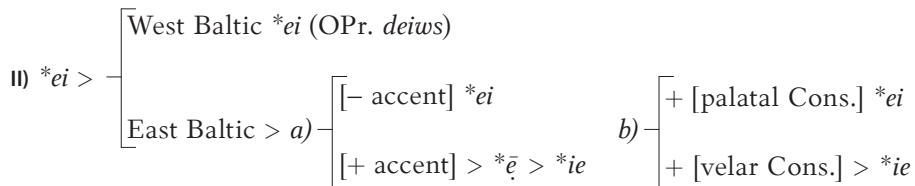
Today there are three hypotheses to explain the origin of eastern Baltic *ei*; to the two traditional theories presented above one can add a third, offered by Karaliūnas (1987, p. 152-167), which schematically anticipates the following changes: *a)* the monophthongization of IE *ei* in eastern Baltic (>*ẹ̄*) produced in atonic position in the forms with mobile accentual paradigms; *b)* at first the long diphthong *ēi* became monophthongized; *c)* the change *ei* > *ẹ̄* (> *ie*) came about gradually and in conditions of competition within the dialect itself between old variants (with *ei*) and new (with *ẹ̄* > *ie*) variants, whose affirmation became determined by the acquisition of differentiated semantic values. Mathiassen (1995) offers a survey of the opinions on this subject.

1.4.2.1. Divergences between western and eastern Baltic. Western Baltic is reconstructed on the basis of Old Prussian alone [see 6.]; the principal characteristics attributed to western Baltic are: the preservation of *ei*; the possessive adjectives *mais*, *twais*, *swais* 'mine, yours, theirs' (cf. Lith. *màno*, *tàvo*, *sàvo* id.; the preterite *bēi*, *bē* (cf. eastern Baltic *buv-*) from the verb 'to be'; a portion of the lexicon distinct from eastern Baltic.

The basic differences in eastern Baltic are indebted to relatively recent innovations, so that one can reconstruct a homogenous eastern Baltic. The principal innovations attributable with confidence to eastern Baltic in this still prehistoric period are mainly of a phonetic nature: in Latvian (shortening of the long final vowels, dropping of the final short vowels, alterations of the combination vowel + nasal tauto-syllabic consonant, fixing of the accent on the first syllable) these show several interesting analogies with modern changes taking place in the Slavic area; in Lithuanian the innova-

tions took place more slowly (e.g. the shortening of vowels at the end of a word, traces of which were preserved in the modern language, for example, the Lith. fem. adj. *gerà* 'good' < **gerā́* along with the def. fem. adj. *geró-ji* 'that good', sometimes with accompanying displacement of the accent on the preceding syllable). It is thought that the eastern Baltic linguistic community had been in its turn "broken up" already before the historic period since the 7th century or a little bit before (Urbutis 1962).

According to the investigation carried out on word formation by Ambrazas S. (2004; 2011, p. 124-138) there are important differences among western and eastern Baltic with regard to the derivational structure of substantives. Many derivational isoglosses connect Lithuanian to Old Prussian and oppose it to Latvian, e.g. in the categories of *nomina collectiva* (in **-ī-no-*, **-ā-to-*), *nomina agentis* (in **-i-ko*), *nomina attributiva* (in **-in-ī-ko-*, **-eno-*, **-āt-ri̯o-*, **-ōl-i̯o-*), *nomina qualitatis* (in **-ībē*, **-ī-s-tā*, **-is-ko-*), and diminutives (in **ol-i̯o-*, **-i-s-t-i̯o-*). Ambrazas S. observed that some of these categories might reflect the influence of western Baltic upon the formation of the Lithuanian language (especially upon its western and southern dialects).

Very little is known about the so-called Baltic of the Dnepr, and therefore this question is deferred for later discussion [see 1.4.4.].

1.4.2.2. Chronology of the divergences. Recently it has become possible to establish in more precise terms the scattered and intuitive attainments, gained until now by traditional linguistics, primarily thanks to Būga (1924a). At this point Girdenis and Mažiulis (1994), operating on the basis of glottochronological principles, have confirmed that: *a*) western Baltic OPr.) first began to differentiate itself from eastern Baltic not long before the 5th century B.C.; *b*) the differentiation internal to Baltic was initiated much sooner than that internal to Slavic; on the other hand, evidence of a convergent development of the Baltic language is rather weak.[83]

1.4.3. Endobaltic dialectology

As was seen above, the extent of *Baltia antiqua* is today established by scholars on the basis of the diffusion of Baltic hydronymics in the prehis-

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[83] Worthy of mention as an attempt to establish an absolute chronology of the disintegration of the Balto-Slavic linguistic continuum using the glottochronology method (enlarged according to S. Starostin's indications) is Novotná, Blažek (2007).

toric epoch. Summarizing, one notes that its vast territory extended from the Elba to the upper course of the Volga, and from the Oka basin to the Pripjat' marshes, where today the bulk of the population is Slavic.

1.4.3.1. Center/periphery. It is felt that in the prehistoric period, approximately in the beginning of the 2nd millenium B.C., the linguistic area of Proto-Baltic began to diverge internally into two principal dialectal zones, which one is not able to circumscribe more precisely than as a central zone, which contained the dialect from which the Lithuanian and Latvian langauges would develop, and a peripheral zone, from whose dialect the Prussian and Yatvingian, and perhaps Curonian, languages were formed. According to the norms of spacial linguistics it is felt that the dialects of the peripheral zone are characterized by a greater degree of archaism compared with dialects of the central zone; but this tendency was subjected to changes caused by contacts of the adstratum and substratum with non-Baltic languages and dialects. With time one can detect a gradual and progressive separation of the peripheral Baltic dialects from the central ones; the disintegration of Proto-Baltic should be properly understood in this sense precisely. It is thought that the two groups of western Baltic and eastern Baltic began to assume a distinct character beginning from the 5th century B.C., when Prussian and Yatvingian, two peripheral Baltic dialects, began to separate from the central zone and formed the western (southern) Baltic branch; subsequently Curonian also joined the same western (northern) branch, which itself separated from the central dialectal zone approximately two centuries later.

The dialects of the central zone, on the other hand, remained substantially unified until the end of the period (circa 3rd century B.C.) when, as is thought, the eastern Baltic branch (Lithuanian-Latvian) broke off. In the meantime arriving Slavic groups settled in the peripheral zone and had direct contact with the Baltic tribes. The proposed connection between these Slavic and western Baltic dialects [see 3.1.4.3.] is supported by the presence of linguistic peculiarities which are found in Prussian and also in Curonian (however, the latter probably never entered into direct contact with Slavic), but are, on the other hand, absent in Lithuanian-Latvian.

E.g.: Curon. *cela < *kela 'wheel', OPr. kelan id., Slavic *kolo id. (cf. Russ. колесо, Pol. koło, Bulg. колело id. (Mažiulis 1981a); OPr.-Sambian *sen- 'with', Curon. Sentatze, the name of a river attested in 1422 (< Baltic *san-, cf. Pomeranian OPr. som- 'with'; Lith. sántaka 'con-

fluence'.[84] Thus, for the prehistorical epoch it is customary to divide the Baltic dialects into a western group and an eastern group. The reasons for this differentiation still provoke questions; some scholars have advanced the hypothesis that the two groups became separated at a certain period by a foreign people (the hypothesis of the Finnic wedge, cf. Otrębski 1956–1965 I, p. 44).

It is not possible to establish if the linguistic differentiation between the two groups was accompanied by a cultural diversity, but according to the archaeologist Gimbutas the division of the Balts into two groups, western and eastern, can be traced back to the Bronze Age [see 1.2.1.2.]; the representatives of the first group, which she otherwise calls maritime Balts, were probably carriers of a culture connected with the Illyrian culture of central Europe, and at the beginning of the Iron Age with the Celtic and Germanic peoples; the representatives of the second group, also called continental Balts, were less advanced and more connected with their southern (Slavs) and eastern (Finnic peoples of the Volga) neighbors. Several more recent researchers, based on methods of interment, have indicated that during the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age the western Balts buried their dead on small hillocks, while the eastern Balts buried their dead in cemeteries. It is thought that this circumstance reflects a different cultural substratum in the formation of the two cultures and a different ethno-cultural situation, wherein the former were tied to the coastal region and were influenced by the populations of central and northern Europe, while the latter were located far from commercial routes and preserved a more archaic culture. The change to cremation for the western Balts can be dated to the first period of the Bronze Age, and to the 5th or 6th period for the eastern Balts (Merkevičius 1994).

1.4.3.2. Conservation/innovation. The first clear recognition of the characteristic conservation of the Baltic languages, founded on typical spacial data, must be given to Italian Neolinguistics [see 3.1.1. footnote 231]. The research began with Bartoli (1925, 1933, 1937; Bertoni, Bartoli 1928) and was taken up by Mažiulis (1974b), specifically for the Baltic area; he offers an original method to include this area in the prehistoric sociolinguistic context. Mažiulis tries to answer two questions: how do the separate Baltic dialects relate to each other in terms of the degree of antiquity (conservation) or

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[84] Mažiulis (1994b). Concerning the distinction between the Prussian dialects of Sambia and Pomesania [see 6.1.2. and following].

innovation, and what factors determined their evolutionary diversity? He operates on the basis of two principles: that of the greater antiquity of the peripheral linguistic zones and the less noted principle of the diverse influence which is exerted between linguistic systems more (e.g. Slavic and eastern Baltic) or less (e.g. Finnic and eastern Baltic) similar to each other: fewer innovations are produced in the first case, more in the second.

1.4.3.3. Endobaltic isophones. Traditionally four principal isophones are identified, capable of accounting for the evolutionary stages of each Baltic dialect:

a) the Baltic diphthong *ei*, preserved in western Baltic undergoes a characteristic change to *ie* in eastern Baltic;

b) the Baltic diphthongs *Vn (= *an, *en, *in, *un) are preserved in Prussian, Yatvingian, Curonian, Selonian and partly in Lithuanian; denasalization (an innovation) takes place in Latvian and perhaps Semigallian;

c) the Baltic velar palatals *ḱ, ǵ produce the affricatives [tʃ], [dʒ] in Selonian, Curonian, Latvian and perhaps Semigallian, but are preserved in Old Prussian, Yatvingian and Lithuanian;

d) the Baltic nexus *ti̯, *di̯, preserved in Old Prussian and Yatvingian are already producing the resulting t', d' in Latvian and perhaps in Semigallian from the 10th century; such a result was, on the other hand, foreign to Selonian, Curonian and until at least the 13th to 14th centuries also alien to the majority of Lithuanian dialects.

Mažiulis offers the following scheme of the phonetic developments of the Baltic languages (about 14th century):[85]

Baltic	West Baltic		East Baltic				
	OPr.	Yatv.	Lith.	Cur.	Sel.	Semig.	Latv.
*ei	+	+	+/−?	+/−	+/−	+/−	+/−
*Vn	+	+?	+/−	+	+?	−?	−
*ḱ, *ǵ	+	+?	+	−	−?	−?	−
*ti̯, *di̯	+	+?	−	−?	−?	+?	−

[85] The "+ sign" indicates the preservation of the phoneme or of the older sequences; the "− sign" an innovative change.

From this scheme one can visualize the major conservatism of western Baltic; within eastern Baltic Lithuanian is the more archaic language and Latvian is the more innovative; the status of the "minor" Baltic languages [see 5.] remains very uncertain.

1.4.4. Baltia submersa

Concerning the subsequent fate of the Baltic tribes of prehistory which settled in the vast territories stretching approximately from the basin of the upper Dnepr to the Oka basin, as well as information about the characteristics and linguistic attachment of their dialects, of which there remains a trace in the toponomastics, various positions have been already recorded [see 1.2.3.].

1.4.4.1. The fate of Baltic in the Dnepr region. According to Būga such Baltic tribes migrated toward the north, crowded out by the Slavs around the 6th to 7th centuries, while the hypotheses of Toporov and Trubačev (1961, 1962) describe a rather different picture on the basis of the study of about 800 Baltic hydronyms found in the region, and from their relatively uniform distribution, their structure, and their probable lexical and semantic parallels with the hydronymics of the Baltic area. Some of the important conclusions of the two Russian scholars are as follows:

a) from the time when an assessment is possible based on linguistic data, the fundamental ethnic element of the region of the upper Dnepr is Baltic;

b) one should speak not about a displacement of great masses, but rather about a long and slow period of "symbiosis" and bilingualism between the Balts and the Slavs; the Slavs penetrated into the territories inhabited by Balts, and over a long time assimilated them, while individual linguistic islands were preserved until at least the 13th century;

c) one can definitively reject the hypothesis shared by certain scholars that this toponomastic stratum relates to a later period and owes its existence to prisoners and colonizers.

Somewhat less precisely definable is the question of the linguistic attribution of these Baltic dialects; the toponomastics of the upper Dnepr demonstrates the rich extent of gradual transition, sometimes not easily recognized, of Baltic hydronymics to Slavic; this allows the formation of hybrids, calques,

and borrowings, often only partial, whose classification is of notable interest. Toporov and Trubačev are nevertheless skeptical about previous attempts to distinguish dialects based on hydronymic evidence of the upper Dnepr (in particular they mention the evidence offered by Vasmer on the basis of different variants of the word for 'river' in the hydronyms: *up-* or *ap-*), which probably reflects chronological differences resulting from the different stages of the Slavic colonization of the region. From one perspective, the attempts to compare western and eastern Baltic evidence do not go beyond certain parallelisms (in affixes and certain lexical elements) with Old Prussian, Lithuanian and Latvian, but they do not allow for the absolute attribution of such elements to any of these languages. On the other hand, it is nevertheless possible to establish a series of lexical isoglosses, often only partial, which connect the upper Dnepr with the Baltic area. This leads to the conclusion about the necessity to consider the presence in the upper Dnepr of a group of Baltic dialects distinct from those others already known. The hypothesis, however vague and indefinite, about the possibility of the existence of a group of dialects unknown today (for this group the label has been invented, just as vague and indefinite, of Baltic language of the Dnepr) still remains in force and rich with implication.

The discovery of such a vast prehistoric Baltic area, extending over territories later inhabited by Slavic peoples, has also supported the explanation in a Baltic key of a whole series of typical features of eastern Slavic until now unexplained (such as pleophony, the more protracted preservation of *ĭ* and *ŭ*; the so-called *akan'e*;[86] the frequency of diminutives in -*ukŭ* and in -*ail*-; the so-called syntactic Baltisms (Prochorova 1988); a large portion of common lexicon), and henceforth attributed to the effect of the Baltic substratum **[see 5.4.3.]**. Attention has also been drawn to some east Slavic (especially in the Polese dialect) appellatives without a clear Slavic etymology (e.g. Russ. балда 'an overgrown lake', Blruss. бедра 'a large pit', Ukr. локно 'water lily')[87] which could be considered to be borrowings from the Baltic substrate.

1.4.4.2. Contacts with Iranian? The proposed displacement of the southwestern boundaries of the Balts as far as the Sejm basin **[see 1.2.3.]** and the identification of approximately twenty Baltisms in the hydronymics of this region suggest a reconsideration of the possibility of direct linguistic contact be–

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[86] Cf. Čekman (1975a); Lekomceva (1978, 1980). On the question in its entirety Holvoet (1991).
[87] Cf. Nepokupnyĭ (1976, p. 27); Otkupščikov (2004, p. 90); Laučiūtė (2006).

tween the Baltic and Iranian languages. According to the traditional theory, these contacts led to well-known archaisms of a general IE legacy and to certain not exclusive innovations in phonetics (e.g. *s > š* after *i, u, r, k* **[see 2.1.2.2.]**, in morphology (e.g. locative plur. –*su*, pronoun with stem **i̯o-s* for the formation of definite adjectives, etc.), also shared by Slavic and other linguistic groups; these innovations could simply be the result of parallel developments; also the lexical agreements always touch upon at least Slavic (e.g. Lith. *ãtliekas*, *ãtlaikas* 'remainder, surplus', OInd. *atireka-*, OCS *otъ-lekъ*). Nevertheless, after the discoveries derived from the hydronymic studies of the 1960s, the possibility has gained favor of considering the formation of the sigmatic future (e.g. Lith. *duo-si-u* and Old Indian *dā-sy-āmi*, both leading back to IE **dō-si̯-o-*) as a common Balto-Iranian innovation **[see 2.2.2.3.3.]**; this is considered as the result of the period of Balto(Slavic)-Iranian contact which took place in the Sejm basin (that is to say, within the limits of the new southeastern frontier of prehistoric Baltia).

According to Toporov and Trubačev (1961, p. 195-196), this interpretation of the facts extends to several cases of semantic calques observed in the hydronymics of the Sejm basin based on Iranian.[88] But since there is no reliable evidence of lexical coincidence between Baltic and Iranian, Arumaa (1969) poses the theoretical question whether it is possible to be certain that the Sejm basin was completely Slavicized in the presumed period of Baltic-Iranian contact; therefore he discusses the merits and considers "très fragiles" many of the etymons proposed by the two Russian scholars to support the theories of direct Baltic (Slavic)-Iranian linguistic contacts, and in the final analysis rejects such a possibility. On the one side, Arumaa tends to give as much credit as possible to archaeological data from the 1950s, especially relating to the Iranian world, but on the other side, he recognizes the difficulty of a unanimous interpretation given the absence of proper criteria to separate Iranian from Slavic or Baltic culture in the prehistoric period and to define their relative chronology in the Dnepr basin. Thus he prefers to concentrate attention rather on the study of Iranian dialects of southern Russia and on the numerous borrowings, relatively ancient, from Iranian in the Finno-Ugric languages, in order to also best elucidate the question of Balto-(Slavic-)Iranian contact[89] **[see 3.4.4.4.1.]**.

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[88] For example, the hybrid Хартислова, the name of the river, can be explained on the basis of Iranian *har-* 'to flow down' and Slavic *slov* with a Balto-Slavic parallel Серцысловка, with the first part **serti*, cf. Lith. *Sartaĭ* and Сертея, attested in the basin of the Berezina; but cf. the opposing argument in Arumaa (1969, p. 80-81).

[89] On Iranian loanwords in Finnic, cf. Schmid (1979b).

1.5. GLOBAL HYPOTHESES

Before proceeding to an examination of the original periBaltic context [see 3.], it is necessary to give an account of at least three important general hypotheses, wherein scholars have frequently called into play the Baltic linguistic area and have sometimes placed the Baltic languages at the center of attention.

It is certain that along with the noted (Indo-)Mediterranean hypothesis, long discussed in the scientific world, one should mention among the innovations regarding the IE arena of the last decade the contributions of W. P. Schmid, in which he develops the theory of ancient European hydronymics of H. Krahe. In turn this also reflects a distant echo of the 19th century research of Latham (1851) and Poesche (1878), who proposed Lithuania (rather than the Indo-Iranian area) as a possible location of the original seat of the Indo-European peoples. It is therefore worth dwelling on these hypotheses (Mediterranean and Ancient European) more fully.

1.5.1. Baltic and Mediterranean

After World War II, research on the (Indo)European substratum, led primarily by the Italian and German schools of linguistics, acquired renewed vigor. This concept is relevant for its explicit and consistent reference to the language/culture dialectic projected in a geographical context. The (Indo-)Mediterranean hypothesis is not particularly characterized (as distinct from that of Ancient European) by special relations with the Baltic area, although there is no absence of contributions allowing for agreement with Alessio (1947) that 'pre-IE populations speaking Aryan languages' lived in the Baltic area. Thus arose the question of the existence of an emerging pre-IE substratum in which are found, according to Alessio,[90] obviously, several linguistic elements attested in the Baltic regions with correspondences in western and southern Europe. This pre-IE linguistic oasis stands out in particular thanks to hydronyms (e.g. *Jūra*, *Minija*, *Nava*, *Neris*, *Samava*, *Šumina*, etc.), but also thanks to the specific lexicon of the Baltic languages; to illustrate Alessio's reasoning I offer certain of his examples:

a) Lith. *korỹs* 'cell of a honeycomb', Latvian *kāre*, connected with the Aegean-Tyrrhenian pair OGr. κηϱός, Latin *cēra*, and considered as Mediterranean words (rather than coming from IE *$kāri̯os$);

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[90] Alessio (1947) based on Schmittlein (1934-1935).

b) Latv. *bríedis* 'stag', leading back to a Mediterranean root **brento* 'horn', which is found in a series of phytonyms ('lettuce craved by the stag');

c) Latv. *ērms* 'chimpanzee', without correspondences in other IE languages and presumably related to Etruscan αριμος; etc.

Thus treating Baltic material from this particular perspective served 'to demonstrate that the peoples speaking Mediterranean languages had occupied a much larger expanse than generally acknowedged' and to refute the contemporary opinions of Devoto (who preferred to speak of the Baltic regions as "a more distant antiquity" of India, Asia Minor and Greece), and the opinions of Pisani (who tried to explain such facts rather as borrowings coming from the Mediterranean to the Baltic coasts); Alessio (1947, p. 166) came to the conclusion that "if we admit that the peoples linguistically close to those pre-IE tribes of the Mediterranean basin had also inhabited the Baltic region, it is not necessary to construct suppositions which cannot be confirmed by factual data". However, this reasoning, precisely because of its explicit call for factual data, seems circular; keeping in mind the many lexicological investigations in Lithuania and Latvia after the publication of Alessio's contribution, it is now worth re-examining the question, and verifying how many of Alessio's bold propositions have been upheld over time.

a′) For a satisfactory explanation of Lith. *korỹs*, Latv. *kāre(s)*, *LEW* I, p. 283, confirms the difficulties arising in connection with the apophonic degree of the root vowel, but this does not adhere to the Mediterranean theory.[91]

b′) All the extant etymological proposals for Latv. *bríedis* 'stag' are from an IE perspective and relate it to the connection with toponyms of the Italian and Baltic area.[92]

c′) According to *LEV* I, p. 270, Latv. *ērms* is now considered a borrowing from MLG *erm* 'poor'.[93]

In the further developments in research on the Indo-Mediterranean substratum there were other attempts to connect with the Baltic area, but they

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[91] Wälchli (1996a) studied the diffusion of Baltic **kāriịas* as a borrowing in Finnic and perhaps Turkic languages.

[92] In this regard *LEW* I, p. 57, and *PrJ* I, p. 245, propose that IE **bhren-to* 'horned' comes from **bhren-* 'horn'; *LEV* I, p. 144, proposes the series Latv. *briêdis* < Eastern Baltic **bried-* < Proto-Baltic **breid-* < IE **bhreidh-* < **bher-* 'to swell'.

[93] For a full picture it should be noted that the possibility of the existence of a Baltic-Etruscan isogloss is considered valid by *ME* I, (p. 571) and Ivanov (1987, p. 9).

always lacked the specificity and density of Alessio's contribution; this later became questioned in the 1960s and 1970s by the works of Pisani (1970) on the basis of the word 'mullet [Mugil cephalus]', and of Mastrelli (1967, 1970) on the basis of the term for the control of the helm, based on the word for 'pilchard'. These, together with many other original researches, were collected in a volume on the Indo-Mediterranean substratum, edited by Silvestri (1976), who also makes frequent reference to facts of the Baltic languages. It is worth citing – also as a viaticum to the section which follows – the words of Silvestri (1985-1986, p. 591):

> *Ciò che chiamiamo complessivamente 'i.e.' è uno e plurimo non solo nella storia ma anche nella preistoria; ma giova sottolineare che anche il 'non i.e.' non presenta — proprio in rapporto dialettico con l'indoeuropeità emergente nella tarda preistoria e nella protostoria linguistica di gruppi o entità specifiche — carattere monolitico, nonostante certe incursioni di 'sud-isti'* [Alessio]*, magari intesi a ritrovare suggestive quanto improbabili 'oasi mediterranee' in aree di fredda o freddissima settentrionalità e nonostante certe ritorsioni 'nordiste'* [Krahe] *con felici quanto improbabili scoperte di 'idronimi paleuropei' persino nella meridionalissima Calabria...*

> [What we call by the collective name IE is unifed and diverse not only in history but also in prehistory; but it must be emphasized that even 'not' IE does not have – precisely in its dialectal connection with IE which shows in late prehistory and in linguistic protohistory specific groups or entities – a monolithic character, notwithstanding certain incursions of "southerners" (Alessio), ready to find suggestive as well improbable "Mediterranean oases" in areas of a cold or very cold northern dominion, and in spite of certain "nordic" deviations (Krahe) with happy as much as improbable discoveries of "paleo-european hydronyms" even in the most southern Calabria...]

1.5.2. Baltic and Ancient-European (Alteuropäisch)

One owes the theory of Ancient Europe (*Alteuropa*) to the German scholar Hans Krahe (1957, 1964), a theory formulated in the 1940s and 1960s, systematically analyzing the hydronymics of ancient Europe. I will try to summarize this theory in a few essential arguments:

a) Ancient-European hydronymics shows an historical stratification and demonstrates an abundant geographical expansion in the heart of

the old continent (from Scandinavia to southern Italy, from western Europe to the Baltic) in territories where IE languages are (or were) spoken.[94]

b) The concept of *Alteuropäisch* (with the corresponding definition *alteuropäisch* 'Ancient European') is toponomastic, although it is applied more broadly, and serves to designate a definite class of hydronyms. This term should not be confused with the term *Old Europe* used by the archaeologist Gimbutas to specify non-IE Europe, prior to the arrival of Indo-Europeans (Gimbutas 1992a; Schmid 1987b).

c) An Ancient European hydronym must satisfy conditions of structural order (it must consist of a lexical element L, a formation word M_1 and a flexible element M_2 with $M_1 + M_2 \neq \emptyset$, and all the components of an IE heritage and of a semasiological order (derived from the semantic field of water and its properties).

d) Generalizing the data obtained for the phase older than Europe, one can propose a linguistic stage called *Alteuropäisch*, a stage relatively unified, verified in the onomastic (above all in the hydronymic) sector and only postulated for the linguistic sector.

e) Ancient European hydronymics is considered to be of notable antiquity (its appearance goes back to the second half of the 2nd millenium B.C.); Krahe identifies the Ancient European linguistic community with that which predated historical languages attested in this very area and considers that such unity can be traced into the historic period as well.

Jurkenas (2012) attempts to establish an Old European onomastic union, exemplified on the basis of the component *Al-* occurring in many different onomastic fields.

1.5.2.1. The theory of W. P. Schmid. Basing himself on the research of the midfifties, Schmid (1966a, 1968, 1983a) has worked out the individual points

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[94] In this respect it is interesting to observe that considerable attention to the Baltic onomastic material is also to be found in the works of Villar (although the author does not accept the concept of *Alteuropäisch*) on the hydronymy and toponymy of the (old, pre-Roman) Iberian peninsula, and especially in the treatment of the onomastic series with *-uba* 'water; river' (and its dialectal variants: **up-*, **ab-*, **ap-*) often attested as the second element of hydronymic compounds both in the south (*Andalucía*) and in the north (from Ebro to the Pyrenees mountains, *Catalunya*) of contemporary Spain (cf. Villar 2000, p. 119-178, and 379-414; 2002).

of this theory *ab ovo*, and although he depended on the same premises as Krahe, he arrived at very different conclusions. Today one considers that the data obtained from historical grammar or from the lexicon of the IE languages now found (or found in the past) in the limited territory of the Ancient European hydronymics do not allow for the reconstruction of a linguistic stage characteristic to them alone; the common features between the IE languages which occupy the area of Ancient European hydronymics do not denote geographic dialectal differences (as Krahe thought), but are rather explained chronologically; accordingly general innovations are lacking, both grammatical and lexical, which could justify the definition of Ancient European languages understood as antecedents of the IE languages in central Europe.

Therefore, which linguistic stage antecedent to the division *centum/satəm* is reflected in the Ancient European unified hydronymics? For Schmid there never existed in the center of Europe a language younger than IE, and Ancient European is nothing more than IE itself. This is evidenced by a series of lexical and grammatical correspondences deduced from Indo-Iranian hydronymics. From Schmid's argument it follows that the Ancient European hydronyms are treated in accordance with IE methodology:

  a) the comparison between the Ancient European hydronyms taken from a vast area which extends from Scandinavia to the Balkans and to the entire central portion of Europe, shows for every hydronym an exact corresponding one (not only in the lexeme, but also in the suffixes) in the Baltic region (modern or prehistoric);

  b) in the Baltic area one finds the largest concentration (*Häufigkeitszentrum*) and the perpetuation (*Kontinuitätszentrum*) in the tradition of Ancient European hydronymics (Schmid 1972); the isoglosses shown in the figure and the comparisons below serve as examples of this.

Schmid's assertions are clearly fraught with theoretical implications. Once you consider as valid the equation *Alteuropäisch* = IE, then the definition of the geographical boundaries of Ancient European hydronymics indicate for Schmid the delineation of the confines of the *Urheimat* of the common IE language; that is to say the study of Ancient European hydronymics acquires a different purpose from that attributed until now: it becomes a new argument to identify the original homeland of the Indo-

Europeans.[95] Beyond the impressive series described by Schmid, if an Achilles heel also exists in the present version of the theory of *Alteuropäisch*, it probably resides in the equation cited above *sic et simpliciter*: it risks leveling in one blow all the complexity of the historical relations which took place on European soil in antiquity and in the ensuing necessity to liberate the so-called *Kerngebiet* of the Ancient European area from any presence of non-IE. The discussion of these weak points has for some time found substantial response in the works of various scholars,[96] who in their research on the complex events of the indoeuropeization of Europe (especially western) have rather preferred to underline the moment of reciprocal interaction between the various components which participated in the process; their point of view does not grant the genealogical moment, but rather the diatopic aspect, and they are inclined to consider the IE language of Europe as being the result of a long process of fusion between local traditions and the currents of Indoeuropeization.

The indication of the centrality of the Baltic area for linguistic comparison has a very different weight and leads Schmid (1976a, 1978b, 1983a, 1995a, 1998a) to formulate and to define the main concepts (Schmid 2006) of his original theory of connection between the IE languages in the prehistoric period; such a theory anticipates among other things:

a) that similar connections can be better represented in the form a concentric model **[see 3.1.4.2.]**, wherein one can distinguish an inner ring and an outer (peripheral) ring;

b) that in this concentric model the *centum* languages occupy the outer ring; the *satəm* languages occupy the south-eastern sector; Baltic, on the basis of methodical, linguistic, and geographic considerations, as well as from data obtained from Old European hydronymics, occupies the center;

c) that Baltic is a *centum* language *satemized*, and that a prehistoric Balto-Slavic period never existed **[see 3.1.6.]**.

With this theory, indeed more appreciated by the scholar of onomastics than of historical-comparative linguistics,[97] Schmid gradually introduced

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[95] Similar to what was used during the last century (the birch tree for Bartholomae, the Salmon for Thieme etc.), but also in later times (e.g. the lexical frequency for Mańczak).

[96] Especially of the Italian linguistic school, e.g. Pisani (1954); Crevatin (1981); Silvestri (1985-1986), as well as Neuman (1971) or Tovar (1977) and Schmid's review (1977).

[97] The discussion is open: one attempt to establish a different vision of the linguistic antiquity of Europe from that of Krahe-Schmid, is the ancient Basque hypothesis shared by Vennemann (1994), with Schmid's response (1998c).

what Klimas A. (1988) has called his Trojan Horse in the fortified citadel of official comparative IE science, founded above all on data from the three classical languages: Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. The revolutionary significance of this theory for the rather conservative comparative IE science is obvious if it is accepted in its fundamental assumptions; it goes without saying that to place Baltic at the center of the system of relations between the IE families would obviously imply the reconstruction of the phonological system (e.g. there would be no need for labio-velars or aspirants) and of the verbal system very different from those accepted today. Returning to the image of the Trojan Horse, I will close by saying that, "it is not yet clear when the soldiers will make the conquest" (Klimas A. 1988, p. 25).
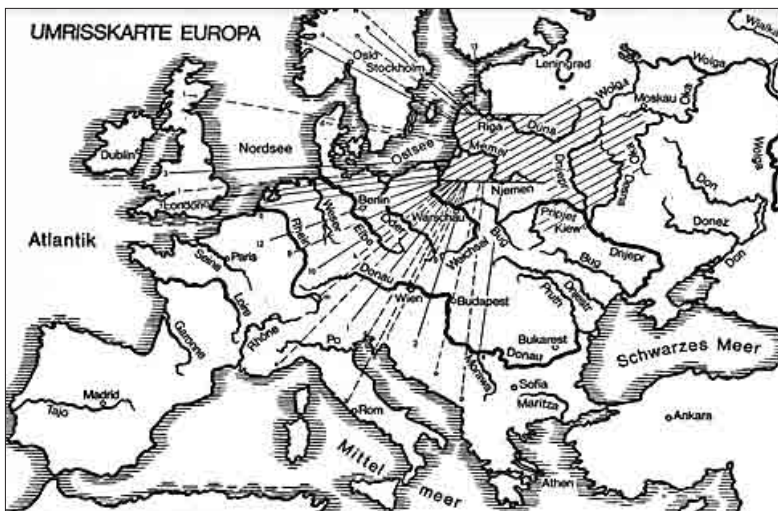
Alteuropäisch	Baltic	Alteuropäisch	Baltic
1. At(h)esis	Atesys	a. Ala	Ala
2. Drava	Drawe	b. Alia	Alys
3. Drawen	Dravine	c. Alsa	Alsa
4. Eisa	Aise	d. Varina	Varinė
5. Isla	Jiesla	e. Vara	Varė
6. Laca	Laka	f. Arsia	Arsė
7. Limena	Limene	g. Mara	Mara
8. Margus	Marga	h. Neta	Nedė
9. Nāva	Nova	i. Nedd	Nieda
10. Filisa	Pelesa	k. Sala	Sala
11. Fala	Pala	l. Arga	Arga
12. Aisne	Apsuona	m. Aka	Aga
13. Aura	Aura	n. Sava	Sava
		o. Apsos	Apsa

1.5.3. The Balts in the context of Continuity Theory
(Teoria della continuità)

Toward the end of the 1990s, various research projects were carried out, including scholarship in archaeology,[98] linguistics,[99] ethnolinguistics[100] and genetics.[101] The researchers, independently from one another, coincided in affirming that the traditional theory which explains the origin of the Indo-European languages as the result of an invasion of a warrior population toward the middle of the Neolithic period (circa 4000 B.C.) lacked solid archaeological evidence. This traditional explanation had linked the expansion of the IE languages to the infiltration of Neolithic cultures from Anatolia (approximately 6000 B.C.).

Instead, as has happened with other linguistic groups, the period of the Indo-European linguistic community should be retro-dated to much more ancient epochs, as far back as the Paleolithic age, and consequently not linked to a warrior culture based on farming and animal husbandry, but to a peaceful expansion of hunters and gatherers. One of the principal supporters of this point of view in the field of linguistics is Mario Alinei (1998, 2000a),[102] the author of numerous works on the subject, among which two weighty volumes stand out (Alinei 1996, 2000b). In these innovative works Alinei attempts to reconstruct European linguistic development, beginning with the Upper Paleolithic and extending to the Iron and Bronze Ages. Consequently, the traditionally accepted explanation of the Indo-European invasion is rejected and in its place Alinei postulates a kind of "autochthonous continuity" for the languages of Europe, at least as it relates to the final period of development of *homo sapiens sapiens* in Europe.

It is evident that this formulation of the problem challenges the data and epistemological paradigms accumulated during two centuries of historical and comparative linguistics. Such a change in the interpretation of the data implies a revolution of an almost Copernican significance within the traditional theoretical paradigm for linguistics, both general and Indo-European. So it is not at all surprising that from its first appearance Continuity Theory aroused a lively discussion and that it often received a less than positive reception, and for the majority of linguists it retained the smell

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[98] Cf. Thomas (1991); Otte, Adams (1999); Otte (2000).

[99] Cf. Poghirc (1992); Cavazza (2001, pp. 167-229); Costa (2001); Ballester (2004, 2006, 2009).

[100] Cf. Benozzo (2011).

[101] Cf. Cavalli-Sforza, Piazza, Menozzi, Mountain (1988).

[102] Notoriously other scholars (e.g. Mallory, Renfrew, etc.) also expressed themselves against the traditional conception.

of heresy. The so-called scientific community emphasized the difficulties of a general nature as well as the inaccuracy of details, and, moreover, the lack of firmly verifiable data in the newly proposed theoretical structure. Therefore, one should point out that such precision, although desirable, is not always possible, even for the traditional hypotheses. Therefore, it is perhaps more reasonable – if it is not possible to accept Continuity Theory in its totality without prejudice – at least to suspend judgment about it. The best judge will be the inevitable generational change of scholars. The theory itself will then show the validity of its heuristic and explanatory potential or clearly reveal its own limits.

In the following narrative I will concentrate my attention on Alinei's pages dedicated directly to the Baltic languages. This critique is not only informational, but also serves to achieve further precision regarding details and to offer some personal remarks.

In general, it must be said that in backdating the date to the Paleolithic era, the European geographical landscape was totally different because of the effect of glaciation. If one holds that with the end of glaciation, there was a "great" movement of populations from southern Europe toward the abundant territories of northern Europe, the linguistic consequences have not yet been seriously appraised.[103] According to Alinei and his followers, two (proto-)populations played an important role on the European continent in this description of the most ancient phase: the Celts in the West and the Balts in the East.

The new point of view for the study of the most ancient phases of the linguistic history of Indo-Europe is known as the *Paleolithic continuity paradigm* (see www.continuitas.org, with a full bibliography) and is without doubt – however it still needs to be evaluated – one of the most important innovations in the field of linguistic studies during recent decades. Therefore, one cannot fail to acknowledge it here, at least relative to its role as preserved in the area of Baltic linguistics.

A further general observation is along methodological lines. Alinei adopts what he calls "an up-to-date perspective" whereby he considers the present as a key to the past. A further requisite connected to Continuity Theory is the constant effort to make the archaeological and linguistic documentation agree. It follows that either the differences or the similarities are shown in relation to the precise prehistoric or proto-historic contexts

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[103] For an attempt at connecting prehistoric protolanguages reconstructed by linguists and prehistoric cultural complexes reconstructed by archaeologists for the Baltic Sea region, see Kallio (2003).

(as will be better shown later, it seems to me that this axiom reveals the problematic aspect in the case of Baltic linguistics).

In his monumental work, Alinei (2000, p. 261-300) dedicates the seventh chapter to Baltic linguistics. In an attempt to identify the original Baltic linguistic area, the scholar runs into several intrinsic difficulties, lacking an ethnogenetic aspect (the relations between Baltic and Slavic and the possible Balto-Balkan relations) and also lacking an archaeological aspect (the role of the Balts in the diffusion of the Corded Pottery culture and of the Battle-Axe culture from warrior culture. There is an absence of stable and marked boundaries for the most ancient cultures in the region, which were still pre-agricultural and mobile. The borders were no longer ethnolinguistic, but "colonial" for the first cultures which introduced agriculture).

Through the lens of Continuity Theory the Balts quickly settled in a fringe area of Europe, and this determined their limited participation in the processes of contact and ethnic and linguistic hybridization. Based on this reasoning, the relations of the Baltics with the other European *phyla* (Alinei's preferred term) are interpreted in an innovative way among the *phyla*. The situation can be summarized in the following points.

1.5.3.1. Relations between the Balts and other groups. The Balto-Slavic, Balto-Germanic and Balto-Uralic relations examined are: A Balto-Slavic unitary *continuum* would eventually show up in the Paleolithic. It is believed that at the beginning of the Holocene period the Balts, already separated from the Slavs, would settle along the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. In their turn, the Slavs must have already been found more to the south in the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods. Alinei is rather far from stating the problem in Gimbutas's terms [see 1.2.2.] and is instead (without realizing it) quite close to Toporov's position [see 3.1.4.3. *et ultra*]. The existence of Balto-Germanic isoglosses, typical for the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, supports the idea that a *phylum* of a Germanic language was present when practical and technical agriculture was introduced in the Baltic area. The relations between the Balts and the Uralians must have been very intense and perhaps coincided with the evolution of the Balto-Slavs among eastern Slavs. Already features observable from Mesolithic (according to the opposing Baltic cultures near the Nemunas – the Estonian Kunda culture), continue in the Neolithic (the Nemunas culture – the Uralic Narva culture) and others (the coastal culture – the Ceramic Ware and Comb Culture).

1.5.3.2. The original Baltic area. Initially Alinei (2000, p. 263-270) argues against several archaeological-cultural issues (sun symbolism, hill fortresses, large iron scythes, etc.) of Gimbutas (1963ab, 1965). Later he solves (rather unexpectedly and in an ideological way) the hypothesis of a prehistoric Baltic area, reconstructable on the basis of the expansion of hydronyms, considering (p. 270) a predetermined view of the myth of the *Blitzkrieg* and of "Baltic nationalism" (*sic*). Alinei (2000, p. 271-272) claims that the Balts reached the coast of the Baltic Sea only after glaciation (a site where in the previous era the Baltic Sea itself did not exist), that is in the Mesolithic, which is why:

> *l'area autoctona dei Balti sarebbe [stata] quindi un'area più limitata di quella toponomastica massimale, e corrisponderebbe a quella della cultura meso- e neolitica del Nemunas, l'unica che per assenza di stratificazione sociale e di tendenze espansive potrebbe riflettere ancora da vicino la realtà etnolinguistica baltica.*

> [the autochthonous area of the Balts would have thus been an area more limited than that of maximum toponomastics, and would correspond to that of the Mesolithic and Neolithic cultures of the Nemunas, unique for the absence of social stratification and of expansion tendencies which could still reflect the nearby Baltic ethnolinguistic reality.]

The area which more or less corresponds to the present western Latvia would produce the "Balticization" until the Neolithic period, but the eastern part would remain subject to the influence of the Narva culture at least until the Bronze Age. Traces of this influence remained in the linguistic system of Latvian and in the very presence (until recently) of Livonian in Latvia.

To sum up, according to Alinei, the original Baltic area would have largely corresponded to the western half of what was postulated by Gimbutas; the eastern half, on the other hand, would have been an area of subsequent expansion (colonization), where the Balts would have overlapped with other autochthonous populations.

1.5.3.3. The role of the Balts. Beginning at around the end of the 4th millennium (Rimantienė, 1992, p. 126), the Balts would have played an important role in the propagation of the Corded Pottery and Battle-Axe cultures (those cultures which introduced to Europe the values of a warrior ideology, patriarchal and individualist). In even more general terms Alinei

(2000, p. 272) attributes to the Balts, in the eastern European context, an important role comparable to that carried out by the Celts in western Europe:

> *dal punto di vista della tipologia storica, l'espansione baltica sarebbe quindi confrontabile a quella dell'élite celtica nell'Europa del Ferro, dell'élite etrusca in Italia o, per citare un esempio della stessa Gimbutas, dell'élite scitica rispetto ai cosiddetti "Sciti slavi"*

> [from the point of view of historical typology, the Baltic expansion is comparable to that of the élite Celtic expansion in Iron Age Europe, of the élite Etruscan in Italy, or, to cite an example of Gimbutas herself, of the élite Scythian expansion as regards the so-called "Scythian Slavs".]

Following Telegin (1994), Alinei assigns to the Balts a 'prevalent "dominant' influence" in the northwest of the area, and to the Altaians in the northeast and in the south. Ultimately, Alinei (2000, p. 287) actually recognizes the merits of Gimbutas's argument (and so certain earlier opinions are harder to understand):

> *In parte, insomma, sembra che la Gimbutas avesse ragione. Sembra cioè essere esistito un vero 'impero' baltico, che rappresenterebbe un vero e proprio pendant orientale dell'ancora più vasto 'impero' celtico, che dall'estremo occidente europeo si spingerà fino all'Asia. Non solo, ma i Balti est-europei avrebbero condiviso con i Celti centro-europei e con gli Illiri balcanici anche un altro destino: quello di 'consumarsi' nella loro impresa coloniale, finendo assorbiti dalle popolazioni autoctone dominate, e riducendo così quasi a nulla la loro area linguistica.*

> [It appears that Gimbutas is at least partially right. It seems that there did not exist a true Baltic "empire" which represented a genuine and characteristic eastern *pendant* of the even more vast Celtic "empire", which extended from the extreme west of Europe all the way to Asia. Not just this, but the Balts of eastern Europe shared with the central European Celts and the Balkan Illyrians still another destiny: that of being worn out in their colonial undertakings, finally being absorbed by the dominant autochthonous populations, thereby reducing their linguistic territory to almost nothing.]

The archaeological documentation confirms this reconstruction on the basis of the data provided in this vast territory of later cultures (Dnepr-

Desna, Volga–Oka, Fat'janovo, Volosovo, Balanovo). An eastern Baltic variant of the Corded Pottery culture and the Battle–Axe culture (variously called Shipform Axe or Shore or Rzucewo) is set in the 3rd millennium B.C. (Rimantienė 1992, p. 127-129). Animal husbandry and agriculture also begin to appear at this time.

The Bronze Age period in the Baltics represents the development of the Corded Pottery culture, which develops primarily in the coastal area, is influenced by the metallurgical cultures of central Europe and is based on the export of amber, which serves as barter to acquire bronze. The production of bronze on site is considered to take place only later. The border with the Urals maintains its importance (Alinei 2000, p. 291-292).

At the beginning of the modern era, the so-called Baltic "Golden Age" (2nd-5th centuries A.D.) takes place with an expansion second only to that of Rome. From the perspective of Continuity Theory it is preferable to distinguish between an autochthonous center and a previous zone of influence of a Slavic language. Coins and products of Roman significance are concentrated in the Baltic coastal area (Puzinas 1976), where dominant autochthonous social classes were likely found.

From the perspective of Continuity Theory the Slavic expansion, which traditionally begins from the 5th-6th century, and is considered the principal cause of the shrinking of the ancient Baltic area, did not take place. The determining factor for the increasing demographics of the Slavs was instead the success of the Neolithic southern Slavs, who had partially integrated with the ethnic Balts even where they were autochthonous (regions of present-day Poland and Belarus).

1.5.3.4. Linguistic observations. The data presented are in agreement – according to Alinei – with the data regarding the expansion of Baltic hydronyms and with the presence of Baltic borrowings in the Uralic languages. In addition, the diffusion of polytonality in the peribaltic area, understood geographically, is attributable to the Baltic languages. However, Alinei (2000, pp. 295-297) considers it the principal feature of the Baltic *Sprachbund*,[104] and in conclusion states that:

[104] At this point Alinei states that up to now there has been a paucity of treatment of the problem of the Baltic *Sprachbund*, but this is not quite correct, cf. Stolz (1991); Nilsson (1997). Likewise, Alinei states that a discussion of it is lacking in Dini (1997c) and this is equally imprecise, cf. Dini (1997c, p. 400-403). The difference is rather the following: while Alinei places the *Sprachbund* in the more remote past, the scholars cited project it in the future; the same direction is also found in *CBL*. For another hypothesis about a *Sprachbund* existing around the Baltic between 800 and 1100 A. D., cf. Ureland (1979); during the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, cf. Bednarczuk (1994, 1997).

fra le culture preistoriche dell'area baltica... vi è un solo complesso cul-
turale la cui influenza e diffusione in tutta l'area del mar Baltico potrebbe
aver causato la diffusione di un tratto linguistico baltico: quello delle cul-
ture delle Asce naviformi... l'unico rispetto al quale la cultura lituana che
lo rappresenta, quella del Litorale, del III e del II millennio, è l'unica che
presenti aspetti di autoctonia e di dominio economico e culturale (espor-
tazione dell'ambra, influenza che continua anche nell'età del Ferro)...

la politonia della "lega linguistica baltica" è un fenomeno attribuibile
all'influenza della cultura lituana del Litorale, responsabile della diffu-
sione delle culture delle Asce naviformi su tutta la costa del mar Baltico.

[among the prehistoric cultures of the Baltic area... there is a single
cultural group, whose influence and diffusion in the whole area of the
Baltic Sea could have caused the diffusion of a Baltic linguistic char-
acter: namely, that of the Shipform Axe culture... the only respect in
which the Lithuanian culture represents it, is that of the Coastal cul-
ture of the 3rd and 2nd millennia (B.C.), and the only respect which
shows aspects of autochthonous culture and of economic and cultural
sovereignty (the export of amber, an influence which continues even
in the Iron Age)...

the polytonality of the "Baltic linguistic union" is a phenomenon
attributable to the influence of the Lithuanian Coastal culture, re-
sponsible for the diffusion of the Shipform Axe culture along the
entire coast of the Baltic Sea.]

Alinei (2000, pp. 297-298) also underlines that polytonality is character-
istic not only of the languages of the Baltic Sea area, but also of those
languages of the Balkans, and he attributes great importance to this Balto-
Balkan isogloss. In following this thought it is appropriate to remember all
the other elements of similarity between the two zones [see 3.3.1.], which the
evidence augments [see 7.4.3.4.].

In conclusion, several reflections are worthwhile. From the per-
spective of Continuity Theory Alinei's opinions can never be considered
trivial. One thing is certain: they certainly do not lack either interest or
originality in attempting to connect the specific facts of the Baltic area to a
generalized conception of the prehistory of northern Europe.

Leaving aside the questions of detail (with which one does not always
agree) it cannot be ignored that Alinei – considering the obvious impos-

sibility of covering the immense literature – has chosen as his principal target Gimbutas's most noted (but also most vulnerable) thesis. In fact, one needs to point out that regarding the archaeological research done by Baltic scholars,[105] Alinei's study is based solely on the unique work of Gimbutas (1963ab, 1965) and in small measure that of Rimantienė (1992). This narrow horizon obviously limits the remarks of Alinei himself. Therefore it will not be surprising (or disappointing) that he (using Meskell 1995 as a guide) attacks (with a vehemence worthy of a better cause) the theories of the Lithuanian-American archaeologist Marija Gimbutas **[see 1.2.2.]**, which he labels as "Baltocentric" and "nationalistic" (but he then goes on to conclude his own Baltic chapter by acknowledging his agreement with many of the attainments of the aforementioned scholar...). At present this approach to the problem allows little room for discussion. I will, therefore, limit myself to observing that it is not appropriate to blend a hypothesis based on the study of prehistoric Baltic hydronyms with their uses made in an archaeological sphere. As has been noted, the study of prehistoric Baltic hydronyms began much earlier than Gimbutas's work and has continued until today **[see 1.2.2.-3.]**, and so it does not seem to me methodologically defensible to interpret the whole of the results through the prism of the archaeological literature (or to base the findings on the opinions of a single archaeologist). One cannot escape the impression that one of the prerequisites of Continuity Theory is the necessity to always combine archaeological and linguistic data, thus revealing the difficulty in all its intrinsic complexity. Similarly, regarding the original Baltic expansion one can only lament that Alinei did not confront it more deeply, either the theories expressed (even in the 1960s and 1970s) by Toporov, Schmid, Mažiulis and others, regarding the type of Baltic settlement toward the east (the so-called Baltic of the Dnepr region **[see 1.4.4.2.]**), or the concept of *baltoide* regarding prehistoric Baltic and Slav linguistics (Toporov 1958ab, 1959). This being the case, perhaps one could formulate the theses in a different way **[see 3.1.4.3.]**.

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[105] For example, the journal "Archaeologia Baltica", which has been published since 1995 (in 5 issues so far), is very important for the archaeology of the Baltic region. On the Aesti, cf. Jovaiša (2012).

THE MAIN FEATURES OF BALTIC LINGUISTIC UNITY

In spite of objections to the hypothesis of the existence (or non–existence) of Proto–Baltic [see 1.4.], a vast scientific literature on various aspects of the grammar of the protolanguage of the Balts has arisen. I will attempt, along with traditional theses, well represented by the comparative grammar by Stang (*VGBS*) and the historical grammars by Endzelīns (1948), Kazlauskas (1968), Mažiulis (1970) and Zinkevičius (*LKIG*), to offer new, or at least non–traditional, viewpoints, which have appeared in Baltic studies following the publication of those seminal works.

2.1. PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

If the reconstruction of the phonological system of Proto–Baltic is highly speculative, the discussion regarding vocalism [see 2.1.1.] has been especially lively, while less so regarding consonantism [see 2.1.2.].

It must be noted, moreover, that prosodic aspects often interact with other phonological aspects prosodic aspects [see 2.1.3.] and that it is possible, at least for certain phonological changes, to formulate a hypothesis concerning relative chronology [see 2.1.4.].

2.1.1. Vocalism

The traditional diagram of vocalic correspondences[106] is illustrated in Table 1:

Late IE	Proto–Baltic	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.
*o, *a	*a	a	a	a
*e	*e	e	e	e
*i	*i	i	i	i

[106] Several non–traditional hypotheses regarding IE vocalism, which can only be mentioned briefly here, are interesting for Baltic vocalism, e.g. the hypothesis proposing the non–existence of */ă/, cf. Beekes (1995, p. 138–139), and also the hypothesis that supposes the absence of */ŏ/ in IE short vocalism (cf. Villar 1993). Cf. Ballester (2007).

Late IE	Proto-Baltic	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.
*u	*u	u	u	u
*ā	*ā	ō, ā (> ū)	o	ā
*ē	*ē	ē (> ī)	ė	ē
*ī	*ī	ī (> ei)	y	ī
*ū	*ū	ū (> ou)	ū	ū
*ō	*ō	(?ō)	uo	uo <o>
(*H	*a	a	a	a)

Table 1

The following specific developments are observed:

> Baltic *a < IE *a, *o, *H
>
> OPr. *assis*, Lith. *ašìs*, Latv. *ass* 'axis' ~ Latin *axis*, OGr. ἄξων, OInd., *ákṣa-* id.; OPr. *ackis*, Lith. *akìs*, Latv. *acs* 'eye' ~ OCS *oko* id., Latin *oculus*, OGr. ὄσσε 'eyes'; for the development of IE *H [see 2.1.1.1., 2.1.2.5.].
>
> Baltic *e < IE *e
>
> OPr. *meddo*, Lith. *medùs*, Latv. *medus* 'honey' ~ OCS *medъ*, OGr. μέθυ 'intoxicating drink', OInd. *mádhu-*, OIr. *mid* id.
>
> Baltic *i < IE *i
>
> Lith. *lìkti* 'to remain, to stay', Latv. *likt* 'to put, to place' ~ Latin *re-lictus* 'left behind', OGr. ἔλιπον 'I left', OInd. *riktá-* 'empty'.
>
> Baltic *u < IE *u
>
> OPr. *sunis*, Lith. *šuõ* (gen. sing. *šuñs*), Latv. *suns* 'dog' ~ OGr. κύων κυνός, OInd. *śvā́ śúnaḥ*, OIr. *con* id.

Long vocalism corresponds to that of IE; compared to Slavic and Germanic the preservation of the distinction *ō ~ *ā (> Lith. *uo* ~ *ō*, Latv. *uo* <o> ~ *ā*) is an archaic feature of Baltic. I offer the following examples:

> Baltic *ā < IE *ā
>
> OPr. *brote/brāti* 'brother', Lith. *brólis* id., Latv. *brālis* id. ~ Latin *frāter*, OInd. *bhrā́tṛ-*, Goth. *broþar* id., OGr. φρᾱ́τηρ 'a member of a fraternity'.
>
> Baltic *ē < IE *ē
>
> OPr. *semen* 'seed', Lith. *sė́ti* 'to sow', Latv. *sēt* id. ~ Latin *sēmen* 'seed', *sēvī* 'I sowed', OCS *sěti* 'to sow'.

Baltic *$\bar{\imath}$ < IE *$\bar{\imath}$

   OPr. *gīwans*, Lith. *gývas*, Latv. *dzīvs* 'alive' ∼ Latin *vīvus* id., OInd. *jīvá-* id., OCS *živъ* id.

Baltic *$\bar{u}$ < IE *$\bar{u}$

   OPr. *būton boūt*, Lith. *búti*, Latv. *būt* 'to be' ∼ Latin *fuī* 'I was', OGr. φύομαι 'I grow, I am born', OInd. *bhūtí-* 'existence, prosperity', OCS *byti* 'to be'.

Baltic *$\bar{o}$ < IE *$\bar{o}$

   OPr. *dāt/dātwei*, Lith. *dúoti*, Latv. *dot* 'to give' ∼ Latin *dō,* OGr. δίδωμι, OCS *dati* id.

2.1.1.1. Traditional hypothesis. A triangular vocalic system, accepted by many scholars, is traditionally reconstructed for Proto-Baltic:

$\breve{\imath}$	$\breve{u}$		$\bar{\imath}$	$\bar{u}$
	$\breve{e}$		$\bar{e}$	$\bar{o}$
	$\breve{a}$		$\bar{a}$	

Compared to the system ascribed to IE it changes in only two respects:

a) the merging of the short vowels *$\breve{o}$ and *$\breve{a}$ into a sound $\breve{a}$, which violates the symmetry of the two subsystems;

b) the evolution of *H, the Baltic reflex of which is *a* in the initial syllable (Lith. *stataũ* 'I put, place' ∼ Latin *status* 'state, position', OGr. στατός 'stationary', OInd. *sthitá-* 'position' and Ø in the internal syllable (OPr. *duckti*, Lith. *duktễ* 'daughter', as distinct from OGr. θυγάτηρ, OInd. *duhitŕ̥-* id., which preserve the internal vowel).

Regarding the first point, *a*) the Baltisms from Finnic represent a subject for further discussion: in fact, in several of these Baltic *a* is rendered, as expected, by *a* (cf. Finn. *vako*, Eston. *vago*, cf. Lith. *vagà* 'furrow'); in another group Baltic *a* is instead rendered by *o* (e.g. Finn. *morsian*, cf. Lith. *martì* 'fiancée, bride', Finn. *oinas*, cf. Lith. *ãvinas* 'ram', etc.). The duality of development in the latter cases creates a problem; it is explained as the result of either a distinct chronological stage of borrowing[107] or a dialec-

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[107] At least initially in the IE root syllable *o, *a > Baltic *o, and only subsequently *o > *a, cf. Jacobsohn (1922, p. 74). Steinitz (1965) hypothesizes that *o* is older and *a* more recent, proven by the fact that in older borrowings (those with *o*) there is still no distinction in Finnic, as happens later, between the Baltic voiceless and voiced consonants, they are rendered in Finnic without distinction by a single consonant; subsequently (when *a* occurs) the Baltic voiceless stops were rendered by a double consonant (*pp*, *tt*, *kk*) and the voiced stops by a single consonant.

tal phonetic differentiation,[108] but a third possibility cannot be excluded, namely, that *o, *a were still distinct even in the Baltic language which is the source of the borrowing.[109] Regarding non-traditional concerning the second point, *b*) these are related to the laryngeal theory applied to Baltic studies **[see 2.1.2.5.]**.

2.1.1.2. Non-traditional hypotheses. There are two schools of thought which differ from the traditional theses regarding Baltic vocalism above: *a*) one formulated in the 1960s and 1970s among Lithuanian (Kazlauskas, Mažiulis, Girdenis) and Latvian Baltists (Breidaks); *b*) another proposed in the mid-seventies in the United States in a work by Levin.

2.1.1.2.1. The Lithuanian school or the hole in the pattern. Kazlauskas (1962) begins with the phonological study of the Old Prussian dialect of Pomesania **[see 6.]** and from the systems of vocalism of certain Lithuanian dialects, as well as from particular vocalic development of ancient Baltic borrowings in Finnic (cf. Finn. *luoma*, cf. Lith. *lomà*, Latv. *lāma* 'hollow, cavity'; Finn. *lohi*, cf. Lith. *lašišà*, Latv. *lasis* 'salmon'; Finn. *hako*, cf. Lith. *šakà*, Latv. *saka* 'branch', etc.)[110] and arrives at a reformulation of the entire Proto-Baltic system. For the older phase he postulates two vocalic phonemes: $*\bar{o}_1$ (< IE $*\bar{o}$), more closed and labialized compared to $*\bar{o}_2$ (< IE $*\bar{a}$), an open and weakly labialized sound; as a result of the change of $*\bar{o}_1$ into the diphthong *uo*, $*\bar{o}_2$ also changed into the sound [ĕ̊].[111] Thus common Baltic vocalism before the split into different dialects, according to Kazlauskas, is as follows:

Short vowel		Long vowel		
ĭ	ŭ	ī	ū	
			$\bar{o}_1$	(< IE $*\bar{o}$)
ĕ	ă	ē	$\bar{o}_2$	(< IE $*\bar{a}$)

---

[108] Before a syllable beginning with a front vowel IE *a > Baltic dialect *o, cf. Nieminen (1957); Smoczyński (1988b, p. 829).

[109] Regarding the strength of phonetic considerations, the position of Ugro-Finnic scholars is doubtful regarding this eventuality, cf. Minissi (1970). Also interesting in this regard are the observations contained in Kiparsky (1948, 1952), according to which Slavo-Finnic relations preceded Slavo-Lithuanian relations.

[110] One notes that some of the Ugro-Finnic scholars doubt the significance of the Baltic borrowings in (Balto-) Finnic and prefer to support the traditional hypotheses, cf. Uotila (1982-1983) in the review of Mažiulis (1970). Koivulehto (2000) considers that there are at least two reflexes of the Proto-Baltic *ā in (Balto-) Finnic: *ō and *ă.

[111] This supports the view already expressed in Endzelīns (1933), whereby in Proto-Baltic there was an open ō or ā (< IE *ā) beside closed ō (< IE *ō).

From this system in East Baltic (Lithuanian-Latvian), a further type emerged wherein the hole in the pattern of long vocalisms was filled with $*\bar{e}_1$ ($< *ei$), which correlates with $*\bar{o}_1$. Mažiulis's (1963; 1970, p. 11–40) hypothesis is similar to that of Kazlauskas. Mažiulis reconstructs three stages of chronological development for Baltic vocalism (I. Proto-Baltic, II. Old Baltic, III. Late Baltic), each of which is characterized by a dual pattern, depending on the tonic or atonic position and on the instability of the system due to the presence of holes in the pattern which determine its further development.[8]

The entire process hypothesized by Mažiulis (1970, p. 18) can be represented in the following manner. The first Proto–Baltic system is schematized below:

+ Accent				− Accent			
$\breve{u}$	$\breve{\imath}$	$\bar{u}$	$\bar{\imath}$	$\breve{u}$	$\breve{\imath}$	$\bar{u}$	$\bar{\imath}$
		$\bar{\varrho}$	$\bar{\underset{.}{e}}$			$\bar{o}$	$\bar{e}$
$\breve{o}$	$\breve{e}$	$\bar{o}$		$\breve{a}$	$\breve{e}$	$\bar{a}$	

The complementary distribution of the older system was lost and the system of the unstressed vowels was generalized. For the following stage Mažiulis reconstructs (II) an ancient Baltic vowel system, which reflects the previous situation, but includes the establishment of a new correlation $*\bar{\varepsilon} \sim *\bar{\jmath}$; finally (III) a late Baltic vowel system, closer to the historic period:

(II)					(III)			
Ancient Baltic System				$>$	Late Baltic System			
$\breve{u}$	$\breve{\imath}$	$\bar{u}$	$\bar{\imath}$		$\breve{u}$	$\breve{\imath}$	$\bar{u}$	$\bar{\imath}$
		$\bar{\varrho}$	$\bar{e}$				$\bar{\varrho}$	
$\breve{o}$	$\breve{e}$	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{e}$		$\breve{o}$	$\breve{e}$	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{e}$

Like the preceding systems, this is also in unstable equilibrium, created by the presence of holes in the pattern ("empty slots") resulting from the internal development of the system. Thus it is established that "the evolution of IE $*\bar{a}$ toward the vowel $\bar{o}$ is a phenomenon of ancient Baltic and not exclusively Lithuanian". For Mažiulis Lith. $\bar{o}$, Latv. $\bar{a}$ did not derive from $*\bar{a}$ alone, but in certain unstressed positions also from $*\bar{o}$ (cf. Lith. gen. sing. $vi\tilde{l}k$-o, Latv. $vi\grave{l}ka$ ($< *$-$\bar{a}$) 'of the wolf' < [Balto-Slavic?] $*$-$\bar{o}$ < IE [ablative] $*$-$\bar{o}$-d) [see 2.2.1.5.1.].

A further stimulus for discussion on this theme came from Zinkevičius (1972a, p. 12-13), who, from the traditional point of view, disputed the

hypothesis of Kazlauskas-Mažiulis. Since the Baltic borrowings are found as frequently in the Balto-Finnic group as in the Volga group, according to Zinkevičius, they are an indication of prolonged contact between Baltic and Finnic tribes in these areas. Here the IE phonetic change *ā* > Baltic *ō* took place, which is considered characteristic for the dialects of Baltic tribes drawn into these contacts, but not so important. To explain this problematic result of *o*, *uo* (instead of the expected *a*, *ā*) in certain Baltisms in Finnic, Zinkevičius assumes a Baltic dialect heretofore unidentified, which could be characterized as the source of borrowings in Finnic.

Kallio (2008) returns to the problem of the early Baltic loanwords in Finnic. He also concludes his analysis observing that the consonant system reconstructed on the base of the loanwords corresponds to the Proto-Baltic stage; the vowel system, however, calls to mind a west Baltic one. Therefore Kallio recalls Nieminen's (1957) hypothesis according to which the source language of the loanwords was Old Curonian (although he prefers to speak of "North Baltic").

In a review of the volume containing the cited work of Zinkevičius, Girdenis (1977, p. 300-303) objects to the attempt to bring the problem back to the narrow channel of traditional interpretation. On the contrary, in support of the hypothesis of Kazlauskas-Mažiulis, Girdenis contributes useful observations based on dialectological and typological data; he sees the limitation of such a hypothesis in that it "too narrowly and concretely defined the phonetic features of $*ɔ$, $*ɔ̄$ (or $*ō_1$, $*ō_2$), since the articulation of low and flat sounds can be not only labial but also pharyngeal"; he considers that precisely such sounds (of the type [a:], cf. English *are*, *car*) were the principle allophones of Baltic $*a$ and $*ā$. On the question of vocalic developments in the Baltisms of Finnic languages (both Balto-Finnic and Volga [see 3.2.].

Breidaks (1975, 1980, 1983, 1988) discussed old and new arguments supporting the hypotheses of Kazlauskas-Mažiulis. According to the Latvian scholar the oldest Baltisms in Finnic "can be considered material of great value for the study of the history of Baltic vocalism precisely because they provide specific and incontrovertible evidence of the pronunciation of the common Baltic reflexes of the IE $*o$, $*a$, $*ā$ at the end of the third millenium B.C." and confirm the presence of $*o$, $*ō$, $*ọ̄$ in the vocalism of northern Baltic dialects, from which such borrowings entered into Finnic. Moreover, Breidaks (1988, pp, 38-40), in polemics with Zinkevičius (1972a, p. 8), who proposed that there is no evidence in Latvian to confirm

the hypothesis of Kazlauskas-Mažiulis, emphasizes that just as with the history and onomastics of Latvian, the Selonian and Curonian toponyms [see 5.2. and 5.5.] also show that in this territory "the area of the vowel *ō* in the past was wider and that it continually narrowed" (in his opinion *ō* is an archaism in Latvian, and *ā* in the central Latvian dialect derives from open *ō*) and consequently allows for the supposition of the IE development *ā* > Baltic *ō*.

Thus, taken as a whole, the discussion regarding Proto-Baltic vocalism from the non-traditional point of view of the Lithuanian school shows that not only from traditional theses, but also from this direction of research a picture arises, capable of substantiating a structural development of the system. On the other hand, a weak point is the impossibility of convincingly explaining the development of vocalic variants of the ancient Baltisms in Finnic, if one completely leaves out of consideration the possible IE development *ā* > Baltic *ō*.

To summarize, one can say that at the center of the system of Baltic vocalism in its diachronic development one finds a merging of IE *ă*, *o* > Baltic *ă*; the instability created by this in the asymetrical triangular system (I) determined the transition to a quadrangular symmetrical system (II) in which the pair *ě* ~ *ă* had a strict internal correlation and was strengthened by apophony. It is supposed that as a result of a partial merging of the variants of IE *ō* (> Baltic *ō*), in fixed conditions with IE *ā* (> Baltic *ō*) a similar process took place for long vocalism as well, which changed from an initial system (Ia), having found its internal equilibrium, into the succeeding system (IIa), coinciding with the system being reconstructed on the basis of Baltisms in Finnic. The following is an attempt at a diagram:

Short (Proto-)Baltic				Long (Proto-)Baltic				
(I)	→	(II)		(Ia)	→		(IIa)	
ĭ	ŭ	ĭ	ŭ	ī	ū		ī	ū
ě				ō	(ei >)	ẹ̄	ō	
ă		ě	ă	ē	ā		ẹ̄	ā

The working hypothesis, by now known as the Kazlauskas-Mažiulis theory, and enriched by the critical remarks of Zinkevičius and the contributions of Girdenis and Breidaks, offers a quadrangular system, which existed at the moment of the split of the Proto-Baltic language; it serves as a point of departure which can provide an adequate representation of the phonetic

changes which led to the rise of the vocalic systems of Lithuanian and Latvian, as well as of the specific character of their dialects.

In fact, continuing the line of reasoning put foward here, one can suppose a system (IIIa) for East Baltic, still preserved today in Latvian (with East Baltic *$\bar{e}$, *$\bar{o}$ > Latv. *ie*, *uo*), and a system (IVa) for Lithuanian.

(IIIa) East Baltic (→ Latvian)

$\breve{\imath}$	$\breve{u}$		$\bar{\imath}$		$\bar{u}$
[ε	$\mathrm{\jmath}$]	($\bar{e}$ >)	*ie*	($\bar{o}$ >)	*uo*
$\breve{e}$	$\breve{a}$		$\bar{e}$		$\bar{a}$

(IIIa) East Baltic (→ Lithuanian)

$\breve{\imath}$	$\breve{u}$		$\bar{\imath}$		$\bar{u}$
[ε	$\mathrm{\jmath}$]	($\bar{e}$ >)	*ie*	($\bar{o}$ >)	*uo*
$\breve{e}$	$\breve{a}$		$\bar{e}$		$\bar{o}$
			$\bar{\varepsilon}$		$\bar{a}$

One observes a lack of symmetry between the systems of short and long vowels of Lithuanian: the long vowels system has variable phonemes /ie:/ and /uo:/ which are absent in the short vowels system. Moreover, both in Lith. and in Latv. the short mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are marginal and attested only in words of foreign origin beginning in the 16th century [see 4.1.2.1. and 7.4.1.2.].

2.1.1.2.2. The American school. Levin (1975) adopts the method of dynamic linguistics and applies a typology of linguistic change based on Labov's principles of ongoing sound change previously applied only to English and now applied to the Baltic languages for the first time.[112] The point of departure is the empirical study of contemporary linguistic communities, of the sub-systems of their vocalism, evaluated in relation to the age, gender, and social class of the speakers; the result is an original sketch of the development of vocalic systems in various Baltic dialects. Operating on the basis of principles of chain-shifts of the vowels identified by Labov, for whom *i*) tense vowels have a tendency to rise and *ii*) lax vowels tend to fall, Levin thinks that the Lithuanian diphthongs *ie*, *uo* developed from long monophthongs (*$\bar{e}$, *$\bar{o}$).

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[112] The fundamental idea is that "Reconstruction of earlier stages of a living language must proceed from a clear understanding of the dynamic models of the contemporary language, including its various social and territorial dialects. It is these dynamic models which can be projected back in time to earlier stages, guided by our knowledge of actual dynamic processes" (Levin 1975, p. 146).

Such a development, leading back to the first principle, must have occurred in the historical period; therefore there is no need to suppose the existence of a previous East Baltic, common for Lithuanian and Latvian diphthongs, which is considered rather a typological feature of northeast Europe. Analyzing the above-mentioned thesis of Zinkevičius, Levin also supports the developments: Baltic *$\bar{a}$ < IE *$\bar{a}$, Baltic *$\bar{\varepsilon}$ < IE *$\bar{e}$, and applying the dynamic approach, proposes a system of vocalism (which he calls proto-Lithuanian or common East Baltic), substantially different from that proposed by the Lithuanian school [see *infra*], and which also serves as a point of departure for a description of chain-shifts which took place in the vocalism of the two principal types of Lithuanian dialect (High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian [see 7.2.1.]):

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \breve{\iota} & & \breve{u} \\ \bar{e} & & \bar{o} \\ e & & \breve{a} \\ & \bar{\varepsilon} \quad \bar{a} & \end{array}$$

To clarify the transition from a triangle formed from five vowels (short and long) attributed to late IE to the situation represented above, Levin (1975, p. 155) introduces two new principles: *iii*) the non-high vowels tend to fall, *iv*) the diphthongs tend to monophthongize.

These principles regulate the so-called models of merger chain pattern. Such a formulation of the problem permits us to view the development of the system of Proto-Baltic vocalism in the phase immediately preceding the bifurcation as an example of one of the models of fusion:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \breve{\iota} & & \breve{u} \\ \bar{e} \; \breve{e} & & \breve{o} \; \bar{o} \\ & \searrow \breve{a} \; \bar{a} \swarrow & \end{array}$$

In accordance with the changes proposed by Levin, this in essence means that *i*) *o falls and merges with *$\breve{a}$; *ii*) *$\bar{o}$ falls and merges perhaps with *$\bar{a}$ in the unstressed position; *iii*) *$\bar{e}$ and *$\breve{e}$ fall and begin to correlate with *$\bar{a}$ and *$\breve{a}$.

The difference between East Baltic and West Baltic demonstrates another result of the action of the principles mentioned above. In East Baltic the fall of *$\bar{o}$ toward *$\bar{a}$ was not completed thanks to the monophthongization of *$\bar{e}_2$ < *ei (?*ai) which intervened to fill the hole in the pattern left

by the fall of $*\bar{e}$ toward $*\bar{\varepsilon}$; in West Baltic, on the contrary, the fall of $*\bar{o}$ toward $*\bar{a}$ led to a complete loss of contrast:

```
East Baltic          West Baltic
ĭ              ŭ      \ĭ        ŭ/
  ē₂       ō          \       /
    ĕ    ă             \ε̆  ă̄ /
      ε̄  ā
```
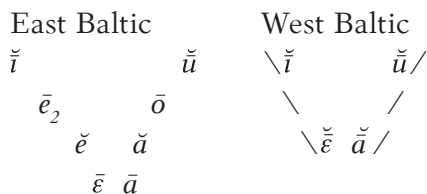
The approach adopted by Levin is doubtless innovative for this area and interesting; however, it is difficult from this perspective to follow the development of individual IE (or Proto-Lithuanian) sounds during various phases.

Schmalstieg (2005) returns to the problem. He considers the vocalic system proposed by Levin and Mažiulis to be valid only for East Baltic (not for Proto-Baltic as Mažiulis proposed). According to Schmalstieg East Baltic stressed $*\bar{o}$ (< IE $*\bar{o}$) always had a front counterpart: at an earlier time $*\bar{e}_1$ (< IE $*\bar{e}$) and later $*\bar{e}_2$ (< Proto-Baltic $*ei$, $*ai$); the introduction of the new phoneme $*\bar{e}_2$ in the vocalic system caused the lowering of $*\bar{e}_1$ and was possibly accompanied by the simultaneous merger of $*\breve{o}$ with $*\breve{a}$ and unstressed $*\bar{o}$ with $*\bar{a}$.

2.1.1.3. Diphthongs. In accordance with reconstructions, for example Stang (*VGBS*) and Zinkevičius (1984, p. 189), the following diphthongs are traditionally attributed to Proto-Baltic:

short: *ei, eu, ai, au*
long: *ēi, ēu, āi, āu, ōi, ōu*
mixed: *e, a, i, u + r, l, m, n* in tauto-syllabic combinations.

Schmalstieg (1993, p. 487), on the contrary, prefers to analyze these as sequences of vowels (short or long) plus semivowels or sonants. The particular variants of development of the short diphthongs in the individual languages are illustrated in Table 2:

IE	Proto-Baltic	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.
ei	*ei (*ai)*	*ei*	*ie/ei, ai*	*ie/ei, ai*
*oi, *ai*	*ai*	*ai*	*ai/ei/ie*	*ai/ei/ie*
*ou, *au*	*au*	*au*	*au*	*au*
eu	*au/*'au*	*au/eu*	*au/jau*	*au/(j)au*

Table 2

It should be noted that Baltic *ai (< *ăi, *ŏi) and *ei were preserved in Prussian, but underwent a different development in Lithuanian and Latvian; cf. Baltic *ai > OPr. *ains* 'one', cf. OGr. οἰνή 'one (on dice)', Latin *ūnus* (< *oinos) compared with Lith. *víenas*, Latv. *viens*; regarding the double development of IE *ei > East Baltic *ei/ie [see 1.4.2.].

Regarding the long diphthongs, it is generally thought that in a rather ancient period certain important changes had already taken place: the long element was shortened and the ancient long and short diphthongs merged;[113] moreover, *ēu, *ōu, *āu passed to Baltic *(i̯)au, for example, OPr. *et-baudints* 'awakened', Lith. *báudina* 'he excites' ~ OInd. *bodháyati* (< *bhōudh-) 'he wakes'; Lith. *bjaurùs* 'ugly', Latv. *bḷaurs* 'bad' (< *bēur-).

Finally, the particular developmental variants of the mixed diphthongs are illustrated in Table 3.

Proto-Baltic	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.
*an	an	an, ą	uo
*en	en	en, ę	ie
*in	in	in, į	ī
*un	un	un, ų	ū
*am	am	am	am
*em	em	em	em
*im	im	im	im
*um	um	um	ū

Table 3

2.1.1.4. Syllabic resonants. The IE syllabic resonants developed in Baltic as follows: IE *R̥ > Baltic *iR/*uR, i.e. with the development of the supporting vowels *i* and *u* (as also happens in Slavic); the second variant of development (the so-called hard) is found more sporadically and irregularly. The following examples illustrate this:

IE *r̥ > Baltic *ir ~ *ur
   Lith. *mir̃ti* 'to die', Latv. *mirt* id. ~ OCS *sъmьrtь* 'death', OInd. *mr̥tá-* 'dead', Latin *mors* 'death'; OPr. *gurcle* 'throat', Lith. *gurklỹs* '(bird's) crop', Latv. *gurklis* id. ~ ORuss. *gъrlo* id., Latin *gurgulio* id.

IE *l̥ > Baltic *il ~ *ul
   OPr. *wilkis* 'wolf', Lith. *vil̃kas*, Latv. *vilks* id. ~ OInd. *vr̥ka-*, OCS

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113   The long diphthongs are preserved in several inflexional elements (e.g. Lith. loc. sing. *ùpėje* < *upēi̯-én 'in the river', *šakojè* < *šakāi̯-én 'in the branch') [see 2.2.2.5.2. and 2.2.1.5.3.].

vlьkъ, Goth. *wulfs* id.; OPr. *culczi* 'hip', Lith. *kulkš(n)ìs* 'heel', Latv. *kulksnis* id. ~ OCS *klъka,* Bulg. кълка id., Latin *calx* id.

IE **m̥* > Baltic **im* ~ **um*

    OPr. *gimsenin* 'birth', Lith. *gìmti* 'to be born', Latv. *dzimt* id. ~ OGr. βατός 'accessible', OInd. *gatá-* 'having gone', Goth. *gaqumþs* 'assembly'; OPr. *dumsle* 'bladder', Lith. *dùmti* 'to smoke', Latv. *dumt* id. ~ OCS *dǫti* (< **dumti*) 'to blow', OInd. *dhámati* 'he blows'.

IE **n̥* > Baltic **in* ~ **un*

    Lith. *giñti* (*gẽna*, *gìnė*) 'to chase'; Latv. *dzīt* id. ~ Goth. *gundfano* '(battle) standard'; OPr. *guntwei* 'to hasten; to lead', Lith. *gùndyti* 'to try, to tempt', Latv. *gumdīt* id. ~ OCS *gъnati* 'to chase'.

More precisely, one should distinguish the originally short resonants from the long, since their reflexes in the Baltic languages differ with respect to tone: IE **R̥̆* > Baltic **iR̃* ~ **uR̃*, but IE **R̥̄* > Baltic **íR* ~ **úR*. The prosodic opposition which explains the long or short quantity of the IE resonants is expressed in Lithuanian by the distribution of the tones: the rising tone (the so-called circumflex) is as a rule a reflex of an etymologically short resonant e.g. Lith. *vil̃kas* ~ OInd. *vŕ̥ka-* 'wolf' (< IE **r̥̆*), while that of the falling tone (the so-called acute) from an etymologically long resonant, e.g. OPr. *pilnan*, Lith. *pìlnas*, Latv. *pilns* ~ OCS *plьnъ,* OInd. *pūrná-*, Goth. *fulls* 'full' (< IE **l̥̄*); Lith. *gìmti* 'to be born' ~ OGr. βατός 'accessible', OInd. *gatá-* 'having gone' (< IE **m̥̄*) (Fortunatov 1880).

2.1.1.5. Baltic apophony. Beyond the classical works on Lithuanian (and Baltic) apophony,[114] there have also been some more recent investigations, on Lithuanian (Venckutė 1971, 1981, 1983; Akelaitienė 2000; Kaukienė 2006; Larsson 2006), and on Old Prussian verbs (Kaukienė 2008).

    Traditionally one says that the Baltic languages have largely *a)* preserved the apophony series inherited from IE, and have also *b)* provided a certain productivity in historical times of their own vowel alternations which do not go back to the IE period. The following examples illustrate this:

a) IE **ghʷen-* : **ghʷon-ós* : IE **ghʷn̥-* 'to hunt; to defend',
    E.g.: Lith. *gẽna* 'he hunts' ~ OInd. *hánti* 'he strikes'; Lith. *gãnas* 'pasture' ~ OInd. *ghaná-* 'club'; Lith. *giñti* 'to hunt' ~ OHG *gund-* 'fight'.

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[114] Leskien (1884); Endzelīns (1922b, p. 58-61; 1951); on analogical apophony Skardžius (1935a); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 120-125); Zinkevičius (*LKIG* I, p. 89-96); Karaliūnas (1987, p. 149-215).

b) Balt. **gen-* 'to hunt; to defend' → Lith. *gen-*; *gan-*; *gon-* (< **gān-*); *gin-*; *gyn-* (< **gīn-*); *gun-*; *gain-*; *guin-*.

E.g.: *gẽna* 'he hunts'; *ganýti* 'to pasture', *ganióti* 'to pasture' (intens.); *naktìgonė* 'night pasture'; *giñti* 'to hunt', *gìnti* 'to defend', *gìna* 'he defends'; *gýnė* 'he defended'; *gùndyti* 'to tempt'; *gainióti* 'to hunt' (intens.); *pagùina* 'he chases away'.

The Baltic languages know both lexical (e.g.: *nèšti* 'to carry' ~ *naštà* 'burden') and grammatical (see *infra*) apophony. An important and widely documented investigation on root (inherited) apophony in respect to the grammar categories of the Baltic languages in an IE context has been carried out by Petit (2004a), who establishes a classification of Baltic apophony into four types and based on two perspectives, i.e. one founded on diachronic evolution (with respect to IE) and on synchronic description (presence vs. absence of root apophony in the Baltic languages).

As for the types and categories, one observes the following:

i) without root apophony from IE times and without trace in the Baltic languages; this is the category of person (on this controversial point cf. Schmalstieg 1998c);

ii) with possible (rare) root apophony in IE times but without trace in the Baltic languages; this is the category of number and perhaps of gender;

iii) implying IE root apophony, but having generally lost it, except for scattered traces; this is the category of case;

iv) having kept IE root apophony and developed it in the Baltic languages; this is the categories of mood and tense.

Regarding the structure of the root, one observes that apophony is allowed, for example, in thematic verbs where a *CeRC* root alternates with a *CiRC* root (e.g.: present 3rd p. *pẽrka* 'buy(s)' ~ preterit 3rd p. *pir̃ko* 'bought'); in thematic verbs with root structure *CeRC* a present in *-ia* shows the same root grade in the preterite (e.g.: present 3rd p. *ver̃kia* 'cries, cry' ~ preterit 3rd p. *ver̃kė* 'cried'). In contrast, no apophonic alternation is given in roots of the structure *CiRC* (e.g.: present 3rd p. *dìrba* 'work(s)' ~ preterit 3rd p. *dìrbo* 'worked') or *CeC* (e.g.: present 3rd p. *vẽda* 'lead(s)' ~ preterit 3rd p. *vẽdė* 'led').

According to Petit, grammatical apophony in a Proto-Baltic stage must have been more widespread than it is in the languages historically

attested. So one could explain the difference between Lith. *vanduõ* 'water' and Latv. *ūdens* id. by positing an earlier nom. sing. **vádō(n)*, gen. sing. *ūdnés*. Sometimes similar cases emerge through comparison of languages and periods; thus, one observes OLith. particip present *santį* 'being' in respect to *esmi* 'I am'. Interesting enough, Lithuanian has leveled this difference in later times (e.g. *esantį ~ esù*), but Latvian shows it both in older and present times (e.g. OLatv. *ęsuošs ~ esmu*, and Latv. *esošs ~ esu*).

One should also note two main tendencies, both of restriction, characteristic of Baltic apophony. Firstly, a tendency toward restricting the action of the apophony to some categories only, so it regarded mode, time and case in Old Lithuanian, but just mode and time in modern Lithuanian, and in some dialects only the mode (this is the case in Zietela where the difference between present and preterit in the 3rd pers. no longer exists, and one observes *pir̃ka* 'buy(s)' ~ *pir̃ko* 'bought' instead of *pérka* 'buy(s)' ~ *pir̃ko* 'bought' [see 7.2.1.1.1.]). Secondly, a tendence toward showing a so-called bithematic apophony, i.e. to present (differently from other IE languages) no more than two different grades within the same grammatical category (e.g. present / preterit; Indicative / infinitive). This very peculiar feature of the Baltic grammatical system strongly changed its root apophony (in respect to the other IE languages).

Thus, according to Petit's analysis, Baltic languages have conserved IE apophony within some peculiar morphological and semantic limits, integrated into a system of restrictions and innovations (*un système fait de contraintes et d'innovations*), within which apophony has retained a certain productivity.

2.1.2. Consonantism

The traditional diagram of consonant comparisons is illustrated in Table 4:

Late IE	Proto-Baltic	Prus.	Lith.	Latv.
*p (?*ph)	**p*	*p*	*p*	*p*
*b, *bh	**b*	*b*	*b*	*b*
*t (?*th)	**t*	*t*	*t*	*t*
*d, *dh	**d*	*d*	*d*	*d*
*k (?*kh),*kᵘ (?*kᵘh)	**k*	*k*	*k*	*k, c*
*g (?*gh), *gᵘ (?*gᵘh)	**g*	*g*	*g*	*g, dz*
*s	**s*	*s*	*s*	*s*

Late IE	Proto-Baltic	Prus.	Lith.	Latv.
*ḱ (?kh), *ḱ (?*ḱh)	*š	s	š	s
*ǵ (?gh), *ǵ (?*ǵh)	*ž	z	ž	z
*r	*r	r	r	r
*l	*l	l	l	l
*m	*m	m	m	m
*n	*n	n	n	n
*i̯	*i̯	j	j	j
*u̯	*v (?*u̯)	v	v	v

Table 4

To illustrate this scheme, I offer several canonical comparisons:

Baltic *p < IE *p
OPr. *penckts* 'fifth', Lith. *penkì*, Latv. *pieci* 'five' ~ OGr. πέντε, OInd. *pañca*, Latin *quinque*, Goth. *fimf* id.

Baltic *t < IE *t
Lith. *trỹs*, Latv. *trīs* 'three' ~ Latin *trēs*, OGr. τρεῖς, OInd. *tri-* (nom. *tráyaḥ*) id.

Baltic *k < IE *k ~ *kᵘ
OPr. *crauyo* and *krawia*, Lith. *kraũjas* 'blood' ~ (IE *k) Latin *cruor*, OInd. *kravís-*, OCS *krъvъ* id.; Lith. *liekù* 'I leave', Latv. *lieku* 'I put' ~ (IE *kᵘ) OGr. λείπω, Goth. *leihvan* 'to borrow'.

Baltic *b < IE *b ~ *bh
Lith. *dubùs* 'deep', Latv. *dubt* 'to sink' ~ (IE *b) OCS *dъbrъ* 'abyss', Goth. *diups* 'deep'; OPr. *būton*, Lith. *būti*, Latv. *būt* 'to be' ~ (IE *bh) Latin *fuī* 'I was', OGr. φύομαι 'I grow, I am born', OInd. *bhūtí-* 'existence, prosperity', OCS *byti* 'to be'.

Baltic *d < IE *d ~ *dh
Lith. *dù*, Latv. *divi* 'two' ~ (IE *d) Latin *duo*, OGr. δύο (δύω), OInd. *dvaú*, Goth. *twai*, OCS *dъva* id.; Lith. *dėti* 'to put', Latv. *dēt* id. ~ (IE *dh) OInd. *dádhāti*, OGr. τίθημι, Latin *faciō*.

Baltic *g < IE *g ~ *gh ~ *gᵘ ~ *gᵘh
Lith. *gleĩvės* 'mucus' ~ (IE *g) Russ. глива 'bergamot orange', OGr. γλοιός 'any glutinous substance'; Lith. *miglà* 'fog', Latv. *migla* id. ~ (IE *gh) OCS *mьgla* id., OInd. *meghá-* 'cloud', OGr. ὀμίχλη 'cloud,

steam, mist'; Latv. *gous* 'cow'; Lith. *guõtas* 'herd or clump (of animals or vegetables)' ~ (IE *g^u) OInd. *gó-,* Latin *bōs bovis* 'bull'; OGr. βοῦς id., OIr. *bó* 'cow'; OPr. *gorme* 'heat', Lith. *gãras* 'steam', Latv. *gars* id. ~ (IE *$g\underset{\circ}{u}h$) OCS *gorěti* 'to burn', OInd. *gharmá-* 'heat', OGr. θερμός 'hot', Latin *formus* 'stove', OHG *warm,* 'warm'.

Baltic *s < IE *s

Lith. *sėdéti*, Latv. *sēdēt* 'to sit', OPr. *en-sadints* 'established' ~ Latin *sedēre*, OCS *sěděti* id., Goth. *sitan*, OInd. *sad-* 'seat'.[115]

Baltic *š < IE *$\acute{k}$

OPr. *seyr*, Lith. *širdìs*, Latv. *sirds* 'heart' ~ Latin *cor* id., OGr. καρδία id., Goth. *hairto* id., OCS *srьdьce* id.

Baltic *ž < IE *$\acute{g}$ ~ *$\acute{g}h$

OPr. *er-sinnat*, Lith. *žinóti*, Latv. *zināt* 'to know' ~ (IE *$\acute{g}$) Latin *co-gnosco* 'I know', OGr. γι-γνώσκω id., Goth. *kann* id., OCS *znati* 'to know'; OPr. *semo* 'winter', Lith. *žiemà* id., Latv. *ziema* id. ~ (IE *$\acute{g}h$) Latin *hībernus* 'winter (adj.)', OInd. *himá-* 'winter', OGr. χειμών id., OCS *zima* id.

Baltic *m < IE *m

OPr. *meddo* 'honey', Lith. *medùs* id., Latv. *medus* id. ~ OInd. *mádhu-* id., OCS *medъ* id., OGr. μέθυ 'intoxicating drink'.

Baltic *n < IE *n

OPr. *nozy* 'nose', Lith. *nósis* id., Latv. *nāss* 'nostril' ~ Latin *nāris* id., OInd. *nāsā-* 'nose'.

Baltic *r < IE *r

Lith. *rãtas* 'wheel', Latv. *rats* id. ~ Latin *rota* id., OInd. *rátha-* 'cart', OHG *rad* id.

Baltic *l < IE *l

OPr. *lauxnos* 'constellation', Lith. *laũkas* 'field' (← *'glade'), Latv. *làuks* ~ Latin *lūx*, OGr. λευκός 'white', OInd. *locana-* 'illuminating'.

Baltic *u < IE *u

OPr. *wilkis* 'wolf', Lith. *vil̃kas* id., Latv. *vilks* id. ~ Latin *lupus* id., OInd. *vṛka-* id., Goth. *wulfs* id.

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[115] Some scholars also postulate a Baltic *z < IE *z, cf. Schmalstieg (1993, p. 491); e.g. Lith. *lìzdas* 'nest': Latin *nīdus* id., *nīḍā-* id., OHG *nest* id., a different view in Stang (*VGBS*, p. 89); Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 191). This sound is indeed doubtful and should be considered to be, if anything, an allophone of Baltic *s.

Baltic *i < IE *i

Lith. *júosta* 'strip, band', Latv. *josta* id. ~ OCS *(po)jasъ* 'belt', OGr. ζοστός 'girded'.

2.1.2.1. Innovations. It can be pointed out that at least three principle innovations confer a particular appearance to Baltic consonantism in comparison with that of IE: *a)* the merging of the voiced aspirates with the simple voiced (IE *bh, *dh, *gh > Baltic *b, *d, and *g; *b)* the passage of palatovelars to sibilants IE *$k̑$, *$g̑$ > Baltic *$š$, *$ž$ (> Lith. *š*, *ž*; Latvian-Prussian *s*, *z*); *c)* the loss of post-consonantal *$i̯$ and the subsequent formation of an opposition palatalism vs. non–palatalism, affecting the entire system of consonantism.

Regarding the phonological palatalization of consonants before *$i̯$, that is, the phenomenon described in the final point, according to Kuryłowicz it goes back to the Balto-Slavic period and lies at the source of the division of syllabic sonants into soft (*iR*) and hard (*uR*). The phonologization of the correlation of palatalism in the two groups of languages underwent two phases: first the formation of distinct palatalized consonant phonemes, then their neutralization before front vowels which led to the disappearance of *$i̯$ (the alternation C' + *a*, *o*, *u* ~ C + *a*, *o*, *u* is still preserved in Lithuanian, for example, *žãlias* 'green' ~ *žãlas* 'brown (about animals)'; *maniau* 'I thought' ~ *manau* 'I think').[116]

Various palatalization phenomena are encountered in Proto-Baltic combinations C + *$i̯$ + non-front vowel; conveyed by different graphical systems in individual languages, they most clearly appear in Lithuanian and Latvian, less in Old Prussian:

The labials, Baltic *p, *b + $i̯$ > Lith. *bj*, *pj* [b'j, p'j] and Latv, *bļ*, *pļ* [bʎ, pʎ]. E.g. *$bēur$- > Lith. *bjaurùs* [b'jau¹rus] 'ugly, evil', Latv. *bļaũrs* [¹bʎaurs] id.; in the case of OPr., the pronunciation is not certain; however, compare OPr. *piuclan* 'scythe' ~ Lith. *pjúklas* 'saw', *pjáuti* 'to mow' with [p'j-], Latv. *pļaũt* [pʎ-] 'to cut'.

The dentals, Baltic *t, *d + *$i̯$ > Lith. *č*, *dž* and Latv. *š*, *ž*. E.g. *$vākieti̯$- > Lith. *vókiečiai* 'Germans', Latv. *vācieši* id.; *$briedi̯$- > Lith. *bríedžiai* 'stags', Latv. *brieži* id.

The velars, Baltic *k, *g + *$i̯$ > Lith. *ki*, *gi* [k', g'] and Latv. *c*, *dz* [ts, dz]. E.g. *$tiki̯u$ > Lith. *tikiù* [ti¹k'u] 'I believe', Latv. *ticu* [¹titsu] id.; *$regi̯u$ > Lith. *regiù* [ræ¹g'u] 'I see', Latv. *redzu* [¹rædzu] id.

[116] On the morphological results of palatalization, cf. Bednarczuk (1988).

The sibilants, Baltic *s, *š, *ž + *i̯ > Lith. si, š, ž [s', ʃ', ʒ'] and Latv. š, ž [ʃ, ʒ]. E.g. *si̯ū́tei > Lith. siū́ti [ˈs'uːti] 'to sew', Latv. šūt [ʃuːt] id., an initial [ʃ] is also found in OPr. *schuwikis* 'cobbler', as [s'] in Lith. *siuvìkas* id.; *ši̯- > OPr. *schis* [ʃis] 'this', Lith. *šis* id., Latv. *šis* id.; *eži̯ā gen. sing. > Lith. *ẽžio* 'of the hedgehog' (nom. sing. *ežỹs*), Latv. *eža* id. (nom. sing. *ezis*).

The nasals, lateral and trill, Baltic *n, *l, *r + *i̯ > Lith. ni, li, ri [n', l', r'] and Latv. ņ, ļ, ŗ [ɲ, ʎ, ɽ]. E.g. Lith. gen. sing. *žìrnio* 'of the pea' (nom. sing. *žìrnis*), Latv. *zirņa* id. (nom. sing. *zirnis*) which can be compared with OPr. *trinie* 'he threatens'; Lith. gen. sing. *brólio* 'of the brother' (nom. sing. *brólis*), Latv. *brāļa* id. (nom. sing. *brālis*), which allows comparison with OPr. *kelian* 'spear' or *pickullien* 'hell'; Lith. *ariù*, Latv. *aŗu* 'I plough', which is close to OPr. *garian* 'tree'.

Thus one can hypothesize for Proto-Baltic consonantism the transition from a system (I) in which there is no correlation with regard to palatalism, to a system (II) which, on the contrary, provides for it:

		I				II			
		Lab.	Dent.	Pal.	Vel.	Lab.	Dent.	Pal.	Vel.
Plosive	Voiceless	p	t		k	p p'	t t'		k k'
	Voiced	b	d		g	b b'	d d'		g g'
Fricative	Voiceless		s	š (<*ḱ)			s s'		
	Voiced	υ		ž (<*ǵ[h])		υ υ'	ʒ ʒ'	ʃ ʃ'	
Nasal		m	n			m m'		n n'	
Sonant			r l i̯			u̯		r r' l l' i	

Table 5

A detailed study of the palatalization process (йотация) in Slavic and Baltic has been accomplished by Čekman (1975b), who achieved results quite different to the traditional point of view. According to Čekman, *a*) the palatalization *C + *i + vowel > C'+ vowel* is not possible from a typological point of view; *b*) the evolution of the cluster *C + *i̯* happened in Latvian, Lithuanian and Old Prussian however in different times and conditions; *c*) there are no reasons to treat this phenomenon as a common Balto-Slavic innovation; it should rather be considered as a different realization of an old and areal common tendency.

2.1.2.2. Incomplete or peripheral satemization. Without doubt one of the most debated aspects of Baltic consonantism is its particular satemization. It would be impossible to attempt a detailed description of all the viewpoints which have attempted to reconcile the disagreements which have taken place over the doublets *centum/satəm* found in Baltic (and Slavic[117]); illustrative examples are useful:[118]

> Endo-Baltic doublets:
>
> Lith. *klùbas* ~ *šlùbas* 'lame'; Lith. *gnýbti* ~ *žnýbti* 'to pinch'; Lith. *kleĩvas* ~ *šleĩvas* 'curved (about legs)', cf. Latin *clīvius* 'hill'; Lith. *kumpis* 'ham' ~ *šumpis* 'coccyx'; Lith. *teigiu* 'I affirm' ~ *teikiu* 'I offer', cf. Latin *dīcō* 'I say', OGr. δείκνυμι id., Goth. *taikn* 'sign'; Lith. *akmuõ* 'stone' ~ *ašmuõ* 'sharpened point'; etc.

> Balto-Slavic doublets:
>
> Russ. коры 'feed (for animals)', кормить 'to feed' ~ Lith. *šérti* 'to feed (the animals)', *pãšaras* 'fodder, forage'; OCS *na-lagati* 'to put' ~ OPr. *lasinna* 'he put'; OCS *slušati* 'to listen' ~ Lith. *klausýti* id.; etc.

> Balto(-Slavic) and other IE languages doublets:
>
> Lith. *pẽkus* 'small animals', OPr. *pecku* 'animals, cattle' ~ OInd. *páśu-*, Latin *pecū pecus*, Goth. *faihu*; Lith. *gentìs* 'relatives' ~ OInd. *jāyate* 'he bears', Avestan *zayeite*; Lith. *keřdžius* 'head shepherd', OCS *črěda* 'herd' ~ OInd. *śardha-* 'troop', Avestan *sarəidya-* 'kind of'; Lith. *smãkras* 'chin' ~ Alb. *mjekɛr* 'chin, bart' ~ OInd. *śmáśru-* 'bart' ~ Arm. *mawruk'* (modern writing *moruk'*) id.; Lith. *tešmuõ* 'udder' ~ OInd. *takarī́-* 'part of female genitalia', etc.

Based on such comparisons the traditional thinking suggests that the process of change of the IE palatovelars **k̂*, **ĝ* into sibilants spread gradually in Slavic and Baltic, beginning in the Iranian sphere where satemization is greatest. The limitation of traditional explanations, ultimately directed toward the elucidation of phonetic laws, does not allow for an explanation of the Baltic doublets without presupposing a change of the phonetic context.[119]

Campanile (1965) has refuted the traditional thesis on the strength of the assertion that "a *centum* form in the *satəm* sphere does not represent

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[117] On *centum* elements in Slavic, cf. Gołąb (1972).

[118] Other examples in Campanile (1965); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 93). Concerning doublets in Lithuanian hydronyms, cf. Temčin (1996).

[119] Cf. Fermeglia (1991) for an interesting phenomenology of development.

evidence of conservation, but rather an innovation oriented in a different direction"; therefore, the problematic Baltic (and Slavic) forms are not a reflection of an already weak sibilant wave, but the result of a velarizing innovation which functioned in a Proto-Baltic period, prior to the spread of the *satəm* phenomenon; only in this way can one explain why *centum* phenomena are rare or nonexistent in the *satəm* area. However, the existence of doublets makes the theory less convincing, and gives it the nuance of an *ad hoc* explanation; here these are considered to be the result of a series of doublets in which the conservative element *k*, having undergone velarization, did not pass to *š/s*.

Čekman (1974) has also tried to show, on the basis of areal linguistics, why in Baltic and Slavic one sometimes finds *k*, *g* (< *$\acute{k}$, *$\acute{g}$) in place of the *satəm* results *s*, *z*, and *š*, *ž*. He reasons in the following manner: if in the phase preceding the split of the proto-language the palatal consonants developed in the periphery of the IE area, where the future Baltic and Slavic dialects were established, then it is impossible to exclude the existence of a Proto-Balto-Slavic *centum* dialect, which subsequently dissolved among other Balto-Slavic dialects as the result of unknown ethnogenic processes; the result of the blending is the existence of doublets of corresponding terms (e.g. IE **gent-* would generate *gentis* as well as **źentas*, which would have the same meaning 'race, relatives'; only later did the modern semantic difference appear, where Lith. *gentìs* means 'race, relatives' and Lith. *žéntas* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law'). Another result of the reciprocal interaction between these doublet forms was the creation of an onomatopoetic and expressive model of word formation based on the alternation velar *vs.* sibilant.[120]

Andersen (2003) argues that the *centum/satəm* doublets (and other discrepant correspondences between Salvic and Baltic) can be interpreted as intrusions from an earlier pre-*satəm* IE substratum.

2.1.2.3. Reflexes after i, u, r, k. The IE shift **s* > Baltic **š* after *i, u, r, k,* which also takes place in Slavic and Indo-Iranian, is well known (so-called ruki Law); as a result of detailed analysis, Stang (*VGBS*, p. 94-100) concludes that to search for the explanation of this phenomenon solely on a phonetic level would be flawed, in that the problem is rather of a dialectal and geographical order, since Baltic is found on the periphery of the IE area

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[120] Another explanation of the division *centum/satem*, alternate to the traditional one, is offered in Shields (1981), who, relying on research in the area of *fast speech phonology*, connects its origin to sociolinguistic and dialectal rule changes of *fast speech* and *lento style*. Useful discussion on the topic is found in Morani (1994-1995).

where the shift of *s after *i*, *u*, *r*, *k* took place.[121] Karaliūnas (1966) however observes that in reality Baltic presents a double reflex, specifically:

a) IE *s after *r*, *k* > Baltic *š
Lith. *viršùs* 'top' ~ OCS *vrъchъ* id., Latin *verrūca* (< *versūca*) 'steep place, height; wart';
Lith. *šė̃štas* 'sixth' ~ OCS *šestъ* id. (< *sek̂s-to-*), if it is not a result of assimilation.

b) IE *s after *i*, *u* > Baltic *s (and *š in isolated forms)
Lith. *paisýti*, Latv. *paisīt* 'to pound flax' ~ ORuss. пьхати 'to press, push', OInd. *piṣṭá-* 'ground', Avestan *pišant-* 'crushed';
Lith. *ausìs*, Latv. *auss*, OPr. *ausins* 'ear' ~ OCS *ucho*, Latin *auris*;
Lith. *jū́šė* 'fish soup', OPr. *iuse* 'type of soup' ~ Bulg. юха 'soup', Latin *iūs* 'boullion, sauce', OInd. *yū́s-*; etc.

According to Karaliūnas's thorough analysis, IE *s after *i*, *u* has changed in Lithuanian into š in words isolated regarding their derivation (e.g. Lith. *maĩšas*, Latv. *maiss* 'sack', OPr. *moasis* 'bellows' ~ OCS *měchъ* 'sack, animal skin', OInd. *meṣá-* 'ram', Avestan *maēša-* 'ewe'); when the phonetical change of *s affected the morphological or derivative characteristics of a word, *s after *i*, *u* remained unchanged. In Lithuanian this result was linked with that of IE *k̂.

From this it follows that the transition of IE *s > *š after *i*, *u*, *r*, *k* was a common Baltic, Slavic and Indo-Iranian phenomenon.[122] In several interesting other works there have been attempts to define more precisely the boundaries, on the one hand, of contact between Baltic with Slavic and, on the other hand, between Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian.[123]

2.1.2.4. Other developments. At least two of the principal common Baltic changes arising in consonant sequences should be illustrated.

a) The Baltic cluster *tl, *dl > Lith.-Latv. *kl*, *gl*, e.g. Lith. *žénklas* 'sign', *gurklỹs* 'throat', *ẽglė*, Latv. *egle* 'fir tree'; the situation is different, how-

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[121] Mann (1970, p. 436) tries in certain cases to operate with an "IE glottalized *s."
[122] Karaliūnas (1966), with whom Hamp (1967) agrees.
[123] Andersen (1970, 1986) has analyzed the various positional variants of IE *s in Slavic and Baltic in connection with the phonological, morphological and semantic factors which determined its subsequent development in the two groups of languages. Edel'man (1994) puts forward a useful comparison between the specific Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic situations, clarifying their peculiarities and offering a discussion of the relative chronology of the change of IE *s > *š in these linguistic areas.

ever, in Old Prussian, probably a reflection of dialectal differences, e.g. OPr. *addle* 'fir tree', *ebsentliuns* < *-zentl-* 'marked', *gurcle* '(bird's) crop', cf. Pol. *gardło* 'throat'.[124]

b) Several typical sequences are simplified, especially, but not exclusively in verbal forms: **t*, **d* + **s* > Lith.-Latv. s, e.g. Lith. *vèsiu* < **ved-siu* 'I will lead' compared with *vedù* 'I lead', Lith. *giesmẽ* < **gied-smē* 'hymn, song' compared with *giedóti* 'to sing'; **š* + **s* > Lith.-Latv. š, e.g. Lith. *nèšiu* < **neš-siu* 'I will carry' compared with *nešù* 'I carry'; **t*, **d* + **m* > Lith.-Latv. m, e.g. OLith. *ãšmas* < **ašt-mas* 'eighth', OLith. *ėmi* < **ēd-mi* 'I eat', OLith. *dúomi* < **duod-mi*, Latv. *domu* 'I give'.

c) Besides this a rather typical phenomenon is the tendency to insert a velar consonant (*k/g*) before a sibilant, e.g. OPr. *swāigstan* 'appearance', Lith. *žvaigždẽ*, Latv. *zvaigzne* 'star' < **žvai-* (cf. Lith. *žvaĩnas* 'from clear eyes'); also linked to this the metathesis **ks > sk*, e.g. Lith. *skaudùs* 'painful' compared with OCS *chudъ* 'evil', OInd. *kṣudrá-* id.[125]

d) Another characteristic epenthesis is that of a dental *t* in the combination *sr* which spread into OPr. and Latv., but only into a few Lithuanian dialects, e.g. OPr. (hydronym) *Strewe*, Latv. *straujš* 'swift' (cf. OCS *struja* 'stream') compared with Lith. *sraujà* id.

2.1.2.5. Issue of laryngeals. In this context it is appropriate to give at least a brief account of the admission of laryngeals into the explanation of the prehistory of the Baltic sound system. This happened in a somehow accelerated way, judging from the fact that most studies on this subject appeared in the last decade. As a matter of fact, after a brief article by Schmalstieg (1956), an isolated mention in Schmalstieg (1960), and the contribution (from a Balto-Slavic point of view) of Watkins (1965), this subject has been investigated in depth in particular by Smoczyński (2002, 2003ab, 2006). Smoczyński (2006) is a systematic presentation valid (mostly, but not only) for Lithuanian, in which an ample amount of material is examined and discussed according to the currently standard doctrine (Mayrhofer 1986) for illustrating the behavior of the laryngeals not only in the fundamental positions, but also in many other environments; several case-studies are

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[124] A similar merging may also be observed in Slavic, cf. Dubaseva (2004).
[125] *SBS* I, p. 58; Smoczyński (1990c; 1994b).

investigated where the reflexes of the laryngeals are divergent within the IE language family. In the following the generally accepted main framework for laryngeals in the fundamental positions in the word is integrated with the results obtained for Lithuanian (Baltic).

a) Word-initial laryngeals before vowels produce different vocalic timbres:

$*h_1e$ > /e/ (Lith. *e*), $*h_2e$ > /a/ (Lith. *a*), $*h_3e$ > /o/ (Lith. *a*).

Admitting that apophony existed before the effects of laryngeals, one should also have the following reflexes:

$*/h_1o/$ > /o/ (Lith. *a*), $*/h_2o/$ > ?/a/ or /o/ (Lith. *a*), $*/h_3o/$ > /o/ (Lith. *a*).

b) In the position after vowel (*e/o*), laryngeals produce compensatory lengthening and may change the vocalic timbre:

$*eh_1$ > /ē/ (cf. Lith. *déti* 'to put') $*oh_1$ > /ō/ (Lith. *uo*)

$*eh_2$ > /ā/ (cf. Lith. *stóti* 'to stand') $*oh_2$ > ?/ā/ (in Baltic $*/ō/$, cf. Lith. *uo*)

$*eh_3$ > /ō/ (cf. Lith. *dúoti* 'to give') $*oh_3$ > /ō/ (Lith. *uo*).

Also in the position after *i* and *u* laryngeals produce compensatory lengthening:

$*/ih_1C/$ > /ī/ $*/uh_1C/$ > /ū/

$*/ih_2C/$ > /ī/ $*/uh_2C/$ > /ū/ $*/ihC/$ > /ī/

$*/ih_3C/$ > /ī/ $*/uh_3C/$ > /ū/ $*/uhC/$ > /ū/.

c) In the position after resonants (*ṚH*), laryngeals generally produce those effects of vocalization related to long resonants. In Lithuanian their disappearance produces a compensatory lengthening in the diphthong type *eṚ* (> *ēṚ*), and it is this lengthening which is reflected by the acute intonation in this type of diphthongs (e.g. Lith. *gérti* 'to drink', Latv. *dzert* id. < IE $*g^uerh_3$-; Lith. *kálnas* 'mountain', Latv. *kalns* id. < IE $*kolH-no$-).

d) In the position between consonants (*CHC*), according to the effects traditionally related to the *schwa*, there is supposed a vocalization of the laryngeal or its loss; in Lithuanian it disappears (e.g. Lith. *duktė̃*, *dùkteri̧* 'daughter' < $*d^hugHter$-). In the position after a consonant (*CH*), laryngeals tend to be lost (and/or they produce an aspiration in a preceding surd occlusive).

After this (schematic) presentation one should also add that the laryngeal theory (or theories?) is not unanimously recognized in the field of Baltic comparative studies, and sometimes not only in this field.[126] The reactions may range from skepticism and categorical refusal[127] to ardently favorable acceptance[128] as part of the "new look" of the IE phonemic (and morphological) system;[129] beyond that, forms of prudent acceptance of a limited number (cf. Di Giovine 2006) of the reconstructed laryngeals based more on empiric than on aprioristic (algebraic) considerations are possibly welcome.[130]

In this general context, the above mentioned contributions of Smoczyński are a useful and adequate starting point for those scholars who are also interested in this approach for the Baltic languages (even despite the criticisms of Fecht 2006, and Villanueva Svensson 2008).

2.1.3. Prosodic features

The Baltic languages of today (Lithuanian and Latvian) and their dialects exhibit a distinction between word accent (or simply stress, Lith. *kir̃tis*, Latv. *uzsvars*) and tone (Lith. *príegaidė*, Latv. *intonācija*);[131] metatony is the change of tone in forms having the same root, which can occur under fixed conditions (e.g. Lith. verb root *var̃gti* 'to suffer' ~ derivative verb *várginti* 'to tire'; Lith. adj. *áukštas* 'tall' ~ noun *aũkštis* 'height' ~ noun *aũkštas* 'story, floor', etc.).[132] Regarding the reconstruction of the Proto-Baltic accentual and tonal situation, substantial difficulties are created in the first place by the fact that there are few remaining ancient linguistic texts which can provide a basis for this research.[133]

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[126] For a history of the question and further bibliography, cf. the synthesis by Polomé (1965), and Szemerényi (1973).

[127] Cf. Bonfante (1957, p. 27: "the last regurgitation of Neogrammarians"); Mańczak (1995).

[128] So, with different degrees of acceptance: Lindeman, Adrados, Leiden School, et al.

[129] It is also interesting to note that for another emerging "new look" of IE antiquity in the perspective of Continuity Theory [see 1.5.3.], laryngeals are unnecessary and lacking in importance.

[130] Cf. Szemerényi (1967, p. 95: "no reason for assuming more than one laryngeal, namely the glottal spirant *h*"); similarly Burrow (1973, p. 85-89); see also Gusmani (1979, 1991).

[131] For an areal treatment of this question, cf. Jakobson (1938), Laur (1983).

[132] Especially on Baltic metatony, cf. Hjelmslev (1932, p. 1-99); van Wijk (1935); Derksen (1996); Stundžia (1997a); Larsson (2004); Hyllested, Gliwa (2009).

[133] The few ancient Lithuanian accented texts are: *Catechism* (1595) and *Postil* (1599) of Daukša (cf. Skardžius 1935b; Young 1998, 2000); Anonymous Catechism of 1605, cf. Zinkevičius (1975a); the poems of Donelaitis, cf. Buch (1961a); Janáček (2009 [although written in 1928]) with presentations by Šeferis (2009) and Stundžia (2009a); *Catechism* of Lysius (Dini 1990a). On attempts to codify the acccent in Lithuania Minor (17th-19th centuries), cf. Vidžiūnas (1996). On J. Jablonskis's accentology, cf. Vidžiūnas (1997). On the influence of Greek and Latin accentuation on Lithuanian accent notation, cf. Strockis (2004).

2.1.3.1. Accent. In Latvian the accent is fixed on the first syllable, since as long ago as the period of the first attestations, with few exceptions; the cause can be seen, according to Endzelīns (1970), in an independent innovation, probably brought about by Finnic influence (in particular Livonian).[134] In Lithuanian, on the contrary, right up until the present day, the accent is free and can fall on any syllable within the word according to determined patterns (accent classes, *kirčiuotės*). It is thought that the present situation in Latvian is secondary; the so-called broken tone [see *infra*] is in fact an archaic feature of Latvian which probably indicates the existence of a free accent in a more ancient phase for this language as well. However, the data from Old Prussian creates a rather complicated situation. Traditionally the horizontal line placed above vowels (which the translator Abel Will often used in the third catechism [see 6.3.1.3.]) is interpreted as an indication of long accented vowels and, therefore, denotes a free accent similar to the situation in Lithuanian (e.g. OPr. *mūti*, Lith. *mótina* 'mother'), but the opinion of scholars is not unanimous, and the meaning of this mark is not always definitive.

According to the prevalent theory the Proto-Baltic phase had a free accent. But it remains unclear how it shifted in the paradigm, and there are various theoretical reconstructions. According to the classic reconstruction of Būga (1924b), for bisyllabic words there were two accentual types of IE origin: barytone (fixed accent on the root, e.g. Lith. *výras*, *výro*, *výrui*, etc. 'man') and oxytone (fixed accent on the ending, e.g. Lith. *javaĩ*, *javų̃*, *javáms*, etc. 'corn'), both preserved in the Proto-Baltic (and Proto-Lithuanian) period, and subsequently the present accentual classes of Lithuanian cited above developed from them. Other scholars later modified this picture, advancing in place of the opposition between the stressed barytone *vs.* oxytone paradigm of Būga, another paradigm: fixed (barytone) *vs.* mobile.[135] The question is obviously open and the opinions of scholars are divided. At the same time the correlation with the stress system of Slavic, which is quite similar, as well as of Greek and Old Indian, raises considerable discussion. For Kuryłowicz (1958) the Balto-Slavic accentuation is a recent phenomenon, without any direct connection to Greco-Indian, which alone is an IE legacy. In opposition to this, Illič-Svityč (1963) considers both stress systems to be inherited, each having both archaic and innovative features compared to the situation attributed to IE. The shift of stress (in the Proto-

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[134] Cf. also Rudzīte (1993a, p. 91-96).
[135] Kuryłowicz (1958); Illič-Svityč (1963); Kazlauskas (1968, p. 5-95). On the relationship between the Lithuanian nominal accent and other IE languages, cf. Darden (1992).

Baltic and East Baltic period) led to the creation of the tones [see *infra*] as a new prosodic category, not inherited from the IE period (Kortlandt 1977).

2.1.3.2. Accentuation laws. Baltic (and Balto-Slavic) has become an increasingly important field of investigation during the past decades. It is also appropriate to briefly discuss here the classical accentuation laws which are at the origins of the prosodic system of the Baltic languages.[136] The accentual innovations within the East Baltic area are named for the scholars who established them: the Lex Leskien, the Lex Saussure and the Lex Nieminen.

2.1.3.2.1. Lex Leskien. August Leskien (1881) formulated a phonetic rule for Lithuanian regarding the vocalism in final position according to which the tones are connected with the shortening of vowels and diphthongs. More precisely, original long vowels were shortened in acute endings and *uo*, *ie* became *u*, *i*. However, in those positions where the original sounds remained somehow protected, the acute vowels did not shorten. Thus, one can compare: adj. nom. sing. *mažà* < *mažá* 'little', but def. adj. nom. sing. *mažóji* < * mažá + *jí* 'the little one'; adj. instr. sing. *mažù* < *mažúo*, but def. adj. *mažúoju* < *mažúo + *júo*; vb. present 1st pers. sing. *tikiù* < *tikiúo* 'I believe', but reflexive *tikiúosi* < *tikiúo + si*; 1st pers. plur. *tìkime* < *ᶦtikimḗ*, but reflexive *tìkimės* < *ᶦtikimḗ + si*.

The Lex Leskien was later modified by observing that it functions only in words having at least two syllables. In monosyllabic words the acute intonation changed into circumflex, whilst long vowels and diphthongs did not shorten, e.g.: demonstr. pron. masc. nom. plur. *tiẽ* < *tíe*, but *tíeji* < *tíe + jíe*; vb. present 3rd pers. *dẽs* < *dés* 'he ~ she will put', but 1st pers. sing. *désiu* < *désiuo*. Nevertheless, analogical changes have altered the picture, e.g.: demonstr. pron. nom. sing. fem. *tà* < *tá* 'this', analogically with *gerà* (< *gerá*) 'good', or demonstr. pron. nom. sing. fem. *šì* < *ší* 'this', analogically with *gražì* (< *graží*) 'beautiful'.[137]

2.1.3.2.2. Lex Saussure-Fortunatov. Two scholars, Ferdinand de Saussure (1896; although first formulated in 1894) and Filip Fortunatov (1897), showed independently that for a certain time the accent shifted from an originally short and circumflexed syllable to the adjacent syllable if it was acute. This

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[136] On the laws of Baltic accentuation, cf. Kortlandt (1977); Collinge (1985, p. 271-277); Derksen (1991).

[137] Petit (2002b) tries to explain the phenomena traditionally ascribed to the Lex Leskien differently, linking the shortening (of vowels and diphthongs in final position) with acute vowels, and the metatony to stems with acute diphthongs.

fact explains Lith. nom. sing. **ˈrañká́ ⌣ *ranˈká́ > rankà 'hand; arm', and other affected cases such as instr. sing. rankà, acc. plur. rankàs. The word is an old barytone (i.e. accent on the root, *ˈrañk– with circumflex). Today's terminations –à(s) < *-á́(s) result after abbreviation of long acute vowels in final position according to Lex Leskien (for the original acute of the termination cf. geróji < *gerá́ + *jí̃, ecc). These changes determined the actual four accentual paradigms of Lithuanian noun. By means of internal reconstruction the actual accentual system of Lithuanian can be derived from two original accentual paradigms, and this does explain, although only partially, the formation of the mobile accent. It means that before the action of the Lex Saussure there were only a barytone and a mobile accentual paradigm.

The effects of the Lex Saussure are also found in the accentuation of verbs. The stress shifts to the ending in the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. if in the 3rd pers. the stress is on the syllable preceding the ending and if this syllable is circumflex or short. A couple of examples present 1st pers. sing. *ˈker̃túo ⌣ kerˈtù 'I cut', but reflexive kertúosi; *ˈnĕšúo ⌣ neˈšù 'I carry', but reflexive nešúosi; 2nd pers. sing. *ˈker̃tíe ⌣ kerˈtì 'you cut', but reflexive kertíesi; *ˈnĕšíe ⌣ neˈšì 'you carry', but reflexive nešíesi; whilst the 3rd pers. are: ˈker̃ta 'he cuts' with circumflex, and ˈnẽša 'he carries' < *nĕš–, cf. Inf. nèšti 'to carry' with secondary long e.[138] In contrast, the paradigm of dìrbti 'to work' always maintains the accent on the root, 1st pers. sing. ˈdìrbu 'I work', 2nd pers. sing. ˈdìrbi 'you work', ˈdìrba 'he works'.

Basing his work on the corresponding cases such as Russ. nom. sing. рука́ ~ acc. sing. ру́ку 'hand; arm', and the above mentioned Lith. nom. sing. rankà ~ acc. sing. rañką, Fortunatov thought that this law already functioned at a Balto–Slavic epoch. In fact, for today's scholars it remains uncertain if this law goes back to the Proto–Baltic period or whether it should more probably only be attributed to Lithuanian after the East Baltic period. In Latvian, given the leveling of the accent, it is not recognizable, and the Prussian corpus is too limited and dubious to provide reliable evidence.

Saussure clearly recognized the connection between prosodic features and the morpheme of the word, and distinguished two types of movement in the Lithuanian accent system: a new (phonological) and an old (grammatical). The debate on this topic is still alive. Bonfante (1931) attempts to modify the Lex Saussure. Darden (1984) has reversed the terms for the

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[138] Other examples of alternation taking place in the middle of the word are: Lith. laĩko 'he holds' and laikýti 'to hold', but móko 'he teaches' and mókyti 'to teach'.

problem and considers that the alternation of Lithuanian stress derives not from the attraction of the acute, but through the transfer from the circumflex and from the short syllables. Young (1994b) notices that, in certain circumstances, the generalization of the accent in one syllable limits the effect of the law through the entire paradigm. Lanza (2004, 2006) argues that there are some cases in some stems in which the Lex Saussure seems to be bypassed, and that it happens when the acute syllable causing the shift is not the final one in the word.

Saussure's ideas were subsequently developed by Hjelmslev and Kurylowicz, among others through researches in which they advanced the concept of morphological accentology. Besides some sporadic works (firstly cf. Girdenis in Ambrazas V. 1985a; 1994b, p. 49-53; 1997, p. 77-83) this idea of classifying morphemes by accentual characteristics (given that Lithuanian accent is closely connected with the morphemes and their accentual properties) has been studied in depth and applied to Lithuanian by Stundžia (1995a).

2.1.3.2.3. Lex Nieminen. According to Nieminen (1922) in Lithuanian the accent shifted from the final –à(s) to the preceeding syllable if it was long or contained a diphthong (e.g. nom. sing. *mìnkštas* 'soft', acc. sing. *mìnkštą* compared to the pronominalized forms *minkštàsis*, *mìnkštąjį*, which preserve the accentuation of the previous phase).[139]

2.1.3.3. Tones. Tone is a characteristic of the syllable and not of the individual sound; it is connected with the accentual paradigms and with the quantity of the syllables. The contemporary Baltic languages show different patterns.

Lithuanian has two intonations, acute or descending (Lith. *tvirtapradė* or *staiginė*; Germ. *Stosston*) and circumflex or ascending (Lith. *tvirtagalė* or *tęstinė*; Germ. *Dehnton*).

Latvian has three intonations instead, continual or slightly ascending (Latv. *stieptā*), descending (*krītošā*) and broken (*lauztā*). This latter is characterized by an initial rise of tone followed by a momentary pause and then a subsequent leveling with the previous pitch or a fall.

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[139] Cf. Stang (*VGBS*, p. 171). In the presence of an internal accented –ìì- the accent shifted to the preceding syllable in Lithuanian and perhaps also in Latvian. This is probably one of the reasons for the shift from an acute intonation to a circumflex (metatony). This point is, however, confuted in Mikulėnienė (2005) who offers a detailed study of the Lith. nominal circumflex metatony (e.g. adj. *šáltas* 'cold' → noun *šaĨtis* id.) and its origin. Cf. also Stundžia (1981b).

The graphical systems of the two languages use various diacritical signs to indicate each intonation, e.g.:

Lithuanian
    acute intonation, e.g.: *mólis* 'clay', *úodas* 'mosquito', *áugti* 'to grow'
    circumflex: *žõdis* 'word', *juõkas* 'laughter', *aũlas* 'toe (of a shoe)'.

Latvian
    continuous intonation, e.g.: *brãlis* 'brother', *klẽts* 'granary'
    falling: *mèle* 'tongue', *lùgt* 'to pray'
    broken: *kâpt* 'to ascend', *êst* 'to eat'.

The relations between forms having the same root in Lithuanian and Latvian are stated by the so-called Lex Endzelīns:[140] *a)* the Lithuanian circumflex corresponds to the Latvian falling intonation (e.g. Lith. *draũgas* ~ Latv. *dràugs* 'friend'); *b)* the Lithuanian acute in immobile paradigms corresponds to the Latvian continuous intonation (barytone, e.g. Lith. *brólis* 'brother' ~ Latv. *brãlis*,); *c)* the Lithuanian acute in mobile paradigms corresponds to the Latvian broken intonation (e.g. Lith. *dárbas* 'work', cf. nom. plur. *darbaĩ* ~ Latv. nom. sing. *dar̂bs*). A statistical study undertaken by Stundžia (1985) demonstrates that this law works best in the first case in those forms which show a circumflex intonation in Lithuanian and a falling intonation in Latvian, or when the Latvian data do not show which should be the original stress (barytone or oxytone); in the other two cases, on the contrary, the situation is much more complicated and at times contradicts the expected result.

The scant data from Old Prussian can furnish only uncertain indications for the reconstruction of the Proto-Baltic tone system. Thus, the endo-Baltic comparison provides the following results:

a) the present situation between Lithuanian and Latvian appears as a mirror image: the falling tone in Latvian corresponds to the rising tone in Lithuanian;

b) the Old Prussian data (and data from other IE languages), on the contrary, indicate that the binary system is older and, therefore, should be attributed to Proto-Baltic: it anticipates the acute (rising) tone and the circumflex (falling);

c) in regard to this system both Latvian and Lithuanian experienced different innovations; in Lithuanian the original situation is precisely

[140] Endzelīns (1899, 1922a); for a synthesis, cf. Rudzīte (1993a, p. 101-103).

reversed; in Latvian, according to Endzelīns (1948, p. 26-27), the continuous and broken tones developed from the acute (rising) as a result of the displacement of the accent (accompanied by metathony).[141]

2.1.3.4. On the origin of tones. Whether in antiquity unstressed syllables had tone remains an open question; in this regard many scholars consider the mutual independence of tone and accent probable, so that each long syllable of a morpheme was independent from the position of the stress carried a tone, and only subsequently the opposition between acute and circumflex weakened in unstressed syllables to the point being neutralised. Opinions regarding the original of intonations vary in type and complexity.[142] In the following I will expose two different points of view.

The traditional opinion can be synthesized in a few statements: *a*) in final position the circumflex is sometimes inherited (in the sense that it coincides with the situation in Old Greek, while there is no certainty that common IE possessed tones), while in other cases it arises through contraction of the vowels; *b*) in non-final position the long vowels and diphthongs have the acute, the other diphthongs the circumflex; the combination vowel–resonant–reduced vowel results in an acute diphthong (Stang *VGBS*, p. 125-130). Other scholars have different views. Thus Kuryłowicz (1958), developing an earlier idea of Saussure, considers that tones are a Balto–Slavic innovation: at first all the long vowels and the diphthongs (short and long) had circumflex tone (falling); the circumflex *vs.* acute opposition arose later in the Balto–Slavic period as a result of the shift of the accent from an internal syllable to the initial syllable. This brought about the rise of the acute tone (rising) of etymological long vowels and diphthongs.[143]

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[141] According to Kortlandt (1977), and affirmed by Young (1994a), the broken tone does not depend on the retraction of stress, but directly continues a laryngeal in (an earlier) unstressed syllable. Young (2009) studies the behavior of tones in Latvian borrowings from Old Russian.

[142] For an overall picture Schmalstieg (1968a) is useful.

[143] The Polish scholar (cf. Kuryłowicz 1977, p. 157-163) has certain assumptions, which in fact are opposite to the rules of Saussure [see 4.1.2.2.]; in particular he considers highly improbable any difference of tone in unstressed syllables, which, on the contrary, the Geneva scholar proposed in the formation of the rule which carries his name and which Stang (*VGBS*, p. 131-144), supports, along with other numerous objections to the theories of Kuryłowicz. What is more, according to Kuryłowicz, this phenomenon is best observed in the direct cases of ancient tripartite consonantal stems consisting of stem + suffix + ending: *i*) one observes the shift of stress, cf. Lith. nom. sing. *duktē̃* (< *dŭk-tēr* [< *dhugh-]) 'daughter' with the acc. sing. *dùkterį* (< *(dŭk-tèr-in*), OGr. θυγατέρα, OInd. *duhitáram* id.; *ii*) One observes the shift of stress and the tone on the first syllable (which, if it was long, received acute tone), cf. Lith. nom. sing. *mótė* (< *mā-tēr*) 'woman; mother' with the acc. sing. *móterį* (< *mā-tér-in*), OCS *máterь* id., cf. OGr. μητέρα, OInd. *mātáram*. One should note, however, the difference in treatment in the weak cases: OLith. gen. sing. *dukterès*, instr. plur. *dukterimìs,* along with *móters, móterimis.* Opposed to Kuryłowicz, Stang proposes that the three types *duktē̃ ~ dùkterį ~ dukterès* denote a typical mobile stress alternation inherited from IE which 'skips' the internal syllables.

The prosodic system reconstructed by Kuryłowicz for the Balto-Slavic phase can be summarized thus: the tonal opposition relates only to the initial long syllables; internal long syllables maintain the stress and are pronounced with acute (secondary) tone; the final syllables do not have intonation (but if they are long they have the circumflex).[144]

2.1.4. Regarding relative chronology

Relative chronology is a little-studied, complex and difficult subject, but it is still of definite interest. The question is virtually ignored by Stang, with the exception of a few desultory remarks. It is a merit of Kazlauskas (1972a) to have brought attention to relative chronology, and to have studied it closely in several cases.

Before the passage of syllabic resonants to diphthongs in those IE dialects which then developed into the Baltic languages, there probably still existed the so-called IE palatovelars *ḱ and *ǵ, which in turn changed into s and z in Latvian and Prussian, and into š, ž in Lithuanian. Now it is probable that this latter phenomenon (the change of the palatovelars to sibilants) can be ascribed not to Proto-Baltic antiquity, but more to the period in which the differences between the Baltic dialects began to appear. Evidence of this comes from the velar *vs.* palatal fluctuation in apparently cognate words (e.g. Latv. *suns* 'dog'; *kuņa* 'bitch', compared with Lith. *šuõ* 'dog' ~ *kalẽ* 'bitch').

It is also possible to establish the relative chronology of the nasalized vowels by comparing them with the process of formation of the soft (palatalized) consonants. There seems to be no doubt that they appeared after the consonantal combinations with *i changed into palatal consonants; evidence of this is, e.g. Lith. *žinià* [ʒ'in'à] and Latv. *ziņa* [ˈz'iɲa] 'news'. In fact, if the nasalized vowels had appeared before the change *ni > [n'], then one would have a form such as *žįia; therefore, the process of formation of the palatal consonants must have been very ancient, occurring before the formation of the nasalized vowels.

An investigation which in this context deserves serious consideration has been carried out by Matasović (2005) who singles out and ex-

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[144] As a corollary it is worth noting that for Kuryłowicz (1935) the systems of Balto-Slavic and of Greek derive from parallel, but independent, developments, which arose from the initial IE phase when tones did not exist; comparison between the two systems would therefore not be very useful. The same conclusions are shared by Petit (2004b).

poses chronologically 11 points corresponding to as many sound changes: depalatalization, satemization, ruki law, Lex Hirt, developments of syllabic resonants, Lex Lidén, loss of word-final *d*, Lex Winter [see 3.1.3.2.], $*\breve{o} > *\breve{a}$, deaspiration of the aspirated stops, loss of laryngeals. This is surely a valid starting point for developing a relative chronology of the earliest Baltic (and Slavic) phonetic changes.

2.2. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

In the reconstruction of Proto-Baltic morphology it is commonly accepted that the noun shows the greatest antiquity. The verb, on the other hand, is generally considered more of an innovation, compared to the situation attributed to common IE.

2.2.1. The nominal system

In light of important achievements in Baltic linguistics (Kazlauskas, Mažiulis), the principal characteristics of the nominal system are determined primarily on the basis of internal reconstruction and, wherever useful and necessary, from comparison with the other IE languages.[145]

2.2.1.1. Number. A tripartite system is reconstructed for Proto-Baltic: singular, plural and dual. The dual is still attested in Lithuanian dialects but is absent in Latvian. A binary system is traditionally reconstructed for OPr. without a dual form [see 6.3.2. and 7.4.2.1.], although not everyone agrees with such a conclusion.[146] The question of the existence of *pluralia tantum* (pluralic nouns) in Old Prussian as well (so abundant in East Baltic) has been particularly investigated in Mathiassen (1998) who concludes that these nominal formations did exist in West Baltic, but probably in a smaller number than in Lithuanian and Latvian.

2.2.1.2. Gender. From the IE system (perhaps based on the animate vs. inanimate opposition) a tripartite division – masculine, feminine and neuter – was formed in Proto-Baltic as in various other IE languages.

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[145] Cf. particularly Mažiulis (1970); Kazlauskas (1968, p. 123-286); moreover, a comprehensive exposition of the material in Endzelīns (1922b, p. 291-406; 1948, p. 132-200); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 175-276); Zinkevičius (*LKI* II, p. 176-253). Especially for Latvian, cf. Rosinas (2010).

[146] Gargasaitė (1964ab); Piccini (2008) with bibliography.

Mažiulis (1970, p. 77) considers that "it is easy to establish a three-gender system as well for Balto-Slavic. Indeed, only Prussian among the Baltic languages preserved neuter nouns, but it is not difficult to track the neuter gender for East Baltic also."[147] With respect to the neuter, the two main Baltic branches behave differently: in West Baltic (OPr.) one observes traces of a neuter gender with two different endings: -a, -an [see 6.3.2.]; in East Baltic the neuter substantives disappear (Arumaa 1970; Scholz 1985; Murata 1986), except for traces of it which remain in ancient Baltisms of Finnic (e.g. Finn. *heinä* 'hay', cf. Lith. masc. noun *šiẽnas* < Baltic neuter noun **šeina*[148]) and in isolated adjectival forms and in demonstrative pronouns in Lithuanian; no trace of the neuter is found in Latvian, however. On the basis of current data there is clear doubt about the existence of the neuter gender in the Baltic of the Dnepr. The neuter gender could only be hypothesized from the study of Baltisms in the Finnic languages of the Volga. According to Arumaa (1970, p. 27), at the source of the East Baltic system of two genders (masculine, feminine) there were many changes relating to gender as a result of word-formation processes, so that among one sector of the Balts the category itself of neuter gradually weakened. The Baltic collective in **-ā* and its development in the individual languages has been studied by Stundžia (1981a, 1992ab); a specific development in Lith. by Kregždys (2009a).

2.2.1.3. The bipartition of gender and stem. It is considered that the loss of the neuter in East Baltic gave rise to the typical division into two nominal stems (**-ŏ/*-ā*) that is still found today in Lithuanian and Latvian.[149] Nevertheless, a detailed comparative investigation in light of the IE context of characteristic two-stem variants of East Baltic (e.g. Lith. *bañgas*, *bangà* 'wave' and Latv. *bogs* [buogs], *boga* 'crowd', establishes the fact that *i*) the division **-ŏ/*-ā* (especially in abstract nouns) and the parallelism in gender represent an archaic phenomenon of IE heritage, while the division **-(i̯)ŏ/*-(i̯)ā* is rare; *ii*) the reason for the formation of variants should be seen not so much in the loss of the neuter, but rather in the competition of a more ancient form **(-ŏ)* with a more recent type (**-ā*); *iii*) the diffusion of the two types in **-(i̯)ŏ* and **-(i̯)ā* subsequently increased as a result of the

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[147] Above all concerning the fate of neuters with stems in **-ŏ* in Balto-Slavic, cf. Kortlandt (1994, p. 46-47) with additional bibliographic references.

[148] But here Ugro-Finnic specialists are skeptical about giving significance to Baltic borrowings in Finnic; cf. such a viewpoint already in Kalima (1936), whose opinion is shared by Uotila (1982-1983) in a review of Mažiulis (1970).

[149] Along with Nieminen (1922), cf. Illič-Svityč (1963 [= 1979, p. 40-42]); Endzelīns (1948, p. 86), and Zinkevičius (1966, p. 215).

accompanying reinterpretation of ancient *nomina collectiva* as plurals and of the loss of the neuter; *iv*) the diffusion of the stems in **-iĭŏ/*-ē* was not typical of the more ancient lexical stratum, but is productive in the lexicon of Lithuanian and Latvian (Stundžia 1978, 1994).

2.2.1.4. Cases. The function of the word in a sentence is expressed by its case ending. In the historic period a richer system is attested in Lithuanian and Latvian, with seven cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative, vocative); more limited in Old Prussian with five cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative).[150] According to Rosinas (2009, p. 336), Proto-Baltic had a four-member declensional system (nominative, genitive, dative and accusative) with the instrumental and locative as later (so-called 'non-paradigmatic') cases.

In reconstructing the situation, several scholars dispute the traditional view according to which the more numerous system of cases corresponds to greater antiquity, and accept the view that the paradigmatic cases (nom., acc., gen., dat.) are distinct from the 'semi-paradigmatic' (instr., loc.), which only entered the paradigm much later (Lehmann 1958; Toporov 1959; Mažiulis 1970, p. 78-79).[151] The idea that the IE case system was created gradually and that the more developed case systems (e.g. Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic) should be considered innovations has been proposed and supported in Schmalstieg (1980 up to 2012).

2.2.1.5. Thematic paradigms. Below are provided several simplified diagrams of the case endings of the principal stems, reconstructed on the basis of the data provided by Old Prussian, Lithuanian and Latvian. This attempt at a reconstruction is accompanied by brief integrative notes regarding several of the more debated points in the investigation of Baltic historical grammar.[152]

2.2.1.5.1. *-(i̯)ŏ Stems. Among the more productive are the ancient stems in **-ŏ*:

	Singular	Plural	Dual	
nom.	**-ăs*	**-ăi*	nom., acc.	*?*-ā, *-ō*
gen.	*?*-ā, *-ăsi̯a, *-ŏ/ĕs*	**-ōn*		

	Singular	**Plural**	**Dual**	
dat.	?*-ōi̯, *-ō	?*-ăm(V)s, *-mōn	dat./instr.	*-mō-
acc.	*-ăn	?*-ō(n)s, ?*-us		
instr.	*-ō	*-ăis		
loc.	*-ĕi̯/ŏi̯ (+ – én)	*-ĕi̯/ŏi̯-su, *-ōs (+ – én)		
voc.	*-ĕ			

Table 6. Stems in *-ŏ.

Traditionally the **nom. sing.** *-ăs is to be compared with OGr. λύκος 'wolf', OInd. *vŕ̥ka-* id., and derived from IE *-ŏs (the endings in Latin *lupus*, OCS *vlьkъ*, Goth. *wulfs* may be understood as a reduction of the vowel, the same as Latv. *vilks*). According to Schmalstieg (2000a, p. 386; 2001c) the sigmatic nom. sing. was originally characteristic of the *-ŏ or *-i̯ŏ stem nouns (in particular, the ending *-ŏs would have its origin in an agentive form of an older consonant stem noun). In the **gen. sing.** it seems impossible to exclude the dialectal difference between East Baltic (*-ā, cf. Lith. *diẽvo* 'of the god', Latv. *dieva* id.) and West Baltic (OPr. *deiwas*). This is indeed a *vexata quæstio* in Baltistics.[153] The eastern Baltic form corresponds well with the IE ablative (e.g. Lith. *vil̃ko*, Latv. *vìlka*, OCS *vlьka* 'of the wolf', compared with the OInd. ablative sing. *vŕ̥k-āt*, Latin *lup-ō* < *-ōd, cf. OLat. *GNAIVOD*). However, it is not clear how *-ŏ-ŏd could pass to *-ā in Baltic (as IE *-ō > East Baltic *-uo); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 44) hypothetizes a "Kontraktionsprodukt". Beyond that, the ending *-ā is unknown in West Baltic, where one encounters <-as> and <-esse> (cf. OPr. *deiw-as* 'of God', *gīw-as* 'of the life', *taw-as* 'of father', and the pronoun *st-esse* 'of this' with allomorphs). Regarding these endings, there is a traditional propensity to accept the notion that they may be reconstructed first as *-asi̯a (< IE *-osi̯o, cf. OInd. *vŕ̥kasya*, OGr. λύκοιο < *-o/es-i̯o 'of the wolf') or *-oso (cf. OEng. *dómæs* 'of the opinion'), and second as *-esi̯a (< IE *-esi̯o).[154] Mažiulis, having rejected the "sanskritizing" tendency in the interpretation of Baltic facts (too frequent in his view), observes, how-

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[153] Cf. Endzelīns (1943 [= 1944, p. 84]); Kazlauskas (1968, p. 173-174); Mažiulis (1966a; 1970, p. 95-99; 2004); Schmidt (1977); a further development of these ideas in Palmaitis (1980). On the topic, cf. Szemerényi (1957, p. 102) for the parallel with Hittite. For traditionally accepted parallels wit other IE languages, Stang (*VGBS*, p. 175), Szemerényi (1990, p. 194), Hamp (1994d), Cotticelli Kurras (1998).

[154] Still another explanation (within the "new look" of IE morphology) has been proposed by Shields (2001); he proposes that the deictic particle in *-ă was subject to grammaticalization as a genitive marker in the (late-emerging) ŏ-stem declension and subsequently contaminated with the functionally equivalent deictic suffix *-(e/o)t.

ever, that the presence of –*i̯*– is impossible to assume on the basis of internal reconstruction, and proposes to derive the first of these endings simply from **-os*, and the second from **-ese*. Summarizing Mažiulis's idea, one can say that (also on the basis of the comparison with Hittite nom./gen. *an–tu–uḫ–ša-aš* 'man' < **-os*) he considers the alternating (nominal-pronominal) **-o/es* a more ancient element, to which the formants **-i̯(o)/e* (cf. Slavic *č-es-o*, OGr. τοῖο (< **t-os-i̯o*), OInd. *t-as-ya*) were subsequently added. Concerning the OPr. ending, however, a different opinion was expressed by various scholars [see 6.3.2.4.1.]. Also in the **dat. sing.** the IE change **-ōi̯* > East Baltic **-uoi̯* (> Lith. –*ui*) remains controversial, although it is traditionally recognized (Stang, Zinkevičius) on the strength of IE etymological comparisons (cf. OGr. λύκῳ 'to the wolf', OInd. *vr̥kāya* id., archaic OLat. *populōi* 'to the people'). According to Mažiulis (1970, p. 106-107), the analysis of the different endings of the dat. sing. attested in Lith. dialects (specifically –*uo/-u*, besides the –*u-i* already cited) and the internal reconstruction force one to hypothesize the existence of an ancient pure lengthened **-ō* (changing into –*uo* in various Lith. dialects) whose reflexes are to be observed in OPr. *sīru* 'to the heart' and moreover in Goth. *wulfa* 'to the wolf'. In this context Lith. –*ui* would be a remodeling on the analogy with nouns in –*u*, which then got its –*i* from other stems. The **acc. sing.** endings can be traced back to a common form: OPr. –*an*, Lith. –*ą* < **-an*, Latv. –*u* < **-uo* < **-an*, cf. OInd. *áśvam* 'horse', OGr. λύκον 'wolf', Latin *lupum* (< **-om*) id., OCS *duchъ* 'spirit'. The **instr. sing.** Lith. and Latv. –*u* is to be compared with the def. masc. adj. form *mažúo-ju* 'with the small one', cf. OInd. *áśvā* 'with the horse'. The **loc. sing.** is maintained in the form (now fossilized as an adverb) Lith. *namiẽ* 'at home' (or in dial. *oriẽ* 'in the air'), whose –*ie* < **-e-i*, cf. OGr. οἶκοι (dial. οἴκει) id. For the postpositional locative cases [see 7.4.2.4.]. The **voc. sing.** is a pure stem; the ending –*e* is attested in OPr. *deiwe* 'oh god!', Lith. *diẽve* id., cf. Latin *lupe* 'oh wolf'. In Lith. one also observes the presence of end-stressed nouns: *diẽve* (cf. OInd. *déva*) and *dievè*.

The **nom. plur.** ending –*ai* < **-ŏi* (characteristic of OGr., Latin, Slavic, Celtic as well, and therefore not a Baltic innovation) is unclear. This form is considered secondary and of pronominal origin (cf. Lith. *tiẽ* < **tei/toi* 'those'), established along with the IE **-ōs* (cf. OInd. *vr̥kāḥ*, Goth. *wulfōs* 'wolves'), perhaps to avoid homonymity with other endings. The most obscure point is how the nom. case in –*ai* is linked to the complicated fate of the Baltic diphthongs **ai*, **ei*. An alternative explanation is that the Baltic ending –*ai* goes back to IE **-oi* (e.g. OGr. λύκοι, Latin *lupī* < **-oi*).

Another explanation, on the contrary, supposes that *-ai* is the result of the pluralization of the *nomina collectiva* in *-ā́* (e.g. *teĩ vilkaĩ*).[155] The Latv. nom. plur. *-i* comes from the adjective declension (cf. Lith. *gerì*). The nom. plur. is used also with **voc. plur.** meaning. The **gen. plur.** is found in Lith. *-ų < *-un < *-uon*, and in Latv. *-u < *-uo < *-uon* (IE **-ōm*); for OPr. *-an*, cf. OCS *-ъ* (IE **-om*). In the **dat. plur.** OLith. still shows the full ending *–amus* [see 7.4.2.5.1.], cf. OCS *duchomъ* 'to the spirits'; OLatv. *–iems* (? < **-iem(u) s*). The agreement between the various endings attested in (O)Lith. and the OPr. ending *–mans* was long considered problematic and for Endzelīns was nothing more or less than one of the greatest differences between West Baltic and East Baltic; Mažiulis has traced the different forms to (Balto-Slavic) **-mō-n*. The **acc. plur.** endings, at least in East Baltic, underwent the following series of changes: Baltic **-ō(n)s* > East Baltic **-úo(n)s > *-úos* > Lith. *-us* (cf. the def. masc. adj. *ger-úos-ius*, OInd. *áśvāḥ* 'horses'). OPr. *deiwans* 'gods' probably shows the original ending *-ns*, cf. λύκονς 'wolves', Goth. *dagans* 'days'. The **instr. plur.** Lith. *-ais < *-ōis/-ŏis*, cf. OInd. *vŕ̥kaiḥ* 'with the wolves', OGr. λύκοις, Latin *lupīs*. In Latv. one finds sporadic dial. forms considered as adverbs in the standard language, cf. *retumis* 'rarely'. The ancient **loc. plur.** form is preserved in OLith. and dial. forms of numerals as *keturíesu* 'in quarters', *penkíesu* 'in quintets' (< **-ĕi-su*), cf. OInd. *vŕ̥keṣu* 'in the wolves' (< **-ŏi-su*), OCS *vlьcěchъ* id.

In the **dual forms** Lith. nom. acc. (*du*) *tévu* 'two fathers' (< **-úo < *-ṓ*), cf. OGr. ἀδελφώ 'two brothers', OInd. *áśvā(u)* 'two horses'; in Latv. folk songs one meets *divu dārzu* 'two gardens' and similar forms; one should probably also consider OPr. [EV 89 *Munt*] *Auſto* 'mouth; both lips' (cf. Avestan *aoštā* id.) [see 6.3.2.1]. End-stressed Lith. dat. *dievám* 'to two gods', and instr. *dieva͂m* 'with two gods' differ in the tone (cf. OCS *duchoma* 'to/by two spirits').

2.2.1.5.2. **-ā* Stems. The ancient stems in **-ā* are also among the most productive:

	Singular	Plural	Dual	
nom.	**-ā*	**-ās*	nom., acc.	*?*-ei/-ai*
gen.	**-ās*	**-ōn*		
dat.	**-āi*	**-ām(V)s*	dat./instr.	**-ā-m-*
acc.	**-ã̄n*	*?*-āns, *-ās*		

[155] Cf. Stundžia (1992ab); Ambrazas S. (1992, p. 36–39). A different hypothesis is found in Kortlandt (1994).

	Singular	Plural	Dual
instr.	*-ā́n	*-āmīs	
loc.	*-āi̯ (+ – én)	*-ās (+ – én)	
voc.	*-a	*-ās	

Stems in *-ā.

The **nom. sing.** in –ā represents the simple stem without an ending; according to Lex Leskien [see 2.1.3.2.1.], Lith. –à (< *-ā́), cf. def. fem. adj. geró-ji (< *gerá̄-jī́) 'the good one'; for other comparisons cf. OPr. Ench. mensā 'flesh' (but [EV 154 Vleyſch] Menſo id., [EV 188 Wip] Genno 'woman'), Latv. roka (< *-ā) 'hand'; OCS rǫka id., OGr. θεά 'goddess', OInd. áśvā 'female horse'. The **gen. sing.** –os (< *-ã̄s), cf. OPr. gennas 'of the woman', Latv. rokas 'of the hand', and further OLat. pater familiās 'father of the family', OGr. θεᾶς 'of the goddess', OInd. devyā́ḥ id., Goth. gibōs (< *-ās) 'of the gift'. The **dat. sing.** *-āi is problematic because of its long diphthong and therefore it is traditionally (*LKIG* I, p. 190) assumed that –ā before tautosyllabic –i̯ shortened quite early, cf. Lith. rankai, OPr. tickray, OCS rǫcě, OGr. θεᾷ, Latin equae, Goth. gibai. OLatv. and dial. have roki; the ending in Latv. rok-ai has its origin in monosyllabic pronouns (cf. tai 'that'). The **acc. sing.** Lith. –ą, Latv. –u, OPr. –an (< *-añ from an older *-ã̄n), cf. OGr. θεά̄ν 'goddess', OInd. áśvām 'horse', Latin equam. In Baltic the –ā was probably shortened before tautosyllabic –n. The **instr. sing.** Lith. –à (< *-ą́), cf. def. fem. adj. gerą́-ja (< *-án < -ā́n); in Latv. (ar) roku 'with the hand' –u (< *-uo < *-an). It is thought that the endings **acc./instr. sing.** differed from each other by tone in ancient times, thus acc. sing. *-ã̄n and instr. sing. *-ā́n (the latter ending, having lost the nasal *-ą́ > *-ā́, finally mutated into –à according to the Lex Leskien). The **loc. sing.** Lith. –oje (e.g. rañk-oje 'in the hand', Latv. rok-ā id.) is traditionally explained (Kazlauskas 1968, p. 188) from *rank-āi by the addition of the postposition *-én (< *-ḗn), cf. the adessive mergaip 'near the girl', OCS rǫcě 'in the hand', OGr. Ὀλυμπίαι 'in Olympia', Latin Rōmae 'in Rome'. Schmalstieg (2010, p. 46) proposes the alternative explanation from nom. sing. *rankā + *jen without having to assume the retention of the long diphthong –āi into a later period of Baltic; consistently the adessive mergaip retains the original dat.-loc. form with the postposition –p(i) added certainly later than any possible shortening of *-āi. The **voc. sing.** is the pure stem with a short –a at the end.

The **nom. plur.** Lith. –os, Latv. –as (< *-ã̄s), OPr. has –os in EV and –as in *Ench.*; there are further possible comparisons with OInd. aśvāḥ 'horses',

Goth. *gibōs* 'gifts'. The **gen. plur.** Lith. *-ų*, Latv. *-u*, OPr. *-on* (< **-un* < **-ōn/-ōm*); for further comparisons cf. OGr. χωρῶν 'of the lands', Goth. *gibō* 'of the gifts'. The **dat. plur.** Lith. *-oms*, OLith. *-omus* (< **-āmus*); both OLatv. *-āms* and Latv. *-ām* show only one-syllable endings. OPr. *-mans*, e.g. *gennāmans* 'to the women', is problematic (Mažiulis 2004, p. 42-43). The **acc. plur.** Lith. *-as*, Latv. *-as*; OPr. *-ans* (< **-ą́s* < **-áns*), cf. def. fem. adj. *gerą́sias* 'the good ones', and also OLith. *geranses* id., OPr. *gennans* 'women'; for further comparisons cf. OInd. *áśvāḥ* 'horses', OGr. Cretan θεάνς 'goddesses', Goth. *gibōs* 'gifts'. The traditional reconstruction of the endings of the acc. sing. **-ān*, cf. OGr. θεᾱ́ν, Latin *rosam*, OInd. *aśvā́m*), and also acc. plur. **-ās* (< ?**-āns*, cf. Cretan θεᾱ́νς) is a topic of discussion: Mažiulis, starting with the observation that the stems in **-ā* do not possess a neuter paradigm, considers that the two endings of the accusative were formed from the simple stem **-ā* + *n* in the sing. and from the simple stem **-ā* + *s* in the plur. Put another way, in the termination of the acc. plur. there is no nasal element which is found in the acc. plur. of other stems [see *infra*], because − still according to Mažiulis − within it is hidden, if the final *-s* is removed, the ending of the nom.-acc. plur. of the neuter (< **-ā*), cf. OPr. *perpett-as* '[to speak] behind smb.'s back', OInd. *senāḥ* 'armies', Goth. *gibos* 'gifts'. However, in this scenario the OPr. acc. plur. fem. (*rānk-*) *ans* 'hands', Lith. acc. plur. def. fem. adj. *ger-ą́s-ias* 'the good ones' and East High Lith. dial. *gerósias* id. (compared with Lith. acc. plur. *rank-às* 'hands', adj. fem. *ger-às* 'good' etc.) remain unexplained, which Mažiulis's reasoning attributes to older formations. Departing from this contradiction, Mathiassen proposes anew to trace back the Baltic forms to a single ending **-āns* (that is acc. plur. **gerāns*, **rankāns*), hypothesizing a process, partially similar to that postulated for the acc. plur. of stems in **-ŏ* [see *infra*], and in contradistinction to the traditional thesis, arguing that the nasal element was preserved in word medial position *-ąs-*), but was lost in word final position (*-as*).[156] The **instr. plur.** Lith. *-omìs* (< **-ā-mĩs*), cf. OCS *rǫkami* 'with the hands'; Latv. *-ām* probably is from an old dual form. The **loc. plur.** Lith. *-os-è* (< **-ās-én*) is formed by addition of the post-position **-én* [see 7.4.2.4.; for OPr. 6.3.3.]; OLith. *-osu* (< **-ā-su*) mantains the ancient loc. ending, cf. OCS *rǫkachъ* 'in the hands', OInd. *áśvāsu* 'in the horses'; Latv. *-ās* can equally correspond to both Lith. endings.

The **dual form** endings are in Lith. nom. acc. *-ì* (< **-íe* < **-ei/-ai*), cf. def. adj. *geríeji* 'the good ones'), also known sporadically in Latvian (e.g. *abi*

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[156]   Cf. Mathiassen (1989), who develops Stang (*VGBS*, p. 200).

kãji 'both legs'). The Lith. dat. is *–óm*, and instr. *–õm*; the old texts some-
times still retain the unshortened forms.

2.2.1.5.3. *-ē Stems. One of the principal innovations of Baltic declension is
doubtless the presence of a highly productive class of stems in *–ē* (e.g. OPr.
bitte 'bee', Lith. *bìtė* id., Latv. *bite* id.; Lith. *dìdė* 'large' fem.), parallel to the
inflexion in *–(i̯)ā*:

	Singular	**Plural**	**Dual**	
nom.	**–i̯ē*	**–i̯ēs*	nom., acc.	**–i̯ēi*
gen.	**–i̯ēs*	**–i̯ōn*		
dat.	**–i̯ēi*	**–i̯ēm(V)s*	dat./instr.	**–i̯ēm–*
acc.	**–i̯ēn*	*?*–i̯ēns, *–i̯ēs*		
instr.	**–i̯ḗn*	**–i̯ēmīs*		
loc.	**–i̯ēi̯ (+ –ḗn)*	**–i̯ē-su (*–i̯ēs + –ḗn)*		
voc.	**–i̯e*	**–i̯ēs*		

Stems in **-ē.*

It is possible to reduce the numerous hypotheses regarding the origin of
this inflexion to perhaps two or three. According to Kuryłowicz (1966), it is
derived from an ancient feminine stem in **-(i)i̯ā* if one proceeds from pho-
netic alternations produced in feminine adjectival paradigms. According to
Stang (*VGBS*, p. 203), it is a transformation (*Umbildung*) of the **ī–* inflec-
tion.[157] According to Kazlauskas (1968, p. 189-192), on the contrary, it is a
continuation of the IE inflection in **-(i̯)ē*, clearly preserved elsewhere only
in Latin (cf. OLat. *facēs* 'torch', *aciēs* 'point'); probably some traces also
remain in Tokharian if they are not neoformations, cf. Tokh. *āre* 'plough'
~ Lith. *orẽ/õrė* 'ploughing', Latv. *āre* id. From this perspective Ambrazas S.
(1995) connects feminine nouns in **-(i̯)ē* to abstract nouns in **-i*. Nouns
with this stem are generally feminine. With the exception of the nom., the
cases of the singular are formed similarly to the **ā–* stems.

   nom. sing. Lith. *–ẽ* (< **-i̯ẽ*). **gen. sing.** Lith. *–ẽs* (< **-i̯ẽs*), and also
OPr. *–is* (probably from unstressed **-ēs*), may be compared with OLat.
faciēs 'of the face'. **dat. sing.** Lith. *–ei* (< **-i̯ēi*). **acc. sing.** Lith. *–ę* (< **-i̯ẽ
n*). **instr. sing.** Lith. *–è* (< **-ḗn*). **loc. sing.** Lith. *–ėjè* (< **-ējén* < **-ēi̯ḗn*, cf.
DP 616:33: *ʒ́émeii̯ie* i.e. *žẽmėje* + *jie* 'terrestrial [things]'); the original loc.
ending **-ēi* is shown by forms of the adessive case which have been

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[157] This opinion is shared by Euler (1999).

retained in OLith. texts (e.g. DP 523:11 *kalinéip* i.e. **kalinēi + p(i)* 'in pris-on') and in some dialectal areas (as already observed by Bezzenberger 1877, p. 251). **voc. sing.** Lith. *-e* displays a pure stem, with stress on the root (e.g. *móte* 'woman!'); the Latv. voc. has been replaced by the nom., but short forms probably lost the final vowel (e.g. *māt* 'mother!' < **mãte*).

 nom. plur. Lith. *-ės* (< **-i̯ḗs*). **gen. plur.** Lith. *-ių* (< **-i̯ōn* < ?**-i̯ē-ŏm*). **dat. plur.** Lith. *-ė́ms* (< **-i̯ḗmus*), OLatv. *-ēms*. **acc. plur.** Lith. *-ès* (< **-i̯ḗs*). **instr. plur.** Lith. *-ėmìs* (< **-i̯ēmís*), OLatv. *-ēms*. **loc. plur.** OLith. *-ėsu* (< **-ē-su*) is noted in old texts (e.g. MK 9:12 *amßinaſu tamſibeſu* 'in the eternal shadows') and in Lith. dial. whilst Lith. *-ėsè* (< **-i̯ēs + ė́n*) is a new formation.

 The **dual form** endings are in Lith. nom. acc. *-i* (< **-ie* < **-ei*), also known sporadically in Latvian; the Lith. dat. is *-ė́m*, and instr. *-ẽm*. Forms of the old loc. dual are Lith. *pusiaũ* 'in two' and Latv. *pušu* id.

2.2.1.5.4. *-i Stems. In addition, other nominal stems were well preserved,[158] e.g. in *-i*, and in *-(i̯)u*. In Lithuanian and Latvian the overwhelming majority of stems in *-i* are comprised of masculine nouns; among stems in *-(i̯)u* one observes a tendency for substitution with forms from stems in *-(i̯)o* (Kazlauskas 1968, p. 226-238), with the relatively early loss, already in Old Lithuanian and in Old Latvian, of certain endings (especially in the plural) of this nominal type. In Old Prussian one finds traces of the neuter in stems in *-i*.

 With the disappearance of the neuter gender in the **-i* and **-u* stems a series of paradigmatic readjustments took place: *i*) the neuter nom. plur. **-ū* and **-ī* combined with the already existing variants masculine femi-nine **-ūs*, **-īs* and strengthened their importance in the paradigm; *ii*) the neuter acc. plur. **-ūs* and **-īs* coincided with the masculine feminine vari-ants **-ūs* and **-īs*, the origin of which was explained above (Mažiulis 1970, p. 297-301, 312).

	Singular	Plural	Dual	
nom.	**-ĭs*	?**-i̯i̯(e)s, *-īs*	nom., acc.	**-ī*
gen.	**-eis*	**-i̯ōn*		
dat.	**-ei, *-i*	**-im(V)s*	dat./instr.	**-i-m-*
acc.	**-in*	?**-ĭns, *-īs*		
instr.	**-ĭmī*	**-imīs*		

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[158] Eckert (1988a) studied stems in **-i* from a Balto-Slavic perspective.

	Singular	Plural	Dual	
loc.	*-ēi (+ -én)	*-i-su, *-īs (+ -én)		
voc.	*-ei	*-īs		

Stems in *-i.

nom. sing. OPr. Lith. -is, OLatv. -is, Latv. -s (< *-is), cf. OInd. *ávis* 'sheep', Latin *ovis* id., OGr. πόλις 'city', OCS *gostь* 'guest'. **gen. sing.** Lith. -iẽs, OLatv. -is, Latv. -s (< *-eis), cf. OGr. πόλεις 'of the city', Oscan *aeteis* 'of a part', OCS *gosti* (< *-eis) 'of the guest'; other IE languages indicate the stem *-ŏi-, cf. OInd. *ávyas* (< *-ŏu̯i-es) 'of the sheep', Goth. *qēnais* (< *-oi-s) 'of the wife'. **dat. sing.** OPr. *nautei* 'to the need', OLith. -ie/-i (e.g. masc. *vãgie / vãgi* 'to the thief' and fem. *ãvie / ãvi* 'to the sheep'), Latv. dial. -i (< *-ei); Stang explains the two reconstructed forms: *-ei (e.g. OLith. DP 18:8 *Wiesspatie* 'to the Lord') and *-i (e.g. OLith. DP 519:44 *áki* 'to the eye') as being different ablaut grades; cf. Latin *ovī* 'to the sheep', OCS *gosti* 'to the guest'. **acc. sing.** OPr. -in, Lith. -į, Latv. -i (< *-in), cf. OInd. *ávim* 'sheep', OGr. πόλιν 'city', OCS *gostь* (< *-in) 'guest'. **instr. sing.** Lith. -imì (< *-imī́) although OCS *gostьmь* 'with the guests' indicate rather *-mĭ; other IE languages show the carachteristic ending *-bh-. **loc. sing.** Lith. -yjè (< *-ī̯i̯én), Latv. -ī (< *-ie, *-ē), are analogical new formations on the model of the *-ā stems. **voc. sing.** -iẽ (< *-ei), cf. OInd. *ávē* (< *-ei) 'sheep!', OCS *gosti* (<*-ei) 'guest!'; Latvian has no voc. for words with this stem.

Concerning the various attested forms of the **nom. plur.** Lith. -ys (dial. -ies in Tverečius),[159] OPr. Latv. -is. Some scholars consider it to be certain that they are Baltic archaisms and not innovations;[160] other think differently that the reconstructed ending *-i̯(e)s replaced *-ei̯es (cf. OInd. *avyaḥ* 'sheeps', OGr. πόλεις 'cities', Latin *hostēs* 'enemies', OCS *gostьje* 'guests') perhaps following the model of the other cases with -i- in stem final position. **gen. plur.** Lith. Latv. -ių̃ (< *-i̯ōn < *-i̯ōm), cf. OGr. dial. πολίων 'of the cities'. **dat. plur.** OLith. -imus > Lith. -ims, OLatv. and Latv. dial. -ims (Latv. -īm is long on the model of *-ā and *-ē stems), cf. Goth. *qēnim* 'to the wives', OCS *gostьmъ* 'to the guests'; OPr. -mans is problematic. **acc. plur.** Lith. Latv. -is, OPr. -ins (< ?*-ī́s or *-ĭ̃ns), cf. OGr. (Cretan) πόλινς 'cities', Goth. *qēnins* 'wives'; the lengthening of the masc. endings *-īns can be con-

159 Otrębski (1934, p. 240) mentions three nom. plur. endings: -ies, -īs, -es, e.g. *úńćies* or *úńćīs* 'cats', and *žvéres* '(wild) beast'.
160 Mažiulis (1967, p. 38); such endings are reflections of IE *-ei̯es (and *-eu̯es) from which Baltic forms were derived as a result of a loss of *-e-; cf. Kazlauskas (1969a).

sidered an analogy with the *-ŏ stems, but if one postulates the presence of a neuter paradigm it is also possible to propose the existence of the feminine variants *-īs (cf. OInd. *matīḥ* thoughts').[161] **instr. plur.** Lith. -imìs (< *-imī́s), cf. OCS *gostъmi* 'with the guests'. **loc. plur.** OLith. and Lith. dial. -isu (< *ī-su) is considered the older termination, cf. OInd. *aviṣu* 'in the sheep', OCS *gostьchъ* 'in the guests'; Lith. -ysè, Latv. -īs (< *-īs-én) are innovations, analogical new formations on the model of the *-ā stems. The nom. plur. is used also with of **voc. plur.** meaning.

The **dual form** endings are in Lith. nom. acc. masc. -u taken from the *-(i̯)ŏ stems, and fem. -i (< *-ī́). Lith. dat. is -ìm (< *-ìmu/-ìma), and instr. -im̃ (< *-imì/-imà).

2.2.1.5.5. *-(i̯)u Stems. In OPr. there are no traces of the stems in -u, but their presence is supposed. The following picture is reconstructed on the basis of Lith.-Latv. materials:

	Singular	Plural	Dual	
nom.	*-ŭs	*-ăus, *-ūs	nom., acc.	*-ū
gen.	*-ăus	*-u̯ōn		
dat.	?*-ōi	*-ŭm(V)s	dat./instr.	*-ŭ-m-
acc.	*-ŭn	?*-ūns, *-ūs		
instr.	*-ŭmī	*-ŭmīs		
loc.	*-ōu (+ -én)	*ūs (+ -én), ?*-ŭ-su		
voc.	*-ŏu			

Stems in *-(i̯)u.

In the **nom. sing.** OPr. *dangus* 'heaven', Lith. *tur̃gus* 'market', Latv. *tìrgus* id < *-us, cf. OInd. *sūnúḥ* 'son', OGr. πῆχυς 'forearm', Goth. *sunus* 'son', OCS *synъ* id. In the **gen. sing.** cf. Lith. *sūn-aũs* 'of the son' (< *-aus < *-ous), Latv. *tur̃gus* (< *-aus) 'of the market', and further: OInd. *sūnōḥ* (< *-ous), Goth. *sunaus*, OCS *synu*, Latin *manus* 'of the hand' (< *-ous). The **dat. sing.** is more problematic. Regarding Lith. -ui it is traditionally thought (Stang, Zinkevičius; Mažiulis is, however, of a different opinion) that it derives from the *-ŏ stems. The other IE languages show a more archaic feature, cf. OInd. *sūnávē* 'to the son' or OCS *synovi* id. In the **acc.**

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161 According to the equations suggested by Mažiulis: masculine acc. *-ōns: neuter acc.-nom. *-ā: feminine
*-ās (< *-ā-s) = masculine acc. *-īns: neuter acc.-nom. *-ī (< *-ia): feminine x = masc. acc. *-ūns: neuter
nom.-acc. *-ū (< *-ua): fem. x where x = fem. acc. *-īs (< *-ī-s), fem. acc. *-ūs (< *-ū-s).

sing. OPr. *sunun* 'son', Lith. *sūnų*, Latv. *tir̃gu* 'market' (< *-un*), cf. OInd. *sūnúm*, Goth. *sunu*, OCS *synъ*, OGr. πῆχυν 'forearm', Latin *manum* 'hand'. The **instr. sing.** Lith. *sūnumì* 'with the son' (< *-umī́*) goes with OCS *synъmь*; in Latv. the adverb *virsum* 'above' still shows the instr. ending. **loc. sing.** Lith. *-uje* (also *-ūje*), Latv. *-ū*, are an analogical formation, since the older situation seems to be preserved in dialects, e.g. (Baltic *-ōu-* >) Low Lith. *-uo-je* [-ǫu-] etc., cf. OInd. *sūnáu* 'in the son', OCS *synu* id. **voc. sing.** Lith. *-au* (< *-ou*), cf. OInd. *sūnō* 'o son!', OCS *synu* id.

For the **nom. plur.** there are various opinions: analogical formation with the *-i* stems or (Endzelīns) development from Blt. *-uu̯es* (> *-uu̯s* > Lith. *-ūs*, Latv. *-us*). The ending in *-ūs* already appears as an innovation compared to IE *-ĕu̯ĕs/-ŏu̯ĕs*; for others, however, the many attested forms of the nom. plur. (Lith. dialect *-ūs*, *-aus/-uos*) indicate that it is a Baltic archaism and not an innovation.[162] In the **gen. plur.** Lith. *-ų*, Latv. *-u* are both very probably from *-un* < Blt. *-(u̯)ōn*, cf. Avestan *pasvąm* 'of the cattle', OGr. dial. γούνων 'of the knees'; the comparison with OCS *synovъ* 'of the sons' and Goth. *suniwe* id., however, indicate rather *-ou̯ōm*, *-eu̯ōm*, so that there is no complete agreement on the recontruction of this ending. At least in East Baltic the process of morphological truncation of the number of syllables probably was initiated in the gen. plur. For **dat. plur.** OLith. *-umus*, Lith. *-ums*, cf. OCS *synъmъ* 'of the sons'. The **acc. plur.** ending is problematic: Lith. *-us* (< *-ū́s*) whilst Latv. *-us* could be from *-ūs* or from *-uns*, cf. OInd. *sūnūḥ* 'sons', OGr. dial. υἱύνς, Goth. *sununs*, OCS *syny*. The lengthening is uncertain in the reconstruction of the ending *-ūns*, probably by analogy with the other paradigms (see what has already been said for the *-i* stems). The reconstruction of the **instr. plur.** endings is based on data – uniform, by the way – of Lithuanian alone, cf. Lith. *-umìs* (< *-umī́s*), further: OCS *synъmi* 'with the sons'. **loc. plur.** OLith. and Lith. dial. *sūnūsè* 'in the sons' is probably from *-ūs-ḗn* if it is not also analogical with the other stems. An ending OLith. *-ŭsu* (cf. OInd. *sūnúṣu* 'in the sons', OCS *synъchъ* id.) is not certain: it could be preserved in Mažvydas (e.g. *dągusu*, *dągusu* 'in the heavens', and others) but it could also reflect *-ūsu*. Lith. *-uosè* (< *-ōs-ḗn*) is a new formation.

The **dual form** endings are: Lith. nom. acc. *sūnu* (< *-ū́*), cf. OInd. *sūnū́* 'two sons', OCS *syny* id; OLith. dat. *-ùmu*, *-ùma* and instr. *-umì*, *-umà* whilst later the forms of the *-ŏ* stems were used.

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[162] Mažiulis (1967, p. 38); such endings are reflections of IE *-ei̯es*, cf. OInd. *avyaḥ* 'sheep', Latin *hostēs* 'enemies', and *-eu̯es*, from which Baltic forms were derived as a result of the loss of *-e-*); cf. Kazlauskas (1969a).

2.2.1.5.6. *-C Stems. The consonant stems are best preserved in Lithuanian, and in their reconstruction I rely primarily on Lithuanian data:

	Singular	**Plural**	**Dual**	
nom.	*-s, -Ø	*-es	nom., acc.	*-uo
gen.	*-es	*-ōn		
dat.	*-ei, *-i	*-mus	dat./instr.	*-o-m-
acc.	*-in	*-īns		
instr.	*-imi	*-imis		
loc.	*-i (+ -én)	*-īs (+ -én)		

Consonant stems.

Today there is not a single consonantal stem whose internal paradigm is fully preserved. However, traces of the consonantal declension still remain in contemporary Lithuanian and Latvian [see 7.4.2.5.7.]. In the IE languages the **nom. sing.** of stems in *-n*, *-r* generally lack the ending *-s*; likewise in Baltic (cf. Lith. *sesuõ* 'sister', *akmuõ* 'stone'). For the **gen. sing**. *-es* (< IE *-o/es* is supposed, cf. OInd. *padáḥ*); this form of the consonantal (athematic) declension is connected by some scholars with the *-ŏ* stem *-o/es* (from a sigmatic ergative, but this is naturally only one of the hypotheses).

The Baltic successors of ancient irregular nouns in *r/n* (particularly of those characterized by root ablaut *e/*o/*?), which exhibit root vocalism in *ă* < *ŏ* (cf. Lith. *vãkaras* 'evening', Lith. *vãsara* 'summer') corresponding to root vocalism *ě* in Slavic (cf. *večerъ*, *vesna*) are the subject of a study by Eckert (1969, 1987a). Matasović (1999) observes that heteroclita names reconstructed through comparison of Baltic and Slavic data only are different from those presupposed for IE.

2.2.1.6. Pronouns. The latest work to appear on this topic, summarizing prolonged research on the subject, was undertaken by Rosinas (1988). The mass of data reported here surpasses by far that which is found in more general studies (Stang *VGBS*, p. 232-257; Zinkevičius *LKIG* I, p. 4-16). Internal reconstruction and the comparative method permit one to establish certain features of the Proto-Baltic period: the possessive meaning in pronouns was expressed primarily by means of the possessive genitive; simple pronominal stems show a clear IE origin, whereas Baltic innovations chiefly affect compound pronouns (e.g. Lith. *kìtas* 'other' < *kᵘi - and *ta-s*, Lith. *kai kàs* 'somebody' < *kᵘei- and *ka-s*).

The principal feature of personal pronouns is suppletivism (also observable in other IE linguistic groups):

	Baltic sing. 1st pers.	**Baltic sing. 2nd pers.**	
nom.	*ež/*eš	*tŭ̄	
gen.	*mene	*teu̯e	*seu̯e
dat.	*menei/mei	*tebei/tei	*sebei/sei
acc.	*mēn/-me	*tēn/-te	*sēn/-se
	Baltic sing. 1st pers.	Baltic sing. 2nd pers.	
	*mes	*i̯ūs	

Those stems common to the three languages belong to the oldest stratum of the demonstrative pronouns, for example: Baltic *ta- 'that' masc., cf. Lith. tàs/tà; Latv. tas, tā; OPr. s-tas, s-ta; Baltic *ši-/*ši̯a- 'this' masc./fem., (cf. Lith. šìs, šì; Latv. šis, šī; OPr. schis; Baltic *ana- 'that', cf. Lith. anàs, -à; OPr. t-āns < *t-anas, tennā.

A ternary system is postulated for the Proto-Baltic language. This system is at the origin of the contemporary binary system (Rosinas 1988, p. 188):

*šis, *šī̆, *šĭ (paradigmatical variants: *ši̯a, *ši̯ā)

*anas, *anā, *ană

*tas, *tā, *tă; *is, *ī, *ĭ (paradigmatical variants: *i̯ā, *i̯ă).

Regarding the interrogative-relative pronouns, the endo-Baltic comparison (cf. Lith.-Latv. masc. kàs 'who, what', OLith. neuter ka; OPr. masc. kas, neuter ka; Lith. kat(a)ras 'which of two', Latv. katars, OLatv. katers id.) permits the reconstruction of the pronominal forms *kas, *ka (< *kᵘo-s), *kateras, -a (< *kᵘo- and tero-), leading to the creation of a Proto-Baltic ternary system, derived in turn from an IE binary system.[163]

2.2.1.7. Adjectives. Among the most productive Baltic adjectival stems are those in –ŏ/-ā, while a few traces of other stems (in –i, –ē, –ŭ,[164] etc.) remain. In OPr. the ancient inherited nominal inflexion was preserved [see 6.3.2.5.]; also in the feminine adjectives of Lith. and Latv.; however, masculine adjectives adopted the inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns (precisely in the dat. and instr. sing., dat. and instr. dual nom. and dat. plur.).

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[163] Rosinas (1988, p. 190-198). On the inflectional morphology of Baltic pronouns, cf. Rosinas (1995).

[164] On Baltic –ŭ stems adjectives, cf. Vanags (1992c). On the same topic for Balto-Slavic, cf. Arumaa (1951); Otkupščikov (1983).

In Latvian this process continued with the introduction of pronominal endings as well for the noun. In Lith. so-called neuter adjectives still exist.[165]

2.2.1.7.1. Comparative degrees. For the formation of comparative degrees of the adjectives the three Baltic languages use different formants-innovations not reducible to a single pattern, e.g. OPr. *-ais/-is*; Lith. comparative: adjective stem + *-esnis, -ė*; Lith. superlative: adjective stem + *-iausias, -a*; Latv. comparative: adj. stem + *-ākais, -ā* (cf. Lith. *-ok-*); Latv. superlative: *vis-* + adj. stem + *-āks, -a*).[166]

An explanation based on the comparison with Germanic is offered by Schmid (1989a), who interprets the OPr. comparatives as adjectivized adverbs, or as formations of ancient adverbs amplified with the element (*j*)*is*, from which e.g. OPr. *massais* 'less' = *massai* (cf. *labbai* 'well') + *is* and the connection with Lith. *mažaĩ* 'little' (*-ai* + *s* ~ *-ai*), parallel to what is observed between Lith. *greičiaũs* 'faster' and *greičiaũ* id. (*-iau* + *s* ~ *-iau*).

2.2.1.7.2. Definite adjective. The definite adjective is formed with the addition of the pronoun **-i̯o-* with anaphoric and deictic function,[167] e.g. Lith. nom. sing. masc. *jaunàsis* 'that young' ~ *jáunas* 'young' + pron. *jis* 'he' or Lith. fem. *jaunóji* 'that young' ~ *jaunà* 'young' + *ji* 'she'; Latv. masc. *mazais* 'that small' ~ *mazs* 'small', fem. *mazā* 'that small' ~ *maza* 'small'. These formations are not only typical in Baltic, but also occur in Slavic, although with several differences in the inflexion of the pronoun (OCS *dobryjь* < **dobrъjь* 'that good'), and in Germanic in the so-called weak declension of adjectives (Goth. *goda* id.).[168]

2.2.1.8. Numerals. The following sections illustrate the categories: cardinals, ordinals and collectives.[169]

2.2.1.8.1. Cardinals. The cardinal numerals are only partly attested in Old Prussian but are well attested in Lithuanian and Latvian.

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[165] Cf. Ambrazas V. (1997, p. 134-137); Mathiassen (1996b, p. 62); Petit (2001b).

[166] Cf. Vykypěl (2001).

[167] Otrebski's hypothesis (1968) is unique in that he considers **ji-* an emphatic particle and not a pronoun.

[168] On the morphological evolution of the definite adjectives in Baltic, cf. Zinkevičius (1957, 1978); Kazlauskas (1972b). On the origin with typological considerations, cf. Ballester (2001).

[169] Cf. Endzelīns (1922b, p. 356-372), Stang (*VGBS*, p. 276-284), Smoczyński (1987c, 1999b), Zinkevičius (*LKIG* II, 56-70), Kortlandt (2002a). Comrie (1999) prefers to deal with the concept "Balto-Slavonic" numerals. Cf. also Martínez (1992).

1. OPr. *ains* (< **oin-*, cf. OLat. *oinos* (Latin *ūnus*), OGr. fem. nom. sing. οἰνή 'one (on dice)', Latin *ūnus* (< **oinos*), Goth. *ains*, OIr. *oín*, *óen*) versus Lith. *víenas*, Latv. *viens* (< **v(i)-ein-*, cf. Lith. *vičveĩnelis* 'all alone' and OCS *jed-inъ* 'one'; perhaps with dissimilation cf. also Latv. *eidenieks* 'ambler, pacer' and *eidene* 'widow', cf. *ME* I, p. 566); the anlaut *v(i)-* is obscure.

2. OPr. shows only a doubtful form in acc. plur. *dwai dellikans* 'two parts', and *dwi-* in compounds (cf. Lith. *dvi-*, Latv. *div-*, and further: OInd. *dvipád-* 'two-legged', OGr. δίπους, Latin *bipēs*, OHG *twifete* < IE **dui-*). In Lithuanian and Latvian the situation is pretty complex. Lith. masc. *dù* (< **duō*), according to Endzelīns could arise in unstressed position or on the model of the dual form; Lith dial. *duo*, LLith. *dou* < **dvuo*. For Lith. fem. *dvì* there are two (not alternative, indeed) possibilities: from **duai* (Stang), or from **duei* (Endzelīns, cf. Cymric *dwy* < **duei*). The Latv. masc. *divi* is also discussed. Endzelīns considers it an old feminine (Latv. fem. *divas* is a new form) and neuter now also used for the masculine and derives it from **duvi* (cf. OCS *dъvě*, OInd. *duvē*, Latin *duae*); Stang retains the idea that it is a new formation on the model of the plur. of the *o*-stems. The Lith. adverb *dvíejau(s)* 'in two' retains the old loc. form (cf. OInd. *dváyoḥ*, OCS *dъvoju*).

   The word for 'both' in the Baltic languages (OPr. masc. *abbai* (also acc. *abbans*); the Lith. masc. *abù*, fem. *abì*; Latv. *abi*, dial. *abu*) agree with OCS *oba*, *obě*, in contrast to OGr. ἄμφω, Latin *ambō*, OInd. *úbhau* id.

3. Nom. OPr. preserves traces in place-names such as *Triskaym* and the like, gen. plur. *Treonkaymynweysigis* 'trium villarum pratum' (Gerullis 1922a, 186). Lith. *trỹs*, Latv. *trīs* (probably < **triịés*) follow the *i*-stems.

   Gen. Lith. *trijų̃*, Latv. *triju*, cf. OGr. τριῶν, Latin *trium*, OCS *trьjь*.

   Dat. Lith. *trìm(u)s*, OLatv. *trims*, Latv. *trim*, cf. OCS *trьmъ*, Goth. *þrim*.

   The acc. Lith. form *trìs* is an innovation, Arumaa (1931) also listed *trins*, and Stang points out the forms written like <trịs> in Daukša; Latv. *trīs* is a nom. form, the old acc. is preserved in the dialects. Further comparisons are with OInd. *tráyaḥ*, OGr. τρεῖς (Cretese τρεες), Latin *trēs*, Goth. *þreis*.

Instr. Lith. *trimìs*, cf. OCS *trьmi.*

Loc. Lith. masc. *trijuosè* and fem. *trijosè* are new formations; the old loc. is preserved in *trisè* and in dial. *trisù*, cf. OInd. *trisú*, OCS *trъchъ*. Latv. has masc. *trijuos* and fem. *trijās*, and also *trīs* uncharacterized as to gender.

The old neuter form is probably preserved in compounds, cf. Lith. *trýlika* '13', see also Lith. *trikójis* 'three-legged', Latv. dial. *trikājis* id., cf. OInd. *tripad-*, OGr. τρίπους, Latin *tripēs.*

4. Nom. Lith. masc. *keturì*, fem. *kẽturios* are declined like adjectives. As for Latv. masc. *četri*, fem. *četras*, one must point out two things: *a) č-* (with respect to the ordinal *certurts* '4th'; see also CC 30 et al. OLatv. <cettre>, ED <cœtr> '4' was borrowed from Slavic, *b)* the form **čet(u)ri* may probably be supposed on the basis of the forms <czeturkort> 'four times' and G 76 et al. <czeturpacmitâ> '14', and on the basis of the comparison with Slavic (cf. OCS *četyre*, Russ. четыре); the disappearance of *u* (it happens also in Lith. dial. *kẽtrios*, and *ketrius* in the Dictionary of Juškevičius, 1897-1922) could be favored by paradigmatic alignment considering that the following numerals are bisyllabic.

The acc. Lith. *kẽturis* shows a trace of the *C*-stems, cf. OInd. *catvăraḥ*, OGr. τέτταρες, Latin *quattuor*, Goth. *fidwor*. In OLatv. in Langius's *LDL* the form <zettros> is attested. ending is preserved in the adverbial form *keturíese* 'in four'; in OLatv. in Langius's *LDL* the form <zettros> is attested.

5. Nom. Lith. masc. *penkì*, fem. *peñkios*; Latv. masc. *pieci,* fem. *piecas*; gen. *penkiũ*, Latv. *piecu*; dat. Lith. *penkíems*, Latv. *pieciem*; acc. Lith. *penkìs* and *penkiùs*; Latv. *piecus*. The acc. form preserved the ending of the *C*-stems. Further comparisons with OInd. *páñca*, OGr. πέντε, Latin *quinque* (< **penkʷe*) are possible.

6. Nom. Lith. fem. *šešì*, masc. *šẽšios* with assimilation from **seš-*, preserved in Lith. dial. [*sãš-*]; Latv. masc. *seši*, fem. *sešas* with *š* < **si̯*, probably from gen. *sešu* (< **sek̑s-*). Further comparisons are with OInd. *ṣáṭ*, OGr. ἕξ, Latin *sex*, Goth. *saihs*. For OPr. see *uschts* and its graphic variants, under the ordinals (more in *VGBS*, p. 279).

7. Nom. Lith. masc. *septynì*, fem. *septýnios* (the long *i* is an innovation), Latv. *septiņi*, *septiņas* (Balt. < **septin*). Further comparisons with OInd. *saptá*, OGr. ἑπτά, Latin *septem*, Goth. *sibun* (< **septm̥*) are possible.

8. Nom. Lith. masc. *aštuonì*, fem. *aštuonios* (the **ō* probably influenced the long *i* in 7), Latv. masc. *astuoņi*, fem. *astuoņas* (Balt. < **aštō-*, the final addition of **-níe* was influenced by 7 and 9), cf. OInd. *aṣṭá(u)*, OGr. ὀκτώ, Latin *octō*, Goth. *ahtau* (< IE **ŏ́ktō*).

9. Nom. Lith. masc. *devynì*, fem. *devynios* (the long *i* is an innovation), Latv. masc. *deviņi* (dial. *devīņi*), fem. *deviņas* (Balt. < **devin* < ?*nevin). Cf. OCS *devętь*, but OInd. *náva*, Latin *novem*, Goth. *niun* (< IE **neun̥*); as for the oscillation *n-* ~ *d-*, cf. Pisani (1934-1935), Hansson (1993).

10. Nom. OPr. *dessimpt* and *dessempts* (for **desimtis*), *dessimton* Ench. perhaps on the model of **simtan* '100'; Lith. *dešimtìs*, *-iẽs* and indeclinable *dešimt*; Latv. *desmit* (with a metathesis) and occasionally also *desimt* (Balt. < **dekm̥t-* 'decade' noun; cf. Smoczyński 1992e). Further comparisons with OInd. *dáśa*, OGr. δέκα, Latin *decem*, Goth. (IE < **dekm̥*).

11-19. No attestations are present in OPr. Lith. cardinal teens are: *vienúolika*, *dvýlika*, *trýlika*, *keturiólika*, *penkiólika*, *šešiólika*, *septyniólika*, *aštuoniólika*, *devyniólika*, formed with *-lika* (cf. noun Lith. *liẽkas* 'left over, extra', Latv. *lieks* id.) in the second element of the compound which probably derives from an ancient adjective nom.-acc. plur. neuter **-liek̃* (in composition *ie > i*, cf. *tiktaĩ* 'only' < *tiektaĩ*) [see Ordinals]; further in Stang (*VGBS*, p. 280-281)].

The form *vienúo-* poses a problem for the *úo* which also occurs in other compounds (e.g. *vienúogalė žarna* 'appendicitis', cf. Senn A. 1935-1936, p. 80) and originally could have been an instrumental (sociative?), something like 'with one remnant [after 10]'

The same formation exists in the Germanic languages, although limited to the numbers 11 and 12, cf. Goth. *ain-lif*, *twa-lif* [see 3.1.2.3.]; this formation is absent in Latvian and quite different from e.g. OInd. *ēkadaśa* '11' or Latin *ūndecim* id.

In OLith. *Liekas ſtraipſtis* (MK 22:11) is still attested 'the 11th article' i.e. 'that which is left over [after 10]', and *Antras liekas ſtraipſtis* (MK 22:13) 'the 12th article' etc., are still attested, but D. Klein (1653) already lists the compound forms of these cardinals (cf. *LKIG* II, p. 60-61).

Latv. cardinal teens are: *vienpadsmit*, *divpadsmit*, *trīspadsmit*, *četrpadsmit*, *sešpadsmit*, *septiņpadsmit*, *astuoņpadsmit*, *deviņpadsmit*

with –*dsmit* < *desmit*, cf. OLatv. *vienpasesmits*, *divipadesmits* etc. in the Adolphi's (1685) grammar, the Latv. numerals have parallels in OCS, e.g. *jedinъ na desęte* '11' (cf. Polish *jedenaście*).

20-90. Lith. has both analytical (*dvi dẽšimti*, *trỹs dẽšimtys* etc.) and compound (*dvìdešimt(s)*, *trìsdešimt* etc.) forms whilst Latvian only compound forms: *div(i)desmit(s)* (or dial. *divudesmit*), *trīsdesmit* etc.

100. Lith. *šim̃tas* (plur. *šimtaĩ*; dial. *šim̃tai* probably because of the enclitic position), Latv. *simts* are probably instead of an older neuter, cf. OInd. *śatám*, OGr. ἑϰατόν, Latin *centum*, Goth. *hund* etc. (< IE **km̥t-óm*).

1000. OPr. *en tūsimtons streipstoos* 'in a thousand parts' (perhaps on the model of **simtan* '100'), Lith. *tū́kstantis*, Latv. *tū́kstotis* and *tū́kstoš* (OLatv. *tūstoš*–), do not constitute a common Baltic form, but perhaps indicate a Baltic-Slavic-Germanic innovation, probably a compound, cf. OCS *tъısęšt*– and *tъısǫšt*–, OIcel. *þúsund*, Goth. *þūsundi*; also Finn. sing. *tuhat*, plur. *tuhansi* (*h* < *š*) is a borrowing from Baltic (or Germanic).

2.2.1.8.2. Ordinals. The first ten ordinals are well attested in all three Baltic languages, also OPr., because of their occurrence in the Ten Commandments of the *Catechisms*:

1st. OPr. *pirmas* and *primois*, Lith. *pìrmas*, Latv. *pirmais* (< **pr̥̄mo*–); with the same suffix –*mo*–, cf. Goth. *fruma*, OEng. *forma*, Latin *prīmus* (differently OCS *prъvъ*, OInd. *pū́rv*–).

2nd. OPr. *antars* and *anters* (? < **antras*), Lith. *añtras* (OLith. and dial. *añtaras*), Latv. *otrs* (OLatv. *otars*, *oters*), cf. OInd. *ántara*– 'another', Goth. *anþar*, Czech *úterý*.

3rd. OPr. *tirtis* (fem. *tirti*), Lith. *trẽčias*, Latv. *trešas* and *trešais* (< **treti̯as*); cf. OInd. *tr̥tī́ya*–, Goth. *þridja*, OCS *tretьjь*.

4th. OPr. *kettwirts*, Lith. *ketvir̃tas*, Latv. *ceturts* and *ceturtais* (< **cetvirt*–), cf. OInd. *caturtha*–, OGr. τέτρατος, OCS *četevъrtъ*.

5th. OPr. *piēnckts* (also *penckts*, *pyienkts*), Lith. *peñktas*, Latv. *piekts* and *piektais* (< **penkᵘt*–), cf. OGr. πέμπτος, OCS *pętъ*, Goth. *fimfta*.

6th. OPr. *usts*, *uschts* (and other graphic variants) is traditionally considered to be derived from IE **ukt*–; according to Smoczyński (1987c) it is a Baltic innovation from **s(u̯)ek̑s-to*– (cf. Latin *sextus*, Goth.

saíhsta) which substituted **uḱ-o-* (cf. Lith. dial. *ušės* 'lasting six weeks'). Lith. *šẽštas*, Latv. *sests* and *sestais* (< **sešt-*), cf. OInd. *ṣaṣṭhá-*, OGr. ἕκτος, Latin *sextus*.

7th. OPr. *sepmas,* OLith. *sẽkmas* (< **septmas*; cf. *sekmãdienis* 'Sunday', *Sekminės* 'Whitsunday'), cf. OInd. *saptátha-*, Latin *septimus*, OGr. ἕβδομος (**sebdmo-*). Lith. *septiñtas*, Latv. *septīts* and *septītais* are new formations from the cardinals.

8th. OPr. *asmus,* OLith. *ãšmas* (probably on the model of **septmas*), cf., OCS *osmъ*, OInd. *aṣṭamá-*; Lith. *aštuñtas* (cf. OFrisian *ahtunda*), Latv. *astotais* are new formations from the cardinals; based on Latv. *asmīte* 'kind of measure' Latv. **asms* is also reconstructed.

9th. OPr. *newīnts*, Lith. *deviñtas*, Latv. *devīts, devītais*; these Baltic ordinals are new formations from the cardinals by means of the suffix **-to-*. Cf. OCS *devętъ*, Got. *niunda*, Latin *nōnus*.

10th. OPr. *dessīmts*, Lith. *dešiñtas*, Latv. *desmitais* (with metathesis with respect to OLatv. *desimtais*, cf. Bezzenberger 1877, p. 71) are also new formations by means of the suffix **-to-*. Cf. OInd. *daśamá-*, OGr. δέκατος, Latin *decimus*, Goth. *taihunda*, OCS *desętъ*.

11th-19th. OPr. has no more ordinals attested. Lith. probably had original formations with *liẽkas* 'that which is left over' (cf. *lìkti* 'to remain') such as *pirmas* (*vienas*), *añtras* + *liẽkas* 'the second one left over [10]', from which from the cardinals and by means of the suffix **-ta-* the following series developed: *vienúoliktas, dvýliktas, trýliktas, keturióliktas, penkióliktas, šešióliktas, septynióliktas, aštuonióliktas, devynióliktas*. In OLatv. one finds formations such as *vienu padesmitu* '11', *tresscha pad-desmette* '13' or the like, from which the following series developed: *vienpadsmitais, divpadsmitais, trīspadsmitais, četrpadsmitais, piecpadsmitais, sešpadsmitais, septiņpadsmitais, astoņpadsmitais, deviņpadsmitais*.

20th-90th. The names of the decades are formed from the cardinals in *-t* and the thematic vowel: Lith. *dvìdešimtas*, Latv. *div(i)desmitais*, Lith. *trisdešiñtas*, Latv. *trīsdesmitais*, and so on.

2.2.1.8.3. Collectives. OPr. only has the form *abbaien* 'both'. Lith. has two main types of numeral for expressing this notion, the so-called: *a) daugìniai*, and *b) kúopiniai*.

The *daugìniai* numerals are formed by means of two suffixes: masc. *-eji*, fem. *-ejos* (more ancient), and masc. *-eri*, fem. *-erios* (more recent); thus one observes the double series: masc. *vienerì*, fem. *víenerios* (also *vienì*, *víenos*); masc. *dvejì*, fem. *dvẽjos*; masc. *trejì*, fem. *trẽjos*; masc. *ketverì*, fem. *kẽtverios*; masc. *penkerì*, fem. *peñkerios*; masc. *šešerì*, fem. *šẽšerios*; masc. *septynerì*, fem. *septýnerios*; masc. *aštuonerì*, fem. *aštúonerios*; masc. *devynerì*, fem. *devýnerios*. The *-eri*-type probably originated from *ketverì* (< **ketu̯er-*) by generalizing *-er-*. In OLith. in some cases these numerals still show the form of the singular, later they were used only with *pluralia tantum*. The *kúopiniai* numerals: *víenetas, dvẽjetas, trẽjetas, kẽtvertas, peñketas, šẽšetas, septýnetas, aštúonetas, devýnetas* have the suffix *-et-* (< **-at-*, cf. e.g. Lith. *vienatìs* 'solitude', OPr. *ainat* 'all the time').

Latv. collectives (*kopuma skaitļa vārdi*) to be used with *pluralia tantum* are formed with the suffix masc. *-ēji*, fem. *-ējas* (*-ēj-* < **-ej-*): *vīenēji, divēji, trejēji, četrēji, piecēji, sešēji* (cf. Paegle 2008). From loc. in *-atā* the following forms are derived: *divatā, trejatā, četratā, piecatā, sešatā* (with various dial. variants). Old collectives are Latv. *dviņi* (cf. Lith. *dvynù*) 'twins', *trinīši* 'triplets'.

Both Lith. and Latv. have many other formations with numerals for expressing various usages (cf. Endzelīns 1922b, p. 370-372; *LKIG* II, p. 68-69).

2.2.1.9. Suffix transfer. Sometimes a given lexeme reflects a sort of compromise solution between direct inheritance and complete innovation. In this case one speaks of suffix transfer. This is a morphological process through which the new term takes over the suffix of the term it replaces.

In the Baltic domain some traces of this phenomenon have been identified by Petit (2002a) for OLith. *krienas* 'bride-price (a feudal tax)', Latv. *kriens* id., explained as an innovation replacing an older designation **u̯ed-nom* (cf. OCS вѣно 'purchase of the bride', OGr. ἕεδνον 'the price of twenty oxen'); the new word shows a new stem **krēi-* (< IE **ku̯rei̯-* 'to buy', cf. Russ. крьню, крити id., OGr. πρίαμαι id.) and the preservation of the suffix **-nom* (> Lith. masc. *-nas*). Le Feuvre (2008) also proposed a similar explanation for Lith. *saldùs* 'sweet' whose suffix, which was lost in Baltic, should have been copied from the older IE **su̯ād-u-* 'sweet' (cf. OInd. *svādú-* id., OGr. ἡδύς id.).

At the intersection between phraseology, lexicology and morphology, Petit (2010a) identifies some other examples of suffix transfer. Generally

based on phraseological units, they are not immediately perspicuous; nevertheless they are recognizable in word formation by drawing attention to unexpected morphological features, e.g.:

> East-Baltic 'autumn', cf. Lith. *ruduõ*, Latv. *rudens*, is traditionally treated as a deadjectival formation (cf. Lith. *rùdas* 'brown, red') without, however, explaining the nasal suffix; the hypothesis is to assume a suffix transfer from an older (heteroclitic neuter) word **es-r/n-* ~ **os-r/n-* 'autumn' (cf. OPr. *assanis*, Russ. осень) and a phraseological structure **rudas + *esen* 'the red autumn', which gave rise to the new designation.

Two more cases when phraseological data are integrated into diachronic studies are: *a)* Lith. *svíestas*, Latv. *sviests* 'butter' (cf. Lith. *svíesti*, Latv. *sviest* 'to throw') derived from a context like **svēid-ti- + *angtan* (cf. OPr. *anctan* 'butter') changed into **svēid-ti- + *sveid-tan* with etymological figure and suffix transfer; *b)* Latv. *brīvs* 'free' ← MLG *vrī* (in this case the suffix **-vas* was transferred between synonyms: from the inherited **ar-vas*, cf. OPr. *arwis* 'true', to the loanword **brī-vas*).

2.2.2. The verbal system

In contrast to the nominal system, it is thought that the Baltic verbal system does not reflect an extremely archaic state of affairs (Stang *VGBS*, p. 308).[170] It is characterized by a generalized simplification and has lost many categories attributed to IE; however, it is founded on a series of innovations: a rich inventory of derivative formations serves to indicate both diathesis and various types of *Aktionsart*. The opposition active *vs.* middle voice disappeared (allowing for the loss of middle endings) and was replaced by the opposition active and reflexive, in which the latter type is characterized by the particle *-si* (also fulfilling the function of middle-passive voice, e.g. Lith. *jis peršasi visur* 'he intrudes everywhere').[171]

Nevertheless it should be noted that studies of Anatolian languages show that it is not always possible to rely on the "maximal" IE verbal model postulated by Karl Brugmann and Antoine Meillet. Indeed, the Baltic

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[170] Erhart (1984a, p. 215; 1989, p. 121-134).
[171] For a detailed exposition of the material, cf. Endzelīns (1922b, p. 544-799); Endzelīns (1948, p. 201-258); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 309-482); Kazlauskas (1968, p. 287-404); Erhart (1984a); Zinkevičius (*LKI* II, p. 70-165); Schmidt (2001); Schmalstieg (2000b). On contrastive Latv.-Russian reflexive verbs, cf. Blese (1956-1958).

verb reminds one more of the "minimal" Anatolian (Hittite) model since it is much poorer than the Indo-Iranian or Old Greek in the expression of the categories of tense, mood, and diathesis. The investigation in this direction has been pursued in particular by Toporov[172] and Ivanov.[173]

2.2.2.1. Verbal aspect. The question of the existence or absence of the category of aspect in Proto-Baltic has up until the present day provoked different answers. Safarewicz (1938ab) studies the system of aspects of Old Lithuanian and discovers in it only a few separate perfective uses of verbs (with the prefix *pa-*), which in other circumstances can express imperfective actions as well.[174] Stang (*VGBS*, p. 309) considers that reconstructed Baltic does not contain a mixture of tense and aspectual categories (at least to the degree which is typical for Slavic):

> *Man hat eher den Eindruck, dass die beiden Verbalsysteme sich verhält-nismässig spät voneinander differenziert haben, nach einer langen Ent-wicklung, die teils den beiden Sprachgruppen gemeinsam war, teils mehr oder weniger parallel in den beiden Gruppen verlaufen ist. Im späteren Verlauf der Entwicklung hat das Slavische das Aspektsystem zum alles beherrschenden Prinzip ausgebaut, während im Baltischen die Aspekte in viel beschränkterem Masse grammatikalisiert worden sind.*

> [The impression is created that both verbal systems were differentiated relatively late, after a long development, which was in part shared by both linguistic groups and in part derived in both in parallel fashion. In the subsequent course of events the Slavic version took on the dominant role, and in Baltic the version was grammaticalized to a significantly lesser degree.]

Stang also clearly formulates the problem of an aspectual category and solves it partially positively in the sense that in Baltic (Lithuanian-Latvian data are offered as examples, since Old Prussian data are scarce and doubtful) it is not as marked as in Slavic. He also proposes a grammaticalized system of aspects. Stang observes that a recurring relationship exists

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[172] Toporov (1960, 1962a, 1973b, 1988a).

[173] Ivanov (1965, 1981ab, 2009).

[174] Safarewicz (1977, p. 382-383) considers that the absence in Lithuanian of a particular formation of the imperfect (developed only later) explains why the Lithuanian preterite is neutral in relation to the category of aspect. Safarewicz's intuition has been continued in Keydana (1998) who studied the *pa*-prefixation in the *Metai* of Donelaitis.

between the main and the derivative verb (often with the verbal prefix *pa-*), which indicates the completion of the action, and for this reason the perfective possesses its own formal sign. Stang concludes (*VGBS*, p. 399-405) that the verbal system of Lithuanian and of Latvian (and also originally of OPr.) possessed an *Aspektgefühl* 'feeling for aspect', a recent development which was manifested (as a result of Slavic influence) primarily in the 20th century.[175]

More recent investigations in this field have surpassed the traditional (and obsolete, dating since Jablonskis (1922, 1957), and followed e.g. by Paulauskas (1958); Dambriūnas (1960)) distinguishes imperfective (Lith. *eigõs véikslas* 'process aspect'), perfective (Lith. *įvykio véikslas* 'event aspect') and *dviveĩksliai veiksmãžodžiai* ('bi-aspectual verbs');[176] a similar formulation of the problem also followed also in several works by Paulauskienė (1965, 1967, 1971ab).

More specifically, the notion of *Aspect* (or *Aspectual viewpoint*, i.e. the speaker's point of view, his way of looking at the event) is not considered very appropriate for the description of the Baltic phenomena. It is rather the parameter of *Actionality* (the inherent lexical-semantic properties of the predicate) that seems better to explain the classical opposition between "perfective" and "imperfective" verbs, in particular between simple verbs and prefixed verbs; as for Lithuanian the interplay between preverbation and its functions and the verbal system has been particularly studied (Piccini 2009; Arkadiev 2009, 2011). The focus for Lithuanian (Baltic) is now on the prefixation; the syntactic behavior of a verb (i.e. its argumental realization) is basically determined by its semantic behavior.

Typologically Lithuanian shares many of the so-called cross-linguistic actional classes established by Tatevosov (2002), only partly coinciding with those formerly established by Vendler (1967), and occupies a very specific place in the framework of the "standard average European" and also in comparison with the Slavic languages. From a typological point of view Lithuanian represents a still underinvestigated system in which actionality plays a central role and the grammaticalization of the aspect is still at an incipient stage, in which also the telic value, which the prefixes may have, has also not yet been thoroughly investigated.[177]

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[175] Cf. also Zinkevičius (*LKI* II, p. 76-77); Hauzenberga-Šturma (1979); Mathiassen (1996a) with large bibliography. From a typological point of view, cf. Scholz (1983).

[176] Cf. Hewson (1997, p. 142-164) centered firstly on Latvian but with comparison with Lithuanian.

[177] Michelini (1988); Mathiassen (1996a) with large bibliography; Sawicki (2000, 2013).

As far as the diachronic standpoint is concerned, according to other approaches (e.g. Holvoet 1990), the rich presence of *Aktionsarten* is to be considered the best antecedent for the development of an aspectual category in the Baltic languages. Holvoet (2001a) assumes a certain similarity between the semantic foundations of the aspect opposition in Slavic and Baltic. The many differences, however, have to be explained by the low level of grammaticalization (i.e. lack of formal means) of the aspect opposition in Latvian (with respect to Slavic).

Specifically for Latvian, the traditional point of view is represented in Hauzenberga-Šturma (1979); Mathiassen (1996a) offers a contrastive description of Latvian and Lithuanian. Holvoet (2001a, p. 132-158) studies the nature of the aspectual correlation between prefixed perfective verbs and combinations of the corresponding simple verbs with local adverbs, as exemplified by the various forms of the verb *iet* 'to go' ~ *ieiet* 'to enter' (cf. prefix *ie-* 'in'), *iet iekšā* 'to enter' (cf. local adverb *iekšā* 'in, inside') and also *ieiet iekšā* 'to enter into'.[178] The analysis shows that: *a*) simple verbs may be imperfective, perfective (or bi-aspectual according to their meaning); *b*) phrasal verbs (formed by local adverbs) cannot be considered for aspectual derivation; *c*) the adverb is just a lexical addition and has in itself no aspectual function; thus, the verbs remain imperfective or perfective like their corresponding simple verbs; *d*) there is only one perfectivizing device in Latvian, i.e. prefixation (*iet* vs. *ie-iet*).

According to Holvoet's conclusions it is not possible to formulate a theory of the semantic foundations of aspect opposition in Latvian that would account for all instances of the distribution of the forms described as "perfective" and "imperfective".

2.2.2.2. Moods. The system of Baltic moods was greatly remodeled as early as ancient times.[179] In comparison with IE, which consisted of the injunctive (and later the indicative), subjunctive, optative and imperative, the injunctive and subjunctive disappeared and forms of the optative were confined to specific uses (conditional and imperative). It has been hypothesized that the ancient optative became gradually substituted by a periphrastic modal construction, formed from the supine in *-tun* and from the element *bi-*,

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[178] Wälchli (2001) investigates the same problem in the framework of a Baltic and Baltic-Finnic linguistic continuum.

[179] Stang (*VGBS*, p. 421-443); Zinkevičius (*LKIG* II, p. 74-75). Michelini (1985) proposes a reconstruction of the aspectual, modal and tense categories in Proto-Baltic.

and used as a complement with the ancient subjunctive (with a semantic function with which it could coincide in a subsequent phase).[180] New modal categories (debitive, permissive, etc.) appeared in the history of the individual languages [see 7.4.3.3.].

2.2.2.3. Tenses. The tense system is central in the inflexion of the Baltic verb. The tense stems are clearly marked: present, preterite and future.

2.2.2.3.1. Present. This is considered the sole Baltic tense stem of IE origin. Following Stang, one traditionally distinguishes internally between athematic, semithematic (*-i-*, *-ā-*) and thematic (*-e/o-*, *-i̯e/o-*) conjugations. It should be observed that in the prevailing modern picture of the Baltic verb there still emerges a feature of notable archaism such as the athematic inflexion of the present. This is well attested in Old Lithuanian and is present today only as a relic (e.g. OLith. *dúomi*, Latv. *domu* 'I give'; Lith. *eimì*, Latv. *eimu* 'I go'; OPr. *asmai*, Lith. *esmì*, Latv. *esmu* 'I am'). It is thought that in a relatively late period the athematic conjugation underwent a phase of expansion, possibly in connection with the expression of a particular meaning.[181] As for the semithematic inflexion, this was defined as an inflexion in which verbs have thematic forms in the 1st pers. sing. and athematic forms elsewhere in the inflexion (e.g. Lith. *guliù*, *gulì*, *gùli* and Latv. *guļu*, *guli*, *gul* 'I lie, you lie, he lies').

Finally, the thematic conjugation expanded rather broadly in the first phase at the expense of the athematic conjugation, but became less productive with time, giving way to various suffixal formations, mainly *-i̯e/o-* and derivatives[182] (e.g. *-āi̯e/o-*, *-ēi̯e/o-*, *-īi̯e/o-*, etc.), but also innovative neoformations of the type, rather rare, with a nasal infix[183] (which alternates with formations in *-sta-* in those positions where the nasal infix cannot appear because of phonetic restrictions).[184] The particular present formation in *-d-* (< *-dh-*) deserves attention; it is an intransitive-

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[180] Michelini (1984).

[181] Cf. Specht (1934, p. 80-101); Sabaliauskas (1957); Schmid (2003b). Robinson (1972) is partially useful.

[182] Hypotheses on the origin of derivatives based on typological-semantic arguments are found in Michelini (1973a). Erhart (1984a) looks at suffixal formations in *-i̯o*.

[183] Cf. Stang (*VGBS*, p. 346-354); Michelini (1973b) from a typological perspective.

[184] The origin of *-sta* is a highly disputed issue; traditionally it is considered to be an allomorph of *-sko* (Endzelīns 1922b, p. 580-589). Cf. also van Wijk (1933); Leumann (1941); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 342-346); Toporov (1966b); Kaukienė, Pakalniškienė (1990). Pakalniškienė (1996) establishes the latest layer of infix and *sta*-stem verbs as imitatives. Snyder (1981) reviews the possibility of establishing whether Baltic verbs in *-sta-* and Germanic verbs in *-stan-* show a common Germano-Baltic innovation. On both Lith. and Latv. secondary verbs based on *sta*-presesents, cf. Pakerys J. (2007, 2009). Arkadiev (2010) discusses the semantics of these verbs.

medial class, considered a secondary innovation in which the element *–d–* has the function of hiatus filler (*Hiatustilger*).[185]

2.2.2.3.2. Preterite. The Baltic preterite is an innovation (which substitutes for other ancient formations: perfect and aorist), formed by means of two typical suffixes: **-ā-* from which resulted the 'hard' stems (e.g. Lith. *dìrbau* < **-ā-u* 'I worked' ~ *dìrbti* 'to work') and **-ē-* which gave rise to the 'soft' stems (e.g. Lith. *sakiaũ* < **-ē-u* 'I said' ~ *sak-ý-ti* 'to say'. Both of these stems can be clearly identified in Lithuanian-Latvian, while in Old Prussian the data are less clear; probably only the *ē*-type is attested. The two suffixes are in complementary distribution in modern standard Lithuanian, while the Latvian standard language only has **-ā-* and Latvian dialects agree with the general picture of Lithuanian. Various hypotheses have been put forward concerning the origin of the two suffixes.[186] Schmid (1966b, 1967-1968) has provided evidence that the formation of the preterite is derived from a few strict rules connected with vocalism of the root.[187] According to Schmalstieg (1961, 1965) the Baltic preterite in **-ē* (at least in certain categories of verbs of the type of Lith. *nèšti*, *vèsti*, *vèžti*, etc.), on the contrary, represent a development analogous

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[185] Cf. Stang (1942, p. 140); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 309, 336). Smoczyński (1987a, 1989d) expands the number of forms ascribed to this formation and recognizes the affinity between forms, morphologically renewed today (semiparticiple Lith. *eĩdamas* 'going' = *ei-dama-* < **eida-ma-* ~ *eĩti* 'to go'; Lith. iterative *eidýti* 'to ramble' = *ei-dyti* < **eid-yti*; Lith. causative *eĩdinti* 'to make go' = *ei-dinti* < **eid-ìnti*) and ancient forms of the present in *–d–* (Baltic **eida* = *ei-da*: OCS *i-dǫ* < **ei-dō*) which were productive at a certain period of the development of Baltic. Reservations about this are expressed in Patri (1991) and in Bammesberger (1992). For the interaction between reflexivity and causativity in Lith., cf. Toops (1994).

[186] Stang (*VGBS*, p. 374-391); Kazlauskas (1968, p. 336-364); Zinkevičius (*LKIG* II, p. 107-113); Erhart (1984a, p. 238-239). The relationship between the Baltic preterite and the IE perfect is clarified in Di Giovine (1990-1996 III, p. 59-67).

[187] To summarize Schmid's account, he recognizes five "rules" of formation for the preterite which in general terms can be presented as: *i*) present *CeCa* > preterite *CeCē*; *ii*) present *CaCa* > preterite *CaCā*; *iii*) present *CeNCa* > preterite *CNCā*; *iv*) present *CNCa* > preterite *CNCā*; *v*) present *CV̄Ca* > preterite *CV̄Cā*. Specifically, *i*) if the Baltic present has the structure *CeC(a)* (e.g. Lith. *vēda*, OLatv. *vest* 'he leads', the preterite will be *CeCē* (e.g. Lith. *vēdė*, OLatv. *vede* 'he led'; *ii*) if the present has the structure *CaC(a)* (e.g. Lith. *bāra*, Latv. *bar* 'he reproaches' the preterite will be *CaCē* in Lith. (e.g. *bārė* 'he reproached', but compare the Lith. dialectal form in *–o*) and *CaCā* in Latv. (e.g. OLatv. *bara* id.); *iii*) if the present has the structure with diphthong *CeNC-* (e.g. Lith. *keřpa*, Latv. *cērp* 'he cuts') the preterite will be *CNCā* (e.g. Lith. *kiřpo*, Latv. *cirpa* 'he cut'); *iv*) if the present has the structure *CNC(a)* (e.g. Lith. *rìša*, Latv. *ris* 'he ties') the preterite will be *CNCā* (e.g. Lith. *rìšo* 'he tied', Latv. *risa* id.); *v*) if the present has the structure *CV̄C(a)* (e.g. Lith. *bēga*, Latv. *bēg* 'he runs') the preterite will be *CV̄Cā* (e.g. Lith. *bégo* 'he ran', OLatv. *bēga* id.). The development of the system of the Baltic preterite as it changed to those of Lithuanian and Latvian is characterized by the merger of inherited elements and by the subsequent appearance of new preterite types (**-ē* in Lith. ~ **-ā* in Latv.). The second "rule" is problematic; following Stang (1942, p. 106), Schmid also supposes the archaic quality of the preterite (Latv. and Lith. dialects) in *–ā*, while in literary Lith. the type like *nèšti* 'to carry' *nēša nēšė* with invariable root vocalism in the present and in the preterite is generalized; cf. also in this regard the observations of Otrębski (1956-1965 II, p. 312).

to the stem of the preterites in *-ā. A third hypothesis comes from Illič–Svityč (for which he is indebted to Schleicher), who sees the origin of *-ē- from *-i̯ā, with accompanying opening of the syllables and compensatory lengthening.[188]

2.2.2.3.3. Future. I now turn to a description of the situation internal to the Baltic group, keeping in mind that the IE future is a relatively late creation. Lithuanian–Latvian have a sigmatic future, characterized by the suffixes: -s- (e.g. Lith. bù-s 'he/they will be', -si-, more frequently occurring in 1st and 2nd pers. (e.g. bū́-si-me), bū́-si-t(e) 'we/you will be'. The single sure attested form of this type in West Baltic is OPr. postāsei 'you will become pregnant' [see 6.3.2.7.4.]) and found in the participles (e.g. Lith. bū́siantis 'which will be', Latv. likšot < *liksi̯ant 'putting, leaving', both coming from *-si-ont-). The Baltic sigmatic future participle (attested in the Low Lithuanian and eastern Old Lithuanian dialects) are traditionally compared with the corresponding Indo–Iranian forms e.g. OInd. dāsyant-, Lith. dúosiant 'which will give' (Endzelīns 1922b, p. 936). Some scholars, on the other hand, explain it as a recent formation arising from the suffix -si- already seen above.[189]

There are a variety of hypotheses regarding the origin of the Baltic future tense, specifically: *i*) a continuation of the ancient IE future (Bezzenberger 1901); *ii*) a blending of several IE verbal categories such as the sigmatic future and the sigmatic aorist (Otrębski 1956-1965 III, p. 205, who reports the opinions of Schmidt, Brugmann, Wiedemann); *iii*) a connection with the IE optative formant (Stang, 1942, p. 202; *iv*) Fraenkel 1950b); an independent formation in many linguistic families, as Kazlauskas would have it, on the basis of internal reconstruction (supported by dialectical data and dubious Old Lith. forms). He proposes as an ancient formant the 3rd pers. present *-s from which -si- is an innovation.[190]

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[188] There are still other points of view. Rasmussen (1985) looks at the problem from a Balto-Slavic perspective. According to Michelini (1990) one can propose an IE base for the suffixes of the Baltic preterites -ā- < *-ā- and the rarer -ē- < *-ē-, while for the more frequent -ē- < *-i̯ā a Baltic innovation can be postulated; on the difficulties which are posed by the assumption of -ē- < *-i̯ā, cf. Kazlauskas (1968, p. 360), while an explanation of the phenomenon from a morpho(no)logical point of view is offered by Bednarczuk (1988, p. 53-54 = 1992, p. 112).

[189] Stang (1942, p. 203); according to Kazlauskas (1968, p. 371) the future tense was formed from the formant -s, and the suffix of the future participle was simply -ant (< *-ont), attested in certain athematic forms (e.g. Lith. dial. jant 'he who is going' ~ infinitive eiti 'to go').

[190] Kazlauskas (1968, p. 368-370) writes that the origin of si should be connected with the process of shortening of the verbal endings, which affected the whole system in those dialects with the archaic forms of the first, 2nd pers. plur. būsme, būste 'we will be, you will be' in which the sibilant element, influenced by the vowel sound of the ending, is rendered as [s] and then with the disappearance of -e [s] also develops into [si]; thus the sequence of developments is hypothesized as follows: -sme > sm(e) > sim.

On the other hand it is now clear that there is no basis for continuing to regard the correspondence between Lith. *dúo-si-u*, OInd. *dā-sy-āmi* 'I will give', OCS future participle *byšęšteje in these terms*, because the Old Indic forms represent Indo-Iranian innovations (Schmid 1963, p. 33-47), the Slavic hapax is a late innovation (Aitzetmüller 1968; reservations are however expressed in Schmid 1963, p. 33) and the possible Balto-Iranian connections can only be interpreted as a result of contacts arising in the period of probable proximity of Balts and Iranians in the area of the Upper Dnepr [see 1.4.4.].

2.2.2.4. Personal endings. Traditionally the following system of personal endings is reconstructed:[191]

		Lith.-Latv.	**OPr.**
Singular	1st pers. 2nd pers.	*-mi* (< *-mie*) *-si* (< *-sie*)	*-mai* (< *-mai*) *-sei* (< *-sai, -sei*)
Dual	1st pers. 2nd pers.	*-vā* *-tā*	
Plural	1st pers. 2nd pers.	*-mē* (< *-me/-m*) *-tē* (< *-te/t-*)	*-mai* (< *-mai*) *-ti/-tei/-tai* (< *-ti/*-tai*)
3rd pers.		*-ti* (< *-ti/t-*)	*-t(i)/-tits* (< *-ti/-ti-ts*)

Examples. OLith. 1st pers. sing. *duomi* (< *duod-mi*) 'I give', *esmi* (< *es-mi*) 'I am'; OPr. *asmai* (< ?*-mei/-mai*) 'I am'; OLith. 2nd pers. sing. *duosi* (< *duod-si*) 'you give'; OPr. *assai, assei, asse*, etc., 'you are'; OLith. 1st pers. plur. *duome* (< *duod-me*) 'we give', *esme*; OPr. *asmai* (< ?*-mei/-mai*) 'we are'; 2nd pers. plur. *duote* (< *duod-te*) 'you give', *este*; OPr. *asti* 'you are'; OLith. 3rd pers. *duosti* (< *duod-ti*) 'he/she/it gives/they give', *esti* 'it is/they are'; OPr. *ast, asti-ts* 'he is/they are'.

Athematic endings are also attested in the inflexion of the present tense in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian;[192] the situation in Prussian is more complex and disputed.

On the basis of such forms as OLith. *esie-gu*, reflexive *duomie-si*, *duomie-t*, etc., it is thought that the original ending of the 1st pers. sing. was *-mie*, which in turn by various means goes back to *-mei/*-mai* (Endzelīns

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[191] On Baltic inflection from a typological perspective, cf. Schmidt (1970).
[192] Hiersche (1980) devotes particular attention to the athematic class and since the majority of the ancient verbs belonging to it are intransitive or stative, he dates their origin to Baltic (or Lithuanian) on the basis of the connection, which he proposes, between the athematic endings and the ancient perfect (which disappeared in Baltic).

1948, p. 202; Stang *VGBS*, p. 406). However, Kazlauskas (1968, p. 292–304) does not share many points of this hypothesis, and among other observations, concludes that in OLith.-Old Latv. there are not enough data to sustain the series: Proto-Baltic *-mei*, *-sei* > East Baltic *-mie*, *-sie* (Lith. –mi/-mie), also because -ie- could be formed as an analog with the reflexive forms of the 2nd pers. of the thematic verbs[193] **[see 7.4.3.1.].**

With the disappearance of the IE distinction between the active and middle voice, the list of the thematic endings common to all the tenses (primary and secondary tenses are standardized) is traditionally reconstructed for East Baltic:

	Lith. and Latv.
Singular	1st pers. *-ō (> *-úo > -u)* 2nd pers. *-ie (> -i)*[194]
Dual	1st pers. *-vā* 2nd pers. *-tā*
Plural	1st pers. *-mē* 2nd pers. *-tē*
3rd pers.	Ø (< ?*-t, *-nt)[195]

Examples. 1st pers. sing. Lith. *nešù* (< *-uo* < *-ō*) 'I carry', reflexive *nešúosi*; 2nd pers. sing. Lith. *nešì* (< *-íe*) 'you carry', reflexive *nešíesi*; 1st pers. plur. Lith. *nešame* (< *-mė́*) 'we carry', reflexive *nẽšamės*; 2nd pers. plur. *nẽšate* (< *-tė́*) 'you carry', reflexive *nẽšatės*; 1st pers. dual *nẽšava* (< + *-vā́*) 'we two carry', reflexive *nẽšavos*; 2nd pers. dual *nẽšata* (< *-tā́*) 'you two carry', reflexive *nẽšatos*; 3rd pers. Lith. *nẽša* < ?*-t) 'he carries', reflexive *nẽšasi*.

The West Baltic situation inferred on the basis of the limited data for Prussian presents a series of problems, e.g. 2nd pers. sing. *giwassi*, *gīwasi*, etc.

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[193] Moreover, Kazlauskas calls attention to the fact that, as a probable consequence of the weakening of the opposition singular *vs.* plural in the 3rd pers., similar cases of neutralization are also seen in other personal forms, cf. the forms of the 1st pers., both with a nasal labial -m-.

[194] Mathiassen (1975) proposes a reconstruction for the 2nd pers. sing. of the East Baltic thematic vowel *-a (< *-o) + *-t(h), in opposition to the ending of the 3rd pers. *-a; after the loss of the dentals in absolute final position, the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. are merged, which determined the subsequent addition of -i in the 2nd pers. sing. as a designation of the *hic et nunc* and in analogy with the athematic endings. On the basis of comparison between Lith. and OGr., Bammesberger (1993) proposes that *-i was interpreted as a marker of the 2nd pers. sing. and given thematic verbal forms according to the equation: *es ~ *esi = *bhere ~ x, where x = *bherei (with *ei is the ending of the 2nd pers. sing.).

[195] In truth there is no basis for considering the endings *-t, *-nt as original; on the contrary, the reflexive forms of the contemporary languages show in this case a pure stem, e.g. Lith. *nẽša-si* 'he carries himself/ they carry themselves'.

'you live'; 1st pers. plur. *giwammai* 'we live', *immimai* 'we take'; 2nd pers. plur. *immati/immaiti* 'you take'; 3rd pers. *imma* 'he takes/they take'.

Three numbers have been preserved (singular, dual, plural), except in the 3rd pers. The absence of a distinction in the 3rd pers. in Baltic is without doubt the feature which has attracted the most attention from scholars. Formally the ending is a pure stem (zero ending) which takes on the function of singular, plural, dual for any tense and mood (e.g. Lith. *dìrba* 'he works/they work' ~ *dìrba-me* 'we work', *mýli* 'he loves/they love' ~ *mýli-me* 'we love', *rãšo* 'he writes/they write' ~ *rãšo-me* 'we write').

It is traditionally held that the 3rd pers. singular disappeared for a whole complex of reasons, among which Endzelīns (1948, p. 203-204) considers the coincidence of the ancient forms of the 3rd pers. with the nominative of the neuter active participle in *-nt*. Other scholars are divided among those who adhere to the hypothesis according to which this is an ancient feature, and those who explain the phenomenon on the basis of phonetic processes. For the former, the question is of a pure stem, a legacy from the times when the personal flexion of the IE verb was formed and received no expression of the 3rd pers. in the communicative process (Toporov 1960, 1962a; Kazlauskas 1968, p. 299-304). For the latter, on the other hand, it is highly improbable to see here a conservative element and they prefer to explain this Baltic phenomenon "rein lautgesetzlich", purely according to phonetic laws;[196] thus the homonymy of the 3rd pers. sing. = 3rd pers. plur. first appeared in the preterite and then from this particular case became generalized for other tenses. Finally, according to Ambrazas V. (1979), these Baltic forms were intially verbal nouns (Kazlauskas also mentions this idea), used in the singular and plur., and are very similar to neuter passive participles in *-to* and *-mo*, from which one can consider the following two phrases as equivalent: Lith. *avìs/ãvys kẽpta* (with participle) 'the lamb/the lambs [is/are] baked' and *avìs/ãvys kẽpa* (with the present) 'the lamb/the lambs bakes/bake'.

2.3. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Syntax has long been the least investigated area (witnessed by the fact that it is only minimally represented in Stang's (*VGBS*) comparative grammar), and the reason for this is the paucity of preparatory philological works. This situation has changed during the last twenty-thirty years, when many OL-

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[196] Trost (1981); Erhart (1987); Palmaitis (1988) evaluates this fact from a different point of view.

ith. and also to a lesser extent OLatv. texts have been reprinted and their sources investigated.

One must approach the data provided by the first texts in the Baltic languages with caution, since they are very often translations from other languages and only rarely original works (Ambrazas 1998). It is not impossible to find reflections of the syntax of the living language from earlier times, but it can only be reconstructed on the basis of a detailed analysis of data from contemporary dialects and folkloric texts, something that had not yet been done on any significant level until the fundamental work by Ambrazas V. (2006).[197] Still it is true, as the same Ambrazas V. (1979, 1987, 1990; cf. also Schmalstieg 1991a) has pointed out in his various writings, that so far the data from the Baltic languages have not been sufficiently applied in the study of IE comparative syntax. This is especially true if one considers the possibilities offered by spoken Lithuanian and Latvian, but it is obviously valid for the whole complex of their texts, which encompass a span of about six centuries and which show that syntactical types inherited from IE are well preserved in Lithuanian. These types allow for the tracing in Latvian (where several interesting archaic syntactical features have been preserved) the development of those processes which in Lithuanian are observed only in a preliminary stage or exhibit a tendency toward their development. Therefore, one should not be surprised that in the present situation the models reconstructed for Baltic syntax rely mostly on archaic features still present in Lithuanian syntax.[198]

2.3.1. The reconstruction of the Baltic sentence

From significant statistical analyses conducted on a broad and homogeneous corpus of data from standard Lithuanian and Latvian it follows that – if one adheres strictly to the distinction between dominant and inversional models (that is, pragmatically, stylistically marked, etc.) – today the following word order predominates in these languages: (S)VO, that is (subject)–verb-object, e.g. Lith. *rašytojas rašo knygą*, Latv. *rakstnieks raksta grāmatu* 'the writer writes a book'. Once standard Lithuanian and Latvian had been ascribed to this given type, attemps were consequently made, according to the criteria posited for syntactic typology, to derive the microsyntax

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[197] A felicitous exception for the syntax of Latvian *dainas* is presented by Gāters (1993), cf. Eckert (1997).

[198] Much more comprehensive treatment of the material: Endzelīns (1922b, p. 800-842); Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 203-218); Ambrazas V. (2006). Insightful observations about the prehistorical development of morphosyntactic questions (voice, alignment, aspectuality) are given in Wiemer (2004).

directly from the macrosyntax. But there are ample reasons to consider that the order (S)VO in the Baltic languages is a relatively recent phenomenon, and Ambrazas V. (1982) has shown that it does not correspond with the actual syntactic processes found in the history of the individual languages. Statistical studies of folkloric and dialectal texts has revealed new results: in this case the frequency of the order (S)OV varies from 51% to 75%. It has also been observed that in fixed binary combinations the modifying element (Dependent) precedes the modified element (Head), e.g.:

> adj.-noun: Lith. *gerasis žmogus*, Latv. *labais cilvēks* 'the good man'; pronoun-noun: Lith. *jo brolis*, Latv. *viņa brālis* 'his brother'; genitive-noun: Lith. *aukso žiedas*, Latv. *zelta gredzens* 'the ring of gold'; adverb-verb: Lith. *dabar lyja*, Latv. *tagad līst* 'now it is raining' and other instances (the main exceptions occur in combinations preposition–noun or with partitive genitive, e.g. Lith. *puodukas arbatos* 'a cup of tea').

This also presupposes the order (S)OV. Many proverbs also show the order SOV (e.g. Lith. *pirmi gaidžiai velnią baido* 'the first cocks frighten the devil'); also compounds with the second element of verbal origin, e.g. Lith. *duonėdỹs* 'sponger' ~ *duona* 'bread' + *ėsti* 'to eat' (cf. Russ. медвéдь 'bear' ~ мёд 'honey' + **ěd-* 'to eat'), or OInd. *madhvád-* 'he who eats a sweet (fruit)', Latin *frūgifer* 'fruitful' (*frux* + *fero*) and so forth; the anthroponyms, e.g. *Vaĩš-noras* (a hospitable person) ~ *vaišės* 'feast' + *noréti* 'to want'; archaic comparative constructions well preserved in formulaic phrases, e.g. Lith. *visų vyresnis*, and *visų vyriausias*, Latv. *visvecākais*, *visu vecākais* 'the oldest one of all', Lith. *kietesnis kaip/nei plienas* 'harder than iron', Latv. *saldāks nekā medus* 'sweeter than honey' (cf. OIcel. *snjó huitari* 'whiter than snow', Latin *melle dulcior* 'sweeter than honey'; moreover, the use of postpositive particles. This mass of data allows one to conjecture for the Proto-Baltic phase an ancient alternation between the types (S)VO and (S)OV, where the latter, stylistically unmarked, became predominant. In light of this Baltic reveals a greater archaic quality in its development than Slavic and also manifests a similarity to the situation of Homeric Greek and Old Latin.

Ambrazas V. (2005) investigates the development of word order in Baltic from a typological viewpoint. The inherited word order type DH (Determinant-Head) has been preserved up until now in most Lithuanian and Latvian word order patterns [see examples above]. Only in the recent history (19th century) of Lithuanian and Latvian has a tendency been observed to pass to the type HD starting with the prepositional constructions.

2.3.2. Minor phrase elements

Contrary to the prevailing opinion that the inter-relationships between the various models of word order and their changes are regulated by basic and more movable components of the phrase, Ambazas V. has asserted that such relationships depend primarily on the order of smaller and less movable elements of the phrase (postpositive particles, clitics, atonic personal pronouns).

2.3.2.1. Postpositive particles. Since postpositive particles occur frequently in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian, it is supposed that in the past they must have played a much greater role than today, and that as early as the common Baltic period they functioned as basic components of the syntagma.[199] Ancient postpositions such as *-pi* < *-pie* (Lith. allative sing. *namópi* 'toward home', cf. Latv. *pie* 'close by'), *-en*, *-na* (Lith. illative plur. *laukúosna* 'toward the fields'), Lith. *dėl* (cf. *ko-dėl* 'why?'), or Latv. *pēc* (cf. *kā-pēc* id.) are equivalent to the same prepositions of more recent development; both are derived from verbal prefixes.

This variety in the use of cases with prepositions which gives the modern Baltic languages their present profile also began at an ancient stage. According to other scholars (e.g. Kuryłowicz), this fluctuation, on the contrary, can be explained as an indication of the relative functional independence of the adverb and of case forms.

Holvoet (1993, p. 144-147) prefers to explain the predominance of locative postpositions (*-pie*, *-en*, *-na*, etc.) in the Proto-Baltic period by the influence of the Finnic substratum. According to this latter point of view, the tenacity in the Baltic languages of the model Genitive-noun, which is typical of the Finnic languages, can be explained by the conservative Finnic influence. Proof of this is the fact that where the Finnic influence was stronger, as in Latvian, new postpositive particles were formed on this model (cf. the Latvian postpositive construction *lauka vidū* 'in the middle of the field'), compared with the Lith. prepositive *vidury lauko* id., etc.).

2.3.2.2. Clitics. Baltic clitics seem to be related to the 'second position phenomenon', i.e. they obey the Wackernagel law (shortly formulated: inherently unstressed or unstressable words cannot stand in first position, and are

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[199]   A useful tool for the study of OLith. postpositions is Serafini Amato (1976).

preferentially found in second position).[200] The following clitics candidates
may be established for the Baltic languages:[201]

> (affixal) proclitic verbal particle, Lith. *te–*, *be–*, *tebe–*; proclitic nega-
> tional particle, Lith. *ne–*, *nebe–*; Latv. *ne–*, OPr. *ni–*.

> (pronominal) endoclitic reflexive particle *–s(i)*; the enclitic deictic
> (demonstrative) particle *–ai*; the pronominal element of the pronomi-
> nal long adjective form; only in OPr. the enclitic anaphorical pro-
> noun *–din*; the atonic personal pronouns (*mi*, *ti*) [see 2.3.2.3.].

> (interrogative) proclitic particle (Latv. *vai*, Lith. *ar*) and the endoclitic
> Lith. deictic particle *gi*, *–g(i)*, OPr. *–ga*, *–gi*.

Particularly in Lithuanian, a verb can have a cumulation of prefixes, e.g.
pasilìkti 'to remain', *tebepasilìkti* 'still (to) remain', *nebepasilìkti* 'no longer
(to) remain'. In harmony with the principle and approach of the so-called
natural morphology, Mathiassen states that:

a) the closer to the root, the greater is the degree of the grammaticaliza-
   tion of the prefix; cf. the (unprefixed) verbs Latv. *liekas* 'seems', Lith.
   ródos, *rē̃gis* id. where the reflexive particle (*–si*) may be reduced to *–s*,
   and developed into an ending-like element, which indicates an high
   degree of grammaticalization;

b) the position of a prefix reflects the relative chronology of its attach-
   ment to the word; cf. *pa–* which occupies the position next to the
   reflexive (e.g. Lith. *pasiliẽka* 'remains'), and functions on the border-
   line between the lexical category of *Aktionsart* and the grammatical
   category of aspect; in Lith. it is grammaticalized to a considerable
   degree (although less than in Slavic).

Mathiassen still connects *be–* with the verb *būti* 'to be' (cf. OCS *bě* <
*bhu̯ē, shortened in Baltic according to Lex Leskien [see 2.1.3.2.1.]), and
interprets it as a rather autonomous original verb auxiliary later developed
into a particle. As for the *te*-particle (etymologically from the same stem
as the demonstrative pronoun in *t–*), the Norwegian scholar observes that
it shows a high degree of grammaticalization in the permissive [see 7.4.3.3.1.].

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[200] Wackernagel (1892); Hermann (1926, p. 404).
[201] For a rich exposition of the material, cf. Hermann (1926). Specific contributions can be found in Mathiassen
       (1996b, p. 245–47; 1996c; 2010, p. 66); Petit (2010b, p. 261-307). On pronominal clitics in the 1st and 2nd
       sing. P. in OLith., cf. Razanovaitė (2013).

Generalizing, Mathiassen (1996a, p. 27) observes that Lithuanian (Baltic) seems to have developed in the case of prefixes a kind of *agglutinating* structure, untypical for IE languages, and probably an innovation, rather than an archaism.

2.3.2.3. Atonic personal pronouns. The study of the occurrences of enclitic pronouns found between the verbal prefix and the verbal root is very important when comparing certain verbal constructions of other IE languages, e.g.: OLith. and Lith. dial. form *pamirodik* [= parodyk man] 'show me!', *pamisakyk* [= *pasakyk man*] 'tell me!', Lith. *pasirodė* 'he showed himself', and perhaps also OPr. *pomeleis* [if really from **pa-mei-leis*] 'lick me' attested in the Vocabulary of Grunau.

According to Ivanov (1965), the verbal prefixes of the Baltic languages coincide with the constructions of the Anatolian languages in the structure, position and origin of the separate elements.

According to this interpretation Baltic constructions in which other forms of the phrase (e.g. OPr. *turri fien titet audāt* 'it must happen' (*soll also geschehen*) are inserted between the clitic pronoun and the verb must be considered syntactic archaisms, which also occur in Celtic and Anatolian.

2.3.3. Special constructions

Although it is impossible to affirm with complete certainty that some types of phrase construction are connected with a common period and that, on the contrary, they are not confined to East Baltic alone, I will review here absolute constructions and constructions with the infinitive.

2.3.3.1. Absolute constructions. Regarding absolute constructions, one must exclude from their number the so-called Lithuanian instrumental absolute, which, as Ambrazas V. (1959) proves, does not exist, and the Lithuanian nominative absolute, which is in fact an anacoluthic construction (Ambrazas V. 1990, p. 110). However, the dative absolute (i.e. a gerund used with a noun in the dat.) remains in use in Lithuanian (e.g. Lith. *Vaikams dainuojant, motina grojo fortepijoną* 'When the children were singing, the mother was playing the piano'), distinct from absolute constructions in other languages; it is also known in Latvian (e.g. Latv. *Tēvam zinot, kur mēs esam, māte bija mierīga* 'Father knowing where we are mother was

unworried'), but in Old Prussian texts it is dubious (cf. Schmalstieg 2000b, p. 355-359). As for the function of the dative absolute, today as in the past, it is used primarily as the syntactic equivalent of a secondary subordinate. In general it is considered that ancient nominal phrases were crystalized in these sentences, which then entered into the composition of other phrases, while maintaining a certain autonomy of content; this is reminiscent of a period when parataxis predominated and the connections between words were somewhat free. Such a situation favoured a transition of determinate participial constructions into absolute constructions. It remains unresolved whether they should be considered as being independent in the Baltic languages or whether they were originally governed by the verb of the main clause.

Regarding their origin, Trost (1972) considers the dative absolute a phenomenon of the Proto-Baltic period, subsequently preserved in Baltic and lost in Slavic.[202] In this case, it is particularly interesting that analogous constructions, often fulfilling the function of an appositive participle, also appear in OCS and Gothic, so the question may be posed as to whether it is an older ancient Balto-Slavo-Germanic isogloss [see 3.1.1.]. However, Ambrazas V. (1962) considers that it is more likely to be a parallel development of the means of expression, a common syntactic inheritance of the three linguistic groups.[203] Having carefully studied the occurrences of use of this construction in Old Lithuanian, Ambrazas V. has established: *a*) that such a construction does not emerge from the influence of another language, but is a reflection of the living language; *b*) that two distinct versions of this construction exist with the gerund (e.g. Lith. *Man atvažiuojant, pradėjo lyti* 'While I was arriving it began to rain') or with an agreeing participle (e.g. from the translation of the Bible of Bretkūnas: *Numirusiam Husam, io wieton karaliumi tapa Hedad* 'When Cusa died Hedad became king in his place'; *c*) that the type with the gerund is older but already more frequent in the ancient texts; *d*) that this construction carries a primary meaning of time, as well as cause, condition and state, and in the old texts it was employed more freely and variously than in the contemporary language.

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[202] Press (1973) mentions several similar features in the absolute constructions of Baltic and of Slavic with equivalent constructions in Finnic, limiting himself to general typological conclusions.

[203] Ambrazas V. (1962, p. 32; 1990, p. 174-176); in addition he considers the influences of OGr. on Slavic and Gothic, the bookish character of the dative absolute, also revealed in Old Russian texts, and finally, the absence of the construction in contemporary Slavic languages and dialects.

Ambrazas V. (1962, p. 25) concludes that 'the absolute constructions in Lithuanian and Latvian are phenomena of common origin, probably inherited from the Proto-Baltic language'.[204]

2.3.3.2. Infinitive constructions. There are two so-called infinitive constructions: nominative and dative with infinitive. The former deals with constructions in which the nominative functions as the object of the action of the infinitive (various types of this construction are identified in Lithuanian [see 7.4.4.2.2. and 9.3.2.1.]); in the latter case the construction expresses the aim of an action, and the construction is equivalent to a subordinate aim, e.g. Lith. *Motina virė pieną vaikams gerti* 'The mother boiled the milk for the children to drink', where the dative has the function of a subject in relation to the infinitive (Trost 1958b; Ambrazas V. 1987).

2.3.3.2.1. Nominative with infinitive. The nominative with infinitive constructions are still preserved today in the Baltic languages and in the northern Russian dialects. Traditionally the nominative is considered as the former subject and the infinitive as a reflection of the purposive dative of the actional nominal.

These constructions have been variously assessed by scholars. Larin (1963) considers it to be a question of an ancient isogloss which passed through Slavic, Baltic and Balto-Finnic dialectal territories and was connected with the former function of the nominative in a linguistic phase reconstructable primarily on the basis of Finnic data. Many others, however, consider these constructions to be an archaic feature inherited from IE (Ambrazas V. 1987, p. 216; Schmalstieg 1988, p. 145-152); Kiparsky (1969) was already convinced of this and rejects a Finnic influence on Baltic and Slavic (since this phenomenon occurs in situations where it is impossible to speak of a Finnic substratum), and imagines a possible influence of Slavicized or Balticized Balto-Finnic peoples, as a result of which this ancient IE construction was preserved (the so-called *Kühlschranktheorie*, i.e. "Refrigerator Theory"). But given that the construction with the infinitive exists in the Finnic languages, there are those who perceive a phenomenon of a pre-IE substratum or a later borrowing from Balto-Finnic (Timberlake 1974; Holvoet 1992a, p. 375). Edel'man (1987) presents

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[204] For the impersonal absolute construction (attested in Indo-Iranian, OGreek, Latin and Baltic), especially those describing meteorological conditions, a common IE origin should be preferred according to Frauzel (1995).

some Iranian parallels to the Balto(-Slavic) constructions of nominative with infinitive, and considers (quoting Stepanov 1984) that they must be ascribed to the weakness of the verb 'to have' (and to the consequent abundance of copulative constructions with various meanings: possession, state, debitiveness, resultativeness etc.) in these languages; the author also maintains that substratum influence of the Finno-Ugric languages could have held back the development of 'to have'.

According to Ambrazas V. (1987, 1995 and 2001), by studying the development of these constructions, one can reconstruct different paths of development for Baltic from those of Slavic, but the fundamental structure is nevertheless attributable to IE, and the various hypotheses (Endzelīns, Kiparsky, Timberlake) regarding the origin of the nominative with the infinitive, far from contradicting each other, apply to distinct stages in the development of this construction. According to Ambrazas V. (1985b, 2001), the original construction with the nominative was re-analyzed and became an impersonal construction; its new function (the nominative used as grammatical object of the infinitive) might have come about as a result of the influence of the west Finnic languages. Thus, the traditional explanation and the new one (i.e. syntactic borrowing from some west Finnic languages) of the nominative with infinitive are not mutually exclusive, but they apply to different epochs.

2.3.3.2.2. Dative with infinitive. The construction of the dative case with the infinitive is the expansion of the nominal or verbal nucleus of the IE phrase with the help of the dative case of abstract deverbal nouns with the meaning of purpose, which subsequently became fixed by various means as infinitives in individual languages.

As a result one has the original meaning of purpose for the Baltic infinitive, the inherited use of the dative case of deverbal abstracts, and the ancient function of the nominative case as the subject of the infinitive. Comparison with the other IE languages shows a tendency for the reinterpretation of the construction with the infinitive as an impersonal phrase (and correspondingly of the nominative case as object of the infinitive). The possibility of the direct influence of the Finnic substratum (for the northern Russian dialects, the Finnic language of the Volga and the Baltic of the Dnepr), already rejected by Kiparsky (1969, p. 148), has been reconsidered by Holvoet (1992a, p. 375), who as an alternative proposes that the topic is one of development, common for many contemporary languages

and traceable to the so-called *tough movement* (or to the transformation of certain nominal phrases); however, this still does not resolve the problem if one is talking of a phenomenon of IE inheritance.

2.3.3.3. Possessive constructions. At the time of their first attestations Lithuanian and Latvian already differ in the expression of possession: Latvian has a construction with *esse* 'to be', of the type 'mihi est' (e.g. *man ir grāmata* 'I have a book') whilst Lithuanian has a construction with *habere*, of the same type as in English (e.g. *aš turiu knygą* id., where *turéti* means 'to have', cf. OPr. *turrītwei, turīt* id.). There are also some other marginal ways of expressing possession, but these are the two basic possessive constructions. In order to answer the question, which could be the situation in an older linguistic stage of Baltic, different opinions have been proposed.

Traditionally it has been assumed that the Latvian construction coincides with and could have been borrowed from Finnic. Otherwise, not only is the construction with *esse* more common, but the IE languages have also created variously the verbs for *habere*. Moreover the history of Latin shows clearly the passage from an older phase with *mihi est* to a younger one with *habeo*. For these typological reasons, and also for others based on the internal evidence of the Baltic languages, Vykypěl (2001) considers the construction with the so-called *dativus possessivus*, still retained in Latvian, as the original one, then replaced in Lithuanian (and probably also in Old Prussian) by a construction with *habere*.

Holvoet (2003) presents some more arguments supporting Vykypěl's idea which I will try to illustrate briefly:

a) A semantic shift 'to have' ← *'to hold' has been established for Lith. *turéti* (cf. *LEW, SEJ*), but not for Latv. *turēt* 'to hold' (*LEV*); if the latter had been ousted in the meaning of *habere* by a construction with *esse*, then as result of grammaticalization it should have fallen out of use and a new verb should have appeared in the meaning of 'to hold'. On the contrary, the few cases in which Latv. *turēt* means 'to have' may be qualified just as "exploratory expressions" (which notoriously do not involve change in the grammar).[205]

b) The grammaticalization of Lith. *turéti* 'to have' seems to be a recent phenomenon since it lacks further similar phenomena which usually

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[205] Karulis (*LEV* s.v.), however, seems to be of another opinion since he retains the idea that the older meaning of Latv. *turēt* was 'to have' (that is the same as Lith. *turéti*).

accompany predicative possessive constructions; for instance in Lith. the grammaticalization of a resultative perfect, although observable (*jis yra/turi pasistatęs namą* 'he has built a house'), is still rudimentary.

Beyond that both Vykypěl and Holvoet consider that the influence of the Finnic substratum on Latvian could have preserved and kept alive the original IE construction (and also prevented its transformation into a construction with *habere*). I would see here the *Kühlschranktheorie* [see 2.3.3.2.1.].

2.3.4. On participles

Participles are perhaps the most studied system of the morphosyntax of the Baltic languages. At their foundation lie ancient verbal nouns which were included into the system of the verb at various periods. Thanks to Ambrazas V. (1979, 1990) it has become possible to track the chronology of successive integrations in the verbal system. At first were incorporated formations in **-nt* with agent (active) meaning and formations in **-us* with resultative semantics relating to the subject, close to which are verbal adjectives in **-to-*, with the same semantics but referring to the object (among these latter the derivatives from transitive verbs are subsequently used in passive periphrastic constructions; the derivatives from intransitive verbs remain neutral in respect to the categories of voice and tense, e.g. Lith. *báltas* 'pale, white' ~ *bálti* 'to turn pale, to become white'). Significantly later formations in **-mo-* also became part of the system, at first neutral in respect to the object of the action (subsequently they form passive periphrastic constructions only in western Old Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian dialects). Many Lithuanian and Latvian constructions in **-mo-* do not possess categories of gender and tense; analysis of their form and use indicates their kinship with verbal adjectives of the OInd. type *bhīmá-* 'one who should be feared'. Moreover, they remind one of the so-called semiparticiple (or a participle of simultaneity), which forms its characteristic suffix (Lith. *-damas*, *-a*; Latv. *-dams*, *-a*) from the present stem in *-da-* plus the suffix **-mo-* of the verbal adjective.

The oppositions of the earlier period (*-nt* ~ *-us*) identified for the original system of Baltic participles have correspondences in Slavic, Indo-Iranian and OGr., but not in other languages. Therefore, Ambrazas V. thinks that the system of participles emerged in individual linguistic groups following parallel developments. On the basis of syntactic relations,

three main types of participle are distinguished in the successive history of the Baltic languages and are formally characterized as follows:

a) attributive type, peripheral and neutral with respect to the categories of tense and voice (e.g. Lith. *tinkantis/tinkamas drabužis*, Latv. *tīkošas drēbes* 'a suitable dress [which fits like a glove]' and *tīkama meita* 'a pleasant girl');

b) predicative type, subsequently divided into two subtypes: with auxillary, it forms verbal periphrastic constructions with nouns and passive participles in the preterite; without auxillary, it has a modal meaning and functions as the forms of the so-called *modus relativus* [see 7.4.3.4.];

c) semipredicative type, significantly predominant, in comparison with the type with the noun and the verb; in its turn it is subdivided into: appositive participles (including the so-called semiparticiples) and serves to express secondary action; *nominativus cum participio* (e.g. Lith. *vaikinas su(si)prato apsirikęs* literally 'the boy acknowledged himself to be mistaken', equivalent to the phrase *vaikinas su(si)prato, kad apsiriko* 'the boy understood that he was mistaken').

2.3.4.1. Constructions with the neuter participle. Baltic scholars from several countries have carried on a special dialogue: whether to consider certain constructions with the past passive neuter participle (in *-mo-* and especially in *-to-*) and the non-agreeing noun, in the nominative or genitive (e.g. Lith. *Jo rašoma laiškas* 'The letter is written by him', *Čia tėvo dirbta* literally 'It was worked here by the father', 'This was made by the father' or 'The father worked here'), as a Baltic archaism or a recent development in Lithuanian.

Here again opinions are divided as to the interpretation of how and when a proposed nominative (cf. **jis rašoma laiškas*, **čia tėvas dirbta*) was replaced by a genitive. In this connection some scholars have maintained that the constructions under discussion (and of the type Lith. *jo būta* 'he was', etc.) most probably arose by analogy with passive constructions corresponding to active with transitive verb,[206] so that, as Ambrazas V. (1994a, p. 9) concludes: "the new passive with subject in the genitive (still in the making in several Lithuanian dialects), rather than an ancient ergative, is considered as a model by analogy with which the nominative case, earlier

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[206] Schmalstieg (1988a, p. 34-35) and Schmalstieg (1991a, p. 78) where the possibility is entertained of seeing in these constructions the reflection of an original ergative structure.

combined with intransitive neuter passive participles, was replaced by the Genitive." Schmalstieg (1994b) again confirms this point of view regarding such an agent genitive: he considers that this is not the result of a new process, but an ancient IE feature which developed when the verb had two arguments: one an agent (in the case of the genitive) and a patient (in the case of the nominative); only later, but in any case still in antiquity, the agent genitive functioned as a kind of subject with intransitive verbs from which arose constructions of the type Lith. *čia màno/tàvo/jõ* etc. *dìrbta/eĩta* etc. 'here it was worked/passed through/ by me/you/him/' etc. The already cited Ambrazas V. (1994a) has on the contrary preferred to explain the matter in another way, connecting it with the question of ancient nominal phrases with neuter predicate (which show the pure stem *-ŏ* not in agreement with the subject, e.g. Lith. *rugiaĩ séjama/séta* 'the rye (is) was sown', *alùs sveĩka* 'the beer is healthy', etc.), which have clear equivalents in the other IE languages. Thus the genitive case which was added to such constructions should be viewed as possessive in origin (as the use of pronouns well demonstrates the e.g. *čià màno rugiaĩ séta* 'here my rye was sown', which was reinterpreted as *Genitivus auctoris* only when those formations which later developed into passive participles were still not included in the verbal paradigm, but had primarily a nominal character and therefore entered into combinations with the possessive genitive, probably a process favoring its large use in attributive phrases (Ambrazas V. 1990, p. 197–214; 1994a, p. 10). At various intervals Holvoet (1992ab, 1995) has spoken out for a formulation of the problem whereby it would not be obligatory to project the Lithuanian data (especially in the area of syntax) into the remote past, and based on the careful analysis of Latvian material, has provided a qualitative contribution to the discussion. The Flemish scholar, polemicizing with the earlier hypotheses, maintains that the passive construction with agent complement arose rather from constructions with adnominal possessive genitives only in the separate Lithuanian period of the development.[207]

2.4. LEXICON

A specific Baltic vocabulary has been established on the basis of correspondences encountered among the individual languages of the group, not always in all three, but sometimes limited to Lithuanian and Latvian, at

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[207] On the adnominal genitive in modern Lithuanian (e.g. *Jono atvykimas* 'the arrival of John', *Jono teismas* 'the trial of John', *Jono namas* 'the house of John', cf. Valeika (1970).

other times to Lithuanian and Old Prussian, and at still other times to Latvian and Old Prussian. Within this vocabulary one finds archaisms of the IE period and specific Baltic innovations, that is, lexemes absent in the other IE languages.

2.4.1. Pan-Baltic vocabulary

Several lists of forms considered typical for the Baltic lexicon circulate in the scientific literature, but the quantity they contain varies significantly: Stang (*VGBS*, p. 6-9) and Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 229) inventory about seventy words; Sabaliauskas (1990, p. 142-193) arrives at about 320 entries, divided by semantic fields and asserts that, "in no small part, those lexemes which reoccur in all three Baltic languages are an inheritance from the Baltic protolanguage, that is, they are two to three thousand years old." Naturally, as the author himself quickly admits, one must be more cautious in attributing such a large number of lexemes directly to the common period, since many of them can be considered examples of subsequent convergence.

Smoczyński (1981a) systematically examines in detail the connection of the forms of about 150 individual lexemes to the inherited IE lexicon, to Balto-Slavic or to the specifically Baltic lexicon.

Lanszweert (1984) relies on different principles than those of the scholars mentioned above: his goal is to establish in a synchronic perspective and on the basis of statistical methods (characteristic of the glottochronology of Swadesh) the degree of affinity of the Baltic languages to each other (and also in respect to the other IE languages). Lanszweert starts from the so-called long list of Swadesh (that is, he examines not one hundred but about two hundred forms), which he modifies on several points, so that finally he is working with a number of lexemes that varies between 140 and 200. From a diachronic perspective this should allow for the reconstruction of a basic Baltic lexicon, but in conclusion the author himself admits that the results of his work do not correspond to this scheme for three fundamental reasons: *a*) the paucity of Old Prussian data, *b*) the limited similarity (more precisely: ancient separation) between western Baltic and eastern Baltic, *c*) the semantic inadequacy of the base lexicon, especially in the designation of action, which underwent constant changes, often for reasons of expressiveness (Lanszweert 1984, p. xl, and the review of Urbutis 1986).

Still, none of this impedes the author from defining a specific Baltic lexicon on the basis of proposed comparisons and to produce a restricted list of 86 lexemes, expandable to 155 if one considers other partial endo-Baltic connections.

A project to compile a Proto-Baltic dictionary, coordinated by Aleksandra Steinbergs (Canada), was announced, but yielded no results. Baltic and Slavic etymological databases (created within the framework of the Indo-European Etymological Dictionary project, see: http://www.ieed.nl) are being constructed in Leiden. In 2004 a project called Common Baltic Lexicon began at Klaipėda university (Kaukienė, Pakalniškienė 2006); later Pakalniškienė, Kaukienė, Laučiūtė (2008) gives a list of common Baltic words (but only for the letter "a") with notes on morphology, morphonological structure of the root and semantics; the idea is to prepare a comprehensive lexical corpus (that is, including data not only from the standard languages, but also from old texts, dialects, onomastics, etc.) which could became the basis of an etymological dictionary of the Baltic languages. Kaukienė, Jakulis E. (2009) investigate the primary (not derived) verbs common to the three Baltic languages from a morphonologic and semantic point of view (with special attention to the *e-* and *ē-* verbs).

2.4.2. Archaisms and innovations

As evidenced by the research cited above, the principal division in the fundamental lexicon of the Baltic languages is usually between archaisms and innovations (Sabaliauskas 1990, p. 7–110). Among the latter it is useful to separate common innovations from other language groups (or ancient borrowings from them), primarily from Germanic or Slavic [see 3.1.1-3.], from the innovations of the Balto-Slavic period [see 3.1.5.]. Four strata are traditionally identified: IE lexicon, lexicon common to Baltic and to Slavic, exclusively Baltic lexicon, and finally Lithuanian or Latvian lexicon. The first and third subgroups are interesting; here are some canonical examples of the first stratum:

> Lith. *diẽvas*, Latv. *dìevs*, OPr. *deiws*, *deywis* 'god' cf. OInd. *devá-*, Latin *deus*, *dīvus*, *dīvīnus* 'godly'; Lith. *lìkti*, Latv. *pa-likt* 'to leave', OPr. *po-līnka* 'may he/she/it leave [something]', cf. OGr. λείπω, Latin *linquō*; Lith. *šuõ*, *šuñs*, Latv. *suns*, OPr. *sunis* 'dog', cf. OInd. *śvā*, *śúnaḥ*, OGr. κύων, κυνός, Lith. *výras*, Latv. *vīrs*, OPr. *wijrs* 'man (male)', cf. OInd. *vīrá-*, Latin *vir*; etc.

Lexemes like the following are ascribed to a specifically Baltic vocabulary:[208]

> Lith. *gilùs*, Latv. *dziļš*, OPr. *gillin* 'deep'; Lith. *lángas*, Latv. *logs*, OPr. *lanxto* 'window'; Lith. *lokỹs*, Latv. *lācis*, OPr. *clokis* (toponym *Tlokunpelk* < Baltic **tlāk-* 'bear'); Lith. *mergà*, Latv. *mērga*, OPr. *mergo* 'girl'; Lith. *pliẽnas*, Latv. *pliens*, OPr. *playnis* 'steel'; Lith. *tìkras*, Latv. *tikrs*, OPr. *tickars* 'real'; OLith. *vãrias*, Latv. *varš*, OPr. *wargien* 'copper'; Lith. *bylóti* 'to converse; to interrogate', Latv. *bilst*, *bildēt* 'to speak, to talk', OPr. *billīt* id., etc.

Still in other cases the semasiological aspect is typically Baltic:

> Lith. *dangùs*, OPr. *dangus* 'sky' ~ Lith. *deñgti* 'to cover' (but Latv. *debess* 'sky' id. < **nebh-*), cf. Russ. дуга 'arc', Pol. dial. *dęga* 'arc, bow, rainbow' (< Slavic **dǫga*);

> Lith. *mẽdis* 'tree', *mẽdžias* 'forest', Latv. *mežs* id., OPr. *median* id. < **medhi̯os* 'middle', the meaning 'forest' is characteristic only for Balts;

> Lith. *petỹs*, OPr. *pette* 'shoulders', cf. Avestan *pathanah* 'ample, wide', OGr. πετάννυμι 'to spread out; to open'; etc.

Besides these, several typical Baltic suffixes are used in word formation:[209]

> Suffixes for the names of action *-sianā*, *-sienā*, *-snā*, e.g. Lith. *eĩsena*, Latv. *iešana* 'walking movement', Lith. *jósena* 'horseback riding', OPr. *atskisenna* 'resurrection', OPr. *madlisna* 'prayer';[210] suffixes of proper-names *-ūn-as*, e.g. Lith. *Perkūnas*, Latv. dialect *Pērkuns*, OPr. *Percunis* 'thunder' (Ambrazas S. 1996a);

> Suffixes for diminutives *-el-*, e.g. Lith. *tėvẽlis* 'papa, daddy', OPr. *patowelis* 'stepfather'; *-ul-*, e.g. Lith. *tėvùlis* 'papa, daddy'; *-ut-*, e.g. Lith. *vilkùtis* 'wolf cub', OPr. *nagutis* 'fingernail'; *-už-*, e.g. Lith. *mergùžė* 'little girl', OPr. *merguss* id.; *-ait-*, e.g. Lith. *mergáitė* 'little girl';

> Suffixes for adjectives in *-ing-*, e.g. Lith. *būdìngas*, 'typical', Latv. *raksturīgs* id., OPr. *labbings* 'good'.

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[208] Sabaliauskas (1990, p. 142-193).
[209] Safarewicz (1976a, 1977) demonstrates the greater archaic quality of Lithuanian compared to Slavic in the formation of deverbal derivatives; in Lithuanian the motivation for derivatives was preserved to a greater degree compared to the new process of word formation in Slavic.
[210] On OPr. suffixes for abstract nouns, cf. Parenti (1998).

Bammesberger (1973) studied abstract formations in Baltic.[211] For Lithuanian Ambrazas S. [1957-2010] left unfortunately unaccomplished a huge investigation on different forms of morphological derivation in Lithuanian and Baltic, and devoted three monographies respectively to nominal (Ambrazas S. 1993, 2000) and adjectival (Ambrazas S. 2011ab) derivatives.[212] For Latvian a fundamental work on word formation has been written by Emīlija Soida [1924-1989]; her posthumously published work (Soida 2009) is focussed primarily on adjectival and verbal derivatives.

2.5. PHRASEOLOGY

The particular object of this relatively new area in Baltic linguistics is to define (and eventually to reconstruct) textual fragments or at least units broader than simple lexical ones by means of endo-Baltic comparison. Here there is interest in the diachronic aspect of the process, which can eventually permit attribution of certain phraseologisms to the Proto-Baltic phase.

2.5.1. Principles

In Baltic (and Balto-Slavic) linguistics the study of phraseology has developed in relatively recent times and above all in a synchronic perspective,[213] whilst the diachronic aspect of Baltic phraseology is still at the initial stages.[214] In the field of comparative Baltic phraseology, the researches of Rainer Eckert deserve special attention.

A general condition for proper phraseological research is to begin with stable syntagmatic types (stereotypes), that is from lexemic combinations (*Lexemverknüpfungen*), which provide a certain guarantee of stability in the individual languages (of the type of idiomatic phrases). The implicit

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[211] Cf. Urbutis (1975).

[212] On similarities in the formation of the adjectives in *-no-*, *-to-*, *-mo*, *-lo* in Baltic and Slavic, cf. Balalykina (1980).

[213] For Lithuanian Paulauskas (1977); Ermanytė, Kažukauskaitė, Naktinienė, Paulauskas, Šimenaitė, Vilutytė (2001); Lipskienė (1979, 2008); Jakaitienė (1980, p. 95-114; 2009a, p. 279-307); Vosylytė (1985); for Latvian Rūķe-Draviņa (1974); Laua (1992) and also e.g. Migla (2008); Jezupova (2008); moreover, it is important to at least recall the existence of many bilingual phraseological dictionaries.

[214] Veisbergs (1989ab, 1990 [= 1993, 2012]) for Latvian, and Jakaitienė (2009, p. 294-298) for Lithuanian, are probably the first works from a diachronic perspective.

assumption is that such stable syntagmas should not be limited to the well-studied IE poetic language. Another general condition (valid for both synchronic and diachronic research) consists of a comparison of three separate elements of a probable phraseologism: the formal structure; the semantic structure resulting from the literal meaning of the components; and the general phraseological meaning arising out of the metaphorization of the idiomatic phrase as a whole. Besides this, certain other special preliminary conditions are necessary for a proper phraseological study of Baltic and Balto-Slavic material:

a) the retrieval of data from reliable historical and lexicographic sources, from dialects, from the language of folklore;

b) a comparison with corresponding data of the Slavic languages, extremely useful to establish the existence of possible variants when the discussion relates without doubt to coincidences from an ancient period, but one must be cautious about calques from a recent period;

c) for OPr. one must primarily rely on the rare fragments of text which are not pure calques from the original German.[215]

2.5.2. Baltic phraseologisms

Apart from the phraseological sequence deduced from the comparison of modern Lithuanian and Latvian which serve to define the synchronic situation for East Baltic, research shows two different types of phraseologisms; *a*) those relating to East Baltic alone; *b*) those probably relating to common Baltic:

a) The comparative phraseologism 'to grow ~ linden', e.g. Lith. *nuáugusi kaĩp líepa* and Latv. *noaugusi kā liepa*, literally 'grown like a linden', with many examples in folk poetry, in the phraseological meaning of 'to grow well'. The comparative phraseologism 'white head ~ apple-tree', e.g. Lith. *galvà baltà kaĩp obelìs* and Latv. *galva balta kā ābele*, literally 'a head white like an apple-tree', in the phraseological meaning of 'grey (hair), hoary, old'; etc.

b) The stable phraseologism identified by Toporov from comparisons of OPr. *ains āntran* 'einander; each other' (not translated verbatim

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[215] In connection with the theoretical questions expounded here, cf. Eckert, Bukevičiūtė (1984, p. 188); cf. Eckert (1989a, 1992b, 1994a); for the complications connected with the "poetic language" of IE, cf. Eckert (1992a) and, on a more general IE background, Campanile (1993).

from the original German), Lith. *víenas añtrą* (already in Daukša: *wenas antrą* 'one to another'), Latv. *viens otru* id.; a stable etymological figure identified by Toporov, i.e. OPr. *etwerreis... wartin* 'öffne... die Tür; open... the door', Lith. *atvérti vartùs* 'to open the gates', Latv. *atvērt vārtus* id. (*PrJ* I, p. 95; II, p. 113; Eckert 1992b).

The first type of phraseological example is limited to East Baltic and remains unverifiable with the present state of knowledge – but because of this one should not exclude *a priori* the existence of the same phraseologisms in western Baltic. For the second type one notices the regular occurrence of stable textual fragments in all the individual languages. Nevertheless, their designation as phraseologisms is rather dubious since the metaphorized moment is lacking in them, and consequently they are in point of fact devoid of phraseological meaning.

2.5.3. East Baltic-Slavic phraseologisms

Quite a few correspondences of textual fragments (phraseologisms) have been identified in the East Baltic and Slavic arena (Eckert 1991, 1998a). The preferred areas are: *a*) folkloric (poetry) and dialectal language, but also *b*) fixed technical areas (apiculture [see 4.2.4.3.]), and, distinct from poetic ambiance, they have proven fruitful for phraseological research. For example:

- **a)** Comparative phraseologisms 'berry ~ girl'; they occur in eastern Slavic expressions (Ukr. дівка, як ягидка 'a girl like a berry', Blruss. нявестка, як ягатка у лесе 'the bride like a forest berry', Russ. ягодка 'berry' a sobriquet for a girl); an analogous use is found in Lith. *kaĩp úoga* 'very beautiful', also in folk songs *aš mergelė kaip uogelė* 'I'm a girl like a berry', and in Latv. *Kad es biju jauna meita, ka ūdzeņa* 'When I was a young girl like a little berry', with cf. Latv. *ūdzeņa* diminutive of *oga* 'berry' (Eckert 1993, p. 90-98; 1994c; 1997, p. 123). Formulaic phraseologisms are found in Lith. dialect *nat ugniẽs dúoda* 'strikes a blow, hits', and Blruss. як дуба дайе, literally 'strikes like an oak', used for expressing the intensity, or the high degree of the quality or of the action (Nevskaja 1993);

- **b)** Phraseologisms which connote 'a sweet drink ~ bitter drink'; they occur in Slavic formulaic expressions (OCS *medъ olъ* 'mead beer' ~ *olъ medъ* also *medovina olovina*) and East Baltic (Lith. *alùs medùs* 'beer

honey', *alùs midùs* 'beer mead'; Latv. *alus medus* 'beer honey'); there is also a series of combination variants: Russ. Мёд–пиво–вино–[...] 'mead-beer-wine-[...]' ~ Lith. *midùs–alùs–výnas*–[...] id. (Eckert 1993, p. 87-90).

Other significant phraseologisms are 'to place a beehive', with exact genetic correspondences of the lexical components, cf. Latv. *dēt dori* and Pol. *dziać drzewo* id. (Eckert 1986). Other phraseologisms connect the concept 'dry food / dried food ~ moist food / fat food' and occur in East Baltic expressions (eastern Lith. *valgà* 'food', Lith. *pavalgà* 'nutrition, ingredient', Latv. *pavalga* id., etc., connected with *válgyti* 'to eat', *vìlgyti* 'to moisten', from which is deduced the semantic development 'humidity' > 'watery food, fat food' (cf. also OPr. *welgen* 'a cold or chill'; an analogous series has been identified in Slavic, e.g. ORuss. волога 'butter, cream, fat' and с хлебом и вологою 'with bread and fat food', Russ. dialect вóлóга 'moisture, water'; also Slovenian *vlága* 'humidity, rain', 'broth, soup' (Eckert 1982-1983; 1984). Finally the significant phraseologisms 'to vomit / to throw up' have an exact literal equivalent 'to skin the goat', cf. Latv. *dīrāt āzi* id., Lith. *óžius lùpti*, OCS **dьrati kozъlъ* (Eckert 1988b).[216]

Dialectal phraseology (about 900 units) of the Lithuanian folklore concerning saints and the devil has been analyzed from the ethnolinguistic point of view by Jasiūnaitė (2010).

2.5.4. On spells, magic formulas and other

Another specific field of investigation is that of the (generally) short texts of different spells and magic formulas (German *Zaubersprüche*, Russ. заговоры).

There is no general study of spells in a Baltic perspective,[217] but several classic contributions for each single tradition exist e.g. for Lithuanian Mansikka (1929), and for Latvian the very rich researches of Straubergs (1939-1941) on magic formulas, and Straubergs (1944) on Latvian popular customs. In this context it is also worth mentioning the collection of Latvian popular beliefs by Šmits (1940-1941). A collection of papers devoted to both general and particular aspects of this subject is Ivanov, Svešnikova

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[216] Other parallels have been observed and commented on by Eckert (2006ab). For specific cases of interference between Lithuanian and Belarussian, cf. Aksamitaŭ (2000).

[217] In general, cf. Toporov (1994), Ivanov (1994).

(1993). Stryczyńska-Hodyl (2009) is a study of the Lithuanian and Latvian versions of the fairy tale *Eglė, žalčių karalienė* (The Queen of Grass-Snakes) and of the magic formulas (name) employd in it.[218]

The correspondences concerning those spells among Lithuanian from one side, and Belarussian, Polish, Russian from the other side, have been collected, classified and commented on according to three main connected spheres: illness, sacrificial illness, fight against illness, in the exhaustive study by Zav'jalova (2006).

2.6. ONOMASTICS

Regarding Baltic onomastics Toporov has written that it is a "hunting preserve of the ancient IE language." Within the obvious confines of this profile I will attempt to clarify certain features which could motivate such an assertion.

2.6.1. Hydronymics and toponymics

Since I earlier discussed ancient Baltic hydronymics (and toponymics) **[see 1.2-3.]** which cover vast territories where Slavic peoples live today, and since I will provide additional references later, at this point I will limit myself to research primarily on the ethnographic territory of Lithuania and Latvia **[for OPr. see 6.]**. After the first studies completed in the toponomastic realm by authoritative Lithuanian and Latvian linguists,[219] during the last half century important research has appeared, which has not only produced new data, but has also contributed to clarifying the features of the Baltic systems of hydronymics as a whole. The research received a particularly notable impulse from the results of a collection of hydronymic data prepared on the basis of cartographic material and analyzed by a group of scholars from the Latvian and Lithuanian Academies of Science.[220]

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[218] For comparisons outside of the Baltic area, cf. Eckert (1998b); the reflexes of a cosmological spell in Lith., Latv., Blruss. and Ukr. are discussed in Sudnik (1999).

[219] For Lithuania, cf. Būga (1923); Jonikas (1950-1951). For Latvia, cf. Endzelīns (1922-1925, 1934); Plāķis (1936-1937). For Latgalia, cf. Zeps (1977, 1984b, 1995). For Prussia Gerullis (1922a) as well as Biolik (1989) and Blažienė (1994, 2000, 2009 etc.). For Baltic in general, cf. Rūķe-Draviņa (1973).

[220] For Latvian, cf. Avotiņa (1984); Avotiņa, Goba (1986); for Lithuanian, cf. Savukynas, Vanagas, Vitkauskas (1963); this last work, which included just under ten thousand names of rivers and lakes found in the territory of the then Lithuanian Soviet Republic, was quickly enhanced by unpublished additions and amplifications, cf. Savukynas (1960-1966). Very useful for Lithuania Minor, in Prussia, is the work of collection and interpretation of Pėteraitis (1992); for place-names, cf. Vanagas (1996); Pėteraitis (1997). For Latvian place-names, cf. Bušs (2003); *LVV*.

Relying on a vast collection of material, Vanagas (1970, 1981ab) created a kind of trilogy which will leave a definite imprint over time. First, he studies the principles of formation and derivation characteristic of the system of Lithuanian hydronymics, and proposes a classification of derivatives based on the utilization of various formants.

The primary hydronyms are distinct, that is, those types coming from common nouns, anthroponyms or toponyms without change, and which do not have any typical formant (e.g. *Gérvė* < fem. noun *gérvė* 'crane'; *Adomáitis* < anthroponym *Adomáitis*, etc.); secondary hydronyms in turn are divided into derivational and compound. The first are derived by means of various elements: endings (e.g. hydronym *Kreĩvė, Il̃gė* ~ adj. *kreĩvas* 'curved', *ìlgas* 'long'), suffixes (e.g. hydronym *Ilgýnas* ~ adj. *ìlgas*) or prefixes (e.g. hydronym *Padubẽ* ~ toponym *Dùbos* ~ adj. *dubùs* 'deep', masc. noun *dubuõ* 'ravine').

The second are, on the other hand, composed from various parts of speech (e.g. from two nouns *Bríedžupis* ~ *bríedis* 'elk', *ùpė* 'river'; from adj. and noun *Šaltùpė* ~ *šaltas* 'cold', *ùpė* 'river'; from verb and noun *Kriokupỹs* ~ *kriõkti* 'to mutter', *ùpė* 'river', etc.); a particular type is made up of genitive formation hydronyms, where the first element is the gen. of a noun (e.g. *Akmẽnių ẽžeras* 'lake'). A comparison of the structural elements of Lithuanian hydronymics with those of Latvian and Old Prussian defines a rather similar model among the Baltic languages. An areal differentiation of the diverse formants is not clearly identifiable, and this allows one to hypothesize a relative linguistic homogeneity over the whole territory where such a hydronymic system appeared and developed.

Another important aspect of Baltic hydronymics, the semantic aspect, comprises the subject of another contribution of the same Lithuanian linguist. Vanagas (1981b) divides the hydronyms into two principal groups, unmotivated and motivated, from which other successive categories are derived. The first group, which comprises about a thousand units (11%), is of little use for semantic research: these hydronyms are characterized precisely by their non-hydronymic, marginal, but interesting semantics. Often these hydronyms are taken from other onomastic sectors (primarily toponymics and anthroponymics). Strictly speaking, the so-called possessive hydronyms have no hydronymic semantic value since the possessive quality is not directly connected with the description of the body of water; for the most part they are derived from toponyms (33%) and anthroponyms (67%). Much more interesting for semantic study is the second group, the motivated hydronyms (89%), whose primary meaning is hydronymic;

it is possible to distinguish between hydrogeographics (they, in turn have a series of subdivisions), and those derived from appellatives. In conclusion, one can trace several interesting areal observations. On the one hand, they refine the relations of the Baltic hydronymic system with the ancient European hydronymics, and on the other hand, allow for the connection of specific hydronymic features with the boundaries of the East Baltic dialects (and study the question of the substrata of Curonian, Semigallian, Selonian, Yatvingian in Lithuanian hydronymics). Moreover, on an ethnogenetic level, Vanagas accepts the notion that the area of the diffusion of Baltic hydronymics coincides with that of the diffusion of Baltic ethnicity. Such an assumption, substantially correct, nevertheless gives one pause, since one must always keep in mind that prehistoric and historical events could have changed, even significantly, the picture which is reconstructed [see 1.5.2.]. The studies just discussed, concentrating principally on Lithuanian hydronymics, but often of pan–Baltic interest, are generalized in the fundamental etymological dictionary of Lithuanian hydronyms (which actually includes all of Baltic hydronymics). The staff of the Institute for the Lithuanian Language in Vilnius are currently continuing the research which Vanagas [1934-1995] conducted for many years (e.g. Norkaitienė 1993; Razmukaitė 1993, and still many others).

Latvian hydronymics has not been studied to the extent that Lithuanian has. Still there are many detailed preparatory works which in the near future could allow us to make a qualitative leap and to produce works of broader significance.[221] Balode L. is working particularly actively in this area, and her specific contributions regard many types of hydronymic derivation, precisely: of anthroponyms (Balode L. 1991), of names of lakes (limnonyms; Balode L. 1987, 1990), of names of plants (phytonyms; Balode L. 1993a), names of tastes (Balode L. 1993b), adjectives denoting significant color (Balode L. 1992) and so forth; the passage of common nouns to proper nouns (process of onymization) in Baltic hydronymy is discussed in Balode (2005).

Finally, I must point out the presence of many other contributions relating to the study of hydronymic parallels outside the Baltic area.[222]

Prepared on the basis of the research carried out into Lithuanian proper words, the Institute of Lithuanian Language has started to publish

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[221] E.g. the contributions at the conference *Vietvārdi un personvārdi* published in the journal *ValAK* (1988, p. 233-370).

[222] E.g. Balto-Balkan parallels in Breidaks (1977b), Balto-Slavo-Illyrian in Dambe (1974); Toporov (1987) etc.

a 10-volume projected *Dictionary of Lithuanian Place-names*, which is a first systematic attempt to present all Lith. place names attested in the *Card Index of Place-names from the Living Language*, and give information and etymological explanations on each of them; also regions at present beyond the political border of the Lithuanian Republic are ethnic considered (*Lietuvos vietovardžių žodynas* I, A-B, 2008).

2.6.2. Anthroponymics

The Balts had their own specific pre-Christian IE anthroponymics (cf. Schmitt 1991), many traces of which still remain today in typical binomial formations which are similar in Lithuanian,[223] Latvian[224] and Prussian,[225] e.g.:

> *But-/*Bud–*, Lith. *Ar̃-butas, Karì-butas*; OPr. *Ar-bute*, *Ey-buth*, *Ey-bud*, etc.

> *Daug–*, Lith. *Daũbaras* (< *Daug-baras*, cf. *daũg* 'a lot' and *bárti* 'reprove; streit'; cf. Pol. *Bolesław*, Czech *Bolemila*, etc.), *Daũ-kantas*, *Daũ-girdė*; OPr. *Daw-kent*, etc.

> *Gin(t)–*, Lith. *Gìm-butas* (< *Gin-butas*), *Gìn-tautas*; OPr. *Gynne-both*, *Gyn-thawte*, etc.

> *Nor–*, Lith. *Nór-vaišas, Vaĩš-noras, Nór-mantas*; OPr. *Nar-wais*, *Ways-nar*, etc.

> *Vis–*, Lith. *Vìs-baras, Vìs-mantas*; OPr. *Wisse-bar* (cf. Pol. *Wszebora*), *Wysse-manth*, etc.

Two arguments are generally offered to illustrate the archaic quality of the Baltic formations: one internal – the fact that one of the two components is almost always of verbal origin (cf. Lith. *Jo-gáila ~ jóti* 'to ride a horse', *Gìn-tautas ~ gìnti* 'to defend', and one external, based on the comparison with the parallel formations found in OGr. (e.g. Ἀρχέλαος 'he who rules the nation') or in OInd. (e.g. *Trasádasyu-* 'he who makes his enemies tremble'). Several correspondences for the individual terms are found in Slavic mat-

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[223] Leskien (1909-1911, 1914-1915); Būga (1911); Zinkevičius (1977a); Girvilas (1978); Maciejauskienė (1991, 1994); Kuzavinis, Savukynas (1994); Sinkevičiūtė (2006). For Lithuanian surnames, cf. Vanagas (1985-1989); for Latvian surnames, cf. Balodis P. (2005, 2013); for Latgalian, cf. Stafecka (2013). For Lithuanian nicknames, cf. Butkus (1995, 1997); for Latvian nicknames, cf. Ernstone (2002), Štrausa (2008). For Lithuanian pseudonyms, cf. Zaveckienė (1998).

[224] Blese (1929); Staltmane (1981). For Latvian surnames, cf. Siliņš (1990).

[225] Lewy (1904); Trautmann (1925); Blažienė (2011b).

erial (e.g. Baltic *bar-* ~ Slavic *bor-* 'to fight', Baltic *dárg-* ~ Slavic *drago-* (< *darga* 'dear, precious'); only for the meaning: Baltic *bùt-* ~ Slavic *domo-* 'dwelling', Baltic *gin-* ~ Slavic *bran-* (< *born-* 'to defend'); cf. also Nevskaja 1998, 2001).

About two hundred stems which enter into the composition of the anthroponyms are identified only in Lithuanian; the verbal element can occur in the second element with no difference (Lith. *Vaĩš-noras* ~ *noréti* 'to want'), or in the first position (*Nór-vaišas,* Нар-и-монтовичь [1350] ~ *noréti* 'to want'), or again, both elements can be of verbal origin (Lith. Мини-гаило [1388] and *Goyli-min* [1432] ~ *gailéti* 'to be merciful', *minéti* 'to mention; to remember'). Occasionally there is a connecting vowel *-i-* between the two elements perhaps of verbal origin (cf. *mìn-i* 'he mentions', *mìn-i-me* 'we mention', *mìn-i-te* 'you mention').

The forms of the Lith. names in the Ruthenian written Lithuanian Annals of the 15th century have been investigated by Garliauskas (2000). The spread and adaptation of Lithuanian names in Polish has also been studied (e.g.: Pol. *Olgierd, Jagiełło,*[226] *Norwid* ~ Lith. *Al̃girdas, Jogáila, Nórvydas* and in Belarussian.[227] It is possible that the anthroponymic inventory can be expanded and made more precise, thanks to new discoveries such as the Lithuanian names on the birch bark documents in Novgorod.[228]

According to the principles set forth in Valentas (1997, p. 26-50, and following Campanile 1987), the typical Baltic binomial anthroponymic formations also reveal features of the IE poetic language (cf. also Valentas 2001, 2009).[229] The main root employed for both names and epithets is that meaning 'glory, fame' (e.g. OGr. Εὐρύ-κλειτος, OInd. *Pṛthu-śrávas* 'with a vast fame'; OGr. εὐκλεής, OInd. *su-śrávas* 'famous, rich of glory'). In the Baltic anthropolexems the concept of 'glory' is rather rarely given by means of the root *klau(s)-* 'to hear' (< *ḱleu̯-*, e.g. Lith. *klausýti*, OPr. *klausiton*), but quite often also by means of the roots *gird-/*gerd-* 'to say aloud' (< *gu̯erdh-/*gu̯r̥dh*, e.g. Lith. *girdéti* 'to hear', Latv. *dzirdēt* id., OPr. *gerdaut* 'to say'; Lith. *gìrti* 'praise', OPr. *girtwei* id.; cf. OInd. *gṛṇā́ti* 'to praise, to sing'), and probably also *tar-* (Lith. *tar̃ti* 'utter; pronounce', OPr. *tārin* 'voice'; cf. OInd. adj. *tārasvara-* 'resounding aloud' from *tārá* 'bringing to the other side' and *svara* 'sound', Hitt. *tar-* 'to say'). The correlation

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[226] Safarewicz (1950); Otrębski (1959); Bednarczuk (1980, 1982, 1983); Smoczyński (1982).

[227] Birila, Vanagas (1968); Rimša (1974, 1981).

[228] Jajlenko (1987). Nalepa (1971c) investigates the interesting inscription (13th cent.) Бетовто (possibly *bī-tautas* > *Výtautas*), cf. Lith. *bijoti* 'to fear' for the first element, and Lith. *tautà* 'people' for the second one.

[229] The same subject is also dealt with in Petit (2006).

*klau(s)- ~ *gird- ~ *tar- also has interesting correspondences in other IE languages (Gall. *bardus* 'the name of the Celtic poet', OIrl. *bard* id., OArm. *kardam* 'to recit aloud'), and within the Baltic anthroponymy:

> *klau(s)- ~ Lith. *Klausigaila*; OPr. *Claws-i-gail* [1385], *Klawsigail*, *Toloclaus*, *Toleclaus* etc.

> *gird-/*gerd- ~ Lith. *Al̃-girdas*, *Gìrd-mantas*, *Taũt-girdas*; OPr. *Al-gard, By-gerde, Kanthe-gerde* etc.

> *tar- ~ Lith. *Tár-vydas*, *Ger-taras*, *Gìn-taras*, *Daũ-taras* (< *Daug-taras*) etc.

An attempt to investigate the specific (morphological and semantic) features of Baltic women's names in an IE context is found in Stüber (2009).

2.6.3. Ethnonymics

I do not propose here to provide the various hypotheses for every Baltic ethnonym (for that I refer to the particular sections of the succeeding chapters), but rather to point out certain research trends in explaining ethnonymic data in a broader Baltic and IE onomastic context. Besides specific studies in this area, limited references found in scattered works devoted to closely related arguments are helpful, and among these and of special value are the allusions found in the numerous studies of Toporov (1964, 1973, 1977a).

Certain contributions of Kuzavinis (1966) and Laučiūtė (1988) are successful attempts to give a complete and, to the extent possible, systematic exposition of the information contained in the material. It is now an acknowledged given that a fruitful study of Baltic ethnonymics must be undertaken in a broader IE areal context and chronologically connected with the period prior to Proto-Baltic. There are at least three reasons for this:

a) The numerous semantic and structural parallels with ancient European onomastics: in this perspective every etymological or typological correspondence so far discovered by scholars (Krahe, Schmid, Duridanov, Toporov, Laučiūtė) is important for all the languages which may have had contact with the ancient Baltic community. As examples I offer the following correspondences: Baltic *gal-ind-

(> OPr. *Galinda*) ~ *Kalindoia* or *Kalindia*, a city in Migdonia in ancient Macedonia; Baltic **prūs-/*praus-* (Lith. *Prūsai*, Latv. *Prūši* 'Prussians') ~ Thracian toponym *Brussa*, Προῦσα, Προύσιος, Βρουσαεύς, the Celtic toponym *Prausī*, the Germanic ethnonym *Frūsja*, *Frisii* (which Toporov connects with the Etruscan anthroponym *Prus* 'Prus' [see 6.1.3.]); Baltic **sēl-* (> Lith. *Sėliai* 'Selonians') ~ the Thracian tribe name *Selletes*, Σελλοί, the name of the country Σελ-υμβρία, the Lusitanian tribe name *Sel-puli* [see 5.5.2.]; moreover, for the name of the *Aesti* (Lith. *áisčiai*) there are parallels in toponyms of Venetic origin *Ad-estae*, *At-este*; for the name of Lithuania (*Lietuvà*), of the Lithuanians (*lietùviai*), of Latvia (*Latvija*) and of the Latvians (*latvieši*) there are parallels in the tribal names identified as Celtic *Lat-ōv-ici*, as well as the tribal name (Celtic or Germanic?) *Laetus*, Gaelic *Let-av-ija*, Irish *Letha* 'the western part of Gaul' and *Letos*; there is no lack of hydronymic or other explanations [see *infra*].

b) The almost total absence of specific Baltic ethnonymic formants; the only suffixes presumed typical for the Baltic appellative lexicon are *-t-* (variants: *-et-* ~ *-it-*) and *-s-* (variants *-es-/-is-*); on the contrary they often approach IE toponymic and hydronymic data of Europe, e.g. Thracian Βάνης, a fortress in Dacia ~ ethnonym Βάν-τ-ιοι, Βάν-ισ-αί, the analogous series in OPr. *Banow* ~ *Ban-et-in* ~ *Ban-s-e*, *Ban-s-in*. The suffix *-s-* quickly became non-productive, judging by its disappearance in the onomastics of the Moscow region (Подмосковье) and its stability, on the other hand, in the upper Dnepr basin (Поднепровье), e.g. *Pelesa*, *Lučesa* (< **Lauk-es-a*), etc.

c) The characteristic process of formation: hydronym → toponym and/or country name → ethnonym (e.g. *Lietavà* river name → *Lietuvà* 'Lithuania' → *lietùviai* 'Lithuanians'), so that the ethnonym is often formed from hydronymic stems without any special word-formation suffixes. These explanations maintain that the Proto-Baltic collectives in **-avā* ~ *-uvā* and such, as well as perhaps **leti-*, reflect the original name which the ancient Balts used to call themselves and which signified 'a country of origin; an inhabitant of the countryside'.

This point of view, based on hydronymic data, is traditionally favored (Būga (1913b [= *RR* I, p. 528]; *ME* II, p. 425; Kuzavinis 1964b). But the

tendency in recent years toward another interpretation relying on the ethnolinguistic aspect must be noted; Karaliūnas (1995ac) clearly prefers this point of view in his works (concerning the name of the *Aesti* [see 1.3.3.1.], of the *Gudai*, as well as the names of Latvia and Lithuania). Karaliūnas (1995c) proposes another development, which can be summarized thus: the first ORuss. attestations of the name indicate military groups; moreover, such a meaning reoccurs in similar root forms of the Germanic languages (cf. Icelandic *lið* 'orderly; guide; army', MLG *leide* id.); if such forms were connected to Lith. *Lietuvà*, then the name would have originally represented a military campaign (cf. the collective suffix *-av-* ~ *-uv-*). Zinkevičius (1994) maintains on the contrary the traditional view.

THE LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

3.1. THE SLAVIC AND GERMANIC PERIBALTIC CONTEXT

Contacts with the ethnic groups which, according to our present state of knowledge, lived in proximity to their ancestors, played a large role in the ethnogenesis of the Balts. In this first section I will concentrate on contacts with Slavic tribes in the north-east and Germanic tribes in the west [see 3.1.]; in the following section [see 3.2.] I will address relations with Finno-Ugric tribes; the so-called Proto-Baltic region will be treated separately [see 3.3.]. It is not possible to delve deeply into the relations with every linguistic group, but some comments on them are given [see 3.4.].

3.1.1. Correspondences between Baltic, Slavic and Germanic

The idea of close contact between Balto-Slavic and Germanic, already expressed in the writings of Zeuss and Grimm is strongly supported by Schleicher (1852).[230] Overall lexical correspondences are primarily taken into account, but certain common morphological innovations are also considered for these languages.

Among the latter Leskien (1876) recognizes only the presence of –*m*– in the nominal endings, where the other IE languages have –*bh*–, but this does not diminish the assumption of a Balto-Slavo-Germanic sub-group, an assumption which is shared by many other linguists (Uhlenbeck, Schmidt, Kluge, Kretschmer), and which dominated at least until the skepticism expressed by Hirt (1892, p. 305): "von der Verwandtschaft des Lituslavisches mit dem Germanischen nichts zu halten ist" (i.e. Nothing can be said concerning the kinship of Lithuanian-Slavic [i.e. Balto-Slavic] with Germanic).

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[230]   On the importance of the Balto-Slavic and Germanic unity idea in the history of linguistics, cf. Lötzsch (1986, 1990).

Later, after the appearance of the works of Meillet and the Italian Neolinguistics school,[231] the question of a hypothetical Balto-Slavo-Germanic unity ceased to be discussed as a distinct problem and was absorbed into the more general attempt to define the geographical-dialectal division of the IE linguistic families. Thus, Pisani (1933) puts Baltic, Slavic and Germanic (to which one can probably add Illyrian and Thracian) into a central subgroup, contrasting with analogous western (Italian, Celtic), southern (Osco-Umbrian, Greek, Macedonian) and eastern (Indo-Iranian) subgroups. Conversely, Devoto (1952) considers that Proto-Slavic and Proto-Baltic are part of northern IE, which in turn stands in opposition to southern IE and western IE. Other similar hypotheses have been offered, for instance Porzig (1954, p. 139-143) revisits eight Balto-Slavo-Germanic lexical correspondences from previous studies. I consider it useful to examine this problem more fully.

Material appropriate for consideration in cases like this obviously excludes the borrowings from a historical period, while at the same time orienting itself on ancient vocabulary, that is, on those lexemes which show phonetic "regularity" (like the forms inherited from IE), but are circumscribed only by the Balto-Slavo-Germanic area, at least as it is known in

[231]   The so-called school of Neolinguistics emerged in Italy at the beginning of the 20th century. Because its linguistic ideas are generally not well known, I consider it appropriate to give a brief explanation. Neolinguists considered the schemas of the Neogrammarians to be of pure practical interest but lacking in any essential value. Consequently they looked at language as at an individual and spiritual phenomenon. In that respect they were adherents of idealism, that is the philosophy of Benedetto Croce [1866-1952] and Karl Vossler [1872-1949]. The linguistic ideas of the Neolinguists arose from three main sources: *a)* the substratum linguistics of Graziadio Isaia Ascoli [1829-1907]; *b)* geographical linguistics (especially of Jules Gilliéron and Johannes Schuchardt); and *c)* the *Wörter und Sachen* movement. Because of these influences the Neolinguistic school of linguistics was also called "areal linguistics" and/or "spatial linguistics". They set forth five "areal norms" which must be understood not as laws, but rather as tendencies. The main figures of the Italian Neolinguistic school were Matteo Giulio Bartoli [1873-1946], Giulio Bertoni [1878-1942], Giuliano Bonfante [1904-2005] and at the beginning Giacomo Devoto [1897-1974]. Other linguists with similar views were: Giuseppe Vidossi [1878-1969], Pier Gabriele Goidànich [1868-1953] and later perhaps also Vittore Pisani [1899-1990]. Goidànich (1907) wrote a study of the diphthongization in the Romance languages where he draws programmatic parallels with the situation in Lithuanian. Bertoni was a professor of Romance linguistics in Switzerland and obtained a high academic degree h.c. from the University of Vilnius during the Polish period. Among many other items with Bertoni (Bertoni, Bartoli 1928), Bartoli (1925, 1933, 1937) also wrote a couple of articles and some reviews on Baltistic subjects; he was especially interested in defining the concepts of archaic and conservative in linguistics. Along with Devoto (2004) the Neolinguist who paid most attention to the Baltic languages, and who was able to work with them, was Bonfante (2008). In several articles published in *SB* he investigated accentological matters in all three major Baltic languages. He wrote a still-quoted paper on the name of the Baltic Sea, and was also interested in tabu, animism and phonetic symbolism; in all his works he frequently used facts of the Baltic languages, especially Lithuanian. This is also true of his book *I dialetti indoeuropei* (1931) where one can find many original and intriguing proposals not only for lexical matters and etymology. For their specific interest in the Baltic languages, Neolinguists even have some connection with Carlo Cattaneo [1801-1869] a forerunner of G. I. Ascoli. On the other hand they promoted the rise of the Italians in historical linguistics, whose representatives have still paid attention to the facts of the Baltic languages.

historic times (e.g. Lith. *liáudis* 'people', OCS *l'udъje*, OHG *liuti*). Equally interesting are those lexemes for which there is no evidence that they came from one linguistic group and then entered into the others (e.g. Lith. *sidã-bras* 'silver', OCS *sъrebro*, Goth. *silubr*). Such correspondences were already the object of numerous specific works when Porzig proposed his list of eight Balto-Slavo-Germanic correspondences. Subsequently, in a general overview of Germanic in an IE context, Čemodanov (1961ab, 1962) explains the relations between Balto-Slavic and Germanic according to several phases of development: at first Slavic was closer to Indo-Iranian and Baltic to Germanic; when Slavic distanced itself from Iranian it became more closely connected to Baltic, while Germanic entered into closer relations with Italic, perhaps Illyrian, and only later with Celtic.

As for the specific Balto-Slavo-Germanic lexical connections, Čemodanov considers only four of those identified by Porzig to be valid, the overall number to twenty-four. Porzig's inventory remained a point of reference for about a decade, and was then criticized on several occasions by Polomé (1970, 1983). At about the same time the fundamental work of Stang (1972) was published. In this, his last significant work, he compiles an "isoglossary", including in it only *reliable* – on the basis of the status of the science at the time – lexical material (188 lexical isoglosses), and only a part of the doubtful material, useful for discussion purposes, and does not include numerous unreliable correspondences (abundant in previous scientific literature). In this manner a definite number of lexical isoglosses was collected, divided into Balto-Slavo-Germanic (68), Balto-Germanic (66), and Slavo-Germanic (54). Their careful analysis often resulted in the identification of different derivatives of common roots in the three groups, and occupies the major part of the work (Stang 1972, p. 13-66).

Alongside the work of Stang stands the collection of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Nepokupnyĭ 1989), created, in the words of the authors themselves, as "an echo to Stang's book." This collection offers a precise exposition of the problem and a substantial bibliography, thereby confirming Stang's position after twenty years and at the same time extending his work. The analysis by the Ukrainian group takes into account new discoveries in specific areas of Baltic, Slavic and Germanic dialectology.[232]

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[232] In the interval between the appearance of the works of Stang (1972) and Nepokupnyĭ (1989), the etymological dictionary of the Slavic languages (*ÈSSJa*) and of Proto-Slavic (*SlPrsl*), and of Russian dialects began to appear as well as, of special importance, the etymological dictionary of Old Prussian (*PrJ*; *PKEŽ*). Not only lexical, but general considerations for the study of Baltic, Germanic and Slavic relationships can be found in Klimas (1970b).

The results in many cases differ from Stang's, and for several pairs a third comparison is identified. The principal limit of this research, coordinated by Nepokupnyǐ, is that it includes only a limited number (25) of Balto-Slavo-Germanic isoglosses – it is not clear why – and that the authors accordingly use Lithuanian, Russian, English and/or German lemmas to represent the three groups – Baltic, Slavic, Germanic (e.g. English *ale* 'beer', Lith. *alùs*, Russ. dialect оловина; English *asp* 'aspen tree', Latv. *apse*, Russ. осина etc.).[233] Nevertheless, the percentage relationship between semantic spheres into which Stang had already divided the lexical isoglosses remains unchanged, and here one notices the absence of common items in the religious sphere and abstract concepts; kinship terminology is also weakly represented, while many more common designations for flora, fauna and natural elements occur. Stang also points out the abundance of technical terms (especially for identifying wood objects), which could testify to the possible existence of a primitive artisan culture. However, Trubačev (1974) holds a different opinion on this question. Most scholars share the viewpoint of Stang, according to which isoglosses are a product of the period when the ancestors of the Balts, Slavs and Germans lived side by side (*Nachbarschaft*), and in this regard it is more accurate to speak about differences of dialectal types rather than about different languages. This epoch of proximity left some well-known reflexes, not only in lexicon but also in grammar (e.g. nominal endings of the dat.–instr. plur. cases in -*m*- with -*bh*- in other IE languages, cf. Lith. *vilkáms* 'to the wolves', OCS *vlьkomъ*, Goth. *wulf-am*; the diffusion of the suffix *-isko-* with general functions, and certain other examples).

Stang (1972, p. 81) considers that such a Balto-Slavo-Germanic lexical alliance should be viewed as part of a wider whole, precisely the *Vocabulaire du nord-ouest* of Meillet, which represents a kind of condensation and moreover a continuation. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984, p. 498-499) also refer to the material in Stang. Although it is impossible to define the precise chronological relationships between the lexemes of the two groups, Stang leans toward recognizing northwestern IE isoglosses as the most ancient. Regarding the chronological aspect, I should remember the importance of Baltic borrowings in Balto-Finnic (*Ostseefinnisch*), which Schmid (1975) points out. On the basis of these it is possible not only to specify individual lexical correspondences accepted by Stang, but also to

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[233] Otkupščikov (1973) investigates the old name for 'bread' in Baltic, Slavic and Germanic. Boutkan (2003) the name for expressing 'wetness, rain, drop'.

put forth certain hypotheses regarding the relative chronology of Balto-Slavic-Germanic isoglosses:

a) they pre-date the borrowing of their Baltic components in Balto-Finnic;

b) nevertheless, they are more recent than the Iranian stratum in Balto-Finnic, which dates to the 5th century B.C.;

c) the Baltic borrowings pre-date the most ancient Germanic borrowings, that is, they were borrowed before the birth of Christ.

With this in mind, and considering that the state of the culture which the Balto-Slavic-Germanic isoglosses and Baltisms in Balto-Finnic reflect does not differ from the culture of the epoch under discussion, Schmid (1975) comes to the conclusion that the temporal distance between these two events cannot be great.

Finally, I note with Mažiulis (1994c) that some indicators are very important for the analysis of the study of the ethnogenesis of the Balts, Slavs and Germans, for example, the formative elements for the dat. plur. with the element *–m*[234]. The closest ethnic contacts between the Balto-Slavs and Germans probably took place as early as the 3rd millennium B.C., when they divided into two groups: the first moved to the northeast, and the second to the northwest. Moreover, until the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. the language of the Balto-Slavs was so-called Proto-Baltic, from which then began to develop Proto-Slavic. However, the relations between the Balto-Slavs and Germans and the Indo-Iranians must be limited exclusively to the IE epoch.

3.1.2. Correspondences between Baltic and Germanic

Although overshadowed by the numerous correspondences between Baltic and Slavic, the idea of a significant close relationship between Baltic and Germanic was already clear at the very beginning of IE comparative philology, sometimes in the more generic frame of *nordische Sprachen* (Bopp). According to traditional opinion there are more than a few very ancient specific Balto-Germanic correspondences (probably arising in the 3rd millennium B.C.), but this question remains to be resolved (cf. Bednarczuk 1976 with the bibliography of earlier works).

[234] Schmalstieg (2003a) argues that there may be a connection between the existence of oblique cases in *-m* and the lack of a nasal in the *-ŏ* stem neuter nom.-acc. sing. in Baltic and Slavic.

3.1.2.1. Lexical borrowings. Continuing the history of the research in this area one notes that after the classic work by Hirt (1898) regarding the Germanic borrowings in Baltic, the seminal investigations of Būga (1921) were published, from which it appeared that such borrowings were few. In all, Būga collects approximately a dozen borrowings which he subdivides in the following way:

a) Borrowings common for the entire Baltic territory e.g. OPr. *alu* 'mead', Lith. *alùs*, Latv. *alus* ← OIcel. *ǫl* 'beer', OEngl. *ealu* id.[235]

b) Borrowings common for Lithuanian and Latvian e.g. Lith. *kliẽpas*, Latv. *klaips* ← OIcel. *hleifr*, Goth. *hlaifs* 'bread'; Lith. *kvietỹs*, Latv. *kvieši* ← OIcel. *hueite*, Goth. *hwaiteis* 'wheat'; Lith. *gãtvė*, Latv. *gatve* ← Goth. *gatwō*, ON *gata* 'street'.

c) Borrowings common to Lithuanian and Old Prussian e.g. OPr. *sarwis*, Lith. *šárvas* 'armor' ← Goth. *sarwa* 'weapons'.

d) Borrowings appearing only in Lithuanian e.g. Lith. *midùs* ← Goth. **midu* 'mead', cf. OHG *metu, meto*.[236]

e) Borrowings appearing only in Old Prussian e.g. OPr. *rikijs* ← Goth. **reikeis* (cf. OHG *rihhi* 'powerful'); OPr. *kelmis* 'hat', Germ. **xelmaz* 'helmet'; OPr. *ilmis* 'kind of hay shed' ← Germ. **hilm(a)z* 'hay loft'; OPr. *lapinis* 'spoon' ← Goth. **lapins*;[237] etc.

Čemodanov (1962) collects a significant number of exclusively Balto-Germanic correspondences (as many as 69, that is, more than Hirt).[238] In this lexical material which reflects several semantic fields typical of primitive life (parts of the body, diseases, work, objects) and which puts others aside (social life), Čemodanov sees the influences of a very ancient situation. Polomé (1974) offers a different opinion. He tries to invalidate Čemodanov's entire list on the strength of methodological deficiencies, the weakness of the similarity or at least the non-exclusivity between the words

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[235] The Baltic words for 'beer' along with OCS *olъ* 'stirring beverage' and also Ossetian *æluton* id. should be understood as German loanwords, but Finn. *olut* id. (because of *o < a*) may be only a Baltic loanword, cf. Schmid (1986c).

[236] On Germanic loan-words in Lithuanian is worth mentioning also the contribution of Senn A. (1935ab) with bibliography up through the 1950s.

[237] This inventory, although not complete, still deserves discussion. In general, cf. *PKEŽ* or *PrJ*; note that Falk (1985) has, however, shown that *lapinis* is not a borrowing.

[238] Another lexical investigation of the same period is Scherer (1941) in which the etyma 'common to Germanic and Balto-Slavic' are gathered anew, and innovations are isolated which 'might suggest a tentative chronology of structural chages.'

created in Baltic and German. As for the ancient Germanic borrowings in Baltic, already noted by Būga, it should be pointed out that subsequently other scholars expanded their number and introduced certain corrections to the list. The first to propose a new inventory of noteworthy ancient Germanic borrowings was Otrębski (1966). His list only partially coincides with that of Būga and, among others, includes:

> OPr. *alu* 'mead', *asilis* 'donkey', *brunyos* 'armour', *ylo* 'awl', *carbio* = /*tarbio*/ 'a bin (of a mill)', *catils* 'pot', *wumpnis* 'stove', *sarwis* 'weapons', *sticlo* 'glass'.

> OLith. *pielà* 'saw', *kliẽpas* 'bread loaf', *kviečiaĩ* 'wheat', *midùs* 'mead', OLith. *pẽkus* 'cattle', *šálmas* 'helmet', *tuĩnas* 'fence', *ìstuba* 'hut', *muĩtas* 'duty (tax)', *pinigaĩ* 'money', *kùnigas* 'priest', Lith. *gãtvė* 'street' and Latv. *gatve*.[239]

Moreover, Otrębski has observed that none of these borrowings is exclusive to Baltic, but many are present in Slavic. He arrived at the conclusion that the Slavs were the only peoples who came into direct contact with the Germanic tribes and were the main channel for the transfer of Germanic words into Baltic.

3.1.2.2. Ancient lexical isoglosses. In point of fact, no Baltic borrowings have been discovered which could be ascribed to common Germanic.[240] However, several works which speak of the existence of ancient Balto-Germanic isoglosses for certain forms deserve mention, e.g.:

> Lith. *gãtvė*, Latv. *gatve* (Lanzsweert 1985); Lith. *gùlba*, *gulbà* 'elm tree' and OIcel. *kolfr* 'onion' (Karaliūnas 1989); Lith. *alka(s)* '(pagan) temple hill, deity' and Goth. *alhs* 'temple', both with onomastic reflexes going back to the Narva Culture[241]; OIcel. *auðr* 'destiny' finds its explanation on the basis of IE **aud-* 'weave; warping, plot', cf. Lith. *áusti* 'to weave', *audinỹs* 'warping, plot, textile' (Otkupščikov 2003).

These and other similar examples correct the traditional theses which considered all the correspondences as borrowings.[242] On the basis of approxi-

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[239] The inclusion in this group of OLith. *lūkai* 'garlic', cf. Pol. *łuk*, Russ. лук 'onion' seems rather dubious.

[240] Concerning works devoted to later borrowings directly drawn from the large Germanic vocabulary in Old Prussian, Lithuanian and Latvian [see 7.].

[241] Sausverde (1989); cf. also Palionis (1989); Pijnenburg (1989) updates the question on the name for 'thousand'.

[242] German-Baltic parallels in topo-appelatival lexicon are discussed in Pužulis (1988).

mately twenty lexico-semantic correspondences (some new), identified in various semantic areas of the vernacular life of the Germans and Balts, the hypothesis was reaffirmed that came into contact with Baltic very early on, and only later with Slavic.[243]

3.1.2.3. Morphology. It is clear, however, that the grammatical correspondences are more significant than the lexical ones. Schmid (1986a) has attempted to inventory those which, although not exclusive, connect Baltic and Germanic, specifically:

  i)   the ending of the dative case in *-m-*, cf. OHG *demu* 'to the', OPr. *stesmu*, Lith. *tam(ui)* and also Russ. тому;

  ii) the double inflexion of the adjective;

  iii) the pronominal endings of the strong adjectives;

  iv) the comparatives of adjectives, cf. Goth. *-izan-/*-izn-*, Lith. *-esnis* goes back to the comparative suffixes *-i̯es-/*-i̯os-* introduced into stems in *-n-* with varying degrees of apophony;[244]

  v)   verbal forms with root apophony *-o-* and thematic suffix in *-ā-*, cf. OHG *dinsan*, *danson* 'to pull' and Lith. *tęsiù*, *tąsaũ* 'I stretch, lengthen'; OHG *dringan*, *drangon* 'to penetrate' and Lith. *trenkiù*, *trankaũ* 'I bang, knock, strike';

  vi) partial parallelism in the formation of the preterite according to the apophonic series of strong German verbs, cf. Goth. *greipan*, *graip*, *gripum* 'to take, to seize' and Lith. *lìkti*, *liẽka*, *lìko* 'to leave').

To Schmid's list should be added the dual forms of the personal pronouns (cf. for 'both of us' ~ Lith. Samogitian *vèdu*, Goth. *wit* (< *u̯e-du̯ō*) id., ON *vit*, and for 'both of you' ~ Lit. *jù-du*, Goth. **jut* (< *i̯u- du̯ō*) id., AS *git*, ON *it*, where the numeral *dù* '2' has left a trace), and the characteristic formation of the numbers from 11 to 19 in Lithuanian (Lith. *-lika*) and in the Germanic languages (e.g. Goth. *-lif*), limited to the numbers 11 and 12, cf.: '11' Lith. *vienúo-lika*, Goth. *ain-lif*; '12' *dvý-lika*, Goth. *twa-lif*, although this formation is absent in Latvian, which shows a situation similar to that of the Slavic languages, neither is it attested in Old Prussian.[245]

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[243] Balaišis (1994 [1996]). Proceeding from the concept of "Balto-Germanic" Palmaitis (1996) proposes a new interpretation for the formation of the IE dialects.

[244] Euler (1997, p. 110) thinks differently.

[245] Cf. Dini, Udolph (2005) for an updating of both apellative and onomastic data.

It must be remembered that the majority of these occurrences are not exclusive to Baltic or German, but exist at least in Slavic and in certain other IE language groups. The data are sufficient to conclude with Schmid (1986a, p. 720) that:

> *geht deutlich hervor, daß der grammatische Aufbau des Germanischen in Nachbarschaft des späteren Baltischen vor sich gegangen sein muß, denn selbst die Praeteritalbildung führt im keltischen und Lateinischen zu anderen Ergebnissen als im Baltischen und Germanischen*

> [it is completely obvious that the grammatical structure of Germanic had to develop in proximity to late Baltic, since the same preterite constructions in Celtic and Latin give different results compared with Baltic and Germanic].

Relying on this and other considerations Schmid considers it impossible to place the *Urheimat* of the Germans in southern Scandinavia. Of course, the discussion remains open and a careful analysis of the whole problem would be very useful, especially with particular attention to morphology, keeping in mind that studying only the lexical isoglosses does not allow for conclusive results.

I mention here S. Ambrazas's (1994, 1996b) attempt to show that some suffixes of the Baltic languages (e.g. *–ing–*, *–isko–*, *–ō-men–*) entered the Germanic languages as borrowings (cf. OHG *arming* 'a poor person'; ON *bernska* 'childhood'; Goth. *aldōmin* 'for old age'), but one also notes that the assimilation of morphemes implies prolonged contacts which should have left greater traces, especially in lexicon. According to Otkupščikov (2003, p. 116) the presence not only of isolated words, but also of many parallel lexical derivations is to be considered a very significant Balto-Germanic isogloss (e.g. from IE **bher–* 'carry', Goth. and OIcel. *barn* ~ Lith. *bérnas* 'boy', Latv. *bērns* id., and further Goth. *barnisks* ~ Lith. *bérniškas* or the diminutive Goth. *barnilo* ~ Lith. *bernẽlis*).

3.1.3. Correspondences between Baltic and Slavic

The closeness between the Baltic languages and the Slavic languages is demonstrated by several common features of phonetics, morphology, syntax and particularly lexicon. The hypotheses regarding the existence or absence of an intermediate Balto-Slavic linguistic phase relating to the

period between the beginning of the IE migrations and the 2nd millennium B.C. will be discussed later [see 3.1.4.]. Scholars understand it differently based on common traits which can be seen in the languages of the Baltic and Slavic families.[246]

3.1.3.1. Phonetics. Common features of Baltic and Slavic are:

(1) correspondences in the accentual paradigms, e.g. Lith. nom. sing. *rankà*, acc. sing. *rañką*, Russ. nom. sing. рука́, acc. sing. ру́ку; Lith. *prašýti* 'to ask (for something), beg, request', Russ. проси́ть id., etc. Particularly significant are those cases where Baltic and Slavic not only coincide, but differ as well from OGr. and OInd., e.g. Lith. nom. plur. *dū́mai* 'smoke', Latv. *dūmi* id. just as S-Cr. sing. *dȉm, dȉma* id., Russ. дым, ды́ма, along with OInd. *dhūmá-*, OGr. θῡμός 'soul, spirit'.[247]

(2) IE **eu* > Baltic **iau*, Slavic **iu*, e.g. IE **leudh-* ~ Lith. *liáudis* and *liaudžià* 'people', Latv. *ļàudis*, OCS *l'udьje*, OHG *liut* (*iu* < **eu*) and also OGr. ἐλεύθερος 'free'.

(3) IE **R̥* > *iR* ~ *uR* that is the IE resonants **l̥, *r̥, *m̥, *n̥* represent a typical double development in Baltic [see 2.1.1.4.] and Slavic, e.g.:

(*il* ~ *ul*) Lith. *vil̃kas*, Latv. *vìlks*, OPr. *wilkis* 'wolf' and OCS *vlьkъ*, Russ. волк, Czech *vlk*, S-Cr. *vuk* compared with Goth. *wulfs*, OGr. λύκος, Latin *lupus*, OInd. *vŕ̥ka-*; Lith. *kulkš(n)ìs*, Latv. *kulksnis*, OPr. *culczi* (< **kulsi*) 'heel' and Bulg. къ́лка, S-Cr. *kuk* (< Slavic **kulk-*), ORuss. колк id. also in Latin *calx* 'heel';

(*ir* ~ *ur*) Lith. *kir̃sti*, Latv. *cirst* 'to cut', OPr. *kirtis* 'hit', and OCS *črьtati*, Russ. черта (< **črьta*) 'line, train' compared with OInd. *kr̥t-* 'crack, split'; Lith. *gurklỹs* 'crop, craw', OPr. *gurckle* 'throat' and ORuss. гърло, Russ. горло, Czech *hrdlo* compared with Latin *gurgulio* 'throat';

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[246] For systematic comparisons between Slavic and Baltic data, cf. Arumaa (1976-1985); Čekman (1988, p. 168-179); Poljakov (1995). A comparison of the sound correspondences between *Urslavisch* and its contemporary Baltic and especially of 600 B.C. is found in Holzer (1998, 2000, 2001). A renewed examination of the common Balto-Slavic features and diversity in phonology, morphonology and morphology has been done by Hock (2004, 2005, 2006).

[247] This is a very complex field carried on by specialists who meet regularly in workshops known as *IWoBA* (International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology): I, Zagreb 2005 (cf. Kapović, Matasović 2007); II, Copenhagen 2006 (cf. Olander, Larsson 2009); III, Leiden 2007; IV, Scheibbs 2008; V, Opava 2009; VI, Vilnius 2010 (cf. *Blt*, 6 Priedas); VII, Moscow 2011; VIII, Novi Sad 2012; IX, Pula 2013 (cf. Tamulaitienė 2014); the 10th meeting will be held in Ljubljana. On this subject at least some major works are worth mentioning: Dybo (1980, 1981, 1989) and again Dybo (2002) with related Derksen (2007), Olander (2009a), Andersen (2009), Lehfeldt (2009).

(*im ~ um*) Lith. *šim̃tas*, Latv. *simts* 'one hundred' compared with Latin *centum*, OGr. ἑκατόν, OInd. *śatám*, Goth. *hund* (IE *kmt–); Lith. *dùmti* 'to blow', and OCS *dǫti* (< *dum–*ti*) id., *dъmo* 'I blow' compared with Latin *fūmo* 'I smoke' (IE *$dhm̥$–), cf. as well OGr. θῡμός 'soul', OInd. *dhūmá*– 'smoke';

(*in ~ un*) Lith. *miñti*, *minéti* 'to remember, to mention', Latv. *mît*, *minêt*, OPr. *minisnan* and *menisnan* 'memory', and OCS *mьněti* 'to think', compared to Latin *mens*, *mentis* 'mind', OGr. μιμνῄσκειν 'to remember', OInd. *manyate* 'he thinks', Goth. *munan* 'to think'; Lith. *gùndyti* 'to try, to seduce', Latv. dialect *gumdît* 'to excite', OPr. *guntwei* 'to defend' and OCS *gъnati* 'to chase'.

3.1.3.2. Lex Winter. It should be pointed out in addition that there is a typical and observable lengthening of vowels in Baltic and Slavic. In order to explain the presence of long vowels in these two linguistic groups (e.g. Lith. *ėsti*, Latv. *ēst*, OCS *jasti* 'to eat') in those places where one expects to have short vowels (cf. Latin *ĕdĕre*), Winter (1976) proposed the following formulation: in Baltic and Slavic the combination C_1VC_2 changes to $C_1\bar{V}C_2$ when C_2 continues the IE voiced non–aspirated stops.

Until now the reception of this thesis (improperly labelled "Winter's Law" or also "Winter-Kortlandt Law"), has ranged from categorical rejection to almost unreserved acceptance (Kortlandt 1998f, 2009) and already has an extensive bibliography. In order to give an idea both of the different opinions on this subject and of the history of the question, I will quote chronologically the contributions of several scholars.

Gercenberg (1981) took sides against the law by observing that the roots contained in the examples given by Winter show not only lengthened grades outside the Balto-Slavic area, but also shortened grades inside the Balto-Slavic area, and therefore they cannot be considered to be a Balto-Slavic innovation. Shintani (1985) assumes the validity of the law, although under certain circumstances and limited to a Pre-Balto-Slavic epoch. Young (1990) speaks for the validity of the Lex Winter in Baltic. Campanile (1994) *contra legem* produces counter examples. Birnbaum (1998, p. 129-130; 1999) prefers to speak not of a law, but of a tendency (to put it in the prehistory of Baltic and Slavic). An attempt at reformulating the phenomenon has been carried out by Matasović (1994, 1996), arguing that the lengthening was limited only to closed syllables. Derksen (2002) presents a critical discussion of this new reformulation and considers this sound "law"

as well established. Patri (2004), based first of all on Slavic material, offers a detailed discussion of the many contributions on this subject, and concludes "que la loi de Winter est une fiction" [i.e. the Lex Winter is a fiction]; Mańczak also (2005) takes sides *contra legem* with other arguments.

Interesting enough, even those scholars who are inclined to accept the law propose to change it to some extent. Thus, in the presence of a considerable series of contrary examples, one should probably come to the conclusion that this is neither a law nor a rule, but only a useful indication of a general tendency toward the lengthening of vowels, which in Baltic and Slavic takes place primarily before an ancient non-aspirated voiced sound.

3.1.3.3. Morphology. The following are typical morphological features of Baltic and Slavic:

(4) The Lithuanian, Latvian and Slavic languages have an identical ending for the gen. sing. of stems in *-*ŏ*, e.g. Lith. *vi̇̃lko* 'of the wolf' (*-o* < *-*ā̄*), Latv. *vìlka* (*-a* < *-*ā̄*), OCS *vlьka*, Russ. волка compared to the endings derived from *-o-s(*i̯*)o/*-e-so* as in other IE [for the discussion on this point see 2.2.1.5.1. and 6.3.2.4.1.].

(5) Traditionally one includes the formation of definite adjectives [see 2.2.1.7.] which are formed in Baltic and Slavic similarly by means of a pronoun (*-i̯o*, e.g. Lith. masc. *geràsis* 'good' (~ *jìs* 'he'), fem. *geróji* 'good' (~ *jì* 'she'), Latv. masc. *labais*, fem. *labā* (< *labaji*), OPr. masc. *pirmois*, fem. *pirmoi* 'first', OCS *novъjь, novaja, novъje* 'new', Russ. новый, новая, новое id.[248]

(6) General features are also observed in the formation of 1st-person pronouns in Lithuanian and Latvian dialects, e.g. dat. sing. *mun*-, Samogitian *mùn, mùni*, Latv. dialect *mun* 'to me', OCS *mъně*; OPr. gen. plur. *nouson, nūson* 'of us', OCS *nasъ* (but Lith.-Latv. *mūs*-).

(7) Baltic and Slavic have the stem *-i-* in the present of the verb beside the infinitive with *-e-*, e.g. Lith. *séd-i-me* ~ *sėd-é-ti*, Latv. *sēd-i-m* ~ *sēd-ē-t* 'to sit', OPr. *turr-i-mai* ~ *turr-ē-ttwey* 'to have', OCS *vid-i-mъ* 'we see' ~ *vid-ě-ti* 'to see', Russ. вид-и-м ~ вид-еть.

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[248] A detailed examination of the concordances between Baltic and Slavic (and also Iranian) definite adjectives carried out by Petit (2009b) shows, in contrast to the traditional assumption, that the innovations common to Baltic and Slavic are very limited; what is common is a structure with the same function in geographically narrow linguistic areas.

Moreover, there exists a series of common suffixes:

(8) *-ĭk-/*-īk-, e.g. Lith. *vainìkas* 'crown', *siuvìkas* 'cobbler', *dalykas* 'thing', Latv. *melniķis* '(type of) black horse', *māsīca* 'sister-in-law', OPr. *mynix* [-*iks*] 'tanner', *schuwikis* 'cobbler', *debīkan* 'large', OCS *věnьcь* 'crown', Russ. венец id., слепец 'blind person', великий 'large'; *-ĭb-/*-īb-, e.g. OLith. *draugybė* 'friendship', *vedybos* 'wedding', Latv. *draudzība*, *vedības*, OPr. *pagonbe* 'paganism', OCS *družьba* 'friendship', *žladьba* 'damage, disadvantage'; *-ŭk-, e.g. Lith. *švilpùkas* 'petty thief', *tėvùkas* 'daddy', Latv. *suņuks* 'little dog', *večuks* 'little old man', OPr. *wosux* [-*uks*] 'kid', OCS *synъkъ* 'little son'; *-nik-(/-nink- /-niek-) in Lith. *príešininkas* 'enemy', Latv. *pretinieks* id., OPr. *maldenikis* 'child', OCS *mladenьcь* 'infant', Russ. дворник 'porter' and others.[249]

3.1.3.4. Syntax. The common syntactic features attributed to Baltic and Slavic are:

(9) Double negation, e.g. Lith. *jis nieko nežino* 'he knows nothing', Latv. *viņš nekā nezin* id., Russ. он ничего не знает id.

(10) The use of the genitive in place of the accusative to express the direct object after negation, e.g. Lith. *jis skaito knygą ~ jis neskaito knygos*, Russ. он читает книгу ~ он не читает книги 'he reads the book (acc.) ~ he does not read the book (gen.)'.

(11) The instrumental predicate to indicate a non-permanent condition of the subject, e.g. Lith. *jis buvo mokytoju* 'he was a teacher', Russ. он был учителем id. This instrumental there is also in Latvian, as can be attested from folk songs, e.g. *māsiņām saucamies* 'we call each other sisters'.

3.1.4. A brief historical summary of the "Balto-Slavic question"

The debate on the Balto-Slavic problem is notoriously very old. It probably began as far back as the laconic palaeocomparative reflections on the linguistic situation in eastern Europe proposed by Æeneas Sylvius de' Piccolomini [1405-1464] in his book *De Europa* (1458) and by the so-called Philoglots (Conrad Gessner, Angelo Rocca, Hieronymus Megiser et al.)

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[249] According to Ambrazas S. (2004), the exclusive derivational innovation in the Baltic and Slavic languages, i.e. *nomina agentis* (in *-tā-i̯o-*, *-ē-i̯o*, *-ĭ-ko-*) and *nomina attributiva* (in *-in-ī-ko-*, *-in-ei-ko-*), are accounted for by the old contacts between the two language groups.

in the middle of the 16th century with their Slavic and Illyrian theories [see 7.3.2.]. One must also mention the later linguistic ideas of Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro [1735–1809] (Dini 1997a) on a Scytho-Illyrian language family, and the first "modern" attempt at an explanation in the work *Mithridates* by Johann Christoph Adelung [1732–1806]. It was only after the acceptance of "scientific" linguistics that a methodologically founded comparative approach to the Balto-Slavic question was developed (*Aliletoescur*; Petit 2004c).

After the 5th International Congress of Slavists in Sofia in 1963 a special commission of the International Committee of Slavists was formed to study Balto-Slavic linguistic relations. And in more recent resolutions of the 9th International Congress of Slavists in Kiev 1983, Balto-Slavic relations were acknowledged as one of the most urgent questions requiring more research (Eckert 1994b); successive presidents of the Commission have been: Kostas Korsakas, Vytautas Mažiulis, Rainer Eckert, and Björn Wiemer. Eckert (2011) is a historiographical contribution updating the information on the many and different tasks accomplished by the Balto-Slavic Commission from its foundation until the present time.

Linguistic features common to Baltic and Slavic have given rise to numerous and varied generalized interpretations, often sharply differing from each other, such that it is really only feasible to review the most important ones. Therefore, I will schematically outline a few arbitrarily chosen examples from the developing and still inconclusive discussion. For more in-depth information I refer the reader to the more detailed "histories of the problem" (Toporov 1958ab, 1959; Bogoljubova, Jakubaitis 1959; Gornung (1959); Karaliūnas 1968; Poljakov 1995) and to the specific bibliographies (Hood 1967, and those regularly published in *LgB* until 2002).

I can attempt to define three main stages: *i*) classical theories from comparative linguistics, represented primarily by Schleicher (1861) and Meillet (1908); *ii*) modern theories, that is, theories proposed by the advocates or opponents of the first theories (the latter were primarily disseminated in the middle of the century in connection with the 4th International Conference of Slavists held in Moscow in 1958); *iii*) contemporary theories, that is, those theories based on important hydronymic research in the early 1960s, and still the subject of discussion.

3.1.4.1. Classical theories. The question of Balto-Slavic relations – or, in the terminology of that time, Lithuanian-Slavic, Latvian-Slavic, etc. – was

often touched upon by various scholars as early as the 17th and 18th centuries, and it may be that research on the so-called palaeocomparative linguistic thought will add to our knowledge about this [see 7.3.]. The prevailing idea in the 18th century, well represented by Lomonosov (1952; Tichovskis 1973) and preserved until the early 19th century (that is, at the dawn of comparative linguistics) was that the Baltic languages (or these languages called by other names until 1845) were derived from Slavic languages. Alongside this predominant opinion there were others, according to which the Baltic languages derived from a blend of Slavic languages, Gothic and Finnic, or kindred languages. Such theories most commonly rely on a simple comparison of lexical elements of the two groups of languages, while observations regarding grammatical similarities are very rare. This situation continued until the advent of the comparative-historical method. By studying the relations among the IE languages Bopp proposes a closer genealogical relationship between the Balto-Slavic languages on the one hand and the Indo-Iranian languages on the other hand. Employing the same method, Rask concludes that a particularly close bond exists between Baltic, Slavic and Germanic, and this opinion remained predominant for the first period of comparative-historical linguistics. Schleicher's (1861, p. 7) opinion is similar: he postulates postulated, in line with his theory of the "family tree" (*Stammbaumtheorie*), the existence of a large Balto-Slavic-Germanic branch, which originally broke off from the remaining IE languages, and subsequently divided into two trunks: Balto-Slavic and Germanic;[250] in other words, he postulates a period with a common Balto-Slavic language before the division into Baltic and Slavic. Baudouin de Courtenay and Meillet among others spoke against Schleicher's hypothesis. But the theory of parallel and independent development, formulated by Meillet (1908), was accepted with particular favor; distinct from Schleicher, he feels that the common features for Baltic and Slavic could be explained by the fact that both derived from rather similar IE dialects and that subsequently they underwent distinct and independent, but nonetheless parallel, development.

3.1.4.2. Modern theories. The discussion of the opposing positions of Schleicher and Meillet, which developed in the 1940s and 1950s, led to the division of most scholars into two camps: some announced themselves to be supporters of the Balto-Slavic unity theory and therefore were opponents of Meillet's

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[250]   On the image of the tree in Schleicher and its relations with Čelakovský, cf. Priestly (1975); Lemeškin (2010).

point of view (e.g. Vaillant,[251] Leumann,[252] Safarewicz,[253] Kuryłowicz,[254] Szemerényi[255] and, of course, Trautmann[256]); others, on the contrary, felt that there had been no common stage for the two groups after the fragmentation of IE unity, and substantially, although differently, agreeing with Meillet, saw the correspondences as the result of parallel development (e.g. Erhart, Senn, Salys, Klimas A.).

The arguments brought forth against Meillet by the scholars of the first group are well expounded in several works of Vaillant (1956), especially in the detailed *catalogue raisonné* of the major points of view on this question published by Szemerényi (1957).

The views of the scholars from the second group are primarily reflected in the works of Erhart (1958), who considers that the similarity of the morphologycal systems of the two groups of languages are the consequence of the vicinity of the IE dialects from which they had derived. According to Senn (1966, 1970), even today the common features observed are the result of the historical domination of the Poles and Russians over the Lithuanians and Latvians.[257] Klimas A. supports the so-called *away-from-the-center-gradation* theory in Salys's version, which does not provide for a unified Balto-Slavic stage.[258] Other scholars prefer to occupy a middle position, or generally refuse to search for a further resolution of the problem, since they considered it "closed and non-historical" (Devoto 1952, p. 1). Among the opinions presented at the 4th International Congress of Slavists, one should focus on the views of the Pole Jan Rozwadowski [1867-1935] and the Latvian Jānis Endzelīns [1873-1961].

Rozwadowski (1912) lays out a complicated scheme, divided into three periods of development: (I) a period of unity, related approximately to the 3rd millennium B.C.; (II) a period of division and independent development between the 2nd and 1st millennium B.C.; (III) a period of renewed affinity, related to the early Christian era and continuing until today. Rozwadowski's

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[251] Vaillant (1956); Vaillant (1950-1977, vol. 1, p. 14), writes: "les langues baltiques ne diffèrent guère plus des langues slaves que le suédois de l'allemand" [i.e. the Baltic languages do not differ from the Slavic ones more than Swedish from German].
[252] Leumann (1955).
[253] Safarewicz (1945ab, 1961a).
[254] Kuryłowicz (1957).
[255] Szemerényi (1948).
[256] For Trautmann [see 3.1.5.].
[257] Cf. the earlier works of Senn A. (1941, 1953a).
[258] Klimas A. (1967, 1970a, 1973ab); cf. Salys (1956). Klimas A. examines this problem from the point of view of psychological experience and observes that the views of the scholars are influenced by their scientific background: thus, scholars with a Slavic education are inclined toward the idea of Balto-Slavic unity, while those specializing in Baltic languages are inclined to reject the unity theory.

weak point is that it is difficult to explain in a convincing way the proposed extended period (2000-1500 years!) of interruption in contact.

According to Endzelīns (1911b, 1952), on the contrary, after the disintegration of the IE linguistic unity the Baltic and Slavic languages lived independent lives. As a result of further contact they arrived at a "common epoch", the chronological boundaries of which are difficult to define; after this they again began to separate from each other. Endzelīns refines his position in subsequent works (coming closer to Otrębski 1954) and offers demarcations between Baltic and Slavic, noting that between Slavic, on the one hand, and Latvian and Prussian on the other hand, there are more common features than between Slavic and Lithuanian. Based on this he comes to the conclusion that the Lithuanians could have been separated from the Slavs by the subsequently disappearing Baltic peoples, for example, the Yatvingians in the south and others, hard to identify, in the north. Fraenkel (1950a) generally agrees with this position. Thus to the already traditionally opposing views of Schleicher and Meillet were added the more moderate views of Rozwadowski and Endzelīns. These and the above-mentioned theories can be presented in a diagram (see below).

The situation described above reflects the views of scholars on the problem of Balto-Slavic relations until the Moscow Congress, thanks to which the entire problem received renewed attention. The extreme theses typical of the previous period, were definitively rejected, while more flexible formulations were generally successful, similar to the earlier proposals of Endzelīns and Rozwadowski. During the Congress a special questionnaire was distributed with a request to the scholars that they express their opinions concerning Balto-Slavic relations. It is worth briefly summarizing the positions of some of the many scholars who responded to the questions and took part in the discussions.[259] Lehr-Spławínski repeated the concept of "common development", which continued over several centuries and which he sees as a phenomenon following the stage when the ancestors of the Balts and Slavs were already distinguished within the IE world by their dialectal features. Vaillant (1950-1977 I, p. 13-15), who proposed in his comparative grammar of the Slavic languages the existence of a unified Balto-Slavic period, refined his idea that the common Balto-Slavic language can be understood as a *faisceau des parlers* ("bundle of dialects"), since he considered that the littoral dialects and those of interior regions diverge from each other.

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[259]   For a complete presentation, cf. *Slav. IV*, p. 152-175; a report is Meriggi (1965).
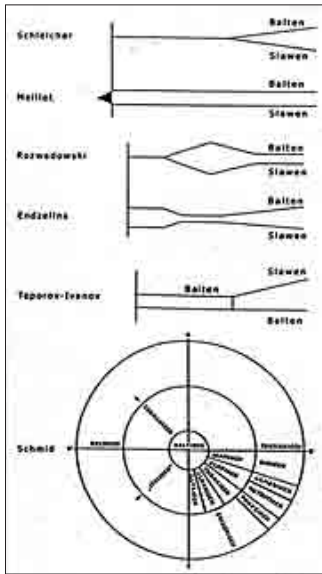
Theories on the Balto-Slavic linguistic relationships

Still others (*Slav. IV*, p. 167, 170), like Trost (1958a), accepted the formulation of an "extended linguistic commonality"; Bernštejn (1958) called for an analysis of the problem in the light of the theory of a "linguistic alliance" (*языковая собцчноть*) and preferred to speak about "contacts" between two groups of languages. In this regard it is worth noting the thesis of Otrębski (1956-1965), who agreed with the reconstruction of the two groups: eastern Baltic and western Baltic (a traditional division accepted even today by many scholars), focusing attention on the difficulty of comparing these two groups, hypothesizing the presence of a "Finnic wedge" dividing them. Apparently, Otrębski's position best reflects the state of knowledge about Balto–Slavic relations as achieved toward the end of the Moscow Congress. As for common Baltic, here, in addition to the isoglosses, there is also a whole series of differences. As for common Slavic, it is difficult to verify the most ancient situation because of the leveling effect which OCS had on the lexicon and morphology (e.g. the aorist) of the Slavic languages. A discussion of the different approaches at this epoch is found in Birnbaum (1970).

In general it should be noted that the reason for the differing conclusions arrived at by scholars was mainly because they used different chronological perspectives and the very concept of IE was treated variously. In fact, some scholars felt that IE could be reconstructed as far as a unified stage, while others used this concept for a stage of dialectal fragmentation.

Moreover, it was observed that the relations between Baltic and Slavic linguistic groups developed over a period of dozens of centuries; but their evolution covered distance and proximity which could have in turn affected these languages completely or only partially. Actually, the connection between historical events and linguistic data can only be established for a later period (e.g. historical events which led to the penetration of Ukrainian and Polish borrowings into Lithuanian). But for the older epoch one must turn for help from other disciplines (for example, prehistoric archaeology, anthropology), although scholars interpret the data variously. Czekanowski often resorted to anthropology and felt that in the ethnic composition of the Balts and Slavs there was a mixture of northern, southern and Lapland peoples.

The analysis of linguistic data, today as in the past, allows one to establish that the Baltic and Slavic areas are connected by a certain number of isoglosses and at the same time separated by significant differences. At the Congress several general conclusions were accepted mainly as orientation points for future research: *1*) to study in depth the question of whether one can talk of a single Slavic or a single Baltic language; *2*) to establish criteria according to which an absolute or relative meaning can be assigned to specific linguistic phenomena; *3*) to establish a chronology of correspondences and divergences; *4*) to make the applied terminology precise in each instance.

After the Congress the scholars who rejected the hypothesis of a common Balto-Slavic period turned their attention primarily to the numerous divergent features of the Slavic and Baltic languages. As for general features, they said that in reality one can find them even in other IE linguistic groups, and it was underscored that they could have arisen independently from each other both in the Slavic and in the Baltic group. The situation for the study of the Balto-Slavic question can be reduced to the alternative: is it a subgroup of IE or is it the result of mutual influence which took place over a period of protracted contact? The answer to this question is absent even in the well-documented and systematic exposition of the problem which Stang (*VGBS*, p. 20) offers at the beginning of his seminal work on the Baltic languages. In spite of the abundance of material and the scholar's competence, in essence this is nothing more than a simple list of isoglosses, at the end of which a cautious conclusion with many questions is posed:

> *Welcher Schluss soll nun aus allen diesen Fakten gezogen werden? Wohl dieser, dass in nachindoeuropäischer Zeit ein balto-slavisches Dialektgebiet*

existierte, das gewisse Variationen umfasste, und das vielleicht niemals ganz homogen war... Methodisch bedeutet dies, dass man kein Recht hat, in allen Fällen mit baltoslavischen Grundformen zu rechnen.

[What conclusion should we now make from all these facts? It is possible that in the post–IE period a Balto–Slavic dialectal zone existed which included within it specific variants and probably was never uniform... In the methodological plan this means that we have no basis in all cases to proceed from Balto–Slavic forms.]

3.1.4.3. The baltoide hypothesis of Toporov. In the early 1960s Russian scholars expressed new views, which they occasionally revised, regarding Balto-Slavic relations by taking into account previous archaeological[260] and especially hydronymic discoveries [see 1.2.3.]. The theoretical base – to a large extent representing the contemporary discussion of linguistic relations between Baltic and Slavic in antiquity (6th-7th centuries B.C.) – affirms the viewpoint that the interconnected terms "Baltic" and "Slavic" should not be understood in their usual meaning. In this context they signify that stage of development of these languages when mutual differences (at least phonetic ones) were, as supposed, so insignificant that the reconstruction of a unified language group is completely warranted. The Russian scholars Ivanov, Toporov (1958) offer the opinion in their important works that that the most ancient stage can legitimately be called Baltic or Slavic. They note that the term "Baltic" stands in opposition to "Slavic" historically and typologically, rather than ethnically or linguistically.[261] From today's viewpoint, that is, from the diachronic viewpoint, it can be understood as a unified language and provisionally called Balto-Slavic. In the course of their research into the hydronyms of the upper tributary of the Dnepr the two Russian scholars provide their subtle vision of the ethnic and linguistic Balto-Slavic relations, which have been the object of numerous discussions. The framework of this question can be outlined as follows:

a) the Slavic protolanguage was formed from peripheral dialects of a Baltic type;

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[260] Gimbutas (1963ab) and other works (cf. the complete bibliography in Skomal, Polomé 1987).

[261] Toporov's views raise many other important questions about ethnogenesis, but the space they deserve cannot be provided here. For example, how should we understand the formation of a Slavic type from the peripheral Baltic; is it possible that such a process involved only language without ethnic elements? The answer is not easy; perhaps the observation of analogous processes taking place before our eyes today in Latgalia (cf. Toporov 1990b) and in Dzūkija can help, since the intermixture of Lithuanian, Latvian and Latgalian on the one hand and Russian and Polish on the other is especially strong here.

b) the Slavic linguistic type was formed later from the structural model of the Baltic languages;

c) the structural model of the Slavic languages is the result of a transformation of the structural model of the Baltic languages.

As was already outlined above [see 1.4.3.1.] in the prehistoric period (approximately in the 2nd millennium B.C.) the linguistic area of Proto-Baltic (more or less coinciding with the borders of Baltic hydronymics) was divided into two dialectal zones: *1*) the central containing the dialect from which Lithuanian and Latvian develop, and *2*) the peripheral, from whose dialects come Old Prussian, Yatvingian and Curonian. It is difficult to determine the borders of these dialectal zones because of the scarcity of evidence.

The proximity between the Prussians (and Yatvingians) and Curonians is clearly already seen in the 13th-14th centuries in several lexical elements exclusive to these Baltic languages, such as: OPr. *kelan* 'wheel', Curon. *cela* < *kela-* id. (cf. Latv. *du-celes* 'bicycle, vehicle with two wheels'); in certain common morphological features (the ending in *-e*, e.g. OPr. *bers-e* 'birch', Latv. < *Curon. *berz-e* id., compared to Lith. *berž-as* id.; in antiquity the velar pronunciation of *k* and *g* before a palatal vowel must have been common to Old Prussian and Curonian. The Baltic dialects of the peripheral dialectal ring were in direct contact with Slavic dialects. The continuity hypothesized for the Slavic and western Baltic spoken languages is confirmed by several lexical features which are found in Prussian and Curonian, but which are absent in Lithuanian and Latvian; examples of this type: Curon. *cela* < *kela-* 'wheel', OPr. *kelan* id., OCS *kolo* id. (cf. Russ. колесо, Pol. *koło*, Bulg. коло, колело id.).

This point of view in no way contradicts the traditional theses according to which the Baltic and Slavic protolanguages survived for a long time after their formation. From the observations of the scholars cited here, the protolanguage (so-called *baltoide* by Toporov 1958ab, 1959) acquired more concrete features, and as a result the Slavic protolanguage in the period between the 20th and 5th centuries B.C. can be considered a *continuum* of the spoken languages of the Proto-Baltic language, or more accurately, of the peripheral ring of Proto-Baltic. Moreover, the Slavic region must have been larger than the specific Baltic region of the peripheral dialectal area of Proto-Baltic. From this supposition it follows that linguistic contact between the future Slavs and the southwestern Balts commenced rather quickly and continued over a long time. The specific lexicon in Old Prus-

sian testifies to this, as already cited: OPr. *kelan* 'wheel', OCS *kolo* id. (compared with OLith. *rātas*, Latv. *rats* id., or OPr. *assanis* 'autumn', Russ. осень id. (compared with Lith. *ruduõ*, Latv. *rudens* id.), etc. Many Lithuanian scholars share Toporov and Ivanov's position (Karaliūnas 1968; Mažiulis 1970, 1981a, 1984), while Trubačev has expressed a belated skepticism.[262]

3.1.4.4. The hypothesis of Pisani. Here it is worth reviewing separately Pisani's theory, which he expounded and perfected over several years (Pisani 1963, 1967, 1969b) and which encompasses Baltic, Slavic and Iranian. According to his often reiterated, personal and original theoretical view, the Italian scholar does not try to connect the problem with Schleicher's *wissenschaftliche Fiktion* (scientific fiction) but investigates it in the style of Schmidt. This is what Pisani (1963, p. 219) wrote regarding the hydronyms of the upper course of the Dnepr [see 1.2.]:

> *In vista anche della sequela cronologica degli strati linguistici assodata dagli autori (Toporov e Trubačev), mi domando se il tanto dibattuto problema della stretta parentela fra lingue baltiche e lingue slave non vada risolto nel senso che il tipo slavo è risultato dal sovrapporsi di quello iranico, impostosi soprattutto come portatore della civiltà mediterranea, sul baltico: si pensi alle importanti isoglosse slavo-iraniche, e al maggiore 'iranismo' (aoristo sigmatico, ecc.) delle lingue slave meridionali rispetto alle settentrionali (aspetto perfettivo marcato normalmente da prefissi, ecc.). Nell'idronimia un tal processo si rifletterebbe nella 'slavizzazione' fonetica di nomi in origine baltici, rilevata dai nostri autori.*

> [Keeping in mind the chronological sequence of linguistic strata established by scholars (Toporov and Trubačev), I ask myself, can the problem, so long discussed, of the close relationship of Baltic and Slavic languages be resolved in the following way: the Slavic type is the result of an Iranian superstructure, the carrier of Mediterranean civilization, on Baltic. Let us remember the important Slavo-Iranian isoglosses, the greater "iranianism" (the sigmatic aorist, etc.) of the South Slavic languages in comparison with North Slavic (the perfective aspect, typically indicated by prefixes, etc.). In hydronyms this process is reflected in the phonetic "slavicization" of names of Baltic origin discovered by the authors.]

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[262] Cf. Trubačev (1983, p. 237-240), repeated in Trubačev (1991, p. 16-19); a skeptical attitude is also expressed in Mayer (1987). Cf. Anikin (2011).

Subsequently, Balto-Slavic linguistic relations were better integrated into Pisani's conception of IE antiquity, and consequently, investigated in the light of his understanding of Proto-Sanscrit and Proto-Brahman culture. Pisani's conclusions regarding Slavic, understood as Iranianized Baltic, and regarding Baltic, "which, on the contrary, was subject to the influence of the Germanic languages [...] when the Germans became mediators of Greco-Roman civilization for northeastern European regions," remain interesting discoveries in the arena of international scientific discussion.[263] In any case it is clear that the real limitation of this interesting problem is the danger of looking at languages as only a clump of isoglosses.

3.1.4.5. Other contemporary investigations. In addition, several other viewpoints on the Balto-Slavic controversy, formulated in the 1980s and 1990s, should be presented here.

Karaliūnas (1968) has provided a fundamental contribution to this problem. Having analyzed various aspects of the question and having provided more than one original solution, he comes to the conclusion that the oldest occurrences of proximity which one observes between the two groups of languages can be explained if an epoch of active contact or a community of isoglosses (*aktyvių kontaktų resp. izoglosinės bendrystės epocha*) is supposed, that is, a spatial–temporal *continuum* of Baltic and Slavic dialects. Summarizing the innovative reasoning of Karaliūnas, it is possible to distinguish a series of periods of gradual differentiation and/or intermediate convergence in the following way:

I) approximately in the 3rd millennium in the northeast IE area the Baltic dialects were separated from Slavic dialects and had more intensive contacts with Germanic dialects;

II) around 2000-1500 B.C. a secondary rapprochement of the different dialects produced a community, which was characterized by the disappearance of laryngeals, the elimination of the opposition of simple voiced and aspirate voiced stops (*g, *gh > *g), the development of resonants (*$\mathring{R}$ > *iR/*uR), the change of palatals to sibilants (*k', *g' > Lith. š, ž; Slavic s, z), the development of *s after i, u, r, k (Lith. š; Slavic ch), the formation of the tonal opposition (acute ~ circumflex), and the formation of new suffixes (*-ēi̯o, *-tāi̯o-);

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[263] These ideas of Pisani find support from an onomastic point of view in Jurkėnas (2006).

III) approximately in the middle of the 2nd millennium a convergent development of Baltic and Slavic dialects changed to a parallel development; probably contacts between Baltic and Finnic can be dated to this time period, contacts in which Slavic did not participate. There was also the rise of changes, common for Baltic and Slavic, e.g. the passage of the diphthong *eu* to Baltic *iau*, Slavic *iu*, the Lex Saussure-Fortunatov [see 2.1.3.2.2.], and later: definite adjectives, verbal endings of the 2nd pers. sing. *-sēi.*

In the picture drawn by Karaliūnas, relations of a different order between Baltic and Slavic are organically connected: independent, convergent and parallel. The epoch of the so-called community of isoglosses coincides only with the older period of development of relationships between the two linguistic groups.

Particular attention should be given to the proposals of Martynov (1982a), who explains Balto-Slavic linguistic relations in the light of his original theory of lexical components. According to this theory Baltic and Italic components were distinguished in the Proto-Slavic language; the former resided in the substratum and the latter resided in the superstratum. The ancient Baltic component of the substratum can be explained with regard to the infiltrated Germanic and Celtic, as well as the Iranian and Italic, strata. This would be a confirmation of the Proto-Baltic origin of the Proto-Slavic language, a hypothesis which Martynov accepts.

The Polish researcher Mańczak, on the other hand, using the rather dubious methodological premise that in the definition of linguistic proximity preference is given to lexical rather than grammatical similarities, offers the opinion that the original habitat of the Slavs (which he equates with the IE *Urheimat*, cf. also Mańczak 1997) was located between the basins of the Oder and the Vistula (not in the Dnepr basin), and consequently, they had contacts with West Baltic dialects (Mańczak 1987a, 1988-1995). Elsewhere, Mańczak (1990) writes that the difference between Balts and Slavs consists in the fact that the latter emerge from that part of the IE tribes which remained in their original habitat, while the former emerge from that part which was imposed on a Finnic substratum. This would allow for an explanation, on the one hand, of why Baltic and Slavic have many common traits (a significant spatio-temporal affinity), and, on the other hand, of various instances of the Finnic influence in Baltic (with more examples in Latvian and fewer in Lithuanian and Old Prussian.)

Considerations of the Balto-Slavic problem from the areal point of view are presented in Pohl (1982) and also in Holzer (2000, 2001). The model worked out by Thomason and Kaufmann to examine the genetic relationship between languages is applied by Grazevich (1990) to the Balto-Slavic problem. Pleterski (1995, 1997) relates to Slavic ethnogenesis with reference to the Balto-Slavic question. According to Otkupščikov (1997) there has been no Balto-Slavic linguistic commonality, but an extremely close genetic vicinity.[264] The evidence of hydronomy has been considered again by Brozović Rončević (2006).

3.1.5. Balto-Slavic lexicon

The affinity between Baltic and Slavic has always been most evident in the lexicon. The lexical relationships between Lithuanian and Slavic were already noticed during the epoch of linguistic Palaeocomparativism, and also at the beginning of Indo-European Comparative Linguistics. The lexical aspect has been the most frequently adopted criterion to determine the possibility of an intermediate Balto-Slavic protolanguage (Brückner 1914). Endzelīns (1911b, p. 192-200) particularly emphasizes the importance of the lexicon. Interestingly enough, the similarities in the lexicon have been recognized even by scholars (e.g. Machek 1934, Otrębski 1949, or Trubačev 1966) who were not inclined to accept a Balto-Slavic subgroup. The lexicon is, however, notoriously unreliable in supporting kinship relations (Toporov 1962b, p. 15).[265] In considering Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences the adequacy of the proposed comparisons is of prime importance.

Those correspondences which can effectively be traced back to Balto-Slavic lexicon are innovations from the prehistoric epoch common to the two language groups. However, the number of lexical isoglosses increased significantly in the historical period, so for a preliminary diachronic definition at least three important features must be considered:

a) the action of the Baltic substratum on Slavic territory;

b) the historical connection of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with a large portion of Ukrainian, Russian, as well as

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[264] An opinion completely opposite to the Balto-Slavic hypothesis is expressed by Mayer (1981). A general presentation of the Balto-Slavic linguistic problem is Poljakov (1995); cf. Hock (1996-1997), Schmid (1997b), and Hock (2004, 2005, 2006).

[265] Although Mańczak (1990, etc.) thinks differently, and Poljakov (1995, p. 30) partially agrees with him.

Polish lands, which promoted extended contacts with pagan Lithu-
anian tribes;

c) the reciprocal influence among neighboring peoples in border ar-
eas which produced typical border Baltisms distributed in a clearly
defined area and exhibiting specific formal characteristics.

In the present case, however, only the common Baltic and Slavic innova-
tions preceding the historical period must be considered. From this perspec-
tive one can count over 1000 words whose form and meaning is very close,
and no fewer than 200 common lemmas (Sławski 1970; Sabaliauskas 1990).

The Balto-Slavic lexical stock has been divided into some primary
semantic fields (e.g. Sabaliauskas 1990, p. 112-141). As established through
a comparison of the vocabularies of both Baltic and Slavic languages, the
Balto-Slavic lexical stock is often not exclusive. It has been determined
that the words do not necessarily all belong to the same period. Here follow
several examples with a brief commentary:

(1) Body parts.
- 'head' – Baltic: Lith. *galvà*, Latv. *galva*, OPr. [EV 68 *Houpt*] *Galwo* ≈
  Slavic: OCS *glava*, Russ. голова, Pol. *głowa*, Bulg. глава. A connec-
  tion with Arm. *glux* 'head' (< *gholu-kho-*) has been proposed. The
  Balto-Slavic names may be related to *gal-* 'naked'.[266]
- 'hand & arm' – Baltic: Lith. *rankà*, Latv. *roka*, OPr. [Gr 21 *handt*]
  Rancko ≈ Slavic: OCS *rǫka*, Russ. рука, Pol. *ręka*, Bulg. ръка
  (Koleva-Zlateva 1996).[267]
- 'palm of the hand' – Baltic: Lith. *délnas*, Latv. *delna* ≈ Slavic: OCS
  dlanь, Russ. ладонь (< *dolonь*), Blruss. далонь, Ukr. далоня, Pol.
  dłoń, Bulg. длан. A connection within the Indo-European languages
  has been proposed.[268]
- 'finger' – Baltic: Lith. *pir̃štas*, Latv. *pirksts* and *pirsts*, OPr. [EV 115
  Vinger] *Pirſten* ≈ Slavic: OCS *prъstъ*, Russ. перст, Ukr. перст; Pol.
  parst, Cz. and Slovak *prst*, Upper Sor. *porst*; S-Cr. *prst*, Slov. *pr̂st*,
  Bulg. пръст. There may be a formal connection with OInd. *pṛṣthá-*
  'back; peak', Avestan *paršta-* 'back'.[269]

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[266] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 77); *LEW*, p. 131; *ÈSRJa* I, p. 424; *LEV* I, p. 284. But the Baltic nouns could
rather be related to Lith. *gãlas* 'end etc.'.

[267] Other explanations have been proposed, cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 237); *LEW*, p. 697; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 515;
LEV II, p. 128.

[268] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 51); *LEW*, p. 87; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 448; *LEV* I, p. 208.

[269] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 220); *LEW*, p. 598; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 244; *LEV* II, p. 54; Machek 1934, p. 58-65.

(2) Kinship terms.

- 'uncle' – Baltic: Lith. *strùjus* 'uncle; old fellow' ≈ Slavic: ORuss. стрꙑи 'uncle', Russ. строй, Pol. *stryj*, Bulg. стрико. A connection with OIr. *sruith* 'elder, venerable person' has been proposed.[270]
- 'son-in-law' – Baltic: Lith. *žéntas*, Latv. *znots* ≈ Slavic: OCS *zętь* 'bridegroom', Russ. зять 'son-in-law', Pol. *zięć*, Bulg. зет. The word is related to Lith. *žinóti* (< *ǵen-*) 'to know', and further to OGr. γνωτός 'relative', OInd. *jñātí-*.[271]

(3) Fauna.

- 'crow' – Baltic: Lith. *várna*, Latv. *varna*, OPr. [EV 722 *Kro*] *Warne* ≈ Slavic: OCS *vrana*, Russ. ворона, Pol. *wrona*, Cz. *vrána*, Bulg. вранъ. A comparison with Tokh. B *wrauña* 'crow' has been proposed.[272]
- 'horn' – Baltic: Lith. *rãgas*, Latv. *rags*, OPr. [EV 705 *Horn*] *Ragis* ≈ Slavic: OCS *rogъ*, Russ. рог, Ukr. риг, Blruss. рог, Pol. *rog*, Cz. and Slovak *roh*; Upper Sor. *roh*, Lower Sor. *rog*; S-Cr. *rôg*, Slov. *rôg*, Bulg. рог.[273]

(4) Flora.

- 'berry' – Baltic: Lith. *úoga*, Latv. *oga* ≈ Slavic: OCS *agoda* 'fruit', Russ. ягода 'berry', Pol. *jagoda*. Connections with other languages, e.g. Goth. *akran* 'fruit', Welsh *aeron* id.[274]
- 'lime' – Baltic: Lith. *líepa*, Latv. *liepa*, OPr. [EV 601 *Linde*] *Lipe* and place-names *Leypein*, *Leypiten* ≈ Slavic: Russ. липа; Pol. *lipa*, Bulg. липа.[275]

(5) Natural objects and phenomena.

- 'lake' – Baltic: Lith. *ẽžeras* (dial. *ažeras*), Latv. *ezers*, OPr. [EV 60 *See*] *Aſſaran*, (?Selonian) lake-name *Zarasas* ≈ Slavic: OCS *jezero* and *jezerъ*, Russ. озеро, Ukr. озеро, Blruss. возера; Pol. *jezioro*, Cz. *jezero*, Slovak *jazero*, Upper Sor. *jezor*, Lower Sor. *jazor*; S-Cr. *jȅzero*, Slov. *jȇzer(o)*, Bulg. езеро. There are dubious parallels with Illyrian Οσεριάτες and with OGr. Ἀχέρων.[276]

[270] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 290); *LEW*, p. 926; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 780.
[271] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 370); *LEW*, p. 1301; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 112; *LEV* II, p. 566.
[272] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 343); *LEW*, p. 1201; *ÈSRJa* I, p. 353; *LEV* II, p. 489.
[273] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 235); *LEW*, p. 684; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 489; *LEV* II, p. 99.
[274] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 202); *LEW*, p. 1165; *ÈSRJa* V, p. 545; *LEV* I, p. 634.
[275] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 155); *LEW*, p. 366; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 499; *LEV* I, p. 525. There is a dubious parallel with Welsh *llwyf* 'lime'.
[276] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 73; *LEW*, p. 125; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 125; *LEV* II, p. 274; Hamp (1998); further discussion, cf. Andersen (1996).

- 'ice' – Baltic: Lith. *lẽdas*, Latv. *ledus*, OPr. [EV 56 *Js*] *Ladis* ≈ Slavic: OCS *ledъ*, Russ. лёд, Pol. *lód*, Bulg. лед. Connections with OIr. *ladg* 'snow', OGr. λίθος 'stone' have also been proposed.[277]

(6) Activities and conditions.
- 'hunger' – Baltic: Lith. *álkti*, Latv. *alkt*, OPr. [Ench. 87:2 *Nůchtern*] *Alkīns* ≈ Slavic: OCS *alkati*, *alъkati* and *lakati* 'hunger; desire', Russ. лакать, Pol. *łaknąć*, Cz. *lákati* 'attract, fascinate'. Connections with OHG *ilgi* 'hunger', OIr. *elc* 'mischievous, bad' have also been proposed.[278]
- 'plunge' – Baltic: Lith. *nérti* and *nìrti*, Latv. *nirt* ≈ Slavic: OCS *vъnrěti*, Russ. нырять, Bulg. нирна, S-Cr. *ponirati* 'flow underground'.[279]
- 'sleep' – Baltic: Lith. *miẽgas* 'sleep' and *miegóti* 'to sleep' (< *'to close the eyes'), Latv. *miegs*, OPr. [Ench. 101:12 *Schlaff*] *maiggun* ≈ Slavic: Russ. миг 'blink (of an eye); instant' and мигать 'blink; wink', Pol. *mig*, Bulg. миг.[280]

(7) instruments et al.
- 'hammer' – Baltic: Lith. *kū́jis*, Latv. *kūja* 'stick', OPr. [EV 518 *Hamer*] *Cugis* ≈ Slavic: OCS *kyi*; Russ. кий, Pol. *kij*, Bulg. кияк 'weight'[281].
- 'butt' – Baltic: Lith. *péntis* 'butt (of an axe)', Latv. *pietis* 'heel', OPr. [EV 147 *Verſe*] *Pentis* ≈ Slavic: OCS *pęta*; Russ. пята, Pol. *pięta*, Bulg. пета.[282]

(8) Colors et al.
- 'green ~ yellow ~ gold' – Baltic: Lith. *žãlias* 'green', *žélti* 'overgrow', *geltónas* 'yellow' and *želtas* 'golden'; Latv. *zaļš* 'green', *zaļot* and *zaļināt* 'to be verdant', *dzeltens* 'yellow' and *zelts* 'gold'; OPr. [EV 468 *Grune*] *Saligan* ≈ Slavic: OCS *zelenъ*, *zlъčъ* 'bile' and *zlato* 'gold'; Russ. зелёный 'green', Pol. *zielony*, Cz. *zeleny*, Bulg. зелен.[283]

Laučiūtė (2002) analyzes many words of the Slavic languages and dialects in the north-eastern area which show a suffix of Baltic origin in their formation (especially *-uk-*, *-iuk-*, *-ien-*), and observes that they might

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[277] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 154); *LEW*, p. 350; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 474; *LEV* I, p. 512.
[278] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 6); *LEW*, p. 8; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 452; *LEV* I, p. 67.
[279] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 156); *LEW*, p. 495; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 91; *LEV* I, p. 629.
[280] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 174); *LEW*, p. 447; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 618; *LEV* I, p. 589.
[281] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 123); *LEW*, p. 232; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 231; *LEV* I, p. 435.
[282] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 214); *LEW*, p. 571; *ÈSRJa* III, p. 424.
[283] Cf. Trautmann (1923, p. 83 and 364); *LEW*, p. 145 and 1287; *ÈSRJa* II, p. 92; *LEV* II, p. 548; a connection with Alb. *del'pεrε* 'fox' has been proposed, cf. Jokl (1923, p. 297).

be old Baltisms rather than so-called Pro-Slavic dialectisms. In another investigation Laučiūtė (2007) studies the fate of nominal endings of Baltic origin, appellatives and place-names, borrowed or inherited from the linguistic substratum by the Northern Slavic languages. The nominative form of the word is adapted to the system of the host language; some endings (-*as, -is, -us*) are usually dropped, and although not completely assimilated, have many variations (e.g. Lith. *svir̃nas* 'barn, granary' ~ Blruss. свіран, с'виран', сверін 'storehouse, barn', Polish *świren, świron* 'storehouse for grain; storehouse', Rus. *свирен, свирон*, Ukr. свірон id.); -*ė* is rendered by -*(i)a* (e.g. *pũnė, pūnė̃* 'barn, chaff store, cow shed' ~ Blruss. liter. пу́ня 'hay barn', Polish *punia* 'small wooden barn for storing hay', Rus. пу́ня 'farm building for straw, chaff store, storehouse'); -*a* is normally preserved (e.g. Lith. *bandà* 'herd of livestock; loaf of bread; wages for a hired hand' ~ Blruss. бонда id., Polish *bonda* 'loaf of bread', Ukr. бонда 'old cow'). The plural nominative forms, however, acquire the form of the host language. Laučiūtė (2007) also points out that differences in the transmission of the ending could also be the result of the geographical distribution of the borrowing when it is used in dialects bordering the Baltic languages or completely surrounded by them. Beyond that the semantics of the loanword can also stimulate the preservation of the Baltic ending in appellatives, especially if with a highly expressive connotation (Blruss. би́нд-ус 'slacker, lazy person', бинд-ас 'giant', Polish *szud-as, lorb-as* 'a nickname', *gilb-as* 'tall, ungainly adolescent' et al.). Interestingly enough, in the geographical zone of Baltic substratum influence, several Slavic appellatives and place-names show the Baltic formatives inserted in the word stem (cf. Russ. дреб-ус-и́на 'wet, swampy place', Arkhangelsk region; Blruss. кул-і́с-ок 'incompletely threshed sheaf', western Polesie; Blruss. Гурб-ас-о́во по́ле, a field in western Polesie).

3.1.5.1. Old and new Balto-Slavic dictionaries. The classical collection of Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences is the dictionary *BSW* of Trautmann (originally printed in 1923, but reprinted in 1970). This work reflects the neogrammarian approach to this topic and shows the imprint of the time when it was created, both from the point of view of the material collected (168 Balto-Slavic and Germanic isoglosses, of these 74 are Balto-Slavo-Germanic, 52 are Balto-Germanic and 43 are Slavo-Germanic) and the theoretical principles behind it. It is clear that a deeper analysis of the material would dictate changes in the selection of many of the isoglosses

included there.[284] According to Sławski (1970) the 888 words contained in this dictionary are to be analyzed as follows: 30% (265 words) belong to the old Indo-European lexical stratum; 37.5% (334 words) are characteristic only of the Baltic and Slavic languages; 32.5% (289 words) are Balto-Slavic innovations. Inoue (1986, 1989) investigated Trautmann's *BSW* dictionary statistically and divided the correspondences into two main types based on the notions of "divergence" and "convergence"; sharing the highest degree of commonness, the latter type is more likely to represent Balto-Slavic lexemes.

Since Trautmann's pioneering work, lexicographical investigation in the fields of both Baltic and Slavic languages has made considerable progress. Monumental works like the *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* (*ME*, Dictionary of the Latvian language, 6 vols., 1923-1932) or the academic *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (*LKŽ*, Dictionary of the Lithuanian language, 20 vols., 1941-2002[285]) have been finally completed. The lexicographical project of a Proto-Slavic dictionary (cf. *SłPrsł* and *ÈSSJa*) has been equally important. Many etymological dictionaries of individual Baltic languages have been published (Lithuanian, cf. *LEW*; Latvian, cf. *LEV*; Old Prussian, cf. *PrJ* and *PKEŽ*) and Slavic (Russian, cf. *ÈSRJa*; Czech and Slovak, cf. *ESJČ* and *ČES*; Slovene, cf. *ESSJ*; Sorabian, cf. *HEWNS*; Croatian, cf. *ERHSJ*).

All these works have produced a huge harvest of new lexical entries and have led to new interpretations of known facts. Many contributions on specific word correspondences between Baltic and Slavic have been published in the last century; they cover many different aspects of the investigation in this field and deal both with dialectology and onomastic (especially hydronymic) issues (Udolph 1990; Dini, Udolph 2005, p. 64-67, 69-73 with further bibliography).

The Baltisms of the Slavic languages have also been intensively investigated by Laučiūtė (1982). According to Laučiūtė (1985) one can classify the Baltisms of the Slavic languages as follows:

a) forms which were borrowed directly into Slavic from the Baltic languages;

b) forms of Baltic origin which entered into Slavic as indirect borrowings through other languages (e.g. through Finnic into Northeastern Slavic);

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[284] An analysis which was considered obligatory and partly carried out in Sławski (1952-); Safarewicz (1961b); Trubačëv (1978).

[285] A booklet prepared on the occasion of the publication of the 20th volume is Zabarskaitė, Šimėnaitė (2002).

c) forms of non-Baltic origin which entered into Slavic through Baltic languages.

Utilizing the lexicostatistical method, Zeps (1984a) explains Slavic as a West Baltic dialect, therefore he questions the label "Baltic" and proposes to rename what was traditionally called Baltic, Slavic and Balto-Slavic. He writes (1984a, p. 218): "On the basis of lexicostatistics, Slavic is plainly another Baltic language, closest to Prussian, but no closer than Prussian is to Lithuanian". On the background of these results he questions the label "Baltic" ("just a name for "non-Slavic" [...] the background against which Slavic can be defined") and proposes to rename what was tradition-ally called Baltic, Slavic and Balto-Slavic.

Smoczyński (1986d) gives an example of how one could revise Trautmann's dictionary and also offers several theoretical principles over-looked by Trautmann:

a) the entries should be limited to common innovations;

b) the reconstruction of Balto-Slavic should always rely on the compari-son between the historic forms of the languages of the two groups;

c) any lexeme suspected of being borrowed should be eliminated;

d) the lexical correspondences of Balto-Slavic are not always absolute, with frequent oscillations in the root vocalism and in the suffixes; it would, therefore, be useful in certain cases to reconstruct two equiva-lent protoforms (which Trautmann systematically avoided).

Applying these principles, Smoczyński corrects many of Trautmann's doubtful correspondences. Although this work was conceived as a sketch (on the same topic also cf. Smoczyński 1989a), its methodological value is important since priority has been given to the internal reconstruction within the two different groups prior to making a comparison of them.

In this context Anikin's (1994, 1998; cf. Urbutis 1998) work must be mentioned. The author has analyzed about one thousand (!) lemmas from *A to *G. His aim has been to collect systematically the currently estab-lished Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences. Therefore, he uses material from dictionaries of both Baltic and Slavic languages, and of Proto-Slavic. He rightly laments that a Proto-Baltic dictionary does not yet exist (there have indeed only been projects, cf. Steinbergs 1996-1997; Lanszweert

1984). Anikin is a scholar who could really revise Trautmann's classical book at a higher level and according to updated theories. He is working intensively in this field, as one can see from his recent dictionary of Balticisms in the Russian language (Anikin 2003, 2005).

3.1.5.2. Semantic spheres. A different way of studying the Balto–Slavic lexical relations is based on their classification by thematic criteria and on their areal distribution.

The importance of the thematic approach was already mentioned by Endzelīns (1911b, p. 199) who emphasizes among other points the large number of concordances in the names of body parts. Such an approach is presented in the works of Trubačev (1966), Reķēna (1975), Nepokupnyĭ (1976), Otkupščikov (1971, 1986, 1989a, 1993), Laučiūtė (1980, 1985) and Sędzik (1995, 2002). Here one is concerned with concrete semantic spheres (e.g. the terminology for handicrafts, agricultural tools, animal husbandry and the like). The advantage here is the study of more or less complete lexical subsystems and not just casual and isolated examples related to various lexical strata.

Moreover, the analysis of circumscribed lexical phenomena brings together facts which show the varied areal distribution of the items in the semantic sphere under study. Two case studies will illustrate this approach:

a) The entire area of the Slavic languages and the entire area of the Baltic languages; all the Slavic languages preserve the reflex for IE names for 'domestic pig', cf. Russ. свинья (< *su̯-īn-) and Russ. (regional) порося 'piglet' (< *porsę); similar differing terms also occur in Baltic but are distinct by area, cf. Lith. par̃šas, OPr. [EV 686 *Ferkel*] *Praſtian* (corrected to *parstian) compared with OPr. [EV 682 *Swin*] *Swintian*[286], Latv. sivēns, suvēns 'pig'.

b) Only a part of the area of the Slavic languages or only a part of the Baltic languages; thus the IE name for 'tooth' in all the Slavic languages derives from Slavic *zǫbъ which has correspondences in the other IE languages and also in Latv. zobs 'tooth'. The Lith. cognate žam̃bas 'sharp edge, corner' also has other correspondences in the IE languages. The forms Lith. dantìs 'tooth' and OPr. [EV 92 *Czan*] *Dantis*, however, do not have correspondences in Latvian, but evidence of a probable cognate is encountered in Proto-Slavic *dęsn-, cf. Russ.

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[286] Karaliūnas (1992, p. 19-21) asserts that OPr. *Swintian* 'swine' is not a Germanism but a Baltic word which should be connected with Lith. *svynas* 'pig sty'.

десна 'gum', Pol. *dziąsło*, Cz. *dáseň*, S-Cr. *desna*, Slov. *dlésna* (*ÈSRJa* I, p. 506).

3.1.5.3. Issue of onomastics. It is well known that the territory across which one can trace Baltic (especially hydronymic) elements was considerably larger than that inhabited by the Balts since historical times [see 1.2.2.-3.]. Therefore one could expect that a Balto-Slavic stage would have left important onomastic traces. On the contrary, the investigations in this sector have not confirmed this expectation. Neither has the study of the hydronyms of the individual Slavic and Baltic languages, nor the analysis of the most ancient pre-Slavic stratum in Poland (Schmid 1976ac, 1978b, 1992a and more; Vanagas 1983; Udolph 1990). Onomastic evidence (hydronymy and toponymy) speaks against the existence of a Balto-Slavic subgroup.

3.1.6. Baltic, North-Slavic and South Slavic

Another direction in Balto-Slavic research is developing around the ideas of W. P. Schmid (1992a, 1993a), whose aim is to clarify the prehistoric spatio-temporal differences in specific dialectal areas [see 1.5.2.1.]. The analysis of lexical correspondences may unite various data chronologically, for example, the reflexes of Indo-European words and Balto-Slavic innovations. In reality it is not easy to distinguish borrowings, parallel developments and common innovations.

In the latter case specific northern, southern and kindred Balto-Slavic lexical isoglosses are particularly interesting, since a list of these is never complete and is always open to additional corrections as research in the area of dialectology develops. Details of the areal distribution differ from case to case and no strict criteria exist for adequately determining the greater or lesser degree of diffusion of specific forms within the Balto-Slavic area. This type of research, directed toward the identification of isoglosses connecting the Baltic languages with a particular group of Slavic languages, and vice versa, began in the 1960s and has continued to develop until the present. This research is a part of the more general problems of linguistic relationships in the so-called Ponto-Baltic region, i.e. the area between the Baltic and the Black seas [see 3.3.].

3.1.6.1. Baltic and North-Slavic. Nepokupnyĭ's research (1964, 1976) relating to a group of lexical isoglosses connecting Baltic and North-Slavic (Russ.

севернославянские) is very instructive. Nepokupnyĭ has identified three types of lexical and semantic isogloss: those common to the two areas as a whole and those which connect North‑Slavic (i.e. West and East Slavic languages) either with West Baltic or with East Baltic. He relies on the fact that Baltic as a whole has features common to all the Slavic languages in the inherited Indo‑European lexicon, while common borrowings are limited to North‑Slavic alone. Special attention is devoted to certain specific lexical fields (fauna, flora, names of mountains, birds, fish, body parts), material which was collected according to dialect and often analyzed with new and original conclusions which clarify many details. Polessia's Balto‑Slavic lexical data, which enriched the Trautmann inventory, are widely used.

According to Nepokupnyĭ the most important evidence of contact between Baltic and North‑Slavic are the extant onomastic data in the Yatvingian settlements in the Carpathian region and the traces of dialectal separation among the eastern Balts found in the lower course of the Berezina. Nepokupnyĭ concludes that the contribution of the Baltic languages to the North‑Slavic lexicon was larger than commonly thought. The southern border of the distribution of toponyms from Baltic anthroponyms should also be relocated from Belarus to Ukraine, the explanation of which is probably connected with the politico‑administrative division of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The specific concordances between Baltic and East Slavic, particularly with Russian, are investigated by Anikin (1995, 2003, 2005).

3.1.6.2. Baltic and south Slavic. Bezlaj (1966–1968, 1974, 1977, 1981), Boryś (1992ab), Nepokupnyĭ (2000) and Duridanov (2006) have investigated the specific lexical isoglosses connecting the Baltic and South Slavic languages. Bezlaj has paid special attention to Slovenian. His merits are that, thanks to convincing and often previously unknown parallels, he turned attention to the importance of data from Slovenian (usually not included) for comparing Slavic languages with each other and with Baltic. Bezlaj cites an impressive series of examples which would serve for a more systematic study of the question than the present stage of irregular comparisons of isolated South Slavic dialectal forms with forms corresponding in structure and meaning to those of Baltic. Bezlaj looks at the complicated etymological relations between Slavic and Baltic, which he eloquently labels as *Sprachmischung* (i.e. language mixture, but without providing a more specific theoretical definition of the phenomenon).

3.1.6.2.1. Baltic and Slovenian. Boryś's research in this area is concerned with the lexical relations between the Baltic vocabulary and the folk vocabulary of South Slavic languages, which contains occasional archaic forms. Thus, as a result of analyzing extensive South Slavic material an exclusive comparison of adjectives is proposed, e.g.:

> Slovenian *végrast* 'oscillating, irregular', the hydronym *Vjagr*, attested in Ukrainian (Polish *Wiar*), Lith. *vingrùs* 'winding', and Latv. *viñgrs* 'elastic; agile, quick'; or a comparison of two such forms extending over limited territories, thus, e.g. S-Cr. dial. *jëža* 'flower bed' and Slov. dial. *jéža* 'boundary (between a field and road)' on the one hand can be compared with Lith. *ežià* 'boundary' and Latv. *eža* 'flower bed' on the other hand, all of which in his opinion derive from a reconstructed Balto-Slavic agricultural term **eža*.

Nepokupnyĭ (2000) observes an interesting correspondence between S-Cr. *лùnāp* 'lime-grove' and the oronym Lith. *Liẽporas* and OPr. *Lepare* (Sambia, 1331).

3.1.6.2.2. Baltic and Bulgarian. Baltic and South Slavic relationships have also been investigated by Duridanov (1969, 1970, 1971, 2006) and Walczak-Mikołajczakowa (2001) who puts the accent primarily on the concordances with Bulgarian, e.g.:

> Bulg. *бърна* 'mouth' and Lith. *burnà* id.; Bulg. *грaгор* 'gravel (of a river)' and Lith. *gargždas* 'gravel'; Bulg. *бръкам* and *бъркам* 'shove (the hand)', S-Cr. *brknuti* 'grasp' and Lith. *brùkti* 'poke, shove', Latv. *brukt* 'wipe off'; Bulg. *ю́да* and Lith. *jaudà*, *jaũdas* 'agitation, excitement', *judéti* 'to move' (cf. *ERBKE*).

3.1.6.2.3. Other parallels. The comparative study of folkloristic and mythological traditions (Mikhailov 1996, 2000; Laurinkienė 2011) also permit the establishment of interesting parallels between Baltic and South Slavic. In particular Katičić (1992 and 1993) uses the Baltic material connected with the night of St. John for a better understanding of a Croatian fertility rite and folk songs;[287] in the same context Matasović (1995) proposes some Greek-Balto-Slavic textual parallels for reconstructing (perhaps an inherited piece of an IE) myth and fragments of the IE poetic language (*indogermanische Dichtersprache*).

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[287]   Other similar cases are also found in Katičić (1996, 1998 and 2001).

3.1.7. Instead of a conclusion

The evidence encountered in the Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences can not of course offer any definitive answer to the Balto-Slavic question. Nevertheless it is also clear that in certain cases the Baltic data may be satisfactorily explained without the help of the Slavic languages, but the contrary is not true.

This conclusion seems to be valid both for common and proper nouns. Note the following examples:

i) Lith. *rankà* 'hand ~ arm' is derived from the verb *riñkti* 'gather, collect' (*ránkioti*, intensive), cf. also Latv. *roka* 'hand ~ arm' and OPr. *ſen-rīnka* [Ench. 45,16 *ſamlet* 'collects'] whereas Russ. рука and its Slavic cognates cannot be directly derived from any Slavic verbs (Bernštein 1961; Safarewicz 1976a);

ii) the river name *Laukesà* in Lithuania**,** *Laucesa* in Latvia (and river names of the same type) are certainly derived from Lith. *laũkas* 'open air, field' (Vanagas 1981, p. 183), but the Slavic cognate Лучеса in Russia cannot be explained on the basis of Slavic data **[see 1.2.2.]**.

In many cases the Baltic data may be explained by means of internal reconstruction but such internal reconstruction is sometimes not possible for the Slavic languages. This situation suggests that the Slavic can be derived from the Baltic but not vice-versa, i.e. the Baltic data may be directly derived from the Indo-European, but the Slavic data require an intermediate stage.

The investigation of the lexicon confirms for Baltic and Slavic linguistics a prehistoric model of a (very probably *baltoide*) dialectal *continuum* advocated primarily by Toporov and Ivanov **[see 3.1.4.3.]**.[288]

The above presented proposals, respectively examining the special relations of Baltic with North-Slavic and with South Slavic languages independently are, admittedly, open to further development and refinement. The systematic study of Russian dialects on the one hand and of the dialects of South Slavic languages on the other should produce new material necessary for the elaboration of the linguistic aspect of the problem.

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[288] Cf. Toporov (1958ab, 1959); Ivanov, Toporov (1958). For an application of this concept with reference to Slavic, cf. Enrietti (2000).

3.2. THE BALTO-FINNIC AND VOLGA PERIBALTIC CONTEXT

In antiquity the Baltic and Finno-Ugric languages were in contact over a broad territory extending from the shores of the Baltic Sea to the basin of the middle course of the Volga.[289] Relations with the Balto-Finnic languages are most commonly studied relations with the group of Finnic languages of the Volga was advanced significantly by the investigations of Toporov and Trubačev [see 1.2.3.].

3.2.1. Archaeologic and hydronymic data

Traditionally it is thought that the speakers of one of the IE dialects (from which Proto-Baltic developed), having relocated in several waves from the southeast to their present habitat (which more or less coincides with the territory of the present Baltic Republics), encountered Finnic peoples who had lived there from remote antiquity. In the south (in modern northern Poland and in the present Kaliningrad region), where there were more Balts, they quickly assimilated the Finnic tribes, while the Balts who advanced deeper into the north, on the contrary, were themselves assimilated by the Finnic peoples. This traditional representation (Būga, Endzelīns)[290] is buttressed by Finnic hydronyms on the territory of Lithuania and Latvia. Still more are found as one proceeds toward the north, where the process of assimilation of Finnic tribes continued longer (for example the Livonians), and in certain instances is not yet finished.

The (Ugro-)Finnic substratum is observed even today in the hydronyms of Finnic derivation primarily in Latvian territory (Breidaks 2003; Kagaine, Timuška 2006) and, although in significantly smaller numbers, in Lithuanian territory (about 30); they are rather uniformly distributed over Latvia, with the greatest concentration in the northwest regions of Kurzeme and Vidzeme, with many fewer in Semigallia, Latgalia and Lithuania.[291]

Kilian (1986) connects archaeological and hydronymic data and calls attention to the encounter of the two cultures in the Baltic area, beginning in the 2nd millennium B.C. to the present era (the *Haffküstenkultur* – pre-

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[289] For a description of the Finno-Ugric languages, cf. Collins (1960); Décsy (1965); Gheno (1977); Manzelli (1993).

[290] Materials on this point were already presented in Būga (1908); on the intensive research of Endzelīns on this topic, cf. Raǵe (1973, 1986). Considering the point of view of archaeology, cf. Salo (1997).

[291] Cf. Rudzīte (1968); Breidaks (1973, 1977a); Ariste (1978); Vanagas (1971, 1975, 1981b, p. 143-146); Schmid (1978b); Boiko (1992); Toporov (1997d); Vaba (1993) identifies probable Latvian toponyms in Estonia which he interprets as a substratum phenomenon.

sumably coincidental with the *Pamarių kultūra* or the Littoral Culture of Gimbutas, or Baltic Coastal Culture, whose bearers are considered to be the ancestors of the Balts, and the *Bootaxtkultur* (Boat Axe Culture) bearers who were, it is supposed, the ancestors of the Finns) and the substratum and superstratum phenomena which link the two cultures [see 1.2.1.1.].

Another explanation has also gained acceptance. Finnic tribes were the ancient inhabitants of the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea (at least from the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.); with the appearance of the bearers of the Corded Pottery culture (which is considered to be related to some IE languages) they relocated into the territory of modern Latvia, where they remained until they finally settled in present-day Estonia and Finland. Approximately at the end of the 3rd millennium the European bearers of the Corded Culture, who relocated to the Baltic Sea, came into contact with the representatives of the Narva-Nemunas Culture and of the culture of the upper Nemunas, Europoid in civilization and culture. From their merger developed the so-called Littoral Culture, with its characteristic corded pottery and special types of Battle-Axes. However, in Lithuanian hydronymics there are no traces of such a Europoid presence. This leads us to think that the Balts from the south came into contact with some small group of Finnic nomads from whom they acquired the names of lakes and rivers, names which are preserved even today. From this emerges a completely plausible picture of the existence of Baltic and Finnic tribes in the area of modern Lithuania in the prehistoric epoch. A similar state of affairs can be reconstructed with certainty on Latvian territory, where, along the Daugava, the first ethnic boundary (later moved northward) between the Balts and Finns was fixed. On the other hand, Baltic traces are found first hand in the south of Finland. But analysis (still to be done) of the hydronyms of Estonia and Finland itself could lead to unexpected discoveries, thereby changing this picture.

It is supposed that the relations of the prehistoric epoch between Baltic and Finnic also touched the Volga group. If it could be established that several lexical borrowings were acquired directly and not through Balto-Finnic, then that would indicate a long and intense exchange taking place in a very ancient period in regions far removed from historical places of habitation, places where it is considered the Balts settled no earlier than the 20th-15th centuries B.C. In such a case it is highly likely that the oldest Baltic words entered into Finnic in the 2nd millennium B.C. and that the Volga Finns acquired certain words from the Fat'janovo settlement during

the period when they lived along the upper course of the Volga to the east as far as Chuvash, Tatarstan and Bashkir (cf. Kallio 2008).

3.2.2. Linguistic relationships with Balto-Finnic, Laplandish and Volga

Pioneering studies of the relations between Baltic and Finnic were written, as is known, by Thomsen (1890) and Mikkola (1930), works which were partially confirmed and refined by Lithuanian (at first Jaunius, Būga, and later Sabaliauskas 1963)[292] and Finnish linguists.[293]

Today one is faced with two diametrically opposed points of view. On the one hand there is the innovative (compared to Kalima) hypothesis of Nieminen, according to which individual Balto-Finnic tribes had independent linguistic contacts with individual Baltic tribes, while there were no contacts between Balto-Finnic languages and Proto-Baltic. There did exist, however, independent relationships between Balto–Finnic languages and independent Baltic languages, structurally already distanced from the protolanguage (Nieminen 1957). But such a hypothesis is contradicted by chronological data; therefore the advocates consider that the borrowings were unified later in the course of time. Second, since it is unlikely that separate Baltic languages already existed, they try to assign the period of proximity between Baltic and Balto–Finnic tribes to a much earlier era than our own, and they move it to a deeper antiquity, specifically, according to Koivulehto (1983ab, 1990), to a time prior to the entry of Germanic and Baltic borrowings in Finnic, that is northwest IE. Ritter (1995) offers the 1st century A.D. as *terminus ante quem* for borrowings from Proto-Baltic in the Balto-Finnic languages and considers that they represent more ancient language contacts between the Balts and Balto–Finns in their places of habitat on the Baltic Sea. Attempts at dating the oldest loans between Fennic and west IE (i.e. later Germanic–Balto–Slavic) lead to vague conclusions (Koivulehto 2006).

Another point of view is offered by Bednarczuk (1993) in a synthetic survey of the principal structural convergences between Balto(-Slavic) and Balto-Finnic. He proposes the existence of a period of contacts and mutual language exchange between the Balts, Slavs and Balto-Finns in the Balto-Slavic epoch, which the Polish scholar calls a language alliance of the

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[292] A collection of contributions specifically devoted to the Balto-Baltofinnic linguistic relationships is *VBF*.
[293] Kalima (1936); Hakulinen (1953-1955); Ariste (1955); Nieminen (1957, 1959); Liukkonen (1999).

lake region to the southeast of the Baltic Sea, extending from present-day Latvia to the lower course of the Vistula.

Having described these general points of view I should now set out the situation of the relationship of Baltic to the three linguistic groups: Balto-Finnic, Laplandish, Volga-Finnic.

3.2.2.1. Balto-Finnic. Suhonen (1988) makes systematic attempt to collect and classify the lexical Baltisms of Balto-Finnic according to ten specific categories. These are: instruments and objects of necessity, the animal world, man's world and human activity, the vegetable world, agricultural work and animal husbandry, atmospheric occurrences, names of food, names of colors, mythology and religion, and others (for an analogous classification cf. Zinkevičius, *LKI* I, p. 166-171). However, it should be noted that the author primarily studies the borrowings from a semasiological point of view and traces the possible variants of their semantic development when they had already been assimilated by Finnic. But he almost never points out the Baltic source of the borrowing, nor – and this is particularly important – the chronological stratification of the borrowings themselves.

However that may be, Baltisms of Balto-Finnic can be assigned to two main semantic spheres: *a)* one, better represented, combines lexicon typical for a primitive society and *b)* the other, very important, contains abstract and religious concepts.[294] Here are a few examples with references to corresponding Baltic words:

a) (agriculture) Finn. *siemen*, Eston. *seeme* 'seed', cf. Lith. *sémenys* 'linseed', OPr. *semen* 'seed'; Eston. *(h)õis* 'flower, bloom' ← Baltic **žaida-*, cf. Lith. *žíedas*, Latv. *zieds* id.; Finn. *herne*, Eston. *hernes* 'pea' ← Finn. **herneh*, cf. Lith. *žìrnis* id.; Finn. *vako*, Eston. *vago* 'furrow', cf. Lith. *vagà* id.; Finn., Eston. *äes* 'harrow', cf. Lith. *akéčios* id.; Finn. *siikanen* (with a Finn. suffix *-nen*) 'fish bone, point of spike' ← Finn. **sīka- < *tīka-* ← Baltic **dīga-*, cf. Lith. *dýgas*, *dỹgė* 'thorn' (Posti 1977, p. 369);

(farm animals) Finn. *hanhi*, Eston. *hani* 'goose', cf. Lith. *žąsìs*, OPr. *sansy* id.; Finn. *vuohi*, Eston. *voho* 'goat', cf. Lith. *ožỹs*, OPr. *wosee* id.; Finn., Eston. *oinas* 'ram', Lith. *ãvinas* id.; Finn. *paimen* 'shepherd', Eston. *paimendama* 'to guard, to tend', cf. Lith. *piemuõ* 'shepherd' (*ie < *ai*); Finn. *silta* 'bridge' ← Finn. **tilta*, cf. Lith. *tìltas*, Latv. *tilts* id.;

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[294] According to Liukkonen (1999) one has to add here also many Finnish words concerning marrying and his semantic field; on Finn. *lanko* 'relatives by marriage', however, see also Vaba (2001).

(means of transport) Finn., Eston. *ratas* 'wheel', cf. Lith. *rãtas* id.; Finn. *reki*, Eston. *regi* 'sleigh', cf. Lith. *rõgės* id.;

(buildings) Finn. *pirtti* 'hut', cf. Lith. *pirtìs* 'sauna'; Finn. *seinä*, Eston. *sein* 'wall', cf. Lith. *síena* id.;

(hunting, fish, apiculture) Finn. *ankerias*, Eston. *angerjas* 'eel', cf. Lith. *ungurỹs*, OPr. *angurgis* id.; Livonian *vagal* 'burbot (a fresh water fish)', cf. Lith. *vėgėlė̃* id.; Finn. *lohi*, Eston. *lohi* 'salmon', cf. Lith. *lašišà* id.; Finn., Eston. *vaha* 'wax', cf. Lith. *vãškas* id.; Finn. *vihi* 'a trapping term', cf. Lith. *vèžti* 'drive, lead, carry' (Uotila 1986b).

(natural elements) Finn. *halla*, Eston. *hall* 'frost', cf. Lith. *šalnà* id.; Old Finn. *panu* 'fire' [compared with Finn. *tuli* id.], cf. OPr. *panno* id.; Finn., Eston. *meri* 'sea', cf. Lith. *mãrios* 'sea (closed)';

(animals) Livonian *palandäks* 'dove', cf. Lith. *balañdis* id.; Finn. *käärme* 'serpent', cf. Lith. *kirmìs* 'worm';

(body parts) Finn. *kaula*, Eston. *kael* 'neck', cf. Lith. *kãklas* 'neck', *káulas* 'bone';

(family members, a possible proof of exogamy) Finn. *heimo*, Eston. *hoim* 'race', cf. Lith. *šeimà* 'family'; Finn. *tytär*, Eston. *tutar* 'daughter', cf. Lith. *duktė̃ dukter̃s* id.; etc. (Mägiste 1970).

b) Finn. *taivas*, Eston. *taevas* 'sky', cf. Lith. *diẽvas*, Latv. *dievs*, OPr. *deiws* 'god (divinity of the radiant sky)' (Senn 1949);

Finn. *perkele* 'devil (a curse)' ← Finn. **perkeleh* ← Baltic **perk-*, cf. Lith. *Perkū́nas* 'god of thunder' and diminutive *Perk(ūn)ėlis* id. with a pejorative semantic evolution from 'god of thunder' to 'devil';[295]

Finn. *viekas*, *veikeä*, with different meanings in the dialects ranging from 'svelto, agile' to 'astuto, furbo', and *vaikku* 'force, energy' ← Baltic **veika-*, cf. Lith. *viẽkas* 'shrewd, sly, crafty', *veikùs* 'quick, fast',[296] etc.[297]

Another interesting fact is that there are several Baltisms in Finnic which disappeared over time in the Baltic languages, but which can be reconstructed, e.g. Finn. *aisa* 'shaft (of a cart)' < **aisa*, cf. Czech *oj* id., S-Cr.

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[295] Uotila (1970, p. 6–8), cf. also Gheno (2003, p. 26–28). For Balto-Finnic mythological names of Baltic origin, cf. Blažek (2006a).
[296] Uotila (1983), cf. also Gheno (2003, p. 28–30).
[297] For other possible Baltic loans in Finnic see Uotila (1970, 1983) and Gheno (2003), e.g.: Finn. *mähkä* 'ulcer; bulge (on a tree), knot', *laukki* 'animal with a white spot on its forehead, etc.', *kärhys* 'hay dryer', *lännys* 'limetree', *kohta* 'place, spot, site', *hinta* 'price', *suhta* 'moderation, measure; proportion', *nuutua* 'to wither; to grow weak', *synkkä* 'dark, dull'.

isa id. or Finn. *vuona* 'lamb' < **ognas*, cf. Latin *agnus*, OCS *агиьсь*. By Suhonen's (1980, 1988) calculations there are about 200 such Baltisms, one quarter of which are dubious and uncertain. If one considers that many ancient borrowings could have been lost in the individual Balto-Finnic languages, it is significant that:

a) they are variously distributed in eight different languages of the Balto-Finnic group; *b*) a strong concentration of borrowings is found in: Finnic, Estonian, Karelo-Olonese; *c*) Finnic shows more borrowings than Estonian itself.

In this regard the Estonian linguist Vaba (1988, p. 180; 1989; 2006), having isolated a series of Baltisms in Balto-Finnic names of mountains, notices that the picture could be changed significantly if the Estonian dialects were better studied; moreover, that the closeness to living Baltic languages had a great importance in the recent period, and in this regard the numerous borrowings in Livonian (about 2500-3000; cf. Suhonen 1973) are instructive. Finally, the interesting research of Sausverde (1994) should be mentioned, in whose *Seewörter* (sea-words) three linguistic areas are connected: Germanic, Baltic and Balto-Finnic. These data could be useful for studying the pre-IE substratum in the Balto-Scandinavian area. Among other things the author tentatively writes that the "substratum in Baltic languages has not been considered as a problem".

The study of Baltic borrowings in Finnic is also important for the indications furnished regarding the existence of the neuter gender in East Baltic [see 7.4.2.1.]. According to Vaba (1994), verbal nouns in –*m*– also entered into Balto-Finnic (e.g. Eston. *põrm*, –*u*, Udmurt *permu* 'dust, ashes' ← Baltic **berma-/*bērma-*, cf. Lith. *bełti* 'to scatter', *bėrìmas* 'scattering').[298] The research regarding the Baltic (Latvian) borrowings in Livonian is particularly advanced [see 9.1.2.2.].

But the Baltic influence encompasses morphological phenomena as well (e.g. the compound forms of the Estonian preterite, cf. Eston. *olen lugenud* and *olin lugenud* 'I have read', and 'I had read' connected with corresponding Baltic forms, cf. Lith. *esu skaitęs*, Latv. *esmu lasījis* 'I have read' and *buvau skaitęs*, *biju lasījis* 'I had read') and syntactic (e.g. the attributive agreement of the adjective and noun in Balto-Finnic, absent in the Ural languages, of the type: (nom. sing.) Eston. *suur linn*, cf. Lith. *didelis miestas* 'large city', (gen. sing.) Eston. *suure linna*, cf. Lith. *didelio miesto* 'of the large

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[298]   On this question, cf. also Ritter (1993); in this work, regardless of the title, he treats also ancient Baltic borrowings in Balto-Finnic.

city', (dat. sing.) Eston. *suurele linnala*, cf. Lith. *dideliam miestui* 'for, to the large city'; perhaps the development in Finnic of adverbs of direction, etc.) (Schadiro 1985; Nilsson 1995).

3.2.2.2. Laplandish. There are no observed direct borrowings from the Baltic languages in Laplandish. However, there are words of indirect Baltic origin. They refer back to ancient (approximately 2nd millennium B.C.) borrowings from common Finnic (there are about a dozen, e.g. *heinä*, cf. Lith. *šiẽnas* 'hay'; *hirvas*, cf. OPr. *sirwis* 'deer', etc.), or to recent borrowings (about 80-90) which entered Laplandish later, but it is not easy to attribute the words to one or another category.

3.2.2.3. Volga-Finnic. The hypothesis of direct contacts between the Baltic languages and the Finnic languages of the middle Volga arose recently and can in an obvious way be connected to the expansion of the prehistoric habitat of the Baltic peoples between the Volga and the Oka [see 1.2.3.]. Traditional theses (Thomsen, Kalima, etc.) interpret the correspondences between the Baltic languages and Volga Finnic as deriving from Balto-Finnic on the strength of two main considerations: *a*) the Baltic borrowings in the Volga region are significantly less numerous; *b*) the majority of them are not different from those found in Balto-Finnic (Thomsen 1890, p. 153-155).

Subsequently Serebrennikov has tried to isolate certain forms in the territory between the Volga and the Kljaz'ma which belong to an unknown language, close to the Baltic languages, while Knabe (1962) speaks of an indefinite linguistic unity containing within it Baltic, Slavic, Indo-Iranian and even Germanic elements.

There is a different point of view (Ariste 1956; Mägiste 1959), according to which in prehistoric times the Volga area extended further to the west and direct contacts were possible between Baltic, Mordvinian and – although with great skepticism – also Cheremis (Mari). Vaba (1983, 1988) emphasizes the fact that the absence of a common stratum of Baltic borrowings, typical of the Volga group, is not surprising, just like the absence of common innovations: this is explained by the improbability of the existence of a common Volga-Finnic protolanguage (the predominant viewpoint in Finno-Ugric linguistics). Vaba (1990) lists 374 Balto-finnic words with a Baltic etymon, but 186 of them (49.6%) are considered doubtful by the same author.

Among the languages of this group, the most Baltisms are apparently found in Mordvinian, in two of its dialects (Moksha and Erza), spoken in central Russia. Along with the Baltisms known in Balto-Finnic there are also several more or less exclusive correspondences offering notable interest; they can be accepted as an indication of very ancient direct contacts, cf. e.g.:

Erza пеель [p'ejel'], Moksha *p'ejal'* 'knife'; cf. Lith. *peĩlis* id.; Moksha пандоз, Erza панст 'reins', cf. Lith. *pántis* 'hobble (of animals)'; Moksha ленгя, Erza ленге [leńǵe] 'bast' compared with Finn. *lunka*, cf. Lith. *lùnkas* id.; the case for the following is uncertain: Moksha кяржи, Erza керш [k'er(t)ʃ] 'left', cf. Baltic **kurš-ia-*.

Although there has been no systematic research on Baltisms in Mari (Cheremis), several new etymologies have been put forward (Gordeev 1967, 1973), sometimes evoking doubts (e.g. Cheremis могыр, монгыр 'back' along with Mordvinian мукуро, нукур and Finn. *nukero*, cf. Lith. *nùgara*, Latv. *mugura* id.; Cheremis каим 'neighbors' compared with Finn. *kaima* 'person having the same name, namesake', Eston. *kaim* 'relative, husband's brother', cf. Lith. *káimas* 'village', *kaimýnas* 'neighbor').

Moreover, the study of Russian argot in these areas has allowed for the addition to traditional comparisons of at least two more possible comparisons without correspondences in other Finno-Ugric languages; these also suggest direct contacts between the Balts and Mari. Thus Mari stems were reconstructed: **kolbə-* ' to speak' deriving from the Russ. slang колбат, cf. Lith. *kalbéti* id.; **kirßäs* 'hatchet' deriving from Russ. кирбяс, slang of the Yaroslav region, cf. Lith. *kiřvis* id.; more problematic are **dulə/*tulə* with a stem from the Russ. slang of the Kostroma region дульяс 'fire', cf. Lith. *dűlis* 'piece of wood to smoke out bees' which is also found in Balto-Finnic, e.g., Finn. *tuulas* 'fishing spear, harpoon', and with palatalization of the stem, Veps *tul'l'astada* 'to fish' (Vaba 1988).

Finally, probable Baltisms are also found sporadically in the Permian group; the canonical example is Udmurt мыгор, Komi мыгöр 'pattern, seat', or Komi керавны 'to cut' to be compared with Mari кыраш, Mordvinian керямс, cf. Lith. *kiřsti* 'to cut off'. Much remains unclear, particularly because the vocabulary of the languages of the Volga is little known and little studied; this is a fertile field for study for future generations of Finno-Ugric and Baltic specialists.

3.2.3. About Finnic influences on Baltic

Naturally a number of connections have been proposed in the opposite direction from those I have examined up until now, but they have been less well investigated. Thomsen and Būga acknowledge only a small number of ancient words of Finnic origin in Lithuanian (e.g. *bùrė* 'sail', *kadagỹs* 'juniper', *šãmas* 'sheat fish'), to which can be added another dozen marine terms (e.g. *laĩvas* 'ship' ← Finn. *laiv* ← Goth. *hlaiw* 'gravel'; *kìras* 'sea bird, mew', cf. Livonian *kīr*, Eston. *tiir*, Finn. *kiiri*), which however often reflect not Finnic words, but are derived from Germanic or Slavic, coming into Baltic through Finnic (concerning more recent relations between Latvian and Livonian [see 9.1.2.2.1.]). Sabaliauskas (1963, p. 131–135) collected 33 cases in the Latvian language and Lithuanian dialects (coming through Latvian).

Bušs (2009) considers about 600 possible borrowings from Finno-Ugric languages in Latvian. This lexical layer, mostly coming from Livonian and Estonian, is very heterogeneous and the sources of all of the words are not equally certain.

The modern data concerning Baltic hydronymics [see 1.2.3.] confirm Būga's thesis regarding the existence of direct relations with the Volga group; evidence for them also comes from Lith. *lopšỹs* 'cradle', if one assumes it is a borrowing from Mari (Cheremis) лепш, and Lith. *sóra* 'millet' (which has no IE correspondence), assuming it is a borrowing from Mordvinian сыра [surǎ] (Moksha), сыро [suro] (Erza) which, in turn, is connected with the Komi *zör* 'oats'.

To explain the small number of Finnic loan words in Baltic, Thomsen (1890) and Kalima (1936) suppose that a Baltic tribe close to the western Finns became extinct prior to the historical epoch; Uotila (1986a, p. 208) explains this rather by demographic domination and the cultural superiority of the Balts.

But the Finnic influence on Baltic can also be considered for an explanation of phenomena other than simply lexical ones. Thus, for phonetics Kiparsky (1968a) proposes an interesting hypothesis according to which doublets with the alternation voiceless/voiced in the Baltic languages (of the Lith. type *kaũkaras/gaũgaras* 'hillock', *stiẽptis/stiẽbtis* 'to extend oneself (upward)', *virbéti/virpéti* 'to vibrate', etc.) could be the result of contacts between Baltic and Finnic groups in the Baltic Sea area. As confirmation of this explanation one can observe that similar doublets are encoun-

tered particularly (200 cases) in Latvian and to a lesser degree (50 cases) in Lithuanian (cf. also Jēgers 1971).

The Finnic influence is sometimes cited for morphology as well; for example, in the verb it is reflected in the non-distinction of number in the 3rd pers. (Thomason, Kaufman 1988, p. 243); the origin of the imperative (Lithuanian) in *-k-* has also been explained as being derived from analogous formations in Eston. *seis-ke* 'stand!', *näh-ke* 'look!', cf. Lith. *stovékite*, *žiūrékite* id. (Toporov, Trubačev 1962, p. 249-250; on the formants *-k-* [more thoroughly see 7.4.3.3.4.]).

Nor does the syntax of the Baltic languages remain immune from Finnic influences. This influence can be called upon to explain the use of the genitive of the direct object in negative sentences, the so-called genitive of possession (instead of adjectival) in expressions of the type *lietuvių kalba* 'the Lithuanian language' (Bednarczuk 1968); this influence also explains the instrumental predicate (e.g. Eston. *Tapio on õpettajana koulussa* 'Tapio is a teacher' an impermanent condition ~ *Tapio on õpettaja koulussa* id. a permanent condition). It remains unclear whether Finnic influence is responsible for the formation of the postpositional locative case (e.g. Finnic nom. sing. *maa* 'land', illative sing. *maahan* 'into the land', a position in a specific place *maasa* 'in the land', compared with e.g. Lith. nom. sing. *miẽstas* 'city', illative sing. *miẽstan* 'into the city'). Also attributable to the syntactic influence were typical participial constructions such as the *modus relativus* [see 7.4.3.4.], e.g. Eston. *vend kirjutab kirjad* and Lith. *brolis rašąs laišką* 'the brother [they say] is writing a letter' or Latv. *viņš slimojot* 'he [is] sick' and similar forms (Pisani 1959). For these cases Ambrazas V. (1979, p. 192; 1986b) has proposed a hypothesis of historical contact between Balts and Finns; others think that it is possible to treat this phenomenon as common for many language groups, and that it is not possible to prove with certainty the influence of one on the other (for the intermixing of Livonian and Latvian [see 9.1.2.2.1.]).

Gheno (2002 and 2004) are two critical surveys on the question of Uralic antiquity and related problems. In particular Gheno (2002) reports the investigations carried out by many scholars of Finno-Ugric from Finland, Hungary and Estonia starting with the classic theory of the Uralic *Urheimat* which uses the biogeographic argument, and Gheno quotes from the works of A. J. Joki, E. Itkonen, Gy. László, I. Sebestyén; in addition Gheno comments on the so-called Uralic theory, basing himself on P. Hajdú; further, the theory of Uralic continuity (Finnish *jatkuvaisuusteoria*),

supported by A. Kemiläinen, and finally also the more recent idea of a conglomerate of Pre-Proto-Uralic and Pre-Palaeosibirian languages without a definite *Urheimat* (A. Künnap, K. Wiik, J. Pustay). Gheno (2004) is rather a critical updating on the question of the oldest contacts between Finnic and Baltic. He considers both the quantitative and the qualitative question with regard to the Baltic loans in Finnic, and also considers the possibility of backdating them. Specifically, he evaluates rather critically Liukkonen's (1999, p. 10) opinion that "im Finnischen etwa 550 sichere baltische Lehnwörter gibt" [i.e. in Finnic there are about 550 certain Baltic loanwords] and underlines with regard to this point his own and Antilla's (2003) severe judgment on it.

3.3. THE PONTO-BALTIC REGION

The natural narrowing of Europe between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, or the ponto-Baltic isthmus, which serves to delimit the longitudinal strip extending from the Baltic region to the Balkan peninsula, has served over the course of centuries as a kind of ideal *Pontus*, an ideal place of transit connecting the vast region – very distinct from the ethno-linguistic point of view – from the Baltic to the Balkans.[299]

In the periods straddling the last two centuries there emerged a unique Danube hypothesis regarding the ethnogenesis of the Balts as a result of the study of Balto-paleo-Balkan connections. The supporters of this theory have combined the various peoples of this area into a whole and think that the Balts emerged from this conglomerate of tribes.[300] In actuality one should differentiate various language groups which replaced each other in this territory and which still exist there in large numbers: thus the so-called Illyrian alliance (according to popular opinion separated into Liburnian, Pannonian and Illyrian itself), today in a significant part covered by a superstratum Slavic; Romanized Dacian;[301] traces in the South

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[299] This was precisely the area of special interest for the journal *Ponto-Baltica* (ceased in 2005, cf. Mastrelli 1981). A typological study in the light of linguistic contacts among Slavic, Baltic and Balkan languages is Ivanov (2013).

[300] This hypothesis, now rejected, arose in the active mind of Jonas Basanavičius [1851-1927], a famous Lithuanian patriot and doctor who was passionately attracted to folklore; the theory is best expressed in Basanavičius (1921), an inspiring volume in which, on the basis of historical, ethnographic and linguistic data, he offers his thesis about the origin of the Balts from Thracian Phrygians (the linguistic data are used frivolously).

[301] Poghirc (1970); Rădulescu (1981) and Hamp (1991). In general, cf. Birnbaum (1984, p. 242-255) and bibliography.

Slavic and Greek area of the vestigial Thracian, Phrygian and ancient Macedonian languages. Moreover, Germanic dialects and Hungarian in the west and Slavic dialects in the east along with Baltic, Albanian, and (Neo) Greek have left traces in this vast territory.[302]

Various hypotheses have been put forward and continue to be put forward in connection with the ponto-Baltic region, primarily based on toponymic data (mostly hydronyms): Illyrian, ancient European, paleo-Balkan. However, in an attempt to describe linguistically the ancient phases of contacts which took place, it is obviously impossible to ignore the spatio-temporal arguments. Thus one notes that from the areal perspective particular, Balto-(paleo)Balkan relations are of maximum intensity between southeast Baltia and the (north-)west Balkans, i.e. in the Adriatic region of the Balkan peninsula. From the temporal point of view, one must differentiate the ancient phase (the Balto-Illyrio-Thracian, Balto-Phrygian and Balto-Armenian connections attested in a limited quantity) from a later phase (Balto-Albanian connections which are especially instructive).

3.3.1. The Carpathian axis and Balto-Balkan linguistic parallels

Generally, the study of this material derives from the classical theory (Bartoli 1932; Porzig 1954; Toporov 1987, p. 276, etc.) concerning the closeness between Baltic and the West Balkan languages in the context of IE dialects. This in turn arose from the attempt to define the situation relating to the Albanian area; from this also derives the thesis of the direct contiguity of the area occupied by the ancestors of the Balts and Albanians. This places prime importance on the Carpathian geographical border, as well as archaeological and hydronymic data, in the formation and development of these two different ethno-cultural and linguistic areas. This is an axis which serves simultaneously to divide and to unite (remembering the ancient Amber Roads).

Although during the time of the first attestations of the Baltic and Albanian languages the Balts and Albanians already lived to the north and south of the Carpathians (in a radius of approximately 400-500 kil-

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[302] Voigt V. (1970) considers that Magyar-Baltic relations were possible even before the arrival of the Hungarians in the Carpathian region (i.e., earlier than 896 B.C.), and that they took place in the central area of eastern Europe, but the only "proof" of this is the similarity in the name for amber (cf. Hungarian *gyanta ~ gyantár* 'amber'), and there are also, however, many other hypotheses [see 1.3.3.7.]. Zoltán (2009) considers Hungarian *tót* 'Slav' to be ancient loan from the Baltic languages (cf. OPr. *tauto* 'land', Lith. *tautà* 'people').

ometers), there is reason to think that their earlier ancestors somehow controlled and occupied regions located accordingly in the north and south of the mountain chain. This allows one to propose a more northern placement of the so-called Proto-Albanian complex until its displacement toward the Adriatic, and may also indicate the presence of Slavs to the north of the Carpathians in the period of intense connections with the peripheral area of the Baltic dialectal-cultural alliance (following the view of the Balto-Slavic question proposed by Toporov [see 3.1.4.]), until their migration to the south of the Carpathians. According to Toporov (1987), the picture that results is as follows: the Balts on the one hand and the Albanians (as perpetuators of the Illyro-Thracian complex, later overrun in significant measure by the subsequent waves of Slavs) on the other hand, were separated as far as possible from the Carpathian mountains. It is no accident that the same Carpathian oronym (Ptolemy's Καρπάτες ὄρος) is connected with a whole series of toponyms which Toporov places to the north (OPr. *Carpaw*, Lith. *Kárpis*, *Kárpėnai*, Latv. *Kārpa*, *Kārpine*, etc.) and south (the river Κάρπις, *mare Carpathium*, *Carpi*, *Carpesii*, *Carpetani*, etc.) of the mountain chain, as well as with similar lexical elements, like Alb. *karpε* 'crag, cliff', OGr. καρπός 'fruit', Latin *carpō* 'I collect, I detach', which Schmid puts on the southern slope, and with Lith. *kir̃pti* 'to cut' on the northern slope.[303]

For Baltic linguistics the new element is the connection between the Baltic languages and the ancient languages of the Balkan area (Thracio-Dacian, Phrygian, Macedonian, etc.), which have been studied over the last decades.[304] The ethno-cultural community of the longitudinal ponto-Baltic belt is clear from at least five main linguistic characteristics: *a*) the polytonality; *b*) certain, few to be sure, coincidences in inflection; *c*) the lexical correspondences between Baltic and paleo-Balkan languages; *d*) specific lexicon connected with the religious and mythological sphere; and to this one can add another characteristic, relating to *e*) the parallelism of the toponymic (primarily hydronymic) elements of the two areas in antiquity.

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[303] Cf. Toporov (1987, p. 284); Schmid (1993a); but perhaps one should keep in mind the existence of a non-IE (Mediterranean?) stem **krappa ~ *karpa*.

[304] Cf. Duridanov (1969, 1992); Poghirc (1970); Breidaks (1977b); Toporov (1964, 1973a, 1977a, 1984, 1987). The theses of Duridanov have been carried to extreme conclusions in Mayer (1992, p. 24), who contends: "Thracian and Dacian and their IE ancestor dialects, Pre-Thracian and Pre-Dacian, as 'Southern Baltoidic', 'Southern' with respect to their ultimate position as eventually more southerly than Baltic proper and 'Baltoidic' to indicate them as a class of 'Baltic-like', if not exactly, Baltic dialects and then languages".

3.3.1.1. Politonality. In the frame of his own Continuity Theory [see 1.5.3.], Alinei (2000, p. 294-300) ascribes great importance to the fact that pitch stress (polytonality) characterizes not only the languages of the Baltics, but also those of the Balkans (Serbo-Croatian, Slovene and North Albanian). Based on that he wants to hypothesize a "Balto-Balkanic super-isogloss". Beyond that, according to Alinei's viewpoint, one could consider here the expression of evidentiality [see 7.4.3.4.] as well, since this feature also somehow connects the two areas. This idea of a "super-isogloss", if confirmed, could not only shed new light on the possible existence of an extinct Baltic periphery in the south, but might even be crucial for the problem of Baltic and Slavic ethnogenesis.[305]

3.3.1.2. Inflection. Given the available *corpus* it is obvious that correspondences in this area are few and doubtful; moreover, they always contain Slavic. The ending *-m-* of the instr. sing is usually mentioned (cf. *cum Valeriis Decibalm… et Mamutzim*, singled out by Poghirc (1970) and Pisani (1981), who sees a Thracio-Baltic element in the ending of the gen. sing. Lith. *-o*, Slavic *-a*, Thracian *-a* interpreted as derived from *-ā*, which in turn can be understood as the result of the contraction of *-o(si̯)o-*; other correspondences relate to Albanian [see 3.3.2. and *infra*].

3.3.1.3. Lexicon. One notes a richer semantic sphere of Balto-Balkan lexical correspondences in the topographical lexemes (e.g. Alb. *gur* 'stone' and OPr. *garian* 'tree', Lith. *girià* 'forest', Latv. *dzīra* id., Russ. гора 'mountain', cf. Γυράς and Γυραι the names of mountains in Ischia, *Garganus*, *Gorizia*; Alb. *arε* 'field', Messapic *aran* and Lith. illative sing. *óran* 'outside', Latv. *āran* id.,[306] etc.). These words typically appear rather frequently along the Balto-Balkan zone, but they are not exclusive to this region and also appear in other linguistic groups with parallelisms in toponymics. The Carpathian mountain name Бескиды (< ?Illyrian *biz-kēt* 'forest of beech') belongs to this semantic sphere, but also evokes discussion, cf. Trubačev (1968, p. 281), Toporov (1987, p. 281-283), Schmid (1993a, p. 14).[307]

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[305] One should, however, say that similar opinions have been already and repeatedly expressed by Mayer (1981, 1991, 1992, 1997 et al.), also, cf. Schmid (1993a).

[306] The inclusion into this series of the hapax <*arrien*> 'theshing floor', which should probably be amended to <*arnen*>, or *arn* < MHG *arn* 'collected' seems dubious, cf. Smoczyński (1989a).

[307] Cf. Osipova (1992), who began her research in the framework of research on the *Etymological Dictionary of the Carpathian Area*, edited by L. A. Gindin, analyzes the lexical data of Slavic languages of the Carpathian area (approximately 400 items), assuming that their distribution reflects the areal boundaries of the Slavic *habitat* during the migration to the Carpathians (6th-7th centuries B.C.).

Another well-represented semantic sphere is the names of products for agricultural production (e.g. Alb. *djathɛ* 'cheese', OPr. *dadan* 'milk' and OInd. *dádhi-* 'sour milk')[308] and of wild flowers (e.g. the name of 'hazelnut tree', cf. Alb. *laithí* and OPr. *laxde*, Lith. dial. *lazdà*, Latv. *lazda*, *lagzda*), etc. A recent line of inquiry is the collection of distinct Balto-Slavic isoglosses (derivational or semantic) from the Carpathian area which can throw new light on the specific lexical correspondences between Baltic and South Slavic (Balto-Bulgarian and Balto-Slovenian). These can be explained, at least partially, as Balto-Carpathian.

3.3.1.4. Sacral lexicon. In the Balkans as well as in the Baltics one finds lexical traces which allow one to reconstruct the so-called primary myth [see 4.3.1.5.], deriving from the name of the god of thunder (cf. the Thracian names of gods reconstructed by Georgiev, viz. Περκος, Περκυν; Alb. *Perɛndí* 'Perɛn-god' and note the affinity to OPr. *percunis*, Lith. *Perkū́nas*, Latv. *Pērkons* and Slavic *perunъ* [see 4.3.1.4.]). There are also certain textual fragments which refer to rituals to produce rain.[309]

Certain lexemes, attested above all in Albanian and with reflexes in Thracian (as e.g. *Perɛndí* or *besɛ* 'faith; oath; religion'), allow one to speak of an archaic mythological origin; this is found both in Balkan and Baltic areas, e.g. the famous case of the Thracian goddess Βένδις and of the Lithuanian divinity cited in the list of Lasicius *Bentis* (emended as <*Bendis*>, cf. Lith. *beñdras* 'common', *bañdžius* 'comrade', etc., deriving from an IE stem **bhendh-* 'to bind' also encountered in Alb. *besɛ* (< **b(h)end(h)-i̯ā*); a similar semantic development is encountered in Latin *religiō* ~ *ligō* 'to bind'.[310]

3.3.1.5. Toponymics. One might also note cases of parallelism such as: *a*) north/south parallelisms (or Balto-Illyrian in the terms of the pan-Illyricist Krahe) and more specifically *b*) Balto-Thracian parallelisms, represented by a group of about a hundred lemmas, among which several dozen seem reliable and show correspondences in the common nouns. Compare the following examples for the two types:

   a) Thracian *Iuras*, the name of the river (Pliny), is found in *Jura* (a tributary of the Narew) and in the names of rivers, Lith. *Jū́ra*, *Jū́rė*,

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[308] The connection with Kashubian *donota* *'milk' seems unlikely to me, cf. Kregždys (2012a).
[309] Georgiev (1975, p. 10, 19, 46); Ivanov, Toporov (1974); Toporov (1984, p. 18-21; 1987, p. 288-293). For a diverse opinion see Hamp (1995a).
[310] Mastrelli (1997).

Jū́rupis and also OPr. *jurin* 'sea', Lith. *jū́ra*, *jū́ros* id. and Latv. *jūra*, *jūres* (Schmid 1993a, p. 11); one can observe the productivity of the hydronymic endings connected with the name of 'beaver' from the root **bhebhru–* as well as from **ner–/*nor–* (Mikhailov 1992) in the Balkan area (cf. Thracian Βεβρύκες, Bulg. Беброво, Бебрен and Thracian Ναράκιον στόμα, Νάρεκος, Illyrian Νάρων, *Nerate*) with the Baltic area (cf. OPr. *Bebirlauken*, *Bewer*, *Bybir*, etc.; Lith. *Bẽbrė*, *Bebrìnė*, etc.; Latv. *Bebrupe*, *Bebresezers*).

b) Thracian *Batkúnion*, Lith. *Batkū́nai*; Thracian *Calsus*, Latv. *Kalsi*, *Kals-strauts*; Thracian *Kýpsela*, Lith. *Kupšė̃liai*, cf. Lith. *kupšė̃lis* 'a small pile'; Thracian *Rumbo-dona*, OPr. *Rumbow*, cf. Latv. *rumba* 'flow, cascade' (Weber 1989 sees an Iranian reflex); Thracian *Strambai*, Latv. *Struõbas*, cf. OPr. *strambo* 'stubble', Latv. *strobs* 'stem' (Duridanov 1985, p. 142-143), etc. Many other toponymic parallels are hypothesized in Otkupščikov (1988, 1998), and Hirša (1989).

3.3.2. Balto-Albanian relations

Proponents of the Illyrian hypothesis have uncovered a large number of onomastic correspondences between Baltic and Illyrian (Jokl 1926, p. 45; 1929; Krahe 1954, p. 104). Toporov (1987) has underlined the conservative quality of such relations, while Schmid (1993a) points out how common innovations are. In any case there is substantial agreement among scholars regarding the importance of such isoglosses. Desnickaja (1983, 1984) was the first to attempt to systematize specific Balto-Albanian lexical and derivational correspondences and also to turn attention to three grammatical phenomena of interest as possible traces of a parallel development in the Baltic and Albanian areas:

a) in the structure of the word one notes a particularly high productivity of the suffix **-i-ma–* (< **-i-mo–*) in the derivation of *nomina actionis* (indicating action) both in Albanian (e.g. *vrapím* 'running' < **vrapima-s* compared with *vrapoj* 'I run') and in Baltic (e.g. Lith. *bėgìmas* id. compared with *bė́gu* id.);

b) lexicon, e.g. Proto-Albanian **ligā*, Alb. *ligɛ* 'illness', cf. Lith. *ligà*, Latv. *liga* id. and Alb. *i ligë*, *i ligshtë* 'sick, weak' and Lith. *ligùistas* 'sickly'; Proto-Alb. **malas*, Alb. *mal* 'mountain', cf. Latv. *mala* 'shore';

Proto-Alb. *landā, Alb. Gegh landɛ 'construction lumber', cf. Lith. lentà '[wooden] table'.

c) coincidence in the loss of the neuter gender.

However, several scholars (Schmid 1993a, p. 10-13; Orël 1985b;[311] Liukkonen 1989, 1993) have noticed that although root and lexical parallelisms are very often observed between Baltic and Balkan languages, the examples of exclusively Balto-Albanian parallelisms, which do not include Slavic, are not numerous (d), while the number of correspondences, especially in the verbal system, increases (e), e.g.:

d) *pel- 'gray' with amplification in -k- to the root in -e- grade ablaut is an exclusive isogloss, cf. Alb. pellg-u 'puddle' and Lith. pélkė 'swamp', pìlkas 'gray'; and perhaps as well Alb. buzɛ 'point' < *'a pointed instrument for cutting' and Lith. bùdė 'type of mushroom', 'whetstone'; Alb. lak 'snare, net', Alb. flak 'to throw, to hurl' (< *aua-laka) and Lith. lakà 'opening (of a beehive)' from lė̃kti 'to fly'.

e) formation of the preterite with lengthening of the stem vowel corresponding to the present tense in *-i̯o-, cf. Lith. keliù ~ kéliau 'I lift ~ I lifted' (*e/*ē) and Alb. sjell ~ solla 'I carry ~ I carried' (*e/*o <*ē); in the 1st pers. sing. of the preterite, cf. Lith. kepù ~ kepiaũ 'I cook ~ I cooked' and Alb. pjek ~ poqa (-a < *-au) id. one observes the same ending and the same palatalization; moreover, a participle in -mo-, well known in Baltic, can be reconstructed for Albanian as well, deriving from substantive forms, cf. Gegh shkuemɛ 'past' compared with shkoj 'to go', etc.;[312] the Alb. prefix qe-, dialectal kle-, used in the suppletive aorist from the verb to be (cf. qeshɛ, dialectal kleshɛ 'I was', close to Latv. kḷūt 'to become' (Orël 1985a, 1988).

From the point of view of the ancient European theory **[see 1.5.2.]**, Schmid (1993a) puts the spotlight on the following difference: while Baltic shows itself as an area of continuity (*Kontinuitätszentrum*), Albanian, a *satəm* language, instead presents a kind of "hard nut" because of the ancient

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[311] About 50 Balto-Albanian lexical isoglosses are also presented in Orël (2000, p. 254-256), but they are not all equally convincing.

[312] These data are discussed by Schmid (1993a, p. 8), who sees in this list the use of the same particle for the formation of the Albanian imperative -le, the "conditional" -lai and the Latvian permissive lai; the same particle is used for the expression of modality as well in Lith. te-esiē 'let it be' and in Albanian të jetë id. But according to Stang (*VGBS*, p. 443), Latv. lai, Samogitian laĩ is an exhortatory particle derived from the imperative of laist 'to leave' (cf. Lith. léisti 'to permit').

(*centum*) hydronyms considered to be Illyrian; therefore, the incidental hydronymic correspondences between the two groups should not be considered as Balto-Albanian isoglosses. But if one considers that the morphological correspondences (especially parallelism in the formation of the preterite) can be accepted as common western innovations, then Baltic and Albanian show a gradual separation from the remaining eastern area and give witness to particular contacts which took place in the north-south direction.

3.3.3. Baltic and Greek

A brief survey of linguistic contacts with Greek as compared so far follows. The isoglosses which connect the two linguistic groups have been observed and studied from the beginning in historic-comparative studies. They are enumerated in the Lithuanian etymological dictionary of Fraenkel, but many are not exclusive, but rather characteristic of the Balto-Slavo-Greco-Indo-Iranian area; other isoglosses turn out, upon deeper analysis, to be inadequate, as in the case of the comparison between Lith. *nėrõvė* 'nymph (Seejungfrau)' and OGr. Νερεύς (Ademollo Gagliano 1981).

Among the exclusive isoglosses there are for the most part archaic data (e.g. Lith. *piemuõ* 'shepherd', cf. OGr. ποιμήν id.; Lith. *aistrà* 'passion', cf. OGr. οἶστρος id., etc.), but not solely (Kazanskienė 1980). Rozwadowski (1908) wanted to see a correspondence between OGr. σκυτάλη and Lith. *skutùlė* (of course, if it is not a loan, cf. German *Schuttel* 'bowl').

On the contrary, the common innovations look rather dubious, which can, apparently, be explained as a result of parallel development. In other works the attention of researchers has been transferred to Lithuanian dialects, e.g. Lith. dialect *mója* 'mother' and OGr. μαῖα id. (Karaliūnas 1995b), and to Mycenean OGr, e.g. Lith. *mìlas* 'rough cloth', Latv. *mils* 'wool clothing', OPr. *milan* 'rough cloth' on the one hand, and Mycenean OGr. *mi-ja-ro* [mialón] (Witczak 1994) on the other. Finally, it should be remembered that in the particular hydronymic perspective of the *Alt-Europa Theorie* [see 1.5.2.] there are interesting correspondences between Greek and Baltic names (Schmid 1983b).

3.4. THE REMOTE CONTEXT

I will attempt in this section to present information concerning the linguistic relations connecting the Baltic group with geographically less close lan-

guage areas, foremost with Celtic and the Iberian and Italian peninsulas. I will also provide several references, mainly bibliographical, for a deeper analysis of the relations with linguistic groups of the IE area, unexamined until now (Armenian, Anatolian, Tokharian, Indo-Aryan).

3.4.1. Baltic and Celtic

The connections between the Baltic and Celtic languages have already been mentioned [see 1.3.3.6.]. A comparison between OPr. forms and words from Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary* (London, 1825) had been proposed by Pierson (1874) who imagined a mixture of Germans, Lithuanians and Celts *in dem Volke der Aestier* (i.e. in the population of the Aestian).

The studies on this topic are not numerous, but worthy of note. According to Vendryes (1937, p. 355-356) the few forms common to Celtic and Balto-Slavic can be explained as borrowings. Dillon (1947) and subsequently Porzig (1954, p. 135-137) do not identify any isoglosses exclusive to the two linguistic families; other scholars come to similar conclusions, having examined lexical comparisons among Celtic, Baltic and other linguistic groups.[313] This is a list of the most frequently quoted Balto-Celtic lexical isoglosses:

i) Welsh *croth* 'stomach, vulva' ~ Lith. *krūtìs* 'breast', Latv. *krùts* and *krūte* 'breast; hill' and other words (with correspondences in northern Italy, cf. Meid 1983);

ii) OIr. *do-eismet* 'they fill' ~ Lith. *semiù* 'I scoop up, ladle, draw (water), get (knowledge)' (but not exclusive, cf. Latin *sentīna* 'bilge [of a ship]');

iii) MIr. *mala* 'eyelash', MBret. *mal-venn* 'eyelid' ~ Latv. *mala* 'shore, edge' (but the semantic agreement is doubtful);

iv) OIr. *richis* (gen. sing. *richessa*) (< *pr̥k-es-) 'hot coal' ~ Lith. *pirkšnìs* 'ember';

v) OCorn. *moroin* 'puella', Cimr. *morwyn*, OBret. *moroin* (< *morignā* according to Campanile 1974, p. 81) and also Welsh *merch*, Breton *merc'h*, MCorn *myrgh*, *mergh* 'daughter' ~ OPr. *mergo* 'girl', Lith. *mergà*, Latv. *mērga* id. (cf. also OInd. *marya-* 'young man', OGr. μεῖραξ id.);

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[313]   O'Brien (1956); Meid (1983); Schmidt (1985).

vi) OPr. [EV 431 *Keynhêngeſt*] *Sweriapis* 'jousting stallion' ~ 'young stallion', cf. OIr. *serrach*, Ir. *searrach* 'young horse' (< Celtic **swerihapos*, according to Stalmaszczyk, Witczak 2001).

In general one can say, however, that none of these examples is confirmed by the evidence: some have correspondences in other IE languages, while others are perplexing on the semantic level; only the last two appear less weak.

Another area of research where certain other comparisons between Celtic and Baltic can be traced is onomastics. Thus Bertoldi (1930) already noticed a semantic parallel between Gaulish *belsa* (< **belisa*) 'field', **belo* 'white' on the one hand, and Lith. *laũkas* meaning both 'field' and 'an animal with a white spot on its forehead' on the other. On the basis of this Bertoldi tries to build a fragile bridge to the name of the god *Belenos* (otherwise connected with the plant name *belenion* and *belinuntia* 'henbane'). Along the same line of inquiry is Hamp's (1986) article where he tries to connect the Welsh name *Culhwch* and Lith. *kiaũlė* 'pig', and the contribution by Kalyguine (1997), who proposes a connection between the name of the Irish god *Balore* and Lith. *Giltinė* [see 4.3.1.3.].

A list of Balto-Celtic correspondences (rather ignored) which still awaits verification was supplied by Schmittlein (1948, p. 114). Schmidt (1985) must also be added, whose contribution analyzes the connections with the Slavic languages, having found five Balto-Celtic isoglosses (precisely the first five mentioned above) with a claim to be exclusive; in another article Schmid (1988a) investigates the correspondences in place and river-names.

It should be emphasized that research relating to Balto-Celtic connections is important since it could produce interesting conclusions which weaken or strengthen the hypothesis of the existence of a so-called Balto-Slavic unity in the prehistoric epoch.

3.4.2. Baltic-(Latin-)Italic connections

The height of interest in connections between the Baltic and Italic languages, especially Latin, came about in the epoch of so-called Renaissance paleocomparativism, that is, long before the appearance of the comparative method in linguistics; this took place against the background of a broader cultural movement in Lithuania [see 7.3.3.]. One must immediately observe that from the time of the Renaissance this direction in scholarship lost its

importance to a large degree, since the particular linguistic connections of the Baltic and Italic groups ceased to attract attention. They are passed over in silence by Fraenkel (1950a) and also by Kabelka (1982) and barely mentioned by Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 108). An interesting counter–tendency approach is, however, represented by Euler (1997), who considers that within the western IE languages, Italic (Latin) and Baltic (partly with Celtic) show a complex relationship to Germanic (perfect with long vowel in the root, verbal stems ending in *–i*, *–ē*, *–ā*).

It is worth concentrating attention not only on the ancient linguistic correspondences or areal contacts, but also on relations in the cultural–historical, mythological plane.

3.4.2.1. Linguistic correspondences. With the exception of one study by Safarewicz (1977, p. 382-383), which draws attention to the similarity between Lithuanian and Latin in the syncretism of the ancient aorist and perfect, the lexicon has been the principal area of study. Safarewicz (1976b) first, and later Ademollo Gagliano (1978) analyzes Balto–(Slavic-)Latin lexical correspondences with the aim of establishing whether these correspondences are the result of polygenesis or a chance coincidence. The results achieved show that there are few isolated correspondences found in the Latin and Baltic spheres only (e.g. Lith. *vóžti* 'to cover', *žìrklės* 'scissors' and Latin *vagīna* 'scabbard', *furcula* 'the forked prop'), while there are many more derivations from widely disseminated roots. This is simply to repeat the conclusions of Porzig (1954), who considers it impossible to establish ancient relations connecting these two languages in the European area.

There are, however, some interesting parallels about the manner in which inherited elements are used in the two language groups, and other comparisons which have not been observed in the aforementioned work. Thus to the isoglosses one should also add Lith. *tráukti* 'to pull' and Latin *trahere* (Schmalstieg 1963); Lith. *veřsti* and Latin *vertere* (Trost 1975;[314] on the specific meaning 'to translate' developed in the two language–groups cf. Dini 2010d).

3.4.2.2. Onomastic and semantic-mythological parallels. In the onomastic sector one finds a definite semantic congruence between the elements formed

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[314] An addition to this contribution is Schröpfer (1977) who even wants to suggest a parallel for the special meaning of Lith. *kiaušinį veřsti* 'to sit on eggs' in Japaneese: *kaeru* 'to hatch, to be hatched' and the connected *kaešu* 'to send or give back; overturn; hatch'.

from the roots *ner-/*nor- and *vel-/*vol- in the Umbrian and Lithuanian area, cf. the hydronyms *Nār* and *Vēlinus*, and toponyms *Narni* and *Velletri*, the mountain names *Nuria*, *Velino* which occur in the Umbrian region with hydronyms of the Baltic region (e.g. OPr. *Narussa*; Lith. *Nerìnis* lake, *Narasà*, *Veliuonà*, *Nerìs/Vìlija*; Latv. *Naruža*, *Vellezers*, *Velupīte*, etc.; they also have parallels even in the Moscow region (Вилейка, Велеса, etc.), in northern Poland (*Narew*, *Wełnica*, etc.) and in the Pripjat' basin (Наровля, Нериса, Вилейка, Веленка, etc.).[315] One notices that in the IE sphere many variants of the root *ner-/*nor- appear in forms which primarily designate masculine strength (OGr. ἀνήρ 'man', OInd. n̥̄-, Umbrian *nerf*, *nerus*, Celtic *narto* 'strength', Lith. *nóras* 'will', *narsùs* 'brave', Russ. нрав 'manner', while the variants of the root *vel-/*vol- indicate will, wishing, power (Latin *volo* 'I wish'), Latv. *vēlēt* 'to wish', Russ. воля 'wish', власть 'power'. Both of these roots go back to the IE binary ideologem which combines certain semantic characteristics (the opposition death/resurrection) associated with the so-called principal myth (Toporov 1977c). Many interesting correspondences between Latin and Baltic appellatives are also found in the particular hydronyms of the ancient European theory (Schmid 1985 [see 1.5.2.]).

Certain relations which connect Baltic and Latin–Italic areas can be established not only on the plane of language, but also on the comparative plane of mythological elements and/or textual fragments which could assist in the reconstruction of IE mythology and the so-called fundamental myth (with its typical oppositions: life/death, high/low, right/left, etc.). Thus, one of the usual comparisons, with which many scholars agree, connects the name of the Baltic god represented by OPr. *Percunis*, Lith. *Perkúnas*, Latv. *Pērkons*, the name of the Baltic god of lightning [see 4.3.1.4.], and Latin *quercus* 'oak' (< *perk-, like Latin *quinque* 'five' beside Lith. *penkì* id., a tree sacred to Jove (cf. Lith. *Perkūno ąžuolas* 'the oak of Perkūnas's and Latin *Iovis quercus* 'Jupiter's oak'; moreover, the Lithuanian dialectal form *Perkūndiena* 'Thursday (the day of Perkūnas)' and Latin *Iovis dies* 'Thursday, Jupiter's day');[316] however, it should be remembered that another etymological proposal relates the name of the Baltic god more with the family of words connected with Lith. *per̃ti* 'to beat, to strike'.[317]

A further attempt to indicate the fruitfulness of Baltic–Italic correspondences concerning theonyms is Blažek (2001). He investigates five parallels with their many variants (e.g. OPr. *Markopole* 'earth-god', Lith. *Zelus*

[315] Cf. Vanagas (1981a, p. 223-224, 370-371, 382-384); Toporov, Trubačëv (1962, p. 179-180 and 197-198).
[316] Cf. Toporov (1974b).
[317] A new etymology (a compound of *per- 'to strike' and *kun- 'stone') is discussed in Blažek (2011).

'growing of grass-god', *Numejas* 'house-god', Lith. *bùrtininkai* 'priests fore-telling future', Latv. *Dēkla* 'one of the three Fates') and considers that Italic and Baltic mythological traditions have both conserved archaic features.[318]

3.4.3. Balto-Iberian connections?

I can point out at least two chronologically distinct moments of probable contact between the language areas of the Baltics and the Iberian penin-sula: one is prehistoric and is difficult to define more precisely than being prior to the 8th century B.C., and the other is from the historical period in the time span beginning with the epoch of the great migration of peoples after the Goths (3rd-4th centuries A.D.), and closely connected with the fate of the Baltic tribe of the Galindians [see 5.4.].

3.4.3.1. The Sorotaptic hypothesis. Many scholars (e.g. Menéndez Pidal 1939, 1952, Pokorny 1936, Schmoll 1959 and others) have turned their attention to linguistic traces which, in a very ancient period, in any case pre-Roman, and preceding the 8th century B.C., were left in epigraphs, toponyms and various words of the languages of the Iberian peninsula by an imprecisely defined ethnic wave. It is usually thought that this people (or peoples) of invaders came from central Europe and reached the Iberian peninsula by way of Catalonia and lower Aragón; archaeological excavations in this pre-cise area provide the most convincing evidence of this. Moreover, it is sup-posed that these peoples brought with them a variety of IE more archaic than the Celtic dialects known up until now. There is still no agreement re-garding its identification: it is considered to be either Ligurian, Ambronian, Illyrian or Venetian, or simply Proto-Celtic. According to Joan Coromines [1905-1997], it is highly probable that various IE tribes took part in the formation of such a language (or languages), and therefore it would be bet-ter to reject the clumsy diversity used for its designation, since each name reflects the source of only one tribe and/or language. Thus, in many of his works the Catalonian scholar often resorts to the terms *Sorotapts* or *sorotap-tic* and kindred names to designate the concrete linguistic aspect character-istic of the prehistoric Iberian region. This neologism, formed from OGr. σορός 'funeral urn' and θάφειν 'to inter', is proposed 'as a designation of the ancient IE dialect characteristic of the *Urnenfelder* 'inhabitants of the

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[318]   For a possible connection between the nymph Egeria and Lith. *ẽžeras*, Latv. *ezers* [see 4.3.1.4].

urn fields', invaders of Spain. I call them *sorotaptos* [Sorotapts], and their urn fields or cemeteries, which are characteristic of the people, *sorotafios*.'[319]

However, even though one has a neologism, which has the obvious advantage of brevity and is acceptable and useful for linguists of various persuasions, still our knowledge of the so-called Sorotapts and of the grammar of the sorotaptic language has been minimally increased. As Coromines (1961, p. 348 [= 1972, p. 241]) himself adds, this language remains completely unknown:

> *ya es sabido que la procedencia dialectal y la identificación de la lengua sorotáptica se ha considerado hasta ahora como la más oscura de las cuestiones relativas a la Hispania Indoeuropea y sobre la cual discrepan más las opiniones de los especialistas*

> [as is already known, the dialectal origin and identification of the Sorotaptic language have until recently been one of the most obscure questions relating to IE Spain, and the opinions of scholars differ significantly].

According to Coromines (1976-1977 II, p. 149-150):

> *mots residuals d'aquest origien afloren escampats en un territori molt vast, que s'estén des de l'Atlàntic fins al Bàltic i àdhuc el Caspi...*
>
> *és palesa l'existéncia de sòlides anels sobretot en bàltic — llengua amb la qual tantes semblances notables revela el lèxic sorotàptic, a cada pas...*

> [surviving words of this origin are found over broad territories stretching from the Atlantic to the Baltic and Caspian seas...

> the existence of a series of serious connections is obvious, above all with Baltic, a language with which the sorotapic lexicon shows a notable similarity at every step...][320]

3.4.3.1. An Iberian horizon for the Galindians? Toporov advances the hypothesis that the Baltic tribe of the Galindians might have participated in the great migration of peoples after the Gothic tribes, since traces of their passage – especially of their name – are found in many European areas, from the Moscow region to as far as the Atlantic coast. One branch of the Galindians

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[319] Coromines (1957 IV, p. 1081b). On this point also see Coromines (1961, p. 348, n. 1; 1985 III, p. 416 etc.).

[320] The study of the "sorotaptic" lexical rests in the Catalonian language, with such frequent Baltic connections, has been carried out in some contributions by Dini (2000d, 2007cd, 2009).

tied their fate to the Visigoths and separated from the other current of migrators which made for the south–south–east (its main direction through Europe was south–west and then north–west): precisely this hypothesis, which explains how the Galindians came into western Europe, including the Iberian peninsula, after the Goths, was again formulated by Toporov (1977b, 1980a, 1983b);[321] earlier it was proposed by such scholars as Sachs (1932, p. 56): "Galinder den Goten auf ihren Wanderung folgten" [i.e. The Galindians followed the Goths in their migrations].[322] This hypothesis is indirectly shared by Mastrelli (1964), who considers that the name of the Visigoths itself contains elements of Balto–Slavic origin.

Indeed, one can find onomastic traces of a Galindian presence in the Castilian as well as the Catalan and Portuguese areas. Here are some examples: among the warriors of *Cid campeador* is recorded a certain *Galín*(*d*) *Garçíaz el bueno de Aragón*; in the capitulary preserved in the abbey of Saint Sernin di Tolosa the name of the type *Galindus*, *Galin* appears a full sixteen times in the period between 844 and 1200 and is still alive in anthroponyms of the Iberian language area (e.g. Spanish *Galindo*, Catalonian *Galí*), including patronymic formations (Castilian *Galínd-ez*); there are more toponymic data with elements of *Galind-* in Portuguese (e.g. *Gainde*, *Gaindo*, *v*[*illa*] *Gaindanes*), in Castilian (e.g. *Castel de Galindo*, *Tor de Galindo*), in Catalonian (e.g. *Castelgalí*, *St. Joan de Galí*, *Font Galí*, and also *Punta Galinda* on the western shore of Mallorca), as far as the Basque lands (e.g. *Garindain*) and in southern France.[323] However, if one looks at a

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[321] Toporov (1985a, 1986b) is particularly interesting in this context, even unique. On the basis of the Baltic material he has attempted to explain several fragments of the inscription of Botorrita, generally considered to be Celto-Iberian (regarding this inscription, cf. De Hoz, Michelena (1974); Eska (1989); Meid (1993); for other connections with the Baltic languages, cf. Orël (1995)) using both noun morphology (e.g. loc. *ToCoi-Teiieni* with *-eni* seen as a postpositive particle added to the form of the dat., cf. Lith. loc. *miškè* 'in the forest' < *miškeį-ḗn < *mišk-oi-/-ei- + postposition *-ḗn, or the preposition *en* 'in') [see 2.2.1.5. and 7.4.2.4.], and verb morphology (e.g. such forms in *-Tus*, as in *Pisetus*, *Tatus* etc., which are considered probably optatives or conditionals, cf. Eastern Baltic in *-tu(n)-*) [see 2.2.2. and 7.4.3.3.2.], some lexical correspondences look more like conjectures.

[322] The investigations carried out by Statkute de Rosales are very doubtful (e.g. 1985, 2004, 2011); they present a lot of material, but the author uses both philological and linguistic data too frivolously, cf. the criticism expressed in Butkus, Lanza (2012).

[323] Toporov's novel hypothesis contradicts traditional explanations according to which names with the element *Galind-* are of Germanic origin; but there are weak spots in this explanation, obvious from the following quotations. Förstemann (1900, p. 591): "der personenname wäre dann eine erinnerung an die baltische heimat der Goten" [i.e. the personal name would be then a reminder of the Baltic homeland of the Goths]; Moll (1982, p. 104): "*Galí. De Galindus*, que coincideix amb el nom d'un poble bàltica" [i.e. Galí. From Galindus which coincides with the name of a Baltic people]. But there are those who still consider that "Se ha abandonado la versión de la procedencia de *Galinden*, topónimo de Alemania oriental, por la coincidencia fonética" [i.e. The argument for the origin of the Galindians, through a phonetic correspondence with an Eastern German toponym, has been abandoned], cf. Tibón (1988, p. 101); also cf. Kremer (1969-1970, p. 120). A more thorough analysis and systematization of this problem by Germanists would be useful.

geographical map of the Iberian peninsula the largest number of toponyms in question are in the northwest, that is in Galicia, where, according to Toporov's hypothesis, they remained for a long time. Perhaps, one should search for possible surviving language traces in the Galician dialects; this study remains to be done. But other scholars reacted skeptically to Toporov's hypothesis as a whole, and they limited themselves to onomastic correspondences[324] and drew different conclusions from this data [see 5.4.2.].

3.4.4. Further IE connections

I offer a survey of the results from studies devoted to the connections between Baltic and certain other IE groups such as Armenian, Anatolian, Tokharian and Indo-Iranian.

3.4.4.1. Baltic and Armenian. All of the proposed Balto-Armenian correspondences, lexical and otherwise, have a very general character (e.g. Arm. *k'un* 'sleep, dream', Lith. *sãpnas*, Latv. *sapnis*, OCS **sъnъ*, OGr. ὕπνος, OInd. *svápna-*, Latin *somnus*),[325] but the conclusions derived from this leave much to be desired. There are a few works about specific Balto-(Slavo-)Armenian isoglosses (e.g. Arm. *beran* 'mouth', Lith. *burnà*, id., Bulg. бърна 'lip'; Arm. *ǰur* 'water', Lith. *jū́ra* 'sea'[326] etc.) which attempt to examine this question differently from the traditional position.

Saradževa (1987, 1992) analyzes a particular lexico-semantic group, parts of the body and their functions, in the framework of which she noted three exclusively Balto-Armenian isoglosses which do not include Slavic (e.g. Arm. *anut'* 'arm-pit' and Lith. *ùž-antis* 'breast'; Arm. *lezu* 'tongue' and Lith. *liežùvis* id.; Arm. *t'anjr* 'big; fat' and Lith. *tankùs* 'dense, thick'); on the strength of these and other correspondences Saradževa rejected not only Balto-Slavic unity, but also theories of the origin of Slavic from peripheral Baltic and posited the existence of direct (that is, not by means of Slavic) contacts between Proto-Armenians and Proto-Balts. These conclusions appear rather weakly proven since the analyzed lexicon, although significant, is very limited, and those isoglosses which are offered as exclusive are often dubious.[327]

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[324] Cf. Piel, Kremer (1976, p. 143) who essentially supports the thesis of Förstemann (1900).

[325] The young Meillet also noticed these same correspondences as was shown in Bolognesi (1988); see also Greppin (1976); Winter (1980); Ĵahukyan (1987, p. 97-204). Schmalstieg (1984) proposed syntactic comparisons (passive participles).

[326] Cf. Schmitt (1981, p. 70).

[327] Thus, if Arm. *lezu* 'tongue' is to be connected with *lizem* 'I lick', as is probably the case, then there are also parallels in other languages (OGr., Latin, OInd.).

One can also consider the correspondence between Arm. *erg* 'song; poem' (regarded as an inheritance from the IE poetic language), *erkin* 'sky', and among others Lith. *Perkū́nas* etc. (Saradževa 1986, 1997) by the same. It is not surprising that the same researcher subsequently wrote that 'the problem of Armeno-Baltic relationship is impossible to base simply on language contacts between Armenians and the Balts' (Saradževa 1992, p. 205), but rather it must be placed in a much wider areal context (cf. *EDAL*).

Also interesting, however even more dubious, are the comparisons between Baltic, Greek and Armenian (e.g. OPr. *pettis* 'shoulder blade', OGr. πετάννυμι 'I spread out', Arm. *t'i* 'oar') and only between Baltic and Armenian (e.g. Lith. *pečiaĩ* 'shoulders', Arm. *t'ikunk'* < **t'ekunk'* 'back'; OPr. *caperne* 'burial place', Arm. *kap'arumk'* 'tomb' proposed by Arutjunjan (1988), but in this instance it is rather rash to offer these items as exclusive.[328]

Saradževa (1993) also studies the morphological connections between Baltic and Armenian which appear primarily in the nom. case of personal pronouns of the 1st pers. (cf. nom. sing. Arm. *es* 'I', OPr. *es*, OLith. *eš*, Latv. *es* id., compared with Slavic **azъ* id.;[329] nom. plur. Arm. *mek'* 'we', Baltic **mes* id., compared with Slavic **мы* id.) and 2nd pers. (cf. nom. plur. Arm. *duk'* 'you' < **juk'*, Lith. *jū̃s*, compared with Slavic **vy* id.).[330] On the whole, closer connections are encountered in the pronominal inflections, more distant in the noun and medium in the verb.[331]

3.4.4.2. Baltic and Anatolian.

These two linguistic groups occupy two critical positions in the IE sphere from the point of view of their attestation: almost three thousand years separate the most recent of them (Lithuanian and Latvian) from the most ancient (Hittite); the temporal hiatus is rendered less important by the difference of speed of changes in the two groups – relatively slow in the first group and faster in the second.

The study of specific Balto-Anatolian linguistic relations has been viewed in a negative light since Gabrys (1944) used inadequate Hittite material for his often fantastic comparisons with Lithuanian and created from this comparison even more fantastic conclusions; since then the ques-

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[328] Cf. *PrJ* III, p. 214; for a different interpretation, cf. *PKEŽ* II.

[329] A different explication, based only on Arm. facts, is offered by both Schmitt (1981, p. 116, footnote A) and Lamberterie (1992, p. 268).

[330] The same comparison, but in an IE context (cf. Goth. *jūs*, Avestan *yūš*), is also cited in, e.g. Schmitt (1981, p. 117).

[331] Hamp (1982) is a comparative study of the system of personal pronouns of Baltic and Armenian.

tion has been rather neglected.[332] According to the traditional view there exist no specific Balto–Anatolian isoglosses which would connect these two groups only, and even those common innovations discovered by scholars are always encountered in a larger number of language groups.[333]

In an attempt to establish certain Balto-(Slavo-)Hittite correspondences in the formation of certain adjectives in -*u*- and in certain lexico-semantic developments (true, not always convincing, cf. Hamp 1994a) Puhvel (1982, p. 185) evaluates the whole problem anew:

> Lithuanian has acquired a reputation as a repository of archaic curiosities which find their matches most often in Old Indic […] As Anatolian philology matures we are seeing that Baltic-Anatolian common archaisms are not less significant.

In the framework of this research there are some lexical correspondences in individual articles: Schmalstieg (1981a) on Lith. *dúoti* 'to give' and hieroglyphic Hitt. *tuwa*; Hilmarsson (1984) on Lith. *brãzdas/brazdà* 'juice [between the trunk and bark of a tree]', *brìzdis/birzdis* 'plant name' and Hitt. *pár-aš-du-uš* with similar meaning; Petit (2004d) discusses the correspondence between Hitt. *ark*- 'lacerate' and Lith. dial. *aršýti*, *aržýti*, *uržýti* id.; Karaliūnas (2006) tentatively compares the Baltic name of elephant (Lith. *žiluonis* and *šlapis*, Latv. *zilonis*) with that of Hitt. *lahpa*-.[334]

Beyond that Ivanov investigates many possible linguistic and semantic parallels between Baltic and Anatolian, e.g. Hitt. *ḫappina*- 'fireside (in the hearth)' and OPr. [EV 331 *Backhofen*] *wumpnis* 'oven' (Ivanov 1980, p. 77-80); Luvian *zammantiš* 'newborn baby' and OPr. Ench. *gemmons* 'born [geboren]' (Ivanov 1998), Luvian *išarw(a)i*- 'right, favorable' and OPr. Ench. *isarwis* 'true, real [treu]' (Ivanov 2000), and several other parallels (Ivanov 2002) including hydronyms (Ivanov 1999).

3.4.4.3. Baltic and Tokharian. If one does not consider the quantity of stems in *-ē* [see 2.2.1.5.3.], which are not, however, exclusive to these languages,[335] one observes only a few parallel phonetic developments of a rather general

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[332] E.g. Porzig (1954) says nothing about this; Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 106) only mentions it. A specific comparison between Baltic and Anatolian (Hittite) in the framework of the concept of "archaic ~ conservative" was undertaken by Erhart (1995).

[333] Furlan (2008) considers that only Anatolian relations of the type *keššar ~ kiššeran* 'hand' and Balto-Slavic of the type *akmuõ/ãkmenį ~ kamy/kamenь* 'stone' preserve an innovation within the IE accent paradigm.

[334] The possible correspondence between Lith. *gudrùs* 'shrewd' and Hitt. *kutruwa* 'witness' is rejected in Mažiulis (1959).

[335] Cf. Fraenkel (1932); Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 107); Thomas (1985, p. 136-140).

character, e.g. the palatalization of the consonants before following front vowels, cf. Lith. acc. sing. *ménesį* 'month', Tokh. B nom. sing. *meñe* 'moon, month', and perhaps a few other examples.[336] Certain morphological or lexical isoglosses almost always include at least Slavic as well, if not a broader dialectal area.

As for morphology, here one can compare the Tokharian infinitive ending *-tsi* with Baltic and Slavic *-ti* (< *-tei); moreover, it is considered that the element *-ā* in the preterite is common to Lith. *bùvo* 'was' and Tokh. B *tāka/takāne* id.; also the Lith. ending 1st pers. *-u* is compared with the *-u/-au* of Tokharian, e.g. Tokh. A *yoku* 'I drink', B *nesau* 'I am' (Schmalstieg 1974b, 1975), but it derives from *-ō, as in other IE languages. More dubious is the typically cited comparison (Zinkevičius *LKI* I, p. 107) of the Lith. diminutive-affectionate suffix *-elis/-elė* and Tokh. *-äly-, specifically in Tokh. A *-l*, Tokh. B *-lye/lle*, which are used in the formation of gerunds (verbal adjectives), indicating the necessity or possibility of an action's taking place. In word formation, a similarity has been observed in certain nominal suffixes, e.g. Lith. *-unė*, Slavic *-ьnja* and Tokh. A *-une/-one*, Tokh. B *-(a.ñ)ne*. Ivanov (2010) suggests a connection between the Tokh. B distributive numerals with the suffix *-ār* with semantically similar Balto-Slavic suffixes *-er and *-or (perhaps deriving from original collective numeral forms agreeing with collective nouns in *-ōr).

The following lexical correspondences are traditionally considered to be exclusive:[337] Tokh. B *akartte* 'nearby', and Lith. *grẽtas* 'neighboring' (< *gr̥to-, IE *ger- 'to unite'); Tokh. B *lesto* 'nest; bed', and OPr. *lasto* 'bed' (< *los-tā)[338].

Moreover, there have been attempts to establish common isoglosses within limited lexico-semantic groups, e.g., among the names of animals (Chomičenkienė 1990) or designations relating to domestic life (Chomičenkienė 1993), but the proposed phonological-morphological correspondences do not always rely on adequate internal reconstruction (Urbutis 1995, p. 178-179). On the other hand, a semasiological correspondence seems sustainable between the term for 'head' and that for 'end'

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[336] Schmalstieg (1974b) enumerates among them the IE development *ā > o in the absolute final, common to Lithuanian and Tokharian B. Bonfante (1979) proposes that the development *e > ie (>ia) is also common to the three groups (Baltic-Slavic-Tokharian), although the IE change *e > Tokh. *ä is considered normal.

[337] Of course not all correspondences listed by van Windekens (1976, p. 616), can be defined as such; cf. Ivanov (1988).

[338] On these forms, cf. Schmid (1958); van Windekens (1971, 1982); Ivanov (1988), who introduces the comparison with Lithuanian [see 4.3.1.]; finally Hamp (1994b).

both in Baltic: OPr. *galwo* ~ *gallū*, Lith. *galvà*, Latv. *galva* 'head' compared with OPr. *gallan* 'death', Lith. *gãlas*, Latv. *gals* 'end', and in Tokharian: Tokh. B *āśce* 'head' compared with Tokh. A *āk*, Tokh. B *āke* 'end' < IE **ak* 'sharp, pointed' (Karaliūnas 1970). Blažek (2013) also wants to see a correspondence between the adverb Tokh. B *twār* 'for this reason, consequently' and the root of OCS *tvorъ* 'act, deed', Lith. *tvérti* 'to create, produce' and cognates.

Some other Tokharian-Baltic-Slavic correspondences have been observed, e.g. between Tokh. A *talke*, B *telki* 'sacrifice, banquet' and Lith. *talkà*, Latv. *talka*, Blruss. толока, Pol. *tłoka* 'common work, banquet' (< IE **tolk-*), but this indicates that certain Baltic terms lost their sacral content (Van Windekens 1971; Chomičenkienė 1992). Another case is between Tokh. B *proks-a* 'grain' and OPr. *prassan* 'millet [Hirse]', Slavic **proso* id. (Ivanov 2004, p. 97; Loma 2011).

3.4.4.4. Baltic and Indo-Iranian. The isoglosses which connect these two groups are numerous and well studied (cf. Arntz (1933).[339] But there are always references to the preservation of IE archaisms and not to common innovations; among the latter one should probably mention the development of IE **s* after *i, u, r, k* [see 2.1.2.3.], which also occurs in Slavic (Schmalsteig 1974) and consequently has only a relative significance for definitive conclusions. The same can be said about some established morphological isoglosses (e.g. loc. plur. *-su*; dual forms; some pronominal forms etc.), if one does not consider this the result of parallel development.

There is an analogous situation in lexicon and a majority of the isoglosses are common to Baltic, Slavic and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Lith. *dẽšinas* 'right', OInd. *dakṣiṇa-*, Avestan *dašina-*, OCS *desnъ* id.; OPr. [EV 460 *Swarcz*] *Kirſnan* 'black', OInd. *kṛṣṇá-*, OCS *črъnъ* id.). The following specific isoglosses are generally pointed out: Lith. *šékas* 'newly mown grass' and OInd. *śāka-* id.; Lith. *šãpalas* 'chub' and OInd. *śáphara-* 'cyprinus saphore, mullet'[340] (but this last isogloss is doubtful in that one might be dealing with an Indo-Mediterranean substratum word, cf. Pisani 1970 [see 1.2.1.]).[341]

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[339] After that we lack an updated discussion on the various theories about the IE origin linked with Balto-Indian relationships.

[340] Thus, Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 112-114).

[341] For more information I refer also to the work of Chatterji (1968), useful for its comparison of two cultures – Balts and Indo-Iranians, but weak for its scientific argumentation, as also noted in Zinkevičius (1969) and particularly in Kubuliņa (1991). See also Ivbulis (2013).

According to Ogibenin (1974), the following words which survived in Baltic folklore: Latv. *daiņot(ies)* 'to adorn, decorate; to dance', Lith. *déinauti* 'to entice, attract, desire, beg' and Lith. *dainúoti*, *dainà* 'to sing, song', have parallels in the vocabulary of Indo-Iranian religious rituals (Avestan *daēnā* 'prayer', OInd. *dhenā-* id., cf. Oliphant 1912). According to Blažek (2012), the Latvian deity *Ūsiņš* (also: *Ūsenis*, *Ūsinis*) 'bee-god and patron of horses' is not to be compared with the Vedic divinity *Uṣas* (Elizarenkova, Toporov 1964), but represents a functional and etymological counterpart of both the Vedic mythic personage *Auśijá-*, connected with 'honeybee', and divine twins *Aśvins*, connected with horses, respectively.

3.4.4.4.1. Baltic and Iranian. I have already given information on possible Balto-Iranian contacts [see 1.4.4.2.]. Moreover, various lexical correspondences have been observed.

Cvetko-Oresnik (1983) proposes many possible isoglosses. Weber (1989) discusses a possible Baltic-Iranian parallel between Balt. **rumb-* 'shore, coast' and Partish *rwmb* 'mouth'. Schlerath (2001) considers (rather for Slavic than for Baltic) the words for 'saint, holy', 'fame', 'God' and 'oath' as Iranian loanwords. According to Witczak (2010), the related appellatives for 'bedbug' in Lith. and Pashto clearly demonstrate an original IE archetype and should be treated as a reflex of a IE protoform. Ėdel'man (2010) discusses a parallel between OIran. **kara-/*xara-* 'mythic huge fish' and OPr. [EV 569 *Welz*] *Kalis* 'whale', and also other languages.

It is also interesting to mention here some observed correspondences between Baltic and Ossetian in particular, e.g. Lith. *balañdis* 'pigeon', and Oss. *baelon*, *baurắn* id. (Weber 1997); Lith. *niẽžas* 'itch; scabies', *niežéti* 'itch', and Oss. *nīz*, *nez* < **naiza-* 'illness' (Karaciejus 1994, p. 101); Lith. *Vėjūkas*, the God of the wind, and Oss. *wæjug/wæjyg* (Razauskas 2004). Another possible case is the name for spider proposed in Witczak (2006) and precisely between Lith. *vóras* 'spider', Latv. *vāras* id. and the second element in the Ossetic forms (Digoron) *xæla-ur*, (Iron) *xæl-waræg* 'spider (spinning the cobweb)' which contain the Ossetic name for 'thread'; this comparison, however, also involves Latin *vārus* 'knock-kneed; bent, crooked' and *vāricus* 'with legs wide apart' (and perhaps also OGr. ἀράχνη < **(F)αρ-*).

THE BALTIC SPEAKING REGION BETWEEN *BALTIA PAGANA* AND *BALTIA CHRISTIANA*

4.1. THE LINGUISTIC DISINTEGRATION OF EAST BALTIC

Among the causes proposed for the linguistic disintegration of eastern Baltic (into two groups: northern and southern) I should consider its prehistoric connections with Finnic and Slavic. The northern linguistic boundary was neither stable nor precise. As pointed out earlier [see 3.2.], it was marked by the Finns well before the appearance of the Teutonic Order in the Baltics and in a certain way involved the ancestors of the Latvians (Semigallians, Selonians, and Latgalians)[342] and the Curonians [see 5.2.].

4.1.1. From East Baltic to Lithuanian – Latvian (1st-5th/7th centuries A.D.)

The long process within East Baltic which culminated in the formation of the two modern linguistic types (Lithuanian and Latvian) began approximately in the 1st century A.D. and ended between the 5th and 7th century A.D.; before this date there was probably no significant dialectal difference between southern East Baltic (Lithuanian) and northern East Baltic (Latvian). Supported by the argument of Mažiulis (1974b), it is thought that the innovations typical for Latvian were introduced during the three centuries from the 7th to 10th centuries A.D., and were the result of factors not so much internal and structural as external and socio-political. It is entirely possible that northern East Baltic got its more clearly marked imprint compared with southern East Baltic thanks to prolonged contact with the Finnic populations and the Balto-Finnic bilingualism, begun as early as the 2nd millennium A.D. and continuing uninterrupted until today. But contact between two such different linguistic systems only produces results over

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[342] By these means specific innovations from the Finnic substratum penetrated to the margins of the Lithuanian area. They also explain certain features which borderland Lithuanian dialects still show, e.g. the role of Curonian was very important in the formation of the Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialects.

a long period; therefore, it is felt that Finnic influences on northern East Baltic were very weak and limited to border areas until the 5th-7th centuries A.D., when, as is supposed, the first tribal groups began to be delineated in the East Baltic area on an ethno-territorial basis. The changing social situation probably produced a major strengthening of the influence of the Balto-Finnic border dialects on the formation of other East Baltic dialects, and this in turn produced new differences among them, primarily among the northern and southern East Baltic dialects. It follows from this that among the northern East Baltic dialects, Proto-Latvian experienced greater Finnic influence than Proto-Lithuanian. Archaeological and prehistoric data also reveal traces of significant penetration of Latvians toward the north, into Finnic territory in the 5th-6th centuries A.D., which undoubtedly produced intense exchange and contributed to the separation of the Latvians from other East Baltic tribes (Gimbutas 1963a; Urtāns 1968, p. 66). At approximately the same time (6th-7th centuries) intense contacts took place between the settled East (southern) Baltic tribes and the eastern Slavs migrating toward the Baltic coast. Since the Slavic linguistic system was much closer to Baltic than to Finnic, such contact produced different results than in the case of Finnic. Specifically, these contacts did not contribute real innovations, but on the contrary, reinforced the archaic character which one observes in the southern East Baltic border dialects (Lithuanian). This further deepened the differences which emerged in East Baltic.

4.1.2. Divergences between Lithuanian and Latvian

As soon as the disintegration of the East Baltic linguistic community was completed, the characteristic features of Lithuanian and Latvian became evident.

4.1.2.1. Phonetics. The principal innovations in phonetics were the differences in the treatment of the velar stops *k* and *g* before front vowels (*i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*) and consonant clusters with *i̯*.

The future Latvians began to palatalize the velar consonants in these positions (**k'*, **g'*), while the Lithuanians preserved them. The limit *post quem* for this change in Latvian is the period when they penetrated into Latgalia, and the beginning of the Teutonic occupation in the Latvian territories[343] is the limit *ante quem* for the change to the affricates (*k' > c* [ts],

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[343]   Jähnig (1990); Fenske, Militzer (1993); Kreem (2008).

g' > *dz* [dz]; e.g. Latv. *cits* 'other', *dzert* 'to drink' ~ Lith. *kìtas*, *gérti* id. The numerous Germanic borrowings in Latvian after the 13th century show a velar (and not an affricate), e.g. Latv. *ķēķis* < MG *käke* 'kitchen', Latv. *ģeldēt* < MG *gelden* 'to have value, to cost'; cf. also the Russ. borrowing кисель 'kissel' > Latv. *ķīselis*.

In the second case, toponymic data confirm that in Lithuanian-Latvian the consonant clusters with *-i̯-* are differentiated in the 13th–14th centuries,[344] e.g.:

> **-ti̯-* > Lith. *č*, Latv. *š*; e.g. Lith. *svẽčias* 'guest', Latv. *svešs* 'foreign'; Latv. *vācieši* 'Germans', Lith. *vókiečiai* id.; **-di̯-* > Lith. *dž*, Latv. *ž*; e.g. Lith. *mẽdžias* 'tree; forest'; Latv. *mežs* 'forest'; **-si̯-* > Lith. *s'*, Latv. *š*; e.g. Lith. *siū́ti* 'to sew', Latv. *šūt* id.; **-zi̯-* > Lith. *z'*, Latv. *ž*.[345]

Other phonetic features ascribable to this phase are the change from **-a*; **-e*, **-i* > Ø in monosyllabic forms. Moreover, in the 13th century one already observes in Latvian the passage of the tautosyllabic clusters *an*, *en*, *in*, *un* > *o* [uo], *ie*, *ī*, *ū* (probably as a legacy from the period of intense contact and submission of the Latgalians to the eastern Slavs). The subsystem of long vowels of Lithuanian-Latvian (besides the four nasal vowels) is represented as follows:

approximately before 7th century		approximately 7th–13th centuries	
i:	*u:*	*i:*	*u:*
	o:	*ẹ:* (> *ie*)	*ọ:* (> *uo*)
e:	*a:*	*e:*	*a:*

Other phonetic reflexes in vocalism of the eastern Lithuanian dialects (absent in the western dialects) have been attributed to the East Slavic influence, such as the change from *ą*, *an*, *am* (*en*, *em*) to *ų*, *un*, *um* (*in*, *im*) (e.g.: standard Lith. *žąsìs* 'goose', *rankà* 'hand', *sámtis* 'ladle' ~ east Lith. *žųsìs*, *runkà*, *súmtis* id.). Apparently this already had taken place in the beginning of the 13th century in the forms of anthroponyms of the Lithuanian grand-dukes in the OCS Hypatian Chronicle.

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[344] Palatalization is a phenomenon occurring prior to the disappearance of <j> and is more intensive in eastern Lithuanian dialects, gradually weakening as one moves west. In the Latvian area the palatalization was and still is more intensive in Latgalia, because of the closer contact with the Slavic languages. Cf. Čekman (1975b).

[345] In the 13th-14th centuries, the affricates spread particularly in the northern area. In the west this phenomenon is later and less intensive (cf. the law of affricates in Samogitian dialects).

4.1.2.2. Prosodic features. The accentual innovations within East Baltic have already been presented [see 2.1.3.2.]. As for the innovations in the tonal system of Lithuanian, which led to the formation of modern differences between Lithuanian and Latvian,[346] according to Būga they go back to the 13th century. This assertion is based on the comparison of East Slavic borrowings in 12th century Lithuanian with the corresponding forms in Latvian (e.g. Lith. *stórasta* 'village elder', *kùrtas* 'greyhound', *Póvilas* and Latv. *stãrasts*, *kur̃ts*, *Pãvils* id., etc.), from which it follows that Latvian is more archaic (this is also confirmed by the comparison with the tonal systems of Serbo-Croatian); Old Prussian data is in this case unreliable.

In Latvian prosodic features (such as the quantity and the accent) produced few if any qualitative changes in vocalism. However, the occurrence of some traits of vocalic phonemic split (cf. the division of /e/ and /e:/ into two phonemes, one open and one closed) is important; this tendency was probably caused by the Finnic substratum and is especially evident in Latgalian (Breidaks 1989).

4.1.2.3. Lexicon. The comparative semasiological study of Lithuanian and Latvian lexicon was initiated by Brence (1963) and was advanced by the many contributions of Bērtulis.[347] The latter particularly investigates pairs of related nouns, and defines the common meaning from which the forms derived their independent semantic development in the two separate languages, e.g.:

> Latv. *brīdis* *'a short segment of a street' → 'a brief instant of time' ~ Lith. *brỹdis*, *brydė* 'track, trace, trail (left in a high grass or crop)';
> Latv. *bērns* 'baby' ~ Lith. *bérnas* *'a newborn/baby' → 'boy/farm laborer, man';
> Latv. *ciems* 'an inhabited place' ~ Lith. *kiẽmas* *'inhabited place' → 'an enclosed place/courtyard', together with Lith. *káimas* 'village' etc.

All items are studied in various aspects (semantic, expressive, areal), with major evidence from dialects and ancient texts. The final conclusions, more or less convincing,[348] show the relative degree of conservatism of the

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[346] Today the Lithuanian language has a binary tonal system (rising and falling), while central and standard Latvian has a ternary system (continuous, falling, broken); the relationship between these two systems is described by the relationships known as Lex Endzelīns [see 2.1.3.3.].

[347] For detailed studies, cf. Bērtulis (1965, 1966, 1969, 1972, 1987); for theoretical works, cf. Bertulis (1974, 1977, 1984).

[348] E.g. one should re-examine the case of the Latv. *akacis* ~ Lith. *aketẽ*, *eketẽ* 'ice hole', examined in Bertulis (1965), in the light of hydronymic evidence relating to Baltic *aka*, proposed in Schmid (1965).

two languages, as well as the possible chronological connections in the case of semantic borrowings. The application to Lithuanian and Latvian has shown how different from each other two languages can be in their lexico-semantic composition in spite of genetic affinity.

4.1.3. The Baltic languages in the historical period

The genetic classification within the two main branches of Baltic, East and West, on the threshold of the historical period is set out in Table 1:

West Baltic	East Baltic	Marginal Baltic
Curonian († 16th c.) →	Latvian, Lithuanian	East Galindian († 13th c.)
West Galindian († 13th c.)	Selonian († 16th c.)	(Pomeranian Baltic?)
Yatvingian († 13th c.)	Semigallian († 16th c.)	
Old Prussian († 18th c.)		

Table 1

4.1.3.1. Linguistic data. Linguistic data, according to present knowledge, for the period as late as the 16th–17th centuries inclusive, is set out in Table 2:

West Baltic	East Baltic	Dnepr Baltic	Pomeranian Baltic	
a) West Galindian Curonian	Selonian Semigallian	East Galindian	?	Unattested languages (onomastic data)
b) Yatvingian Old Prussian				Languages with limited data
c)	Latvian Lithuanian			Languages with abundant data

Table 2

The group of languages *a*) which is the most numerous but least represented, includes those Baltic languages for which only onomastic data is available; representatives of group *b*) are Old Prussian, which is considered a language with limited data (*Kleincorpussprache*), and Yatvingian [see 5.3.]; finally, group *c*) contains those languages – Lithuanian and Latvian – for which rich data is available beginning in the 16th century.

4.2. SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA CONCERNING BALTIA c. 1000

Compared to the area occupied in the previous period [see 1.2.], the geo-linguistic extension of Baltia around the turn of the millennium appears already significantly reduced, although still much broader than today. This change took place in stages, each of which was conditioned by specific historical events, which should be considered, if only in summary form.

4.2.1. The Baltic peoples in the historical arena around the millennium

Several events important for the Balts occur around the year 1000. On the one hand, several attempts at missionary activity take place in Prussia (e.g. St. Adalbert, Bruno of Querfurt and others), in a territory known from the 9th century in western as well as Arabic sources, before the inevitable interest in it by the Teutonic Order [see 6.1.1.]; the youth of the European aristocracy were sent there for education (Paravicini 1984). On the other hand, western historical sources – both in the literal and symbolic meanings – mention the existence of a powerful nation of pagans, located further east than Prussia itself.

The chronicle of the city of Quedlinburg (*Annales Quedlinburgenses*), written by a prelate of the cathedral church of San Servatius, narrates events – beginning in 985 – related primarily to Saxon daily life. The name Lithuania is mentioned in this chronicle for the first time in connection with the unsuccessful mission of the Camaldolese Bruno (Boniface) to the pagan Balts, which goes back to 1009, and his subsequent murder:[349]

> *1009. Sanctus Bruno, qui cognominatur Bonifacius, archiepiscopus et monachus II suae conversionis anno in confinio Rusciae et Lituae a paganis capite plexus cum suis 18, 7 Id. Martii petiit coelos.*

> [In the year 1009 St. Bruno, who was called Boniface, archbishop and monk, in the second year of his conversion having been condemned to death by the pagans along the border of Lithuania and Russia, on the ninth day of March entered into heaven together with eighteen of his people.]

The exact location of Bruno's mission is unclear.[350] It is generally thought that the saint and his retinue were killed not in the territory between Lithu-

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[349] *Lietuvos TSR istorijos šaltiniai*, Vilnius 1955-1965, vol. I, p. 24; Leonavičiūtė (1999). The extant versions (Saxon, Bavarian, Italian, Aquitain) of the life of Saint Bruno are published in Leonavičiūtė (2006). See also the *SHL*, 14, 2009.

[350] About Bruno and his ideas, cf. Voigt G. H. (1907, 1909); Wenskus (1956); Gudavičius (1983, 1996).

ania and Russia, but rather between Lithuania and Prussia, which sup-
poses an error in the text of the chronicle. Having compared the known
versions of Bruno's death (Saxon, Bavarian, Aquitain and Italian), and
having rejected the fairy tale elements (especially characteristic of the
Italian version), Gudavičius (1983, 1996, 2011) comes to the conclusion
that, in spite of the fact that Prussia is mentioned in all the versions, as
it is in the Quedlinburg chronicle, the texts are speaking specifically of
Lithuania. Utilizing *The Life of St. Bruno of Querfurt, Bishop and Martyr*,
written much later (around 1400), which repeats the reliable narrative
of Titmar (Saxon version) and Wipert (Bavarian version) about the head
of Bruno being chopped off and, more precisely, about its being thrown
into the Alstra River, Gudavičius (1983, p. 80) proposes a linguistic
hypothesis, substantiating it with material by Būga:[351]

> A clearly non-Slavic word formation would compel us to take into
> account only the characteristic German distortions of Baltic words.
> Several hydronyms from the historical Lithuanian and east Slavic
> border may be mentioned. Among these are *Yatra* (Baltic *Aitra*), the
> left tributary of the Molčiadė, the *Udra* (Baltic *Audra* or *Aldra* – com-
> pared with the *Aldra-Audra* which flows into Lake Sartaĩ), the left
> tributary of the Neris. [...] One may also point to *Olsa* (Baltic *Alsa* –
> compared with *Alsa* in northeast Lithuania and Žemaitija), the left
> tributary of Berezina. Therefore, river-names which can be linked to
> 'Alstra' mostly occur, broadly speaking, along the southern border of
> Lithuania and the east Slavs.

Gudavičius (1983, p. 80; 1996, p. 121) tries to find Baltic analogs for the
names of the local rulers (*Nethimer, Zebeden*) mentioned by Wipert (Bavar-
ian version), as well as by Pier Damiani [1007-1072] (Italian version). Thus
Gudavičius, linking Bruno's murder not only with the name of Lithuania,
but also with its lands, also raises questions for linguists, who have not
yet addressed this subject. Emphasizing that 'the Quedlinburg chronicle
precisely localizes the expedition of Bruno of Querfurt,' Gudavičius (1996,
p. 119) considers that there is no reason to doubt a literal reading, since at
this time the Lithuanians were well known to the Russians, and the compil-
er of the Quedlinburg annals used a Russian source. In fact, from the gen.
sing. *Lituae*, attested in the chronicle, one derives the nom. **Litua* 'Lithu-

[351]   Cf. Būga *RR* III, p. 338-339, 380, 391-392, 417, 543.

ania', probably of Slavic origin (cf. Russ. Литва, Pol. *Litwa*) from an earlier **Litŭva* (cf. ORuss. *Litъva* in the Nestor Chronicle) [see 2.6.3.]. Gudavičius (2011) has written in detail about the meaning to be attributed to Latin *confinis* in this context.

Gudavičius proposes a very bold historically based hypothesis. Since the Bavarian and Italian versions of Bruno's murder show that the monk was successful in baptizing Netimeras, who, in the historian's opinion, was the ruler of Lithuania or part of Lithuania at the time, the question arises whether this baptism should be interpreted as the baptism of Lithuania. If this is true, then what place does this event hold in relation to the baptisms of Mindaugas and Jogaila? Gudavičius's answer (1996, p. 124) is this: "The first baptism in Lithuania occurred in 1009, and Christianity was officially established in the Lithuanian nation in 1251." This would fundamentally change the point of view concerning the beginning of the Lithuanian state, and would place the date of the first mention of Lithuania's name into the roster of very important dates. However, all this remains to be proved.[352]

Based on the linguistic analysis of the above already mentioned proper–names (hydronym: *Alstra*; anthroponyms: *Nethimer, Zebeden*), which occurre in the sources,[353] Mažiulis (2005) differently claims that Bruno was killed in the Jotva, the land of Yatvingians. Still another opinion has been expressed by Palmaitis (2009, p. 11–39) that St. Bruno was killed somewhere along the lower Nemunas, near the Mituva river (north of the present-day Jurbarkas).

According to Zinkevičius (2010, p. 54), the delay in introducing Christianity in Lithuania was the most important cause of the supremacy of other languages, belonging to previously Christianized peoples, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to the disadvantage of the Lithuanian language.

The first mentions of the Latvians are traced to a later period. The original title, found as early as in the Old Russian Nestor Chronicle, was Latgalia (Летьгола, Лотыгола).[354] In the *Chronicon Livoniae* (1225-1226) of Henricus Lettus, narrating events of 1206, one reads for the first time:[355]

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[352]   There is a large bibliography on this topic, e.g.: Bumblauskas (2005), Maciejewski (2010); Zinkevičius (2010).
[353]   On toponyms and proper names in the sources, cf. Savukynas (1999); on those sources, cf. Leonavičiutė (1999).
[354]   Cf. Kabelka (1982, p. 108); Zinkevičius (*LKI* II, p. 7). Both scholars report the idea of Jonikas (1952, p. 47): "A scout of Charlemagne [768-814] mentions the name of the Lithuanians for the first time. It seems that, as he was creating an empire, Charlemagne wanted to know which nations live in Europe and what their strengths were. Thus his agents learned that beyond the Slavs live the Lithuanians." Unfortunately, Jonikas does not reference his source, but the question well merits further research in light of the more recent studies of medieval thought.
[355]   Cf. Bugiani (2005). For Baltic editions of the chronicle see Mugurevičs (1993, Latvian) and Jurginis (1991, Lithuanian). On Henricus Lettus's life, cf. Johansen (1953).

Reliqui per terram usquequaque diffusi Lyvones ac Lethos, qui proprie dicuntur Lethigalli cum armis suis vocant.

[The messengers sent their heralds everywhere into the villages, of the Livs and the Letts, who called themselves Latgalians, to gather up their people.]

Lethi vel Lethigalli, adhuc pagani...

[The Letts or Latgalians, at that time still pagans...]

The entire region is still called *Lethigallia*, but in narratives about events of 1208 the name *terra Lethorum*; and further on the names *Leththi, Letti, Lettia, Livonia et Letthia,* etc. are found, while the name of the Letgallians disappears. German sources of that time also mention: *Letten* and *Lettlandt, Lettlant.*

In the last analysis the names of Lithuania and Latvia are tradition-ally thought to be derived from such hydronyms as Lith. *Lietava* (**Lētuvā*, cf. Est. *Leedumaa*) or Latvian *Latava, Latupe, Late* (**Latā-*), or in any case from a toponymic source such as **lēto-* 'a swampy place' [see 2.6.3.].

4.2.2. A glance at the geopolitical situation of Baltia

Beginning in the 9th-13th centuries the interests of the Danes and Germans turned toward Livonia and Estonia (Hellmann 1989, 1991). The studies by the Latvian-American scholar Andersons (1990), who used material from unpublished sources on the history of the Diocese of Kurlandia, preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and referring to events from 1161, have revealed that the Danish influence on the Diocese of Kurlandia was undeniable and allowed Andersons to establish that on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea the Danish mission (for Estonia it relates to the 12th-13th centuries) preceded the German mission chronologically (the beginning of the 13th century). The political dominance of the Danes over the Germans was decisive; only after the capture of Valdemar II (1223) was it possible to save the mission and at the same time the German dominance in the Baltic territories.

As is known, the first references to the Lithuanians are found in the Russian chronicles of the 9th century, where they are described as hard-working and peaceful farmers, but becoming dangerous enemies on the battlefield when provoked. In 1236, when the invasions of the Teu-tonic knights began, the Lithuanian leader Mindaugas gathered his peo-

ple, defeated the Teutonic Order near Šiauliai, allied himself with Alexander Nevsky of Novgorod and founded the first Lithuanian state. In 1251 he accepted Christianity directly from Rome in order to keep the Germans from interfering in the affairs of Lithuania. In 1263 he was killed by Treniota, who officially reinstated pagan cults and religious practices. In the meantime, Christian missions, supported by Poland, prospered and attracted converts. While the struggle against the Order continued to the west, starting in the 13th century, the Lithuanian state progressively expanded into the vast territories between the Baltic and Black Seas.

In the following two centuries the Grand Dukedom of Lithuania became a powerful military entity and a political, legal, and cultural phenomenon in eastern Europe.[356] Under the long reign of Gediminas (1316-1342), who harbored a dream of restoring ancient Kievan Rus', Lithuania expanded into eastern Slavic territories; meanwhile incursions of the Teutonic Order continued in both Samogitia and Aukštaitija. Gediminas managed to stabilize the country's internal situation and established Vilnius as the capital in 1323. He also initiated direct negotiations with the Pope regarding the Christianization of the country,[357] but these were subsequently interrupted by new attacks from the Knights of the Order. At his death several of his sons converted to Orthodox Christianity, but power was retained by pagan descendants. Thus, difference in faith was the only guarantee for the preservation of national identity, although many Lithuanian princes and *bajorai* (boyars) adopted the language, manner of dress and Orthodox faith of the Ruthenian population. Over the next thirty years the brothers Algirdas and Kęstutis continued to annex territory to the east and to repel the attacks of the Teutonic Order from the west; Kęstutis's next duty was to defend the western borders and he rarely needed help from his brother from the eastern provinces. The situation changed in 1358 when an ambassadorial mission from Karl IV of Luxemburg came with a request that the Lithuanian princes be baptized. These ambassadors offered specific conditions, among which was the restoration of territories occupied by the Order and its shift further to the east to do battle with the Muslim Tatars. But an agreement was not possible under such conditions, and instead the raids of the Teutonic Knights into Lithuanian territory became more frequent; in 1387 they reached the gates of Vilnius at the very time that Algirdas was on

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[356] Reference historical studies for this period are e.g.: Ochmański (1982), Rowell (1990, 1994), Kiaupa (2000bc), Bumblauskas (2005), Murray (2009).

[357] The translations of letters of Gediminas with commentaries on them by Rabikauskas P. are published in *Lituanus* (15-4, 1969).

his deathbed in the besieged city. One source reports that he was baptized in the Orthodox rite before his death,[358] but the problem of succession was resolved on the basis of preserving the Lithuanian nation from absorption by the dominant Ruthenian population, and therefore the supreme power was again passed to a pagan. Kęstutis had designated Vytautas, but Jogaila, the son of Algirdas, prevailed, and this signaled a rivalry of two cousins, a situation exploited by the shrewd leader of the Order, von Kniprode. As the result of a series of intrigues, he succeeded in forging an alliance with Jogaila, as well as achieving the ceding of Samogita as far as the Dubysa to the Order. But the majority of Lithuanians sympathized with Vytautas, and Jogaila was quickly forced to propose peace and share power with his cousin. Thus Vytautas received the Grodno lands and a promise of the ancient capital at Trakai, but already in 1383 Jogaila began negotiations with Poland and in October of the following year received the Polish ambassador. The geocultural orientation of the Lithuanian state changed from this moment – from the east Slavic area to the west Slavic – and two decisive events for future Lithuanian history were noted: the personal union between Jogaila and Jadwiga of Poland (Jogaila simultaneously took the Polish throne) and the conversion of Lithuania to Christianity. Probably considering the threat from Moscow on the eastern borders and the constant pressure from the Teutonic order in the west, Jogaila accepted the Polish proposition: in 1386 he was baptized and became the king of Poland in Cracow. A significant number of the Lithuanian aristocracy accepted Christianity, and beginning in the following year in Vilnius, after a short instruction, a mass baptism in the faith took place. Meanwhile, the Order continued its attempts to establish its dominance over these lands, even going so far as to undermine the new Christian faith, which, according to their accusations, in reality remained pagan. In the west these accusations were believed and Crusades were organized, but as long as the Lithuanian nation remained unified, these military efforts were ineffective. Again it was decided to utilize the rivalry between the two cousins. On the one hand, Jogaila's discontent resurfaced and he was accused of ignoring Lithuania's interests. On the other hand, Vytautas temporarily went over to the side of the Order, and then reconciling with Jogaila, took total control over the lands of the Grand Lithuanian Duchy and began to strengthen the internal administration, appointing loyal men to key positions. Wars resumed in the east and in the west;[359]

[358]   Cf. Mažeika (1987) with relevant bibliography.
[359]   On the religious politics of Jogaila, cf. Drabina (1994).

when the Mongolian advance to the west was stopped, Lithuania and Poland, united in reality under one crown ruled by Vytautas and the Polish aristocracy, concentrated their forces against the Teutonic Order.

4.2.3. The axes of geolinguistic changes

During these centuries the prolonged Slavic expansion into Baltic lands received strong support from missions, the goal of which was to evangelize the pagan Baltic tribes (in 1202 Teutonic knights appeared in the Baltics, the Bearers of the Sword, and in 1230, the Bearers of the Cross). In the Baltic enclaves of the eastern regions, which in a linguistic sense can already be differentiated from more western Lithuanian and Latvian tribes, the evangelization intervened in and accelerated Slavicization. Around the year 1000 the linguistic border with the eastern tribes (the Kriviči, the Dregoviči), although it is impossible to trace with absolute accuracy, probably extended on a line Minsk–Polock–Pskov. In the following centuries during the entire period of governmental unity of the Grand Lithuanian Duchy (13th-15th centuries) and until the appearance in the Reformation period (16th century) of the first written texts, the linguistic area of the Baltics (eastern and western) experienced minimal changes. The expansion of the Lithuanian state into the former Baltic lands, located in the west and southwest, was halted by the Teutonic Order, which controlled the regions inhabited by the Prussians and Latvians. The eastern linguistic border was a place of renewed, intense and protracted contacts between the Balts and eastern Slavs (primarily the Kriviči,[360] who established the Grand Duchy of Polock). It is quite possible that already in this period separate groups of Slavs penetrated into the depths of Baltic lands; perhaps they are the ones Henricus Lettus had in mind in his *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* when he spoke of the Vendi of Livonia. Moreover, in the 13th century Kievan Rus' underwent a definitive crisis and formation of the Lithuanian state, which attempted to restore its glory and annex to itself these territories, thereby favoring a massive Lithuanian linguistic expansion to the north and retarding the Slavicization process on the eastern borders.[361] Actually, it is rather difficult to establish precisely how long (13th century?) the eastern Baltic enclaves were preserved, scattered as they were among living

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[360] On the language of the Kriviči see Bjørnflaten (1995).
[361] On the formation of the Lithuanian State, cf. Pašuto (1959 [=1971]) and a review of this work by Jakštas (1965); Ochmański (1982, p. 44–70), with additional bibliography.

Slavic dialects until complete assimilation.[362] In any case, for this period the eastern linguistic border can be presented as a wide belt, where people speaking different languages lived. Otherwise the political border was only established in the 16th century and preserved in this configuration until the Union of Lublin (1569).[363]

4.2.3.1. The north-south axis. In the south the line of demarcation between the Yatvingians and eastern Slavs (Dregoviči) is attested along the upper stream of the Nemunas, starting in the 8th century. According to the traditional point of view the Baltic area underwent an archaizing influence in a south–north direction. This was a western Baltic influence felt primarily in spoken Lithuanian in the regions closest to Prussian and Yatvingian lands (on this base standard Lithuanian developed subsequently). Here the Baltic dialects of the peripheral dialectal zone (Prussian, Yatvingian and Curonian) and Germanic and Slavic tribes came into direct contact, as demonstrated by the numerous borrowings in Prussian from *a*) Germanic and *b*) Slavic, e.g.:

a) OPr. *brunyos* 'armor' ← OHG *brunya* id.; OPr. *rikijs* 'gentleman' ← Goth. **reikeis* id., OHG *rīhhi* 'powerful'; OPr. *bile* 'axe' ← MLG *bīle* id.; OPr. *reisan* 'once' ← MLG *reise* id. etc. **[see 6.3.4.]**.

b) Before the 10th century, cf. OPr. *medinice* 'basin' ← Pol. *miednica* id.; OPr. *nadele* 'Sunday' ← Pol. *niedzela*, Russ. *nedelja* id. etc. For the period 10th-13th centuries cf. OPr. *somukis* 'castle' ← OCS *zamъkъ*, Russ. *zamok*, Pol. *zamek* id.; OPr. *weloblundis* 'mule' ← Pol. *wielbłąd* 'camel' etc.

As early as the 8th century, the Dregoviči probably came into contact with the Yatvingians who in the following 10th-11th centuries founded important cities in this region (modern Grodno, Nowogródek etc.); here it was easier to establish direct contact with the Lithuanians in the region.

4.2.3.2. The frontiers to the north and northwest. Only the border of the Baltic Sea seemed insuperable. Beginning in the 11th century the Scandinavians

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[362] Garšva (2011) touches the very intriguing (and also very debated) question of the Eastern Baltisms, i.e. the remnants (mostly toponyms) of the Baltic languages in those territories whose Slavicization is a relatively late phenomenon; he pays attention particularly to the Baltisms (Lithuanianisms) in the territory of contemporary Belarus, of the region of Novgorod, and of that between Moscow and Kursk. Garšva (2009) investigates the place-name of the frontier of the Grand Duchy. In general, from a historical point of view, cf. Janin (1998).

predominated, and the first traces of the presence of the Vikings (Variagi) go back to the middle of the 7th century.[364] The hypothesis has been offered that the Variagi created a kind of *lingua franca*, a mixture of regional languages (composed of elements from Germanic, East Baltic, East Slavic, Finnic), which they used as they went upstream along the great Russian rivers (Ureland 1977, 1979). Archaeologists have discovered traces of Baltic elements in Scandinavian and of Scandinavian elements in Baltic, while linguists have found *a*) lexical Baltisms on the Scandinavian coasts, as well as *b*) Scandinavianisms on the Baltic coasts in Curonia (Backman 1984):[365]

a) Swedish dialect *vâk* 'child' ← Lith. from Klaipėda *vāks*, Lith. *vaĩkas* id.; Swedish dialect *mutur* 'kerchief' ← Lith. *mùturas* id. etc.;

b) Lith. toponym *Vokietija*, Latv. *Vācija* 'Germany'; Lith. ethnonym *vókietis*, Latv. *vācietis* 'German' (originally this indicated a tribe from the southeast of Scandinavia) ← *Vagoth*, cf. Jordanes (6th century).

Activities on the other coast of the Baltic Sea centered around commerce and piracy, indicating that the Curonians were experienced seamen. This fact leads to the conclusion that the Curonians could have participated in the Viking enterprise in west-central Europe, especially since peoples belonging to various nations (Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Englishmen, etc.) figure in the Norwegian sagas. Names such as *Karis*, *Koris*, *Skoris* (cf. *Cori*, *Curen* in other ancient sources), which could indicate Curonians or their descendants [see 5.2.], appear in the Norwegian sagas.

In the 12th century control of the Baltic Sea fell to the Germans, and the first borrowings from Middle German appear in Lithuanian from the 13th-14th centuries, when German merchants and colonizers settled in the cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, so that even today traces of German influence appear in the dialects of Samogitia and Suvalkija, areas bordering on former eastern Prussia, where the first center of the Knights of the Sword was located. German influence on Latvian was even greater [see 7.4.].

4.2.4. Ancient Baltic society

Little is known about the social and everyday life of the Balts in the period of their appearance in the historical arena. Still, it is possible to discern certain

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[364] Cf. Nerman (1929); the results of archaeological research are found in Loit, Selirand (1985).
[365] For a short survey of Balto-Scandinavian relations connected to toponomastics, cf. Karulis (1989a).

general characteristics. Essentially, Baltic society was agricultural and rather backward in the means and system of land cultivation. Consumption was also limited to local needs and surpluses were rare. The production of artifacts and particular ornaments allows us to speak about a well-defined material culture.[366] However, internal and external contacts were not well developed.

4.2.4.1. The administration of the territory. The Baltic village in antiquity consisted of a central core and smaller groups of inhabitants. Moreover, scattered groups of inhabitants and isolated farms were the dominant characteristic which distinguished the colonialization of the Balts, compared to the Slavs, who preferred to settle in broader nuclei. Scholars have been able to reconstruct the following administrative order for the beginning of the historical epoch. The Balts governed their territory by means of a system of separate districts. The largest or most powerful fortress, with the adjacent city, as a rule, was also the military and administrative center of the district of the ethnic group.[367] The most influential *reges*, *duces* or *principes*, as they were called equally in the chronicles, extended their power to the less powerful districts. This system of administration probably existed long before the chroniclers reported it. It has been established that in 1219 Lithuania was governed by a confederation of very powerful leaders, but the most conservative example of the political organization of the territory was Prussia, where a rather peaceful anarchy reigned, whereby the population managed to avoid conquest by local leaders, and the weakness of the central power gave a certain guarantee of independence (Górski 1971, p. 22-30). In the administration of the territory, the field (*lauks*) was distinguished, usually belonging to a single family. It consisted of a combination of meadows and ploughed fields, up to twenty or more, scattered among farms and small villages. The peasants and nobles of the village lived in wooden houses, but the latter lived in dwellings (*curiae*) consisting of several parts. They did not work the land, but tended horses, hunted and plundered. Under pressures of necessity they became political and military leaders. It seems that the clan was the main social unit, and everyone was included, regardless of differences in wealth. The clan served to regulate the use of ploughed fields and hives, and in case of war they fought in a united front under the command of a leader elected for the occasion. The

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[366] More detail in Gimbutas (1963a, Chapter 7); Górski (1971). Okulicz-Kozarin (1983) has attempted a reconstruction of Baltic everyday life.

[367] Dunsdorfs (1970) has placed in relief the inadequacy of the use of the term "tribe" by introducing historical, sociological and anthropological arguments.

pulka (translated by the German conquerors as *territorium*) was comprised of many units and was something between a clan and an assemblage. By virtue of certain structures, such as centralized fortresses, the *pulka* served to protect the inhabitants who sought refuge there in case of attacks. The extension of the *pulka* varied depending on the density of the population, and it is felt that in the 12th century in Prussian Sambia it assembled at least 1,500 men, in Lithuania 1,000 and fewer in Latvian lands. Finally, the median between the *pulka* and the assemblage was the *terrae* (Ochmański 1981). In general it can be confirmed, along with Górski, that Prussia was at a more advanced stage of development than Latvia and Lithuania. But it is not possible, however, to establish whether it was a stage close to complete organizational collapse or to the formation of a feudal state.

4.2.4.2. Commerce. There are many references to the flowering of trade relations in the basin of the Baltic Sea, even prior to the formation of the Lithuanian state. Baltic evidence found on the islands of Gotland and Öland and in Uppland in central Sweden testify to the connections with the Curonians, skillful pirates, who in the 10th and 11th centuries dominated the Baltic Sea over a broad radius, probably as far as Denmark and Scandinavia [see 5.2.1.]. Numerous finds, discovered in the commercial centers of that period (Truso or Elbing; Wiskiauten in Sambia; Grobin near Liepāja) or at the estuaries of the great rivers (Nemunas, Daugava) indicate commercial activity among the Curonians, Prussians, Swedes and Danes. External trade, on the other hand, developed primarily along the border with Prussia; foreign merchants brought salt, iron and metal wares which they traded for furs, gold, silver, wax and especially amber, collected on the shores of Sambia and already exported in distant antiquity. The Daugava connected Scandinavia and Europe on the one side and the Baltic lands, Rus' and Byzantium on the other. From its upper course the continental water arteries rose in the north to Novgorod and Ladoga, and in the south to Kiev and the Black Sea. Goods from the Ukraine came into the southern Prussian lands through Volynia, the Pripjat' Marshes and the Bug. Finally, the Nemunas river and its tributaries represented another robust trade route. From the outskirts of Kaunas and Vilnius the routes branched out toward Semigallia, Latgalia, Pskov and Novgorod, and through eastern Lithuania toward Polock, Smolensk and Novgorod.[368] It is also known that

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[368] Cf. Gimbutas (1963a); Michelbertas (1972). In particular on the Amber Road, cf. Spekke (1956); Todd, Eichel (1976). For amber trade in ancient times, cf. Šturms (1953-1954); moreover [see 1.2., 1.3.].

the Baltic world, and especially Prussia, had commerce with Scotland in the first part of the 16th century.[369]

4.2.4.3. Apiculture. One of the most typical forms of activity in the Baltic world and connected with the rural economy is, doubtless, apiculture (Lith. *bitininkỹstė*, Latv. *biškopība*, cf. Lith. *bìtė*, Latv. *bite* 'bee'). The products from beekeeping were highly valued and were successfully exported: honey as a substitute for sugar, and wax used for making candles. There is already evidence of this in the 13th century chronicles, and tributes of honey are mentioned in connection with a treaty between Jogaila and Švitrigaila in 1387. In the chronicle of Peter Dusburg (and also in Wulfstan) one reads that the Lithuanians prepared a drink from bee honey. In the 14th-16th centuries tributes of honey and wax became more common. There is also detailed information about the customs and legal rights according to which they were collected. The research of Eckert (1989abc) has made it possible to delineate a lexical fund relating to this activity; e.g.:

> Lith. *bičiuliáuti* 'to keep bees in a community and to be in good relations', *išbičiuliáuti* 'to make friends', *bìtininkas* 'beekeeper, a person giving a hive to another as a sign of friendship; a person who owns a hive together with somebody else with whom he shares the products', *bičiùlis* 'faithful friend who is trusted with the care of the bees'.

Overall this semantic field gives evidence about ancient contacts primarily with Slavic (e.g. сяборство, common ownership of land etc., an institution known throughout eastern Slavdom) and in certain of its lexical elements coincides with Latin (e.g. Lith. *avilỹs*, Latv. *aũlis*, Slavic **uljь*, **ulьjь* 'hive, swarm etc.', Latin *alv(e)ārium*).

4.3. FROM PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY

There existed a certain fundamental unity within the Baltic world as a community of pagan peoples until the shocks which radically changed the structure of Baltia in the 12th–13th centuries. With the crusades organized by German feudal lords and implemented by the Teutonic Order, Christianity was introduced into this territory by military means.[370] This does

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[369] Cf. Macquarrie (1985); Reitemeier (1994).
[370] Ābers (1958); Jakštas (1959); Christiansen (1980); Gudavičius (1989); Murray (2001, 2009). The poet Peter von Suchenwirt has left descriptions of these crusades, cf. Alssen (1978); Smith, Urban (1985); in addition, cf. Urban (1976). For Denmark's role in the Baltic crusades, cf. Bysted, Jensen C. S., Jensen K. V., Lind (2004).

not mean that until this time this part of Europe and the tribes who settled there were alienated from any Christian influence, but it was manifested there sporadically and to a limited degree.

Here I will examine only a few, although fundamental, aspects of the religious events in Baltia: a short overview of the Baltic divinities of pagan mythology, with an indication of the persistence of paganism in the 15th–17th centuries; moreover, the modest traces of heresies inspired by the so-called first Reformation, and finally, a deeper and important diffusion of Protestant ideas.

4.3.1. Baltia pagana. The Baltic religion

The Balts practiced paganism over many centuries until the belated introduction of Christianity (13th–14th centuries). With the exception of the classic work of Mannhardt (1936) and of the much more recent Norbertas Vėlius (*BMRŠ* 1996-2005), a huge anthology of studies on this topic in four volumes, there are overall relatively few works on this topic;[371] however, in the last years there has been a growth of interest.[372]

4.3.1.1. The sources and their value. The sources used to reconstruct the main features of Baltic religion have a varied character: archaeological, historical, ethnographic and folkloristic. From the chronological point of view one can distinguish the so-called primary (the more ancient) and secondary (later) sources. In the first group I will delineate, on the one hand, information provided by Tacitus, ancient geographers, travelers and missionaries from the 9th–13th centuries, and on the other, later (16th–18th centuries) reports of chroniclers and writers who described the customs and rituals of the pagan Balts who lived in the so-called *Indies of Europe* (cf. Morawski 1987), e.g. Peter Dusburg (14th); Jan Długosz (15th); Simon Grunau,

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[371] For example, Pisani (1949, 1950b) are old but remain valuable; Gimbutas (1963a), 1991); Toporov (1972a); Puhvel (1973, 1974); Biezais (1955, 1975), Vīķis-Freibergs (1989) based on Latvian sources; Ivanov, Toporov (1974, 1991); Greimas (1979, 1990) limited to Lithuanian mythology; Vėlius (1983, 1987, 1995-2004, 2012); Jouet (1989) only slightly employs scholarly works about the Baltic and Slavic areas; Suchocki (1991) is rather popular in tone.

[372] For example Mikhailov (1995, 1996, 1998ab); sintetically Dini (2001). On Latvian paganism, cf. Toporov (1990c); Kokare (1991); Pūtelis (2006). Moreover, it is worth mentioning the series *Senovės baltų kultūra* [Ancient Baltic Culture], edited by the Lithuanian Institute of Culture and Art. An anthology of texts is Dini, Mikhailov (1995); for a bibliography, cf. Dini, Mikhailov (1997, 2007). Another huge research project in progress is the etymological dictionary of Baltic mythologemes by Kregždys (2012), whose first volume is devoted to factual information about the Christburg Peace Treaty in 1249, and to a thorough analysis of the onomastic data related to it.

Martynas Mažvydas, Mikalojus Daukša, Jonas Bretkūnas, Maciej Stryjkowski, Jan Łasicki (Lasicius, 16th);[373] Mavro Orbini, Matas Pretorius (17th); Gothard F. Stenders (18th) etc. Among the secondary sources folklore occupies an important place, along with its numerous pre-Christian elements and folksongs, some only recently collected.[374] However, with respect to the significance of the source, the relationship changes and primary sources can be considered secondary, since they are reported by external observers (especially when dealing with German chroniclers), while later folkloristic sources can at times approach the so-called primary scheme, since they represent a continuous oral tradition, transmitted by the carriers of this tradition themselves. An important feature of the history of the study of Baltic mythology is the surprising fact that western scholars almost never cite (and therefore never use) direct Baltic sources, neither the works of Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian nor Polish colleagues (at the moment they are the most dependable point of reference on this topic).

4.3.1.2. Reconstruction. No evidence has been preserved to document a common mythology of all the Baltic peoples; moreover, for some tribes there is little or no information, but a mythology can be reconstructed with a certain degree of probability. In fact, by comparing sources containing evidence of it, particularly linguistic material of individual traditions, one can reconstruct the lexical bases which go back to a system of concepts and mythological figures often attributable to all the Baltic tribes. Such a Baltic mythological tradition, if considered separately from the individual national traditions, requires nonetheless an attempt at reconstruction before actually describing it. Only by undertaking such a reconstruction can one delineate, albeit in general terms, the peculiarities of the Baltic pantheon.[375] After several sporadic contributions, the direction of this research has become systematic – although the positing of the problem and the results do not always coincide in the works of the archaeologist Gimbutas and the Russian scholars Ivanov and Toporov. Important scholars of Lithuanian mythology have included the folklore specialist Jonas Balys [1909–2011], the semiologist

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[373] On Łasicki's theonyms and on the "rehabilitation" of this work, cf. Jaskiewicz (1952); Toporov (1996); Mikhailov (1998a, 2007). The text is reprinted in Ališauskas (2012).

[374] The classic collections are: for Latvian folk songs, Barons, Wissendorffs (1894-1915); for Lithuanian folk songs, Nesselmann (1853). The importance of these secondary sources was subsequently shown by the editions of materials relating to Baltic folk traditions, collected and published in Lithuania and Latvia, e.g. *Lietuvių liaudies dainynas*, publication of which began in 1980.

[375] An attempt made by Fisher (1970, p. 148-149), to also discover the dumézilian tripartition in the mythological system of the Baltic domain has been generally rejected, cf. Puhvel (1974, p. 81); Putelis (2006, p. 149).

Julien (Julius) Algirdas Greimas [1917-1992], the scholar of mythology Norbertas Vėlius [1938-1996] and the ethnographer Pranė Dundulienė [1910-1991]; for Latvian mythology Haralds Biezais [1906-1995].

4.3.1.3. Matriarchy. The originality of Gimbutas's research consists primarily in the fact that under an older IE stratum she described for Baltia the existence of a pre-IE stratum, which she calls "the ancient European stratum". According to the scheme proposed by Gimbutas (p. es. 1974, 1982, 1989ab), characteristic for this stratum is a matriarchal and gynocratic society, compared to the patriarchal and anthropocratic society adopted by the Indo-Europeans. Moreover, this matriarchy hinged on an ideology in which various female divinities existed (one of them also at the beginning of the creation of the world) and several males in subordinate roles. The main divinities of the IE world are connected with celestial phenomena – heavenly bodies, thunder and animals (horses) – as well as the gods of the ancient European stratum who act through water, the Moon, stones and plants. Just as those represent more or less well defined entities, they are further united into clans or at least numerous assemblages ruled by a female, queen or mother. Moreover, they can also act in changed form (young, old, in the role of mothers, in the role of daughters, etc.).

According to Gimbutas this matriarchal religion was preserved only in families, under the protection of matriarchs, while the ruling classes professed a new patriarchal religion after the arrival of new conquerors (which Gimbutas calls Indo-Europeans, thus giving a corpus to a purely linguistic concept). There are many examples of hybridization between the two strata, just as in the new religion there are numerous traces of the former situation. Precisely owing to these survivals one can identify the elements of the ancient matriarchal pantheon. Its principal divinities are: the mother-earth goddess (Latv. *Zemēs māte*, Lith. *Žemýna*; cf. Lith. *žẽmė* 'earth', Latv. *zeme* id.), the personification of fertility; the goddess of destiny (Lith. and Latv. *Laima*), who decides the fate of every person, including longevity and luck; the goddess of death (Lith. *Giltinẽ*, cf. Lith. *gélti* 'pungere'); the goddess of the household hearth (Lith. *Gabija*, cf. Lith. *gaũbti* 'to cover, to protect'; Latv. *Uguns Māte*), who bestowed health and well-being on the household (connected with the cult of fire), and also protected the herds and crops; the goddess of bees (Lith. *Austéja*), derived from an allegorical idealization of the queen bee, posited as a model for the organization of human society; the goddess of darkness and rebirth (Lith.

Rãgana, a word which then came to mean 'witch', along with Lith. *Laũmė*): both prefer nighttime and enter into love relations with humans; finally, there is also a male god, symbol of regeneration of vegetation and represented primarily by flax (Lith. *Vaĩžgantas*).

Already in the matriarchal period the pagan cult anticipated a special reverence for snakes (Lith. *žaltỹs* '[not venomous] snake', *gyvãtė*[376] '[venomous] snake', and still other names), which had special therapeutic qualities and brought good luck, and were thus fed and allowed into the house. Later I will present the hierarchical levels defined by Ivanov and Toporov of the more characteristic gods of the subsequent stratum of Baltic religion which replaced and overtook the female gods, that is the stratum where IE mythology is clearly reflected. The gods of the shining sky (**deiv-*) were signs of a pastoral and warrior religion: probably a belief that a warrior continued fighting and hunting after death in the other world, since they cremated him together with his horses, dogs, armaments and valuable clothing.

4.3.1.4. Hierarchical levels. According to the scheme elaborated by Ivanov and Toporov (1991), the Baltic pagan pantheon is best described using: *a)* a series of characteristic semantic oppositions relative to the categories of space, time, social life; *b)* a distribution of the gods and mythological personages according to their level of function and the degree of their individualization and importance to humans. The results achieved by these two scholars allows one to delineate seven hierarchical orders which classify all the divinities and all the various personages known in the mythology of the Baltic peoples. Marginally, they give brief indications of even more provocative and interesting correspondences encountered in the mythologies of other IE peoples.

i) The first level contains the highest gods of all the Balts, whose leader is found in the sky, **deiv-* (Lith. *diẽvas*, Latv. *dievs*, OPr. *deiws/ deywis*; cf. OGr. *Zeús*, Latin *Jupiter*), and whose name is preserved in the OPr. epithet *Occopirmus* (*Constitutiones Synodales*, 1530) 'first of all' (cf. OPr. *pirmas* 'first' with the superlative prefix *ucka-* 'of all'). Beside him is the powerful **Perkūn-* (Lith. *Perkū́nas*, Latv. *Pērkons*, OPr. *Percunis*), who rules thunder and lightning (cf. Lith. *perkū́nija* 'thunderstorm') and fulfills the warrior function as well as indirectly the economic, in turn connected with fertility (Gimbutas

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[376] Cf. the etymological connections between Lith. *gyvãtė* 'serpent' and *gývas* 'alive', *gyvénti* 'to live' (cf. *LEW*, *SEJ*) and the useful tables in Latvian (Johanssons 1970).

1973).[377] Under the same nominal protoform (with *k*/*g* variation) are subsumed also the ORuss. *Perunъ*, ON *Fjǫ́rgynn* (the mother of the Scandinavian thunder-god *Þórr* [Thor])[378], Vedic *Parjánya-* 'god of the rain', as well as the connected appellatives, ORuss. перегынꙗ 'wooded ill', Goth. *faírguni* 'mountain', the name of forest *Hercynia Silva* 'oak ridge, oakwood' (and perhaps also Hitt. *peruna-* 'rock', OInd. *párvata-* 'mountain, boulder'). The theonymic lexem **Perkūn-* has already been used to illustrate Balto-Thracian [see 3.3.1.4.], Balto-Armenian [see 3.4.4.1.] and Balto–Italic [see 3.4.2.2.] connections.

ii) To the second level belong the gods connected with the work cycle and personal goals corresponding to the seasonal rhythms and customs. Related to this are many Old Prussian gods e.g. *Pergrubrius*, *Puschkaits* (Toporov 1974a), *Auschauts*, *Piluitus* etc.; the Latvian protector god of horses *Ūsiņš* [see 3.4.4.4.], the majority of the dozens of gods attributed to the Lithuanians by Łasicki, Stryjkowski and Pretorius (the names of these gods are often suspect and require paleographical emendations).

iii) Mythological personages with abstract functions, or others known primarily in folklore, comprise the third level. Among the first, for example, are the Lithuanian and Latvian gods of fate and death (Lith., Latv. *Laima*, Lith. *Giltinẽ*, who, along with Lith. *Laũmė*, can be compared to Greek Fates, cf. Prosdocimi 1966); to the second category, however, belongs the so-called celestial and solar family, composed of the members of the mythic fragment of the celestial wedding [see 4.3.1.5.].

iv) To the fourth level belong *a*) the initiators of historical traditions, which then became mythologized (e.g. *Videvutis* and *Brutenis* who were responsible respectively for the civic and religious spheres of the Prussians, cf. Šimėnas 1994); *b*) personages like *Krivių kriváitis*, *Lizdeikà*, a priest – founders of the ritual, divinations and oracles; *c*) founders of a city (e.g. the mythologized hypostasis of the Grand

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[377] On comparison between the Baltic and the Slavic thunder-god, cf. Ivanov (1958). More in general, cf. Ivanov, Toporov (1970).

[378] Toporov (1970) compares the name and the functions of the smith *Teljaveli* (< **Telv-el-*, the assistant of Perkūnas who forged the sun and fixed it in the sky) with that of *Þjálfi* (the assistant of *Þórr*) and explains this proximity between the Scandinavian and Lithuanian mythological systems as not genetic, but from borrowing under conditions of intensive cultural and material exchange. On comparisons between *Fjǫ́rginn* and Lith. *perkūnė* 'thunderstorm', cf. Schröder (1951), Ivanov (1958, p. 105).

Duke Gediminas, founder of Vilnius, *d*) other personages more or less strongly individualized (e.g. Lith. *kálvis*, the blacksmith helper of **Perkūn-*, Lith. *Áitvaras*, a kind of house spirit; OPr. *Curche*, the divinity of fields). Among them definitely stands out **Velin-* (OLith. *welinas*, Lith. *vélnias*, Latv. *velns*), who is the principal enemy of **Perkun-*, connected with the underworld, death and fertility (cf. ON *valr* 'warrior corpses on battlefield', *Valhǫll* 'Valhalla', OIr. *fuil* 'blood', Latin *uolnus* 'wound' etc.);[379] his cult is related to animals (probably a reflection of an ancient IE tradition which portrays the other world as a pasture).

v) Fantastic personages belong to the fifth level, *genii locorum* who live in and/or preserve forests (Lith. *Medeĩnė*), water (Lith. *Nerõvės*, cf. Ademollo Gagliano 1981) or fields (Lith. *Lauksargis*) and still others, often connected with particular cults such as personified fire (Lith. *Gabija*), eternal fire (OPr., Yatv. *Panicko*), the lord of winds (Lith. *Vėjópatis*).[380]

vi) To the sixth level belong classes of non-individualized and often non-anthropomorphized spirits, e.g. OPr. *Barstucke* (= *barzdukai*, cf. Lith. *barzdà* 'beard') or benign divinities of the household such as Lith. *kaũkai* 'goblins', *deivės* 'goddesses', *laũmės* 'witches', or the *Mātes* 'mothers', female patronesses of some particular place, trade or activity, typical of Latvian mythology[381].

vii) To the seventh and final level belong not divinities or mythic personages but mythological hypostases of the participants in various rituals (e.g. Lith. *vaidilà* 'senior priest and *vaidilùtis*,[382] 'junior priest who helped the head priest *Krivių kriváitis*), various types of soothsayers and prophets (among which, probably, are the OPr. *Tulissones* and *Ligaschones*, known only from a document of 1249),[383] the Latv. *Līgo* of the festival of St. John, and many more. Also associated with this

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[379] Cf. Jakobson (1969).

[380] A comparison of Lith. *ẽžeras* 'lake', Latv. *ezers* id., and the Latin nymph *Egeria* has been advanced in Prosdocimi (1969a) and called into doubt by Hamp (1984).

[381] The first author to devote serious attention to the cult of *Mātes* was the superintendant of Curlandia, Paul Einhorn [† 1655]. He published works addressed to the problem of the proper Christianization of the Latvians and also described their deities. His most well-known book is *Historia Lettica* (1649). Einhorn lists seven (of more than 40 attested in the folklore) 'mothers', i.e. *Laukamāte* 'mothers of fields', *Mežamāte* 'mothers of forests' (cf. Locher 1996), *Lopumāte* 'mothers of cattle', *Jūrasmāte* 'mothers of Sea', *Dārzamāte* 'mothers of garden', *Ceļa māte* 'mothers of road' and *Vējamāte* 'mothers of wind'.

[382] Bednarczuk (2005).

[383] Cf. Būga (1908-1909, p. 342); Žiemys (1984).

level are ritual symbols, objects, places, temples, and cult centers (among the latter I should at least mention *Vilniaus šventykla* 'Vilnius shrine', located under the Castle of Vilnius, and the mythic *Romuvà*, which, according to the testimony of Grunau was founded by Brutenis).

4.3.1.5. Principal mythological fragments. Based primarily on folklore data it is possible to reconstruct at least certain frequently recurring mythological motifs (Ivanov, Toporov 1974, 1991). To the first level described above belong corresponding motifs in which the roles of main protagonists are played by the sons of *deiv-* (Lith. *Dievo sūneliai*, Latv. *Dieva dēli*) and the sons of *Perkūn-* (Lith. *Perkūno sūnūs*, Latv. *Perkona dēli*);[384] both motifs relate to the reverence for twins, often encountered among other IE people (the Greek *Dioscuri*, the Indic *Aśvínau* 'the two charioteers' etc.). They embody fertility and are connected with the agricultural cult. The agrarian symbolism which accompanies them is reflected in ritual objects, such as two ears of corn on one stalk or double fruit (dicotyledon). Also connected to twins is the Latv. theonym *Jumis*, the divinity of fields.[385]

A second mythic motif, very well-known and recurrent, is the wrath of *Perkūn-*, set off by the battle against his enemy *Velin-* **[see *supra*]**, who tempts his wife and steals her animals. In order to escape the terrible wrath of *Perkun-* which appears in thunder, lightning, and the uprooting of oak trees with their roots, *Velin-* hides behind trees and stones and turns into a cow, a man and various animals, especially a cat or serpent (cf. Toporov 1985b).

But the most important mythic fragment among those reconstructed is another, concerning the motif of celestial marriage between the Sun (Lith. *sáulė*, Latv. *saule* = female gender) and the Moon (Lith. *mėnùlis*, Latv. *mēness* = male gender). The motif of the Sun marrying the Moon occurs in many variants in Lithuanian and Latvian folklore, but most versions tell how the wrathful *Perkūn-* stabs the lunar star with a sword because he fell in love with *Aušrìnė* (the dawn) and was unfaithful to the Sun **[see 10.2.5.]**.[386]

Still another minor, but significant fragment of the principal myth, preserved in the messages of the 'entomological code', is connected with

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[384] Ivanov (1972).
[385] Neuland (1977); Schmid (1979a); Ivanov (1980, p. 81-90); Ivanov, Toporov (1983).
[386] A possible variant is set forth in Matasović (1996, p. 35-36) in the form of an incestuous holy matrimony between the son of the Storm-God and his sister. Sudnik (1999) discusses the reflexes of a cosmological spell in Lith., Latv., Blruss. and Ukr.

the image of the ladybird (*Coccinella septempunctata L.*) in the Baltic and Slavic folklore (Toporov 1979b).

4.3.2. Baltia christiana. The introduction of Christianity

Following the so-called period of *Baltia pagana* comes a Baltia undergoing the process of more or less forced Christianization. The forces of western Christendom were mobilized primarily for the baptism of the tenacious Lithuanian pagans, the only Balts which had already formed an independent union in 1236 under King Mindaugas and still resisted the Teutonic Order. For the unique case of Lithuania it should, however, be noted that Christianity was already diffused there, but in an Orthodox form (Misiūnas 1968), and that for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania danger was approaching not only from the west, but also from the east, so that the choice of Christianity in Roman form was a means of resisting Slavicization. In the appeal of the Lithuanian Mindaugas in the 13th century one sees the maximum expression of the contradiction between pagan and Christian elements forced to live side by side within the same borders. The adherence to Christianity, gifts which the Christian king sent to Pope Innocent IV, the election of curias of Lithuania in the capacity of an independent bishop's see were external signs of Christianity, behind which were hidden the masses of people still connected to pagan religion and customs. In the end the pagan element indeed again won out and forced Mindaugas to abdicate. Only in the 14th century as a result of a personal union (1386) between the Polish princess Jadwiga and the Grand Duke of Lithuania Jogaila (Pol. Jagiełło / Władysław), did the Lithuanian State officially accept Christianity (1386-1387).[387]

Rather simpler was the Christianization of the Latvian tribes, which were divided among themselves. I have already mentioned the presence of Danish missions in Curlandia and Estonia, evidence of which has been discovered by historians, and also enhanced by the work of archaeologists. It has been established that a new spiritual wave, represented by Christianity, spread in Baltia, specifically in Livonia, in two directions: from the west through a Scandinavian and then German channel, and from the east through ancient Kievan Rus'. Based on Mugurēvičs's (1987) findings there

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[387] The bibliography on the Christianization of Lithuania is simply huge. In addition to the citations in general reference works, I point out the acts of the two congresses of the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche (1989ab); Rabikauskas (1990); Janiak (1983); Bednarczuk (2010) with bibliography.

are three stages in the initial period of the dissemination of Christianity in Latvia. In the first stage Scandinavians appear in the territory of Livonia, especially in Curlandia, in 9th–12th centuries, connected with the Viking trade, as historical research has proven. The second stage is characterized by tribute dependence of ancient Russian principalities, and continuing until the 13th–14th centuries; during this period Greek Orthodoxy is taking root in this territory, evidenced by linguistic data and especially by archaeological findings (funerary rituals, types of cross, etc.). The third stage begins at the end of the 12th century with the activity of the first German missions, and lasts until the beginning of the Crusades.

Overall the introduction of Christianity into the Baltic countries is an event of enormous historical and cultural significance, and it would be an error to limit its role to the attending factors and pragmatic calculations which favored it. Still, in the beginning, the organized Christian nucleus was limited to missions and then the arrival of the Teutonic Knights, and then clerics. In spite of their relatively rapid diffusion as the result of cruel and bloody methods of evangelization, a *Baltia Christiana* (i.e. Christian Baltia) did not immediately replace a *Baltia Pagana* (i.e. Pagan Baltia). On the contrary, for a long time the spread of Christianity was limited to the obligation of baptism among subordinate tribes. The conversion of the masses was slow and difficult and produced particular phenomena of coalescence and syncretism.

4.3.2.1. The status of Baltic pagans. In the course of the 12th–14th centuries in territories controlled by the Teutonic Order – in Livonia and Estonia – it is impossible to trace the actual heretical movements. As long as it remained there the Order functioned as a bulwark and guardian of Orthodox Catholicism in these lands, and its omnipresent vigilance made all attempts at heresy impotent, if not impossible, until the middle of the 15th century. On the other hand, the baptism of 1386–1387 did not bring religious peace to Lithuania, the last pagan country on the continent; in fact, on its territory the main confessional powers of the period (Catholicism and Orthodoxy) confronted each other, and attempts to unify the churches, undertaken by Vytautas the Great, failed. Finally, I must ponder the one, typically overlooked, aspect for the study of medieval heresies, specifically the *status* of Baltic pagans immediately after the formal Christianization of Baltia. One of the Papal instructions (*dictatus papae*) of Gregory VII states that 'it is forbidden to consider Catholic anyone who is not in concord-

ance with the Roman Church'; thus it was implied that the Pope was the single criterion of the true faith, doctrinal and juridical simultaneously. Consequently, simple disobedience could be interpreted as heresy. One notes that for the Baltic experience, compared with the rest of Christian Europe, there were tenacious and stubborn pagans exhibiting disobedience *par excellence* at least until the first half of the 15th century. In rural areas paganism held on even until the 16th-18th centuries, with several solid traces even longer. In a Baltic perspective there were sufficient elements to allow for the following equation: pagan = (Saracen =) heretic,[388] which completely suited the Roman Church, as Arbusow (1919-1921, p. 158) already noted: "Sometimes the Church defined as heretical innocent pagan ideas preserved among the rural population, even if they related to another sphere" (cf. also Mažeika 1990).

Comparison with a distant geographical area can be interesting. Regarding the Cathar heresy in Languedoc it was recorded by Merlo (1986) "that Cathar ideas took root in a dynamic context and offered a possibility of a religious choice to those social groups and individuals who spontaneously strove toward an independent cultural self-awareness" and that 'the heresy accompanied the early processes of cultural formation striving to be national'. In this way it is possible to draw parallels *mutatis mutandis* with the situation at that time in Lithuania. Here, with paganism in the place of heresy, began an analogous process under Mindaugas in the context of aggression from the direction of the simultaneously religious and military power of the Teutonic Order, which represented the orthodox Catholic Church. This allowed for the unification of the Lithuanian tribes in a direction which in a modern sense can be defined as nationalistic in its tendencies and which led to the formation in 1236 of the 1st Lithuanian State. Subsequently, in spite of Christianization, paganism remained in reality the ideology of the powerful Grand Duchy of Lithuania, at least until Vytautas the Great and the Union of Lublin (1569).

4.3.2.2. Lexical increase. This important revolutionary change which took place at that time in the spiritual culture of the Balts left its traces in the language. The oldest layer of the Lithuanian and Latvian Christian terminology is of the Russian Church Slavonic origin, e.g.:

Lith. *bažnýčia* 'church'; Latv. *baznīca* ← OCS *božnica*;

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[388] Cf. Morawski (1987); Dini (1994d); similar ideas are also found in Murray (2010).

Lith. *krìkštas* 'baptism' ← OCS *krъstъ*; OLatv. *krustīt*, Latv. *kristīt* ← OCS *krъstitъ*;

Latv. *krusts*, *krists* 'cross' ← OCS *krъstъ*;

OLith. *duchas* 'soul' ← OCS *duchъ*;

OLith. *griẽkas, griẽchas* 'sin', Latv. *grēks* ← OCS *grěchъ*;

OLith. *čer̃tas* 'devil' ← OCS *čertъ*; OLith. *biesas* 'demon' ← OCS *běsъ*.

The gradual establishment of the Christian religion in the daily life of the Balts brought a significant increase, both in depth and variety, of new experiences and realities, for which they attempted to find names in the local languages. This led to the appearance, especially in the religious sphere, of numerous foreign terms which were adapted corresponding with characteristics of the phonetic and morphological systems of Baltic languages; e.g.:

OPr. *pyculs* 'hell', OLith. *peklà* id., Latv. *pekle* 'abyss', cf. Pol. *piekło*, Bulg. пекло;

OPr. *engels* 'angel', Latv. *enģelis* id., cf. MG *Engel* id.; Lith. dialectal *ãniuolas* 'angel', cf. Pol. *anioł* id. etc.

When Christianity entered into the everyday life of people, they began to use the already existing lexicon of the Baltic languages to express the new system of concepts. An expansion of semantic fields of certain terms which continued to be used in their old, pagan, meaning took place, for example:

OPr. *cawx* = /kauks/ 'Devil', Lith. *kaũkas* 'a demon, hobgoblin';[389]

Lith. *síela* 'concern, grief; sentiment' → 'soul';[390] Lith. *prãgaras* 'abyss, ravine' → 'hell'.

With the conversion of Lithuania the influence of Poland in the linguistic arena grew significantly. Right up to the end of the 14th century this influence was weak in Lithuania, but in the 15th-16th centuries it began to spread, especially in clerical communities and especially because of

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[389] Specifically on Lith. *kaũkas* and reflexes in plant names, e.g. *kūkālis* 'corn-cockle', cf. Šeškauskaitė, Gliwa (2004).

[390] On the concept of the soul among the ancient Balts, cf. Straubergs (1957). On religious lexicon, cf. Polomé (1995).

the Polonization of the Lithuanian nobility. After the union of Lithuania with Poland (1569), when the Lithuanian nobility became connected (in language and culture) to the Polish nobility, the influence of the Polish language in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania grew even more.

4.3.3. Heresies in Baltia in the 15th-17th centuries

The religious situation in Baltia until the 15th century was characterized by the relationship between the surviving paganism and the first affirmation of Christianity. In the midst of the Christianization process several traces of heresies connected with the so-called first Reform appeared. If one does not consider various types of evidence of the spread of Hussite ideas in Lithuania (e.g. through the disciples of the *Collegium Lithuanorum* of Prague), the only true and actual heterodox figures in Baltia until the Protestant Reform were Jerome of Prague, a Bohemian invited by Vytautas the Great to Lithuania, and two Germans who moved to Livonia, Johannes Hilten and Nikolaus Rutze. Among the versions explaining Jerome of Prague's journey to Lithuania, the most convincing seems to be that his presence was connected with a plan for the unification of the churches. But no information has reached us about his subsequent activities in the territory of the Grand Duchy or about his students in the College of Prague. Later, in the second half of the 15th century the spread of Hussite ideas in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania reached its peak in history with Žygimantas Kaributaitis, sent to Prague by Vytautas as king of the Bohemians. At the same time at least two representatives of the characteristic heretical syncretism of the time lived in Livonia, namely, Johannes Hilten, working in Tallinn and Tartu and Nikolaus Rutze in Riga. These two heterodox figures, judging by the evidence, were apparently operating independently, although simultaneously. Hilten, whose teachings were not associated with any particular heresy, was apparently a Franciscan who recognized the power of his own oratory and could not resist the temptation to create his own personal doctrine. Moreover, some of his secret disciples were known for their activities in Estonia. Rutze probably had few disciples, but the fact that he hid in Riga to escape persecution for his adherence to the Valdo-Hussite heresy makes one think that in Livonia there still remained remnants of the Valdese diaspora. Thus, the traces of the spread in Baltia of heretical currents prior to the Reformation are rather scarce. It is possible that this is explained by the fact that the time

span between Christianization and the establishment of Protestantism was so short.[391]

4.3.4. Documents of dubious value

Rūķe-Draviņa (1977, p. 22) does not exclude the possibility of the existence of birch bark documents with inscriptions in Latvian related to the pagan period, but offers no concrete proof of this (Malvess 1959). The same uncertainty is characteristic of other cases, among which are the question of the so-called Baltic runes and the question of the Oath of Kęstutis discussed below.

4.3.4.1. Baltic runes? The study of the obscure Baltic runes still requires a more substantial approach, in particular historical documentation. Today there are preserved only a few fragmentary and problematic inscriptions, one on a coin from the period of the Grand Duke Mindaugas, and another found in Samogitia on a cross discovered in the foundation of a church near Dubingiai. Also mentioned is the more famous and more dubious inscription (the so-called inscription on the flag of Videvutis) reported by the principal chroniclers of the Teutonic Order (Grunau, David, Hennenberger). These runes have been studied by the romantic historian T. Narbutas (Narbutt) and later by Jaunius and Būga.[392]

4.3.4.2. The oath of Kęstutis. Several scholars accept the possibility that a Hungarian chronicle of the 14th century contains a Lithuanian oath, recited in connection with a war in Volynia, at the time of a peace treaty between Grand Duke Kęstutis and King Ludwig. It tells how the treaty was ratified when the Lithuanians sacrificed a bull and sprinkled themselves with its blood and pronounced an oath. If this oath was actually written in Lithuanian, then thus is the most ancient Lithuanian (and perhaps also Baltic) sentence. This is what happened: Kęstutis and his retinue and several hostages went to the Hungarian camp and in the presence of the Hungarian king demanded that they bring him a bull and tie it to two pillars. They then cut its neck vein and sprinkled its blood over Kęstutis's hands and

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[391] On the heresies of 16th-17th centuries in Lithuania, cf. Marchetti (1968, 1971); on the figures of Niccolò Paruta [† ca. 1581], Szymon Budny [ca. 1530-1593] and Franco de Franco [ca. 1585-1611] in Lithuania.

[392] Cf. Stanišauskas (1994) with recent bibliography. In this context brief information is also given about a magic inscription executed with knots, which Jundze (1992, also useful for the history of the problem) considers credible to a certain degree.

face and the hands and faces of his Lithuanian comrades. At that point they cried out together (*clamantes omnes Lithwani*), and recited the oath in Lithuanian (*Lithvanice*). A portion of this oath was written down by a Hungarian chronicler, but without clear division of words: *Rogachina roznenachy gospanary*; the meaning is something like: *Deus ad nos et animas, cornutum respice.* Another point of the peace treaty related to how the Grand Duke of Lithuania with all his people would accept Christianity and would go to Buda with the king of Hungary to be baptized, but Kęstutis did not keep to the bargain and fled on the way. Fortunately, the oath formula, or more precisely, the preserved fragment of the formula, has been copied many times. This episode has been used to make conclusions of a more general character; for example, Jurginis (1976, p. 47-50) deduces from this that the ancient Lithuanians did not use seals or signatures for their oaths but only public pronouncements. Kosman (1976) sees in the role and actions of Kęstutis evidence that he had not only political but religious power, and that probably the Lithuanians had no sacerdotal class as elsewhere. It was the linguistic decipherment of this phrase that primarily interested Miežinis. Being convinced that it was written in Russian, he established individual correspondences (*gospanany* = господ с нами '*Deus ad nos*' ('God Be with Us'); *rogachina* 'horned', cf. Russ. рог 'horn'; *roznenachy* = розезнати ('driven back'), but he did not succeed in interpreting the meaning of the entire sentence. Jaunius and Būga, on the contrary, clung to the idea that this sentence is in Lithuanian, true, on the basis of the rather improbable reading (*Rėg* 'look' *aki naruos-n* 'into our souls' *en* 'and' *aki guos* 'at the bull' *pana-ni* 'O Lord'). Another later attempt at a Lithuanian reading of the sentence is that of Jovaišas (1976), who proposes new divisions of the words, interpreting it thus: *rogachi naroz nenachygos panan* = *rūgoki* (cf. Blruss. ругаць 'to punish, to reprimand') *norus* ?*ne-noki(anči)* *jus* [or past active participle *ne-nokijus*?] *poną*. From this is derived a general sense: 'You punish desires which do not follow/ascend to (cf. OLith. *nókti* 'to go behind') the Lord.' The study of paleographical features of the Old Hungarian texts could shed new light on the decipherment of this fragment, which in spite of the cited attempts at interpretation remains unclear and mysterious.

CHAPTER 5

"MINOR" BALTIC LANGUAGES

5.1. EXTINCT BALTIC LANGUAGES

Besides Lithuanian, Latvian, and Old Prussian there is evidence of several other Baltic languages which by convention are called "minor". Among these one can identify languages for which at least a few texts exist, even though they may be rare and dubious (as in the case of Curonian and Yatvingian). For some of these languages knowledge is based exclusively on onomastic data and on certain features of modern dialects spoken in regions of their historical diffusion (this is the case for Galindian, Selonian, and Semigallian). Old Prussian will not be treated here, since it is the topic of a separate chapter [see 6.].

Following is an analysis of the five "minor" Baltic languages, together with data about their linguistic features.[393] During the historical period they are located on the periphery of the Baltophone area.
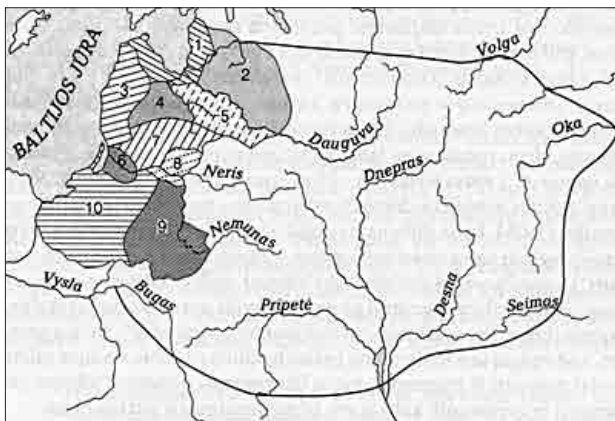
Ethnic boundaries in the Baltic territories c. 1000
1. Livs, 2. Latgalians, 3. Curonians, 4. Semigallians, 5. Selonians, 6. Scalovians, 7. Samogitians,
8.-9. West and East old Lithuanian tribes, 10. Yatvingians, 11. Prussians.
_____ Boundaries of the diffusion of the Baltic hydronyms

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[393]   Cf. Būga (1924a = *RR* III, p. 85–282); Salys n.d. (1995); Kabelka (1982, p. 31–85).

5.2. CURONIAN

Around the 9th-11th centuries information appears concerning the Curs or Curonians, especially in the Scandinavian sagas and in several chronicles, on the basis of which – in spite of their brief and fragmentary nature – it is possible to reconstruct certain events in their history. But concerning the language of the Curonians there is only scant onomastic data in the regions of their habitation,[394] and, perhaps a Lord's Prayer [see 5.2.4.4.].

5.2.1. Historical mentions

In the *Vita Anskarii* of Rimbert (9th c.), the archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, one finds for the first time the name of the *Cori*, a people identified with the Curonians of Baltic descent. Armaments and ornaments found in the Scandinavian cemeteries near Grobiņa, the ancient Seeburg, have demonstrated that between 650 and 800 the eastern part of the Curonian territory had been occupied by the Vikings. Particularly frequent are reports about reciprocal confrontations and attacks between the Curonians and Vikings on land and even to a larger degree on the sea.[395] In many of the sources where the Curonians are mentioned they are described as corsairs or pirates: they are referred to as *gens crudelissima* (i.e. very cruel people, Adam of Bremen), or their ferocity against Christians is underlined (*Curonum ferocitatem contra nomen Christianorum*, Henry the Latvian). In the churches of Denmark they asked the Lord for protection from the Curonians. On the sea the Vikings mainly clashed with the Curonians, while on land they made contacts with other Baltic tribes, but they were never able to get a foothold on the shore, although trade and wars were carried out with equal intensity, and several Varangian cemeteries were discovered on the territory of Königsberg (now the Kaliningrad District) and in Latvia. The *Ynglinga saga* of Snorri Sturluson (which preceded the *Heimskringla* collection) passes down tales of the battles of Erik, the King of Uppsala, against the Estonians and the Curonians (850-860). In 854 the Swedish king Olaf landed with a strong force, burned Seeburg and encircled Apulia, the second most important city in Curonia. After a nine-day siege he crushed the Curonian oppo-

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[394] For a general overview of linguistic research, cf. Schmid (1989b, p. 8-36) with bibliography; moreover, cf. Bušs (1989ab, 1990).

[395] For a historical background, cf. Nerman (1929), Spekke (1941-1942), Dundulis (1982, 1985), Mickievičius (1992, 2000).

sition and they returned the plunder which had been stolen previously from the Danes, released hostages and agreed to pay tribute to King Olaf. This state of affairs seems to continue at least until 1075-1090, when the *Cori* and *Courland* are mentioned as subjects of the Swedes by Adam of Bremen. At more or less the same time Корсь or Кърсь are mentioned in the Russian chronicles.

More information becomes available in the 12th-13th centuries with the first appearances of Germans in the Baltics. The first detailed chronicles belong to this period (the *Chronicon Livoniae*, from 1184 to 1226, of Henry the Latvian; *Livländische Reimchronik*, from 1143 to 1290, anonymous), from which one gets further information about the Curonians. *Gesta Danorum* [The Acts of the Danes, 1202-1216] tells how the *Curi* and the Estonians made a clamorous attack on the island of Eland, not far from the Swedish shores, which aroused Knut I the Great to march against the Prussians and the Curonians. The name of the Curonians also appears several times in the *Historia Danica* (1180-1201) of Saxon the Grammarian. In the 13th century the first references (*Curones*, *Kuren*) also appear in the sources of the Order of the Sword. The conflict between the Curonians and the Teutonic Order is famous: in 1210 the Curonians organized an impressive campaign against Riga, the center of the Order of the Sword, and almost occupied the city with the first assault. The Germans for a long time celebrated the date of July 13th, when the Curonians lifted the siege, after which the Order subdued the Livs, Latgalians, Selonians and Estonians and was able to concentrate its forces against the Curonians and to proselytize them. But there are numerous testimonies of their later vitality: in 1236 after the defeat of the Order in the battle of Šiauliai, the Curonians rejected Christianity; in 1260 on the battlefield at Durbė, forced to fight in the German lines, they rebelled, fell on the Teutons from the rear and joined the Lithuanians, thus instigating the insurrection of all Curonia. The final and definitive German conquest took place in 1267 and was celebrated by the systematic burning of castles and houses, and also by the killing or capture of the civilian population. Another important date in the following centuries was 1561-1562, when the Duchy of Curlandia was formed, and dependent on the king of Poland, it also contained Semigallia and the region of the Selonians. In 1795-1915 it was incorporated into the Russian Empire under the name of the Province (Gubernia) of Curonia.

5.2.2. Geolinguistic extension

Even today the ethnographic territory of the Curonians preserves its geographical name in Latv. *Kùrzeme*, in the older *Kûrsa*, or in Lith. *Kuřšas*; *Curonia* is derived from the Latin, while *Curlandia* comes from Germ. *Kurland*. According to 13th century documents of the Order of the Sword the region was divided into at least nine districts: Wannenia, Winda, Bandowe, Bihavelanc, Duvzare, Skrunda-Ziemgala (*terra inter Scrunden et Semigalliam*), Megowe, Pilsaten. It is difficult to know whether the Curonians actually inhabited those lands assigned to them in these early documents. The conclusions of archaeologists, historians and linguists do not always coincide. The borders of the Curonians in present-day Lithuania are very debatable and are sometimes defined as too expansive and sometimes too narrow; however, Latvia's situation is clearer. Equally controversial are the eastern boundary (up to the Venta River or beyond) and the southern boundary (situated as far as the Horn of Ventė or passing along a line Telšiai-Plungė-Palanga).

5.2.3. Ethnonym

The historical sources containing the name of the Curonians and of Curonia (or Curlandia) have three different types of vocalism in the root:

> with *u*, e.g. Latin *Curi*, *Curones*, *Curonia*; Germ. *Kûren*, *Curland*; Russ. Кърсь; Old Norse *Kúrir*;[396]

> with *au* (*< *u*), e.g. *Cawern*, *Kauerlant*, forms known from the 16th among German colonies in Aukštaitija (High Lithuania);

> with *o*, e.g. Latin *Cori* (*Vita Anskarii*), *Corres*, Germ. *Correlant*, Russ. Корсь; forms probably derived from those with *u*).

The Balto-Finnic forms, Finn. *kuurilaiset* and Livonian *kuràli* show the typical Baltic alternation *š > h > Ø*, e.g. Lith. *šiẽnas* (< Baltic **šeina-* 'hay' → Finn. *heinä* id.).

Various etymologies for this ethnonym have been proposed. Vasmer (*ÈSRJa*) follows Kettunen's thesis, according to which the name *Curones* is explained on the basis of the Livonian *Kurà mō̄*, Eston. *Kuramaa* 'land

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[396] The possibility to connect the Baltic Curonians with the OGr. name of the κουρῆτες is considered rather skeptically in Rūmniece (2012) [see 1.3.2.2.].

(country) to the left', but connects it to the Slavic *кърчъ, cf. Old Czech *krchy* 'to the left', Lusatian *korch* 'left hand', Pol. *karśniawy* 'left-handed' (cf. also Celtic *kersos* 'left', Latin *cerro* 'obstinate person; Querkopf'), hypothesizing a semantic shift 'left' > 'northern', much as OInd. *dakṣiṇa-* > signifies 'right' and 'southern'; thus this ethnonym would mean 'he who lives in the north' = 'on the left'.[397] Būga (1920-1922a [= *RR* II, p. 234]) connects the ethnonym with a different series of Slavic forms, e.g. Ukrainian корс 'a strip of land without trees', Czech *krs* 'a low-growing bush' (cf. also OInd. *kr̥śá-* 'thin, weak'), from which it derives the fundamental meaning 'tract of tilled land; Rodeland' or '(land of) low bushes; Buschland'. It is also worth mentioning the thesis of Karsten (1939) which connects the name to Swedish dialect *kura* 'narrow place, corner', with reference to the coastal strip inhabited by the Curonians. Kazlauskas (1969b) proposes a new etymon on the basis of which Lith. *Kur̃šas*, Latv. *Kùrsa* have an onomastic origin. These could be connected with several anthroponyms (cf. Lith. *Kur̃šas*, *Kur̃šis*, *Kur̃šius*, *Kuršáitis*, etc.) and hydronyms (cf. the names of rivers *Kuršélka*, *Kuršìnė*, *Kur̃šupalis*, *Kur̃šupis*, etc.), as well as with several verbal nouns, still found in Lith. dialects (e.g. Low Lith. *kur̃šas* 'hook, clasp'. Lith. *kùrti* 'to build, to lift, to feed (a fire)', and Latv. *kurt* 'to light a fire' go back to Lith. *kir̃sti* 'to cut', Latv. *cirst* id. (< IE **ker-* 'to cut' and 'to build'). For this ethnonym there is also a hypothesis of its hydronymic origin, based on the comparison with the Latv. appellatives *čura* 'pond, puddle', Lith. *čiurlỹs* 'stream' and other Slavic comparisons and general IE (Mäntylä 1974). Or, according to a recent proposal, comparisons can be made with the names of rivers in Samogitia *Kur̃šupalis*, *Kur̃šupis* (Bušs 1990).

According to Schmid (1992b), the etymologies so far proposed are inadequate because:

a) they raise morphological difficulties (they force one to support Baltic *kur-šas* as a secondary formation (cf. Lith. *var̃gšas* 'poor' from *var̃gas* 'heavy labor, punishment'; *niẽkšas* 'worthless person' from *niẽkas* 'nothing');

b) they are semantically obscure; moreover, 'Curonians' and 'Prussians' would be the only isolated Baltic ethnonyms not having a hydronymic origin.

[397] Cf. *ÈSRJa* II, p. 338 with bibliography.

Schmid examines this question anew, starting from the root *kurš– < kurs* (where *s* > *š* after *r* [see 2.1.2.3.]), which he connects with *kr̥s–* on the basis of the rarer development *r̥* > Baltic *ur* [see 2.1.1.4.]; he proposes etymological comparisons with the Latin words *currĕre* 'to run', *cursus* 'way', *cursor* 'runner', and also *cursōrius*, *cursarius* (cf. Italian *corsaro* 'pirate'). This proposed interpretation takes into consideration the seafaring skills of the Curonians, such that **kuršias* could denote the pirates of the Baltic Sea, just as *cursarius* denoted the pirates of the Mediterranean Sea. There also exist several lexical and toponymic comparisons connected with the concept of "being mobile and swift (on the sea)" to support this hypothesis.

5.2.4. Linguistic features

Curonian, a now extinct Baltic language, has long been considered a Latvian dialect (Gerullis and Plāķis); this thesis has been superseded, and today it is thought that Curonian constitutes a kind of link between Lithuanian and Latvian, even though it has several lexical features exclusively in common with Old Prussian, as was first noted by Būga. Kiparsky (1939b), however, points out the differences between Latvian and Curonian. According to Mažiulis (1981a) Curonian is a peripheral Baltic dialect, initially belonging to the western group and later becoming closer to the eastern group, under the influence of the Finnic substratum and extensive contact with neighboring Lithuanian and Latvian (East Baltic). Later it was assimilated by these two languages, leaving traces in Latvian and its dialects,[398] as well as in several Lithuanian dialects (Samogitian).[399]

5.2.4.1. Phonetics. The principal phonetic features observable as the result of the study of toponyms are:

a) the development of the IE velars **k*, **g* > *s*, *z* e.g. *Talsen*, *Telse* (Duridanov 1996) compared to Lith. *Telšiaĩ*; **ḱ*, **ǵ* > *c*, *dz* e.g. *Sintere* (1253), *Zyntere* (1338) compared to Latv. *Dziñtare*, Lith. *Gintarà*;

b) the development of the Baltic sequence **tj*, **dj* > *t'*, *d'* as in the Samogitian dialects, e.g. *Lippayten* (modern Latv. *Lipaiķi*), *Aliseiden* (modern Lith. *Alsėdžiai*);

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[398] The Curonianisms in Latvian are studied in Bušs (1988, 1989b etc.).
[399] Zinkevičius (1980); Girdenis (1981a).

c) the preservation of *n* before a consonant, e.g. *Sansugale*, *Grunste* compared to Lith. *Žąsū́gala*, *Grūstẽ*;

d) the lengthening of short vowels before *r*, e.g. Latv. *cirst > cīrst > ciẽrst* compared to Lith. *kiřsti* 'to cut'.

Similar to Lithuanian and Latvian, Curonian preserves the Baltic sequence **an*, *en*, *in*, *un* (e.g. *Palange* compared to Lith. *Palangà*); moreover, *b/v* after *u* (e.g. *dubens* 'bottom' compared to Latv. *dibens*, Lith. *dùgnas < *dubnas* id.). Curonian shares the following isoglosses with Old Prussian:

a) preservation of the Baltic diphthong **ei*, e.g. *Leypiaseme* compared to Lith. *Líeplaukė*;

b) Baltic **i* > [e], e.g. (Curon. >) Latv. *klešs* 'having crooked legs' compared to Lith. *klìšas* id.;

c) Baltic **u* > [o], reflected e.g. in Latv. *suga* along with *soga* 'type, race', in OPr. *druwe* and *drowe* 'he believes', in Samogitian *bova* 'he was' compared to Lith. *buvo* id.[400]

5.2.4.2. Suffixes. The hydronyms allow one to establish certain features typical of Curonian, such as the suffixes *–alė*, *–alis*, e.g. *Lindale*, *Nogall* compared to Latv. *nogale*, Lith. *šilālė*; *–ile/–ele*, cf. *Kabillen*, *Sabele*; rarer are those in *–aitė*, *–aitis*, *–ėlė*, *–elis* thanks to which one can get an idea of the linguistic features of Curonian mainly on the basis of toponymic evidence and on certain features of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects.

5.2.4.3. Lexicon. Curonian shares several exclusive lexical elements with Old Prussian, e.g. Curon. **kela* (< Latv. *du-cele* 'two-wheeled wagon'), OPr. *kelan* 'wheel', compared to Lith. *rãtas*, Latv. *rats* id.; also certain onomastic data are explained as being derived from Old Prussian, cf. the toponyms *Cersupji*, *Cirspene* compared to OPr. *kērschan*, *kirscha* 'through, above', or *Lindale* compared to OPr. *lindan* 'valley' (distinct from Lith. *slẽnis* id.; and the anthroponyms *Butill*, *Pundicke*, *Stentile*, compared to OPr. *Butil*, *Pundico*, *Stintil*.

Relics of the Curonian language (couronisms) may still be encountered in Courland in present-day Latvian and Lithuanian dialects, for example cf. Latv. dial. *mantāt* 'to practice magic for protection; to charm away', Lith. dial. *mantauti* 'to heal' and Latv. dial. *ramīt* 'to bury; to dig',

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[400] On OPr.–Curonian phonetic correspondences, cf. Kaukienė (2007).

Lith. *ramìnti* 'to console', dial. *ramėti* 'to calm down' (Laumane 2000). Another semantic field in which Curonianisms may appear is that of the names of fish (ichthyonymy).[401]

In the field of onomastics Endzelīns (1926, 1939) already observes a close relationship between (O)Curonian and OPr. The investigation has been continued by Schmid (1984, 1993b) who could enlarge the number of the possible correspondences. A couple of examples follow:

a) Curonian *in loco dicto Kam* (1331), *in villa Kammendorp* (1397) and OPr. *Camynen* (1353; German *Komienen*, at present *Kominki*) perhaps related to Lith. *kaminai* 'moss', OPr. *camus* 'bumble-bee';

b) Curonian *Mokenzee* (?1422), *Mowken* (1460), and OPr. *Mucken* (1338), *Muckyn* (1394), *Mokynen* (1395; German *Mokainen*, at present *Mokiny*) probably related to Lith. *mukùs* 'swampy, humid', Latv. *muka* 'marsh'; interestingly enough the apophony *o ~ uo* seems to be characteristic both for Curonian (cf. *Muokkaln*, name of a mountain) and OPr. (cf. *Mokaym < *Mok-kaym*, name of a place).

Physio-geographical onomastic and appellatival correspondences between (O)Curonian and OPr. are pointed out by Laumane (1987).

5.2.4.4. Texts? The *Preussische Chronik* (1526) of Simon Grunau contains a Lord's Prayer which was long considered Old Prussian (cf. Bezzenberger's *LLD* II), until Schmid (1962) demonstrated that it was written not in Old Prussian but in Old Latvian, and, perhaps, actually in Curonian. In any case this text reflects traces of Old Curonian; it reads as follows (Perlbach, Philippi, Wagner 1875-1889 I, p. 94):

> *nossen thewes cur thu es delbas sweytz gischer tho wes wardes penag munis tholbe mystlastilbi tolpes prahes girkade delbeszisne tade symmes semmes worsunii dodi mommys an nosse igdemas mayse unde gaytkas pames mumys nusze noszeginu cademes pametam musen prettane kans newede munis lawnā padomā swalbadi munis nowusse loyne Jhesus amen.*

The Grunau's Lord's Prayer is an old Baltic text which deserves a renewed attention from Balticists in the light of the complex sociolinguistic situation of the Baltic area in the 16 century.[402]

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[401] Laumane (1973, 1995, 1996).
[402] On Prätorius and the Curonian Lord's Prayer, cf. Hinze (1976).

5.2.5. Nehrungskurisch (Curonian of the Curonian Spit)

This name designates the Baltic dialect spoken in the Curonian Gulf (Lith. *Kuřšių Nerijà*; Germ. *Kurisches Haff*) until 1945 and today on the road to extinction. The speakers of this linguistic subsystem of Latvian (*kursenieku valoda*) are called *kursenieki* in Latvian and *kuřšininkai* in Lithuanian.[403] They are not descendants of the ancient Curonians, but new arrivals from Latvia beginning in the 16th century. Bezzenberger (1889, p. 93), who did not use the concept of *kurisch*, wrote that "the language family of the indigenous population of the spit region today is part German, part Latvian, part Lithuanian."[404]

Almost one century after Becker (1904ab), El Mogharbel (1993) has written a systematic grammar with texts and glossary. Hinze (1989b, 2001) studies the grammatical interference among the languages of the area; again Hinze (1997) studies family names from Nida (Germ. *Nidden*).

Plāķis (1927) contains more than 3,200 lexical forms (cf. Bušmane 2010). Various scholars have studied certain lexical aspects of this language.[405] Kwauka and Pietsch (1977) have studied words related to fishing and sea-faring life; the same Pietsch (1982, 1991) furnishes a detailed description of the life and activities of this population as well as compiling a dictionary;[406] Euler (1998) wants to group (basing on some lexical affinities like *asins* 'blood' and *sviedars* 'sweat') this Baltic language closer to Latvian. The Slavic lexical element in *Nehrungskurisch* has been especially investigated by Hinze (1990, 1993).

The point of view of Bezzenberger is substantially confirmed by the recent contributions on this topic by Schmid (1989b, p. 36-38) and Schmid, Bernowskis (1995) accompanied by the publication of a large number of phonetically transcribed texts in this disappearing dialect. Here Schmid synthesizes the current state of research: synchronically *Nehrungskurisch* is a Curland dialect (with strong influences of Latvian, as well as Samogitian, Lithuanian and German); diachronically it is the historical development of the extinct Curonian mixed with Latvian and Livonian (of Curland), and shows features of a *fusion language* on every level of the grammar.

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[403]   On the terminological question also, cf. Zinkevičius (1999).

[404]   Cf. also Bezzenberger (1888), Kiseliunaitė (1998); on ethnonyms of the *kursenieku* dialect, cf. Kiseliunaitė (2008).

[405]   Endzelīns (1931a); Gerullis, Stang (1933). See also Hinze (2001).

[406]   Compare Schmid's (1983c) reservations regarding these works.

5.3. YATVINGIAN

There already exists a substantial bibliography on this topic. The renewed interest aroused during the Congress of Baltists in Vilnius (9-12 October 1985)[407] can be explained by the discovery of a manuscript text entitled *Pogańske gwary z Narewu*, which contains about 200 Polish words with correspondences in a presumed peripheral Baltic dialect. It is possible that interest will be revived, if research provides some data about the ethnic composition of the population of whom many tombstones remain from the 11th–17th centuries in modern Belarus.[408]

5.3.1. Geolinguistic extent

The original territory inhabited by the ancestors of the Yatvingians (the Σουδινοί of Ptolemy) should, according to Būga, be delineated by the area of diffusion of hydronymic suffixes in *-da* (e.g. *Jasiołda*, *Rospuda*, *Sokołda* etc.), situated between the Masurian lakes, the middle course of the Nemunas and the line Vilnius-Puńsk.[409] Antoniewicz (1966, p. 17) considers that this region can be enlarged to include the north of Masuria as well. The prehistoric boundary of Baltia has today been moved beyond the Pripjat' **[see 1.2.3.2.]**, so such discoveries might provide new information about the places of habitation of the ancestors of the Yatvingians.[410]

In some sources of the Order, Sudovia is equated with Jotva/Jotvingia; a rarer third name of this land is Dainava:

> *Per terram vocatam Suderland alias Jettuen (1420), terra Sudorum et Yatuitarum, quod idem est (1422); Denowe tota quam eciam – quidam Jetwesen vocant (1259).*

> [Through the land named Sudovia, otherwise Jotva, the land of the Sudovians and Yatvingians, which is one and the same; it is all Dainava, which some also call Yotva.]

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[407] Three talks (Hasiuk 1985, Zinkevičius 1985, Chelimskij 1985) were dedicated to the language of the Yatvingians, or Yatvingistics, in the language contacts section of the International Conference of Baltic scholars.

[408] Cf. Kviatkovskaja (1994), who advances the idea that the Yatvingians are of western Baltic nationality. But for now this remains only a working hypothesis; see also *TWM* 2 (1996, p. 10-25).

[409] Still useful for the large quantity of information which contains is Sjögren (1858).

[410] For an anthropological perspective on the Yatvingians, cf. Česnys (1981). For a prehistoric and historical points of view the materials from the Conference on Historical Sciences in Białystok (3-4 October 1975) with the title "The Yatvingians in research for the period 1955-1975" are very useful. The conference proceedings were published in 1981 in *RoczBiał*, 14, Warsaw, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Finally, some Polish chroniclers call the Yatvingians *Pollexiani* and their land *Pollexia*. Marcin Bielski [1495-1575] and Maciej Stryjkowski [1547-1597] mention the Yatvingians in the region of Nowogródek, Miechovita [1453/7-1523] – near Drohiczyn. According to these and other sources, the territory occupied by the Yatvingians extended to the east beyond the Masurian lakes, with its center in the modern district of Grodno, including Sudovia, Jotva, Dainava and other regions.

The variety of names (for other examples cf. Kudzinowski 1964; Wolff 1966; Nepokupnyĭ 1981) leads us to believe that the totality of the Yatvingian tribes – as often happens – were named differently by different populations. Since Jotva is the southernmost zone and Sudovia the northernmost zone, the southern neighbors extended the name Yatvingians to all the tribes and something similar was done by the Germans who first met the Sudovians through the Prussians. Therefore, today the name Yatvingian designates two separate entities. In a narrow sense of the word it indicates the single tribe, and in a wider sense the totality of tribes: the Sudovians (Powierski 1975; *TT* 55, 1998) comprised the western group and the Yatvingians (Polessia) the eastern group, the name of which subsequently served for a collective designation; a third group was probably settled in Dainava (Otrębski 1963c), and a fourth group in Masuria (**Māzava*, cf. Otrębski 1963a). Because of their special geographical situation the life of the Yatvingians was doubtless not simple (Pašuto 1959 = 1971, p. 259):

> The territory of the Yatvingians was a borderland, where the interests of Poland and Russia collided. Both strove to subjugate this land to their control, a land so important from military and political points of view. The results of these activities are well known: the Yatvingians were exterminated and a large portion of their territory fell under the control of the Order.

At the end of the 13th century the Order subjugated the Yatvingian territory from the north to the south, that is, from Sudovia.[411] The indigenous population was exterminated or deported, but a small group managed to flee to Lithuania. To defend themselves from further attacks the Teutonic Knights lay waste to the region. Up until the Peace of Toruń (1411) only Yatvingian refugees remained there, not wanting to be baptized. But after this year Lithuanians gradually settled in this territory, as well as eastern Slavs, Poles, and, of course, Yatvingians, who returned to their native lands. The

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[411] For a reference to the Yatvingians of the 13th century, cf. Ochmański (1985).

Lithuanians settled mainly in the north, in Sudovia, but penetrated deep into Yatvingian territory, so that in the southwest they formed numerous Lithuanian linguistic islands (Wiśniewski 1977; Kondratiuk 1974, 1981). The Lithuanians who settled here actively participated in complicated linguistic contacts which were characteristic for this region in the 15th-16th centuries (one can imagine intensive periods of bi- and multilingualism). To the south the Yatvingians did not assimilate quickly with the Russians and Poles. The process of assimilation in this region was slower than elsewhere, and therefore it is considered that the Yatvingians as an independent ethnic group finally disappeared toward the end of the 16th-beginning of the 17th centuries. In the Russian census of 1800 Yatvingians are inscribed in the Grodno district, but, probably, they are descendants of the ancient Yatvingians who already spoke Polish or Russian.

5.3.2. Ethnonym

The first reference to the ethnonym *jotv-ing- appears at the end of the 1st millennium A.D. when, in a list of legates sent by Kievan Rus' to Byzantium in 945, among others, a certain Yatvjag Gunarev is mentioned. The last information about the Yatvingians relates to the 13th-14th centuries, to the period of battle against the Order of the Teutonic Knights (Zajączkowski St. 1940-1941ab). Būga (1924a) connects this ethnonym with the toponym *Jótva, derived in turn from a hydronym. Otrębski (1963ab) holds a similar point of view and considers the *Jātuvingai those who lived in *Jātuva near the river *Jāta, referring as well to the mention in Lithuanian chronicles of the small river near Lyda-*Jatfa*. In an analogous way the name of Sudovians is connected to the name of their place of habitation – *Sūdava, near the river *Sūda (cf. river names *Sūduonià*, *Sūdounė*).

5.3.3. Linguistic features

Any attempt to reconstruct the language of the Yatvingians is very problematic. This language must have been very close to Old Prussian, since the medieval chroniclers made no distinction between the two languages. Today nobody doubts that Yatvingian belongs to the Baltic languages, but the question of whether it belongs to western Baltic or to eastern Baltic has raised much discussion. The principal hypotheses can be summarized as follows:

a) It is a southern Lithuanian dialect; this was the thesis preferred first by Bezzenberger and then by the Russian historians.

b) It is a transitional language between the Baltic and Slavic languages; this is the position, albeit isolated, of Otrębski (1961b, 1963ab et al.). Concerning Slavo-Yatvingian ties, cf. Łowmianski (1966).

c) Yatvingian is an Old Prussian dialect (Gerullis 1921; Būga 1924a; also Endzelīns, Fraenkel, Falk).

d) It is not a dialect, but an independent western Baltic language belonging to the peripheral Baltic area, very close to Old Prussian; this thesis was sustained by Mažiulis (1966b), Vanagas (1974, p. 19-21), Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 287), and also by some historians (e.g. Ochmański 1985).

So far the research on Yatvingian is based essentially on onomastic (mainly toponymic) evidence,[412] extracted from historical sources,[413] as well as from certain features of Lithuanian, Belarussian and Polish dialects spoken today in the historically Yatvingian territories.[414] As a result of this analysis, conducted primarily by Otrębski (1961b, 1963abc), it is possible to identify a series of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical features attributed to Yatvingian (or at least to the language spoken in the Yatvingian territory). The phonetic features are as follows:

a) the preservation of the diphthong *ei* (as in Old Prussian), while in Lithuanian and Latvian this shifts to *ie* (e.g. *Deivóniškiai*, in the district of Vilkavìškis, but *Dievóniškės*, in the district of Vilnius);

b) the occurrence of *s*, *z* (as in Old Prussian, Latvian, Semigallian, Curonian, Selonian) in cases where Lithuanian has *š*, *ž* (e.g. *Bérznykas*, cf. *Béržininkai*, in the district of Ignalina; the hydronyms *Veisiẽjis*, *Vieša*);[415]

c) the shift of the palatals *t'* and *d'* to *k'* and *g'* (cf. Lith. dialect *jaukẽliai* 'calves', *žõgis* 'word' compared to literary Lith. *jautẽliai*, *žõdis*;

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[412] On toponymics, cf. Nalepa (1971a); there are also remnants of anthroponyms, cf. Nepokupnyĭ (1982).

[413] For *terrula cresmen* where the Yatv. mountain name Kresmen should be recognized, cf. Nalepa (1971b).

[414] Cf. Zinkevičius (1975b), who, distinct from Kudzinowski, substantially limits the number of Yatvingian borrowings in northeastern Polish dialects.

[415] This phonetic feature is also found in some South High Lithuanian dialects (dzūkai) and in the environs of Zietela in Byelorussia where they say e.g. *às* 'I', *zmogùs* 'man' instead of Lith. *àš*, *žmogùs*. This phenomenon is explained as the effect of the Yatvingian substratum in Otrębski (1963a, p. 161); Zinkevičius (1966, p. 147); cf. also Grinaveckis (1991).

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d) the depalatalization (compared to the rest of Baltic) of the consonant series *š, ž', č', dž', s', z', r', l'* and the partial depalatalization of the labials *p', b', v', m'*.[416]

e) the accented ending *-ùs* in toponyms such as *Alytùs, Lajùs* etc.

Moreover, the following are noted as presumed morpho-syntactic features of Yatvingian:

f) infinitive forms ending in *-t'ie, -c'ie* (found in certain dialects of Polessia, e.g. *it'ie* 'to go', *nes'c'ie* 'to carry', etc., cf. Kuraszkiewicz 1955).

g) According to Witczak (1992) the dual is attested in **-ā* stems in Yatv. *libai* '(two) lips' < fem. dual **lūpāi* (cf. Lith. plur. fem. *lūpos*, Latv. *lũpas* id.), the *-ai* ending of which differs from the ending of **-o* stems, found in the same document (e.g. Yatv. *laug-i*, cf. Lith. *plaukaĩ* 'hair'). Regarding the gloss *wargi-łibaj* Schmid (1986b, p. 276) observes: "*łibaj* is thus a falsely Lithuanianized form of the Yiddish word *lup*".

h) The construction [ńe śe xce] is well represented in Polish dialects between the *Sejny* (Lith. *Seinaĩ*) and the *Knyszyn*, corresponding to Pol. *nie chcę się* '(I) do not want' and to Lith. *nesinóri* 'he/she doesn't feel like it' (Hasiuk 1985, p. 42).

i) The frequent suffix *-ingė, -ingis* (perhaps also *-ynas*) in some hydronyms in the area of certain southern Lith. dialects (Savukynas 1966), e.g. *Léipalingis, Pilvìngis, Stabìngis, Saũsvingis*, etc.

l) Probably the presence (as in OPr.) of the prefix *au-* has shown by some hydronyms near to Léipalingis, e.g. Lith. *Avìris, Avìrė* < Yatv. **au-vir-* (Garliauskas 2011).

m) Probably the frequent suffix *-uya* found in toponyms attested in the *Ipatius letopisi* (Nepokupnyĭ 1980).

As for lexicon, the study of toponyms can possibly clarify certain lexical elements, e.g. *gail-*, cf. OPr. *gayl-is* 'white'; *garb-*, cf. OPr. *garb-is* 'mountain' (Kuzavinis 1968); *kirsn-*, cf. OPr. *kirsn-an* 'black'.[417]

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[416] This latter phenomenon caused centralization and lowering of the vowels after depalatalized consonants (as a result é > [ɛː]; e > [ɛ, a] etc.). All these phonetic features for Yatvingian have been proposed, based on elements encountered in the southern Lithuanian dialects and from toponymic data, first by Otrębski (1963a) and then by Hasiuk (1989, 1990).

[417] According to Kuraszkiewicz (1955) the form *poršuk/paršuk* 'piglet', attested in the Russian dialects of Polessia a Yatvingian lexical vestige is also.

5.3.4. *Pogańske gwary z Narewu*

Given the scarcity and fragmented quality of our information concerning the Yatvingians, it is understandable that the discovery of a glossary – presumably Polish–Yatvingian – has aroused considerable interest among Baltic scholars. This is now the single text in our possession from the zone near the river Narew. It is known as *Pogańske gwary z Narewu* [i.e. Pagan dialects of the Narew] and has therefore received particular attention. In fact, the phrases reported by Hieronimus Maletius (firstly in the handwritten copy of 1561) belong to a Yatvingian dialect (probably northern, given the strong Old Prussian influence), rather distant from that fixed in the glossary, from both the geographical and linguistic points of view (Hasiuk 1993).

Regarding the language in the non–Polish column of the glossary,[418] scholars are unanimous about its being a Baltic dialect, but opinions differ on the question of its attribution: on the one hand, some consider it to be Yatvingian (Zinkevičius 1985; Chelimskij 1985; Orël 1986; Orël, Chelimskij 1987), while on the other hand, some consider it more likely to be Lithuanian with a strong Yiddish influence (Schmid 1986a).

The history of the glossary's discovery is as follows. In the summer of 1978 the young Vjačeslav Zinov, a passionate collector of antiques and rare books, traveled in this region looking for rare objects. For a very small price he acquired from a local peasant a prayer book in Latin, into the cover of which was sewn a difficult to read glossary of six to seven handwritten pages. This discovery so inspired him that he copied out the glossary into a notebook for further deciphering. Today the manuscript copy of Zinov is the only extant version of this text. Indeed, when the young man left for military service (1978-1980), his parents destroyed the handwritten original. Two years later Zinov contacted Professor Zinkevičius of Vilnius University to whom he told his story and who undertook the first linguistic description of the text (Zinkevičius *LKI* I, p. 3-29; 1985).

Schmalstieg (2003b) analyzes the phonology of the *Pogańske gwary z Narewu* according to W. Labov's structural principles of language change in progress (long vowels rise and short vowels fall). He considers the passage of /ē/ to /ī/ in *dainis* 'to sing', retention of original /ē/ in *tewʃ* 'father', and heavy palatalization in *teter* '4' beside Lith. *keturi*. Other questions are

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[418] Concerning the Polish column, cf. Popowska-Taborska (1990).

also considered such as how the non-native speaker perceives the phonemic system of the Baltic dialect he is recording, and the problem of scribal mistakes both by the author and by his copyist Zinov.

According to Zinkevičius the compiler of the vocabulary was probably a churchman (cf. the use of *pogańske* in the title) who did not know the language at all or had only a vague idea of it. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the frequent confusion of certain sounds in his notation (assuming Zinov copied them correctly), the absence of many endings and other errors of this type. Moreover, the copyist/compiler seems to be local as shown by certain Belarussian elements present in the Polish column of the vocabulary (e.g. *bieły*, *buśiel*, *lisa*, etc. in place of *biały* 'white', *bocian* 'stork', *lis* 'fox'). The linguistic material of the glossary (215 lemmas) attests only forms of the nominative case and often the words are written without the ending; linguistic facts worth mentioning include:

a) The presence of *s*, *z* where Lithuanian has *š*, *ž*. In several cases one encounters *k* where one might expect *š* and *g* where one might expect *ž*, and one encounters *ul* where one might expect *il* (e.g. *aktiſ* = Pol. *osiem* 'eight', cf. Lith. *aštuonì*, Latv. *astuoņi*, OPr. *asmus*; *kuo* = Pol. *pios* 'dog', cf. Lith. *šuõ*, Latv. *suns*, OPr. *sunis*; *gindi* = Pol. *wedzieć* 'to know', cf. Lith. *žinóti*, Latv. *zināt*, OPr. *er-sinnat*; *wulks* = Pol. *wilk* 'wolf', cf. Lith. *vil̃kas*, Latv. *vìlks*, OPr. *wilkis*).

b) The reflex of the common Baltic diphthong *-ei-* is twofold: one finds either *-ei-* > *-i-* (e.g. *brid* = Pol. *jeleń* 'stag', cf. Lith. *bríedis*, Latv. *briedis*, OPr. *braydis*) or *-ei-* > *-e-* (e.g. *letſ* = Pol. *deszcz* 'rain', cf. Lith. *lietùs*, Latv. *lietus*, but OPr. *aglo*).

c) The preservation of common Baltic *ā* (e.g. *naſiſ* = Pol. *nos* 'nose', cf. Lith. *nósis*, OPr. *nozy*, but Latv. *deguns*; *kaj* = Pol. *noga* 'foot', cf. Lith. *kója*, Latv. *kāja*, but OPr. *nage*).

d) In a substantial number of cases the initial sound of the word has probably been dropped (e.g. *ajga* = Pol. *koniec* 'end', cf. Lith. *pabaigà*, Latv. *beigas*, but OPr. *wangan*; *ate* = Pol. *matka* 'mother', cf. Lith. *mótina*, Latv. *māte*, OPr. *mothe*, etc.).

e) The frequency of substantives with the ending *-o-* suggests that the neuter gender was preserved (e.g. *puro* = Pol. *bagno* 'puddle, swamp, standing water', cf. Lith. *puřvas*, Latv. *purvs*; *ziro* = Pol. *ezero* 'lake', cf. Lith. *ẽžeras*, Latv. *ezers*, OPr. *assaran*).

f) The verb infinitive endings *-t/d(i)* are attested (e.g. *gywatti* = Pol. *żyć* 'to live', *dodi* = Pol. *dawać* 'to give'; *emt* = Pol. *brać* 'to take'; *ejd* = Pol. *chodzić* 'to walk, stroll').

Important new information has emerged from the systematic study of the glossary's lexicon. Schematically in percentages, 11% of the lexemes are common to all the Baltic languages (e.g. *ate*, *augd* = Pol. *wzrastać* 'to grow'; *degt* = Pol. *palić* 'to burn'; *karo* = Pol. *walka* 'battle', etc.). Seven percent have correspondences only in Old Prussian (but the percentage could be larger given the limited text); 20% have correspondences with East Baltic groups, especially Lithuanian. The remaining 28% can be considered Baltic by root and structure, but lack exact correspondences in the other Baltic languages (e.g. *argikaſ* = Pol. *tęcza* 'rainbow'; *aucima* = Pol. *wieſ* 'village, country'; *weda* = Pol. *szlach* 'way, street', etc.). Also interesting are certain differences in the meaning of words sharing the same roots, such as *ſmakra* = Pol. *broda* 'beard' (which preserves the meaning of OInd. *śmáśru-* 'beard' compared to Lith. *smãkras* 'chin');[419] *ars* = Pol. *dym* 'smoke', cf. Lith. *óras* 'weather'; *dumo* = Pol. *ciemno* 'dark', cf. Lith. *dū̃mai* 'smoke' and Lith. *tamsùs* 'dark'. A case of independent retention of the same word is Yatv. *mard* 'men' (differently from Lith. *žmogùs* and Latv. *cilvēks* id.) and Armenian *mard* id. (Schmalstieg 1968c).[420]

There is little agreement among scholars regarding the portion of the lexicon that is of foreign origin, and in certain cases the interpretations differ completely. Zinkevičius indicates twenty suspect Germanisms (e.g. *augi*, cf. Germ. *Augen* 'eyes'; *hantus*, cf. Germ. *Hand* 'hand'; *monda*, cf. Germ. *mond* 'moon'; *wurc*, cf. Germ. *Wurzel* 'root', etc.) and three Polonisms (*chad*, cf. Pol. *chata* 'peasant hut'; *seno*, cf. Pol. *sen* 'sleep'; *wirza* (< ?*ź-wierz-a*), cf. Pol. *źwierz* 'wild animal'). From what has been said it is clear that Zinkevičius has no doubts about the Baltic nature of the text. Chelimskij (1985) and Orël (1991) have, however, pointed out the fact that more than one entry in the glossary has surprising correspondences in the Finno–Ugric languages, a phenomenon that leads them to conclude that the lexicon in the glossary reflects a situation of close contact with a Finno–Ugric language, in particular with (Proto-) Hungarian.

Schmid (1986) explains a series of deviations (in consonants), in endings, in gender, etc.) as a result of the influence of (north)eastern Yiddish,

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[419] On Lith. *barzdà* and Latv. *barda*, cf. Kregždys (2004).
[420] The ethnonyms in the glossary have been the object of investigations in Karaliūnas (1998).

found primarily in the portion of the lexicon of Germanic origin (10%), but also in the Baltic. These elements cannot be explained by Polish, nor by the Germanic or the Baltic languages. Many indicators lead us to think that the glossary known as *Pogańske gwary z Narewu* is a text produced by an informant with a poor knowledge of the Baltic languages, and various words are characterized by a particular rendering of the sounds and forms which today is reflected in Zinov's copy.[421]

5.4. GALINDIAN

Without doubt the Galindians are the most mysterious among the so-called minor Baltic races. First of all, it should be noted that it is unclear whether this name refers to one or several peoples. Besides the ethnonym itself there are hydronymic data and several terms uncovered as the result of a careful analysis of the lexicon of modern Russian dialects of the Moscow region. In fact, traces of them can be found in the eastern Baltic lands, around Moscow, as well as south of the territory where the Prussians lived earlier, and even as far as Czech lands.

A new theory from recent research concludes that the Galindians were probably not the first inhabitants of this region covering the area between the Volga and the Oka rivers, but rather that until their appearance in this zone other Baltic tribes lived there, who assimilated over time with neighboring Finnic peoples, thus leaving few traces. However, it is not possible to establish exactly when the (eastern) Galindians finally disappeared. It is recorded in the Old Russian chronicles that they were numerous and bellicose as late as the 13th century.

5.4.1. Historical references

Būga (1924a) and Kabelka (1982, p. 28) believe it quite possible that the name of the Galindians was known in the Roman period, and that the Romans even had contact with this Baltic people (cf. Puzinas 1976). Supporting this are several coins on which are written in Greek and Latin letters the names *Phinikos*, *Galindikos*, *Venedikos* and the name of Volusiano, a ruler from the middle 3rd century. Other later references to the Galin-

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[421] Cf. Schmid (1986b, p. 285): "The Pogańske gwary z Narewu give evidence of a Lithuanian derived through Yiddish." Also to be noted are the above mentioned merger of s, š and z, ž, typical for Yiddish of this dialectal area.

dians are provided by Jordanes and information from the Old Russian chronicles. According to these sources the Galindians lived in the eastern Baltic territories (the Dnepr area). The Russian chronicles state that in 1058 *победи Изяславъ Голядь* (Izjaslav conquered the Galindians), and in another passage, dated 1147, it is reported *и шедъ Святославъ и взя люди Голядь, верх Поротве* (And Svjatoslav went and captured the Galindian people on the upper Protva). In the second instance reference is made to the military campaign against the Galindians by Svjatoslav Olegovič, who conquered them near Protva and finally subjugated them to his control. From this it follows that the Galindians were a rather strong tribe, who opposed Slavic colonization on the territory of the modern Moscow district. The following mention of the Galindians appears in Peter von Dusburg [see 4.3.1.1.], who places them only in Prussia. In his 14th century work *Chronicon terre Prussie* he describes eleven parts of the Prussian land and among them records a district with the name *Galindia*, where the *Galindite* live. von Dusburg further narrates how "the Galindians increased and multiplied like mushrooms after a rain, and swelled and filled their land to such an extent that it could no longer feed them." They reached a point where they decided to kill their newborn girls and keep the boys alive for military service. The women of the Galindians, angered by this treatment, turned to a local shaman, who summoned all the important members of the tribe, saying: "Your gods want you to fight against the Christians without weapons or swords or other instruments of defense." The assault was victorious and brought a rich tribute, but several of the Teutons escaped from captivity, and reported that the Galindians had no defensive armaments. The Christians in their turn attacked the pagans and killed them all. "Thus this land has remained devastated to this very day" – so ends his chronicle Peter von Dusburg, the official historian of the Teutonic Order.

5.4.2. Ethnonym

There are three etymological hypotheses to explain the name of the Galindians: one has been perfected over time, a second was formulated recently, and the third is completely new. Būga (1924a) – and after him many other scholars (Endzelīns, Fraenkel, Vasmer, Toporov, etc.) – connected the Baltic ethnonym **Galind-* with Lith. *gãlas* 'district; wall; border', from which it follows that 'the Galindians' signifies 'outsiders' or 'those who live on the most distant border', by analogy with Germanic *Marcomanni* (cf. Germ.

Mark 'border', *Mann* 'man') or Slavic Украинцы, 'those who live at the very edge', cf. край. Slavonicized forms of this ethnonym, found in Old Russian chronicles, also agree with this etymological hypothesis; cf. the sequence: Russ. *Goljadь* < **golędь* < Baltic **Galind-*; in support of this hypothesis is the Latvian expression *dzīvot pasaules galā* 'to live on the edge of the world'. Savukynas (1963) in particular has enriched the hypothesis with onomastic data. This etymological explanation of the ethnonym **Galind-*, as proposed by Būga-Savukynas [see 3.4.2.2.], gives a sufficient basis for combining the eastern and western branches of the Galindian tribes. Thus this name may apply to all the Baltic tribes of the peripheral area; a strip of land extending from northern Moravia to Polessia, to the middle course of the Dnepr, and further north to the modern cities of Brjansk, Kaluga, Moscow and Tver'.

But there is another, more modern etymological hypothesis, and although it is less compelling, its value lies in the fact that it includes the ethnonym in the system of Baltic ethnonyms (cf. the names of the Lithuanians and the Latvians). According to Nalepa it is in fact preferable to proceed from hydronyms like the lake names of *Galent*, *Galanten* (1379), the modern *Gielądzkie jezioro*, or river names, e.g. *Galinde* (the right branch of the Narev), etc., and from these to derive the ethnonym in question, the root of which is **gal-/*gil-* (Nalepa 1971a; Mažiulis 1981c, p. 318-319). Finally, there is a third explanation for the name of the Galindians which has nothing in common with the two previous etymologies. Schmid (1996) considers plausible not only the connection with the Baltic areal (cf. Lith. *galéti* 'to be able to, to have power', *galià* 'strength, power', *galìngas* 'powerful'), but also with Celtic (cf. Welsh *gallu* 'power', Irish *gal* 'strength' and also the names *Galli* and *Gallia*), thus indicating an impressive parallel in the western European sphere, whereby the Galindians are 'the powerful ones'. It is difficult to say which of these etymological proposals is the best.

Some scholars have sought to demonstrate specific Prussian elements in the modest data remaining from the Galindian language,[422] thus supporting the hypothesis of a common origin for the two peoples – which could explain why ancient authors refer to them with the same name – and thereby supporting the etymology first proposed by Būga. Jaskanis (1965) has written about the possibility that an identical name designated two distinct ethnic entities, but in the final analysis there were no definite results concerning Prusso-Galindian connections. The idea of a unity of

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[422]   E.g. Otrębski (1958); Vilinbachov, Engovatov (1963); Sedov (1971); various contributions by Toporov [see infra].

the peripheral Baltic peoples still remains an ingenious proposition, but is as before inadequate to fill in the many lacunae in our knowledge of historical facts. Still, the numerous studies associated with this subject have produced a notable mass of new and interesting material.

5.4.3. Substratum

Our knowledge about the Galindian substratum – just as that about the Baltic substratum in general – was significantly advanced by the study of Baltic hydronyms. This research has permitted us to systematize information which was formerly scattered. Thus, today it makes no sense to consider that Baltic toponyms discovered in these territories where the Galindians lived in antiquity are the legacy of colonization which took place in the period of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. On the contrary, the preservation of Baltic hydronyms and toponyms by later Slavic inhabitants of these lands suggests a protracted period of bilingualism. On the other hand, archaeological discoveries also reveal typical elements of the material culture of the Balts.

Elsewhere [see 3.4.3.] I presented the possibility that the Galindians introduced Baltic elements into western Europe, primarily into the languages of the Iberian Peninsula. Traces of this Baltic tribe are also found in the toponymy near the Polish-Czech border in the Carpathians and the Sudetanland (e.g. Czech *Holedeč*, *Holedeček*, *Holešice* < **Golęd-*; this is also reflected in the Germ. *Gross-* and *Klein-Holetitz*, *Holeditz*, as well as in *Golensizi*, cited by the Bavarian Geographer (Toporov 1980a); moreover, in Old Polish documents both *gradice Golensiczeshe*, *Golendzin* and the proper names *Golandin*, *Golanda*, etc. occur). Besides toponymic data there is the research of Lučiz-Fedorez (1989); she uncovered a nucleus of rather interesting Balto-Czech lexical correspondences which should be studied more carefully before one can conclusively include them in this perspective (e.g. Czech *klábositi* 'to chatter, to speak nonsense', cf. Lith. *kalbéti* 'to speak'; Czech *duněti* 'to ring', cf. Latv. *dunēt* 'to shout, to thunder'. In other Slavic languages there are numerous correspondences to the secondary meaning of Lith. *dundéti* 'to speak'. According to Blažek (2006b) relics of the passage of the Galindians remain in west Bohemia (12 hydronyms and 4 toponyms).

A dense series of toponyms with the element **Galind-* was found along an imaginary line which goes from historical Galindia to the Pripjat' swamps and as far as the basin of the Moscow river. But traces of the (east)

Galindian substratum are concentrated in the broad Moscow district (Toporov 1972b, 1977b, 1980ab, 1981, 1982, 1983b). In fact, in most of the toponyms on the territory between the Volga and Oka rivers one finds the characteristic element *goljad*', in combination with various Slavic suffices (cf. the river names Голединья, Голядянка, Голедь, the mountain Голядина гора, or the villages Голяжье, Воголяжье, Голяди, etc.). Given that this element is also found in the toponymics of central Russia and in the Orël district, the hypothesis has been advanced that with the expansion of the Slavs, some of the Galindians migrated to the east and lived in isolation there over a long period of time. This is confirmed by the diffusion of certain isoglosses found in Russian dialects.

5.4.4. Linguistic features

The studies of Lekomceva (1981, 1982, 1983) were aimed at the reconstruction of the Galindian phonological system, based on materials furnished by hydronyms and anthroponyms of Baltic origin (phonetically unproven, by the way), and especially by lexical and grammatical features of the Russian dialects of this district, which are modern forms of the languages of the ancient Vjatiči and Kriviči.

5.4.4.1. Phonology. These modern studies have allowed us to reconstruct a phonological repertory, the characteristic features of which are found in vocalism, internal asymmetry and opposition of two subsystems – short and long; in consonantism, opposition of voiced and voiceless, nasal vs. non-nasal, and the absence of velar spirants. Moreover, the existence of a distinct palatal series has been established, which renders typologically dubious the phonological palatalized vs. non-palatalized opposition. The phonological system of Galindian is reconstructed in this way:

Short vocalism		Long vocalism		Consonantism				
i	*u*	*ī*	*ū*	*p*	*t*	*t'*	*tʃ*	*k*
		ē	*ō*	*b*		*d'*		*g*
e								
a		*ā*		*m*	*n*	*n'*		
				v	*s*		*ʃ*	
				z			*ʒ*	
				l	*l'*			
				r	*r'*			
				j				

Table 1

The phonological system of Galindian as proposed by Lekomceva has typically Baltic general features which, however, demand further confirmation before they can be used unconditionally in the comparative study of the Baltic languages.

5.4.4.2. Lexicon. In various works Toporov provides several dozen lexical units suspected of being Baltisms, probably inherited from the Galindians, found near the modern Protva, between Gžatsk and Možaisk, which is considered the most important Galindian center; e.g.: Russ. аláня 'beer', аláнный 'of beer' ~ Lith. *alìnas* 'a type of beer', *alùs* 'beer', Latv. *aliņš* id.; Russ. кромсáть 'to cut up carelessly, to break into bits, to shred bread' ~ Lith. *kramséti*, Latv. *kramstīt* id. (Toporov also connects this with the root of Russ. кремль 'kremlin' < **krem-i̯-*; Russ. нерёта, нóрот 'fishing gear' ~ Lith. *nérti* 'to sink', Latv. *nērt* id.; Russ. пикýлька 'type of weed' ~ Lith. *pìkulė* 'sisymbrium'.

5.5. SELONIAN

5.5.1. Historical mentions and geolinguistic extension

It is thought that the first mention of the Selonians is found in *Tabula itineraria Peutingeriana* (i.e. Peutinger's travel tablet, 3rd-4th centuries) and precisely in the meaning *Caput fl(uvii) Selliani* i.e. source of the Sellianus River), with a reference to one of the rivers shown, identified as the Daugava. Relying on other sources, on the other hand, they fall into last place (Karaliūnas 1972; Okulicz 1973). Data supplied on the map named for the German humanist Konrad Peutinger [1465-1547], leads one to believe that the Selonians lived in the territory along the Daugava and that they probably reached the estuary of the river. This fully agrees with the earlier reference in the Chronicle of Henry the Latvian [1187-1259] to the *Selones* and to a *castrum Selonum* 'camp of the Selonians', located alongside an easy ford on the left bank of the Daugava (modern *Sēlpils*); on the right bank the Selonians lived among the Latvians as a minority.

In the 13th century the Selonians are mentioned more often – although they do not appear in the Old Russian chronicles (perhaps because the Russians confused them with the Lithuanians and Latvians).[423] The Selonians appear often in the verse Chronicle of Livonia (*Selen*, *Selenland*),

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[423]   Cf. Kabelka (1982, p. 82); Zinkevičius (*LKI* I, p. 358).

as well as in other documents of the period, for example, in the act of 1254 of Pope Innocent IV, which affirms the right of the Knights of the Sword to possess (*castra seu munitiones*, *villas* 'camps or fortifications, farms') the Selonians, and also in a deed of gift of 1255 by Mindaugas to the Livonian Order, where it speaks of the land of the *Selen* and their other localities: *Meddene*, *Pelone*, *Malesyne*, *Thovraxe*.[424] In a subsequent deed of a gift by Mindaugas in 1261, the boundaries of the Selonian habitats are shown: in the north they extended along the Daugava, and in the south they extended approximately to a line Tauragnai – Utena – Subačius – Pasvalys. Today it is considered that the Selonians lived further north, whereas further to the south they had already integrated with the Lithuanians. It appears that the process of assimilation was rather rapid. The northern Selonians had already assimilated with the Latvians by the middle of the 14th century, with the Latvians, while the southern Selonians assimilated with the Lithuanians (7th-14th centuries).

5.5.2. Ethnonym

The name of the Selonians is reconstructed from a hydronymic origin based on comparison with the river names in the area of Lithuania, *Séliupis*, *Séliupỹs* (river), *Sélinė* (swamp), etc. and with the Lith. appellatives *seléti*, *sálti* 'to flow', *sélénti* 'to slink'. This thesis is supported by Kuzavinis (1966), who derives from these hydronyms the tribal name **Sėl(i)a*, or **Sėle*, which in turn gives *Sėla*, the name of the region, and *Sėliai*, the inhabitants of the region (Vanagas 1981a, p. 295, agrees, but with certain reservations). Outside the Baltic area Toporov (1964) proposes a parallel with the Thracian tribe of the *Selletes*, with the toponyms Σελλοί, Σηλυμβρία and with the anthroponym Σῆλυς; to these Laučiūtė (1988, p. 58) adds the first part of the Lusatian compound tribal name of the *Selpuli*.

5.5.3. Linguistic features

In the absence of written texts any conclusions about the language of the ancient Selonians can only be made on the basis of scarce onomastic elements preserved in historical sources,[425] and of certain specific isoglosses, which are designated specifically as "Selonian" and which appear in Lithu-

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[424] Cf. Būga (1920-1922b = *RR* II, p. 109); Kabelka (1982, p. 82).

[425] Being a native of this region, Būga (1924a = *RR* II, p. 267-282) concentrated his studies on these materials. An example of more recent research is the work of Mažiulis (1981b).

anian and Latvian dialects of the district where the Selonians once lived.[426] In the face of scarce materials scholarly opinions differ. Būga (1924a = *RR* III, p. 274-282) considered the Selonian language to be close to Curonian; however, Endzelīns (1924) did not recognize a single isogloss exclusive to the two languages. And in this case certain scholars considered Selonian to be a transitional dialect between Lithuanian and Latvian.

The situation with evidence is still more complicated, if that is possible, than for Curonian or Semigallian.

5.5.3.1. Phonetics. In vocalism *$\bar{o}$ and *$\bar{a}$ were probably distinct, cf. *Nalexe* (Lith. *Nóliškis*), *Rave*[*munde*] (Lith. *Rovéjà*) with $\bar{a}$ preserved (Zinkevičius *LKI* I, p. 361). It is supposed that Selonian, like the other East Baltic dialects, must have had *ie*, *uo*, cf. the toponyms of presumed Selonian origin *Medone*, cf. Latv. *Madona* [Maduona]; *Vesinthe*, cf. Lith. *Viešintà* and the name of the lake *Lodenbeke* (modern Lith. *Lúodžio ẽžeras*). On the basis of the spelling of the toponyms, Zinkevičius allows the possibility that *$\bar{e}$, *$\bar{o}$ still existed; and Breidaks has hypothesized their change to the diphthongs *$\bar{\imath}^{e}$ (or *$^{e}\bar{\imath}$) > $\bar{\imath}$ and *$\bar{u}^{o}$ (or *$^{o}\bar{u}$) > $\bar{u}$, beginning at the stage where the Selonians, Latgalians and Samogitians were still neighbors, i.e. before the 4th century A.D. (Breidaks 1992).

In consonantism, as in Prussian and Yatvingian, *s*, *z* must have existed in place of Lith. *š*, *ž* as the following onomastic comparisons show.

Selonian *s* in place of Lith. *š*: *Maleysine*, *Mallaysen*, cf. Lith. *Maleĩšiai*; *Swenteuppe*, *Swentoppe*, cf. Lith. *Šventóji*; *Wasseuke*, *Waseweck*, cf. Lith. *Vašuokà*, *Vesinte*, *Vesinte*, *Vesyten*, cf. Lith. *Viešintà*.

Selonian *z* in place of Lith. *ž* is not attested except for the name of lake *Zãrasas* (which Būga derives from *$ezerasas/ezarasas$, cf. Lith. *ẽžeras* 'lake'); *Zadúojas*, cf. Lith. *Žãdikė*; *Zirnajỹs*, cf. Lith. *Žirnajà*.

Another characteristic change is *k', *g' > Selonian *c*, *dz* as in Latvian and Curonian (e.g. *Alce* < cf. the lake-names in Lith. *Alkà*, *Al̃kas*; *Latzedzen* < *Lakegen*; *Nertze* < *Nerke*; *Nitczegale*, cf. Latv. *Nīcgale*, Lith. *Nykà*); sometimes Selonian *c* < *k*' changes into Lith. *č* (e.g. *Čedasaĩ* < Selonian *$cedas$-, cf. Lith. *Kẽdidės*, *Kẽdiškė*). Būga maintained that the sequences *$t\underset{.}{i}$ and *$d\underset{.}{i}$ in Selonian give *t*' and *d*' on the basis of the toponyms *Apste* (1416), derived from *$Apaste$ < *$Apast\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$ (modern Lith. *Apaščià*) and *Subate* < *$Subat\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$ (cf. Lith. *Subãčius*). The fate of *n* in a closed syllable provokes controversy;

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[426] A collection of texts transcribed during dialectological expeditions in 1981-1983 and their phonetic and grammatical description are presented in Poiša (1985, 1999).

according to Būga it was preserved, as several instances show (*Gandennen*, *Lensen*, etc.), Endzelīns, however, postulates that within Selonian a dialectal division into separate dialects took place: in one dialect it remained and in one it did not (cf. the alternative spellings: in 1261 *Vesinthe*, *Wesinte*; in 1392 *Vesyten*). Kabelka (1982, p. 85) has observed in this connection that after the discovery that *n* was also preserved in Semigallian [see 5.6.], there is no basis for assuming the particular affinity of Curonian and Selonian.

The Selonian substratum explains the series of dialectal peculiarities of Lithuanian (for instance, the so-called Kupiškėnai and Anykštėnai dialects, cf. Breidaks 1985; Šaudiņa 2007) and Latvian (the problem of the rising tone).

5.5.3.2. Morphology. The only characteristics attributable to Selonian on the basis of hydronyms are certain typical suffixes: *–aj–* (e.g. *Almajà*, *Indrajà*), *–uoj–* (e.g. *Zadúojas*), *–as– ~ –es–* (e.g. *Čẽdasas*, *Laukesà*), *–ēt–* (e.g. *Barškẽtà*), *–īkšt–* (e.g. *Anykštà*). For the peculiar value of verbal constructions with the formant *–ja* cf. Vanags (2000b) [see 7.4.3.5.].

5.5.3.3. Lexicon. It is held that certain forms, typical for dialects of the ancient area of the Selonians, should be explained by a Selonian derivation, e.g. Lith. dialect *zliaũgtie ~ zliaũktie* 'rain hard; to flow profusely', *zelmuõ* 'roof, ridge, crest, top'; Latv. dialect *maukt* 'to dig potatoes', *grieznis* 'rutabaga, Swedish turnip, Brassica napus rapifera'.

5.6. SEMIGALLIAN

The common opinion regarding this Baltic dialect is that it dissolved respectively into Lithuanian in the southern regions and into Latvian in the northern regions of ancient Semigallia. Dambe (1959) and also Kabelka (1982, p. 80) consider that linguistically the Semigallians were always closer to the Lithuanians than the Curonians were.

5.6.1. Historical mentions

The first mention of the Semigallians and of Semigallia (*simkala*) occur in Scandinavian sources. Thus in the Danish chronicle *Annales Ryenses* from the 13th century it is recorded that in 870 the Danes united Prussia and *Semigaliam* to Karelia, and in another are reported the frequent expeditions

against *Soeimgala* of Svein, the husband of Sigrid. For a long time it was thought that Semigallia was mentioned on two runic stones (*Mervalla stone*, *Gökstone*) found in Sweden (Södermanland), but the question is complex (Butkus 1994). However, more certain is the reference in *Ingvarsaga viðforla* to the *Seimgaler* people, who are recorded as an example of disobedience to King Olaf and therefore an object of punitive expeditions.

Russian sources (*Laurentian Chronicle*) also mention Зимигола among the territories which were in the area of Jafet, and its inhabitants were among those who paid tribute to Kiev. In 1106 the victory of the Semi-gallians over the son of the lord of Polotsk is noted. In German sources references to Semigallia begin with the Teutonic Order. Indeed, in the be-ginning of *Cronicon Livoniae* there is a story about *portus Semigallorum* 'the port of the Semigallians', forbidden to Christians by Pope Innocent III in 1200. If one believes the description of the Flemish traveler Ghillebert de Lannoy (Klimas P. 1933), then the Semigallian language was still alive at the beginning of the 15th century, since he mentions it twice among the Baltic languages, calling it the language which is spoken by *Zamegaelz* or *Tzamegaelz*. The prevailing view is that this Baltic dialect disappeared in the second half of the 15th century. On the basis of several documents it is considered that in the regions belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania it disappeared in the end of the 14th century. But in other territories, it is thought, it continued until at least the end of the 15th century.

5.6.2. Geolinguistic extension

The territory formerly occupied by the Semigallians was located within the boundaries formed by the rivers Venta and Mūša in the south; by the Upīte region in the southeast; by the territories of the Selonians in the east; and by the Curonians in the west. To the northwest and to the northeast the neighbors of the Semigallians were the Finnic tribes of Livs. Perhaps they reached to the estuary of the Daugava, that is, the thickly populated area where Riga was eventually established.[427] Until the appearance of the Teutonic Order the Semigallians were divided into six tribes, living in six *terrae* 'lands', often where important castles were located, already famous

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[427] Regarding the name of Riga several scholars have proposed that it is a Germanized form of the Latv. *rija* 'granary', while others adhere to a hydronymic origin; this latter explanation has correspondences in nu-merous names of rivers and lakes, e.g. Lith. *Rìnga*, *Rìngė*, *Rìñgis* etc., connected to the appellative *rìnga*, *rìngė* etc. 'a bend, curved line', *ringiúoti* 'to bend or curve', cf. Dambe (1990). For palaeocomparativistic ideas on the name of Riga, cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 557-558 and p. 666-669.

in the 13th century. The two most important were *Upemolle* (also *Opemolle*, the largest, cf. Latv. *upe* 'river' and *mala* 'border, shore', and *Dubene* (or *Dobene*), located in the west, cf. Lith. *duobė̃*, Latv. *dùobe* 'ditch'; the others were smaller: *Dubelene* (also *Doblen*); *Silene*, cf. Lith. *šìlas* 'small forest', Latv. *sils* id.; *Sparnene*, cf. Lith. *spar̃nas* 'wing', Latv. *spārns* id.; *Thervethene* (or *Teruetene* or still *Terevethene*), according to Vanagas (1970, p. 139) a name of Finno-Ugric derivation (cf. Eston. *Tarvast*, Karelian Терваламби, etc.); *Sagare* or *Sagera*, cf. the name of the Lith. lake *Žagãris*. The division into tribes, who frequently fought with each other and with the Lithuanians as they strove to move to the north, at first assisted the Teutonic expansion. Thus, in 1202 the latter concluded a successful pact with the Semigallians against the Livs, and in 1205 and 1208 against the Lithuanians, but with a completely different result. Soon they began to conclude other alliances; for example, already in 1210 the Semigallians, Livs, Curonians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Russians drove the Teutons from the city of Koknes. In 1230 the Semigallians, the last among all the Baltic tribes except for the Lithuanians, were for the first time forced to recognize the power of the Order (Urban 1974), and their lands were divided between the Order and the bishop of Riga. But after the battle of Šiauliai (1236), when the Teutons were routed, the Semigallians rebelled. For the Semigallians, who in their fight with the Order largely followed Lithuania, submission to the Teutons alternated with mutinies. In 1272 they were forced to recognize the power of the Order and agreed to pay tribute. Their last large-scale uprising began in 1279 and continued for a full decade. It was led by Nameisis, who united under his leadership all the tribes except the Mežotne, who remained under the rule of the Teutons. The extended battle with the superior forces of the Teutons, who burned the Semigallian castles one after another, was complicated by famine. Having been defeated, the Semigallians who escaped first hid in Lithu-ania. The remaining Semigallians, according to the Order's custom, were resettled in other areas (this explains the diffusion of the toponym *Zèmgaļi* in modern southwest Kurzeme). In the 15th century the Lithuanians from the south, and especially the Latvians from the north, occupied ancient Semigallia. From this time, without doubt, the gradual disappearance of the language of the Semigallians began, as a result of the dispersion of the people and the colonization of their lands.

5.6.3. Ethnonym

In Latin sources the spelling *Semigalli*, *Semigallia* is used; in German *Semegallen*, *Semgallen*. The Latvian scholarly forms are derived on the German model: *Zèmgale*, *zemgaļi* (Latv. *zemgalieši* signifies the modern inhabitants of *Zemgale*, a region of the Republic of Latvia); Lithuanian has two pairs: *žiemgãliai*, *Žiemgala* and *žemgãliai*, *Žemgala*. The etymology of the forms is controversial: it means 'end of the lands' or 'low zone'; both interpretations are admissible. Nevertheless, following Būga (1924a) and Endzelīns (1925), the form with *-ie-* is considered more ancient as demonstrated by the Russ. Зим–игола, along with Swedish *Seim–galer* (cf. Лит–ва ~ *Liet-uva* < **Leit-*); *-ei-* in the northern form probably reflects the Curonian vocalism (West Baltic), that is, the vocalism of the first language with which the Scandinavians came in contact.

Bušs (1990) proposes a hydronymic origin for this ethnonym, connecting it with the names of the rivers *Žeimìkė* near Telšiai and *Žeimenà* near Švenčionys, both in Lithuania.

5.6.4. Linguistic features

The Semigallians did not leave any written documents, therefore one can examine their language only on the basis of the little onomastic data and certain reflections found in modern Latvian and Lithuanian dialects which are spoken in Semigallian territory (Birzniece 1983). Overall there are few such elements, and therefore some researchers, like Bielenstein, have looked at Semigallian not as a language, but as a Latvian dialect. Even among those who recognize it as a separate East Baltic language, some consider that it is closer to Lithuanian, while others think that it is closer to Latvian. The language features (particularly phonetic, considering the small number of morphological and lexical elements) attributed to Semigallian, without doubt, always appear rather contradictory.

5.6.4.1. Phonetics. Here one can rely primarily on toponymic data. For vocalism it has been observed that, distinct from Curonian, the Baltic diphthong **ei* in Semigallian in certain cases changes to *ie* as in Lithuanian-Latvian, e.g. *Blidenen* compared to Latv. *Blìdiene*, *Ecowe* compared to Latv. *Iẽcuve*, *Zetzedua* compared to Latv. *dzedzieda* 'soil'; Baltic **ā* and **ō* were also distinct in Semigallian (cf. *Aarennen*, *Arine*, *Aren*, which are historical vari-

ants of the modern Latv. toponym *Āriši* and *Eglonene*, *Dobene* compared to modern Latv. *Eglona*, *Dobene*); it is unclear whether Baltic *ō changed to *uo*. The consonantism allows one to assume, as has been noted by Kabelka (1982, p. 80), a probable dialectal differentiation between north Semigallian (closer to Latvian) and south Semigallian (closer to Lithuanian). Moreover, there is also a different development of Baltic *k', *g' > c/k', dz/g'; the following examples are observed:

> *Autzis* (13th century) compared to Latv. *Aũce*, Lith. *Áukė*; *Wilsze* or *Wyltze* compared to Latv. *Vilce*, Lith. *Vilkijà*, *Zervinas* compared to Latv. *dzẽrve*, Lith. *gérvė* 'stork'), but in the same period one sees the retention of the original velar spellings such as *Augegua*, *Augegoge*, *Keckow*, etc.; the following variants are also found: *k', g'*, e.g. *Iecava* along with *Iekava*, *Dauķis*, *Puoģene*, *Reģinas*, etc. (Šmits 1921; Dambe 1959).

Sometimes the Semigallian variant accords with Latvian (the dentals), sometimes with Lithuanian (the velars): this contradictory situation still awaits a solution, which could emerge in the process of a thorough study of the (Lithuanian and Latvian) dialects of Semigallia; Būga (1921), by the way, was already working toward this. However, it is more probable that Semigallian followed Latvian in the development of Baltic *š, ž > s, z as the following onomastic data show: *Bersenene* (compared to Lith. *Béržėnai*, from Lith. *béržas* 'birch' and Latv. *bẽrzs* id., *Missa* (Latv. *Misa*, but Lith. *Mìšė*, the name of a lake), *Silene* (Latv. *sils* 'small forest', but Lith. *šìlas* id.), *Vester* or *Westhardas* (compared to Lith. *Víeštautas*). Also evoking argument is the development of the Baltic combinations *ti̯, di̯, variously divided between *č/dž* in accord with Lithuanian (Būga) and *š/ž* in accord with Latvian (Endzelīns); the situation is well illustrated by the various known forms of the modern Latvian toponym Mežotne, or: *Mezoten*, *Mezuote*, *Mes[y]othen*, *Medzothen* (cf. Latv. *mežs* 'forest', Lith. dialect *mẽdžias* id.) Also problematic is the development of the diphthongs *an, en, un, in in Semigallian; distinct from the prevailing opinion that the final syllabic *n* disappeared (cf. *Blidenen* compared to Latv. *Blīdiene*, Lith. *blindìs* 'salix caprea'; *Mytowe*, *Mitowe*, *Mitowia*, from which Germ. *Mitau*, compared to Lith. *Mintaujà*, modern Latv. *Jelgava*), toponymic research has shown that in Semigallian, as in West Baltic (and partially in Lithuanian), these diphthongs were preserved, e.g. toponyms *Bleñdiena*, *Puñkas*, *Skruñdu leja*, etc. (Dambe 1959).

5.6.4.2. Morphology. The morphological features attributed to Semigallian, in contrast, are very few. Dambe (1959) ascribes to it an undeclinable form of the possessive pronoun as in Lithuanian: the ancient forms of the modern Latv. toponym *Sàuzeri* are *Sauvasirgu mahjâs*, *Sauwasirgôs* and earlier *Savazirg*, which can be compared to Lith. *savo žirgai* 'one's own horses'; again Dambe considers *-ene-* a typical formant for the toponym of Semigallian, along with *-uve*; already explained by Būga. This appears to confirm the point of view of Šliavas (1971) who thought the stem *-ē* in Semigallian particularly productive.

5.6.4.3. Lexicon. The limited data at our disposal within the lexicon seem to alternate stems as found primarily in Lithuanian (toponym *Gayde*, e.g. Lith. *gaidỹs* 'rooster', but Latv. *gailis* id.) and in Latvian (toponym *Naba*, e.g. Latv. *naba* 'navel' but Lith. *bámba* id.) and sometimes also in West Baltic (*Dābikinė*, cf. OPr. *debīkan* 'large, big', but Lith. *dìdelis* id., Latv. *liels* id.)

5.6.5. Substratum

From his observations of some historical forms, such as *Thervethene* and *Terevethene*, Endzelīns has concluded that the vowel before tautosyllabic *r* is preserved short; moreover, the development of an anaptyctic vowel after diphthongs formed from a vowel and a liquid is also encountered, e.g.:

> *berizs* ~ Latv. *bẽrzs* 'birch'; *darazs* ~ Latv. *dārzs* 'garden; orchard'; *galads* ~ Latv. *galds* 'table'; *varina* ~ Latv. *vārna* 'crow'; *zirags* ~ Latv. *zir̂gs* 'horse (steed)'.

Again, Endzelīns (1925) and Rudzīte (1964) after him have noted analogous phenomena in Latvian dialects, probably explained by the substratum of ancient Semigallian; Dambe (1959) and Birzniece (1983) have found similar phenomena in the dialects of Blīdiene and Džūkste. The feature is also noted in the modern dialects of Žeimelis and in the environs of Kyburiai (near Pasvalys), that is, in the territory of the ancient Semigallians, where anaptyxis appears optionally, e.g. *bòrᵊn* 'mouth', cf. Lith. *burnà*; *darᵊbs* 'work', cf. Lith. *dárbas* (Šliavas 1971); Kačiuškienė and Girdenis (1987) show great caution in assigning this phenomenon to the substratum, preferring rather to explain it as an internal development of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects.

THE OLD PRUSSIAN LANGUAGE

6.1. OLD PRUSSIAN

Old Prussian possesses the characteristic peculiarities of a language with a small corpus of texts (*Kleincorpussprache*)[428] and, although not everyone agrees with this, of a mixed language (*Mischsprache*)[429] at least to some extent. There is no doubt that this is "a language with a limited quantity of texts" (Untermann 1989), but the situation is complicated by the fact that the few texts which reached us were written by Germans and have frequent graphic disparities, not to mention deep loanword influences. They reflect the linguistic situation, where bilingualism would have been widely distributed. The numerous difficulties connected with such a situation are commonly encountered in the study of Old Prussian. Probably for this reason, this research draws the attention of a large number of scientists, and in recent years, interest in this language has increased considerably.

6.1.1. Baltic Prussians in the Middle Ages

There are relatively few historical sources about events that occurred in the Baltics during the Feudal Medieval Period; for Prussia in particular, Töppen's (1853, 1858) famous historiographical essays are still of value (cf. Biskup 1990). The medieval chronicle, *Chronicon terre Prussie XIV*, an essay by the chaplain and official historian of the Teutonic Order, Peter of Dusburg,[430] has a definite political–ideological goal, particularly in its detailed account of events taking place in the period 1190-1330, when after a bitter, common struggle of Lithuanians and Prussians against Teutonic aggression, the West Baltic peoples were enslaved and the Order spread its

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[428] Cf. Untermann (1980, 1983, 1989); Campanile (1983).

[429] On term and concept, cf. Berruto (2006), Meakins (2013).

[430] Bugiani (2012) is the last edition of Dusburg's *Chronicon terre Prussie* with a long introduction and bibliography on this work; see also Venta, Wyszomirski (2007); Matusova (1997); Batūra (1985); Scholz, Wojtecki (1984) and *SRP*. Specifically on the image of Prussians in Dusburg, cf. Matusova (2009).

supremacy to Samogitia and east Lithuania.[431] Then the demarcation line, dividing the warring countries and marking the border, was established along the Nemunas River.

The first information about the Prussians, and about the other Baltic peoples, dates from somewhat later times, but it is well known that for nearly 1,000 years these people were the object of several missions. The first missionary to Prussia was Adalbert of Prague, who in the year 997 set off from Danzig to Sambia. At first, he was chased out of the country because of raids and devastation in the sacred forests of Prussia; however, he continued to stubbornly pursue his work and was murdered by the Prussian Siggo at the mouth of the Vistula. In the year 1006, archbishop Brunon (Bonifacius) of Querfurt set off for Masovia, and in the year 1009 for Prussia in order to convert the heathen, but after three years he too was killed on the border of Prussia and Russia, along with 18 members of his party [see 4.2.1.].[432] The next missionary expedition, headed by Bishop Zdico of Olomouc in roughly 1140, was also unsuccessful.

It is estimated that in the beginning of the 13th century, the population of Prussia varied between 170,000 and 200,000; the population was distributed across a territory of roughly 40,000 square kilometers with a density of 4 to 5 people per square kilometer. They lived in separate groups, and this made it difficult for them to preserve independence from the enemy, who advanced from the western border into the depths of their land and forced them to give up their peaceful existence and heathen customs.[433] As has already been mentioned, Polish dukes supported the still irregular missions and military campaigns with the goal of "evangelization" of these tribes. Between the years 1220 and 1230, Konrad of Masovia, wishing to accelerate the tempo of the operation, invited the military-monastic organization of the Teutonic knights to the Vistula, promising them everything that they could successfully conquer *in partibus Prussiae*. In 1226,

[431] About the activity of the Teutonic Order in the Baltics and especially in Prussia, cf. Hubatsch (1952); Górski (1971); Janiak (1983); Biskup, Labuda (1986); Boockmann (1989; 1992, p. 1–244); Jähnig (1990, 2008); Kreem (2008). Jasiński (1996) surveys the oldest documents (chronicles, annals and other written sources) of the Teutonic order on the Prussians prior to Dusburg. The 32nd issue of the journal "Histoire, Economie & Societe" (Juin 2013) is devoted to the history of Prussia, 1525-1772.

[432] About Bruno and his ideas, cf. Voigt G. H. (1907, 1909); Wenskus (1956); Gudavičius (1983, 1996). On toponyms and proper names in the sources, cf. Savukynas (1999); on those sources, cf. Leonavičiutė (1999).

[433] About the Baltic heathen religions [see 4.3.]. Specifically about the lives and religion of the Prussians before the arrival of the Knights of the Cross, cf. Górski (1971, p. 22-36 and passim); Schmalstieg (1976, p. 224-233; forthcoming); Kulakov (1994). There are also attempts to reconstruct daily life, undertaken in Okulicz-Kozaryn (1983) and Usačiovaitė (1994). See also the general works on Prussian history and culture, cf. Łowmiański (1935); Kilian (1980); Schneidereit (1989); Beresnevičius (1994) and other works contained in *PrKult*.

the Emperor Friedrich II delivered a document to Herrman von Salza, head of the Order; according to this document, the lands conquered in Prussia would pass to the ownership of the Teutons (Gold Bull of Rimini). The spreading of faith by means of military conquests occurred with the approval of the Roman Church (Pakarklis 1987; Gudavičius 1989, p. 47-66), and soon they were organized into real church crusades.[434] This highly imprudently encouraged the *Drang nach Osten* (i.e. the German "advance to the east"), which had serious consequences for the course of the history of central and eastern Europe.

As a result of repeated battles with the native populations, the Baltic people suffered huge human losses, and the first victims of the German missionaries were Prussians; they were gradually destroyed. (For non-specialists, the ethnonym lost its connection with Baltic and came to denote the significantly later German supremacy).[435] In spite of courageous opposition and continual Prussian insurrections, particularly inside the country, the results of military activities were soon evident and the Order conquered the Prussian lands one after another: Colmensis and Pomesania were first occupied in 1237 after seven years of war, then the Order arrived in Sambia and Nadrovia, and finally Warmia, parts of Natangia, and Barta in 1272 and then in Pogesania two years later. However, during these years, several Teutonic campaigns against Lithuania were rendered unsuccessful.[436] In 1260 the Prussians again rose up together with the Yatvingians and Sudovians, but their long insurrection, headed by the famed Heinrich Monte [1225/1230-1273], the leader of Natangia, ended with defeat in 1274.[437] This opened the Teutons' path for conquering the remaining lands (Scalovia, Sudovia), and it also encouraged the displacement of the population (some Sudovians-Yatvingians fled to Sambia then, and other refugees to Lithuania). The Prussian campaign concluded after 53 years of war in 1283, when every territory between the Vistula and the Nemunas

[434] For a general introduction see Jakštas (1959); Christiansen (1980); Bugiani (2005, 2012); Murray (2001, 2009); Pluskowski (2013).

[435] For this reason, the names "Prussia" and "Prussians" today are understood first and foremost as denoting the area bounded by the former borders of the Brandenburg region and its inhabitants. The reason for this name arose recently, it dates to the beginning of the 18th century when Margrave Elector of Brandenburg became the King of Prussia, i.e., the region which approximately a century before this (1618) was annexed to Brandenburg's domain.

[436] The position of the Teutons between the Lithuanians and the Prussians is presented in Urban (1975). For a case of the gradual replacement of the term "Prussian" by that of "German" see about the name of amber during the 16th-18th centuries, cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 621-650.

[437] This person subsequently became a literary personage, made famous by Lithuanian playwrights, such as Juozas Grušas (premiered in 1957). Cf. also Heinrich (1865); Urban (1978).

had fallen under the control of the Order. Then the Order, with its ever-growing interests, began to look to the Great Duchy of Lithuania as an object for expansion; the bitter struggle between these two powers ended in 1410 with a Lithuanian/Polish victory in Tannenberg (Lith. *Žalgiris*) under the leadership of Vytautas the Great. This marked the decline of the Teutons.

During this period, the fate of the Prussian lands was already apparent. New generations of German colonists from different parts of Germany settled in them, and the few Prussian natives who survived after the war performed slave labor in fields or in homes. Sambia was the region which succeeded longer than others in withstanding the German language. The entire population of Königsberg then numbered approximately 7,000 inhabitants. Only Prussians were bilingual, since Germans usually resorted to the help of translators, as there are well-known attempts to translate fundamental prayers. In 1525 Albrecht von Hohenzollern, wishing to change the monastic state of the Order to the secular state of the Duchy of Prussia, openly supported the Reformation.[438] In 1544, he established a university in Königsberg, named Albertina in his honor. This shift to a different confession of faith also furnished the impetus for the translation and publication of Lutheran Catechisms in the Prussian language, which were intended for the Protestant education of the Prussian inhabitants of the Duchy **[see 6.2.1.]**.

6.1.2. Geolinguistic facts: the Prussian *terrae*

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the borders of the Prussian linguistic community were, possibly, roughly the limits of the Nemunas River and the Baltic Sea in the north and the Vistula River in the west; the least stable and indeterminate borders were likely the southern border, where the Poles, Kashubians, and Mazurians lived, and the eastern border where the Yatvingians and Lithuanians lived. Peter of Dusburg, along with numerous essays on political, social, and economic life, also listed in his chronicle *Chronicon terre Prussie* (III, 3) the following eleven-part division of Prussia:[439]

> *Terra Prussie in undecim partes dividitur. Prima fuit Colmensis et Lubouia,*
> *quae ante introitum fratrum domus Theutonicae quasi fuerat desolata.*

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[438]   Cf. the important contribution of Brauer M. (2011) about the impact of the Reformation on the Prussian population from a historical and cultural point of view (the chapter on mythology is less up to date).

[439]   *De diversitate et potentia Pruthenorum*, cf. Bugiani (2012, p. 84-85); *SRP* I, p. 51-52. For more detailed information about the names of the Prussian divisions (*terrae*), cf. Būga (1924a, p. 110-121); Mažiulis (1966c, p. 15-22); Schmalstieg (1976, p. 5-14); Salys (1995, passim).

Secunda Pomesania, in qua Pomesani. [Tertia Pogesania, in qua Pogesani.] Quarta Warmia, in qua Warmienses. Quinta Nattangia, in qua Nattangi. Sexta Sambia, in qua Sambitae. Septima Nadrouia, in qua Nadrouitae. Octava Scalouia, in qua Scalouitae. Nona Sudouia, in qua Sudouitae. Decima Galindia, in qua Galinditae. Undecima Bartha et Plika Bartha, quae nunc maior et minor Bartha dicitur, in qua Barthi vel Barthenses habitabant.

[The land of Prussia was divided into eleven parts. The first was that of Culm and Lubavia which had been almost devastated before the settlement by the Brothers of the Teutonic order. The second was Pomesania where the Pomesanians lived. The third was Pogesania where the Pogesanians lived. The fourth was Warmia where the Warmians lived. The fifth Natangia where the Natangians lived. The sixth was Sambia where the Sambians lived. The seventh Nadrovia where the Nadrovians lived. The eighth was Scalovia where the Scalovians lived. The ninth was Sudovia where the Sudovians lived. The tenth was Galindia where the Galindians lived. The eleventh was Bartha and Plicka Bartha which are called major and minor Bartha where the Barths or Barthians lived.]

The Latin name of Pomesania, a region located next to Poland and between the Osa, Vistula, and Nogat Rivers, probably reveals an intermediate Polish form, *po-miedz-anie* < OPr. *pa-medi̯an* 'along the forest', cf. Latv. *mežs*, Lith. dial. *mēdžias* 'forest'.[440] To the northeast of Pomesania, the area of Pogesania extended until roughly the Serija River, a name which also reveals an intermediate Polish form, *po-gedz-anie* (< *po-gъdzane*) from the OPr. *pa-gudi̯an*, cf. OPr. *gudde* 'thickets'. Besides these, one can point out: Warmia (cf. OPr. *wormyan* 'red'; cf. Germ. *Ermland*); Natangia (probably a name of hydronymic origin); Sambia (the name is difficult to explain because of the indeterminate initial /s/ or /z/; cf. Germ. *Samland*). To the east of the Curonian Gulf was Nadrovia, a name which is connected with different etymologies (according to Būga, it originates from OPr. *na* 'to, on' and *drawis* 'hollow in a tree'; Kuzavinis traces it from the IE hydronymic base *dreu̯-* 'to flow', cf. also OInd. *drávati* 'flows'); between Nadrovia and Lith. Samogitia was situated Skalvia or Scalovia (named for the river, cf. *Skalvà, Skal̃vė*, etc., and Lith.

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[440] Other points of view are expressed in Powierski (1965), where it is asserted that the original border between Prussia and Pomerania did not follow the Vistula but was located still further to the east and included all of Pomesania in the territory of Polish colonization.

skaláuti 'to wash, to rinse');[441] to the southeast of Natangia was Barta. The remaining lands, Galindia and Sudovia, were already mentioned by Ptolomy [see 1.3.2., 5.4.]. According to Töppen (1858), *Plicka* could be an error for Lica Bartha 'Little Bartha'.

Based on the prevalence of the element *prus-* in toponyms, Antoniewicz (1965) concluded that there was a Prussian presence up to the environs of Novgorod, dating, probably, to the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. Moreover, he assigned three geocultural habitats to the ethnic Prussian territory. One corresponds to the former areas, *terrae*, of Pomesania, Pogesania, Lubovia, Galindia and Sudovia. Up to the Middle Ages this was the wide transition zone between the Slavic and Baltic tribes. The other, central zone corresponds approximately to the provinces of Warmia and Small and Large Barta; since the most ancient times, this had been where the core of the native Prussian population was located, and outside influences were insignificant. Finally, in the third area (Sambia, Natangia and Nadrovia) one can note the uninterrupted progress of native elements up to the early Middle Ages. Then, trying to reconcile the archaeological and hydronymic facts, Antoniewicz (1966) begins to argue in terms of dialect and hydronymic differentiation. He proceeds from a proposal of Bezzenberger about the contrast of river names ending in *-upe* (they think that these are of Lithuanian origin) and *-ape* (they think that these are of Prussian origin). He mentions that the second habitat (Pomesanian dialect) is related to the type *-ape*, which was unknown in the first habitat; however, it was widespread in the third (Sambian dialect), with the exception of Nadrovia. Here one encounters the latter formations in *-upe*, which one should regard as the vestige of Lithuanian colonization, which began during the Middle Ages.

Differing opinions exist concerning the presence of the Prussians in their historical territories. For example, Polish historians think that Poles lived in Colmensis and Lubovia until the arrival of the Teutons and that Prussians appeared there in the 13th century, whereas German historians claim that the roots of both lands were Prussian.[442]

[441]   The Prussian origins of Scalovians and Nadrovians are confirmed with linguistic arguments in Mažiulis (1994b), an opinion which had also already been expressed by Būga and Salys (1985; 1995, p. 91-111); their "Lithuanization began rather early, approximately in the 6th century and concluded only in the 15th-16th century"; information on Scalovians is contained in Salys (1962), Matulaitis (1965), both reprinted in *TT* 52 (1997) with other contributions on the Scalovians.

[442]   A review of this problem is presented in Schmalstieg (1976, p. 6-8). To consider Prussian lands as originally German has been a tendency of German Renaissance historiography (cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 219-226; *BFS*, p. 203-210).

Prussian territories in the 17th century.

6.1.3. Ethnonym

The name of the Prussians is first encountered as the form *Bruzi* in the 9th century in *The Bavarian Geographer* (Zakrzewski 1917), and as the form *B^u̯rūs* (roughly in the year 965) in the Arabic works by Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'ḳ^u̯b (Kowalski 1946, p. 147). In other medieval histories, other forms are also encountered, such as *Pruzze*, *Pruze*, *Pruzzorum*, and *Prucorum*, *Pruciam*; birch-bark writings sometimes include the anthroponym *Prousi*, possibly of ethnonymic origin (Arcichovskij, Janin 1978, p. 42-45: gramota 439). After this date, reference to this ethnonym occurs more frequently; however, the forms *Borussi*, *Prutheni*, etc. appear later and in academic sources. In fact, in the third OPr. Catechism (or Enchiridion) the adjective *prūsiskan* 'Prussian' is found, along with its adverbial form *prūsiskai* 'in the Prussian way', the root of which is **prūs*, cf. Lith. *prū́sai*, Latv. *prūši* (Mažiulis 1966c, p. 13, 15, n. 39; *LEW*, p. 659). Būga (1924a, p. 120) points out that this form of the name of the Prussians could not be dated earlier than the 9th–10th centuries, otherwise, it could have been encountered in Polish sources only in the form **prysy* (and not *prussy*).

The basic etymological hypotheses are as follows. Otrębski (1955) presumes that this name should be connected with OInd. *púruṣa-* 'person', whereas Rudnicki (1957-1958) prefers to proceed from Lith. *praũsti* 'to wash', Pol. *prychać* 'to splash', which imply the meaning 'irrigated with blood' or the like. The assumption of a hydronymic origin of this name has been supported by a comparison with the aforementioned Lithuanian word and other cognates. According to this hypothesis, which is supported

by many Lithuanian linguists,[443] the noun (and, maybe also the hydronym) *prūsa 'cool place' (cf. Germ. *Frisches Haff*, which in this instance should be regarded as a calque) was formed from the OPr. verb related to Lith. *praũsti*. Directly opposing this point of view is Trubačev, who assumes that the ancient Balts migrated from east to west; in accordance with this, he holds that **Prusa*, an ancient Germ. borrowing, was assimilated by the Balts. This should be connected with the name of Frisia (Proto-Germ. **Frūsa/Frūsja*); a vestige of this is preserved exactly in the already cited German name *Frisches Haff* (its connection with Germ. *frisch* 'cool' < **freska-* should be ascribed to folk etymology, cf. Trubačev 1965).

Karaliūnas (1977), on the other hand, assumes inner-Baltic etymological connections with Lith. *prùsti* 'to grow well, to flourish', Latv. *praũsties* 'to put on weight, to become strong', etc. in order to propose that **prūsis/ -as* from the earliest was an appellative denoting a certain group of people (or a general term, a type of 'people', 'nation'; it is possible to establish a parallel with Latin *plēbs* 'crowd' and *implēre* 'to fill' or with OGr. πληθύς 'crowd, quantity' and πιμπλάναι 'to fill').

Similarly, Schmid (1992b, p. 223-234) explains **prūsas* (like **kuršas* [see 5.2.3.]) as 'good growth, superb', based on the connection established with the above cited Lithuanian and Latvian words, and proceeding not from the hydronyms, but from the anthroponym. Another proposal has been expressed by Karaliūnas (2004) according to whom the name of the Prussians should be connected with the word for 'stallion' (cf. Lith. *prùsnos* 'muzzle, snout', Latv. *prusnas* id., OPr. *prusnan* acc. sing. 'face', and OHG *prūʒ* 'a man from the Prussian people; horse') based on the verbal stem **prus-(n-)* 'spurt' and cognates; the first meaning of the ethnonym should be 'semina emittentes' with a genetic and sexual connotation (besides also being attested in the lexicon, e.g. Lith. *puřsti* 'swell' etc., and with parallels in other IE languages).

6.1.4. Renaissance linguistic ideas on Prussian

The Prussian language was the object of special linguistic (genealogical) interest in the Renaissance and more then one theory on Prussian circulated throughout the whole of Europe. One should distinguish between linguistic theories on the Baltic languages including Old Prussian among the other languages (the majority) and linguistic theories concerning especially the Prussian language (only a few). The latter represent a topic of major interest

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[443]   Savukynas (1963); Kuzavinis (1964a); Mažiulis (1966c, but see also Mažiulis 1998); Kazlauskas (1967, p. 163).

here. As for the Greek Theory of the Prussian language, one should pre-liminarily consider the *Historiae Polonicae* by Jan Długosz [1515/19-1480] as a starting point. After Długosz, this theory found some support in the work of Marcin Cromer [ca. 1512-1589], in the Comments to Tacitus by Jodocus Willichius, and in the *Chronicon* by Albertus Stadensis [~1264].

The best expression is to be found in the work of the East Prus-sian humanist Jodochus Willichius [1501-1552]; in his comment to Tacitus (*In Cornelii Taciti eqvitis romani Germaniam commentaria*, Francforti ad Vi-adrum 1551). In Willichius' opinion, the Prussian language originated from the corruption of Greek: Prussian was only *lingua Graeca depraua-ta*. Willichius explains this fact by introducing a parallel with the situ-ation between Latin and the Romance languages (French and Spanish). Unfortunately, Willichius does not give any cause for such a corrup-tion, but states that he himself spoke Greek with those Prussian people (*Græciʃʃando illis locutus sum*)! Such a mutual understanding between Prus-sian and Greek around the half of the 16th century (1551) was of course a fantasy of Willichius's.[444]

The Greek Theory of the Prussian language was equally quoted and commented on in the works of other authors of the same century [see 7.3.5.2.], such as Conrad Gessner [1516-1565][445] and Pierfrancesco Giambullari [1495-1555],[446] but above all by authors of the 17th century, such as M. Prätorius [1635?-1707?] and Chr. Hartknoch [1644-1687]. The other two important theories on the Prussian language in the same period were the Gothic Theory and the Alanian Theory.

6.2. THE CORPUS OF OLD PRUSSIAN TEXTS

The existence of a translation of *Ars Minor* (the Latin grammar of *Donatus*) *in illorum barbaricam linguam cum maximo labore* [i.e. in their lan-guage with hard work] can be considered almost mythical; it was sup-posedly written in the 1220s by William of Modena [ca. 1184-1251],[447]

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[444] For More on this subject, cf. Dini (2004b); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 381-390.

[445] On Gessner and the Baltic languages, cf. Dini (1997b); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 571-697; [see 7.3.2.].

[446] One of the last echoes of this theory appear also in the *Istoria d'Europa* of Pierfrancesco Giambullari publi-shed in Venice in 1564, cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 219-226; *BFS*, p. 203-210.

[447] There are frequent references to this phantom "sixth" major text in the Prussian language, e.g. Brückner (1898, p. 483, n. 1); Helm, Ziesmer (1951, p. 26-27); Schmalstieg (1976, p. 83-86); Stradiņš (2009, p. 72-74) etc. Skepticism was expressed in Jansons (1965). Moreover, even assuming the existence of the grammar, one cannot be sure that it was a Prussian grammar, and not a Latvian, Lithuanian or even Finnic one. On William of Modena, cf. Donner (1929).

a Papal legate in the Baltic lands. If one leaves this grammar out of consideration, than the entire *corpus* of Old Prussian texts is limited to two lists of words, three editions of a Lutheran Catechism, separate fragments of texts, and isolated words. The entire lexical fund of this language consists roughly of 1800 words, not including, understandably, onomastics.

6.2.1. The quantity of Old Prussian texts

The most ancient texts are all handwritten: the *Elbing Vocabulary* (= EV, roughly 13th-15th centuries), the *Simon Grunau Vocabulary* (= Gr, roughly 16th century), the *Trace of Basel* (= TB) and the *Trace of Crete* (= TC). Besides these, there are three Lutheran Catechisms (= I, II, Ench.) and some other minor texts.

6.2.1.1. OPr. EV. The first includes 802 words, and the second approximately 100, plus several conversational expressions. Both dictionaries include thematic divisions of lemmas by columns, and next to the Old Prussian variant is set the same word in Middle Low German.[448] The only copy of EV to reach us dates to the beginning of the 14th or the end of the 13th century; it was compiled 'per manus Petri Holcz Weſſcher De mai'enBurg (= Marienburg)'.[449] It also occupies the last 17 pages of the so-called *Codex Neumannianus*, which was discovered by F. Neumann in 1868 in the possession of the Elbing merchant A. Grübnau and preserved in the library of the city right right up until World War II, when it disappeared.

It is a typical conceptual dictionary, in which the words are divided according to 30 thematic divisions (religious world; God and heaven; natural world; earth, fire, and air; the human body; family and relationships; house and home; agriculture and agricultural work; wagons and sleighs; mill; bread; kitchen and utensils; food; war and weaponry; horses; fabric; tailoring and shoes; metallic instruments; bathing; fish; plants; animals; home and wilderness; animal husbandry; hunting; birds; reptiles; *orbis mundi*). This type of systematization is frequently encountered in Latin and German medieval manuscripts; according to Bezzenberger (and then Trautmann), such lists were established for judicial needs.[450] This notion

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[448] About the German parts of the dictionaries, see Ziesemer (1920); Marchand (1970).

[449] Cf. Nesselmann (1868); Bezzenberger, Simon (1897); Mažiulis (1966c, p. 59-75).

[450] Cf. Bezzenberger *LLD* I, p. 1225); this thesis of the teacher, like many others, was accepted by his student, cf. Trautmann (1910, p. xxv).

evokes some doubt from Marchand (1970, p. 112), who points out that of the terms present in the dictionary (for example, the names of stars and several others), few answer this judicial aim; according to Euler (1988, p. 9), the dictionary fulfills no more and no less a function than that of present-day tourist phrase-books.

6.2.1.2. OPr. Gr. The other extant dictionary is the already mentioned Gr, because the monk Simon Grunau from Tolkemit (Pol. *Tolkmicko*) included it in his Prussian Chronicle (*Preussische Chronik*), which was written between 1517 and 1526 in order to illustrate the language of the Prussians with several examples.[451] The original Gr also does not survive today; there exist only several copies dating to different epochs and created by different people. In academic literature, they are designated with particular letters: GrA, from the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century, was kept in the university library of Königsberg; GrC, dating to approximately 1750, was kept in the Königsberg city archives; GrH is the text of the (lost) manuscripts which Hartknoch used in his publications;[452] GrG was discovered in Göttingen and published by Hermann (1949);[453] a copy of GrF was found in 1970 and is kept in the Helsinki Library – it was published by Kiparsky (1970a).[454] It is proposed that the Gr was created and used for religious or administrative aims; the assumption was also proposed that in reality, Grunau rewrote an already existing (German–Latin?) textbook of conversational speech.[455]

6.2.1.3. OPr. TB. The Trace of Basel, discovered in 1974,[456] occupies a particular place: many scholars consider it to be the oldest Baltic text (for a detailed discussion [see 10.1.1.]).

[451] Cf. Perlbach, Philippi, Wagner (1875-1889, p. 92-93). On Simon Grunau, cf. Yčas (1922).

[452] In fact, one should distinguish between *GrH1* and *GrH2*, because the versions of the vocabulary published in the two editions of Hartknoch's work *Alt und Neues Preußen*, Francfurt und Leipzig (1679, 1684) differ from each other in several instances; cf. Dini (2013b).

[453] It is a German-Prussian Dictionary, i.e., with German lead words, just the opposite of the other texts; the order of words there is also different, and probably, more ancient than in GrA; there are several new lemmas, and some lemmas are absent (notably foreign words). Since forms in this text have distinct High German phonetics, Hermann thinks it improbable that the author of GrG could have been Grunau, who wrote in a Low-German variant.

[454] Cf. also Kiparsky (1968b). The author of *GrF*, a certain T.S.B. Regiomontanus, translated Prussian forms to Latin, making many mistakes; the relationship of this text to others is rather complicated, but several common errors compel one to suppose the presence of one archetype for *GrC* and *GrF*.

[455] Cf. Rosenkranz (1957). The supposed Polish and Lithuanian words in Gr have been investigated by Vykypěl (1998ab).

[456] McCluskey, Schmalstieg and Zeps (1975); Mažiulis (1975); Schmid (1982). For the use of the term 'trace' (i.e. insertion in an old manuscript), cf. Dini (2004c). For codicological aspects, cf. Schaeken (2002-2003), Ardoino (2012ab); for a hypothesis on datation, cf. Ardoino (2013); for a hypothesis of its author, cf. Lemeškin (2013ab).

6.2.1.4. OPr. TC. Kessler, Mommens (2014) announce the discovery of an unkown Baltic text. This is a trace (i.e. a short insertion, similarly to the Trace of Basel **[see 10.1.1.]**) written by a copyist *almanice nationis* on the last page of a volume at the end of the manuscript containing a transcription of the *Logica parva* by Paulus Venetus [ca. 1370-1429], which was completed in 1440 in Canea (today Chania), a possession of Venice on the island of Crete. According to the authors the text was copied by Petrus Wickerau.

The volume of 104 pages was kept in the Wigan Public Library, a town west-northwest of Manchester, England, but it is now the property of the *Antiquariat Les Enluminures* (Chicago – New York – Paris). The short text was already known, but considered to be Greek in Latin transcription:
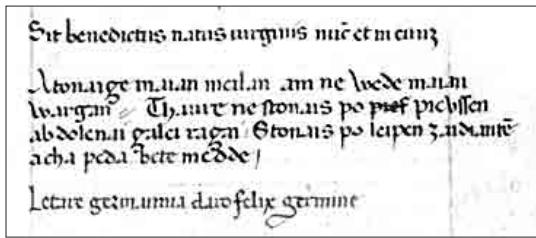
Lemeškin (2014) underlines several similarities with TB, and maintains that the TC is not the original text but a copy probably handwritten by Petrus Turnau (and not by Petrus Wickerau). Based on some philological considerations (he also proposes original interpretations of the writing of some words), Lemeškin thinks that the micro-text probably has a magic goal (formula) and explains it in the light of the agrarian folklore (perhaps connected with the cycle of the seasons).[457]

It is easy to foresee many other papers on this newly discovered OPr. micro-text.

6.2.1.5. OPr. Catechisms (I, II, Ench.). In approximately the middle of the 16th century, three Lutheran Catechisms (I and II in 1545; III in 1561)[458] were translated into Old Prussian according to the wishes of Duke Albrecht von Hohenzollern. Today some known copies survive (at least in Vilnius, Lon-

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[457] Here I intentionally refrain from going into a detailed analysis of each form. The text in general looks more like Old Prussian (this is what Lemeškin (2014) is inclined to think in his serious attempt at deciphering TC) than Old Lithuanian (this is what Kessler, Mommens (2014 are inclined to think).

[458] On the sources of the OPr. Catechisms, cf. Trautmann (1909). About the sources Abel Will used for the translation, cf. Dini (2009a).

don, and perhaps Göttingen, Helsinki) of the First Catechism out of 197 printed;[459] at least three copies (Sankt Petersburg, Wrocław, Berlin, and perhaps Göttingen) out of the Second Catechism of 192 printed,[460] and at least three (one in Dresden, and two in Berlin) of the Third Catechism out of an unknown number of printed copies.

On the title page of the Second Catechism is the note *gecorrigiret* (corrected); this Catechism would have been a substitute for the first, since the first contained numerous mistakes (above all graphical).

The third publication, which is frequently referred to as the *Enchiridion* in academic writing, presents more text by far than the first two publications, and it remains to this day the longest of the known collections of the Old Prussian language. The German pastor Abel Will was the translator of the *Enchiridion*; who was he? Little is known about him. He was a pastor in the small town of Pobethen, and during his work on the translation he collaborated with a Prussian informant… *ad horas*, one Paul Megott.[461] It is only tradition and widespread opinion, but according to another hypothesis, Will administered the work and used one or several scribes for writing the translation, which the informant gave orally.[462]

6.2.1.6. Minor OPr. texts. Beyond the above, several fragments of texts are also known; they are, for the most part, short phrases and related words included in various essays of the 14th-15th centuries (Mažiulis 1966c, p. 29-31; 1981c, p. 62-64). It is possible to name them to a small extent: the fragment *Lord's Prayer* (15th century);[463] several Sudovian phrases and sayings,[464] and theonyms,[465] contained in the essay *Warhafftige Beschreibung der Sudawen auff Samland sambt jhren Bock heyligen vnd Ceremonien* (16th century) of Hieronymus Maletius [ca. 1525-1583]; the OPr. words written in Greek script in F. Zamelius's poem (early 17th century) *De Galindis ac Sudinis, Carmen, In quo multa de Veteri Lingua Prussica occurrunt* (Schaeken 1991); the words contained in H. Megiser's *Thesaurus Polyglottus* (Francofvrti ad Moenvm, 1603).[466] A short text included in Leonhard Thurneysser's *Ono-*

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[459] The latest edition of the 1st OPr. Catechism is Klusis, Stundžia (1995).

[460] In general, cf. Mažiulis (1966c, p. 34-40); Robinson (1972). For the latest discovery of a copy of the II Cat., cf. Andronov (2002, 2009).

[461] The petition of Megott for work, 1595, has been preserved, cf. Weise (1934, p. 33-35).

[462] Cf. Levin (1976, p. 15).

[463] Discovered by Mikalauskaitė (1938).

[464] Cf. Hasiuk (1993). About the repeated phrase in Maletius's essay *Kellewefze perioth / Kellewefze perioth* 'the coachman arrived', cf. Eckert (1992c); Ivanov (1998, p. 74); Schmalstieg (2002); Stifter (2008).

[465] Kregždys (2008ab, 2009b, 2011a).

[466] Cf. Dini (1998, 2000b); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 597-601.

masticum (Berlin, 1583),[467] in which the saying *Deues: does dantes, Deues does geitka* appears, which is, however, dubious (cf. Ardoino 2014).

A less investigated subject is the language attested in the monumental work (18 vols.) of M. Prätorius, *Deliciae Prussicae*, which presents several OPr. forms probably showing elements of East Baltic morphology (such as, for example, the ending *-ime*, e.g *kirdime* 'we hear' or *uz-* in *Usperklantits* 'bewitched').[468]

6.2.1.7. OPr. linguistic corpus. Thus, a proposal for an OPr. linguistic corpus is as follows:

Hypotetical documents:		Donatus's *Ars Minor* translation.
Historical documents:	Manuscript texts	TB = Trace of Basel.
		TC = Trace of Crete.
		EV = Elbing Vocabulary.
		Gr = Grunau's Vocabulary (with variants).
		Fragment of Lord' Prayer and various glosses.[469]
		Onomastics (from manuscript sources) [see 6.3.4.4.].
OPr. CORPUS		
	Printed texts	I Catechism, 1545. II Catechism, 1545.
		III Catechism (*Enchiridion*), 1561.
		Glosses and short texts so-called of Maletius, Zamelius, Thurneysser, Megiser etc.
		Words etc. from Prätorius's *Deliciae Prussicae*.
		Onomastics (from printed sources) [see 6.3.4.4.].
		Specimina of Lord's Prayers, 16th-18th cent.[470]
		Other various texts.[471]
Reconstructed documents:		New Prussian language (*Novopruskij*).

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[467] Cf. Sjoberg (1969); Kortlandt (1998abc); Danka (2003).

[468] Cf. Young (2004, 2011); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 386-389. The content of the entire work of Prätorius is given in Pierson (1871, p. 119–144) and in Lukšaitė (1999b, p. 418–425). Book 16 of Prätorius's work, devoted to the OPr. language, has been reprinted in the journal *Acta Borussica* (1731, p. 55–85). The complete edition (18 books) has been undertaken by the Lithuanian Institute of History in Vilnius. A new Lithuanian edition of *Deliciae* is Prätorius (1999).

[469] Perhaps one should better include here also TC [see 4.3.4.3.].

[470] Cf. Dini (2009b) [see 6.2.2.2.].

[471] Two examples from contemporary authors: an OPr. glossary has also been found in the legacy of the German writer Johannes Bobrowski [1917-1965], cf. Brazaitis (2010, 2011); OPr. theonyms in Günter Grass's novels, cf. Šliažas (1973).

As far as the quantity of the OPr. language texts is concerned, it is clear that it is an "open list" which may be supplemented by further research. That would certainly be highly desirable, as shown by relatively recent new findings (e.g. cf. Schaeken 1991; Dini 1998; Andronov 2002, 2009).[472] It indicates that a systematic research is still to be conducted in this field, and that it could lead to the discovery of other valuable texts or yet unpublished glosses, words and names. Nevertheless even the renewed analysis of already known documents may reveal many surprises (cf. Eckert 2010a).

The whole of the OPr. linguistic monuments have been reprinted several times during the last centuries, and each time implemented: Vater (1821), Nesselmann (1845, 1873), Berneker (1896), Trautmann (1910), Mažiulis (1966c, 1981c), Palmaitis (2007). However, in order to evaluate the quality of these same texts, one then has a completely different situation [see 6.2.3.].

6.2.2. The death and resurrection (?) of a language

After the three OPr. Catechisms were published in the 16th century, minimal information is known about the status of OPr. in several villages. Caspar Hennenberger, in his *Kurtʒe and warhafftige Beschreibung des Landes zu Preussen* (Königsberg, 1584), writes about a collector of amber, J. Fuchs, who, in order to honor his guest, invited some Sudovian dancers, who didn't know any German (Mažiulis 1966c, p. 24). It is known, however, that in the beginning of the 18th century, the OPr. language began to disappear quickly.

Therefore, one should assume that in the 17th century, OPr. was used less and less. There are several pieces of evidence to support this. In the foreword to J. Rehsa's 1625 publication of the *Psalms of David*, translated by Jonas Bretkūnas [see 7.2.2.1.], one reads that several people still spoke OPr. in several small coastal towns and along the Curonian Gulf. In 1679, Chr. Hartknoch mentions, probably arguing with Comenius (Kiparsky 1970b, p. 258-259), that OPr. was not spoken in a single village. Finally, in 1771 Thunmann writes: "Present day Prussians (I have in mind those who still

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[472] This catechism contains the famous inscription quoted in Trautmann (1910, p. VII): *Diese alte Preusnische Sprache ist ganz und gar vergangen worden. Anno 1677 ein einziger alter Mann auf der Curischen Nährung wohnend, der sie noch gekont, gestorben, doch sollen noch solche daselbst sein* (This OPr. language has completely died out. In the year 1677 there died a single old man who still knew it, an inhabitant of the Curonian Spit, but there still may be some speakers).

speak the old language)" but he meant Prussian-Lithuanian, considering it to be a direct continuation of the OPr. language.[473]

6.2.2.1. New Prussian. Here one should mention the *revival* of the Baltic languages, although, undoubtedly, the case of the Old Prussian language is more important and interesting.[474] Although no one can today be considered a direct descendant of the Baltic Prussians, and in spite of the meager attestation of the OPr. language, a project has been planned to revive this language. This activity (including the publication of *TT*) is coordinated by the Association, which began in Germany in 1980 with the goal of furthering studies of the Prussian antiquities. For the most part, immigrants from the former eastern Prussia are members of the association; they write verse and have even prepared a grammar and a dictionary of New Prussian.[475]

The group *Prūsà* was established later in Lithuania in 1988. Their declared goal is the creation of a language of intra-Baltic communication; they have published another grammar in two volumes, in which they show how the creation of a New Prussian language *ex novo* is possible (Klusis 1989; Palmaitis, Klosse 2011). The group *Rasa* was formed later in 1988 in Riga, under the auspices of the Latvian Cultural Foundation (Rasa 1989).

These projects show the will of the Baltic people to regain and re-evaluate their national identity. They should be regarded favorably, but from the point of view of (not only historical) linguistics this is no more than a virtuoso exercise cultivated by enthusiastic groups. However, their endeavors did not arise from nothing; two specialists of Prussian philology had already previously proposed the idea of a New Prussian language, making up new forms based on those which remain from the dead West Baltic language, and proceeding from material attested in the East Baltic languages.[476]

6.2.2.2. Late-Old Prussian. In this context I also want to mention the late attestations of the OPr. language (so-called also *Spät-Altpreussisch*; cf.

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[473] Thunmann (1979 [first published 1772] p. 233): "Die heutigen Preußen (ich meine diejenigen, die noch die alte Sprache reden)...". In this regard there exist the interesting and vivid remembrances of Gerullis (1932), who wrote how Germans replaced Lithuanians in East Prussia (although this replacement is more recent).

[474] Cf. Zinkevičius (*LKI* VI, p. 368-371). At the end of the 1980s there was also a similar revival of Yatvingian, although less well organized.

[475] Kraft-Skalwynas (1982, 1985-1995); cf. Palmaitis (1989b), who amidst objections draws attention to the characteristic but misplaced tendency to reproduce Latvian forms (Latvianization) in New Prussian; in this perspective, Mechow (1994) attempts to determine German names of Prussian origin.

[476] Toporov (1979a, p. 95-104); Palmaitis, Toporov (1984). On the recreation of the Old Prussian language writes again Palmaitis (1998a).

Dini 2009b). They are mostly specimens of the Lord's Prayer (*Orationes Dominicae*) which generally have been published after 1561, at least before Johann Chr. Adelung's *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe…* [Mithridates or General Linguistics with the Lord's Prayer as an Example, 1809], but there are also glosses or isolated OPr. words and names (theonyms) discovered in different non-Baltic (but rather Latin, German, Old Polish, Old Russian and so on) sources. Such material is to be found in the works of many authors (some of them already mentioned above), e.g.: Friederich Zamelius [1590-1647], Hyeronimus Megiser [1554/5-1619], Matas Pretorius [1635?-1707?], Mavro Orbini [1550-1611], Coelestinus Myslenta [1588-1653], Olaus Rudbeck [1630-1702], Christian Knauthe [1706-1784][477], Johann Chr. Gottsched [1700-1766], in the plurilingual dictionary of Christian Mentzel [1622-1701], and still others.

Another interesting source for late attestations of isolated OPr. forms is the dictionaries (lexica, idiotika, etc.) published in the major Baltic cities during the 18th century, e.g.: Johann George Bock, *IDIOTICON PRUSSICUM oder Entwurf eines Preußischen Wŏrterbuches* (Königsberg 1759), G. E. S. Hennig's *Preussisches Wŏrterbuch* (Königsberg 1785),[478] Chr. Hartknoch's *IDIOTIKON der Deutschen Sprache in Lief- und Ehstland* (Riga 1795), and still others.

6.2.3. The quality of Old Prussian texts

With regards to the several preserved texts, one should first note two general characteristics, encountered in various degrees in all Prussian texts:

a) their specific paleographical aspect, which one cannot always trust without assuming that the publisher deciphered numerous abbreviations, corrected many mistakes, filled in gaps, and restored incomplete and/or distorted forms (often endings);

b) the Prussian texts frequently depended on scribes of German education, and there are numerous instances of interference in varying levels of grammar and lexicon.

A particularly interesting comparison exists because one has at one's disposal Luther's translations of the *Enchiridion* in Samogitian-Lithuanian

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[477] Mikhailov (1995).
[478] Levin (2000).

(B. Vilentas, 1579) and Tamian–Latvian (J. Rīvius, 1586) dating to this same time [see 6.2.3.6.].

6.2.3.1. Orthography. Recently, the assumption that Prussian orthography accurately reproduces the pronunciation of this language has been subjected to doubt.[479] One can point out several contending points of view about what is the best manner of understanding the language reality of the OPr. *corpus* but one thing is sure: they have moved the until then motionless world of Prussian philology and linguistics.

In the second half of the 19th century, and also in the beginning of the 20th century, academic discussion in the realm of Prussian philology was concentrated on Abel Will's linguistic competence in Prussian. Was his competency sufficient, and consequently, is it possible to trust his texts, or was it insufficient and approximate, so that one is compelled not to trust his texts because of the large quantity of errors? The well-known Balticists of this time were clearly divided into those who had confidence in and those who did not have confidence in the texts written by Will, but one should emphasize that the approach of this generation of researchers was still before phonology. Although Endzelīns (1935) clearly expresses doubt regarding the existing readings and supports the insertion of corrections, Trautmann, on the other hand, regards Will's texts in their entirety with trust and confidence.[480] Trautmann's point of view received widespread dissemination after the publication of his *Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler* (1910). However, this book had a mummifying effect on the evolution of scholarship in the field; many views and forms included in it were frequently accepted without further philological analysis and entered *tout court* into comparative linguistics.

Only with the new publication of OPr. texts by Mažiulis did scholars obtain the essential instrument for investigating the OPr. language: photographic reproductions of the entire *corpus* (Mažiulis 1966c, completed with Mažiulis 1981c). The Lithuanian scholar interprets the reading variants and carefully introduces innovations through comparison with preceding investigations, not deviating too much from Trautmann. His guiding principle is conveyed in the following phrase (Mažiulis 1981c, p. 5):

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[479] Schmalstieg (1981b) also called this assumption into question, using a bold but possibly appropriate parallel with Hittite; he advises caution in making assertions concerning the ethnocentric interpretations of orthography, because here there may exist reasons for consistent or inconsistent orthography, which at the present time remain unknown.

[480] References to incorrect orthography ("mangelhafte Orthographie") are infrequent, e.g. Trautmann (1910, p. 99).

Be lituanistikos ir latvistikos nėra prūsistikos, tačiau be prūsistikos nėra baltistikos, o be baltistikos neįmanoma slavistika ir pati indoeuropeistika

[Without Lithuanian and Latvian studies there are no Prussian studies, but without Prussian studies there are no Baltic studies and without Baltic studies, Slavic studies and even Indo-European studies are not conceivable]

in which he asserts that OPr. is the most archaic Baltic language. Thus, on the one hand, Mažiulis's publication builds serious foundations for Prussian philology and linguistics, and on the other, the concept of the Prussian language on which this publication is based (and several editorial choices) is far from accepted by all scholars. Such is the field of research in the OPr. language at present.

6.2.3.2. Corrections. Debate about the appropriateness of inserting changes into OPr. texts, understandably, did not abate when the problem of the real phonological or morphonological significance of graphemes was posed. On the contrary, in new terms this debate continues to this day.

The first response took place in the American school. OPr. specialist Schmalstieg (1974a), an innovator in respect to previous traditions, assumes that notwithstanding the different forms of OPr. orthography certain linguistic systems (phonological, morphological and syntactical) exist that are not very different from the systems of the two other living Baltic languages.[481] Disagreeing with Schmalstieg, Levin (1976, 1982, 1999) defends the orthography of the *Enchiridion* and explains its frequent inconsistencies sociolinguistically: the *spelling* of OPr. forms represents the structured and systematic method of the scribe's work, which differed from the German orthography used then and in that territory; the variants recorded in the *Enchiridion* show "ongoing sound change" in operation.[482]

A graphological (and in many regards also phonological) study of the major OPr. text has also been performed by Inoue (1982, 1984) based on statistical data. The Japanese scholar introduces the notions of stability and frequency, evaluating the allographically alternating word-forms of the third OPr. Catechism. Different vowel and consonant patterns are

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[481] Cf. Schmalstieg (1974a, p. ix): "It seems preferable to interpret the evidence rather than to accept it at face value". For earlier views, cf. Trautmann (1910) and Endzelīns (1943).

[482] This interesting trend in research, close to the heart of the American scholar [see 2.1.1.2.2.], was more deeply investigated by means of a computer analysis of the *Enchiridion* [n.v.].

extracted for each word and varying degrees of significance for the alternations are established. Inoue observes that the majority of word-forms occurs about five times with their allographic variants; so the infinitive "to be" presents the following graphic alternation: *bū-* (1x), *baū-* (2x), *bou-* (4x), *boū-* (6x), and the suffix: *-ton* (5x), *-t* (8x). Generally one should, however, always bear in mind that OPr. texts offer too scarce a corpus for meaningful statistical interpretaton.[483]

In the last half century the *Elbing Vocabulary* has been the object of investigation of several scholars. W. Smoczyński's research was at first particularly concentrated on the numerous *hapax legómena* (i.e. variants in the reading encountered only once) attested in this linguistic monument (Smoczyński 1983, 1986c, 1988a, 1989b, *SBS* I and *SBS* II) and thereupon, also in the comparison of different editions of the Catechisms (Smoczyński 1990b, 1992bc, 1994a). Thanks to the Polish linguist's numerous and innovative works, which present truly original concepts of OPr., Prussian philology has made significant progress in the last decade. According to his opinion, OPr. orthography is consistently German, and many of these forms, which had seemed to be archaisms, proved otherwise after an orthographic-phonological analysis of the reading variants and after systematic correction of mistakes.[484] Trying to systematize the discrepancies, Mažiulis (1994a) offers a classification of corrections and revisions which could be inserted in the OPr. texts. In accordance with a scale of decreasing reliability, Mažiulis provides for three types of mistakes and corresponding corrections, as noted in the following:

a) corrections that are in the largest measure trustworthy, based on regular mistakes, (e.g. <-e> instead of *-s* in *arelie*, *geytye*, etc.; the frequent substitution of the letters <c> instead of <t>, <u> instead of <n>, etc., and vice-versa);

b) those that are to a lesser degree trustworthy, not based on any regularity;

c) finally, very untrustworthy corrections, which propose incorrect writings or omissions in the writing.

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[483] In regard to statistical approaches particularly for OPr., cf. Schmalstieg (1998a).

[484] Cf. Smoczyński (1988a, p. 32): "The aura of being archaic which surrounds the Old Prussian language is fundamentally the product of rather speculative interpretations which Baltic philology inherited from the 19th century and which in fact have not been revised."

Here it is useful to keep in mind that corrections should be *extrema ratio* (i.e. the last resort) for the philologist–linguist. But all the same, the *corpus* of OPr. texts, with its abundance of words which are encountered only once (*hapax legómena*), brings the scholar to a perpetual *temptatio emendationis* (temptation to make corrections). One should emphasize that there is an objective basis for this if one wishes to explain the many vague areas of OPr. etymology. All specialists of OPr. resort to this without exception. As a result there exist plenty of interpretations, sometimes very different from each other and "one can not *a priori* reject any theoretical stance" (Schmalstieg 1992a, p. 71).

6.2.3.3. OPr. Catechisms in the making. Particular attention should be devoted to the peculiar cases of the OPr. Catechisms. As far as the *Enchiridion* is concerned the protagonists of the undertaking are well enough known. The following scheme is an attempt to highlight all the aspects one should consider in the investigation of the OPr. texts.

German	*Old Prussian*				*Fields*
WRITING IN	**ORALITY**	**WRITING OUT**			
Middle–German sources: Luteran Catechisms and/or other.	Information	Translation	Composition	1	**Process**
	Orally produced text	Manuscript text	Edited (composed) text	2a	**Textual production**
	–	–	+	2b	**Presence**
	informator	translator	type setter	3	**Attants**
	I ? II ? III Paul Megott	I ? II ? III Abel Will	I H. Weinreich II H. Weinreich III ?	4	**Execution**
	spoken language	written language corrections (*gecorrigiret*) stylistic elaboration?		5	**Type of language**
Probable sources?		Relations: (I *vs.* II) *vs.* III Prefaces, Parts of the Catechism		6	**Composition**
t₁	t₂	t₃	t₄		Time axis
a	*b*	*c*	*d*		*Phases*

6.2.3.4. Attempt at a phenomenology of mistakes in the OPr. Catechisms. Many authors have already pointed out the various mistakes one can meet in the Old Prussian texts. Here it is an attempt to sum up all the possible mistakes with their correspondent causes.

PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE MISTAKES IN THE OPR. CATECHISMS					
STATISTICAL ASPECT. Mistakes characterizing each single phase.			DYNAMIC ASPECT. Mistakes characterizing the shifting from one phase to another.		
Type	Where it arises:	By means:	Type	Where it arises:	By means:
a	FOCUS ON THE SOURCES. Imperfect use of the sources for translating into OPr.	Singling out the sources.	*a → b*	SOURCE → INFORMATOR Writing → Orality. A virtual field, depending on the informator's own education.	Rare mistakes difficult to observe
b	FOCUS ON THE INFORMATOR. Imperfect orality; scarce competence of the informators. Influence of the spoken language.	Mistakes very difficult to observe.	*a → c*	SOURCE → TRANSLATOR Writing → Writing. The translator uses the source directly without the informator's mediation.	Possible cases of interference.
c	FOCUS ON THE TRANSLATOR. Scarce competence vs. wrong interpretation of the data offered by the informator. Interference.	Conjectural mistakes.	*b → c*	INFORMATOR → TRANSLATOR Orality → Writing. The translator improperly uses the data offered by the informator	± (un) intentional interference with the translator's language.
Type	Rising–place:	By means:	Type	Rising–place:	By means:
d	FOCUS ON THE TYPE SETTER. Wrong composition; ± mechanical mistakes by the type setter.	Statistical analyis.	*c → d*	TRANSLATOR → TYPE SETTER Writing → Writing. From the manuscript to the composition for printing.	± mechanical mistakes by the type setter.

6.2.3.5. Which language? In order to understand the situation in modern Prussian linguistics, one should be guided by the different interpretations of the language material. All this is reminiscent of the argument at the end of the 19th century about the competence of Will; however, the similarity here is only superficial. Indeed, it is not a matter of choosing one of the different

Frontpage of the 3rd OPr. Catechism, so-called *Enchiridion* (1561).
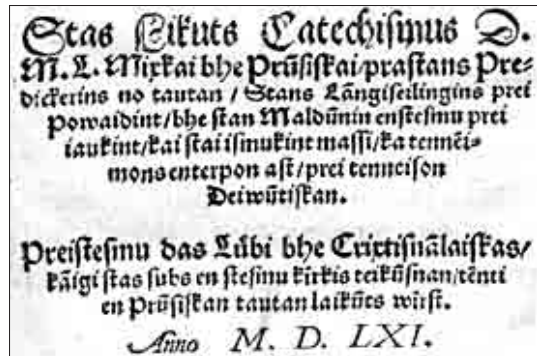
OPr. Catechism, so-called *Enchiridion* (1561, p. 17).

methodologies for correcting text, which in general could be considered accurate if there were no mistakes (because then it would have been relatively simple to arrive at agreement). Here there are two opposite concepts about the quality of the language recorded in these texts: one view is that this language preserves important archaic peculiarities (to a larger degree than in Lithuanian) and the opposing view assumes frequent cases of linguistic interference (particularly from MG) on all levels of grammar, and a typographic tradition which frequently distorts the language's original appearance.

Naturally, those who share the first point of view are also convinced supporters of maximal adherence to literal readings of the text, whereas the others are more inclined to find in the texts occurrences and characteristics of languages with which OPr. came into contact. Several points can be made:

a) the *corpus* of OPr. texts should become the object of study by the two different conceptions in philology, relying on distinct but not always agreeing methodologies; the methodology of the handwritten texts (the dictionaries) and the methodology of the printed texts (the Catechisms);

b) researchers introducing corrections should take into account these

different situations which are determined by the quality of the texts;[485]

   c) in analyzing OPr. material, one should never underestimate the plurilingual situation of languages in contact[486] in which the OPr. texts arose.

There is still one more assertion, to which everyone will agree: research undertaken in the second half of the 20th century, from modern scientific studies and the discussions arising therefrom, dealt a decisive blow to Trautmann's neogrammatical approach to the study of OPr., and laid the foundation for a definitive renovation of Prussian philology.

A series of articles by Kortlandt (1998de, 2002b, and more) investigate the three OPr. catechisms, after eliminating the orthographical differences between the three versions of parallel texts, and considering that these versions reflect consecutive stages in the development of a moribund language.

Important reflections on case disagreement and so-called mixed-constructions in the OPr. *Enchiridion*, considered as the result of the imitation of the German agreement properties in the translation, are set forth in Petit (2007).

6.2.3.6. A unique parallel text. Luther's *Small Catechism* is the only record attested in all the three Baltic languages. It comes at the beginning of Lithuanian and Latvian literacy, although already at the end for Old Prussian. Therefore it is appropriate and beneficial to undertake a comparative and contrastive study of the OPr. translation of Abel Will (1561) with the Lithuanian-Samogitian of Baltramiejus Vilentas (1579)[487] and the Latvian of Johannes Rivius (1586).[488] The necessity of such an investigation, especially for Old Prussian, was already being expressed by Bezzenberger (1897, p. 293; 1904) at the beginning of the 19th century, and now the theoretical premises for this have been written down in Dini (2007a), where the texts and their creation are compared according to several parameters (sources,

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[485] In the particular case of the dictionaries, one needs to take into account the typical abbreviations and other characteristics of medieval handwritten texts; in the case of the Catechisms one should pay more attention to the role of the typographer-compiler (for many mistakes, which today are attributed to Will, may be the responsibility of the compiler and his helpers).

[486] Hermann (1916) uses the term *Mischsprache*; after his characterization of the language of the OPr. texts, one might note that of Pisani in a discussion accompanying Trost's report (1972, p. 64). Pisani asked whether German influence could not have been felt in the creation of a "'pidgin', used by serfs and masters... but which did not become a 'creole'". Such a working hypothesis may be accepted without implying "the disintegration of Old Prussian research," which was feared by Szemerényi (1978, p. 107).

[487] Ford (1969).

[488] Inoue (2002).

content, time of printing, language revision, translation process). Various case-studies have also been analyzed in other contributions by the same author (for example Dini 2009a, 2011, 2012); these researches give the solutions to many philological problems of the three monuments and allow for the solution of related linguistic questions.

6.3. GRAMMATICAL INFORMATION

In the beginning of the 1930s, Endzelīns (1931b) thinks that it is impossible to write a grammar of Proto-Baltic because of the distinct differences between OPr. and the East Baltic languages (Lithuanian, Latvian), and because of the considerable loan influence on Prussian by German. In the mid 1960s, Mažiulis (1966c, p. 11) defines the position of OPr. in the group of Baltic languages based on the following four points:

a) it is the closest relative to Lithuanian and Latvian;

b) OPr. has fewer features in common with Lithuanian and Latvian than these two languages have with each other;

c) OPr. has preserved more archaisms than Lithuanian, and Lithuanian has more than Latvian;

d) with regard to its lexicon, OPr. is closer to Lithuanian than Latvian.

With regard to dialects, our knowledge of OPr. is very limited. It has been remarked that the *Elbing Vocabulary* is in the Pomesanian (western) dialect. It is sometimes proposed, although it is not certain, that *Grunau's Vocabulary* is also in the Pomesian dialect. And the three Catechisms are in the Sambian (eastern) dialect.[489]

By analyzing the characteristic complications of a paleographical and philological nature, it is possible to better understand why not all scholars agree with these claims. As I will discuss below, they form the center of discussions about Prussian philology during the last decades. Therefore I will give a brief list of the basic grammatical characteristics of this language, which is the only representative of the so-called West Baltic.[490]

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[489] Ziesemer (1920); Helm, Ziesemer (1951), and then Marchand (1970) establish that the German part of EV undoubtedly represented the *Ordensdeutsch* dialect, i.e., a typical mix of East Central German, with elements of HG and LG, which was widespread in all the territories of the *Ordensland*.

[490] Reference works for OPr. grammar: Berneker (1896); Bezzenberger (1907, 1911); Trautmann (1910); Endzelīns (1943, 1944); Schmalstieg (1974a); Smoczyński (2000c, 2005); Mažiulis (2004); Mathiassen (2010).

6.3.1. Elements of OPr. phonology (and prosody)

It should be repeated that the study of the phonetic characteristics of OPr. sounds, and to a still greater degree the study of its phonemic system, as well as the study of its prosodic level, is very difficult because of the quality of the extant texts; quite clearly, the linguistic interpretation of one or more forms can change depending on which concept of the OPr. language the researcher shares.

6.3.1.1. Phonological inventory. Some scholars have preferred to refrain from attempting a reconstruction of the system of OPr. sounds (Erhart 1984b, p. 27-28). However, avoiding extremes, which are completely, nonetheless, understandable theoretically, it is possible to construct a probable list of OPr. sounds, not claiming it to be exhaustive or exclusive.[491]

6.3.1.1.1. Vocalism. The following scheme shows that attempts to reconstruct Prussian vocalism are possible:[492]

I			II	
$\brevei$		$\breveu$	$\brevei$	$\breveu$
$\brevee$	$\bar o$			
	$\brevea$		$\brevee$	$\brevea$

The presence of the opposition $\bar o \sim \bar a$, assumed by analogy with the situation in Lithuanian and Latvian (cf. Lith. *uo ~ o*, Latv. *uo ~ ā* < East Balt. / IE *$\bar o$ ~ *$\bar a$) remains an open question. Some scholars have supposed its existence on the basis of written <o> and <oa> in the EV, in spite of the fact that the utilized material is meager and not always uniform;[493] others prefer to postulate a single phoneme /å/ as the result of the above cited Proto-Baltic merger, the phonetic realization of which should have fluctuated between the more rounded sound [å:], characteristic of the Pomesian dialect (= <oa>, <o>), and the very open sound [ā], characteristic of the

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[491] Cf. Schmalstieg (1964 p. 216-217 and 1974a, p. 18-21); for the first stage the author reconstructs a triangular system, and for the following stage, a rectangular one, arising as the result of a series of shifts and mergers; furthermore, cf. Schmalstieg (1974a p. 21): "I will assume a four-vowel vocalic system which presupposes the merger of both long and short */o/ with /a/."

[492] Cf. Mažiulis (1963). In Girdenis, Rosinas (1977) the question is posed whether <an, en, in, un> denote nasal vowels transcripted in German graphics; this would have happened in word-final, unstressed position, which would explain many unclear places in OPr. inflection.

[493] Burwell (1970, p. 15) draws attention to the fact that written <o> and <oa> in EV serve for marking both */ā/ and */ō/ (e.g. [EV 293 *Krewtecht*] *soalis* 'grass', Ench. acc. sing. *sālin* 'grass; plant', cf. Lith. *žolė̃*, Latv. *zāle* 'grass'; [EV 351 *Boſetop*] *podalis* 'vessel', cf. Lith. *puodė̃lis* 'small vessel').

Sambian dialect (= <a>, <ā> → <u> or <ū> after labials and velars; e.g. *līmauts*, *limatz*, *lymuczt* 'broke'). This phonetic 'rule' for the *Enchiridion* (it may be indeed for all the Catechisms) was noted by F. de Saussure.[494]

In the (western dialect of) EV *ā* and *ō* are represented by the sole (presumably long) <o>, whereas *ū* by a (presumably long) <u>. In the (eastern dialect of) the Catechisms *ā* and *ō* probably did not conflate: *ā* → <ū> after labials and velars (e.g. *muttin* acc. sing. 'mother'), while elsewhere it is preserved as <a>; *ō* → <ū> or <oū> after labials and velars (e.g. *pūton* Inf. 'to drink', *poūis* nom sing. 'drink'), while elsewhere it is preserved as <o> (e.g. *pogeis* Imp. 2nd p. sing. 'drink!'); also *ū* → <ū>, <ou> or <oū> (e.g. *sūnus* and *soūns* nom. sing., *sounons* gen. sing. 'son'). Tentatively in a schema:

Balt.	EV	Ench.	Lith.	Latv.
*ā	<o> <oa>	<ā>	*ō*	*ā*
*LabVel#_ā	<o>	<ū>	*ō*	*ā*
*ō	<o> <oa>	<o>	*uo*	*uo*
*LabVel#_ō	<o>	<ū>, <ou>	*uo*	*uo*
*ū	<u>	<ū>, <ou>, <ou>>	*ū*	*ū*

The word initial *e* does not rarely appear as OPr. <a>, a phenomenon which is known also in Lith. dialects (e.g.: OPr. *es* ~ *as* 'I' ~ Lith. *àš*, Latv. *es* id.; OPr. *ast* 'is' ~ (O)Lith. *esti* id.; OPr. *assaran* 'lake' ~ Lith. *ẽžeras*, Latv. *ezers* id.).

The Baltic diphthongs *ai, *ei are preserved in OPr., but sometimes merged in East Baltic [see 1.4.2.; 2.1.1.3.] where subsequent processes of analogy have obscured the picture:

Balt.	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.	Examples:
*ai	ai	ie	ie	OPr. *snaygis* 'snow', Lith. *sniẽgas*, Latv. *sniegs* id.
*ei	ei	ie	ie	OPr. *deiws*, *deywis* 'God', Lith. *diẽvas*, Latv. *dievs* id.

The Baltic nasal diphthongs are preserved in OPr. whereas they underwent changes in East Baltic [see 2.1.1.3.], more precisely in all positions in Latvian, but only before non-obstruents and word-finally in Lithuanian:

Balt.	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.	Examples:
*an	an	an / ǫ [a:]	o [uo]	OPr. *ansonis* 'oak', Lith. *ą́žuolas*, Latv. *ozols* [uozuols] Lith. *bangà* 'wave', Latv. *buogs* id.

[494] Cf. Saussure (1892), reprinted in Saussure (2012, p. 109–110).

Balt.	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.	Examples:
en	*en*	*en* / *ę* [e:]	*ie*	OPr. *mensa* 'flesh', Latv. *miesa* id. (Lith. *mėsà* ← Blruss.) OPr *penckts* 'fifth', Lith. *penkì* '5', Latv. *pieci* id.
in	*in*	*in* / *į* [i:]	*ī*	Lith. *lìnkis* 'bay', Latv. *līcis* id.
un	*un*	*un* / *ų* [u:]	*ū*	Lith. *jùngas* 'yoke', *jūgs* id.

6.3.1.1.2. Consonantism. The problems of phonetic development discussed above bring one to the study of OPr. consonantism. The above-mentioned orthographic variants, undoubtedly pointing to labialization, are dependent on context: it is traditionally thought that labialization affects the vowels /a/>/u/ and the consonants /k/>/kw/ and is connected with the presence in OPr. consonantism of phonemic palatalization,[495] as is shown in the following scheme:

p p'   t t'   k k'
b b'   d d'   g g'
        s s'
        z z'
m m'   n n'
v v'   r r' j
        l l'

One notes that the correlation of palatalization includes consonants; in writing, palatalized consonants are marked inconsistently by <i, y> and sometimes also by <g> (Endzelīns 1935, p. 96; Schmalstieg 1964, p. 212, n. 5). Phonetic labialization frequently co-occurs with phonemic palatalization; although native speakers do not usually notice this phonetic labialization, the German scribes sometimes noted it in OPr. texts (in writing, it is conveyed through <o>, <u>, sometimes with an additional <w> where one expects <a>), and this possibly explains the presence of orthographic variants, e.g. *mērgan* and *mergwan* 'girl', *kawijds* and *kuwijds* 'who, which', etc. (Schmalstieg 1968b).

Several features of consonantism unite OPr. and Latv. but are absent in Lith.; compare the development of Balt. *š*, *ž*, and *sį̃*:

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[495] The presence of palatalized consonants in OPr. was already noted by Endzelīns (1935); the presence in OPr. of the phonological opposition of palatalized vs. unpalatalized consonants, along with phonetic labialization of unpalatalized consonants followed by non-front vowels, is proposed in Schmalstieg (1968b and 1974a, p. 26). This opinion is shared in Burwell (1970, p. 13).

Balt.	Examples:
*š	OPr. *as* 'I', Latv. *es*, Lith. *aš*
	OPr. *sunis* 'dog', Latv. *suns*, Lith. *šuõ*
*ž	OPr. *assaran* 'lake', Latv. *ezers*, Lith. *ẽžeras*
*sʲ	OPr. *schutuan* 'sew', Latv. *šūt*, Lith. *siū́ti* 'to sew'.[496]

6.3.1.2. Specific traits. Specific and archaic traits of OPr. in comparison with Lith. and Latv. appear as follows:

a) no assibilation of /t'/ and /d'/;

b) different development of Baltic consonant sequences *tl*, *dl* preserved in OPr., but in Lith. and Latv. transformed to *kl*, *gl*;[497]

c) preservation of the nasal vowel before fricatives or in word-final position:

Balt.	OPr.	Lith.	Latv.	Examples:
*tʲ	t'	č	š	OPr. *crixtianai* 'Christian', Lith. *krikščiónys*; Latv. gen. sing. *vācieša* 'of the German'.
*dʲ	d'	dž	ž	OPr. *median* 'forest', Lith. dial. *mẽdžias*, Latv. *mežs*.
*tl	tl	kl	kl	OPr. *ebsentliuns* 'designated', Lith. *apžénklinęs* 'designated' (both active participles).
*dl	dl	gl	gl	OPr. *addle* 'spruce [tree]', Lith. *ẽglė*; Latv. *egle*.
*Vn	Vn	V	V	OPr. *sansy* 'goose', acc. sing. *naktin* 'night'; Lith. *žąsìs*, *nãktį*; Latv. *zoss*, *nakts*.

Another possible specific OPr. trait may be denasalization. According to this idea, firstly proposed in Smoczyński (1992d), in the spoken language of Sambia there was a tendency to weaken the nasal resonance with his possible complete disappearance (*aN* > *ai*). If this assumption is confirmed, it will determine a different reconstruction of OPr. system of case endings; but it remains controversial at present.[498]

6.3.1.3. Macrons. Bearing in mind the characteristics of the OPr. texts, it is understandably not easy to define the prosodic characteristics of the

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[496] For precision one should say that the sequence of letters <ſch> represents both the phonemes /ſ/ and /s'/, i.e., according to the influence of the German writing tradition, also encountered in OLith. texts of Prussian redaction [see 7.4.1.1].

[497] Nonetheless Kiparsky (1970b, p. 260-261) proposes that the alternation of *tl/kl* in initial position may be explained as allophones, cf. [EV 655 *Ber*] *clokis* 'bear' and the toponym *Tlokunpelk* 'Bear swamp'; Schmalstieg (1976, p. 122-123) also agrees with these.

[498] Rather favorable Schmalstieg (1998b), against Petit (2001a).

language (on the contrary, this is one of the most debated questions of Baltic philology). Nonetheless, it is believed that OPr. stress was free and mobile as in Lithuanian; it is marked orthographically only in the *Enchiridion* where the macrons are over some vowels (for example, nom. sing. *antrā* 'second' and acc. sing. *āntran*, cf. Lith. *antrà*, *añtrą*). It is no easier to speak about tone, since sometimes the macrons occur without distinction over either the first or the second element of diphthongs (e.g. *ēi* ~ *eī*, cf. dat. plur. *stēimans* and *steīmans* 'these').

Fortunatov was the first to be interested in the position of the macron. He determines that it shows the different tones of OPr. diphthongs. If the macron stood over the second element of the diphthong, it meant rising intonation.[499] Based on this, one can say that OPr. preserved a more ancient tone type than did Lithuanian (in which the phonetics of inherited tones underwent significant changes [see 2.1.3.2.]). Immediately following the appearance of Fortunatov's theory, it enjoyed much success;[500] the theory was accepted as a defense of the language competency of Abel Will [see below] and his ability to hear and accurately transcribe OPr. stress and tone, although Fortunatov did not take into account many contradictory examples, which he considered "exceptions".

In post-Trautmann Prussian philology, Rysiewicz (1938-1940) again took up the tangled question of the meaning of the macrons in the *Enchiridion*, analyzing the diacritic signs (or, to be exact, the system of diacritic signs) with which Will marked the position of stress and tone. Thorough philological and statistical research in this fundamental work Rysiewicz showed more divergence between the diacritical signs than expected according to the theory of Fortunatov, all of which undermined the latter's theory. On the contrary, through Will the system of the German language evidently had significant influence on the text of the *Enchiridion*. For simplicity, I state the results of Rysiewicz' research as follows:

a) Macrons over the diphthongs do not mark the tone — they were

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[499] Based on the theory expounded in Fortunatov (1895), the following forms may be schematically presented: $\bar{v} + i/u/n/r...$: Lith. $v + \tilde{\iota}/\tilde{u}/\tilde{n}/\tilde{r} ...$; $v + n$: Lith. *é*, *á* + *n* or *ì*, *ù* + *n*; $v + \bar{\iota}/\bar{u}$ or $v + i/u$: Lith. *ú* + *i/u*, where $v =$ vowel (for comparison examples are taken from the Lith. standard language disregarding dialects).

[500] Berneker, Bezzenberger and Trautmann accept the theory. Gerullis (1924) and van Wijk (1918), however, are more skeptical regarding Will's actual knowledge of the OPr. language. Bonfante (1932) in principle accepts the meanings ascribed above to the macron, but above all he strives to show the importance for the OPr. language of the laws governing the stress in the Baltic languages [see 2.1.3.1]; he notes, that Lex Leskien does not work in OPr. (this is a Lith. innovation, e.g. *vilkù* < *vĭlkúo*); but on the other hand, the Lex Saussure works (e.g. *[ˈlaĩkíti] > *[laĩˈkíti], cf. Lith. *laikýti*) except in the instances where Lex Hirt has already been manifested (e.g. Lith. *vìlna* < *vilnã*).

introduced by Will for indicating the place of stress so that German pastors could more easily read the texts.[501]

b) The stress was only written in non-initial position, i.e. in case the place of stress differed from that of German (it is noteworthy that Polabian texts furnish instructive parallels) and on either the first or second element of the diphthong without regard to any possible differentiation between the two kinds of diphthong. From this it follows that Will was unable to hear intonation.

c) In the first two Catechisms and in the vocabularies, stress was marked through reduplication of consonants (a short stressed syllable, e.g. dat. plur. *waikammans*, cf. Lith. *vaikáms* 'to the children') or through <h> after a vowel.

d) To denote the stress in the *Enchiridion*, Abel Will created a new system using macrons for marking position of stress in OPr. However, he retained some of the old system (the coexistence of old and new is noticeable in such instances when the consonant gemination without exception marks the root syllable, which is stressed in German but not in OPr., e.g. *turrītwei*, cf. Lith. *turéti* 'to have').

e) Finally, there are more than a few occurrences when the macrons are used concurrently with consonant gemination.

After new detailed research Young (2008) affirms that in the *Enchiridion* the macron on mixed diphthongs, differently to the other diphthongs, functions only as a marker of stress.

6.3.1.4. Consonant gemination. There are other instances of failure to distinguish between the old and new system of marking that one should regard as evidence of Will's incapability, so to say, to liberate himself completely from his bilingualism. An open question is the indication of stress on short vowels. Thus the gemination of following consonant (e.g. *buttan* 'home' sn., cf. Lith. *bùtas* 'flat' sm.) may denote: 1) short accented vowels,[502] or 2) the

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[501] Citing a passage from the preface to the First Catechism: "Damit die pfarhern vnd Seelſorger auffm lande / denſelbigen alle Sontage von der Cantzel / von wort zu wort / one Tolken [i.e. without translators] / ſelbs ableſen / vnd dem vndeuˈdſchen preuˈßniſchen volcke / jn derſelbigen ſprache / mit fleys fuˈrſprechen ſoˈllen," cf. Mažiulis (1966c, p. 82). It resembles the situation of the Lithuanians and Germans of Prussia described in the *Katgiſmas* of Lysius (1719) - in his handwritten copy, Lithuanian stress is noted for German Protestant pastors; it is also possibly similar to the situation of Lithuanian and Polish in DP where stress in the Lithuanian text would have been to facilitate reading for the numerous Catholic clergy from Poland.

[502] That is the opinion of Rysiewicz (1938-1940, p. 101-102), and earlier Trautmann (1910, p. 196); van Wijk (1918, p. 101).

shortness of a preceding vowel regardless of stress as in German orthography.[503]

Kortlandt (1974) prefers another both original and controversial interpretation. According to him the macrons generally denoted long stressed vowels[504] or the rising element of the diphthong such that OPr. accentuation in large degree conforms to the development of stress supposed for East Baltic and for the Balto-Slavic epoch. In particular Kortlandt proposes for OPr. the hypothesis of a progressive stress shift similar (but conditioned more restrictively) to that ruled by Dubois's law in Slavic. Furthermore, in order to explain the particular frequency of geminated consonants even before long stressed vowels with macrons (e.g. *billīt* 'to talk', *skellānts* 'owing'), Kortlandt also thinks that "a double consonant indicates that the next vowel was stressed."[505] The result is, in my view, that one hypothesis (the supposed value of gemination) depends on the other (the hypothesis of development of stress according to different "laws"). Besides, the latter hypothesis concerns a comparative level (OPr. in respect to other cognate languages) whereas the former looks like an attempt to force the real OPr. data to fit that scheme... But still more perplexing is how little Kortlandt takes into account the cultural-philological context already brought into the discussion by Rysiewicz. On the contrary, this could be a better starting point to preserve Kortlandt's most important, in my opinion, assumption, i.e. that the three translations reflect a process of standardization in the language of the OPr. *Enchiridion* which stopped already *in statu nascendi*.[506]

On the value of graphic gemination one has to register a prolonged discussion: Parenti (1998, p. 136-137) shows that vowel vacillation is not

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[503] That is the opinion of Berneker (1896, p. 102); Endzelīns (1944, p. 23-25); Schmalstieg (1974a, p. 25 and 1998, p. 7).

[504] Kortlandt (1974, p. 300). For completness' sake the Dutch scholar maintains that the stress advancement (from non-acute syllable to the next syllable) is denounciated by the vacillation <*e ~ a*> before a gemination of consonants (e.g. *giwemmai ~ giwammai* 'we live') which is considered as the effect of a pretonic neutralization. Parenti (1998), however, also observes cases like e.g. *butten : buttan* 'casa', acc. m./f. *tennen : tennan* 'she' and other, where the vacillation appears in syllables which, in Kortlandt's opinion, would be stressed. On initial *a*- and *e*-, cf. Kortlandt (2000b).

[505] One must at once observe that this is not the *communis opinio*. According to Smoczyński (1989e) the macron over a vowel may also denote the vowel plus a following nasal (normally -*n* and occasionally -*m*); some such examples also occur in the forewords to the *Enchiridion* (*gnedigē* for *gnedigen* 'gracious', *getragē* for *getragen* 'carried'). This observation also allows some useful emendations in the OPr. texts as for instance: *sīdans* 'sitzend' < **sindan(t)s*, compare *sindats* in the First and *syndens* in the Second catechism. About the macron as abbreviation sign over a final diphtong, cf. Smoczyński (1997).

[506] Kortlandt (1998d et al.) pursues this idea. Even in this context it seems, however, improbable that graphic gemination of consonants, marking the shortness of *preceding* vowels already in the first OPr. texts under the influence of German usage (the same is to be observed in OLatv. texts and in OLith. ones printed in Prussia!), could have undergone such a radical change of meaning in Will's edition of the *Enchiridion*.

limited to unstressed syllables, and also brings in examples from OLith. usage (e.g. Cathechism of Lysius) to support this assertion. Young (1999) provides several other counterexamples from the *Enchiridion* itself, and from Zamelius's [see 6.2.1.] OPr. words. Both criticisms already obtained Kortlandts's prompt replies,[507] nevertheless some weak points of the latter's hypotesis about the value of the graphic double consonants have been clearly singled out. Therefore it is not necessary to reject the traditional interpretation of consonant gemination i.e. a simple device marking the shortness of a preceding vowel according to the German orthography.[508] After a re-examination of the debate of the last years Schmalsteig (2001a) also substantially confirms this view.

6.3.1.5. Accentograms? Smoczyński (1990a) follows the path of research started by Rysiewicz: he compares identical segments of the text encountered in the first two OPr. Catechisms and then in the *Enchiridion*. He sees the function of marking stress in the use of certain supplementary letters (*literowa akcentografia*). The traditional "accentograms" in OPr. texts (up until now limited to macrons, geminated consonants and <h>) are considerably supplemented with many other orthographic sequences.[509]

At first, Smoczyński differentiates consonant and vowel accentograms, and then he proceeds to further divisions in accordance with a very complicated, even too complicated, *ars combinatoria* in order to be convincing...[510] In this case Smoczyński carries the research begun by Rysiewicz to extreme conclusions, and although the examples adduced at times are really surprising, I note that if the aim of the accentograms was to render

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[507] Cf. Kortlandt (1999a) to Parenti (1998), and Kortlandt (2000a) to Young (1999); in my view Kortlandt gives a correct accentual interpretation of Zamelius's words, but proposes *ad hoc* explanations answering other questions.

[508] Cf. Endzelīns (1944, p. 23): "Nach dem Vorbild der deutschen Orthographie wird grundsätzlich hinter einem kurzen Vokal das Konsonantenzeichen doppelt geschrieben, aber es gibt verschiedene Ausnahmen von dieser Regel."

[509] Consonant accentograms are further divided: *a)* postgemination (e.g. Ench. *bītas, drūktai* ~ Cat. *be-tt-en* 'evening', *dru-ck-tai* 'hard'); *b)* ambigemination (e.g. <ss - nn> Ench. *crixti-ss-e-nn-ien* 'baptism'; <uw - sch> Ench. *tawisen, tawischen* ~ Cat. *ta-uw-y-sch-en* 'neighbor' and many other instances); *c)* inexact gemination (e.g. <ll - nts> Ench. *ske-ll-ā-nts* ~ Cat. *ske-ll-a-nts* 'guilty'; possibly in combination with the macron, e.g. *kūmpinna* 'he/she/it hinders', etc.); *d)* quasi-gemination (e.g. Ench. *absign-a-snen* ~ *ebsign-ā-snan* ~ *sign-a-ss-(n)en* 'blessing'). Vowel accentograms are divided into: *a)* ligature <y>, variants <ij>, <ī> (e.g. Ench. *ainavīdai, bītas* ~ Cat. *ainaw-y-dan* 'as'; *bytis* 'evening'); *b)* accentogram diphthongs <o-u>, <a-u>, <e-i>, <a-i>, <i-e>, <y-ie>, <ie-y> (e.g. *b-ou-sei, boū-sei, b-au-sei* 'may he be', cf. Lith. *būsi* 'you will be'; *klaus-ie-iti* 'obey', *poklaus-ij-snan* 'hearing', cf. Lith. *klausýti* 'to listen' and many others; *c)* fixed <e> (e.g. Ench. *dāts* ~ Cat. *d-ae-ctz* 'given'; Ench. *tennēison* ~ Cat. *tan-ae-ss-en* acc. sing. 'he', with the accumulation <ae> and <ss>) etc.

[510] Cf. Smoczyński (*SBS* I, p. 128-132).

reading of the texts easier – as many scholars, even Rysiewicz (1938-1940, p. 143) and the same Smoczyński (1990a, p. 81),[511] rightly observed –, then it seems that such a quantity of diacritic signs in many different combinations clearly didn't alleviate the problems of German pastors who didn't know Old Prussian.

Science frequently moves ahead through extremes and then turns back in order to make better use of the real facts. In this case, the facts were best understood in the work of Rysiewicz, and therefore it is desirable that future research stems just from his work.

6.3.1.6. Attempts at an OPr. accentology. An attempt at a reinterpretation of the OPr. accentuation system based on the principles of morphological accentology has been carried out in some articles by Rinkevičius (e.g. 2006, 2009, 2010)[512] who tries to establish the properties both of the morphemes of primary words and of the affixes of derivatives. The difficulty of this kind of investigation is, of course, to assume as a certainty that the macron in the OPr. forms indicates the stress, which is not, however, always the case [see 6.3.1.3.]. Olander (2009b) is also worth mentioning in this context although I must confess my own limit in understanding this kind of approach to the OPr. texts.

Another exhaustive investigation of the system of OPr. accentual paradigms was initiated by Dybo (2009).

6.3.2. Elements of morphology

Here I will illustrate the fundamental linguistic features which differentiate Old Prussian from Lithuanian and Latvian. One notes the following features:

a) the neuter form is preserved in OPr. but lost in East Baltic;

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[511] Rysiewicz (1938-1940, p. 143); Smoczyński (1990a, p. 181): citing a passage from Will's preface to the Third Catechism (cf. Mažiulis 1966c, p. 120-121; 1981c, p. 95-96): *Vermanen derhalben alle / vnd jedere Vnſere Ertʒprieſter / Pfarherrn / Prediger vnd Kirchendiener welche in jren befolhenen kirchſpilen Preuſſiſche leuth vnter ſich haben / das ſie es auch an jhnen nicht mangeln laſſen / ſondern in betrachtunge jres beruffs / vnd der hohen not jhres armen Preuſſiſchen kirchenvolcks / fůr welches der ewige Son Gottes ſo wol / alſ das aller fůrnembſt / ſein heilig Blut vergoſſen hat / ſouiel jmmer mǔglich ſich befleiſſigen / das ſie nach hiemit gegebner / vnd vorangedruckter anleytung / wie man die Preuſſiſche ſprach verſtendiglich leſen ſol / auff alle Sontag auß ſolchē Preuſſiſchen Catechiſmo ein ſtǔck / als jetʒt die ʒehen Gebot / Das ander mal den Chriſtlichen Glauben / vnd alſo fortan / biß er gar ʒum endt gebracht / vnnd alsdenn wider angefangen werd / ſelbſt von der Cantʒel ſein deutlich ableſen lernē / oder aber jre Tolcken / wo die leſen kǒnnen / fůrleſen laſſen.*

[512] Cf. also Kortlandt (2011).

b) the form of the imperative (cf. OPr. *weddeis* 'lead') is distinguished from Lith. and Latv. and is rather reminiscent of Slav (e.g. *vedi* 'id.');

c) one of three endings of OPr. infinitives, *-twei*, is absent in Lith. and Latv. (its origin is unclear);

d) in the pronouns there are several archaic forms.

In the following, I will give the essential features of the verb and noun.

6.3.2.1. Number. The category of number is limited to singular and plural; it is traditionally thought that the dual disappeared, however contradictory views exist. Endzelīns is convinced of the existence of the dual in Prussian, and Levin follows him (e.g. OPr. *nozy* 'nose'; *austo* 'mouth', cf. also OCS *ousta*, Avestan *aoštā* 'two lips' < IE *-ō)[513]; Witczak also thinks that there are traces of the dual in *-ā* stem nouns in the Pomesanian dialect.[514] Finally, Palmaitis (1989b, p. 126-128) claims to find traces of a collective in *Stai Gennai* 'the women'. On the existence of *pluralia tantum* (pluralic nouns) also in OPr. cf. Mathiassen (1998).

6.3.2.2. Gender. Although the neuter gender is still alive in the OPr. texts, in the IE inherited words and also in some more recent forms, nevertheless one observes that it is already limited to few semantic categories and clearly disappearing (Petit 2000). The traces of the neuter are still better encountered in EV (stem without ending, e.g. OPr. [EV 33 *Vu̇er*] *panno* 'fire', [EV 392 *Mete*] *alu* 'mead', and with the ending *-m/n*, e.g. OPr. [EV 689 *Puttir*] *Anctan* 'butter', [EV 687 *MJlch*] *Dadan* 'milk').

It is thought that endingless forms of the neuter present a more archaic state of language as compared with the more prevalent forms with endings in a nasal consonant; the addition of such an ending is a later phenomenon, maybe originating through analogy with the masculine acc. sing.[515]

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[513] Cf. Endzelīns (1943, p. 76, 80, 83); Rudzīte (1993a, p. 132, 176); excluding Levin (1973, p. 191) this interpretation didn't have much success later, cf. Schmalstieg (1974a); Smoczyński (1988b, p. 889).

[514] Witczak (1992) considers that the following are dual forms: [EV 136 *Lenden*] *Strannay* 'small of the back; kidneys' (< fem. nom. dual *srēnai*, cf. Lith. nom. plur. fem. *strḗnos*); [EV 489 *Bruch*] *Broakay* '[type of] pants' (< fem. nom. dual *brōkāi*, a loanword from the MLG noun fem. *brôk*); he proposes, that in the cited instances the ending *-ai* instead of the expected *-as* arose under the influence of forms of the dual number on plural forms with *-ā* stems.

[515] Cf. Kazlauskas (1968, p. 124); Mažiulis (1970, p. 85). Indeed, it is imaginable that the author of EV didn't necessarily give all the forms in the nom. sing. Another point of view is that OPr. forms in *-an* aren't neuter but masc. acc. sing. (Mikkola 1902-1903, p. 1-9).

Thus, in OPr. it is probably still possible to observe a three-gender system (masculine, feminine and neuter), the precursor of the merging of neuter with masculine; already in the Catechisms there is competition between masculine and neuter, or the neuter's substitution with animate nouns (masculine, feminine):

a) OPr. neutrum *assaran* 'lake', cf. Lith. masc. *ẽžeras*, also Latv. *ezers*; OPr. neutrum *buttan* 'house', cf. Lith. masc. *bùtas* 'house, apartment'; OPr. neutrum *eristian* 'lamb', cf. Lith. masc. *ėriùkas*, also Latv. masc. *jērs*, *jēriņš*; OPr. neutrum *meddo* 'honey', cf. Lith. masc. *medùs*, also Latv. masc. *medus*.

b) OPr. neutrum *testamentan* ~ masc. *testaments* 'testament', cf. Lith. masc. *testamentas*, also Latv. masc. *testaments*; OPr. neutrum *Wundan* ~ masc. *unds* 'water', cf. Lith. masc. *vanduõ*, also Latv. masc. *ūdens*.

Against the traditional point of view Smoczyński (2001, p. 148-149) maintains that the OPr. neuter gender was characterized by a duality ("Doppelheit") of forms so that the ending <-s> should not be interpreted as secondary (masculine). In his view this fact is also the result of an imitation of the German situation.

6.3.2.3. Cases. The OPr. inflectional system has four cases: nominative, genitive, dative and accusative. The vocative is distinguished from the nominative case only in the *-o* stem nouns. Moreover, one should note that the accusative case has the tendency to function as a general indirect case, i.e. it is also used in place of the genitive and the dative. It is traditionally thought that there was no instrumental case, although traces remain in the system of personal pronouns.[516] For the locative, they use constructions with prepositions (*en* 'in, into', with dat. or acc.), for which one cannot exclude the influence of German (on the level of translation).[517]

6.3.2.4. Thematic paradigms. In the *corpus* of Prussian texts one encounters

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[516] Cf. Smoczyński (*SBS* I, p. 109-128); Smoczyński (1990b) with bibliography. Mažiulis (1968) studies instrumental constructions with *sen*.

[517] However, it is thought there may be a few nouns in the loc. case, e.g. *bītai* 'in the evening' < *-oi/*-ei, cf. OCS -ѣ, cf. *PKEŽ* I, p. 144, or in the construction *an dangonsʋ̂n*, corresponding to Latin *in coelis*, could be understood as a contamination of the loc. plur. *dang-usu* 'in the heavens' and the construction *en* (+ acc. plur.) *danguns*, cf. *PKEŽ* I, p. 177.

noun stems and corresponding case endings which are presented in the fol–lowing tables with different lexical examples.[518]

Stems	*-ŏ	*-ā	*-ē
nom. m.	deiw(a)s	genno, spigsnā	semmē, teisi
nom.–acc. n.	assaran		
gen.	deiwas	gennas	teisis
dat.	grīku	[adj. tickray]	semmey
acc.	deiwan	gennan	semmi(e)n
voc.	deiwe		

Stems	*-ĭ	*-i̯ŏ	*-ŭ	*-C
nom. m.	assis	rikijs	dangus	kērmens
nom.–acc. n.	median		alu, meddo	semen
gen.	? –is	? rikijas	sunos	kermenes
dat.	nautei [part. giwāntei]			
acc.	naktin	rikijan	sunun	smunentin
voc.		rikijs		

Singular

Stems	*-ŏ	*-ā	*-ē
nom. m.	grīkai	lauxnos	peles
gen.	grīcan	menschon	
dat.	wirdemmans	gennāmans	
acc.	grīkans	gennans	kurpins
voc.	–eis		

Stems	*-ĭ	*-i̯ŏ	*-ŭ	*-C
nom. m.	ackis	rikijai		klente
gen.				
dat.		crixtiānimans		
acc.	akkins	rikijans		smunentins
voc.				

Plural

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[518] In alphabetical order: *ackis* 'eye', *alu* 'beer', *assaran* 'lake', *assis* 'axis', *crixtianai* 'baptism', *dangus* 'sky; heaven', *deiws* 'god', *genno* 'woman', *grīkas* 'sin', *kērmens* 'body', *kurpe* 'shoe', *lauxnos* 'constellation', *meddo* 'honey', *median* 'forest', *menschon* 'meat', *naktin* 'night', *nautei* 'by necessity', *peles* 'muscle', *rikijs* 'sir', *semen* 'seed', *semme* 'earth', *smunents* 'man', *spigsnā* 'bathing', *sunos* 'of the son', *teisi* 'honor', *tickray* 'on the right', *wirdai* 'words'.

In the following only some of the open questions with regard to the noun morphology in Old Prussian will be briefly discussed.[519]

6.3.2.4.1. *-ŏ Stems. In **nom. sing.** the absence of the vowel stem (cf. OPr. [EV 1 *GOt*] *Deywis*, Ench. *deiws* < IE *-*os*) should probably be explained as a reduction caused by difference in stress: stem stress in the nom. and end stress in the gen. sing. (but one should not disregard the *lectio difficilior*, nom. sing. Ench. *deiwas*).[520] The **gen. sing.** in -*as* of masc. nouns can be explained as an archaism (cf. IE *-*osi̯o*)[521] or as an innovation. For Leskien (1876, p. 34) and Berneker (1896, p. 186) -*ās* is a secondary ending (instead of *deiwā) taken from the fem. *-*ā* stems, cf. gen. sing. *genn-as* 'of the women'. Relying on philological arguments and based on a different conception of Old Prussian in general **[see 6.2.3.]**, Smoczyński (1988a, p. 38–40; 1992d; 1998a) explains the OPr. forms in -*as*, -*ese* of masculine nouns (in -*an* of neuter nouns) rather as <a + s>, where <s> is a transposition of the German gen. sing. morph -*es*/-*s* in a situation of advanced bilingualism.[522] Mathiassen (2010, p. 38), joining in this case Mažiulis, is inclined to consider this ending as an archaism (that is the IE gen. endig *-*os* which is found also in Hittite), and not the reflex of IE. *-*osi̯o* **[see 2.2.1.5.1.]**); he also quotes the interpretation as *-*ā* (as in East Baltic and Slavic) with the addition of -*s* by analogy with other stems (the idea of Leskien), and even mentions the alternative possibility that this ending was borrowed directly from German (Smoczyński 1996). The **dat. sing.** -*u* is traditionally from *-*ōi*, according to Mažiulis also from *-*ō*. For the **acc. sing.** -*an*, cf. Lith. -*ą* (< *-*an*), Latv. -*u* (< *-*uo* < *-*an* < IE *-*om*); Smoczyński (2001) rejects the traditional equation for OPr. -*an*, and claims polyfunctionality for the OPr. (graphic) ending <-an> which may cover many different morphological cases (gen., dat., acc.) as a result of the imitation of the German weak noun declension. The ancient **loc. sing.** *-*ie* (< *-*oi*/-*ei*) remains perhaps in OPr. *bīt-ai* 'in the evening'. As for the **voc. sing.** in -*e*, one wonders if it

[519] Reference works: Berneker (1896); Trautmann (1910); Endzelīns (1943, 1944); Schmalstieg (1974a); Smoczyński (2000c, 2005); Mažiulis (2004); Kaukienė (2004); Mathiassen (2010).

[520] According to another explanation, both case endings are of one origin and, like their correspondences in other IE languages, they arose from one of the protoforms with the structure *-*s* with ergative function, i.e., they date to the epoch before the nominative structure [see 2.2.1.4., 2.3.3.1.].

[521] For a discussion of this [see 2.2.1.5.]. Cf. also Schmalstieg (1976, p. 88–89, 144).

[522] According to Girdenis and Rosinas (1977, p. 3, footnote 7), remnants of the OPr. inflection of gen. sing. in -*o* are perhaps to be found in the form Ench. *Butta Tawas* alternating with *Buttas Taws* 'Hausvater, head of the household', or in *penega* 'money' from the *Trace of Basel* [see 10.1.1.]. Still one trace may be encountered in *kas arrientlāku*, perhaps equivalent to Lith. *kas āria añt lauko* 'which plows in the field', cf. Schmalstieg (1976, p. 168).

is perhaps maintained in the OPr. names (e.g. *Wilke*) as a sort of "petrified vocative" (Stifter 2008, p. 288).

The **nom. plur.** is *-ai*, cf. Lith. *-ai* [see 2.2.1.5.1.]; some neuter forms attested in EV are doubtful (Mažiulis 2004, p. 40). The **gen. plur.** in *-an* is distinguished from Lith. and Latv. *-ų* (< *-un*). The **dat. plur.** pronominal inflection in *-mans* alternates with *-mas* (e.g. *ioū-mas* 'to you', cf. OLith. *-mus* ≥ *-ms*). The **acc. plur.** *-ans* is distinguished from Lith. and Latv. vocalism *-us* (< *-uns/-ons*).

6.3.2.4.2. *-ā Stems. In the **nom. sing.** the apparent OPr. diverse endings: <*-o/-ā* ~ *-a/-ū*>, derive from *-ā*; *-o* is encountered only in the Catechisms, and *-ū* regularly appears only after labial and velar consonants in the Sambian dialect.

6.3.2.4.3. *-ē Stems. The **nom. sing.** <-i> (e.g. Ench. *kurpi* 'shoes') is probably from *-ē* (e.g. [EV 500 *Schuch*] *Kurpe* 'shoe' id). The **gen. sing.** unstressed <-is> should probably be interpreted as /-ēs/. The **dat. sing.** <-ei> appears in place of *-i*, probably an innovation based on the model of *-ā* stems. Different opinions exist regarding the **acc. plur.**: Stang *VGBS* and Mažiulis (2004, p. 48) support the Endzelīns's interpretation of *kurp-ins* 'boots' as analogical with **nom. plur.** **kurpis*, whereas Schmalstieg (1976, p. 160) interprets it rather as a German rendering of the expected OPr. *-ens*.

6.3.2.4.4. *-ĭ Stems. As Schmalstieg (1990) noted, the **gen. sing.** endings *-is* can be understood as a partitive genitive.

6.3.2.4.5. *-(i)ŭ Stems. Very meagerly attested. Several variants exist for the **gen. sing.** in OPr.: <-as ~ -os ~ -ons>, which are not always easy to interpret; the last variant should be corrected to <-ous> = /-aus/, cf. OPr. II *Cat.* <sounons> = *sounous* 'of the son'.[523]

6.3.2.4.6. *-C Stems. There are two types of **nom. sing.** consonant stem. One type has the simple stem (without endings) and the other has the ending *-s*. Representative of the first type are, e.g. OPr. *brote* 'brother', *duckti* 'daughter', *mūti* 'mother', etc., cf. the Lith. nouns in *-n-/-r-* (e.g. Lith. *mótė* 'mother', *duktẽ* 'daughter', *vanduõ* 'water', *akmuõ* 'stone'); these nouns in Latv. were remodeled (e.g. Latv. *māte* was remodeled as an *-ē* stem;

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[523] This is already done in Berneker (1896, p. 188); Trautmann (1910, p. 239, 433); Smoczyński (1988b, p. 890).

ūdens, *akmens* to the *-(i̯)ŏ-)* stems. The second type is encountered, e.g. in OPr. *kērmens* 'body', *smunents* 'person'; in the noun paradigms of Lithuanian it disappeared (the only apparent exception may be *viešpats* 'Lord God'), but is preserved in the participial paradigms (e.g. Lith. *rašąs* < *rašants* 'writing').

From the above intermingled observations it emerges that an interesting "alternative" picture (with respect to the "traditional" picture of Prussian philology) is presented in the works of Smoczyński. According to the Polish scholar's (partly still ongoing) conclusions, the inflection in the texts of the OPr. Catechisms represents not so much the facts of the spoken language as it does the imitation and artificial reproduction of a German model which the translator(s) reconstructed, using forms already losing their currency.[524] In this light, Smoczyński prefers to explain as German influence many inflections which until now had been traditionally explained by comparison with Lithuanian.[525]

6.3.2.5. Adjectives. Indefinite adjectives are divided into three stem classes (*-ŏ, *-ĭ, *-ŭ*), of which only the first differentiates gender (e.g. masc. nom. sing. *labs*, fem. acc. sing. *labban*, neuter nom. sing. *labban* 'good'), whereas the paradigms of other stems are attested only fragmentarily. The following are considered archaic forms: the preserved neuter, the dat. sing. masc. ending *-smu*, and the *-ĭ* stems, which are distinct from noun declension (e.g. *arwis* 'true, genuine', cf. OCS *ravъ-nъ*).

Forms of the definite (pronominal) adjectives are rarely encountered, e.g. masc. *pirmois* (respect to *pirmas* 'first'), acc. *en pirmannin* or *en pirmannien* 'zu erst; firstly', and fem. *pirmoi*, *en pirmonnien*; other isolated cases are: *dengnennissis* 'heavenly', *walnennien* 'besten', *pansdaumannien* 'last'.[526]

Comparatives are most often created with the suffix *-ais-* (e.g. masc. acc. plur. *uraisins* 'parents' next to *urs* 'old'), but in the *Enchiridion* the form *muisieson* 'oldest' is also encountered, reminiscent of the Lith. forms

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[524] Cf. Smoczyński (1994a, p. 236): "sztucznie przez tłumaczy skonstruowaną replikę podstawy niemieckiej w formach języka, który wychodził z użycia".

[525] Smoczyński (2000c) is precisely devoted to the German influence on OPr. and provoked contrasting reactions (i.e. Mažiulis 2000b or Schmalstieg 2001b) soon after the publication. This work is the first systematic investigation on this topic and is characterized by a radicalization of Smoczyński's repeatedly already expressed view that vocabulary (but not only!) is in a great part merely a reflex of the German one; the latter's language influence on OPr. is now considered totally pervading and observed also in such cases where until now it was not even suspected. The allegedly overflowing of German influence remind Pisani's (already mentioned) idea of Old Prussian as a pidgin language.

[526] Endzelīns (1943, p. 89-90); Schmalstieg (1974a, p. 82-106); Mažiulis (2004, p. 55-56).

in *-esn-is*;[527] the superlative degree uses the morpheme *ucka* and the positive or comparative degree of adjectives and adverbs (e.g. *ucka kuslaisin* 'weakest', cf. Lith. *kùšlas* 'blind'), whereas forms with the suffix *-mo-* are lexicalized (e.g. *auktimmien* 'superior', *aucktimmiskū* 'authority' < **augtim-*, cf. Lith. *áugti* 'to grow').

6.3.2.6. Pronouns. Several forms are traditionally thought of as the results of contamination of different stems; so from **so* and **to* the demonstrative pronoun "this" was created (cf. OPr. masc. *stas*, fem. *sta/stā/stai*, neu. *sta*), and from the stems **tas* and **anas* the personal pronoun "he, she" arose (cf. OPr. masc. *tāns* < **tān-a-s*, fem. *tannā/tennā*).[528]

Pronominal forms lacking in Lithuanian and Latvian are: *subs, sups* 'self' (cf. OCS *sobъ* id.); anaphoric enclitics (acc. sing.) *din, dien* 'him [he], her [she]' which should be thought of as innovations which also arose in Iranian (cf. also Avestan *dim*);[529] finally, the compound pronoun *kawīds* 'who', *stawīds* 'such', the second element of which is the stem *vīda-*, cf. Latv. *vīds*, Lith. *véidas* 'face'. Interrogative pronouns appear in the following forms: masc. *kas* 'who, which', fem. *quai, quoi* 'which'.

One should also note that the declension of OPr. pronouns, more than that of any other category, is different from Lith. and Latv., particularly with regard to several endings of the demonstrative pronoun *stas* (e.g. dat. sing. masc./neuter *stasma, -u* in contrast with Lith. and Latv. *tam*, cf. OInd. *tásmai* < **-smōi*).[530] Concerning the different terminations of the neuter pronouns in Ench., Petit (2001a) observes that they obey a syntactic rule according to which the nominative has *-a* and the Accusative *-an*.

6.3.2.7. Verbal inflection. Many details here remain not completely clear both because of the fragmentary nature of the texts and gaps in many paradigms, and because of the traditional tendency to make the categories of the OPr. language fit with the categories of the other Baltic languages.[531] Smoczyński (2005) comments on all OPr. verbal forms.

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[527] Endzelīns (1943, p. 91); Schmalstieg (1972); Schmid (1975).

[528] However, other explanations are entirely plausible, cf. Lith. dialect. *štas*, see Rosinas (1988, p. 207-208).

[529] Benveniste (1933); *PKEŽ* I, p. 202-203.

[530] For more detail see Schmalstieg (1971); Michelini (1991c).

[531] Beyond the already mentioned grammars and reference works, for more detail, cf. Bezzenberger (1907), a work which has not lost significance (partly reprinted in *LgB*, 3, p. 251-291; Schmalstieg (1970, 1974a, p. 148-153; 1976, p. 198-218); Palmaitis (2013).

6.3.2.7.1. Personal endings. There exists no difference between the primary and secondary endings, but there are different athematic and thematic endings. The 3rd pers. ending occurs in the 1st and 2nd sing. The following forms present the situation in OPr.:[532]

Athematic	Thematic
1st pers. sing. *asmai, asmu, asmau*	*imma* (< *-ā < *-ō)
2nd pers. sing. *assei, assai, asse*	*giwassi, gīwasi;*[533] *waissei, waisse*
3rd pers. *asti-ts ~ ast*	*imma* (< *-a-Ø)
1st pers. plur.	*immimai* (*-ma + -i < *mē)
2nd pers. plur.	*immati, -te, -tei* (< *-tē)

It appears that the use of the pronominal element *-ts* in the present tense (e.g. 3rd pers. *astits ~ ast* 'is') is optional; as for its origin, it is an anaphorical element (*tas* or *dis*), apparently OPr. innovations, the closest parallels to which one can find in OCS.[534] There also exist exceptional forms of the preterit with the ending *-ts* (e.g. 3rd pers. *billāts ~ billa* 'said') which are explained in various ways (Schmalstieg 1992b).

6.3.2.7.2. Mood. Apart from the indicative mood, several forms of the ancient optative have been preserved. This has an imperative meaning, with the endings 2nd pers. sing. and plur. *-ais ~ -aiti* (< IE *-oi̯-*, cf. OCS *beri, berĕtes* < *beroi̯, *beroi̯te*; cf. OGr. φέροις, φέροιτε 'carry!'), *-eis ~ -eiti*, *-īs* (e.g. OPr. *wedais* 'lead!'; *immais* 'take!'; *immaiti* id.). In addition, there are two other derived modal categories:

a) the so-called "optative", encountered in main clauses, marked the will or wish of the speaker and was formed with the morpheme *-sei-* or its allographical variants (there seems to be a formal and semantic connection with the *-s-* fut. and the *-ei-* imperative), e.g. OPr. *audasseisin, audasei* alongside the infinitive *audāt sien* 'to occur';

b) the so-called "conditional mood", encountered in subordinate clauses, marked conditional action and was formed with the morpheme *-lai-*,[535] which was added to the infinitive stem (e.g. *boūlai* 'would be' alongside *boūton* 'to be').

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[532] Cf. *asmai* etc. from *boūton* 'to be'; *imma* etc. from *īmt* 'to take'; *giwassi* etc., cf. Lith. *gyvénti* 'to live': *waissei* etc. from *waist* 'to know'.

[533] The 2nd sing. present ending <-as(s)i> is traditionally (Stang) explained as *-asi* < *-asei* (for other possible interpretations of <giwassi, gīwasi>, cf. Smoczyński 1998b).

[534] Cf. Kazlauskas (1968); Smoczyński (1988b, p. 893-894).

[535] About the suffix *-lai-* and its correspondences in East Balt. and Slav., cf. *PrJ* IV, p. 418-436.

Thus, the moods of verbs attributed to OPr. are: indicative (with present, past [preterit], and future tense), optative and conditional;[536] it is traditionally thought not to have any traces of the *modus relativus*. Palmaitis (1989a, p. 128-132), however, maintains another opinion.

6.3.2.7.3. Present. The present tense is preserved relatively well, particularly the athematic type (e.g. OPr. *ast ~ asti-ts* 'is' from *boūton* 'to be', cf. Lith. *ẽsti* from *bū́ti* also; *dāst* 'he/she/it gives' from *dāt* 'to give', cf. also OLith. *duost(i)* from *dúoti*; OPr. *ēit* 'he/she/it goes', cf. OLith. *eit(i)* 'he/she/it goes' from *eĩti* 'to go'), whereas the three thematic forms of the present tense differ in other respects:

a) in *-a-* (e.g. *imma* 'he/she/it takes' from *īmt* 'to take', cf. also Lith. *ìma* from *iñti*);

b) in *-ā-* (e.g. *lāiku* 'he/she/it holds' from *laikūt* (< *-āt) 'to hold', cf. Lith. *laĩko*, but also *laikýti*);

c) in *-i-* (e.g. *turri ~ turrei* 'he/she/it has; should' from *turīt* 'to have' cf. also Lith. *tùri* but *turéti*).[537]

6.3.2.7.4. Future. The normal form is an analytical future tense, composed of *wīrst*, *wīrstai* (and their allographic variants) 'will [literally: become]' and the past active participle (e.g. *pergubons wīrst* 'kommen wird; will come' cf. *gubas* 'gegangen, gone'); it is generally thought that this construction arose under the influence of German or Polish (cf. also Euler 1994). There are a very few forms of the sigmatic future tense: 2nd pers. *postāsei* 'you will become pregnant' (< *pa-stā-sei, cf. Lith. *pastósi* from *pastóti* 'to become pregnant'.[538] However it is perhaps to be discerned in the (optative?) forms *ebsignāsi* 'may (the Lord) bless', *pokunsi* 'may (the Lord) preserve' and *pereis* 'will come' encountered in the Catechisms.

6.3.2.7.5. Past (Preterit). Only the 3rd pers. is known, formed with the same suffixes *-ē-, *-ā-, as in both Lith. and Latv. (e.g. OPr. *kūra* 'created', *ismigē* 'fell asleep' alongside Lith. *kū́rė, užmìgo* id.); long monosyllabic roots

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[536] The classification of the OPr. mood system, based on a semantic analysis of text, is presented in Michelini (1987).

[537] For further different analysis of verb stems, cf. Kortlandt (1987) for the present), and Kortlandt (1999b), Ostrowski (1994) for the *Enchiridion*; Kaukienė (1998) for *-ī and *-ē type in the entire corpus (cf. the criticism of this last work in Mažiulis 2000a).

[538] For the meaning, cf. Dini (2009a).

have a special preterit (e.g. *dai* 'gave', *postāi* 'became, was'), it has parallels in south-east Lith. dialects, cf. Lith. *dė́jo, stójo < *dējā-, *stājā-* (Zinkevičius 1966, p. 353-355; Smoczyński 1974; Kortlandt 1998d).

6.3.2.7.6. Infinitives. Three infinitive endings are encountered in Prussian: *-t* (< *-ti* < **-tei*, e.g. *boūt*; cf. Lith. *bū́ti* 'to be'), *-tun ~ -ton* (< **-tum*, e.g. *boūton* 'to be', cf. Lith. supine *bū́tų*), and *-twei* (< **-tu̯-ei*, e.g. *dātwei* 'to give', cf. Old Ind. *dhā́tave* 'to put, place'), which are traditionally thought of as equivalents.[539]

6.3.2.7.7. Participles. Four types of participle are encountered:
- a) the present active participle in *-nt-*, e.g. OPr. *skellānts* 'duty, bound', cf. Lith. *skelią̃s < *-an(t)s* 'guilty';

- b) the present passive participle in *-ma-*; the only form that appears is the rather contradictory *poklausīmanas*, which is traditionally connected with OGr. -μενο-, OInd. -*mana*-, etc.; it could, however, also be understood as a **-ma-* present passiv participle like in East Baltic (e.g. Lith. *nẽšamas*) and in OCS (e.g. *nesomъ*);[540]

- c) the past active participle in *-uns-*, cf. *boūuns* 'having been'; it is proposed that *-n-* is a secondary element, carried over from the present tense; the vocalism *-u-* is a result of paradigmatic leveling (cf. Lith. nom. sing. masc. *buvęs*, but gen. sing. masc. *buvusio* 'been');

- d) the past passive participle in *-ts* (< **-tas*), *-ta, -ton*, cf. Lith. *-tas, -ta*.[541]

6.3.3. Syntactic characteristics

It has long been noticed that OPr. texts are literal translations with minimal deviations from the original; that may be why this area is fairly little studied.[542]

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[539] According to Kortlandt (1990), *-ton* was already beginning to displace *-twei* in the prehistorical epoch beginning with instances where verbs didn't take an object in the accusative case, but this development was arrested by the mixing of case endings, arising shortly before their complete disappearance.

[540] This interpretation is supported in Smoczyński (1986c, 2000b) with the correction **po-klausīn(n)a-ma-s ~ *(po-)klausin(n)a*, beside the infinitive *klausiton* 'to listen'. A different point of view is expressed in Kortlandt (2000b). Mažiulis (2004, p. 88) considers this form to be an adjectival derivative with the suffix **-enā-*.

[541] The attestations of participles historically in **-no-* and **-to-* are listed and commented on respect to their German correspondents in the texts in Smoczyński (2000a).

[542] Endzelīns (1943, p. 130) only briefly mentions word order in the OPr. texts. It is no accident then, that there is no section on OPr. syntax in Schmalstieg (1976); Eckert, Bukevičiūtė, Hinze (1994) or Mažiulis (2004), but a short section is devoted to syntax in Smoczyński (1988b, p. 897-898), Mathiassen (2010, p. 67-71); still other works are discussed in Schmalstieg (forthcoming).

Consequently, one can look for traces of the original where the OPr. text diverges from the German, i.e. in very limited material; for example, one such instance appears in the Germ. phrase *Ob du... vnfleyſſig geweſt ſeyeſt* alongside OPr. Ench. 67:4-5, *Anga toū... niſeilewingis aſſai boūuns* 'If you... were careless', where one notes that in OPr. the auxiliary verb *assai* precedes the verb in the subordinate clause instead of following it, as in German.

But there are far more occurrences of obvious influence of the German language on OPr. First of all, it is reflected in case syntax. In the account of the First Commandment, the object in the negative phrase is not in genitive case: OPr. *Tou ni tur kittans deiwans turryetwey* 'Thou shalt not have other gods', because of the influence of Germ. *Du solt nicht ander gẙtter haben*, and also because of the tendency to generalize the accusative case (replacing the ancient instrumental and locative cases by constructions with prepositions).

Locative constructions in OPr. are formed by means of the preposition *en* + dat. (e.g. Catechisms *na ſemmey, naſemmiey*; Ench. *noſemien*); the prepositional construction is known also to the Slavic languages whereas in East Baltic one observes postpositional constructions (cf. Lith. *žemėje* < *-ēi̦ + *ến*). Alternatively one should assume a syntactic calque from German.

The frequency of demonstrative pronouns is also attributed to German influence; connected with this phenomenon is the question of the existence of articles in OPr. One may again quote an example from the *Enchiridion*: Germ. *Das erste Gebot* and OPr. *Stas Pirmois Pallaips* 'the First Commandment' for the definite article, or Germ. *Vnd ein ewiges Leben* and OPr. *bhe ainan prābutskan gijwan* 'And an everlasting life' for the indefinite article. Taking into account the classical grammars of the OPr. language up to the most specific work on this subject, one concludes that the question of whether one can consider the article as a grammatical feature of OPr. language texts is still disputed. There is disagreement among scholars: one opinion recognizes the authenticity of the OPr. article (Trautmann 1910, p. 260), another emphasizes its optional usage,[543] a third thinks it is an utter mistake of the translators (Endzelīns 1943, p. 11; Schmalstieg 1971, p. 134), and a fourth considers it a syntactical calque on the model of

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[543] Rosinas (1988, p. 60-61) thinks the OPr. texts represent "auxiliary translations", allowing the OPr. reader to follow the original *verbatim*; also Michelini (1989) shares this opinion.

[544] Smoczyński (1988b, p. 897-898); Parenti (1995c) has the best documentation on this subject and a large bibliography. On the morphology of articles and the possibility of morpheme induction from German, cf. Smoczyński (1998a).

German, arising in a bilingual situation[544] (this very much resembles the situation in Old Latvian but not the situation with regard to the Lithuanian translation of Vilentas of the same time, although the latter wrote in a language for which there were still no established norms).

6.3.3.1. Compounds. Stundžia (2008b, 2009b) studies the compounds of the *Elbing Vocabulary* (45 words, that is about 6% of the whole EV lexicon). He analyzes them contrastively with their German counterparts in the same linguistic monument. The author arrives at several conclusions, among them the following:

a) about a quarter of OPr. compounds do not render German compounds;

b) two thirds of German compounds are rendered in OPr. by suffixed and paradigmatic derivatives as well as by primary indigenous substantives;

c) the determinative compounds (especially the pattern noun + noun, e.g.: OPr. [EV 149 *Czee*] *Nagepriſtis* 'big toe', cf. OPr. [EV 145 *Vues*] *Nage* 'foot' and OPr. [EV 115 *Vinger*] *Pirſten* 'finger') are the most characteristic type in the two languages, the possessive compounds (*bahuvrīhi*) are more rare and the copulative ones (*dvandva*) are very rare;

d) more than one third of the OPr. compounds do not show any German influence; another third show one or both component with an equivalent in German;

e) there are some OPr. creative loan renditions, e.g.: OPr. [EV 20 *Mittewoche*] *Poſſiſſawaite* 'Wednesday', in which *Poſſi-* (cf. Lith. *pusė*, *pus-* 'half') combines both spatial and temporal meanings, cf. Lith. *vidùrnaktis* 'midnight' and *pusiáunaktis* id.), and also some exact loan translations (e.g.: OPr. [EV 319 *Moelſteyn*] *Malunaſtā̃b* 'mill-stone' ~ MHG *mülstein*) of German compounds.

Generally, one can affirm that at the epoch before the appearance of the known OPr. printed monuments (i.e. before the middle of the 16th century) the German influence on OPr. was not (yet) strong.[545]

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[545] Other studies on OPr. compounds are Serafini Amato (1992); Lašinytė (2007); Larsson J. H. (2010).

6.3.4. Lexicon

The modest lexical legacy of OPr. is the most researched area of this language. Either the lexicon is investigated as an archaic layer of Baltic or even IE, or the influence of other languages on OPr. is studied.[546] An attempt to establish the phraseology of OPr. is undertaken in Eckert (1992b).

6.3.4.1. Archaisms. The following OPr. words do not have parallels in Lithuanian and Latvian and are usually regarded as Baltic (and IE) archaisms, e.g.:

> OPr. *aglo* 'rain' ~ Lith. *lietùs*, Latv. *lietus*; OPr. *dadan* 'milk' ~ Lith. *píenas*, Latv. *piens*; OPr. *garbis* 'hill; mountain' ~ Lith. *kálnas*, Latv. *kalns*; OPr. *kērdan* 'time' ~ Lith. *laĩkas*, Latv. *laiks*; OPr. *pintis* 'road' ~ Lith. *kẽlias*, Latv. *ceļš*, etc.

In West Baltic, there is a certain closeness between the southern (Prussians and Yatvingians) and the northern (Curonians) tribes which is found in some meager data from the 13th and 14th centuries. Certain elements of the lexicon are exclusive in these dialects in comparison with others (e.g. OPr. *dongo* 'bow' ~ [Curon. >] Latv. *danga* 'corner'; OPr. *kelan* 'wheel' ~ Curon. **cela* < **kela-* [e.g. Latv. *du-cele* 'two-wheeled car']); several general morphological particulars (e.g. *ē*-stems OPr. *berse* 'birch', *warne* 'crow' ~ [Curon. >] Latv. dial. *bērze* [Curon. >] Latv. dial. *vārne*); and maybe, also several phonetic peculiarities, such as the velar pronunciation **k* and **g* before a front vowel, which in antiquity should have been common to both OPr. and Curonian (Mažiulis 1981c).

An attempt of systemazing Lith.-OPr. isoglosses is undertaken by Ademollo Gagliano (1991-1992): the related Lith. and OPr. lexical elements not encountered in Latvian and that are not the result of loan influence are analyzed from a historical/philological point of view. The work includes comparisons with functional correspondences in Latvian (as well as with loanwords from Curonian and Lithuanian). Thus, 35 Lith.-OPr. correspondences are established and formally classified into those for which it is impossible to find comparisons in Latvian and those for which it is easy to find such correspondences. This classification then allows for possible chronological sequencing. Several OPr. loanwords have also been discov-

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[546] More detailed information about this can be found in etymological dictionaries of OPr.: e.g. Bezzenberger (1897, 1911); Trautmann (1910); Endzelīns (1943); *PrJ*; *PKEŽ* and in many contributions of Smoczyński [see *infra*]. Mańczak's (1987b) research is also based on lexicon.

ered in OLith. texts of the same time,[547] first and foremost in the texts of Bretkūnas (e.g. *malũnas* < OPr. *malunis* 'mill', *pãvirpas* 'poor person' < OPr. *powīrps* 'free', *ùšės* < OPr. *usts*, *uschts*, *wuschts* 'sixth' and connected with Lith. *ùšininkė* 'woman in labor', cf. Germ. plur. *die Wochen*, *in den Wochen sein* 'to be expecting a birth'.

Special OPr.-Latv. isoglosses have been investigated by Schmid (1998b), and in the onomastics by Blažienė (2007). All possible relationships (without parallel in Lithuanian) are considered, inclusive of onomastic data, and particular attention is devoted to OPr. and OCuron. correspondences. Schmid singles out lexical (like OPr. *geasins* 'woodcock' and Latv. *dzēsnis* 'stork', OPr. *salme* 'straw' and Latv. *salms* id.), semasiological (OPr. *gallintwey* 'kill' < *gallan* 'death' like Latv. *(no-)galināt* from *gals*) and grammatical isoglosses (firstly the suffix *-sena/-snā* to create abstracts from verbs, productive in OPr. and Latv. but scarcely represented in Lith.). Schmid's general conclusion is that a sort of linguistic continuum may be recognized for the shore of the Baltic sea from the river Persante to the Daugava.

6.3.4.2. Germanic and Slavic correspondences. In this research, it is necessary to distinguish two definite moments: the prehistoric (the reconstruction of the recorded forms) and the historic (the relationship between the recorded forms). The contact with Old Polish is chronologically earlier; later were contacts with MG dialects, which were diffused in the colonized territories during different stages of the *Drang nach Osten*.[548]

6.3.4.2.1. Gothic. The historical-archaeological assumptions which would allow one to postulate special contacts between Balts and Goths are researched by Gudavičius (1981). He reviews the work of many scholars (O. Almagren, V. Nerman, K. Jażdżewski), but first and foremost of Kmieciński (1962), who proposes the thesis that the complex of archaeological features attributed to the Goths moves from the island of Gotland to the lower stream of the Elbe through Pomerania, Mazuria, Volhynia to the Black Sea. Localization of the Goths on the lower stream of the Elbe dates to the last centuries B.C. and their movement in the direction of the Vistula dates to the 1st century A.D.; ancient sources do not contradict their localization along the lower stream of the Vistula immediately before

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[547] In addition to Būga, this problem is studied by Sabaliauskas (1966a, p. 110-113).

[548] The traditional results of investigations of this problem are presented in Endzelīns (1931b), whose bibliography ends, however, in 1929.

and after the Christian era, and this permits the localization of Goths in east Pomerania at the beginning of our era. The identification of Goths in this place and at this epoch assures the existence of contacts between Goths and Balts and Slavs between the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Traces of this contact are preserved in a definite quantity of Germanic loanwords in OPr. already noted by Būga. The first to call attention to them, he divides them into direct and indirect borrowings, the latter of which came to OPr. through Slavic (e.g. OPr. *brunyos* 'armor' ← OHG *brunja* id.; OPr. *bile* 'axe' ← MLG *bīle* id.; OPr. *reisan* 'once' ← MLG *reise* id.); Otrębski (1966) also notes this [see 3.1.2.]. Nonetheless, it is quite debatable, and there is no proof of the presence of loanwords on the basis of non-existent reconstructed forms; in fact, one should keep in mind that one can only talk of loanwords when it is possible to establish exactly the historical source (*Leitkasus*) from which the loanword entered into the language in question (Marchand 1970, p. 110; Jarmalavičius 2009).

6.3.4.2.2. East Middle German. The majority of words of middle German origin entered into OPr. between the 13th and 14th centuries during the colonization and assimilation of Baltic tribes by the Germans; among the Slavisms predominate loanwords from Polish probably arriving through Pomesania, where contact between the two languages was the most intense [see *infra*]. Traces of strong loan influence in the lexicon are preserved first and foremost in the translation of the Catechisms, but it remains unclear how widespread they would have been in conversational language.

The religious semantic field is the one most richly represented through loanwords,[549] e.g. OPr. *engels* ← Germ. *Engel* 'angel'; *kīrki* ← Germ. *Kirche* 'church'; *retenīkan* ← Germ. *Retter* 'Savior'; *dusi* ← Slav. *duša* 'soul'; *swetan* ← Slav. *svĕtъ* 'light', etc., but, of course, other fields are also represented, e.g. OPr. *tuckoris* 'weaver' ← MLG *tuocher*;[550] calques are also frequently encountered (cf. OPr. *kāimaluke* 'visits' ~ Germ. *heimsucht*, *Sallūbanlimtwei* 'to commit adultery' ~ Germ. *Ehebrechen*, etc.). Moreover, in the Catechisms, one also observes the tendency to encounter German words which do not correspond with the phonetic rules of Old Prussian (e.g. OPr. *falsch* 'not true, false', *jungkfrawen* 'girl').

On the other hand, some OPr. loanwords have been discovered in the texts of the Teutonic Order of the 14th-16th centuries (e.g. MG *sunde*

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[549] Serafini Amato (1985), Stanevičienė (2008).
[550] Many examples are discussed in Smoczyński (2000) with bibliography; for *tuckoris*, cf. Dini (1991a).

'[monetary] fine' ← OPr. *sūndan* 'punishment', cf. Lith. *saṁdas* 'rent', OCS *sǫdъ* 'court'; MG *waidelotte*, *waideler* 'heathen priest' ← OPr. *waidelotte* id.) and some more based on their geographical location (e.g. Germ. *Pintsch/ Pinsch* 'wick' ← OPr. *pintys* 'Zunder', cf. Lith. *pìntis* id.).[551]

6.3.4.2.3. Slavic. With regard to lexical correspondences, I will concentrate on the study of influence of (Proto-)Polish on OPr.[552] Following Brückner (1898), Milewski (1947) especially worked in this area. He thinks that in the Middle Ages the Polish tribes (i.e. Kashubian, Kujavian, Mazurian) had common boundaries with Prussian and Yatvingian tribes and determines that 11% of approximately 1800 OPr. lemmas are loanwords from Polish-Pomeranian dialects; moreover, he proposes the existence of an extensive Baltic language community in these territories: Pomesania was an outlying Prussian region, and the first waves of the Polish-Pomeranian dialect came from here. In order to explain difficulties in connection with several OPr. words, which might be Polish loanwords but for which there is no satisfactory explanation in possible Polish proto-types, it has been assumed to be possible that they came from unrecorded Proto-Polish forms. Milewski's thesis is questioned by Levin (1972, 1974) in his work about Slavisms in the *Elbing Vocabulary*; the author (Levin 1947, p. 72) thinks that "The evidence that exists [a OPr.-Polish bilingual community in Pomesania] is much less definite, less conclusive, and more ambiguous than Milewski has regarded it." Levin has determined that the 10th and 11th centuries were the period of time when the largest quantity of Slavic words entered into OPr. Martynov (1982b) claims that one must go beyond the OPr.-(Proto-) Polish relationships and research those exclusive Prussian-Slavic isoglosses which do not have genetic connections with other Baltic languages, and one should eliminate those loanwords from (Proto-)Polish which have already been discussed. The Belarussian linguist picks out 17 Prussian-Slavic correspondences (*accodis, ayculo, babo, gabawo, geits, kioso, lauxnos, luckis, maldeniks, mealde, nouson, pokunst, pausto, paustocaican, saltan, staytan, wanso, wutris*;) for them he indicates an Italo-Celtic perspective in correspondence with his special theoretical stance.

The use of reconstructed Slavic forms for the comparison with OPr. has frequently attracted attention not only in the classical work of Milewski

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[551] Ziesemer (1923, p. 152-155); Bielefeldt (1970, p. 46-47); this work indeed presents a panorama of all the Baltic loanwords in German. Cf. also Sabaliauskas (1966a, p. 96-100).

[552] Although significantly fewer in number, there are also some Prussian loanwords in Slavic (e.g. in Ukr. slang *geįtka* 'bread' and its derivatives, cf. *geytko, geitke*), cf. Dzendzelevskij (1976).

but often also in the works of Levin and Martynov. Therefore, it must be emphasized yet again that it is very risky to advance etymological hypotheses for OPr. words which appear as *hapax legómena*, i.e. encountered only one time, based on reconstructed forms. The goal of several works of Smoczyński (1988c, 1992a) is an attempt to bring clarity to the situation of OPr.–Slavic lexical connections. Smoczyński occupies a very critical position with regard to the traditional thesis of Milewski, and to the list compiled by Martynov; in his approach attention should be devoted to adequate evaluation of both German orthography (for every conjecture a reconstruction of the phonetic shape of the OPr. word), and the process of adaptation of loanwords to the system of OPr. (that is for (Proto-) Polish and German loanwords).[553] As a result, the quantity of OPr. loanwords from (Proto-)Polish is considerably less in comparison with the results of Milewski, and the process of their adaptation appears today very different from that which was proposed earlier. Martynov's list has also been subject to criticism in light of deeper analysis of OPr. material (beginning with philological and then linguistic).

6.3.4.3. Etymology. Thanks to the work of Toporov [1928-2005] during the 1970s, etymological research on the OPr. language assumed its modern form. During this time, the Russian scholar began to publish an historical dictionary, which in its volume of information, with abundance of data and depth of etymological interpretations, looks like a completely new *Thesaurus linguae Prussicae*, a work which is indeed much deeper than Nesselmann (1873).[554] Mažiulis [1926-2009] is the author of the only completed etymological dictionary of OPr.;[555] although the treatment of each lemma in this dictionary is not as exhaustive as in Toporov's *PrJ*, it frequently presents different theoretical points of view and pays particular attention to the morphology, semantics, and word formation of OPr. In this way, these two works supplement each other, and both are indispensable for those who want to explore any question of Prussian etymology. Smoczyński (2005) is also to be considered for OPr. etymology.

A very important role for etymology is also played by onomastic research [see 6.3.4.4.]. The acquisition of new onomastic material permits the

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[553] Cf. *infra* the different works of Smoczyński and others; in so far as the point of view of these articles differs from the opinions expressed in *PKEŽ* or *PrJ* (for lemmas up to L), comparison is always useful.

[554] It would be very desirable if this fundamental work initiated by Toporov were to be completed, cf. Eckert (2001a); Dini (2010c); the author's preparatory work is on the web (http://toporov.lki.lt).

[555] Mažiulis proposed to write the entire work in three volumes (cf. the introduction to vol. I, p. 6) but finally the work was completed in four. There is also a 2nd, corrected and supplemented edition by Rinkevičius (2013).

solution of old etymological questions and to learn the unknown (i.e. not attested) OPr. appellative lexicon.[556]

The lexicon attested in the *Elbing Vocabulary* has also been the object of investigation of A. Nepokupnyĭ [1932-2006], who produced many acute and subtle etymological explanations (e.g. *prestors* 'Zaunkönig' et al.) and new connections (e.g. 'rain' and 'ant', color names et al.) for known OPr. EV words.[557]
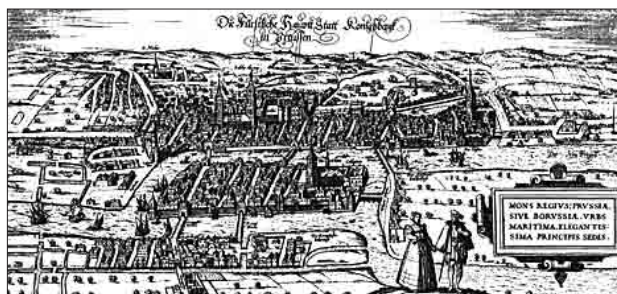
6.3.4.4. Onomastics. Dealing with onomastic data one has always to keep in mind that the documents were written by Germans with scant or no knowledge at all of the OPruss. language. Therefore it is quite usual for almost all the OPr. names to have several inconsistently recorded variants.[558]

Beyond that, one should emphasize that the study of onomastics has significantly advanced in addition to all the classic and still useful research of Lewy (1904), Gerullis (1912, 1922a) and Trautmann (1925) of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, one registers many new detailed works in these fields: for personal names Blažienė;[559] for place names renewed deeper analysis of the hydronyms and toponyms has been carried out for single regions: the area between the Vistula river and the Pregel,[560] the Sambia and south of the Pregel,[561] in which material was "discovered" which had remained unknown to Gerullis (1912).

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[556] An interesting discussion on whether OPr. should be looked at as word language (язык слов) or a name language (язык имен) was iniciated by Toporov *PrJ* III, p. 3, and continued by Eckert (2009a).

[557] Cf. Nepokupnyĭ (1998, 2004, 2006b et al.).

[558] Despite this general situation some regularities may be found, cf. Daubaras (1997). See also Schlüter (1921, especially p. 21-29), and the observations in Mitzka (1923b).

[559] Blažienė (2003a, 2010, 2011b).

[560] Biolik (1983, 1987, 1993a). The specific Latvian-Lithuanian-Prussian hydronymic isoglosses are researched in Daubaras (1978ab, 1981, 1982, 1983); Latvian-Prussian in Dambe (1972).

[561] Blažienė (1994, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003b); on Baltic place names of the Kaliningrad region recorded in 16th-19th centuries, Blažienė (2011d). On the most frequent OPr. place name word-formation models with the component *laucks* 'field', cf. Kregždys (2011c).

Another very important source for OPr. is the handwritten documents of the Order Folios (*Ordensfolianten*), the eastern Prussian Folios and other manuscripts. The investigation of these handwritten documents has just began (Blažienė 2004, 2011a). It may help fulfill our knowledge of this language and correct the materials that have already been collected by previous scholars. The new documents also disclose a great deal of important material for the investigation of OPr. personal names.

THE BALTIC LANGUAGES BETWEEN *BALTIA CATHOLICA* AND *BALTIA REFORMATA*

7.1. MULTI-LINGUALISM AND INTEGRATION

The formation of a large, powerful and ethnically based Baltic (Lithuanian) state in east central Europe in the 13th century did not produce a single dominant Baltic dialect, since over the entire period of its existence the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1236-1795) was a multi-ethnic state where Lithuanians were less represented statistically than other peoples. This situation promoted a more intense cultural and linguistic exchange between the various peoples of the Grand Duchy.[562] The ideology at the foundation of the strong Lithuanian state at the moment of its formation – paganism – was conducive to the formation of a national culture, both materially and spiritually, but distinct from elsewhere did not produce a written culture. This task, so important for the cultural growth of a government structure in its complex totality, was fulfilled by the Ruthenian component, which made up the majority in the Grand Duchy.

7.1.1. An overview of the ethnic and geopolitical situation

At the beginning of the 15th century Lithuania and its ally Poland, united under the rule of a single sovereign – the Lithuanian Jogaila, whom the Poles renamed Władysław (Ladislaus) II at his baptism –, halted the Mongolian advance, and with his cousin Vytautas also inflicted a harsh and memorable defeat on the army of the Teutonic Order on the plain of Tannenberg – Grünwald (Žalgiris) in 1410.[563] After this battle the fame of

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[562] For a historical background see general historical works, e.g. Šapoka (1936); Bilmanis (1951); Wittram (1973); Ochmański (1982); Stone (1984); Oakley (1992); Pistohlkors (1994); Plakans (1995). Also Varakauskas (1982); Tyla (1986); these latter works contain specialized bibliographies. See also Krēsliņš (2003). Especially useful for a multilingual and multicultural approach to the social history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are the contributions presented in *LDKTP*.

[563] If it were not for Lithuania the state of the Teutonic Order would have extended without a break from the Oder to the Narva, along the Gulf of Finland, and as far as the Dnieper. Lithuania, or more precisely Samogitia, tenaciously divided this state into two parts, thus impeding the unification of its forces. Western

Lithuania and its leaders (Vytautas) spread throughout all the courts of Europe, and soon the Poles showed concern about losing their leading place in the confederation, a position they held after attracting Jogaila to Cracow, introducing Christianity into the Lithuanian lands and promoting their culture among the Lithuanian aristocracy. Since Lithuania, occupying a more vast territory, was only a Grand Duchy (Principality), and not a Kingdom, the Grand Prince Vytautas convened a conference in Łuck in 1429, where all the rulers of Europe participated with the goal of discussing the political situation in eastern Europe. Considering the might of his state and the service he provided to central Europe, Vytautas the Great received the title of king from Emperor Sigismund. But by a series of circumstances, still unclear, Poland continued to be the only Kingdom in the confederation. Indeed, the imperial delegation invited to Łuck was attacked and perished somewhere on the Polish border; the coronation was postponed, but it could not be completed because Vytautas died in 1430 at the age of eighty, leaving no heirs.

After the death of Vytautas the Great the situation of Lithuania became still more difficult; in the east the military power of Moscow, freed from the Tatar yoke, increased; in the west one could observe the political growth of the Prussian Kingdom. At the same time, within Lithuania the claims of Poles increased, as they demanded further changes of the alliance treaties to favor their state. Nevertheless, two separate states continued to exist with independent laws, courts, armies, and treasuries. In 1569, in the face of a Russian threat, both parties gathered for a meeting in Lublin. The Poles supported a political alliance, but the Lithuanian representatives waged an aggressive protest and left the hall. Since both states were very close to internal war, which could only be avoided because of the impending Russian threat, they formed a confederation or Republic of the Two Peoples (*Rzeczpospolita obojga narodów*) as they called it, wherein both states preserved their separate rights and prerogatives under one leader. This state of affairs continued for about a century, until the final breakup of the Lithuanian–Polish confederation.[564]

historiography relies mainly on German and eventually Polish sources and therefore shows a tendency to present this long period of combat as a Slavo-Germanic rivalry. This is unfair to the Baltic peoples and to all the peoples of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who played a decisive role in the containment of the Teutonic aggression. A different interpretation is expressed by Ekdahl (1976).

[564] Concerning inter-ethnic relations in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, see Jakubowski (1921); Jurginis (1982), *LDKTP*. Among the many publications devoted to the ethnic, cultural and linguistic situation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the papers of the international conferences organized by Juozas Budraitis in Moscow at the *Dom Jurgisa Baltrušajtisa* are worth mentioning, for instance: *MMVkL* (1999), *ĖkVkL* (2006), *BVkL* (2007).

Positioned between Catholic Poland and Orthodox Rus', Lithuania long remained a place of relative religious tolerance, a fact that attracted refugees from various nationalities (especially Jews). In this connection one is reminded of the confession of faith and tolerance of Gediminas contained in a letter to the Papal legate:[565]

> *Christianos facere deum suum colere secundum morem suum, ruthenos secundum ritum suum, polonos secundum morem suum et nos [Lituani] colimus deum secundum ritum nostrum, et omnes habemus unum deum.*

> [To make the Christians worship their god according to their own custom, the Ruthenians according to their own religious custom, the Poles according to their own custom and we (the Lithuanians) worship god according to our own religious rite, and we all have one god.]

Within the Grand Duchy the Lithuanians were concentrated in their own ethnographic territory, situated in the northwest part of the state, but they fulfilled administrative functions and directed troops in the most important centers of the principality, regardless of their ethnic makeup. Other Baltic peoples lived in areas controlled by the Order (Prussia and Livonia). It is possible that the German presence in these already Baltic lands restrained the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the west and simultaneously deterred Lithuanians from becoming the unifying linguistic element for all the Baltic tribes in the area (Higounet 1986, p. 225-253). At that time literacy was spreading in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as elsewhere in Europe, through Christianity. Since the Lithuanians were pagans, Lithuanian remained the language of oral communication and was spoken primarily in ethnographic Lithuania and in certain regions of Prussia and Livonia. From all sides Lithuanian felt the influence of German and Ruthenian (or Belarussian, Russian, Ukrainian). Other Baltic languages which were spoken in the north and west of the borders of the Grand Duchy were marked by a strong influence of (Middle) German (like Latvian), or were simply assimilated by it (like Prussian).[566]

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[565] Pašuto, Štal (1966, p. 126-129). See Rabikauskas (1969).
[566] The place names of the frontiers of the Grand Duchy are investigated by Garšva (2009), the hydronyms in the territory of the Grand Duchy by Bednarczuk (1996).

7.1.2. Two testimonies of the epoch

It is possible to judge the variety of languages which were spoken in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the Baltic Hanseatic area in the 15th-16th centuries on the basis of many elements. In the following I present some excerpts from historiographic works of that period.

7.1.2.1. The "Quadripartite" language. Evidence of the period, along with interesting information of another type, is conveyed by Matthew Miechovita in his work *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* [History of the Two Sarmatias, Cracow, Haller 1517] [see 7.3.4.]. Here are the words of the Polish historian:[567]

> *Praeterea linguagium Lithuanicum eſt quadripartitũ, primum linguagium eſt Iaczuingorum, ut horum qui circa caſtrum Drohicin inhabitarunt, & pauci ſuperſunt. Alterum eſt Lithuanorum & Samagitharum. Tertium Prutenicum. Quartum in Lothua ſeu Lothihola, id eſt Liuonia, circa fluuium Dzuina, & Rigam ciuitatem. Et horum quamquam eadem ſit lingua, unus tamen non plene alterum intelligit, niſi curſiuus et qui uagatus eſt per illas terras. Habuit hoc linguagium quadripartitũ tempore idololatriæ pontificem maximum unum, quem Criue appellabant, morantem in ciuitate Romoue à Roma dicta, quoniam hoc linguagium de Italia iactat ſeſe adueniſſe, & habet nonnulla uocabula Italica in ſuo ſermone. De iſto Criue & ciuitate Romoue in legenda Sancti Adalberti pontificis & martyris legitur. Et ſcias quod in Pruſſiam iam pauci proferunt Prutenicum, subintrauit ſiquidem lingua Polonorum & Almannorum: sic & in Lothua pauci uillani profitentur hanc linguam, quia ſubintrauit Almannicum. In Samagitthia autem, quæ eſt longitudinis quinquaginta milliariorum, & in Lithuania, quæ in longum triginta milliaria continet, in uillis Lithuanicum loquuntur, & in magna parte Polonicum profitentur. nam & ſermone Polonico ſacerdotes eis præicant in eccleſijs. Inſuper ſcito quod hoc linguagium quadripartitum totum eſt de obedientia & fide Romanæ eccleſiæ, in alijs autem prouincijs circumiacentibus, ut in Nouigrod, in Plescouia, in Poloczko, in Smolensco, & in meridiem usq; post Kiou Ruteni sunt omnes, & Ruthenicum seu Sclauonicum loquuntur, ritumq; Græcorum obſeruant, & obedientiam Constantinopolitano patriarchæ præstant. Amp-*

lius sunt in ducatu Lithuaniæ Tartari circum Vilnam, & habent proprias uillas: colunt agros more nostro, laborant & uehunt merces, ad mandatūq; magni ducis Lithuaniæ omnes ad bellum assurgunt, loquuntur Tartaricum & colunt Mahumetem, quia Saracenorum sectam profitentur. Insuper sunt Hebræi in Lithuania, prēsertim in ciuitate Troki, hi laborant & mercantur telonea & officia publica tenent, de usurisq; non uiuunt.

[In addition, the Lithuanian language is divided into four types. The first is the language of the Yatvingians and of those who live near the Castle of Drogichen; only a few of these remain. The second is the language of the Lithuanians and Samogitians. The third is the language of the Prussians. The fourth language is the one spoken in Latvia, that is, in Livonia, along the river Daugava and in the city of Riga. Although this language as a whole is of one type, still an individual does not typically understand another completely, except for an occasional traveler or one who has wandered over those lands. During times of idolatry, people speaking this language had a high priest whom they called Crive.[568] He lived in the city of Romow, a name linked to Rome, since the people boast that they came from Italy.[569] Indeed, there are several Italian words in their language. This Crive and Romow are mentioned in the legend of St. Adelbert the Martyr. Moreover, one should know that in Prussia there are few who speak Prussian, since Polish and German have penetrated there: thus in Latvia, that is, in Livonia, only a few peasants speak in their native language, since German has become established there. In Samogitia, which extends fifty miles in length, and in Lithuania, which extends longitudinally thirty miles, they speak Lithuanian only in the villages, and acknowledge the Polish language because the priests say their sermons to them in Polish. It must also be pointed out that all the speakers in these four parts are submissive to the Holy Roman Church. But in the neighboring provinces such as Novgorod, Pleskovia, Polotsk, Smolensk, and as far south as Kiev all Ruthenians speak Ruthenian, that is, Slavic. They observe the Greek rites and render obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Moreover, Tatars live in the Lithuanian principality near the city of Vilnius; they have their own villages: they work in the fields as we do and engage in trade.

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568   On the name, cf. Būga (1908-1909 = *RR* I, p. 170-179); from a historical perspective Bugiani (2013).
569   On the general question, cf. *Aliletoescʋr* passim with further bibliography; on the place name, cf. Būga (1908-1909 = *RR* I, p. 165-169); more recently Kregždys (2011b).

By the orders of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, they all go to war. They speak Tatar and bow to Mohammed since they belong to the Saracen sect. In addition, there are many Jews, particularly in the city of Trakai. They work and collect taxes and conduct business, but do not live by usury. This is enough regarding languages.]

It is worth noting that Miechovita mentions the Latin descent of the Lithuanians [see below] and offers the original opinion that Lithuanian consists of four languages (Yatvingian, Lithuanian and Samogitian, Prussian, Latvian). This theory of Baltic languages was also successful in western Europe [see 7.3.4.].

7.1.2.2. Regarding the variety of languages in Livonia. A description is offered by the German Sebastian Münster in his *Cosmographiae Universalis Lib. VI* (Basel, 1559, p. 786-789). Selected passages are taken from this edition:[570]

> REgio iſta à Pruſsis, Lithuanis & Ruſsis circumſeſsa, urgetur ad mare. In ea nõ lata prouincia coanguſtatæ ſunt multarũ gentium linguæ, quæ linguarũ perſeuerãs uarietas monſtrat omnẽ illam gentem inciuilem fuiſse & barbaram. Alioqui ſi ulla uitæ cõmunio aut rerum pace belloq́ geſtarum extitiſset ſocietas, una in omnib. lingua & ſermocinatio ualuiſset, aut ſaltẽ non tanta uarietate loquerentur. Nunc Liuones, Eſtones, Letti, Curioni nihil habent in lingua cõmune. Illæ enim quatuor Liuoniam tenent linguæ per rura. Nã arces & oppida tota ſunt Saxonica. Diu Liuonia in perfidia permanſit. Si quidem ſub Friderico Imp. primo primum credidit, per occaſionẽ mercatorũ qui adierant, ſacerdotesq́ inuexerant. […] Meinardus uir religioſus terram cum mercatoribus de Lubeco nauigans adijt, paulò ante completum 1200. à Chriſto annũ, caſam extruxit, in qua manſit cũ famulo, linguam gentis magno labore perdidicit, & paulatim inſtruxit diuina religione, quos potuit. […] Non eſt miſerabilior populus in orbe, quàm illi ſerui ſunt. Cibantur tam agreſti cibo, ut ne porci apud nos illũ dignarentur edere. Deferunt calceos ex corticibus factos comparantes par unum tribus denarijs. Pro cantu uſurpant ululatũ luporum, uocem iehu ſine intermiſsione repetẽtes. Interrogati autem quid per uocem iehu intelligant, reſpondent ſe neſcire, obſeruare maiorum ſuorum conſuetudinem. In ſumma uiuunt miſeri homines ut bestiæ, trac-

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[570] Cf. *Aliletoescvr* p. 88-89, 256-259, 392-395, 465-470, 515-517, 656. In the 16th century the expression "Livonian language" designated only Latvian, while Livonian meant not Livonian 'pertaining to the Livs' (Germ. *livisch*), but 'pertaining to Livonia' (Germ. *Livländisch*), cf. Draviņš (1952, p. 230); Biezais (1961, p. 489); Breidaks (1994, p. 16).

tantur ut beſtiæ. Plures adhuc more gentilium uiuentes, cognitione ueri Dei deſtituuntur. Vnus adorat ſolem, alius lunam, unus elegantem arborem, alius lapidem aut aliquid aliud ſimile. Cùm mortuum aliquem terræ mandare uolunt, potantes circundant illũ, inuitantq́; ad bibendum, partẽ eius ſuper illum fundentes. Immittentes autem eum in ſepulchrum, apponũt ei ſecurim, cibũ & potum, parumq́; pecuniæ pro uiatico, alloquunturq́; eum talibus uerbis. Perge in alium mundum, ubi dominaberis Teutonibus, ſicut illi tibi hîc fecerunt. [...] Reualia uerò lõge in aquilone ſuum nacta eſt iuxta mare ſitum, nec minor eſt quàm Riga in cõmercijs. Habẽt ciues eius ius Lubecenſe, prouocantq́; in foro contentioſo ad Lubecum. Rigenſes uerò habent proprium ius ſcriptum, cui alia quoque oppida parent Reualiæ & Tàrbatæ utuntur lingua Eſthiaca, & circa Rigam lingua Liuonica.

[This region, surrounded by Prussians, Lithuanians and Russians, hugs the sea. In this rather narrow province languages of many tribes are spoken: The preservation of a variety of languages indicates that the entire tribe is uncivilized and barbaric and has no republic. Secondly, if under these circumstances some sense of community or alliance developed in times of peace or war, one language would have been sufficient, or at least would not have been spoken so differently. Now the Livs, Estonians, Latvians and Curonians in no way resemble each other in language. These four languages have spread throughout the Livonian countryside, since the fortresses and cities are entirely Saxon. Livonia continued in heresy and accepted the faith at the time of the reign of Friedrich I when the merchants brought priests. (...) The monk Meinard, sailing with merchants from Lubeck, arrived shortly before 1200 and built a house, where he remained with a servant, and with great difficulty learned the language of the country and thus taught belief in God. (...) There is no nation more poor than those wretches. They eat wild food that even our pigs would not be inclined to feed on. They wear shoes woven out of bast. They buy one pair for three denars. Their singing is reminiscent of the howling of wolves, and they unceasingly repeat the word "jehu". When asked what does the word "jehu" mean, they answer that they do not know, but that is how they observe the custom of their ancestors. Generally speaking these wretched people live like animals and are considered as animals. Many, living until now as pagans, refuse to recognize the true God. One worships the sun, another the moon,

one a special tree, another a rock or something else. When they want to bury a dead person, drunken, they stand around him and invite him to drink, pouring some of the drink on him. And when they lower the dead into the ground, they put in an ax, food and drink, some money for a journey, and appeal to the dead with words such as: Go into another world, where you will rule the Germans, the way that they ruled you here. (…) Revalija (= Tallinn) is near the north, and having established itself by the sea, it does not defer to Riga in trade. Its citizens have submitted to Lübeck laws and appeal to Lübeck in court cases. But the people from Riga have written their own laws, which all the cities submit to. Reval and Tarbata (= Tartu) speak the Estonian language, and around Riga they speak Livonian.]

7.1.3. Interlinguistic dynamics in the Grand Duchy and the Baltic Hanseatic area

Lexical interference is the most deeply studied aspect so far. It is worth pointing out the importance of any research on phonological interference, since such research could produce significant interesting data. However, this task is rather complicated for other aspects of grammar.

7.1.3.1. The Chancellory languages of the Grand Duchy. Within the Chancellory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the official written languages were: Latin, already used by King Mindaugas (1226-1236) in contacts with the Christian West and which, after the Christianization of Lithuania, became the religious language; (Middle) German, used primarily in relations with the Teutonic Order; Ruthenian (West Russian Chancellory language; *ruski*), mainly used in the administration of the eastern territories annexed to the Grand Duchy. Most of the scribes came from these regions, and scribes from the western regions were rarer. It is known, for instance, that in Kaunas around the middle of the 16th century there were three types of scribe: for Latin, for German, and for Ruthenian, and not coincidentally, the latter were paid the least.[571]

7.1.3.2. The Ruthenian language (*ruski*). From the time when the eastern Slavic lands were incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Livonia, the Rutheni-

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[571] For a tentative linguistic, cultural and religious systematization of the matter, cf. Ivanov, Dini (2001), Ivanov (2005).

ans were the largest demographic ethnic group in the principality. With time precisely this quantitative factor, related to the high level of culture exhibited by the mastery of the written language and by the use of the Ruthenians' language throughout the territory of the Grand Duchy, led to the diffusion in the Grand Duchy of the spoken variant of Ruthenian, so that among the Lithuanians bilingualism must have been a common phenomenon, with the exception, perhaps, of ethnographic Lithuania. This language maintained its importance right up until the period of Grand Duke Vytautas the Great (1392-1430), but then was gradually replaced by Polish (Strumins'kyj 1984, p. 20-26). It is in a lesser degree remarkable that in the Grand Duchy this language was called "Russian", and in Moscow "Lithuanian".

Much has been written, often contradictory, about the linguistic nature of *ruski*, and this problem was and continues to be a subject of discussion among linguists: the very diversity of designations (West Russian, Old West Russian dialect, Lithuanian-Russian, Chancellory Slavic, etc.) is testimony to the variety of different opinions. I will limit the discussion to a few of them. In his classic contribution Karskij (1893) proposes calling this language Old Belarussian on the basis of certain specific features which are found in definitely older documents in this language (cf. Uspenskij 1983 with bibliography). Belarussian linguists still use this designation today, while Lithuanians, following Stang (1935), prefer the clumsy designation "the Slavic language of the chancellory of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy".[572]

There are numerous arguments for and against both of these designations. The first name can be accepted from the point of view of the history of the Belarussian language, but it should not be considered absolute, otherwise there is a further confusion since:

a) Belarussian and Ukrainian elements are prevalent in the texts in this language beginning only from a particular period (the situation is different for an older stage),

b) it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the written and, correspondingly, to a certain degree the artificial language and its spoken variant, the continuation of which are Belarussian and Ukrainian and their dialects.

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[572] Cf. Stang (1935); Zinkevičius (*LKI* III, passim); Palionis (1987, p. 187); Eigminas (1994, p. 106); Moser (1998).

It is certain that the extensive diffusion of this language in its two variations (written and oral) helped the penetration of east Slavic (Ruthenian) borrowings into Lithuanian [see *infra*]. But even if this language indeed did have different phonetic features from one area to another, it still was understood by the majority of inhabitants in the Grand Duchy, especially in the eastern region, and over time the Lithuanian grandees also considered this written language their own. Its role increased significantly under the protection of the Lithuanian government, and it was used for the drawing up of the first documents of a historical (annals, chronicles) and juridical (Lithuanian laws of 1529, 1566, 1588) nature in the Grand Duchy.[573] The diffusion of writing continued parallel to the spread of sacred texts, and Ukrainians were often the first to produce, copy, and disseminate the texts in a written variant of Russian, that is, a more well-known language used throughout eastern Europe.

Danylenko (2011) emphasizes the complex nature of *ruski* and its differences over the course of time, and presents a well argued diachronically and functionally complex system of relationships among the core languages (Lithuanian, Polish, Ruthenian) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during a three hundred-year time span. In order to test the validity of the hypothesis of a *Sprachareal* in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Danylenko examines several possible structural affinities: palatalization, morphosyntactic features (possessive contructions, *pa*-prefixed perfectives) and some minor features (*akanje*, consonantal fluctuation such as $u \sim v$, $g \sim h$ et al.). He comes to the conclusion that there is no reason to adhere to the idea of a *Sprachareal* in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It is much more plausible to delimit several concentric micro-areas capable of generating *Sprachbund*-like structural similarities (e.g. Lithuanian-Ruthenian, Lithuanian-Polish, Ukrainian-Belarussian) which might have overlapped producing both convergent and divergent changes according to two axes: vertical (dialect $\sim$ standard) and horizontal (dialect $\sim$ dialect). Beyond that Danylenko appropriately points out that intensive language contact could involve factors of time and different levels of bilingualism; similarly extensive asymmetrical bilingualism functionally tends to transform into diglossia (native language for oral and non-native language for written discourse).

7.1.3.3. Linguistic exchange in the Grand Duchy. Regarding the abovementioned official written languages, at this point in time there is not a

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[573]   Concerning the codification of laws in the Lithuanian state, cf. Plateris (1965).

single occurrence of the influence of Latin on Lithuanian, while in official Latin documents sporadic (juridical) Lithuanianisms occur. The majority of the few German borrowings which penetrate into Lithuanian at this time come from Middle (Low) German, which was the most common variant in the Hanseatic Baltic region. Many of these relate primarily to the sphere of construction (e.g. Lith. *rúmai*, cf. MLG *rūm* 'house, palace', or Lith. *bálkis*, cf. MLG *balge*, *ballige*, *balleye* 'beam', in turn from Old French *baille* id.).

The wide dissemination of *ruski* aided the penetration of east Slavic borrowings (Ruthenianisms) into Lithuanian. They are absent in the lexicon of kinship, there are a few relating to the parts of the body, but they are frequent in the following lexical fields: *a*) social institutions, *b*) names of utensils, food, plants, animals, *c*) construction, e.g.:

a) until the 13th century, Lith. *bajõras* 'nobleman' ← East Slavic **bojar* id. (> Russ., Ukr. боярин);

b) until the 10th century, Lith. *bliũdas* 'basin' ← East Slavic **bliūd'* id. (> Blruss. блюда, Ukr. блюдо); Lith. *kopũstas* 'cabbage' ← East Slavic **kapusta* id. (> Blruss. and Ukrainian капуста); Lith. *muĩlas* 'soap' ← East Slavic **mylo* id. (> Blruss. мыла, Ukr. мило);

c) until the 9th, Lith. *čérpė* 'tile' ← East Slavic **čerpъ* (> Blruss. чарапіца, Ukr. черепиця), id.

On the other hand, multiple Lithuanianisms (about 300) are found in legal texts in *ruski* and in Polish, compiled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[574] These were perhaps preserved because the scribe was incapable of finding an adequate translation, or because they referred to specific realities of Lithuanian life, e.g.:

Ruth. дякло ← Lith. *dúoklė* 'a tenth part; tribute' (Skardžius 1959); Ruth. дойлид, дойлида ← Lith. *dailìdė* 'carpenter'; Ruth. (1540) коиминецъ, коиминикъ ← Lith. *kaimýnas* 'peasant, citizen (or prisoner of war) living at the master's court';[575] Ruth. бичулевство ← Lith. *bičiulỹstė* 'keeping bees in common'; Ruth. свирен ← Lith. *sviřnas* 'granary', etc.

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[574] Cf. Wolter (1899); Stang (1935, p. 145-146); especially Jablonskis K. (1941, although this work contains only a portion of the materials collected by the Lithuanian historian); cf. Lingis (1970); Nepokupnyĭ (1971); Bulyko (1974). On Lithuanianisms in the translations into Polish of the Lith. Statute, cf. Turska (1979). Baltic loans could reach Moscovia also via Pskov', cf. Unbegaun (1961).

[575] Several interesting culturo-historical implications connected with this term are found in Jablonskis K. (1979); cf. also Lingis (1970, p. 296-299).

Urbutis was the first scholar to study the various aspects (formal, semantic, etc.) of the passage of Lithuanianisms into Ruthenian (limited to Belarussian). Urbutis (1969) has recorded about thirty such examples; this older layer comprises one quarter of all Lithuanianisms in modern Belarussian. Dailidėnas (1986, 1987, 1988, 1991) investigates aspects of the adaptation process of Lithuanianisms into Ruthenian (Belarussian). In general, the Ruthenian element is also often found in later OLith. texts of the 16th-17th centuries, a lexicon which abounds in loan elements of east Slavic derivation. Polish, the unofficial language of the Grand Duchy until the Union of Lublin, gradually became the second most diffused language, and by the end of the 17th century had supplanted Ruthenian (*Coaequatio iurium*, 1697).

Of course, Latin, Ruthenian (Belarussian) and Polish were linguistic mediums for the introduction of Christianity into Lithuania (1386-1387)[576] and a means for the introduction of numerous *a*) borrowings, *b*) linguistic calques of various types (the examples come from the works of Konstantinas Sirvydas):

a) Lith. *afierà*, *apierà* ← Pol. *ofiara* 'sacrifice'; Lith. *apiekà*, *apiekũnas* ← Blruss. опекун, Pol. *opieka*, *opiekun* 'tutor'; Lith. *almužnà*, *elmužna* ← Pol. *jałmužn* 'alms'; etc.;

b) Lith. *apíwayzda* ← Pol. *opatrzność* 'Providence'; Lith. *szwyntapirkis* ← Pol. *świętokupiec*, Latin *simoniacus*; Lith. *piemuo*, *ganitoias* ← Latin *pastor*, *armenti custos*, Pol. *pasterz*; etc.

The Slavisms in ecclesiastical terminology of Lithuanian are more or less well adapted phonetically, and their numbers grow significantly with the spread of written texts. It has been subtly observed that traces of Ruthenian-Belarussian mediation are preserved in the liturgical (Catholic) terminology of Latin origin which came into Lithuania through Poland (Safarewicz 1982; Urbutis 1992, 1993). Many of the Polish borrowings found in OLith. texts (as well as in the spoken language even today) entered from varieties of Polish spoken in Lithuania (*polszczyzna litewska*).

The influence of Russian in Latvia can also be seen during this period. In the majority of cases the words are related to the Christian religion, e.g.:

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[576] Cf. Borowska (1957); Łowmiański (1957); Reczek (1989); Bednarczuk (2010). The process of the Polish language dominance on the border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuanian (16th-18th centuries) is described by Walczak (2010 with bibliography).

Latv. *baznīca* ← ORuss. божьница 'church'; Latv. *grāmata* 'book' ← ORuss. грамота 'writing, document'; Latv. *modrs* ← ORuss. мудръ 'wise'; Latv. *sods* 'punishment' ← ORuss. судъ; Latv. *kalps* 'young hired worker' ← ORuss. **cholpъ*, cf. Russ. холоп 'peasant'.

Sometimes Latvian retains a meaning which became marginal in Russian, cf. Latv. *strādāt*, 'to work', compared to Russ. страдать 'to suffer', but Russ. страда 'mowing, farm labor'.

The process of Slavicization of the East Baltic lands continued throughout this period, traces of which have been preserved until today in toponymics and in the lexicon of Belarussian dialects (on recent contacts between Lithuanian and Belarussian [see 9.1.2.]); but it is often impossible to establish with certainty whether such traces are phenomena from the substratum or borrowings as a result of contacts, or with old Baltisms, or with new Lithuanian, Latvian, or Ruthenian borrowings.[577]

It is likely that repeated contacts with Tatar tribes living in the south left Lithuanian traces in the toponymics of the Black Sea shore region and in the languages of this whole area;[578] moreover, during this period Tatar[579] and Karaite[580] settlements were stabilized in Lithuania. Both Karaites (about 380 families) and Tatars (of two distinct beliefs: Islamic and Judaic) were brought to Lithuania from the Black Sea by Grand Duke Vytautas at the end of the 14th century and settled in the areas near Trakai (the capital of the Grand Duchy at that time), where their descendants continue to live even today (the two ethnos are not always clearly distinguished) [see 9.1.1.-2.].

The influence exerted by these languages on Lithuanian has been little studied, however, even for that early time at least one instance of lexical interference has been noted (Zajączkowski P. W. 1948): Lith.

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[577] Cf. Guild (1978), who proposes that the Latvian suffix of agent *–nieks* comes from a corruption of OCS **-neikos* (> Russ. -ник) on the basis of possible imperfect calques such as Latv. *garidznieks* 'priest' (~ *gars* 'spirit', *garīgs* 'spiritual') on the model of Russ. духовник 'confessor' (~ Russ. дух 'spirit').

[578] According to Bogač (1963) the Rumanian *doĭna* 'folk song' is also a borrowing (← Lith. *dainà*).

[579] [see 9.1.2.1.5.] Cf. Kryczyński (1938). General information is also found in Akiner (1978) who prefers the designation the Tartars of Belarus; Tyszkiewicz (1989). Żdan (1930) investigated the Lith.-Tatar relationships at the time of Vytautas; Borawski P. studied the culture of the Tartars of Lithuania (cf. *ABS* 20, 21 with various approaches to the argument). Miškinienė (2001) classified their manuscripts, which she divides into: *Kitābai* (of various content), *Chamaĭlai* (primarily prayers), *Tedžvìdai* (for the right recitation of the Koran), *Tefsìrai* (Koranic exegesis). On Tatar place-names, cf. Jankowski (2001). Interesting contributions on Tatar writings are published in the section *Totoristica* in *LDKkkr*, p. 293-388. On traces of the Lith. diminutive suffix *-ul-* in the Tatar personal names at the beginning of the 16th century, cf. Čirūnaitė (1999). On the names of dukes of Tatar origin, cf. Apanavičiūtė (2009).

[580] Works of an anthropological nature are Gini (1936); Borawski (1990).

svogū̃nas 'onion' can be seen as a direct borrowing (and not through Slavic) as other borrowings from Turkish (cf. Karaim *sogún* id., Volga Tatar *sygún* id.); Wikander (1972) does not exclude the possibility that this may be an ancient borrowing from Armenian into Turkish, finally entering into Lithuanian. Some have even suggested that Lithuanian-Mongol relations arose following the creation of the Golden Horde (from the 14th century), but this is rather doubtful and the whole question needs further study.[581]

The presence of a Jewish population in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is recorded from the time of the Grand Duke Gediminas (c. 1275-1341).[582] At that time, a period of notable tolerance, the Jews received more rights here than in any other place in Europe. A significant portion of the Grand Duchy's trade was in their hands, and Jewish culture flourished.[583] More-over, some works have shown their role in the so-called "Judaizers" move-ment which spread in the 15th century from the Ruthenian lands of the Lithuanian state as far as Novgorod.[584] Subsequently, contacts with speak-ers of Yiddish became more and more limited and instances of linguistic interference were less frequent. Nevertheless, Lemchenas (1970) establishes about 400 Lithuanian borrowings in the Lithuanian dialects from Yiddish, and Ariste (1970) also finds a number of Lithuanianisms in the Estonian Yiddish of Tartu **[for the current situation see 9.1.2.].** For a complete study on Yiddish in the Baltic region (including Courland Yiddish and the varieties in Latvia and Estonia) cf. Jacobs (2001).

Niendorf (2010) points out that language awareness cannot be equated with the national consciousness, before adressing the issue of the linguistic awareness of the residents in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and their own approach to the phenomenon of multilingualism, emphasizing the lack of sources which would contain direct statements of its users, expressing and evaluating their languages and justifying the selection of a specific lan-guage in various communicative situations. This is an interesting topic for future research, indeed, but I would not fully agree that one has no data on it.[585]

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[581] Szyszman (1970, p. 248-250) suggests that Lith. *žìrgas* was borrowed from Mongolian *ažirya* 'stallion', a hypothesis disputed by Urbutis (1972); Szyszman (1989) proposes that Lith. *gegužė̃* is also a borrowing from Mongolian *kökege*, *köküge* 'cuckoo', although it is a less credible example since it is obviously a widely diffused onomatopoeiac word.

[582] Beršadskij (1883); Janulaitis (1923).

[583] Haumann (1990, p. 18-20 and passim); Cavaion (1992-1993, p. 140-145).

[584] Lichačëv (1946); Lur'e (1960); Cavaion (1990, 1992-1993); De Michelis (1993).

[585] E.g. *Aliletoescvr*, passim; Donecker (2011ab, 2012).

7.1.3.4. Baltic-German (Baltendeutsch). This refers to the language which colonists brought with them and which the mercantile middle class of German origin in Estonia and Livonia spoke.[586] Baltic-German (according to Kiparsky 1936ab, 1936-1937, probably a written language without specified literary features)[587] was, for all practical purposes, only used in cities, a fact which gave Kiparsky grounds to make a sociolinguistic distinction between *Baltendeutsch*, or the language of the highest social strata (barons, men of affairs, intellectuals, etc.) and *Knotendeutsch*, the proletarian Baltic-German. Also, according to Mitzka (1968ab), Baltic-German can be considered the language of the landed aristocracy and urban bourgeoisie until the 16th century, but the author does not clarify whether this opposition also related to the social difference between Germans on the one hand and Latvians and Estonians on the other. Between the 13th and 19th centuries a blending of HG and MG took place within Baltic-German,[588] coexisting with the local languages (Latvian and Estonian). Over time High Germ. was established.

In the 13th-14th centuries, in the period of the highest splendor of the Hanseatic League, Low German (with the dominance of Westphalian and Eastphalian dialectal features) functioned as the language of commercial trade and as an urban language in the Hanseatic cities. In the 14th-16th centuries, in the period of its flowering, Low German functioned as a means of oral communication. This dialect was never codified since there remained significant differences (mostly orthographic and lexical) between the various chancellory and urban dialects (cf. Jordan 1995). As a language used in trade and economic affairs it was open to foreign influences. In the 17th-18th centuries the role of High German grew, while Low German tended to be used only in domestic situations. It has been observed that the importance of Low German as a language for commerce declined in Baltia beginning in the 18th century, with the exception of a few families of old inhabitants, where it was preserved until the next century. In the 19th-20th centuries High German with some elements of a Low German substratum was established.

[586] On *Baltendeutsch*, cf. Groß (1869); Mitzka (1923a); Masing (1923); the sociolinguistically oriented Stegmann von Pritzwald (1952); Schönfeldt (1968); Glück (2002, p. 263-276); on the state of research Pavīdis (1993). Regarding the influence of Latvian on *Baltendeutsch*, cf. Kiparsky (1936ab, 1936-1937); on the influence of *Baltendeutsch* on Latvian Sehwers (1918, 1936); Gāters (1948); Karulis (1993). Additionally, cf. the contributions of Uustalu and Lääne, with related bibliography [see *infra*]. On *Deutschbalten*, cf. Schlau (1995).

[587] Kiparsky (1936ab, 1936-1937).

[588] Specific research on *Austauschprozess* (the process of exchange) between the two varieties of German and marginally with Latvian (and Estonian) was recently undertaken by Uustalu (1980, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987); Lääne (1984, 1985, 1987) are also useful for references to previous works.

The decline of Low German in the Baltic region is connected more with the decline of the Hanseatic league than with other events at that time in Germany. The causes of the change, aside from the instability typical of a situation of bilingualism or plurilingualism in the region, were the huge human losses in the Livonian wars (1558-1625) and in the northern war (1700-1710), which struck the colonies in particular (60% in Livonia and 70% in Estonia), and through epidemics. The presence of High German also made itself felt through the numerous immigrants, and its use was directly connected with particular professional groups. Moreover, the fact that three Baltic provinces were located within three different states led to a situation where the politico–administrative borders had a tendency to coincide with the borders of the three varieties of language. The subsequent reunification of Estonia and Livonia under Sweden or Poland, however, did not destroy the distinction, but rather contributed to the preservation of an unstable linguistic situation.

7.1.3.5. Linguistic interchange in the Hanseatic region. Beginning in the 13th century and extending into the 17th century Livonia was the object of various commercial interests: on the one hand, there was a German expansion, initially especially accompanied and masked by evangelistic tendencies (Higounet 1986, p. 225-233); on the other hand, Baltia on the whole, and especially Livonia, became an obligatory transit zone for goods coming from Novgorod and from interior Russian territories (wood, flax, hemp, pitch, tar), from Sweden (iron, copper, herring), and in the opposite direction from Baltic coast countries and from southern Europe (fabrics, wine, salt). The transport of various goods facilitated the economic and urban growth of the large cities of Baltia: as the importance of the ports of Riga and Tallinn grew, and when they joined the Hanseatic league their internal structure was organized on the model of Lübeck, Hamburg and other Hanseatic cities. The city of Visby, on the island of Gotland, took on particular importance; it is from there that the first merchants arrived to settle in the Baltics.

From the very beginning of German colonization the local inhabitants (Latvians, Estonians, Livs) came into contact with the newly arrived colonists. Instances of bilingualism and trilingualism in this region are well known and noted already in the *Chronicon Livoniae* (Jurginis 1991; Bugiani 2005) of Henry the Latvian and in *Livländische Güterurkunden*, a work by Baltic Germans Bruiningk (Busch 1908-1923). With the decline of the Hanseatic League trade in the Baltics transferred into the hands of

the Dutch, who possessed the best-equipped fleet at that time. Thus, in the 15th century grain from Lithuania, Curlandia and Livonia was loaded into the holds of their ships, along with all the materials needed for the fleet. At this time the large Germanized Baltic cities flourished, while the local Latvian and Estonian populations remained in poverty. The growth of commercial activity contributed to the formation of a rich urban bourgeoisie of German origin, which never lost ties with the homeland, and in the following centuries often became a serious obstacle to the expansion of the autochthonous populations of Baltia. Meanwhile, in the middle of the 16th century Moscow expanded in the direction of the sea – also as a consequence of the defeat and then disappearance of the Order of the Sword. In 1568, at the battle of Narva, Moscow cut through a window to the west, and the Dutch and English merchants thronged into the city-port of Narva, free from Hanseatic duty, so that the Hanseatic league experienced heavy losses. On the whole one can nevertheless conclude that until approximately the 17th century the great powers gave Baltia the independence to solve its own local problems without direct intervention. Subsequently, wars in the Baltic territory became part of more frequent commercial and military conflicts on the continent and were part of the international conflict. A period of disorder began, a troubled period, when the Swedes, Danes and Poles alternately dominated the Baltic Sea, often going against the Russians (Wittram 1973, p. 73-124; Roberts 1986).

The recent research about the dynamics of lexical integration in the Baltic region before the 19th century has revealed complicated national and social relations, as well as the importance of indigenous components, that is, of the languages of Estonian, Livonian and Latvian peasants in their relations with administrative languages: Swedish (in Estonia from 1561 until 1710; in Livonia from 1621 until 1710), Russian (from 1710 onward), and in certain social groups Latin and French (Lääne 1987). The linguistic consequences of this for the Baltic speaking part of the area related primarily to the interference from Latvian and *Baltendeutsch*. The dynamics of these processes, which were coterminous with the growth of national identity among the indigenous populations, who, however, did not know High German, contributed to the fact that the influx of Baltic elements into German was insignificant. Kiparsky (1936-1937) identifies several cases of old Baltic (Latvian) lexical borrowings in Baltic-German (BG), for example:

> BG *birse* ← Latv. *birze* 'forest, enclosed space'; BG *strowte* ← Latv. *straute*, *strauts* 'flood'; (1335) *semenicken* ← Latv. *zemnieki* 'peasants';

and perhaps also BG *oseringus* '(type of) money' ← Latv. *uose* 'little eye, handle, crank handle' and *rinķis* 'ring'.

It is hypothesized that the loss of the rounding in the vowels *e*, *i* and the diphthong *ei* which replace *ö*, *ü*, *eu* [ɔø] respectively can be explained by the phonetic influence of the Latvian language. It is probable that an analogous derivation can be reconstructed as well for the BG suffix -*neck*, which was taken from Latvian borrowings of the type BG *semenicken* (Latv. *zemnieks* 'peasant'). At first one encounters variation (e.g. BG 1540 *Kammerneck* and *kammernick* ← Latv. *kambarnieks* 'one who lives in a room'), and then the situation gradually stabilizes (e.g. BG 17th century *Reiseneck* 'traveler', *Novadneck* 'free peasant'). But if the influence in one direction was insignificant, it was strong in another. Examples of the lexical influence of German on Latvian are carefully collected (there are about 2750) in the classic and encyclopedic work of Sehwers (1936), who divides the borrowings into several semantic groups and also appends useful information regarding their dating. One should definitely refer to this work **[see 7.4.5.2.]**.

7.2. THE FIRST BALTIC TEXTS

The religious warfare between Catholics and Protestants shook Baltia and divided it into two opposing political, cultural and linguistic entities, defined as *Baltia Catholica* and *Baltia Reformata*.[589] It was precisely in this period, extremely important for the entire linguistic history of Baltia, that the written languages were consolidated. From these first religious texts a long process in the formation of standardized languages emerged, a process which would continue for the whole period of national renaissance and end in the beginning of the 20th century **[see 8.]**. Moreover, it should be remembered that during this period the Old Prussian language began to disappear, finally dying out in the 18th century **[see 6.]**.

7.2.1. Classification of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects

At this point it is appropriate to offer a minimal scheme for the classification of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects in light of modern research.

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[589] For the historical, social, and cultural background, among the vast bibliography, cf. Kosman (1973); Lukšaitė (1999a, 2011); Kiaupienė (2000); Eckert (1987b); Scholz (1990, p. 23-54).

Dialectological studies have always been very much cultivated both in Latvia and in Lithuania.[590] There are several anthological chrestomathies both of the Lithuanian[591] and of the Latvian[592] dialects.[593] There are also relatively many descriptions of specific dialectal areas and also punctual publication of texts and project of investigations of the variety of a dialectal region, of a place or of a village and/or of specific linguistic feauters.[594]

7.2.1.1. Varieties of Lithuanian dialects. In the Lithuanian plain region two principal varieties of Lithuanian dialects are distinguished: Low Lithuanian (or Samogitian or also Žemaitian;[595] Lith. *Žemaičių tarmė*) and High Lithuanian (or Aukštaitian; Lith. *Aukštaičių tarmė*). The former was spoken in the northwest plains region of Samogitia (*Žemaitija* from Lith. *žēmas* 'low'[596]),[597] while the latter was in use in the southeast hilly region of *Aukštaitija* (from Lith. *áukštas* 'high').

This terminology arose from geographical features which were introduced in the classification of Baranauskas and Jaunius, and although it no longer corresponds to the situation which generated it, it continues to be used in the latest classification of Girdenis, Zinkevičius (1965). The modern boundary between the two dialectal regions descends vertically from the Lithuanian-Latvian boundary toward the south as far as Šiluva and Raseiniai, where it turns to the west and proceeds to near Eržvilkas, Tauragė and žemaičių Naumiestis, reaching as far as Šilutė. The Low Lith.

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[590] Among the oldest dialectological studies, cf. Specht's (1920) dissertation on the Lith. subdialects in Russia based on the research of Antanas Baranauskas and Hugo Weber (Baranowski, Weber 1882); the anthology with phonetic investigations of Gerullis (1930), and the monographic studies on specific subdialects: of Buivĩdži by Gauthiot (1903); of the region of Vilnius by Arumaa (1931); of Tverečius by Otrębski (1932, 1934); of Pagramantis by Jonikas (1939).

[591] Among the most recent: Ivanauskienė, Leskauskaitė, Trumpa, Ožeraitis (1998): Bacevičiūtė, Ivanauskaitė, Leskauskaitė, Trumpa (2004). In three volumes: Atkočaitytė, Leskauskaitė, Morkūnas (2001); Bacevičiūtė, Juškevičius, Leskauskaitė, Morkūnas, Mikulėnienė, Ožeraitis, Telksnys, Vaišnienė, Vidugiris et al. (2005, 2011).

[592] Rudzīte (1963, 2005); Kagaine (2005).

[593] Recent descriptions for Lith. and Latv. dialects are Balode, Holvoet (2001ab). Considerations on Lith. dialects from the point of view of the linguistic landscape in Mikulėnienė (2013).

[594] A project research on accent is e.g. Mikulėnienė, Stundžia, Morkūnas (1996).

[595] Today the term Low Lith. (Žemaitian) is understood as the dialect formed in the northwest region of the Lithuanian speaking area (Lith. *Žemaitija*) [see 9.1.3.2.].

[596] Grinaveckis (1968) is an advocate of a different etymological interpretation (from Lith. *žēmė* 'land').

[597] In a letter of 11 March 1420 the Grand Duke Vytautas wrote to the Emperor Sigismund: *Terra Samaytarum est terra inferior ad terram Lythwanie, ideo Szomoyth vocatur, quod in lythwanico terra inferior interpretatur* [i.e The land of the Samogitians (*žemaičiai* – the Lowlanders) is lower than the land of Lithuania, which is why it is called Samogitia (*Žemaitija* – the Lowlands). In Lithuanian that is understood as 'the land which lies lowest']; cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 281–338.

dialectal area occupies a territory located to the north from this line, and three times smaller than the High Lith. area, located to the southeast from this line.[598]

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                        Lithuanian Dialects
                                |
            ┌───────────────────┴───────────────────┐
     Low Lith. dialects                       High Lith. dialects
        Samogitian                              Aukštaitian
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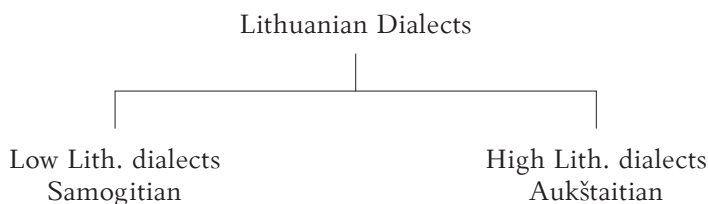
7.2.1.1.1. High Lithuanian. The area of HLith. in its turn is subdivided into three subzones: west, south, and east.[599] The primary criteria of distinction are the development *a)* of the Lith. diphthongs *an*, *am*, *en*, *em* and *b)* of the Lith. vowels *ą*, *ę*, cf.:

a) West–HLith. *an*, *am*, *en*, *em*; e.g. *lañkas* 'bow', *kam̃pas* 'corner', *žéntas* 'son–in–law', *pémpė* 'pee–wit'; > South–HLith. *an*, *am*, *en*, *em*; East–HLith. *un*, *um*, *in*, *im*; e.g. *luñkas*, *kum̃pas*, *žíntas*, *pímpē*, etc.

b) West HLith. *ą*, *ę*, e.g. *ą́žuolas* 'oak', acc. sing. *kárvę* 'cow', *drąsùs* 'bold', *tę̃sia* 'continues'; > South HLith. *ū*, *ī* (< *ų*, *į̇*), e.g. *ū́žuolas*, acc. sing. *kárvī*; > East HLith. *ū*, *ī*, e.g. *drūsùs*, *tī̃sia*.

The three High Lith. subzones also have internal subdivisions. The West-HLith. variety is divided into south (Kaunas, the Klaipėda zone, Suvalkija; so–called kauniškiai[600]) and north (the Šiauliai zone; so–called šiauliškiai[601]), according to whether the difference in the quantity of vowels in unstressed syllables is maintained, and according to the shift in the stress to the first syllable of the word (this phenomenon becomes more intense as one goes north).

The southwest subdialect of this variety forms the basis of the standard Lithuanian language.

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[598] On dialectal information contained in OLith. grammars, cf. Mikulienienė (2010).

[599] An anthology of HLith. texts is Markevičienė (1999-2001).

[600] In general: Bacevičiūtė, Mikulėnienė, Salienė (2005); for general features of vocalism and prosody of the sub-dialect of Šakiaĩ Bacevičiūtė (2004), and for texts Bacevičiūtė (2006). A vocabulary of Zanavỹkai has been published in 3 vols., cf. Švambarytė, Čepaitienė, Pupkis, Vosylytė (2003); Vosylytė (2004); Bacevičiūtė, Petrokienė, Sakalauskienė, Vosylytė (2006). Texts from the sub-dialect of Grìškabudis in Bacevičiūtė, Sakalauskienė (2008), from the sub-dialect of Kučiúnai in Leskauskaitė (2006), from the sub-dialect of Marcinkónys in Leskauskaitė (2009). A vocabulary of the sub-dialect of Daukšiaĩ is Labutis (2002), of Kazlų̃ Rūdà is Pupkis (2008-2009).

[601] In general: Kazlauskaitė, Lapinskienė, Bacevičiūtė (2007).
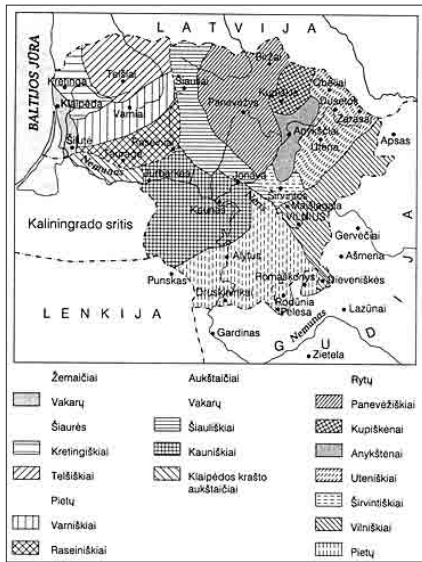
Lithuanian dialects

The northern-HLith. variety covers a large part of the territory and is the most distant from common Lithuanian and the most heterogeneous in its makeup. Its main types are Šìrvintos (širvintiškiai[602]), Panevė̃žỹs (panevėžiškiai), Anykščiaĩ (anykštė́nai), Kùpiškis (kupiškė́nai[603]), Utenà (uteniškiai[604]), Vìlnius (vilniškiai[605]).

The southern-HLith. variety (Dzūkijà, Drùskininkai[606]) displays the following principal features: lengthening (as part of the western variety) of the initial element in the mixed diphthongs *il ir im in*, *ul ur um un*; change of *e*, *ei* into *a*, *ai*; several specific consonant mutations (e.g. *č*, *dž* into *c*, *dz* and others) are called *dzūkavimas* (i.e. hissing affrication).

The subdialect of Dievė̃niskės (district of Šal̃čininkai) is between the eastern HLith. vilniškiai and the southern HLith.;[607] in the past it should be similar to the dialect still spoken in Lazū́nai (see *infra*) whilst today this

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[602] Anthology of texts: Markevičienė, Markevičius, Markevičius (2008). A study of noun declension is Markevičius (2009).

[603] In general: Balčiūnienė, Varnauskaitė, Leskauskaitė (2010). A vocabulary of the dialect of Kùpiškis is Vosylytė (2007–2013), of the dialect of Kal̃tanėnai is Vilutytė (2008).

[604] In general: Rinkauskienė, Bacevičiūtė, Salienė (2010). Texts from the subdialect of Dū́kštas in Kardelis (2010).

[605] An attempt to define dialectal frontiers in this area is Kardelis (2009). In general: Kardelis, Kardelytė-Grinevičienė, Salienė, Pariokienė (2010). Kardelis (2003) on the phonological feature of slavisms; Urbanavičienė (2010) on the phonology (vocalism and prosody) of the dialect of Švirkiai. For texts from Melagėnai see Kardelis (2006).

[606] A vocabulary of the Drùskininkai dialect is Naktinienė, Paulauskienė, Vitkauskas (1988).

[607] Lipskienė, Vidugiris (1967); a vocabulary of Dievė̃niskės is Grumadienė, Mikulenienė, Morkūnas, Vidugiris (2005-2010); for texts: Mikulėnienė, Morkūnas (1997).

whole area has become the place of a strong interference among different languages **[see 9.1.2.5.]**.

To the southern dialectal area belong also the Lithuanian enclaves[608] still alive in the territory of Belarus,[609] district of Grodno/Hrodna: Lazūnai,[610] Zíetela,[611] Pelesà,[612] Ramaškónys.[613]

7.2.1.1.2. Low Lithuanian. The principal difference from the HLith. area consists of the development of diphthongs *uo*, *ie*. Corresponding to their different varieties one distinguishes three subzones: south [u:, i:], north [ou, ei], west [ọ̄, ẹ̄], e.g.: Lith. *dúona* 'bread', *píenas* 'milk' ~ South-Lith. *dū́na*, *pī́ns*, North-Lith. *dóuna*, *péins*, West-Lith. *dǫ́na*, *pḗ́ns*. Corresponding to the different pronunciations of the word 'bread', it is customary to call these three dialectal zones *dūnininkai*, *douninininkai* and *donininkai* respectively.

Another phonetic feature of LLith. dialects relates to consonantism: instead of *č*, *dž* (< *-tia̯*, *-di̯a*) of the common language, one has *t*, *d* (e.g. *jáutē* 'bulls' instead of *jáučiai*, *mẽdē* 'trees', instead of *mẽdžiai*, *svetéms* 'for guests' instead of *svečiáms*).[614]

Thus, the internal subdivision of Low Lithuanian is the following: West,[615] North[616] (kretingiškiai,[617] telšiškiai[618]), South (varniškiai,[619] raseiniškiai[620]).

7.2.1.2. Varieties of Latvian dialects. Already in the 17th century, the historian Paul Einhorn (†1655) registered that there were three dialects in the Latvian territory. The traditional classificiation of the Latvian dialects is also tripartite: *1)* the Central dialect (Latv. *vidus dialekts*), *2)* the Livonian dialect (Latv. *lībiskais dialekts*, *3)* the High Latvian dialect (Latv. *augšzemnieku*

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[608] On the terminology (*Sprachinsel*), cf. Kardelis (2014).
[609] Garšva (1999).
[610] A vocabulary of the Lazūnai dialect is Petrauskas, Vidugiris (1985; see also 1987, 1991); an anthology of texts is Petrauskas, Vidugiris (1987).
[611] A vocabulary of the Zíetela dialect is Vidugiris (1998), reprinted as Vidugiris, Mikulėnienė (2005). A linguisitc study is Vidugiris (2004).
[612] Trumpa (2008) on the phonology of Pelesà dialect.
[613] Tuomienė (2010) is a sociolinguistic inquiry focussed on the noun declensions.
[614] In the southwest borderland of the North-Lith. subdialect one finds the so-called "Žemaitian Dzūkai" that is a particular Žemaitian hissing affrication (continuants of Baltic *-ti̯*, *-di̯*) in non-initial syllables thoroughly investigated in Girdenis (2008).
[615] In general: Bukantis, Leskauskaitė, Salienė (2006). Judeikienė (2011) on the dialect of Saũgos.
[616] A vocabulary of the nort-eastern *dūninininkų* dialects is Vitkauskas (1976).
[617] A vocabulary of the Kretingà's dialect is Aleksandravičius (2011).
[618] Anthology of texts: on Tirkšliaĩ, Girdenis (1996); on Skuõdas, Girdenis (2012).
[619] Anthology of texts: Judeikienė (2005).
[620] Atkočaitytė (2002) on general features of vocalism and prosody.

Latvian dialects

dialekts). This latter dialect differs markedly from the two others in pho-
netics, grammar, and lexicon [see 8.1.2.3., 9.1.3.1.], which in a way justifies the
division into HLatv. and LLatv. dialects (Latv. *lejzemnieku*).

Latvian Dialects

| Livonian dialect | Central dialect | High Latvian dialect |
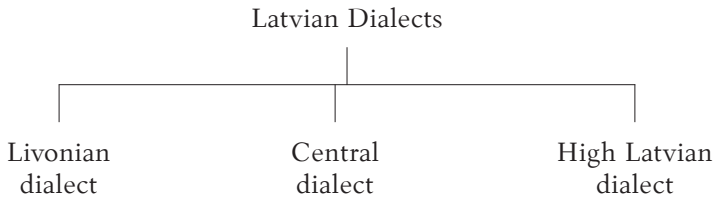
The Central dialect is the basis of the standard language. The name comes
from its geographical position between the two other dialects. It is fur-
ther divided into three subzones: Central subdialects (Latv. *vidieniešu izlok-
snes*),[621] Semigallian (Latv. *zemgaliskās izloksnes*),[622] and Curonian subdia-
lects (*kursiskās izloksnes*),[623] which are divided by an imaginary line connec-
ting Tukums-Saldi-Venta.

The Livonian dialect (*lībiskais dialekts*) extends into the territories
where the Livs once lived, and it shows the influence of their language. It is
divided into Tamian (Latv. *tāmnieku izloksnes* or *kurzemes lībiskās izloksnes*)
and Vidzeme (Latv. *vidzemes lībiskās izloksnes*).[624]

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[621] A description of the subdialect of Ērģeme is Kagaine, Raģe (1977-1983).
[622] For texts of the subdialect of Džūkste, cf. Birzniece (1983); from a description of the subdialect of Aknīste,
cf. Ancītis (1977).
[623] An exhaustive study (phonetics, morphology and lexicon) of the subdialect of Nīca (Liepāja) has been
carried out by Bušmane (1989).
[624] A vocabulary of the subdialect of Vainiži is Ādamsons, Kagaine (2002).

The High Latvian dialect (Latv. *augšzemnieku izloksnes*) occupies a wider territory and is spoken in the north of Latvia in the former territory of Selonia (to the south of the Daugava) and in Latgalia. It is divided into two subzones: Selonian (*sēliskās augšzemnieku izloksnes*)[625] and Latgalian (*nesēliskās jeb latgaliskās augšzemnieku izloksnes*)[626] each of which can be divided into two subgroups: eastern (or deep) and western (or not deep).

A more recent classification by Gāters (1977) offers certain changes, specifically a tripartite division into *1*) a Middle Latvian dialect, which in turn is subdivided into *a*) Middle Latvian Livonian, *b*) Middle Latvian Semigallian, *c*) Middle Latvian Curonian, *d*) Middle Latvian Semigallian-Curonian; *2*) the Tamian dialect, subdivided into Tamian Curonian and Tamian Livonian; *3*) High Latvian dialect, which includes *a*) deep High Latvian of Latgalia, *b*) High Latvian Selonian, *c*) a northern zone of transition with Middle Latvian, *d*) a central zone of transition into Middle Latvian, *e*) a southern zone of transition into Middle Latvian. Also, in this classification the Middle Latvian and Tamian dialects are very similar to each other and, therefore, are combined under the name Low Latvian, in opposition to High Latvian.

7.2.2. The first works of Baltic authors

During the period of the appearance of the first written texts, the period of the confessional confrontations between the adherents of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation, the Baltic languages area consisted of ethnographic Lithuania, including East Prussia (Lithuania Minor, where speakers of Old Prussian still lived, although they were disappearing) and of ethnographic Latvia (Livonia, Curlandia, and Latgalia), where foreign powers dominated by turns.[627]

The first authors working in the Baltic area were frequently bilingual and trilingual. This is reflected in old texts where there is a mixing of different languages. Thus for educated people the use of several languages

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[625]   A description of the deep Selonian subdialect of Dignāja is Indāne (1986).

[626]   For texts, both in the eastern and in the western varieties, cf. Jokubauska, Blinkena (1983). A description of the subdialect of Sinole is Putniņa (1983), and a vocabulary of the same place is Putniņa, Timuška, (2001). A description of the subdialect of Kalupe is Reķēna (1998).

[627]   The exposition which follows can be supplemented by these works: Scholz (1990); *Aliletoescvr* in general; Korsakas (1957); Senn A. (1963); Lebedys (1977); Gineitis (1982); Zinkevičius (*LKI* I) for the Lithuanian part; Blese (1947, 1963); Johansons (1953); Kundziņš, Upītis, Sokols (1959, p. 312-418); Ozols (1965); Čakars, Grigulis, Losberga (1987, p. 19-69) for the Latvian part. Concerning the cited names and others see *LB* I s.v. or Biržiška V. (1960-1965) for Lithuanian authors; *SLV* s.v. or Misiņš (1924-1937) s.v. for Latvian authors. For the history of the Lith. book and libraries in East Prussia from the beginning (1547) until 1940, cf. Kaunas (1987, 1996).

was a common phenomenon. Moreover, many Baltic religious and secular texts of the 16th–18th centuries were translations from Latin, German and Polish. Apparently this state of affairs favored the mutual influence of languages which were in contact. Add to this the absence of norms regulating the use of Lithuanian and Latvian in works produced during these centuries and one sees clearly many features characteristic for the dialects spoken by these authors. The linguistic analysis of old texts even permits us to define certain dialectal distinctions in two areas **[see *infra*]**.

7.2.2.1. The first Lithuanian authors. The beginning of Lithuanian literacy (*raštija*) is usually dated by the appearance of the first Lithuanian book (1547). However, not only is there a manuscript Lord's Prayer from the first half of the 16th century in the *Tractatus sacerdotalis* (1503) **[see 10.2.1.]**, but several Lithuanian glosses have also been discovered.[628] Another Lith. inscription has been found in a Latin book published in Vilnius in 1590 (Zinkevičius 1998a). But the most significant finds are probably the twenty Lith. glosses (a total of 28 words) which were found in 2006 in a Latin incunabulum at the National Museum of Cracow, and dated approximately 1520-1530.[629] According to Subačius these glosses probably originated from the same Observant Franciscan tradition of the above mentioned *Tractatus*, with which they share certain graphical features, and reflect a variety of western Highland Lithuanian.

This indicates that before the Jesuits were established in Vilnius, the Franciscans[630] already had their own tradition of manuscript texts written in Lithuanian.[631] Therefore, scholars customarily classify linguistic phenomena on the basis of politico-administrative criteria within the Lithuanian language area. This is based on the difference in the situation in the Duchy of Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the 16th century the Duchy of Prussia had become an important center for the spread of Protestantism and a place of vigorous cultural and printing activity,

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[628] However these "discoveries" have not always been adequate. The case of Narbutas (1995) is unfortunate, whose fallacy has been demonstrated by Gudmantas (2006). Also the Latin-Lith. glosses published in Narbutas, Zinkevičius (1989) are later than the authors thought, probably from the 17th century or later.

[629] Cf. Subačius, Leńczuk, Wydra (2010); Zinkevičius (2011).

[630] Concerning the activities of the Franciscans in Lithuania, cf. Gidžiūnas (1982); for a general picture, cf. Niedermeier (1978); Zinkevičius (1996); on both Franciscan and Dominican missions in the 13th century, cf. Baronas (2011). See also the commentary in Gudmantas (2006).

[631] No systematic and comparative study of these valuable fragments has yet been done. The texts are the result of accidental finds and have been described by single authors: Matusevičiūtė (1962); Lebedys, Palionis (1963); Narbutas, Zinkevičius (1989); Subačius, Leńczuk, Wydra (2010).

concentrated in the city of Königsberg, which favored the publication of works in vernacular languages (Prussian and Lithuanian). Until then there had not been a written tradition in Königsberg. At the invitation of Duke Albrecht von Hohenzollern [1490-1545], a strong supporter of the Reformation, young students, persecuted for their Protestant faith, arrived at the Albertine University of Königsberg from the Grand Duchy for an education. Subsequently, those students were sent into the Lithuanian parishes of the Duchy. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the spread of Protestant ideas was primarily associated with the names of Abraham Kulvietis (Culvensis),[632] Stanislovas Rapolionis [1490-1568], Jurgis Zablockis [1510-1563]. These three, under the protection of Queen Bona Sforza, created a college in Vilnius, where the aristocracy sent their children to study languages and sacred writ. But the college had an unhappy fate, and the three founders were persecuted for heresy and had to flee to the court of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg for protection. From this nucleus of fugitive intellectuals emerged the first works in Lithuanian (primarily translations of sacred writ). M. Mažvydas (Mosvid or Mosvidius) [ca. 1510-1563][633] was also connected with them and his biography is permeated with the same religious spirit and remains very important for Lithuanian culture. Mažvydas published a Lutheran Catechism, *CATECHISMVSA prasty ʃzadei* [The Simple Words of the Catechism, Königsberg, 1547] and several other works.

Certain other personalities are associated with the support of the Reformation through literary activity, among the more important authors are: Baltramiejus Vilentas (Willent) [1525-1587], the first translator of the Lutheran *Enchiridion*,[634] and Jonas Bretkūnas (Bretke) [1536-1602], who was the author of a *Postil* (1591)[635] for edification and the first translator of the *Bible* into Lithuanian (1579-1590);[636] he also wrote a work on the history of Prussia.[637] There exists an important *Postil* of 1573, called the *Postil* of

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[632] More on Kulvietis [see 10.2.2.].

[633] More on Mažvydas's life and works [see 10.2.2.]. For an edition of the works, cf. Gerullis (1922b, 1923); Ford (1971); Subačius (1994); Stundžia, Šepetytė (1997); Michelini (2000). For studies of Mažvydas's works and language, cf. Stang (1929); Kruopas (1947); Zinkevičius (1977-1978); Dini (1994b, with the opportune integrations of Michelini 1996-1997); Subačius (1998c); Schmalstieg (1998d); Dini (2010a).

[634] Editions of the OLith. *Enchiridion* of Vilentas are Bechtel (1882); Ford (1969); on datation Aleknavičienė (2009).

[635] Edited by Aleknavičienė (2005); for studies, cf. Aleknavičienė (1998ab; 2005, p. 13-143; 2011).

[636] The manuscript of Bretkūnas's Bible is kept in Berlin (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz; call number: XX. HA StUB Königsberg, 47-48). For translation Bretkūnas compared several versions (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German), but the main source was the Bible of Luther with the exception of the Gospel of Luke for which his source was the Vulgate. On Bretkūnas's biography and works, cf. Falkenhahn (1941). On the edition of the Bible, cf. Range, Scholz (1991ab); Range (1992); Scholz (1996, 2002); Gelumbeckaitė (2002); Scholz, Range (2002); Kessler (2013).

[637] A selection of texts is reprinted in Palionis (1983), and in *TT* 68 (2005): *Das erste Buch der Preussen Chronik*.
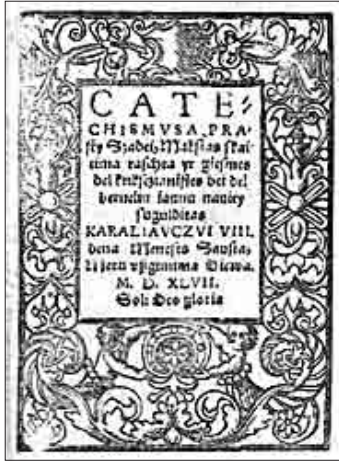
Title page of M. Mazvydas's Cathechism (1547)   Title page of M. Dauksa's Postil (1599)

Wolfenbüttel.[638] The most important Protestant polemicist was Simonas Vaišnoras [ca. 1546-1600], translator of a tract *Margarita Theologica* (1600).[639] Another Protestant author was Samuel Bogusław Chyliński [Chylinskis, Scholz F. ca. 1634-1668] who studied in the Netherlands and in England; in the period 1657-1660 he translated the *Bible* into Lithuanian (Kavaliūnaitė 2008),[640] the publication of which was, however, stopped; three printed copies survive, but the manuscript is lost.

In the Duchy of Prussia at Tilžė (Germ. *Tilsit*), Danielius Kleinas (Klein) [1609-1666] published a normative grammar of Lithuanian, *Grammatica Litvanica* (1653) and also a supplementary *Compendium Lituanicum-Germanicum* (1654).[641] Another grammar was compiled by K. Sapūnas [1589-1659] and T. Schultz and published in 1673.[642] The publication of the manuscript texts of German–Lithuanian dictionaries and other works, which were written in the 17th century, like the *Lexicon Lithuanicum*,[643] the *Clavis Germanico–Lithvana*[644] and still others[645] is also very important (cf. Paulauskienė 2006).

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[638] Karaciejus (1995). Gelumbeckaitė (2008) is a huge facsimile edition of the *Postil* of Wolfenbüttel; see also Gelumbeckaitė (2000, 2005, 2012); Zinkevičius (2002).

[639] Cf. Witte (1931); Michelini (1991a, 1997).

[640] Previous editions: Kudzinowski, Otrębski (1958), Kudzinowski (1984). About the author and his works, cf. Kot (1958), Kavaliūnaitė (2011).

[641] Cf. Palionis, Buchienė (1957); Klein (1977). On elements of Hebrew in the verbal morphology described in Klein's grammars, cf. Pakerys J. (2005). The results of a conference devoted to Klein are collected in Judžentis (2010a).

[642] Cf. Eigminas (1995); Stundžia (1997b).

[643] Edited by Drotvinas (1987).

[644] Edited by Drotvinas (1995-1997).

[645] Edited by Zubaitienė (2009).

Soon the Counter Reformation reached the Grand Duchy. Merkelis Giedraitis [1536-1609], the Catholic bishop of Vilnius, urged the canon Mikalojus Daukša [1527/1538-1613] to publish his sermons and a catechism. Daukša's Lith. translation of Jacob Ledesma's catechism became the first book (1595) in Lithuanian to be published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Daukša's *Postilla Catholica* (1599) was the translation of the collection of sermons by Jakub Wujek, contained two prefaces (in Latin and in Polish) and is one of the most important documents defending the rights of the Lithuanian language.[646] However, its appeal did not change the already existing situation in the country, wherein the aristocracy, which considered Lithuanian national culture its own, attempted to extend the use of Polish to all, while the people always remained true to their native language. Merkelis Petkevičius [1550-1608],[647] an exponent of the Calvinist party, which also had a presence in the Grand Duchy, was probably, like Daukša, born in the outskirts of Kėdainiai. His Catechism is well known. The Jesuit Konstantinas Sirvydas (Constantinus Szyrwid) [1579-1631] published two editions (1620, 1642)[648] of the *Dictionarium trium lingvarum* (Lithuanian-Polish–Latin),[649] used by the Academy of Vilnius[650] and *Punktay sakimu*, a collection of homilies in two volumes (1629, 1644).[651] The existence of a grammar (which, anyway, has not survived) is very doubtful.

7.2.2.2. The first Latvian authors. German cultural influence dominated in the Latvian linguistic area. The Lutheran faith spread everywhere (with the exception of the eastern region of Latgalia with its Catholic majority).[652] The year 1521 marks the beginning of the Reformation in Riga with the predication of Andreas Knopken [1468-1539]. In 1525 the Catholic town

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[646] The works of Daukša were edited by Biržiška M. (1926); Sittig (1929) and Jakštienė, Palionis (1995); Kudzinowski (1977) provides a lexicon of the *Postil*; for other lexical aspects, cf. Palionis (1980); for semasiological contrasts with Polish, cf. Locher (1972); Dini (1996a). Moreover, cf. Lebedys (1963, 1971); Zinkevičius (*LKI* III, p. 173-195).

[647] On Petkevičius's language, cf. Fraenkel (1947); Kruopas (1970); Zinkevičius (1970-1971).

[648] About Sirvydas's dictionary, cf. Pakalka (1979) with bibliography; Urbutis (1967). On Sirvydas's copy (4th ed.) held in Florence, cf. Dini, Ardoino (2005).

[649] Dini, Subačius (1999) finds several traces of the 2nd (1631) lost edition of Sirvydas's dictionary in plant names preserved in the *Index nominum plantarum multilinguis* (Berlin 1682) of Christian Mentzel [1622-1701].

[650] Cf. Žulys (1979, p. 8).

[651] On Sirvydas's homilies, cf. Specht (1929); Zinkevičius (1971); Morkūnas (1980).

[652] On Luther and Livonia, cf. Zanders (2001b). There was a lack of information on the very beginning of Latvian literature until the fundamental work by Vanags (2000a). The recent (1985-2005) research on the earliest Latvian texts is presented in Andronova (2008). A general survey is Vanags (2009).

Title page of J. Rivius's Enchiridion (1586)   Title page of G. Manzel's Lettus (1588)

council of Lübeck confiscated from some traders some Livonian, Latvian and Estonian Lutheran books (more probably it was a plurlingual missal, according to the *Lübeck Protokollbuch Brand* [204r]: *aliqui erant commixti, quos legere non poterant*) in a barrel destined for Riga. There exists only mention of this fact; the books themselves have not been found.[653] By the 1520s, the first Latvian tanslations of the Lutheran church service had appeared, and by the 1530s all of the most important necessary texts were translated. All these translations had been, however, constantly supplemented with new catechetical parts or hymns for many years.

In 1561, in Curlandia, which as before maintained an evangelistic faith, but became a vassal of the Duke of Poland, and in Livonia (and even more in Latgalia) there began a period characterized by strong Counter Reformation tendencies and dominating Polish influence. During the two decades of religious confrontations between the Reformation and Counter Reformation, from 1570 to 1590, significant interest in local languages grew in intellectual circles. The first Protestant preachers approached the local population in their own language. This was the case with Nicholas Ramm, who, having finished his studies in Rostock, composed a religious hymn on the theme of the Ten Commandments and translated portions of the Bible into Latvian.[654] The disputes between the proponents of the

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[653]   Cf. Johannsen (1959); Vanags (2008) on p. 174 quotes the original as: *vasz plenū libris lutterianisz eciā missis in vulgari liuonico lettico ac estonico*, where scholars do not agree as to the meaning of *liuonico*.

[654]   For a short survey of the first Latvian texts, cf. Viksninš (1973). A very important systematic study of the sources and of the linguistic features of the Latvian texts of the 16th century have been undertaken by Vanags (1993, 1994, 1995b, 1998ab) with especially in the monograph Vanags (2000a).

Reformation and Counter Reformation also benefited the publication of the first books in Latvian: in 1585 in Vilnius the translation of the *Catechismus Catholicorum* of Petrus Canisius [1521–1597] (perhaps the work of Erdmann Tolgsdorf [1550–1620]) appeared,[655] as well as a Lutheran *Enchiridion* (so-called of Rivius [1500–1553]) in 1586.[656] Other important translations of religious texts were the *Passio* (1587) and the *Vndeudsche Psalmen* (1587), ascribed to Gotthard Reimers [†1607].[657] Later, the pastor of Curlandian origin, Christoph Fürecker [Fīrekers, ca. 1615-1684/1685] translated Lutheran hymns and was the author of a German–Latvian vocabulary,[658] while Ernst Glück [Glīks, 1652-1705] produced a translation of the Bible into Latvian (1681-1689), printed in Riga.[659] The basis of these first Latvian texts was the language of Riga and its environs. Latgalian, Selonian, Semigallian, Curonian and Livonian elements were also present; but there were also traces of Middle Low German, taking into account the ethnic makeup of the city. These dialectal features were reflected in the texts composed by the Germans for religious purposes.[660]

The influence of the Semigallian dialect appears primarily in the Latvian works of the 17th century. The heirs of the literary language of the previous century left on it a characteristic stamp with many Semigallian elements which have been preserved up until the present time. The principal author was Georgs Mancelis (Manzel, Mancelius) [1593-1654], vice-rector of the University of Tartu (Dorpat), who made many religious translations, among which is the *Langgewünschte Lettische Postill.*[661] Moreover, the German Johann Georg Rehehusen [†1650] prepared the *Manuductio ad linguam lettonicam facilis et certa* [1644, Easy and Certain Textbook of the Latvian Language].[662] With the name of Mancelis are associated also the first works about the Latvian language, dictionaries like the *Lettus, das ist Wortbuch sampt angehengtem täglichen Gebrauch der lettischen sprache* [1638, Latvian, that is a Dictionary with an Appended Usage of the Latvian language][663] and

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[655] Günther (1929 I, p. 243-312). On the source of this work, cf. Michelini (2001a). On syntax, cf. Pokrotniece (1998), Lagzdiņa (1992). On German loans in the first Latv. monument, cf. Pavīdis (1996).

[656] Bezzenberger *LLD* (1875, p. 1-30); Inoue (1998, 1998-1999, 1999-2001, 2001, 2002). Generally on this monument, cf. Rudzīte (1986).

[657] On the translation of the *Vndeudsche Psalmen* (1587), cf. Pavīdis (1997).

[658] Cf. Fennell (1996b, 1998, 2000a).

[659] Cf. Ozols (1965, p. 260-264); Glück, Polanska (2005); Karulis (2001); Baltiņa (2001); Zanders (2001a).

[660] Especially on the social and cultural role of the German pastors at the beginning of Latvian literary tradition, cf. Pavīdis (1999).

[661] Günther (1929 II, p. 1-222 and p. 223-414). A study on Mancelis's work in the general context of the time is Krēsliņš (1990, 1992).

[662] Fennell (1982a).

[663] Fennell (1988a).

a *Phraseologia lettica* (1638).[664] The number of works of this type increased toward the end of the 17th century with the appearance of the grammars and lexicons of Georg Dressel (*Gantz kurtʒe Anleitung Zur Lettischen Sprache*, Riga, 1685),[665] Johannes Langius [1615-1685/1690][666] (*Lettisches=Deutsches Lexicon…, Sampt einer kurtʒen Grammatica…*, 1685),[667] Heinric Adolphi (*Erster Versuch Einer kurtʒ=verfasseten Anleitung Zur Lettischen Sprache*, Mitau, 1685);[668] and the poetic tract of J. Wischmann. Georg Elgers (Elger) [1585-1672] was the author of several works, some of which have been lost;[669] a few works should be mentioned: the *Evangelia Toto Anno* (1672, *Gospels for the Whole Year*), the *Cantiones spirituales* (*Hymns*), and the *Dictionarium Polono-Latino-Lottauicum* (1683), which appeared posthumously.

Given this situation the Jesuits (followers of Antonio Possevino [1533-1611][670] and Stefan Batory) attempted to create a polyglot university in Livonia. It is clear that the clerics, generally of German origin, had the ability to learn the language of the people, but it is equally clear that between them and their parishioners, Latvian peasants, there was a difference in language, although there was no lack of contact during liturgical and social ceremonies. This reflected first of all the two varieties of Latvian, written and spoken, which existed side by side without a reciprocal influence. In reality the written language was probably the model the clerics hung on to, even in their speech. On the other hand, the spoken language of the Latvian peasants was in no way able to influence this model, since the few Latvians who achieved high rank were quickly Germanized. It is no accident that the actual development of Latvian letters began only in the 18th century [see 7.2.3.]. A Latvian-German vocabulary by Liborius Depkin [1652-1708] has been finally published and has become the object of research (Vanags 1999; Larsson L. 2011); according to Fennell (2011) it seems likely that the gathering of data was still ongoing when Depkin died.

Previously unknown fragments of the Latvian language can be still discovered in 17th century manuscript historical sources (mostly church and school records; some examples are presented in Pauloviča, Vanags 2008).

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[664] Fennel (1988b).
[665] Fennell (1984).
[666] Wittram (2001).
[667] Fennel (1987, 1991).
[668] Fennel (1993).
[669] Draviņš (1961-1976).
[670] In general on the life and religious and political activity of the Papal Legate Antonio Possevino, cf. Quirini-Popławska (2012). Specifically on Possevino in Livonia, cf. Guida (1983). More exhaustively on Possevino diplomatic and cultural mission in Lithuania, cf. Baniulytė (2012a).

7.2.2.3. Directions of cultural history. Vytautas Kavolis [1930–1996] (1989) has in an original and penetrating way studied the dynamics of cultural development in Baltia (actually limited to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) and their social and religious consequences. After the introduction of Christianity Lithuania underwent a period of cultural stagnation, which, according to Kavolis, had two causes: the demoralizing trauma which was produced after the destruction of the pagan cultural universe, and the not yet robust situation of Catholicism in the 16th century. For the following period Kavolis notes a definite change in direction in Lithuanian culture, dating approximately from the middle of the 16th century and dividing the century into two parts: the first (1529-1563) is characterized by progress and modernization; after this period a second (1588-1611), in contrast, experienced regression and demodernization.

From a more detailed perspective these stages of cultural development were signaled by a series of events which took place over a compressed period of time, that is: the codification of laws (in Russian) in the 1st Lithuanian Statute (1529); the founding of institutions (in Latin) of higher learning (viz. Vilnius College, 1539; the Jesuit Academy 1579);[671] the first achievements in the natural sciences, social sciences and practical sciences (texts in Latin; the Map of Muscovy of A. Wied, 1544; the *Tractatus* of Michal Lituanus, 1550 [1615]); the beginnings of national literatures (texts in Old Prussian, Lithuanian and Latvian); and the establishment of a religious atmosphere of tolerance (the Chancellory of Mikalojus Radvilas the Black, 1550; the Decree of religious equality, 1563), thanks to which 72 religions co-existed in Lithuania.

The succeeding period of regression, on the other hand, was full of completely different events which were unambiguous signs of the decline of the culture of tolerance toward religious and ethnic minorities. The first signal was the public burning of Protestant books on the order of the bishop of Vilnius (1581) and the ban on Protestant processions. Nevertheless, these measures remained ineffective until the end of the 18th century. There followed church burnings (the first occurrence in 1592) under Sigismund IV Vasa and the only known instance of the execution of a heretic (1611), and then the burning of witches (until 1731). The legislative process also underwent a long period of stagnation: the Third Lithuanian Statute (1588) lasted without serious changes until 1840 when the Tsar vacated it. The Polish–Lithuanian union contributed to the establishment of a psy-

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[671] Rabikauskas (2002).

chological climate adverse for the process of modernization, and Lithuanian culture became closed, concentrating on the protection of its own *hortus conclusus* ("enclosed garden").[672] Kavolis sees the principal cause of the decline of Lithuanian culture (with the exception of Prussian Lithuania) in the progressive rigidity of religious life and in the final victory of Catholicism over Protestantism (which became obvious in 1613), leading to the complete loss of the initial impulse toward modernization in the arena of education (it should be remembered that the Academy of Vilnius had a negative review from Jesuit examiners in 1645), in the sciences (not counting a few signs of revival with the works of K. Semenavičius, 1650, and Olizarevius, 1651), and in social life. This process was later aggravated by the devastation of the wars against Moscow and Sweden begun in 1654 (or in 1648 if dated by the Ukrainian rebellion). For the first time in its history Lithuania was completely occupied militarily, but the process of decline had already begun earlier. This perhaps explains why Lithuania was incapable of lifting itself up after the wars, unlike the other countries of central Europe (Bohemia, Germany), also devastated by the Thirty Years' War.

7.2.3. Concerning the initial formation of the literary languages

The vast literature devoted to the first stage of the formation of the Lithuanian and Latvian literary languages reflects a broad and long discussion of the topic. Here I will present the fundamental aspects of the problem.

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[672] The reflections of Venclova (1985, p. 25-31) explain the relationship of Poland and Lithuania: "During the Renaissance when the phenomenon of Sarmatism [i.e., a conservative current in Polish culture which emphasized national traditions; the Sarmatians were considered ancient ancestors of the Poles] arose, the peoples who settled the Lithuanian-Polish Republic began to understand clearly their differences. The process of realization of their national characteristics continued over several centuries and went in two directions: Polish culture was manifested on the background of other cultures and other cultures were manifested on the background of Polish culture. And this concerns primarily Lithuania. The history of the national identity of the Lithuanians is confused and paradoxical. At first glance the long common fate of Lithuania and Poland hides the attraction and hostility, interest and contempt, cultural influence and polemical intrigue. Precisely this opposition, as well as the constant connection, determine the shape of Lithuanian and Polish cultures, so different from one another. One can say that their relations were mutually fulfilling: one culture saw in the other its own complement and the negative personification of unattainable or forbidden values. For Lithuania Poland represented a civilization, a participant in the European process, while for Poland Lithuania was something exotic and often also sacred (*sacrum*)... Their union, from Daukantas's point of view, was a highly negative phenomenon, something like the sin of the forefathers: this union brought Lithuania out of the mythological into the historical epoch, connected it to the contradictory world of the West, disturbed and destroyed its colorful life, free and barbaric. Sarmatism was the end of a golden age, a deviation from the norm, from internal originality, from simplicity and harmony, from spiritual balance and magnanimous customs. Only the language remained from the sacred era: indeed, the sacred era is at the same time hidden in the new world, since the language embraced it entirely and preserved it, although in a secret form. The system of Daukantas, only slightly and poorly able to influence his contemporaries, became a more important model of signs for successive generations."

7.2.3.1. Lithuanian. It has already been noted that the texts of the 16th–17th centuries are characterized by a rich linguistic variety, which reflects the dialects of individual authors. But there also emerge obvious and definite attempts to overcome dialectal confines and efforts to adapt the language for written communication. Already in the works of Mažvydas one observes the presence of two principal Lithuanian dialects, but also the tendency to align his language with the High Lithuanian norm.[673] According to Zinkevičius (1972b), in discussing the 17th century one can speak about the existence of three literary variants of the Lithuanian language: Prussian Lith., central Lith. and eastern Lith.[674]

For the reasons cited above the process of normalization proceeded faster in the Duchy of Prussia, and a regional language was created rather quickly on the basis of western High Lithuanian dialects. Not only did a process of purification and normalization of texts of a religious content commence, but linguistic works were also produced (grammars and dictionaries). In the Grand Duchy the state of affairs was much less homogeneous, and the discussion about the creation of a literary language was more complicated and reflects more views. Palionis is critical of the dominant "interdialectal" concept of linguistic development, frequently presented and argued by Zinkevičius in the 1960s and 1970s (and also supported by historians, cf. Batūra, Pašuto 1977). Developing an idea of Jablonskis K., Zinkevičius argued that there existed two variants in the Grand Duchy: a central and an eastern. The *eastern variant* was considered properly Lithuanian and at times was contrasted with the central, which was defined as "Samogitian".

The *central* variant developed in the environs of the Kėdainiai, in the geographical heart of ethnographical Lithuania, and the basis of western High Lithuanian dialects of this district was selected for it (linguistically rather close to the dialects of the Prussian Lith. variant). It was connected with Counter Reformation and Calvinist activity (Daukša, Petkevičius) and evolved primarily in the diocese of Samogitia. The principal features of the central variant: *ā, pronounced like a very high and long [o:]; the preservation of nasal vowels *ą*, *ę* and of the tautosyllabic combinations *an*, *am*, *en*, *em*; the consonants *k*, *g*, *š*, *ž*, *č* (*dž*) more clearly palatalized (compared to other consonants) before front vowels; *l* before a front vowel was velar (distinct from the situation in Prussian).[675]

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[673] This is shown in the studies of Mažvydas's language, cf. Zinkevičius (1977-1978, p. 28-40).
[674] On the basis of new findings [see 7.2.2.1.] one should, however, object to the point that more variants already existed before Mažvydas.
[675] Cf. Palionis (1967); Zinkevičius (1970-1971; *LKI* III, p. 172-234).

The so-called *eastern variant*, developed somewhat later on the basis of eastern High Lithuanian dialects and produced fewer, primarily Catholic texts (Sirvydas, Jaknavičius, an anonymous Catechism of 1605), designed primarily for the diocese of Vilnius. The variant of the eastern literary language developed from the urban *koiné* of the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as demonstrated by certain features found in ancient texts. The principal features of the eastern variant: presence of [ɔː], characteristic of the environs of Vilnius and absent in many eastern Lithuanian dialects which preserve [ɐː] (or [åː]); the nasal vowels *ą*, *ę* and tautosyllabic combinations *an*, *am*, *en*, *em* mutate to *ų*, *į* (soon denasalized) or *un*, *in*, *um*, *im* (the isophone *an > un* passes through 10-15 kilometers south of Vilnius); *l* before front vowel is velar, as in the central variant and distinct from the situation in Prussian Lith.; other consonants in the same position are more clearly palatalized (as, by the way, is shown by the grapheme <i> which often renders this palatalization orthographically), compared to the central variant. Other occasional features: monophthongization of *ai*, *ei* into *a*; the pronunciation of *ai* as [ei], which is typical for dialects located north of Vilnius; also certain morphological features (co-existence of three forms of the demonstrative pronoun; absence of -*i* in the 3rd pers. present). Moreover, *t*, *d > c*, *dz* is a phonetic characteristic of the southern High Lithuanian dialects of Dzūkija whose isophone passes east of Vilnius.[676]

Zinkevičius adds historical (actually less obvious) and especially sociolinguistic arguments to the linguistic data, such as the importance of the Vilnius *Ponų taryba*[677] and the prestige of the spoken language in the capital, the result of a dialectal *koiné*, which promoted the formation of this eastern variant; but its time was short and it ceased to exist in the 18th century as a result of the continually growing Polonization of the Lithuanian aristocracy.

Palionis (1987, reviving the argument of Kruopas 1948) expressed skepticism about this interdialectal concept and the role of *Ponų taryba* in the formation of Lithuanian spoken *koiné* in Vilnius during these centuries. His argument can be summarized as follows: linguistic correspondences supporting the interdialectal concept and the concept of relative linguistic uniformity are insufficient. Moreover, since from the beginning in

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[676] Cf. Palionis (1967); Zinkevičius (1968; *LKI* III, p. 234-277).
[677] The *Ponų Taryba* "the council of lords" was an organization of major landlords (owners of castles, functionaries and Catholic bishops, Samogitian deacons) of the Grand Duchy. It existed until the Union of Lublin (1569). At first its function was to give advice to the Grand Duke; from the 15th century onward, it limited his powers.

the Grand Duchy, Russian, Latin, and then Polish were used primarily, favorable cultural-historical circumstances were lacking for the formation "interdialects", both in the capital of the Grand Duchy and in the region of Kėdainiai. The Lithuanian speaking inhabitants of Vilnius and other regions of ethnographic Lithuania could easily understand each other, while at the same time maintaining features of their own native dialect. Palionis does not consider the interdialectal hypothesis necessary for explaining the function of normalization of Lithuanian. He also proposes a leveling role of the capital's marketplace, where Lithuanians from various districts gathered. Indeed, Palionis's contribution is mainly characterized by its *pars destruens* (i.e. destructive aspect), but still it evoked the subsequent valuable refinement of Zinkevičius, who connects in a more solid way the interdialectal concept with linguistic data and with the specific historical situation.[678]

So far this problem – very much a subject of dispute – remained without new points of view until the contribution of Subačius (2001), who considered it, and the relationship between written and spoken standards, in a broader European context.[679] According to Subačius's results, spoken standard language is an amalgam of the written standard and speech (dialect or dialects). In this regard it is not acceptable to presuppose the existence of interdialect formations – as Zinkevičius (1988) did – before any standard language emerged. The new written standard became the basis of a supra-local norm that probably grew into the spoken standard, a parallel evolution to that depicted by Haugen (1976, p. 325) for the Danish language.

Future research will allow the more accurate definition of its various aspects, and in turn it might confirm the interdialectal hypothesis or confute it definitely, and propose new models to explain the linguistic development in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-17th centuries.

7.2.3.2. Latvian. In the Latvian speaking arena two elements were very important leveling the various dialects and producing language unification: farm labor in the fields and the liturgical function of the church. The liturgical hymns did not reflect a definite dialect and more than anything else helped to create a certain standard. Listening to the sermons, Latvian peasants could improve their own everyday style. Thus, at the beginning of

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[678] The interdialectal concept was also investigated by Zinkevičius (1974, 1977b); later the contribution of Palionis (1987), and again Zinkevičius (1988; *LKI* III, p. 157-277).

[679] Related to the same topic, cf. also Subačius (2002b and 2005).

the literate epoch one can differentiate the language of oral communication (particularly of folk songs) and the literary language formed by foreigners, mostly German pastors, beginning in the 16th century. Meanwhile – although in an incomplete and imperfect form because of a lack of a written norm – a new variant of the written language was formed on the basis of works by Latvian authors, although there was still a strong influence of German syntax here.

The stylistic functions of this language were different from the religious language. According to the traditional concept of the Latvian linguistic school, represented primarily by Ozols A. (1961, 1965), the beginning of the literary language was for a long time linked with the language of folk songs. This formulation of the question was based on two main points: on the abundance of linguistic phenomena which did not correspond to the standard (especially related to grammatical gender) in Old Latvian texts, and on the idea of the literary language understood as "a form of folk language perfected by masters of the language". However, this explanation has at least two serious limitations: it impeded a precise definition of the beginning of the Latvian written language and excluded the Old Latvian period (16th-18th). From this one gets a rather artificial distinction between the language of the written texts (*Veclatviešu rakstu valoda*) and the literary language (*Latviešu literārā valoda*), which was conditionally relegated to the 19th century (Ozols A. 1965, p. 7-11). The traditional formulation of the question was abandoned approximately in the middle of the 1980s, when Blinkena (1985c) first showed the significance of texts of the 16th-18th centuries for the history of the Latvian spoken language and when the 1st volume of the history of the literary language, devoted to the history of the development of Latvian writing, appeared.[680]

Among the three large Latvian dialects the central served as the basis for the standard language due to at least three favorable factors: the area of the central dialect, also geographically central, included the principal economic, trade, and cultural arenas. It was to a lesser degree open to Finnic and eastern Slavic influence. Finally, located at an equal distance from the borders of the Latvian area, the central dialect was better understood compared with the two other dialects (in the following centuries a gradual mixing of the dialectal base of standard Latvian from the west into the north took place).

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[680] Bergmane, Blinkena (1986). Kļava (1989) has studied the language of Latvian legal documents of the 17th century.

7.2.3.3. The Latin model and Baltic grammars. Only a few pioneer steps have been taken to conduct research on the influence of the Latin model (*Ars grammatica*) on the first grammars of the Baltic languages.

Buch's (1955, 1966b, 1967b) main interest has been concentrated on the grammar of Klein. Buch demonstrated how Klein managed to select from the various traditions those elements which were most suitable for a description of Lithuanian and, in particular, how he used a series of Greek and Latin grammars widely known in the 16th-17th centuries. For the actual structure of certain formulations, Klein used the Latin grammars of K. Fink and Chr. Helvig *Grammatica Latina…, studio et opera Caspari Finckii et Christophori Helvici* [Latin Grammar... from the Devotion and Labor of C.F. and C.H., Lipsiae, 1618], and *Grammatica Latina cum Paralipomenis… a M. Johanne Rhenio* [Latin Grammar with Paralipomena (The Books of the Chronicles) by M.J.R., Lipsiae, 1618]. In the classification of the declensions and conjugations one observes the influence of the Greek grammar of O. Gualtperius *Grammatica Graeca…, auctore O. Gualtperio* [Greek Grammar, authored by O.G., Marpurgi, 1611]. For the description of the sound system of Lithuanian and Polish Klein based his work on the Polish manuals *Schlüssel zur Polnischen und Teutschen Sprache… Durch Jeremian Roterum*, Dantzig 1646; *Compendium Linguae Polonicae in gratiam iuventutis Dantiscae collectum a Nicolas Volkmaro* [Compendium of the Polish Language, Brought Together for the Sake of the youth of Danzig by N.*V.*, Dantisci 1640]. There is also an anastatic edition of the anonymous Lithuanian grammar of 1737 and an article about it by Eigminas (1979) [see 8.1.1.3.].

For Latvian there are good survey articles about grammars of the 17th-early 18th centuries (Grabis 1955, 1984), editions of several grammars and a series of studies which are directly or indirectly concerned with these grammars.[681] Fennell is the scholar of much useful research devoted to Old Latvian texts.[682] Fennell (1996a) looks at the influence of Latin on the first descriptions of Latvian grammar and emphasizes the contradictory results of a too close adherence to the Latin model ("zèle latinisant"), leading to the creation of "invented" forms (as, for example, the future infinitive), and to a rejection of existing forms (as, for example, reflexive participles in Latvian). The influence of German in the first grammars of Latvian may be illustrated by the "obsession" with the conditional (subjunctive) mood due first of all to metalinguistic considerations (Fennell 1994).

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[681] E.g. Grīsle (1958, 1959); Karulis (1986); Toporov (1986a).
[682] Fennell (1977, 1982ab, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1993, 1995ab, 1996a) et al.

A stimulus for research in this direction was provided by the congress in Ferrara, *Italy and Europe in Renaissance Linguistics: Comparisons and Links* (1994, organized by Mirko Tavoni), in which Baltic scholars also participated. On this occasion Vanags (1995a) reported on the description of grammatical categories and the Latin case system in the first grammar of Latvian and noticed that it contained the names of the six Latin cases, which shows clearly the difference between the two grammatical systems. Corresponding to the ablative, a construction with a preposition is offered in order to conceal the absence of a Latvian ablative. On the other hand, the locative, present in Latvian, is not found in the first grammar and is only mentioned at the end of the 17th century (Fennel 1995b). The interpretation of the so-called locative postpositional or secondary cases is also rather uncertain [see 7.4.2.4.]. Fennel (2006) studies the imposition of the Latin model in the first grammars of Latvian as a result of metalinguistic influence.

On the same occasion in Ferrara Subačius (1995a) reported on the mechanism by which the traditional Latin scheme was applied to the Lithuanian category of mood in the grammars of Klein and Sapūnas. Besides cases of literal imitation or obvious deviations, there are interesting instances of indirect influence, when the features of Lithuanian – although they were already well described – are adjusted to fit the Latin model. Thus Klein relates the Lithuanian iterative preterite not to tenses but to frequentatives. Sapūnas introduces a present imperative, although in Lithuanian the imperative has no tense.[683]

One area of research is the history of normalization within written Lithuanian and Latvian. According to the traditional thesis, the establishment of the norm was the result of a spontaneous process; but over the span of several years, on the basis of careful study of early written documents (especially 16th-17th centuries) another opinion has begun to be accepted. According to this view the establishment of a norm was the conscious intent of the first authors (Druviete 1989, 1991). The goal of research in this area is to retrace the steps of this conscious activity among the first Lithuanian and Latvian authors in order to date the beginning of the tradition of establishing norms. It is considered that the tradition was relatively stable for Latvian in the 17th century when the characteristic stabilization of variants took place.

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[683] The expression of spatial relations in the first grammars of Latvian, Estonian and Finnish has been investigated by Kilgi (2011).

A general introductory, pionering, contrastive historical study of the Latvian and Estonian literary languages is found in Ross, Vanags (2008). The authors observe that, despite the lack of genetic affinity between the two languages, grammarians did their work quite similarly. For that it was presumably decisive that they performed their work in the same religious-cultural and socio–political environment. One should assume that similarities in the cultural history of the two countries, such as the active presence of German–speaking mediators (from the 16th to 18th centuries) in translating ecclesiastical texts and in creating the Latvian and Estonian literary languages, left some similar traces in the structures of the two languages as well.

7.3. PRELUDE TO BALTIC LINGUISTICS

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not only a remarkable place of contact between various languages. Certain linguistic theories worthy of attention emerged within its intellectual circles. Europe's curiosity about the Baltic world was firstly limited to the rituals and customs of the last pagans on the continent. Actually, the image of Baltia in the humanistic and Renaissance milieu was to a large degree defined by the negative judgment expressed by Enea Silvio Piccolomini.[684] Nevertheless intellectuals gradually began to take into consideration the ethnolinguistic distinctiveness of the peoples and languages of Baltia.

This section offers a critical panorama of the ideas on the Baltic languages which were known to Renaissance Linguistics in Europe. It focuses on Linguistic Historiography in the Baltic field, particularly on Renaissance Paleocomparativism.[685]

The 16th century has notoriously been the *saeculum mirabile* in the field of Baltistics because of the fact that the written languages emerged at that time. Linguistic ideas, however, were already present in the Baltic area even before the first written monuments. Balticists have generally investigated the documents, but have rather disregarded the contemporary linguistic ideas which were, actually, well diffused both in the central-eastern and in the central–western part of Europe. One has first of all to consider the multiplicity of the linguistic theories known at that time. The synoptic

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[684] Cf. Janulaitis (1928); Guida (1979, p. 66–75).
[685] This investigation could and should be expanded, of course, also to the prior epoch; preliminarily, cf. Arbusow (1939); Dini (2004a) on Bartholomew Anglicus.

juxtaposition of the different theories which were circulating in the same epoch and often in the same intellectual milieus shows the state of the knowledge about those languages which later would be called Baltic. These ideas concerned first of all the genealogical relations among the languages and were widespread during the century.

Generally speaking, beyond the most ancient classifications of languages [see 7.3.1.], there were at least three major theories between the 15th and the 17th centuries: *a*) the Slavic and the Illyrian theories with many common features [see 7.3.2.]; *b*) the Latin theory and its variants [see 7.3.3.]; *c*) the so-called Quadripartite theory [see 7.3.4.]. Finally I will draw some general conclusions [see 7.3.5.].

7.3.1. Classifications of languages

Even in the period of Humanism information about the cultural-geographical areas in eastern Europe, including Baltia, was scarce. To better illustrate the knowledge of and about the Baltic languages in the early Renaissance it is useful to start by examining the classifications of the languages that were current at that time.

The first attempt to provide a reasoned classification of the European languages is contained in the two well-known descriptions of the 13th century credited to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the 1st book of the *De rebus Hispaniae* (ca. 1243) and to Dante Alighieri in *De vulgari eloquentia* [On the Vulgar Language's Eloquence, ca. 1304]. The point of departure was the "babelic confusion" from which notoriously 72 languages would have originated. These classifications are not however of great importance for what concerns the Baltic languages and one may repeat what Bonfante (1954, p. 682) himself had to say:

> Both Dante and Rodrigo distinguish themselves for their almost total ignorance concerning eastern Europe – neither seems to know anything about any of the three Russian languages, not to speak of Baltic or of many others to the east of these.

Besides Rodrigo's and Dante's classifications, there is a series of authors who are known to have dealt with the representations of the languages of Europe. Thus André de Poza in his book *De la antigua lengua, poblaciones, y comarcas de las Españas* [On the Ancient Language, Populations and Re-

gions of Spain, Bilbao, 1587] recognized for the whole European continent only four linguistic families: Roman, Greek, Germanic and Slav, and said nothing about the Baltic languages. Also Genebrardus (real name Gilbert Genebrard), a Benedictine scholar of the French Auvergne, wrote a *Chronographie* [Chronography, Paris, 1580] in which he expounded his thought on the origin and the difference of the languages; his classification included five main linguistic groups: Hebrew (originary language of humanity), Latin, Greek, Slav and Germanic. Not even in this work does one come upon the least mention of the Baltic languages.

The other author that must be quoted at this point is Justus Scaligerus, author of *Diatriba* on the languages of Europe (Paris, 1610). In this work the languages are subdivided according to the word for 'God', so that one obtains the languages DEUS, ΘΕΟΣ, GODT and BOGE, i.e. four *linguae matrices* with many other *linguae propagines*. Because of this particular criterion of linguistic subdivision, this is the most known work among those here examined. Concerning the Baltic languages, however, it is also disappointing, for no reference to them can be found in it (cf. *Aliletoescvr* 42–48).

7.3.2. Synopsis of the Slavic/Illyrian theory

The Slavic theory of the Baltic languages was very popular in central-western Europe even before and after the 16th century. Also the Illyrian theory may be also considered as an eccentric continuation of the Slavic theory, which was much more popular.

Yet this kind of theory already foresaw, even if quite vaguely, a linguistic conception in which an independent place was given to the Baltic languages.

7.3.2.1. Piccolomini and Crassinius. The Slavic Theory found its major theoretician in Ænea Sylvius de' Piccolomini [1405-1464]: the future pope Pius II. Piccolomini only mentioned Lithuania as a territory and as a state. The language of its population was presented quite laconically:

> *Sermo gentis Sclavonicus eſt, latiſſima est enim haec lingua, et in varias diviſa sectas...*

> [The language of the people is Slavic; this language is widespread and very heterogeneous]

Here there are at least three important pieces of information: first, the language of the population of Lithuania was conceived as a Slavic language (*Sermo... Sclavonicus*); second, the linguistic space of this language is very extensive (*latiſſima... lingua*); third, this language appears divided in itself (*lingua... in varias diviſa sectas*). With this last sentence Piccolomini probably wants to stress the great variety of languages existing in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the Latin word *sectas* is hard to translate in this context). Anyway, according to Piccolomini's ideas, all those languages belonged to the Slavic family.

A real reaction against Piccolomini's linguistic ideas is found at the end of the century in the work *Polonia* [Poland, Bologna, 1574, p. 97b] by Ioannus Crassinius [1550-1612] (whose real name was Jan Krasiński) who stated quite clearly:

> *valdè mihi erraſſe videntur illi, qui Lithuanos omnes Slauonica lingua vti ſcripſerunt*

> [It seems to me that those who wrote that all the Lithuanians use the Slavic language were very much mistaken].

Nevertheless Piccolomini's ideas exerted a great influence on several other contemporary and later authors, although with various transformations, whose most popular variant was *ut Polonicus,* represented for example by Sabellicus [1436-1522], Sebastian Münster [1489-1552], Albert Krantz [1448-1517], Abraham Ortelius [1527-1598] and others.

7.3.2.2. The Philoglots. The Illyrian theory is associated with the Philoglots. Who where the Philoglots and what did they do? They were a group of scholars flourishing especially in Zürich. With Conrad Gessner [1516-1565] as their chief exponent they also had followers in other German-speaking countries and in Italy.

The activity of the Philoglots had as its principal aim precisely the diffusion of the multilingual *Verbum* in itself and for itself. Not by chance, this was characterized by the production and publication of relatively many different catalogs of languages, specimina, collections of Lord's Prayers (*Orationes Dominicae*). This activity and production was perceived and understood within the frame of the typical "radical culture of polyglot-tism". Such a view of the linguistic phenomenon was based notoriously on practical assumptions, but also on religious and ecumenical ones. The

esprit de la Pentecôte was placed in the center with a clear reference to the day of Pentecost when God appeared to the Apostles in the form of the Holy Ghost and conferred upon them the gift of the languages. Today there is agreement on the fact that this culture of polyglottism set the most important premise for the rise of Comparative Linguistics at the beginning of the 19th century.

With his work *Mithridates. De differentiis linguarum tum ueterum tum quae hodie apud diuersas nationes in toto orbe terrarum in usu sunt* [Mithridates: On the Differences of Languages Both Old and those which are Spoken Nowadays all over the World, Zurich, 1555] Conrad Gessner pursued an ambitious aim: to include as much information as it was available about as many languages as possible, and, as for the Baltic languages, he made use of many, sometimes also mutually contradictory, sources. Finally, Gessner (1555, p. 59b) criticized some contemporary theories on Lithuanian and concluded:

Alij Lituanos ſimpliciter Illyricè loqui ſcribunt

[Others write that the Lithuanians simply speak Illyrian].

Gessner's linguistic ideas had some echoes in Italy. Thus, Angelo Rocca [1545-1620], bibliographer at the Alessandrina Library in Rome, presented his own linguistic ideas in the *Appendix de dialectis. Hoc est de variis linguarum generibus* [Appendix on the Dialects. This is About the Various Kinds of Languages, Rome, 1591]. Differently from his model Gessner, Rocca was more inclined to consider the Baltic languages inside an Illyrian family. One may state that the Italian Rocca was even more "Illyristic" than Gessner himself.

Furthermore the German historian and lexicographer Hieronymus Megiser [1554/5-1619] also belonged to the Philoglots. Megiser made a classification of the world's languages published in the introduction of his *Thesaurus Polyglottus* [Multilingual Vocabulary, Frankfurt am Main, 1603]. The *Tabula Quinta*, where the *Lingua sclavonica* is examined with its numerous ramifications, is of particular importance. Here Megiser lists many Slavic languages but also many Baltic ones. A comparison of the linguistic conception of Megiser with that of Gessner is very instructive, and shows that all those which Gessner indicates as "people using an Illyrian language", are described by Megiser as "[people] using a Slavic or an Illyrian language." It is timely to emphasize that Megiser used the concepts of Illyrian and Slavic as synonyms in a more clear and systematic way than Gessner did.

Summing up, one arrives at this result: the relationship between the Slavic theory and the Illyrian theory was characterized by circularity and fusion. Gessner's Illyrian Theory was a pretty weak theory, because of its constant hesitation between assigning the Baltic languages *tout court* to the Slavic languages, and grouping them together with the Slavic and still other languages into a bigger linguistic unity. The weak Illyrian theory was assimilated by the stronger Slavic theory.

In the framework of the theories on the Baltic languages during the Renaissance, the Illyrian Theory represents a little-explored but by no means insignificant corner of the history of Baltic linguistics. It is sufficient to emphasize that it was not a minor achievement in the genealogical understanding of Europe's linguistic past.

7.3.3. The Latin theory

If the Slavic(/Illyrian) theory was the most widespread linguistic idea in the intellectual circles of central–western Europe, a completely different situation concerning the Baltic languages can be seen in central–eastern Europe.

There are known three Renaissance variants of the linguistic Latin theory. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, among the so–called Vilnius' Latinizers, the Semi-Latin and Neo-Latin variants were popular. A third, lesser known development involved the Wallachian language and it was mainly cultivated in central Europe, especially in the Humanist milieu of Wittenberg in Germany.

7.3.3.1. The Roman myth. The Lithuanians were among the peoples in the Renaissance period who wanted to add luster to their ancestry by connecting their origins to ancient Rome.[686] The cultural process underlying such an appeal is well known: typical of the 16th century, in western as well as in eastern Europe, it responded to the need for ennoblement and emancipation of (vernacular) languages and nations.[687]

The so-called Palemon legend and the story of the maritime wanderings made by certain Romans who left Italy to escape persecution until they arrived in the waters of the Baltic Sea where they decided to settle

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[686] On this theme the work of Avižonis (1939) remains fundamental; Jurginis (1971) and Ročka (1975 [= 1988]).

[687] On this and other myth of the origin of the Lithuanians, cf. Jurginis (1981, p. 84-92).

down are well known. The legend about a mythical event, the features of which are common in all versions, asserts that a group of Romans under the leadership of a captain named variously in the sources (e.g. *Villus*, that is Lith. *Vilius*, according to Jan Długosz and *Publio Libone*, or *Palemone* in *Letopisi*) sailed from Italy, escaping the persecution of tyrants, and arrived at the Baltic Sea. Here they entered the mouth of the Nemunas and followed its course to a place that appealed to them. According to the myth, from this group of Romans sprang the tribes of Prussians and Lithuanians.

In the 16th century the affinity between Latin and Lithuanian, observed by Lithuanian humanists, provided the impulse to create a theory for the Roman descent of the Lithuanians. This theory was quickly embellished through other social and ideological motivations and for the Lithuanian aristocracy became a prestigious myth of its origins, which could match the Sarmatian myth which the Polish aristocracy glorified.

From the point of view of language, among all these purveyors of the myth Michalo Lituanus stands out, and I will discuss him separately. Just as interesting is the opinion expressed somewhat later in the *Historiae Lituaniae* [History of Lithuania, Dantisci, I 1650; II 1669] by Albertas Vijūkas-Kojelavičius,[688] who also called attention to Latvian. Moreover, the Roman myth is often found in Miechovita [see 7.3.4.], but is not found in the works of the Italian Angelo Rocca [see 7.3.3.2.].

The major motifs of the mythological event are: *a*) in all the sources mentioned, among other reasons cited, there is emphasis on the constant presence of the language element in the argument for the Roman descent of Lithuanians as a people; *b*) in the argument for the Roman source of the Lithuanians it should be noted that the language factor remains primary among other proposed theses (less frequently this primacy is shared with other factors); *c*) one also notes an attempt to explain those evident differences between the Lithuanian and Latin languages, considered not only similar, but identical.[689]

The Latin theory had great success in eastern Europe, and it was "rediscovered" on several levels in the 17th-18th centuries[690] until it was definitively overturned in the beginning of the 19th century thanks to the

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[688] Jurginis, Valkūnas (1988).

[689] For Michalo Lituanus the identity was meaningful more in diachrony than in synchrony. Concerning the importance which the specific language question played in the formulation of the myth of the Roman origin of the Lithuanians, cf. Dini (1995); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 527-530.

[690] Baniulytė (2012b) on the legend about a "kinship" between the Florentine *Pazzi* family and the Lith. noble family of the *Pacas* (Polish *Pac*).

comparative method, and echoes of it were even found at the beginning of the 20th century.

7.3.3.2. Długosz and Cromer. The first elaboration of the Roman myth is in the 14th-15th centuries. In the 2nd book of his *Historia Polonica* [Historia Polonica] Jan Długosz mentions three stocks and three Baltic languages. He did not consider the Baltic languages as being related at all to the Slavic ones, and treats the two groups of languages separately. Długosz considers a *verisimilis... praesumptio*, that is to say something very similar to the truth, that:

> *Lithuanos et Samagittas Latini generis esse, etsi non a Romanis, saltem ab aliqua gente Latini nominis descendisse*
>
> [Lithuanians and Samogitians are descended from Romans or at least from another people with the Latin name].

The Polish historian gives some linguistic arguments to support this idea. The genealogical relation is well demonstrated by the sound and the harmony (*sonus et proportio*) of the idiom and of the languages of these people (cf. *Aliletoescvr* 152-163).

The Roman myth is also found in the redactions of the *Letopisec Velikogo Knjažestva Litovskogo i žomoitskogo* [The Chronicle of the Great Lithuanian and Samogitian Principality][691] and in other authors of the time, for example, in Jan Łasicki *De diis Samogitarum caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum* [Concerning the gods of the Samogitians, other Sarmatians and false Christians Basilea, 1565);[692] Augustinus Rotundus, secretary of Sigismund August and syndic of Vilnius, wrote about this in his work *Rozmowa Polaka z Litwinem* [Conversations of a Pole with a Lithuanian 1564).[693] Also Alessandro Guagnini in his *Kronika Wielkiego Xsięstwa Litewskiego* [Chronicle of the Great Lithuanian Principality 1578)[694]

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[691] Cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 175-179.

[692] Cf. Jurginis (1969); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 305-307; the latest edition is Ališauskas (2012).

[693] Concerning Rotundus [see 7.3.3.3.]. Cf. Korzeniowski (1890); see also the Latin *Preface* to the Second Lith. Statute (in *Archivum Komisji Prawniczej*, 7, p. xviii-xix) and the *Epitome Principum Lituaniae a migratione Italorum P. Libone vel, ut Lituanica historia scribit, Palemone Duce usque ad Jagellones* (A summary of the princes of Lithuania from (the time of) the migration of the Italians while P. Libo or, as Lithuanian history writes, Palemon was the leader, up to the time of the Jagellonians), in Jakubowski (1921, p. 85-94).

[694] Here the opinion is expressed that from Palemon and his followers were derived the grand dukes and the Lithuanian *bajorai* "nobles", while the peasants and the simple people were derived from the Goths; cf. Ramusio (1583, vol. 2, p. 1-72, especially p. 4-7, 9-15). Cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 202-207. For the lexical opposition *bajorija ~ šlėkta* in Lithuanian, cf. Masojć (2010).

touched on the myth slightly, and Maciej Stryjkowski[695] in more detail.

The first variation of it is to be found in the work of Marcin Cromer *De origine et rebvs gestis Polonorum* [On the Origin and the History of the Poles Basel, 1555). Here Cromer prefers to speak about nations and only implicitly of languages; he considers all these languages very different from the Slavic ones, almost identical with each other and mixed up with many corrupted Latin words (which seem to be rather Italian or Spanish).[696]

7.3.3.3. The Vilnius Latinizers. Before the Union of Lublin (1569), an important linguistic discussion began among the humanists of the Vilnius court, which often developed parallel to the historiographical debates of the 16th–17th centuries.[697] This discussion included two opposing tendencies: on the one hand, the exalted role of the native language as the sole basis of Lithuanianness, and, on the other hand, a tendency represented by those who, through such ideas, preferred to speak rather about the affinity of Latin and Lithuanian and focus attention on the overlapping features of the two languages in a broader context of the common Latinization of the culture of the Grand Duchy. The representatives of the first tendency were A. Kulvietis, M. Mažvydas, M. Daukša, M. Giedraitis; of the second, various humanists of the Vilnius circle, the so-called Latinizers: V. Agrippa, A. Volanus, but especially Michalo Lituanus and A. Rotundus.

The latter writers felt that the link with a classical language like Latin, unreservedly a language of *dignitas*, guaranteed a more favorable comparison in competition with other languages of high culture used in the Grand Duchy, especially *ruski*. Indeed, in the linguistic discourse of the Latinizers one encounters the first extant reaction from the Lithuanian side concerning the diffusion of *ruski* in the Grand Duchy. This reaction rests on two interconnected positions: *a)* the similarity of Latin and Lithuanian; *b)* the role which Latin/Lithuanian should play in the administration of the State.

7.3.3.4. Michalo Lituanus and the Semi-Latin variant. For Michalo Lituanus the similarity of Latin and Lithuanian was the main proof that the Lithuanians as a people descended from the Romans. His theories are expressed in a text

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[695]   Cf. Radziszewska (1978). According to Stryjkowski the Roman fugitives ruled Prussia, Lithuania and Samogitia and unified the different languages of these regions. Cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 208–214; Dini 2014a, p. 54–82.
[696]   Cf. *Aliletoescvr*, p. 181–185, 544.
[697]   Martel (1937, p. 51–54); Kuolys (1992, p. 63–70).

from the middle of the 15th century (1550), *Tractatus de moribus Tartarorum, Lituanorum et Moschorum* [Treatise on the customs of the Tatars, Lithuanians and Muscovites], but published significantly later (1615) in Basel.[698]

Notoriously, Michalo Lituanus believes that the Lithuanians were nothing else than Italians. In order to support the claim of the derivation of the Lithuanians as a people from the Romans he argues mainly with respect to the identity of their languages in some passages of his *Treatise* (Jurginis 1966, p. 95 [= Michalo Lituanus 1615, p. 23]):

> *cùm... idioma Ruthenum alienum ſit à nobis Lituanis, hoc eſt, Italianis, Italico ſanguine oriundis. Quod ita eſſe liquet ex ſermone noſtro ſemilatino et ex ritibus Romanorum vetuſtis...*

> [because... the language of the Ruthenians is alien to us Lithuanians, that is, Italians, blood descendants of Italians. That it is like what one can see from our Semi–Latin speech and from the old Roman rites...]

Here the linguistic moment is emphasized to indicate the differences between Lithuanians and the Slavic population of the Grand Duchy. Thus, the language of the Ruthenians is foreign to the Lithuanians, who are nothing more or less than Italians or, more specifically, blood descendants of Italians, and their language is considered "Semi–Latin".

Michalo Lituanus also considers the vocabulary of this language and to demonstrate his assumption he gives as evidence 74 Latin words which had Lithuanian counterparts:

> *Etenim et ignis, et unda, aer, sol, mensis, dies, noctis, ros, aurora, deus, vir, devir i.e. levir, nepotis, neptis, tu, tuus, meus, suus, levis, tenuis, vivus, juvenis, vetustus, senis, oculus, auris, nasus, dentes, gentes, sta, sede, verte, inverte, perverte, aratum, occatum, satum, semen, lens, linum, canapum, avena, pecus, ovis, anguis, ansa, corbis, axis, rota, jugum, pondus, culeus, callis* [= collis], *cur, nunc, tractus, intractus, pertractus, extractus, meretus, immeretus, sutus, insutus, versus, inversus, perversus, primus, unus, duo, tres, quatuor* (sic)*, quinque, sex, septem, et pleraque alia idem significant lituano sermone, quod et latino.*

> [And indeed *ignis* 'fire', and *unda* 'wave', *aer* 'air', *sol* 'sun', *mensis* 'month', *dies* 'day', *noctis* 'of the night', *ros* 'dew', *aurora* 'dawn', *deus* 'god', *vir* 'man', *devir* i.e. *levir* 'husband's brother', *nepotis* 'of

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[698] Korsakas (1966); cf. also Korsakas (1957, p. 83–88); Ochmański (1976); Lebedys (1977, p. 30–32).

the grandson', *neptis* 'granddaughter', *tu* 'you', *tuus* 'your', *meus* 'my', *suus* 'one's own', *levis* 'light', *tenuis* 'thin', *vivus* 'alive', *juvenis* 'young person', *vetustus* 'old', *senis* 'of an old man', *oculus* 'eye', *auris* 'ear', *nasus* 'nose', *dentes* 'teeth', *gentes* 'people', *sta* 'stand', *sede* 'sit', *verte* 'turn', *inverte* 'turn over', *perverte* 'place first', *aratum* 'plowed', *occatum* 'harrowed', *satum* 'planted', *semen* 'seed', *lens* 'lentil', *linum* 'flax', *canapum* 'hemp', *avena* 'wild oats', *pecus* 'cattle', *ovis* 'sheep', *anguis* 'snake', *ansa* 'handle', *corbis* 'wicker basket', *axis* 'axle', *rota* 'wheel', *jugum* 'yoke', *pondus* 'parcel', *culeus* 'mallet', *callis* [= *collis*] 'hill', *cur* 'where', *nunc* 'now', *tractus* 'dragged', *intractus* 'dragged in', *pertractus* 'dragged through', *extractus* 'dragged out', *merctus, immerctus* 'immersed', *sutus* 'stitched', *insutus* 'stitched on', *versus* 'turned', *inversus* 'turned about', *perversus* 'overthrown', *primus* 'first', *unus* 'one', *duo* 'two', *tres* 'three', *quatuor* (sic) 'four', *quinque* 'five', *sex* 'six', *septem* 'seven', and many other words mean the same in the Lithuanian language and in Latin.]

The relative correspondences in Lithuanian (which Michalo Lituanus left implicit all the same):

ugnìs 'fire', *vanduõ* 'water', *óras* 'air', *sáulė* 'sun', *mė́nuo* 'month' and 'moon', *dienà* 'day', *naktìs* 'night', *rasà* 'dew', *aušrà* 'dawn', *diẽvas* 'god', *výras* 'man' and 'husband', *dieverìs* 'husband's brother', *neptė̃* 'granddaughter' (OLith. *nepuotìs* 'grandson'), *tù* 'you', *tãvas* 'your', *mãnas* 'my', *sãvas* 'one's own', *leñgvas* 'light', *tę́vas* 'thin' (Lith. dial. *tenvas*), *gývas* 'alive', *jáunas* 'young', *vẽtušas* 'old', *sẽnas* 'old', *akìs* 'eye', *ausìs* 'ear', *nósis* 'nose', *dantìs* 'tooth', *gentìs* 'tribe', *stók* 'stand!', *sėdék* 'remain seated!', *veřsk* 'turn!', *įveřsk* 'throw in!', *pérversk* 'turn over!', *ártų* 'would plow', *akétų* 'harrow', *sétų* 'would plant', *sėmuõ* 'seed', *lę̃šis* 'lentil', *lìnas* 'flax', *kanãpė* 'hemp', *avižà* 'wild oat', *pẽkus* 'cattle', *avìs* 'sheep', *angìs* 'snake', *ąsà* 'pottery handle', *kařbas* 'wicker basket', *ašìs* 'axle', *rãtas* 'wheel', *jùngas* 'yoke', *pùndas* ~ *pūdas* 'bundle', *kùlis* ~ *kulė̃* 'mallet', *kálnas* 'hill', *kuř* 'where', *nū̃* ~ *nū̃n(-gi)* 'now', (*į-* 'dragged in', *per-* 'dragged over', *iš-* 'dragged out') *tráuktas, meřktas* 'soaked', *į̃merktas* 'soaked', (*į-*)*siū́tas* 'sown in', (*į̃-* 'turned in', *per-*)*verstas* 'turned over', *pìrmas* 'first', *víenas* 'one', *dù* 'two', *trỹs* 'three', *keturì* 'four', *penkì* 'five', *šešì* 'six', *septynì* 'seven'.

Given the fragmentary character of Michalo Lituanus' recorded thought, his theoretical underpinning is often obscure. Therefore, it does not allow

for a precise reconstruction, but it can be determined on the basis of suppositions conforming with the linguistic thought at that time and in that same cultural area. Meanwhile, it is important to underline not only the fact that certain of his comparisons are considered valid by contemporary scholarship, but also the persistence through time of the comparative tradition, the beginning of which was laid by Michalo Lituanus: several of his paired words indeed survived through the entire Renaissance period, and they appear in the *Betrachtung der Littauischen Sprache* [Investigation of the Lithuanian language Königsberg, 1745)[699] of Philipp Ruhig [1675-1749] and are found in the first comparisons proposed in the 19th century, at the dawn of historical-comparative linguistics.[700]

7.3.3.5. Rotundus and his polemic against *ruski*. Another important Humanist figure who belonged to the group of the so-called Latinizers, the mayor of Vilnius, Augustinus Rotundus, also accepted the identity of Lithuanian and Latin and the theory of the Roman origin of the Lithuanians. In the Preface to the Second Lithuanian Statute he wrote: "The Lithuanians are a Latin stock..." According to Rotundus the fact that Lithuanians are of Latin race and descent is attested by credible writers, but first of all it is shown by the relics of the Latin language which up until now had been used by the country people. Thus, he also preferred to base his notions primarily on a linguistic argument.

According to Augustinus Rotundus, Latin in the Grand Duchy must have been used more often than *ruski*, in all spheres of social life, public and private. In letters, preference should be given to Latin letters over Ruthenian, and State laws should be published in Latin. The negative judgment regarding *ruski* by Michalo Lituanus falls completely within the framework of educational problems:

> *Gymnasis literariis, dolendum, caremus. Literas moscoviticas, nihil antiquitatis complectantes, nullam ad virtutem efficaciam habentes ediscimus.*

> [Unfortunately, we do not have schools for general education. We study from Moscovite texts, which contain no traces of antiquities, nothing to stimulate virtue.]

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[699] Scholz F. (1981); Jurgutis, Vilnonytė (1986).
[700] Fortunatov (1876) was the first to point the scientific world to the fragmentary works of Michalo Lituanus; cf. also Pedersen (1931), and Pisani (1968, 1983).

The remainder of his arguments are intended to prove the communality, primarily language, of the two peoples to confirm the theory of the descent of Lithuanians from the Romans. However, Rotundus attributes to *ruski* at least five different negative qualities, all arbitrary and quite impressionistic: *a*) *ruski* is a language *barbara*; *b*) is a language in common with the Muscovite enemy; *c*) the *Russice scriptae* are not widely diffused; *d*) the Ruthenians are verbose and afflicted by redundancy, tautologies, pleonisms and other defects in the written language which are deplorable in juridical works; *e) ruski* is a language without grammatical norms.

Therefore, Rotundus proposes two solutions, which prove the uncontested superiority of Latin; either make the Lithuanians write their laws in Latin or create a firm norm for written and spoken Ruthenian, as in Latin.

But the discourse of the Latinizers is also characterized by two other important aspects. On the one hand, there is a direct proportional relationship between the denigration of *ruski* and the exaltation of Latin and its role in the cultural renewal of the State.

On the other hand, as a result of theoretical presuppositions of the Latinizers, Latin and Lithuanian become equivalent and interchangeable terms, which guarantees a robust defense of the *dignitas* of Lithuanian in respect to other languages widely diffused in the Grand Duchy, and most of all in respect to *ruski*.

The denigration of Ruthenian letters – *litterae* – served to promote the first attempt to establish the *dignitas* of colloquial Lithuanian, since the exaltation of Latin is equivalent to exalting colloquial Lithuanian. The equation: Latin = Lithuanian had meaning both in diachronic (it was understood thus: Lithuanian < Latin, compare the legendary descent of Palemone), and in synchronic terms (as a social variation: the language of the aristocracy *versus* the language of the people), and I note in passing that perhaps precisely this thesis about the similarity of the two languages, however it is understood, became the deciding factor hindering the use of Lithuanian as a written language.[701]

Moreover, the discourse of the Latinizers often points to the particular connection between the *idioma Ruthenorum* and the *litterae moscoviticae*. The polemics of the Latinizers, although always directed at the Ruthenian

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[701]   A different opinion about this point is expressed in Subačius (2013).

population in the Lithuanian State, was still oriented toward Moscow as a political center. In parts of his *Treatise* Michalo Lituanus simultaneously takes aim at the *idioma Ruthenorum* of the Grand Duchy and the *litterae moscoviticae*. Perhaps it is not an accident that both the colloquial language (with its local variations) and the written language (which was created on the basis of the alphabet of the two regions) were judged by the same standard. In this manner the anti-Ruthenian and the pro-Latinist position of the Latinizers had a direct political significance, since it attracted the attention of Moscow.

7.3.3.6. Agrippa and the Neo-Latin variant. Vaclovas Agrippa also belonged to the Vilnius humanist 'Latinizers's. Agrippa develops his argument in the *Oratio funebre* [Funeral Oration a script of 1553] in which the author presents his homeland to the rest of Europe and claims a place among the other nations for Lithuania.

He mentions the Roman myth of the origin and explains his linguistic conception according to which the Lithuanian language was once the Latin language, a fact which is demonstrated by many Lithuanian words. According to V. Agrippa the Lithuanian language simply had its origin in Latin just like Italian. Agrippa shows significant contact points with Marcin Cromer's linguistic ideas. I call Agrippa's conception the Neo–Latin theory, thereby distinguishing it from the Semi-Latin theory supported by Michalo and Rotundus.[702]

7.3.3.7. The Wallachian connection. Within a generally "Latin-oriented attitude" in central and central-eastern Europe, one must also mention the so-called Wallachian Connection, a variant of the Latin Theory which remained unknown to the protagonists of the other Latin Variants in Lithuania.[703]

This idea seems to be a German invention, precisely of Johann Carion [1499-1537] in his work *Chronica Carionis* [Chronicle of Carion, 1532). From a German milieu this idea reached Poland (as shown by the case of the historian Stanisław Sarnicki). This is a peculiar explanation of the Baltic *romanitas* quite different from the autochthonous and more popular variants circulating in central-eastern Europe. The notion is that some Roman people speaking a sort of Latin language arrived on the shores of the Baltic

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[702]   Cf. Dini (2010b; 2014a, p. 67-73); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 539-544.
[703]   *Aliletoescvr*, p. 550-560; Donecker (2011ab, 2012); Dini (2014a, p. 74-80).

sea from the Daco–Danubian region, took root and thrived in Wittenberg. In Baltic historiography this link has not yet been adequately noticed. Interestingly enough, in a description of the Duchy of Livonia of Maciej Strubicz it is even possible to trace an original development of the Latin theory within the framework of the Wallachian connection which involved the Estonian language also being considered to be a derivation of Latin.

The least common denominator shared by all the variants of the Renaissance linguistic Latin theory was the explicitly or implicitly assumed identity of Latin and Lithuanian. The Wallachian Connection introduced, however, a third variation capable of shifting the relationships among already well-known elements and also capable of involving the Estonian language. The classical assumption of the Latin theory has been now reversed. For Długosz, Crassinius, the Latinizers of Vilnius and all their followers there was no doubt that the Romans reached the Baltic lands from the Mediterranean region, but Carion affirmed that they arrived from the Daco–Danubian shores. This is a quite radical change of perspective, and not of minor significance: thus the Baltic *romanitas* apparently did not come directly from Rome, but had a close relationship with the Daco–Danubian *romanitas* represented by the Wallachians.

The Lithuanian and Prussian languages were considered to be a result of a twice-corrupted Latin language: the first corruption was the Wallachian and the second corruption the Baltic languages. If one keeps in mind that the conception of diachronic linguistic change has been a relatively late acquisition in the history of linguistics, it is a fact worth stressing that during the 16th century the identity of Latin and Lithuanian was understood as being valid most of all diachronically. The linguistic Latin theory with its variants played a role in central–eastern Europe comparable to that played by the linguistic ideas of Biondo Flavio as the initiator of the modern approach to the historical study of languages regarding Latin and Romance languages in the central–western part of Europe.

7.3.4. The Theory of the *linguagium Lithuanicum Quadripartitum*

In his treatise *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* [On the two Sarmatias, 1st edition Cracow 1517 and later reprinted several times) the Pole Miechovita (real name Maciej z Miechowa) expressed his own linguistic theory about the Baltic languages. He reflected his preference for synchronic matters and for a diatopic linguistic description, that is, a description linked to territory.

Originally enough, Miechovita referred to the Baltic family as a *Lingua-gium Lithuanicum quadripartitum*.[704]

7.3.4.1. Text and characteristics. Miechovita claimed literally that in Lithuania there was a predominant *Linguagium Lithuanicum* that he terms "quadripartite" that is "fourfold". He wrote:

> *Praeterea linguagium Lithuanicum est quadripartitum, primum lingua-gium est Iaczuingorum, ut horum qui circa castrum Drohicin inhabitarunt, & pauci supersunt. Alterum est Lithuanorum & Samagittharũ. Tertiũ Prutenicum. Quartum in Lothua seu Lothihola, id est, Liuonia, circa fluuiũ Dzuina, & Rigam ciuitatem.*

> [The first (linguagium) is that of the Yatvingians, who were not numerous and lived near Drohicin, the second (linguagium is) that of the Lithuanians and of the Samogitians, the third (linguagium is) that of the Prussians and the fourth and last (linguagium is) that which is spoken in Livonia, near the Daugava river and the city of Riga.]

In Miechovita's own metalanguage the term *linguagium Lithuanicum* functioned as a *terminus technicus* indicating a general, superordinate category of language, a hypernym.

One should consider some more issues [see 7.1.2.1.]. Miechovita has primarily a synchronic interest: he states that four peoples speak the same *linguagium quadripartitum*. Although there exist circumstantial differences it is the same "quadripartite" language. Only after having explored and gone through (*cursivus et vagatus*) the whole linguistic territory (*per illas terras*) where the *linguagium Lithuanicum* is spoken is one able to understand that it is the same language, although "quadripartite" (*quadripartitum*).

The fundamental characteristic of Miechovita's *linguagium quadripartitum* is properly that of being at the same time "unitarily different" (where different means precisely "the quadripartite aspect" in space). In his very original way Miechovita tries to explain the multilingual variety he has observed within a single linguistic *continuum*, which more or less overlapped the territory where Baltic languages were (and still are) spoken. Only a traveler, stressed Miechovita, may be able to grasp the "unity within differences" of the *linguagium quadripartitum*. This fact referring to mobility is quite interesting because it is known nowadays that mobility is the only

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[704] Cf. Dini (1999, 2000a, 2014a, p. 81-94); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 237-279.

social force that can eliminate sharp dialect differences in a community. This represents another piece of evidence for the modernity of Miechovita's thought.

7.3.4.2. Followers. Miechovita's book was very successful, often quoted and also translated into other languages. The central core of Miechovita's linguistic idea – that is, the "different unity" of the Baltic linguistic domain – was repeated in many other books during the 16th century. Nevertheless this idea was often misunderstood, as for instance in the work of the Pole Ludwik Decius [1485-1545] and of the German Sebastian Münster [1489-1552].

Miechovita's own linguistic theory was a clear exception to the points of view represented by all the other authors and to all the linguistic ideas circulating at that time. One has to wait for the work of the Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro [1735-1809] at the end of the 18th century to find Miechovita's very "modern" intuition being recognized. Miechovita was clearly one of the first to consider the Baltic languages as an autonomous linguistic group and referred to it by using the common name of *Linguagium Lithuanicum*.

7.3.5. Other theories

A few other theories were also known during the century. However, they only deserve a rapid mention because they had indeed a very limited popularity.

7.3.5.1. The Hebrew theory. The Hebrew theory on the origin of the Baltic languages was based on a peculiar interpretation of the enigmatic expression *Jeru Jeru Masco lon* repeatedly used by the Latvians while working in the fields and explained as a recollection of their ancient homeland of Jerusalem and Damascus. This idea was shared by some German humanists, mainly Johannes Loewenklau [ca. 1541 – ca. 1594], Johannes Funck [1518-1566] and Severin Goebel both the Old [1569-1627] and the Young [1530-1612] in the intellectual milieu of Königsberg. This very peculiar theory had many followers later, especially in Livonia, until the beginning of the 19th century.[705]

7.3.5.2. The Greek theory. The so-called Greek theory concerned solely the Old Prussian language [see 6.1.4.]. This idea first emerged in Jan Długosz's

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[705] Cf. Dini (2005a; 2014a, p. 105–112); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 651–696.

work. He connected the Prussians with the king Prusias in Bitinia. But according to Jodocus Willichius [1501-1552], the Old Prussian language was a corrupted Greek (*lingua graeca depravata*), a view later supported by Christoph Hartknoch [1644-1687] and Mattheus Praetorius [1635?-1707?] who compared some Greek words with Old Prussian (e.g. OGr. γυνή and OPr. *ganna* 'woman'). This linguistic idea was finally completely abandoned during the 19th century after the criticism of Georg Christoph Pisanski [1725-1790] and Xavier Bohusz [1746-1820]. It is nevertheless significant of the general hellenizing tendency in Europe during this time.[706]

7.3.6. Geography and dynamics of the theories

The above illustrated theories are enough to show how different the ideas about the Baltic linguistic domain were during the Renaissance.

European Context				
W–Central	E–W Central	E–Central		
Slav theory & Illyrian theory	*Quadripartite theory*	*Latin theory & its variants*	*Greek theory*	*Hebrew theory & Wallachian conn.*
Æ.S. Piccolomini Swiss Filoglots	Miechovita	Jan Długosz Vilnius' Latinizers	Jan Długosz J. Willichius	J. Loewenklau Germ. Humanists

It is also useful to have a look at the mutual dynamics existing during the century among the different linguistic theories. The "ebb and flow" movement, i.e. circulation, of each different theory from one author to another was a typical feature of this epoch, but it was not formerly observed for the Baltic area.

With regard to the linguistic ideas of the individual authors, one will notice that it was precisely in Italy – that is in the legendary homeland of the Lithuanians – that the origin myth was ignored. Nevertheless such a myth persisted for a long period of time, not only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also in the eastern Slav Ruthenian and Lithuanian milieus, and in the German-Swiss milieu of the Philoglots.

One will also observe that several original ideas on the Baltic languages remained without an immediate continuation. This was the case

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[706]   Cf. Dini (2004b; 2014a, p. 95-102); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 381-391.

for Miechovita's ideas acted as a sort of counterbalance to the Slavic Theory, which had been introduced by Æneas Sylvius de' Piccolomini. This was also the case for the tradition of comparing lexical pairs initiated by Michalo Lituanus. Both ideas emerged again at the beginning of the scientific study of comparative philology. Therefore one must stress for different reasons the great importance and modernity of both Miechovita and Michalo Lituanus. Because of their valuable theoretical effort they deserve an appropriate place within the Renaissance palaeocomparativisms and in the frame of so-called pre-scientific linguistics.

Beyond that, considering the most widespread linguistic theories on the Baltic languages circulating during the Renaissance – i.e. the Slavic theory, the Latin theory, the Quadripartite theory with their numerous variants – one also observes important subcategories. While the Slavic theory and the Quadripartite theory, at least in their classic formulations, remained substantially on a synchronic level, it was only within the frame of the Latin theory that there emerged the embryo of a first model of diachronic explanation known in Baltic Linguistics at all, and also one of the first in Linguistics generally speaking.

Within the European Renaissance linguistic debate, both the ideas of Flavio Biondo in Italy or Bernardo Alderete in Spain and those of Michalo Lituanus and Vaclovas Agrippa in eastern-central Europe represented conceptual notions of modernity leading to the rise of comparative linguistic genealogy.

7.3.7. Attempt at a conclusion

Here I try to list the main aspects which may be helpful in defining all of the linguistic theories on the Baltic languages during these first centuries. Briefly commented on, they are:

i) *Ignorance of the Baltic linguistic group.* The lack of consideration of Baltic as an autonomously labelled linguistic group was the norm for all the authors and all the examined theories.

ii) *Variety, simultaneousness and sincretism in linguistic theories.* All the theories circulated contemporaneously, and often emerged reciprocally contaminated even in the work of the same author.

iii) *Prevailing genealogical interest.* This point was completely in line with the spirit of the epoch; in fact the general attempt was to offer a

W. Blaeu, middle of the 17th century

genealogical explanation sufficiently plausible for the knowledge of that time.

iv) *Scant practical linguistic knowledge.* The practical knowledge of the languages was clearly insufficient, and always came indirectly through non-native speakers; therefore the Baltic languages were often assimilated into an esotic or esoteric context.

v) *Lack of attempts at a reconstruction.* In spite of its primary genealogical interest, Renaissance linguistics never did succeed in producing attempts at a linguistic reconstruction, not even in an embryonic shape, in order to explain those genealogical relationships, which nevertheless it was able to observe.

vi) *Lack of grammatical description.* It was rather rare that grammatical arguments were used to support any linguistic ideas about the genealogical relationships uniting the languages; the Latin model, which was later used for the first attempts of a grammatical description, turned out to be of ambiguous usefulness for describing the peculiarities of the Baltic languages.

vii) *Importance of lexical data.* The attention to the lexical data, on the contrary, was a characteristic feature of 16th century linguistics,

also for the Baltic domain. Finally, it is also interesting to note the occurrence of some specific "terminological habits" much before the acceptance of Nesselmann's proposal to call these languages "Baltic".

Even if a real Baltic theory was not proposed as such, the awareness of linguistic unity was already rather diffused, so that some authors grouped together the same ethnolinguistic realities even without labeling them with a specific designation. The most important and significant exception was, of course, Miechovita with his original use of the hypernym *Linguagium Quadripartitum*.

7.4. GRAMMATICAL DATA

Distinct from the changes described above, which gave the Baltic group its particular aspect among the IE languages [see 2.], or furthered the distinction of dialects in the context of East Baltic [see 4.1.], here I will analyze the changes touching primarily on the evolution within the two types, Lithuanian and Latvian.

The fundamental emphasis is on the study of the sources and on philological analysis. In fact, until the mid-1990s, the studies of the sources of OLith. and OLatv. texts, supplemented with comparisons of the originals (German, Latin, Polish, etc.), were undertaken primarily by non–Baltic scholars[707] or sometimes by emigré Baltic scholars.[708] This happened, of course, not because of the incompetence of Lithuanian and Latvian linguists, but because in the Soviet republics of Lithuania and Latvia the study of sources with a religious content was for many years fiercely prohibited for political reasons.[709] Nevertheless, it is evident that the basis of every serious study of the early stage of the Baltic languages, where

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[707] To cite only a few: Stang (1929); Sittig (1929); Fraenkel (1947); Kolbuszewski (1977). A linguistic study of the Lithuanian documents published in the 18th century in the Ducal Chancellory was undertaken by Bense (1957). In more recent times: Dini (1986, 1994b), Michelini (1991ab, 1997, 2000 et al.; cf. Subačius 1992), Range (1992). Michelini's (e.g. 2007, 2009ab, 2010) latest monographs are primarily devoted to the individuation of the sources and publication of the facsimiles of Lithuania Minor's Lith. books of hymns (cf. Aleknavičienė, Strungytė 2009; Bense 2011 et al.); this investigation for the 18th century was previously undertaken by Bense (2001).

[708] Especially the Latvian, cf. Draviņš (1961-1976, 1965); Fennell (1982ab).

[709] In this light certain statements about the delay or casual character of Lithuanian research in this area look unjust and inappropriate, since these few studies carry the stamp of that time when they were being carried out and bear witness to the courage of those who completed them [see 8.3.2.2.]. Therefore, one is rather surprised to read Michelini's (1994b) opinion that the study of OLith. texts cannot be accomplished without comparison with the originals, a fact which is (and always was) known and obvious to everybody.

one should start, is systematic comparison with the originals, whereby the deviations from the model became clear. The results that can be achieved by the study of the sources of old Baltic texts and their comparison with corresponding Lithuanian and Latvian translations are very important and can significantly raise the quality and quantity of our knowledge about the so-called early stage of the development of Lithuanian and Latvian.

7.4.1. Orthography and phonology

The first Baltic texts are distinguished by the abundance and variety their orthographic variants, which are typical for not yet standardized written languages, when each individual author tries to convey the sounds of his own native dialect. Given that the phonetic innovations, which took place in very distant times, only now find expression, it is not always easy to define the distinctive features of the period.[710]

7.4.1.1. Alphabets and writing. The division of Baltia at that time was also defined by the (typo)graphical choices which the first Baltic authors made, choices which reflect the dominant and clear cultural orientation in the various regions. They turned to the alphabets used by neighboring peoples, primarily to Polish and German. In many cases they resorted to particular methods of representing certain phonemes. One of the features which should be underlined first is the rendering of affricative and sibilant sounds characteristic for Lithuanian and Latvian consonantisms by means of combinations of two or three letters.

In the Duchy of Prussia (*Lithuania Minor*), beginning in the 16th-17th centuries and until World War I without interruption, the Lithuanians used the Gothic script of German origin. But the Lithuanians of the Grand Duchy, on the other hand, beginning in the 18th century, primarily used the *latina antiqua*, already in use in Poland from the end of the 15th century. In Old Lithuanian writing one can still find traces of nasal vowels (e.g. OLith. *ing* compared to Lith. *į* 'into'), a phenomenon which the first grammars already show as disappearing. In Livonia the first authors, not Latvians, turned to the M(L)G method of writing.[711] In the 16th early 17th

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[710] T. Buch (1966b, 1967ab, 1969; cf. Buch 1998) in particular studied the orthographic and phonological aspects of the Prussian Lith. variant, particularly the language of Klein, Ruhig, and Donelaitis. Cf. also Palionis (1967); Zinkevičius (LKI III, p. 7-106).

[711] On the influence of the MLG phonological system and orthography on the language of the early Latvian writings, cf. Vanags (1997).

centuries a purely phonetic principle prevailed in Latvian orthography, and then in the second half of the 17th century – when authors mastered Latvian better – a morphological principle was established. In the elaboration of the writing system in the 17th century Mancelis, Fürecker, Adolphi and Glück made particular contributions, especially for normalization. But the more important process in the formation of Latvian orthography is the change from the so-called old orthography, in use in the 16th century (the Gothic script for printed texts and the *antiqua* for manuscripts), to the new orthography which was introduced only at the beginning of the 20th century (Bergmane, Blinkena 1986).

7.4.1.2. Vocalism. The subsystem of Lithuanian-Latvian vocalism [see 4.1.2.1.] already in the beginning of the written period presents clear signs of differences:

short vocalism		long vocalism	
ĭ	*ŭ*	*ī*	*ū*
		(ie)	*(uo)*
ĕ	*ă*	*ē*	*ā*

Together with foreign borrowings, a short vowel [ɔ] begins to penetrate into Lithuanian (and, according to some linguists, also [ɛ]). The short vowels *e*, *a* show a tendency to lengthen in stressed position[712] (e.g. Lith. *rãtas* [ra:tas] < **ràtas* 'wheel'; *vẽža* [væ:ʒa] < **vèža* 'he/she leads'), which contributed to the change of the subsystem of the long vocalism, which was also modified by the disappearance of nasal vowels (e.g. Lith. *grẽ̃žia* [græ:ʒ'a] < **[grẽʒ'a] 'he gnaws'; *ką́sti* [ka:sti] < **[kãsti] 'to bite'.

In Latvian the short vowels *e*, *a* in tonic position have been conserved until today; however, Baltic **e*, **ē* split into two allophones: a pair of open vowels [æ], [ǣ] and a pair of closed vowels [e], [ē], from which two independent phonemes subsequently developed (e.g. *es nesu* /næsu/ 'I carry' ~ *es nesu* /nesu/ 'I carried'). The sound [ɔ] changed under foreign influence and is occasionally pronounced like the frontal vowels [ø] and [y] (for Latvian also [see 7.4.5.2.]).

The following schema summarizes the direction of development of the two distinct vocalisms of Latvian and Lithuanian:

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[712]   Except for word-final position and certain morphological categories (infinitives, cf. *ràsti* 'to find', *nèšti* 'to carry'; comparative, cf. *aukštèsnis* 'higher'; pronouns, cf. *màno* 'mine', *tàvo* 'your', *sàvo* 'your own').

Latv. *e, æ*   Latv. *a*   Latv. *e:, æ:*   Latv. *a:*

e {   *a* {   *ē* {   *ā* {

Lith. *e, 'e:*   Lith. *a, 'a:*   Lith. *e:* <ė>   Lith. *o:*

7.4.1.3. Consonantism. An important development in the subsystem of consonantism in the Baltic languages was the introduction of three peripheral phonemes: /h/, /ch/, /f/, resulting from a large number of borrowings [see 7.4.5.], while the consonantism of Lithuanian differs from Latvian (for Latvian also [see 7.4.5.2.]). Lithuanian has a characteristic correlation in palatalization, extending to almost all the consonant phonemes:

Lithuanian						Latvian		
p p'	*t (t')*		*k k'*			*p*	*t*	*k k'*
b b'	*d (d')*		*g g'*			*b*	*d*	*g g'*
	ts ts'		*tʃ tʃ'*					*ts tʃ*
dz dz'			*dʒ dʒ'*					*dz dʒ*
(f f)	*s s'*		*ʃ ʃ'*	*(ch ch')*		*(f)*		*s ʃ*
			z z'	*ʒ ʒ'*	*(h h')*			*z ʒ*
	v v'		*j*				*v j*	
m m'	*n n'*					*m*	*n n'*	
	l l'						*l l'*	
		r r'					*r (r')*	

7.4.2. Nominal morphology

The next several points are worth commenting on in this section.

7.4.2.1. Number and gender. In Old Lithuanian the dual number is preserved (*Diews ijem du Angelu atsiunte* (MGk: 331:4) 'God sent two angels to them'),[713] but in Latvian it is only residual.[714]

The loss of the neuter gender in East Baltic appears to be a phenomenon, certainly prehistoric, but rather late if one judges by the fact that it is reflected in Baltisms in Finnic (e.g. Finn. *silta*, compare Lith. masc. noun *tìltas* 'bridge').

In Lithuanian one observes traces of the neuter gender of adjectives (Lith. *gẽra* 'well; good', Lith. *šálta* 'cold', Lith. *sunkù* 'difficult, heavy') and

[713] Lühr (1998).
[714] Vykypěl (2002) studies comparatively the development of Dual forms in Czech, Latvian, Lithanian and Sorabian.

in adverbial forms of collective numerals (Zinkevičius 2009). In Old Latvian, on the other hand, all traces of the neuter gender have disappeared. According to Kortlandt (1982, 1994), certain features of Latvian accentuation demonstrate that the neuter gender continued to exist as an independent category in this language after the separation from Lithuanian (Latv. *afkls* 'plow', Lith. *árklas*, Russ. рало, S-Cr. *ralo*, OGr. ἄϱοτϱον, Latin *arātrum*).

7.4.2.2. Vacillation of stem class. The most frequent phenomenon in nominal inflexion is the mixing of the various stem classes (Kazlauskas 1968). In Lithuanian this touches all the stems to one degree or another; however, the most variable types of inflexion are heteroclitic (in Lithuanian traces are found only in word formation, cf. *ėdrùs* 'voracious' ~ *ėduonìs* 'caries') and in consonant stem nouns which have a tendency to change to –ĭ stems in, cf. OLith. gen. sing. *akmenes* 'stone', *dukteres* 'daughter' ~ *akmenies/ akmenio, dukteries*). To a lesser degree there is a replacement of –(i̯)ŭ stem forms by forms in –(i̯)ŏ (compare OLith. nom. sing. *karalus* [karal'us] ~ nom. plur. *karalei* [karal'ai]).

In Latvian the heteroclitic type disappears almost completely and frequent fluctuations between various types of inflexion are observed: –ŭ and –ĭ stems over time begin to be declined like –ŏ stems (compare OLatv. noun masc. nom. plur. *tirgus*, 17th century ~ *tirgi*, 18th century 'markets', compare fem. nom. sing. *plauksts* ~ *plauksta* 'palm of the hand').

7.4.2.3. Cases. During this period the Baltic languages show a well differentiated system of cases. Compared with the four cases of OPr., the OLith. and OLatv. declension has seven cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative, and vocative. In actuality, a separate instrumental, distinct from the dative, is only sporadically attested in Latvian (OLatv. *Dewe* [instr. plur.] *beernes tapt* 'to become children of God'), while it is very alive in Lithuanian. On the other hand, the Latvian ending for dat./ instr. plur. –*ms* is already replaced by the ending of the dual –*m* in the 17th century. In the gen. plur. of nouns and pronouns the obscure ending –*us* occasionally occurs (Rosinas 1977). In the Latvian dat. sing./plur. noun the pronominal inflexion was introduced (cf. sing. *tam labam vīram* 'to that good man', plur. *tiem labiem vīriem* 'to those good men') compared to the nominal ending (preserved in Lith.: sing. *tam geram vyrui* id., plur. *tiems geriems vyrams* id.).

7.4.2.4. Postpositional locative cases. These cases created by the addition of certain postpositional particles to the case form are relatively recent and appeared in the Proto-Baltic period, if not precisely in the East Baltic period. As for their origins, it is traditionally thought that their model source can be found in the Finnic substratum, but there are other recent explanations based on intralanguage development:[715] at an earlier stage there were adverbial formations of separate lexemes, and only in the subsequent period did these formations become a part of the nominal paradigm. This situation is again well attested in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian.[716] At this stage there was a subsystem of secondary locative cases, but it did not last long and disappeared by the 18th century (they are sporadically present in today's languages and even more so in the dialects). Recorded in Latvian are an illative and a locative case, whereas in Lithuanian there is a rich subsystem consisting of four members: inessive (the modern locative), illative, adessive, allative:

a) OLatv. illative (*iekš* plus gen./acc.) *exan helles* 'in hell'; loc. *tan tresschen Deenan* 'on the third day', *cenan turret* 'to hold in honor';

b) OLith. Inessive (loc. *–e < *-én*) *miškè* 'in the forest'; illative (acc. plus *–na*) *miškan(a)* 'into the forest'; adessive (old locative plus *–pi*) *miškiepi* 'near the forest'; allative (gen. plus *–pi*) *miškopi* 'in the direction of the forest'.

Zinkevičius (1982) has observed that the postpositional local cases of Lithuanian were formed at different times, first the singular and then the plural forms, while the process of their disappearance had already begun in the period of written texts.

The research of Vanags (1992ab) about the locative cases reflected in Old Latvian texts shows (at least for the language of Riga) the formal similarity of forms of the illative and locative, which are characterized by the typical singular inflexion *–n* and plural *–s*. Parallels to this system, which disappeared in Latvian in the following centuries, can still be found in certain Lithuanian dialects.

Rosinas (2000) proposes a new, quite complex, explanation for the origin and evolution of OLith. adessive (from syntactic constructions:

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[715] For the formation of postpositional local cases Vykypěl (2010, p. 50-58) confirms the traditional point of view according to which the Baltic languages borrowed only the Finnish agglutinant model, using their own particles *n–* or *p–*. Witczak (2008) proposes a typological comparison between OLith. local cases and the Etruscan locative.

[716] Cf. Kazlauskas (1968, p. 150-162); Mažiulis (1970, p. 127-160). Cf. also Range (1995). A detailed investigation of Bretkūnas (Gospel of Luke) has been carried out by Gelumbeckaitė (2002).

stative verb + dat. + preposition *prei*) and inessive (from old loc. forms in *-su*).[717] According to Kavaliūnaitė (2005, 2009) in the texts of 16th and 17th century Lithuanian authors (Daukša, Chylinski, Bretkūnas) the distribution of the stative locative cases (inessive and adessive) was determined by the animacy hierarchy; more precisely, nominals, higher in animacy, have only adessives, and inanimates have only inessives.

7.4.2.5. Thematic paradigms. The concise notes which accompany each paradigm serve as summary of what has been outlined above [see 2.2.1.5.].

7.4.2.5.1. *-ŏ* Stems. As an example of the declension of Baltic stems in *-ŏ* the Lith. masculine noun *výras*, Latv. *vīrs* 'man' is provided:

	OLith.	Lith.	OLatv.	Latv.
Baltic *-ŏ, sing.				
nom.	*-as*	*výras*	*-s*	*vīrs*
gen.	*-o*	*výro*	*-a*	*vīra*
dat.	*-ui (-uo, -u)*	*výrui*	*-am*	*vīram*
acc.	*-an (-ą)*	*výrą*	*-u*	*vīru*
instr.	*-u*	*výru*	*-u*	*vīru*
loc.	*-e*	*výre*	*-ā*	*vīrā*
voc.	*-e/-ai*	*výre*	*-/-s*	*vīrs*
Baltic *-ŏ, dual				
nom./acc.	*-u < *-uo*	*výru*		
dat./instr.	*-am-*	*výram*		

	OLith.	Lith.	OLatv.	Latv.
Baltic *-ŏ, plur.				
nom.	*-ai*	*výrai*	*-i*	*vīri*
gen.	*-ų*	*výrų*	*-u*	*vīru*
dat.	*-a-m(u)s*	*výrams*	*-iem(s)*	*vīriem*
acc.	*-uos*	*výrus*	*-us*	*vīrus*
instr.	*-ais*	*výrais*	*-is (-iem)*	*vīriem*
loc.	*-uose*	*výruose*	*-os*	*vīros*
voc.	*-ai*	*výrai*	*-i*	*vīri*

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[717] Different opinions on the prehistory of the adessive, inessive and illative respectively are expressed in Seržant (2004abc), whom Rosinas (2005) and polemically again Serzant (2005) followed. Petit (2007) discusses the origin of these locative cases from original postpositions and considers that the necessity to avoid case underspecification could have been important.

In the **gen. sing.** a Lith.-Latv. ending *-*ā* is reconstructed, which, however, contrasts with the data for Prussian [see 2.2.1.5.1. and 6.3.2.4.1.]. On other gen. forms in OLatv. (sing. -as, plur. -us) cf. Rosinas (2001a). In the **dat. sing.** Lith. -ui (along with its dialectal allomorphs -uo, -u [see 2.2.1.5.1.]) contrasts with Latv. -am, coming from the pronominal inflexion. **acc. sing.** Lith. *diẽv-ą* (< *-*an*) 'god' = Latv. *diev-u* (< *-*uo* < *-*an*) id.

The following sequence is supposed in the **acc. plur.** Lith. and Latv.: -us < *-*úos* < East Baltic *-*úons*. The differences in the endings of **dat. plur.** are evident in modern Lithuanian and modern Latvian. According to Kazlauskas (1968, p. 166-172), these endings of dat. plur. are found in OLith. and its dialects: -mus, -ms, -m, -mi; the first two are simple variants of a single element (-mus ≥ -ms), m remains obscure, while -mi (without s) indicates that the forms of the **instr. dual** were used with the meaning of the dative (plur.) and gives evidence of the progressive syncretism of the two cases. In modern Latv. the endings of the **dat. instr. plur./dual** coincide, but in OLatv. texts and in certain Latvian dialects the ancient instrumental is retained, e.g. *ubagis* (< *-*ais*) *iet* 'to go about poor'. The endings **loc. sing./plur.** are secondary formations (for the ancient loc. sing. *-*ie* < *-*oi/-ei* and loc. plur. in *-*ie*- < *-*ĕi-su* [see 2.2.1.5.1.]). Thus, Lith. -e derives from postpositional *-*én*, and Lith. -uose is traditionally explained from the acc. plur. *-*uos* plus the postpositional *-*én*; Stang doubts this and prefers to explain it as a transformation of the older form in *-uosu*, where the element *-uo* was formed in analogy to the illative plur. in *-uosna*. The Latv. loc. sing. -ā is taken from the stems in *-*ā*. On other loc. sing. forms in OLatv., that is old inessive (in -ā, -ē, -ī, -ū) and illative (in -an, -en, -in, -un), cf. Rosinas (2001b).

7.4.2.5.2. *-(i̯)ŏ Stems. An example of the declension of Baltic stems in *-(i)i̯o is the Lith. masculine noun *brólis*, Latv. *brālis* 'brother':

	Singular Lith.	Latv.	Plural Lith.	Latv.	Dual Lith.
nom.	*brólis*	*brālis*	*bróliai*	*braļi*	nom./acc.
gen.	*brólio*	*brāļa*	*brólių*	*braļu*	*bróliu*
dat.	*bróliui*	*brālim*	*bróliams*	*braļiem*	dat./instr.
acc.	*brólį*	*brāli*	*brólius*	*braļus*	*bróliam*
instr.	*bróliu*	*brāli(m)*	*bróliais*	*braļiem*	
loc.	*brólyje*	*brālī*	*bróliuose*	*braļos*	
voc.	*bróli*	*brāl, brāli*	*bróliai*	*braļī*	

7.4.2.5.3. *-ā Stems. An example of the declension of Baltic stems in *-ā is the Lith. feminine noun *dienà*, Latv. *diena* 'day':

	OLith.	Lith.	OLatv.	Latv.
Baltic *-ā, sing.				
nom.	*-a*	*dienà*	*-a*	*diena*
gen.	*-os*	*dienõs*	*-as*	*dienas*
dat.	*-ai*	*diẽnai*	*-ai*	*dienai*
acc.	*-ą*	*diẽną*	*-u*	*dienu*
instr.	*-a*	*dienà*	*-u*	*dienu*
loc.	*-oje*	*dienojè*	*-ã*	*dienā*
voc.	*-a*	*diẽna*	*-a*	*diena*
Baltic *-ā, dual				
nom./acc.	*-ì < *-íe*	*dienì*		
dat./instr.	*-om*	*dienóm/dienõm*		
Baltic *-ā, plur.				
nom.	*-os*	*diẽnos*	*-as*	*dienas*
gen.	*-ų*	*dienų̃*	*-u*	*dienu*
dat.	*-om(u)s*	*dienóms*	*-ām*	*dienām*
acc.	*-as*	*dienàs*	*-as*	*dienas*
instr.	*-omis*	*dienomìs*	*-ām*	*dienām*
loc.	*-osu/-os-e*	*dienosè*	*-ās*	*dienās*
voc.	*-os*	*diẽnos*	*-as*	*dienas*

The OLith. **dat. plur.** *-o-mus* and **instr. plur.** *-o-mis* are abbreviated to *-o-ms*, probably in correspondence with the isosyllabic logic of the system, since they were longer by one syllable than the other forms of the paradigm (Mažiulis 1992), while the Latv. *-ām* came from the dual inflexion. Latv. instr. plur. *-ām* is derived from the dual number inflexion.

The two Lith. **dual forms** of the dat. *-óm* and instr. *-õm* differ from each other by tone. The ending **loc. sing./plur.**, such as Lith. *-oje* (< *-ā*i̯* + *ḗn), and also Latv. *ā* (with the loss of *je* < *-*ḗn*); the shortening of loc. endings did not stop there, cf. Lith. dial. *píev-o* < *píevoje* 'in the field'),

7.4.2.5.4. *-ē Stems. An example of the declension of Baltic stems in *-ē is the Lith. feminine noun *ẽglė*, Latv. *egle* 'fir tree':

	OLith.	Lith.	OLatv.	Latv.
Baltic *-ē, sing.				
nom.	–ė	ẽglė	–e	egle
gen.	–ės	ẽglės	–es	egles
dat.	–ei	ẽglei	–ei	eglei
acc.	–ę	ẽglę	–i	egli
instr.	–e	ẽglè	–i	egli
loc.	–ėje	ẽglėje	–ẽ	eglē
voc.	–e	ẽgle	–e	egle
Baltic *-ē, dual				
nom./acc.	–ì < *-íe	eglì		
dat./instr.	–ėm	ẽglėm		
Baltic *-ē, plur.				
nom.	–ės	ẽglės	–es	egles
gen.	–ių	ẽglių	–'u	egļu
dat.	–ėm(u)s	ẽglėms	–ēm	eglēm
acc.	–es	eglès	–es	egles
instr.	–ėmis	ẽglėmis	–ēm(s)	eglēm
loc.	–ė-su/–ės-e	ẽglėse	–ēs	eglēs
voc.	–ės	ẽglės	–es	egles

The **dat. sing.** Latv. *–ei* in place of *–i* is to be considered a new formation on the model of the *-ā stems (Latv. *–i* is found in areas where the dat. sing. of the *-ā stems also ends in *–i*). Several endings are explained in the same way as for other paradigms, e.g. **loc. sing.** Lith. *–ėj-e* (< *-ēi̯-én*), Latv. *–ē* (< *-ēj-e*) show the loss of one or several elements of the final syllable (for the ancient loc. sing. *–ei* [see 2.2.1.5.3.]). **acc./instr. sing.** Lith. *-ḗn* and *-ẽn* as well as the **dual forms** Lith. dat./instr. *-ḗm* and *-ẽm* differ in tone. **loc. plur.** OLith. *–ėsu* [see 2.2.1.5.3.], the ending *–ės–ė* is a later formation.

7.4.2.5.4. *-ĭ Stems. As an example of the declension of Baltic stems in *-ĭ I provide the Lith. fem. noun *pilìs*, Latv. *pils* 'castle':

	OLith.	Lith.	OLatv.	Latv.
Baltic *-ĭ, sing.				
nom.	–is	pilìs	–(i)s	pils
gen.	–ies	piliẽs	–(i)s	pils

	OLith.	**Lith.**	**OLatv.**	**Latv.**
Baltic *-ĭ, sing.				
dat.	–iui m./–iai f.	pìliai	–i/–ij	pilij
acc.	–į	pìlį	–i	pili
instr.	–imi	pilimì	–i	pili
loc.	–yje	pilyjè	–ī	pilī
voc.	–ie	piliẽ	–s	pils
Baltic *-ĭ, dual				
nom./acc.	–i	pilì		
dat./instr.	–im	pilìm/pilim̃		
Baltic *-ĭ, plur.				
nom.	–ys (iai)	pìlys	–is	pilis
gen.	–ų	pilių̃	–'u	piļu
dat.	–im(u)s	pilìms	–īm	pilīm
acc.	–is	pilìs	–is	pilis
instr.	–imis	pilimìs	–īm	pilīm
loc.	–isu (–yse)	pilysè	–īs	pilīs
voc.	–ys	pìlys	–is	pilis

gen. sing. OLatv. –is recurs, e.g. *naktis* 'of the night', *pilis* 'of the castle' (along with *pils*); –s is however a later variant (Endzelīns 1922b, p. 314–315) [see 2.2.1.5.4.].

In the **dat. sing.** both old endings today have disappeared from the majority of Lith. dialects and have been substituted by masc. –iui and fem. –iai, which were originally characteristic of stems in –iŏ– and –iā–. Endzelīns observes that the oldest form of dat. sing. is OLatv. –i (while the modern endings masc. –im/–iam arise by analogy with the stems in -(i̯)ŏ), but OLatv. fem. <–ij> = /i̯/ is considered a transformation of –i under the influence of the other endings of dat. sing. –ai, –ei.

Endzelīns explains the quantitative alternation in the **dat. plur.** endings by the influence of other stems. In OLatv. and in some Latv. dialects the ending instr. plur. –īm (e.g. <aussihm> = /ausīm/ 'with the ears') is noted, although sporadically. OLith. loc. plur. –isu (< *-ī-su) is considered older with respect to new formations such as **loc. sing.** –yje (< *-ī-ien), **loc. plur.** –yse (< *-īs-en) and Latv. loc. sing. –ī (< *-ie, –ē), loc. plur. –īs (< *-īse, –īsu).

The **dual forms** Lith. dat./instr. –ìm and –im̃ differ from each other in tone.

7.4.2.5.6. *-ŭ Stems. An example of the declension of Baltic stems in *-ŭ is the Lith. noun *tuřgus* and Latv. *tirgus* 'market':[718]

	OLith.	**Lith.**	**OLatv.**	**Latv.**
Baltic *-ŭ, sing.				
nom.	–us	*tuřgus*	–us	*tirgus*
gen.	–aus	*tuřgaus*	–us	*tirgus*
dat.	–ui	*tuřgui*	–um	*tirgum*
acc.	–ų	*tuřgų*	–u	*tirgu*
instr.	–umi	*tuřgumi*	–u	*tirgu*
loc.	–uje (–ūje)	*tuřguje*	–ū	*tirgū*
voc.	–au	*tuřgau*	–us	*tirgus*
Baltic *-ŭ, dual				
nom./acc.	–u	*turgù*		
dat./instr.	–um	*tuřgum*		
Baltic *-ŭ, plur.				
nom.	–ūs	*tuřgūs*	–i	*tirgi*
gen.	–ų	*tuřgų*	–u	*tirgu*
dat.	–um(u)s	*tuřgums*	–iem	*tirgiem*
acc.	–us	*turgùs*	–us	*tirgus*
instr.	–umis	*tuřgumis*	–iem	*tirgiem*
loc.	–u-su, –uose	*tuřguose*	–os	*tirgos*
voc.	–ūs	*tuřgūs*	–i	*tirgi*

In the **dat. sing.** Latv. *-um* is an innovation by analogy with *−am ∼ -im* of other stems. In this type of inflection one observes the tendency toward integration with forms of the *-ŏ* stems, evident in **nom. plur.** (cf. Lith. dial. *turg-ai* 'markets', Latv. *tirg-i*). The **dat./ instr. plur.** OLatv. is taken from the dual number.

The endings of **loc. sing.** Lith. *-uje* (< **-u-i̯-én*) and Lith. *-ūje*, Latv. *-ū* (< **-ū-i̯-én*) are both considered analogous with other stems. Also in the **loc. plur.** the Lith. and Latv. endings seem to be analogous formations according to the model: nom. plur. **-ūs* (like **-ās ∼ *-īs*) and loc. plur. *-ūs-e* (like *-os-e ∼ -ys-e*). Lith. *-uose* shows signs of the influence of the *-ŏ* stems.

7.4.2.5.7. *-C Stems. An example of the declension of Baltic stems in consonants is the Lith. noun *vanduõ*, Latv. *ūdens* 'water':

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[718] Specifically on the ŭ-stem in (O)Latv., cf. Vanags (1990).

	OLith.	**Lith.**	**OLatv.**	**Latv.**
Baltic *-C, sing.				
nom.	–uo, –ė	vanduõ	–s	ūdens
gen.	–es, –s	vandeñs (–io)	–s	ūdens
dat.	–ie	vándeniui	–im	ūdenim (–am)
acc.	–į	vándenį	–i	ūdeni
instr.	–mi/–imi	vandenimì (–iu)	–im	ūdenim (–i)
loc.	–i/–yje	vandenyjè	–ī	ūdenī
voc.	–ie	vandeniẽ	–/–s	ūden, ūdens
Baltic *-C, dual				
nom./acc.	–e, –iu			
dat./instr.	–im			
Baltic *-C, plur.				
nom.	–s	vándenys (–aĩ)	–i	ūdeņi (–ī)
gen.	–ų, –ių	vandenũ	–'u	ūdeņu
dat.	–im(u)s	vandenìms (–áms)	–iem	ūdeņiem
acc.	–is	vándenis (–ius)	–is/–us	ūdeņus
instr.	–imis	vandenimìs (–aĩs)	–iem	ūdeņiem
loc.	–yse	vandenysè (–uosè)	*–īs(en)	ūdeņos
voc.		vándenys		ūdeņi

There are few forms of this type of inflection in Lithuanian (Kazlauskas 1968, p. 247-249), and the tendency toward syncretism with stems in –i is typical. This phenomenon is probably derived from the ancient connection of the endings acc. sing./plur. of the two paradigms (e.g. sing. sẽser-į (< *-in < *-ṇ) alongside ãk-į < *-in; plur. sẽser-is (< *-ī́s < *-ins < *-ṇs) alongside akìs < *-ī́s < *-ins). Besides the accusative forms of the consonantal declension, the nom. and gen. were well preserved (especially in the plural). In the other cases the *-i stem inflection is introduced (sometimes also *-i̯ŏ, *-i̯ā, *-ē). Also in OLatv. there are as well very few remains of the consonantal inflection and on the whole there was a shift to the *-i stem inflection.

The Lithuanian endings, secondarily taken from stems in *-(i̯)ŏ (more frequent in the modern language), are the following: sing. gen. –io, dat. –iui ∼ –iai, instr. –iu, plur. nom. –ai, dat. –ams, acc. –ius, instr. –ais, loc. –iuose. In Latvian almost the entire paradigm was derived from stems in *-(i̯)ŏ: sing. dat. –im/–am, acc. –i, instr. –i, loc. –ī, plur. nom. –i, gen. –ju, dat./instr. –iem, loc. –os. The declensions of vanduõ 'water' and

akmuõ 'stone' attested in Bretkūnas's *Bible* (1579-1580) are given in Range (2007).

In the **nom. sing.** of the Baltic consonant stems there is a distinction between endings with the pure stem (without desinence) and those with –*s*. To the first type belong many Old Prussian forms (e.g. OPr. *brote* 'brother', *duckti* 'sister', perhaps *mūti* 'mother', etc., as well as the Lithuanian nouns in –*n*– ~ –*r*–, e.g. Lith. *mótė* 'mother', *duktė* 'daughter', *vanduõ* 'water', *akmuõ* 'stone'). The same nominal types in Latvian underwent substantial changes (e.g. *māte* shifted to stems in –*ē*; *ūdens*, *akmens* to stems in *–(*į̯*)*ŏ*. The second type is found, for example, in OPr. *kērmens* 'body', *smunents* 'man', but it disappears in the nominal paradigms of Lithuanian (with the single, perhaps, exception – masc. noun *viešpats* 'lord'), while it is preserved in the participial paradigms (e.g. *rãšqs* < *rašants 'one who writes').

In the **gen. sing.** OLith. –*es* is attested (e.g. *akmenès* 'of the stone' ≥ *akmeñs* id., like *dukters*, *vandeñs*, etc.). In the **gen. plur.** one encounters the forms (Lith. –*ių̯*, Latv. –*ju*) which follow the stems in –*i*, along with others which follow those in –*o* (Lith. –*ų̯*, Latin –*u*). As a matter of fact, in gen. plur. original *C*-stems have no palatalization before the ending (e.g. Lith *dant-ų̃* 'of the teeth', *nakt-ų̃* 'of the nights'; *žqs-ų̃* and Latv. *zùos-u* 'of the geese' (< *zans-, cf. OGr. χήν χηνός '[of the] goose' Doric χᾱ́ν < *χανς)[719]. Beginning with these latter forms the analogy with the *–*o* stems is sometimes extended to other cases.

The connecting vowel present in the **instr. sing.** (e.g. Lith. *akmen-i-mi* 'with the stone' is taken from the stems in –*i*. Alongside the analogical innovations of **loc. sing./plur.** –*yjè* (< *–*ī̯̯į* + *ḗn*) and –*ysè* (< *–*īs* + *ḗn*), in OLith. the stem –*i* is preserved as well (e.g. DP 81:48, etc. OLith. *Wieschpat-i-p* 11x 'in the presence of the Lord').

The form in –*e* of the **nom./acc. dual** is attested only in Daukša (cf. DP 313:19) *Du žmûne lipo Bažnîczion* 'two people entered the church').

7.4.2.6. Pronouns. There is no agreement as to how to explain the use of pronouns in the Lithuanian of east Prussia: *a*) the attributive use of possessive pronouns agreeing with the noun found in old texts, e.g. *mãnas* (*tãvas*) *tévas* 'my (your) father', compared to the more frequent use today *màno* (*tàvo*) *tévas* id., and similar cases; *b*) the reflexive use of the pronoun of 1st and 2nd pers. to express the reference to the subject of the sentence, e.g. *gelbek ßmones tawa* 'save thy people' (MGa 87:6) as opposed to …*savo*,

[719] Kazlauskas (1968, p. 262-268).

probably owing its existence to a foreign influence (e.g. Latin *Salvum fac populum tuum*, Old Polish *Zachoway lud twój* id.).[720] There was an opinion that such usage was reliquary (Bezzenberger), but today it is preferred to see here (according to Palionis, Rosinas) the influence of foreign models on Baltic texts.

7.4.2.7. Definite adjectives. The forms of the definite (pronominal) adjective are already documented in the first texts of all three languages.

They are used more often and consistently in OLith. (where they form two very distinct members, e.g. nom. sing. masc. *geràs-is* 'that good one', fem. *geró-ji* 'that good one'),[721] while in OLatv. the original form was significantly transformed and (except for certain dialects) the two elements are fused into one so that they are viewed as simple forms with long desinences.[722]

A contrastive justaposition of the Lith. and Latv. declensions of the definite adjectives (formed by adding a form of the *$i̯o$-stem pronoun to the adjective or to the participle [see 2.2.1.7.2.]) shows how much the forms have changed in Latvian. The following is an example using 'small':

masc.	nom.	gen.	dat.	acc.	inst.	loc.
Lith. sing.	*mažàsis*	*mãžojo*	*mažájam* *mažámjam*	*mãžą̃jį*	*mažúoju*	*mažajam(e)* *mažamiame*
Latv. sing.	*mazais*	*mazā*	*mazajam*	*mazo*	*mazuo*	*mazajā*
Lith. pl.	*mažíeji(e)*	*mažū́jų*	*mažíesiems* *mažíemsiems*	*mažúosius* *mažúosiuos*	*mažaĩsiais*	*mažuõsiuos(e)*
Latv. pl.	*mazie*	*mazo*	*mazajiem* *mazajiems*	*mazos*	*mazajiem* *mazajiems*	*mazajos*
Lith. dual	*mažuoju*	–	*mažíejiem* *mažíemjiem*	*mažuoju*	*mažiẽjiem* *mažiẽmjiem*	–
fem.						
Lith. sing.	*mažóji*	*mažõsios*	*mãžajai* *mãžaijai*	*mãžą̃ją*	*mãžája*	*mažõjoj(e)*
Latv. sing.	*mazā*	*mazās*	*mazajai*	*mazo*	*mazuo*	*mazajā*
Lith. pl.	*mãžosios*	*mažū́jų*	*mažósioms* *mažómsioms*	*mažą́sias* *mažósias*	*mažõsioms* *mažõmsiomis*	*mažõsios(e)*

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[720] On the general problem, cf. Rosinas (1973); for the particular case, cf. Dini (1994b, p. 80).

[721] Concerning the evolution of definite adjectives in Lithuanian, cf. Kazlauskas (1972b); Zinkevičius (1957, 1978). On their relationship to the concept of *Gelenkpartikel* and for some observations about the dating of their grammaticalization, cf. Parenti (1995ab).

[722] Fennell (1988c).

masc.	nom.	gen.	dat.	acc.	inst.	loc.
Latv. pl.	*mazās*	*mazo*	*mazajām* *mazajāms*	*mazās*	*mazajām* *mazajāms*	*mazajās*
Lith. dual	*mažíeji*	–	*mažójom* *mažómjom*	–	*mažõjom* *mažõmjom*	–

The OLith. texts show a variety of well preserved definite adjective forms; here are some examples from the locative cases: sing. masc. *nauiemęieme* 'in the new', loc. sing. fem. *tikrojéjoje* 'in the real', loc. pl. masc. *ſenůſęiůſe* 'in the old', loc. pl. fem. *ßwętůsęiůſe* 'in the holy'. They are also found in compound between the prefix and the participle (e.g. gen. sing. masc. *pajoprasta* 'of the usual', allative sing. masc. *tikropjop* 'to certain').

7.4.2.8. Morphosyntax of numerals. Cerri (2010, 2012) [see 2.2.1.8.] studies the numerals (especially those for 'round' numbers in both declinable and indeclinable forms) and their morpho-syntactic behavior in the Baltic languages. The author provides an improved version of Corbett's (1978ab) model (for Slavic) that is adequate for Baltic languages, by inserting two so-called turning points (i.e. places where it is possible to trace a borderline dividing adjectival and substantival numerals) into the whole system of numerals.

As a matter of fact the oldest Lith. and Latv. texts reveals that round numerals – possibly derived from declined nouns – in the 16th-17th centuries still show archaic noun-like features, but later they tend to depart from this status. This holds true for morpho-phonology (change from declinable to indeclinable forms, e.g. Latv. *desmits ~ desmit*, *simts ~ simt* and *tūkstotis ~ tūkstoš*; the phenomenon affected later also Lith.), semantics (polarization of meanings between reduced, indicating only cardinal numbers, and full, indicating also groups of a certain size, forms of the numerals), and in Latvian also for syntax (change in the syntactic alternation between partitive ~ non-partitive model and reduced ~ full form: *desmit(s) gadu* 'ten years' ~ *desmit(s) gadi* id.; the latter possibility (*desmits gadi*) is avoided today, but it is attested in OLatv.); for more detail for OLatv. numerals, cf. Cerri (2013).

Thus, Baltic languages still preserve today a very ancient pattern, attested in other old Indo-European languages and suggesting that the original IE forms may have been the outcome of a prehistoric semantic shift from substantives to numerals. In the two languages changes occurred differently in time, order and effects; nevertheless Latvian changed more rapidly, intensively and extensively, whilst Lithuanian is more conservative.

Vulāne (2008) analyzes the number category in Latvian and observes that it is a lexically morphological category resulting from the quantitative features of the object.

7.4.2.9. Adverbs. Adverbs may be formed differently. One distinguishes two main types; the following gives some examples:[723]

  i)   case forms from noun (e.g.: Lith. *ganà* ~ Latv. *gan* 'enough' from nom.; Latv. *mūžam* 'eternally' from dat.; Lith. *šiañdien* ~ Latv. *šodien* 'today' from acc.; Lith. *laikù* ~ Latv. *laiku* 'early, in time' from instr. etc.). Lith. knows a special formation in *–ỹn* generally denoting direction (e.g.: *artỹn* 'nearer', *tolỹn* 'farther', *aukštỹn* 'up', *žemỹn* 'down', *gerỹn* '(going) better', *blogỹn* '(going) worther') which probably derives from illative forms.

  ii) case forms from adjective (OPr. *labbai* ~ Lith. *labaĩ* ~ Latv. *labi* 'well'; Lith. *amžinaĩ* 'eternally' ← *amžinas* 'eternal').

  iii) pronominal roots (e.g.: OPr. *kadan* ~ Lith. *kadà* (< *-án̄*, cf. *kadángi* 'since') ~ Latv. *kad* 'when').

Beyond that, there are also verbal adverbs (e.g.: Lith. *gùlus* 'having lain down' to *guléti* 'to lie' ~ Latv. *gulú(s)* to *gulēt* 'to lie'), and adverbs formed from prepositions (e.g.: Lith. *ùžvakar* ~ Latv. *aizvakar* 'the day before yesterday).

7.4.3. Morphology of the verb

The material discussed below is common to both Lithuanian and Latvian of the 16th–17th centuries. First of all are dual forms, which are already becoming extinct. Moreover, we find the alternation of the thematic and athematic paradigms of certain verbs and the gradual elimination of the athematic type. I will also discuss the productivity of the athematic conjugation in a relatively late period, especially in the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. forms [see *infra*], as well as the preservation of the ending *–uo* (an archaic and unsystematic feature) in the 1st pers. sing. of the present tense (OLith. *šaukiù* 'I call', today attested only in the reflexive form *šaukiúo-si*). There is no agreement as to whether there was a category of aspect or not [see 2.2.2.1.]. Finally I also present here verbal formations whose theorical status is still

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[723] For more examples cf. Endzelīns (1948, p. 259-262); an exhaustive study on Baltic adverbs is Forssman (2003).

controversial and disputed by scholars: the so-called Modus relativus [see 7.4.3.4.] and the Latvian debitive [see 7.4.3.5.].

7.4.3.1. The perseverance of the athematic conjugation. This particular feature is found in Old Prussian texts [see 6.2.], in various Lithuanian, and to a lesser degree, in Latvian authors. A clear distinction between the two types already exists in the *Grammatica Litvanica* (1653) of D. Klein, who notes how certain athematic verbs also have thematic endings (cf. *saugmi ~ saugoju*; *sergmi ~ sergiu* 'I protect', etc.).[724] In the 18th century this process intensifies, as is demonstrated by the material from texts and grammatical works of the time, and continues to the present with residual athematic forms.

7.4.3.2. Tenses. The system of tenses and moods is restructured compared to the traditionally reconstructed model. The Latvian preterite in –*ē* tends to be replaced by the type in *-ā*. Only in Lithuanian (and not in all dialects) has a frequentative preterite (imperfect) developed, characterized by the formative *-dav-* (e.g. *dìrbdavau* 'I used to work' ~ *dìrbti* 'to work'),[725] completely absent in Old Prussian and Latvian. Jakulis A. (1966) observes that the frequentative preterite is met relatively more rarely in the monuments of the 16th-17th centuries, and argues that it was less widely represented in the dialects of that time than today.

7.4.3.3. New modal formations. In Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian new modal forms appear for which there is no uniform scientific terminology.

7.4.3.3.1. Permissive. From the old optative in Lithuanian a permissive formed with the aid of *te-*, prefixed to the 3rd pers. present (e.g. Lith. *testovi* 'let it be', cf. Latin *fiat*), and a particular form of the imperative [see 2.3.2.2., and *infra*].

7.4.3.3.2. Conditional. In Old Lith. and Old Latv., among the optative constructions formed with the aid of the suffix *-b(i)-*, there is a construction with the supine in *-tų < *-tun* (Trost 1963; Schmalstieg 2008). In Old Lith. forms of the conditional (Lith. *tariamoji nuosaka*) developed with the following person desinences: *-biau*, *-bei* (*-bi*), *-bim*(*e*), *-bit*(*e*) (Pisani 1952; Smoczyński 1999a), but these disappeared over the course of the 18th century [see 8.2.2.2.].

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[724] Cf. Sabaliauskas (1957); Palionis, Buchienė (1957).
[725] Stang (*VGBS*, p. 365-366); Zinkevičius (*LKI* II, p. 115-117). Cf. Roszko D., Roszko R. (2000).

Holvoet (2001a, p. 92) emphasizes that the Baltic conditional shows a number of unexpected irregularities that are still waiting for a satisfactory explanation and mentions the example of Lith. 1st pers. conditional ending *ti̯ā > –čia /-čio (/-čiau). This is, however, a *vexata quaestio* continuing right up to the present time; one should perhaps cite not only Stang (*VGBS*) but also Mathiassen's (1994a) alternate idea (i.e. *ti̯ā < *-t(i) + *jā) as well.[726] Holvoet (2001) also recalls the existence of a great variety of forms for the 1st pers. both in Lithuanian and in Latvian. Among them he quotes High Latv. forms with –l–; in this regard it may be of some interest to recall Pisani's (1952) opinion, according to which those forms derive from the Slavic enclitic interrogative particle *li*.[727]

7.4.3.3.3. Imperative. It is not possible to reconstruct a single formative for the imperative for all the Baltic languages. Only in Lithuanian are there forms of the imperative with –k(i)– (e.g. 2nd sing. *rašý–k(i)* 'write!', 2nd plur. *rašý–ki–te* 'write!'). In eastern Lithuanian dialects forms of the imperative of the 2nd pers. sing. appear, formed from a stem of the present plus –i (which is often dropped), but these formations are recessive even in Old Lithuanian (e.g. DP 430:15 *atłaidi*, DP 113:28 *atłeid* 'forgive!'). In Old Latvian forms of the present indicative are used (e.g. *esi* 'be!') or of the future (e.g. *būsim* 'let us be!').

The origin of the Lith. formant –k(i)– remains rather obscure, although various hypotheses have been advanced [see *infra*]. The most plausible answer is that it is a Lithuanian innovation. On the other hand, the formant –i (< *-ei/*-oi) is traced to the paradigm of the old Optative (cf. OCS *ber–i* 'take', OGr. φέρο-ι-ς, Goth. *baira–i*-s 'may you carry!').

7.4.3.3.4. On the Lithuanian formant -k(i)-. There have been numerous attempts to explain the origin of the Lith. formant in –k(i)– (OLith. –ke < ? –kia–, cf. Zinkevičius *LKI* II, p. 130). Kazlauskas (1966; 1968, p. 373-385) and Stang (1976) related it to the intensifying particles of the type Lith. *gi* (cf. OCS же, as well as OGr. κα, κε, κεν; OInd. *kam*), but in no other language do they fulfill this function. More precisely, Kazlauskas (1968, p. 384) suggests that the imperative morpheme –ki was created on the model of –k and the full form of the particle. Having found a similar formant

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[726] Michelini (2004) does not consider *-ti̯ā as a starting point and mantains that –čiau is a recent enlargement with analogical –u (< *-uo < *-o) from the inflectional paradigms. A similar thought had already been formulated in Ford (1970).

[727] Stolz (1988) presents a completely alternative and interesting explanation for the Baltic conditional considered as the result of "konstruktioneller Ikonismus".

in certain Russian dialectal particles (e.g. дай-ка 'give!', Toporov, Trubačev (1961) propose that this represents a common Balto-Finnic influence (e.g. Finn. *anna-k* 'give!'), which was established in Baltic in endingless forms of the imperative, of the type *dō*, *ei* plus *-k(i)-*.[728] Nevertheless there is no explanation for the fact that this Finnic borrowing did not penetrate into the Latvian area, where contacts with the Finnic world were more intensive than with the Lithuanian area. Hamp (1978, 1994c) proposes a compromise solution, according to which the Finnic model encouraged a formation the source of which should be sought not in a Finnic borrowing, but in Baltic material. Hamp defends this position against the bold hypothesis of Shields (1986) who prefers to derive the Lithuanian formant from the deictic particle *k*, added to the verb forms of the non-present tenses. New support for Kazlauskas's thesis comes from Schmalstieg (1999) on the basis of new interpretations of some Old Lithuanian imperative forms.

7.4.3.4. Relative mood (Modus relativus).
Scholars denominate this verbal formation in various ways: oblique mood, commentative, imperceptive-dubitive, expressing surprise, *evidential* according to Jakobson, and still other (these denominations do not always designate exactly the same thing).[729] Its development was favored by the tendency in many language groups to convey perceived events indirectly with the aid of nominalized verbal forms with a perfect meaning.

The Old Prussian data provide no material,[730] while in East Baltic there is a full paradigm, symmetrical to the paradigm of the indicative mood, well documented in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian, as well as the modern languages (Lith. *netiesioginė nuosaka*, Latv. *atstāstījuma izteiksme*). Generally speaking evidentiality in Lithuanian has not really been gramaticalized either in terms of morphosyntactic distinctions or of obligatoriness; on the contrary, it is rather restricted to certain discourse genres (folklore, publicistic) and also rests on pragmatic inferences.[731]

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[728] The hypothesis is shared by Pisani (1963, p. 220).

[729] In the Baltic field Endzelīns also chooses the term *modus auditivus* or *atstāstāmā izteiksme*. Some other denominations were still used before Endzelīns, e.g. Bielenstein (1864 II, §490) uses "Der Conjunctiv (Relativus)", H. F. Hesselberg (*Lettische Sprachlehre*, Mitau, F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1841) simply "Relativ", and Chr. Harder (*Anmerkungen und Zusätze, zu der neuen lettischen Grammatik des Herrn Probst Stender*, Papendorf, 1790) uses "referierender Conjunctiv". [Personal communication of Sarma Kļaviņa.]

[730] Cf. Endzelīns (1943 [= 1944, p. 161]); Palmaitis (1989, p. 128-132) has argued that certain Old Prussian forms (*astits*, *billāts*) are interpreted as participles in *-ta* and the traces of *modus relativus* are seen in them; cf. also Schmalstieg (1992b).

[731] On evidentiality in contemporary standard Lithuanian from a synchronic and typological perspective, cf. the overview in Wiemer (2006), and the specific chapter in Holvoet (2007, p. 81-127). In Latvian, cf. Holvoet (2001a, p. 111-131), Chojnicka (2009), Kalviša (2013).

In Lithuanian the relative mood manifests itself with the use of active participial forms in the nominative case instead of personal forms of the verb in indirect speech, i.e. specifically in the telling of an event or process in which the speaker did not personally participate (e.g. *Jonas dirbąs kaime* 'Jonas [they say] works in the country' compared to *Jonas dirba kaime* 'Jonas works in the country').[732] More accurately, in Lithuanian there are two synthetical (grammatical) techniques of marking evidentiality, along with an analytical technique by means of adverbs, particles or other lexical evidentiality markers:[733]

a) use of active participles that agree with a subject in the nominative (e.g. *Jonas pasakė dirbęs… / dirbąs… / dirbsiąs…* 'Jonas said (that) (he had) worked… / (he is) working… / (he) will work…';

b) use of a *–ta/-ma* participle[734] in a subjectless clause (so-called 'evidential passive', e.g. *Naktį pasnigta* '[Apparently] snow has fallen last night'; if expressed, the argument is in the genitive: *Čia vaiko miegota* '[Apparently] the child has slept here');

c) use of particles often from verbs (*tar̃si*, *tar̃tum*, *tarýtum* < *tar̃ti* 'to tell', *sãko* < *sakýti* 'tell', *esą* < *bū́ti* 'to be',[735] and also *nèva* 'as if, as though'[736] et al.) or from comparative use (*lỹg*, *lỹgtai* 'as').

These constructions perform different kinds of evidential non-firsthand function in an almost complementary distribution, thus *a*) is normally an indicator of reported (hearsay) evidentiality, whereas *b*) normally gives inference-based meanings or judgments. This difference goes probably back to the dialect levelling and normalizing process, so that *a*) should originate from northern and western, whereas *b*) from eastern and southern dialects.

Latvian developed only a reported evidential. Here the relative mood is conveyed by forms of the gerund (which replaced the participle) with the unchangable ending *-ot* or (reflexive) *-oties* for all persons and numbers, e.g. *Jānis strāda pilsetā* 'Jonas works in the city' and *Jānis strādot pilsetā* 'Jonas [they say] works in the city'. It is a highly controversial matter

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[732] Cf. Ambrazas V. (1970, 1977); Keydana (1997).

[733] Roszko R. (1993); Wiemer (2007).

[734] It has been noticed that the use of the participle is far from being equivalent: *-ta* participle (based on the past stem) carries an inferential value more often than the *-ma* participle (based on the present stem).

[735] Wiemer (2010ab).

[736] Petit (2008) suggests that *ne-* in *neva* was used in its comparative function with the meaning of 'as, like'; another possibility could perhaps be to interpret *neva* < *net-va*, originating from hyperbolic contexts and usages.

whether in Latvian this construction should really be ascribed to the category of mood or not. Non-traditionally, Holvoet (2001a, p. 111-131) is not inclined to consider either the Latvian debitive [see *ultra*] or the Latvian so-called relative (oblique) mood as belonging to the category of mood.

There is no unified opinion about the origin of the relative mood: Tangl considers this to be a recent phenomenon, Marvan the result of a development internal to Baltic, while Kazlauskas sees it as the remnants of a periphrastic optative. It is noted that the only genetically identical forms are those of Lithuanian–Latvian. Ambrazas V. (1979, p. 192; 1990, p. 230-233) describes it as a grammaticalization of similar semantic categories in the zones of contact between languages (also genetically diverse) and observes that in the IE region it developed in the zone of contact with agglutinative languages (Baltic, Balkan).[737] He points to a series of conditions favorable for its appearance in Baltic:

a) internal conditions, such as the broad dissemination of predicate participles in subordinate clauses after *verba percipiendi*, *putandi et dicendi* 'perception, supposition, statement', and whose meanings could be transferred to participles;

b) external conditions: historical contacts with Balto–Finnic languages in which there are equivalent categories (*modus obliquus*);

c) typological conditions, i.e. parallel phenomena are encountered in the Balkans: moods expressing commentary and surprise in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Albanian, the so-called indirect preterite in Turkish.[738] But, differently from Baltic languages, Bulgarian and other Balkan languages show strongly modalized evidential systems.

The historical hypothesis which can be deduced from these observations is that the expansion and morphologization of this category can be linked to the movement of the Baltic tribes to the north in the 5th–6th centuries A.D. into territories inhabited by the ancestors of the Livs and Estonians. Litvinow (1989) is substantially in agreement with this positing of the problem and he adds that the influence of the agglutinative languages

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[737] Christen (1998, p. 57 footnote), refers to a parallel that also exists with the Permian languages, and reminds us of the opinion of Haarmann (1970) according to whom the relative mood is an euroasiatic isogloss.

[738] Concerning the typological analogies in the ponto-Baltic area, cf. Civ'jan (1988); Razauskas, Civ'jan (2005).

(Balto-Finnic) could rather have spurred the development of internal language factors, characteristic of Baltic. He supposes more specifically that one should search for the change to a new mood in the analytic perfect, keeping in mind its structural and semantic qualities. In this context he connects the participles used in the formation *modus relativus* with the historical evolution of the Balto(-Slavic) perfect in the period prior to the first written documents, when two expressions: *esu ~ yra dirbęs* and *dirbęs esu ~ yra* 'I ~ he worked' were equally possible and depended on the emphasis, on account of which, probably, the auxiliary verb later disappeared. Diachronically, Wiemer (1998) considers the relative mood to be a very unstable category, and a kind of 'by-product' of diachronic changes; answering the question how evidentiality could possibly arise he proposed a diachronic 'phase model' in four stages for constructions with participle and reflexive pronoun (incorporated into the verb) and evaluates their interplay with respect to the Lithuanian perfect and also to pragmatical inferences.

7.4.3.5. Debitive. The debitive is a specific formation of Latvian alone (*vajadzības izteiksme*).[739] Synchronically, it is formed by means of the particle *jā-* (from a case form of the pronominal stem **i̯o-* and originally denoting the availability of an object capable of undergoing some action) and is prefixed to the 3rd pers. of the present tense indicative. This structure has two varieties: it may have an agent (normally expressed with a possessive dative) or it may be agentless (without a possessive dative). An example of the first is: *man ir (~ būs ~ bija ~ būtu) jāstrādā* 'I must ~ will have to ~ had to ~ would have to work', whereas an example of the second is *ir (~ būs ~...) jāstrādā* 'some work must be done, someone (it is not clear who) must work' (cf. inf. *strādāt* 'to work'). The debitive developed from a syntactic structure corresponding to the modern Latvian construction of dative plus infinitive (cf. *man ir ~ būs ~ bija strādāt* 'I must ~ will have to ~ had to work') and the two structures are still used interchangeably today.

The debitive is traditionally considered to be a mood, and was already registered as such in the first Latvian grammar (1644) of Rehehusen (Fennell 1973, 1981b). Vanags (2000b) studies the occurences of the debitive in the 16th and early 17th centuries Old Latvian texts and realizes that these forms did not convey necessity, but rather existence ~ non-existence of an object; the same meaning still exists in some Selonian dialects [see 5.5.].

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[739] A contrastive study on how to denote necessity or obligation in Latvian and Lithuanian is Rūķe-Draviņa (1993).

The shift of meaning for the expression of necessity has clearly emerged in written texts only since the mid–17th century.[740]

Holvoet (1997; 1998; 2001a, p. 47–62) considers that the Latvian debitive can not be traced to the category of mood. He describes the process of grammaticalization of the analogous constructions with the particle *jā-* from which the debitive arose. Representing a non–traditional point of view, Holvoet explains this Latvian formation rather as a process of agglutination in which the pronoun has accreted to the infinitive of the relative clause (*man ir, ko jāstrādā*) and observes that something similar happened also in Russian (e.g. нечего < *nětъ čego*), but here the agglutination gave rise to a process of lexicalization whereas in Latvian it gave rise to a process of grammaticalization (through the emergence of a new paradigmatic form of the verb). Thus, the traditional description of the debitive as a mood should be rejected, although the debitive undoubtedly expresses a modal meaning. He also rejects the hypothesis of Finnish influence, the idea expressed by Wälchli (1996b) according to which the Latvian debitive and the analogous form in the Livonian language were the result of a common process due to long–lasting contact between the two languages.

7.4.4. Syntax

This section remains the least studied for the beginning phase of the development of the Baltic languages, since in the 16th–17th centuries the Baltic texts are almost always translations, often word for word, from other languages (Latin, Polish, German) and their sources are not always known (or, if known, they are not always researched).

7.4.4.1. Generalities. The study of Old Lithuanian syntax, although complicated for the reasons mentioned above, is the best developed within the Baltic family. Compared to the modern period, OLith. texts show little evidence of structural changes. First of all, one observes a greater or lesser productivity of particular constructions, which are often used identically, e.g.: parallel to the instrumental there also appears a prepositional

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[740] Interestingly enough, one also encounters the colloquial Latvian *Man ir jālasa grāmatu* (acc. sing.) 'I must read the book', where a historical nominative has been replaced by an innovating accusative (now felt as an object). Such constructions probably show that a language change is taking place; cf. Metuzāle-Kangere, Boiko (2001) and the comments in Schmalstieg (2003, p. 139, and 142-143).

construction (*kovójo kardaĩs ~ kóvėsi sù kardaĩs* 'they fought with swords'); in a like manner movement toward a particular place can be expressed with the aid of the illative or with the aid of a preposition with the accusative (*einù miẽstan ~ einù į miẽstą* 'I go into the city'); there also exists a predicative usage of both the nominative case (*tàpsiu kùnigas* 'I will become a priest'), as well as the instrumental (*tàpsiu kùnigu* id.; later this became a fixed norm), etc.[741]

The most thoroughly studied category of verbs is the participle; certain widely diffused constructions have been established in Old Lithuanian texts: the so-called semi-predicative participle, the dative absolute, the Accusative with participle and others.[742] The syntax of Old Latvian is on the whole rich with German constructions disseminated through the many literal translations often made by bilingual German translators. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify certain elements derived from Latvian folklore in the texts of religious songs, which adhere to their models to a lesser degree.

7.4.4.2. Absolute constructions. In this section I will examine typical syntactical constructions, for the most part (or exclusively) attested to in Lithuanian.

7.4.4.2.1. Dative absolute. The so-called dative absolute construction is used today both in the literary language and in the dialects (e.g. *Mums bežaidžiant, pradeda lyti* 'While we play it begins to rain', *Mirus tėvui, abu broliai sugrįžo namo* 'At the death of the father both brothers returned home'). In Lithuanian this construction is amply attested in the old texts: the noun in the dative case agrees with a truncated present or past participle. According to data collected by Press (1973) the modern use is limited to impersonal, indefinite phrases in which the subject is different from that of the main sentence. In Latvian the undeclined form of the active (adverbial) participle with the characteristic suffix *-ot* agrees with the noun or pronoun in the dative (e.g. *Man atbraucot, nosāka līt* 'As I was arriving, it began to rain'). The subject of the participle can be the same as in the main sentence, but if it is different then it is in the dative case. The syntactic function of this construction is the same as in Lithuanian.

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[741]   The enclitic pronouns of the 1st and 2nd pers. were discussed above [see 7.4.2.6.].
[742]   Ambrazas V. (1979) with specific bibliography on Lithuanian syntax of the 16th-17th centuries.

7.4.4.2.2. Constructions with the infinitive. The data provided by Old Lithu-anian (and certain contemporary dialects) are unusually important for the study of the constructions called nominative with infinitive and dative with infinitive, since they are found in old texts and are also preserved today. This allows us to observe directly their function as well as their morpho-logical and semantic evolution [see 9.3.2.2.].

7.4.4.3. Word order. A monograph by Vasiliauskienė (2008) is devoted to word order in Lithuanian from the beginning of the *raštija* (written language) up to the formation of the new standard language at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. This exaustive investigation elaborates on and generalizes a long series of articles published since 1994 on the syntax of the attribute phrase in various OLith. monuments (Sirvydas's *Punktay sakymų*, Bretkūnas's *Postil*, Daukša's *Catechism*) and in other later writings of the 18th and 19th century (Baranauskas, Lukauskas, Tatarė, Brugmann's Lith. tales, Valančius, Daukantas, Vaižgantas et al.). The structure of attributive phrases and the directions of their change from the beginning of the creation of Lithuanian writing have been investigated.

Vasiliauskienė examines each single category separately. Without entering into details either for the statistics or stylistic matters with regard to the genres or the provenance of the many texts, it is appropriate to report some more general issues here. The word order in phrases with numerals is fixed (noun–noun) but not completely grammaticalized. The same is also valid for the position of the pronoun (pron–noun); pronouns occurring in enclitic position of the sentence are more frequently encountered in second position (according to Wackernagel's law). The adj–noun model was not strictly observed, although it is more usual in texts from the 16th to the 19th centuries. The position of the participial modifier in the phrase (part–noun ~ noun–part) was not established. Both participles and adjectives were used at a distance with a primarily emphatic function. The position of the genitive of the pronouns (gen–pronoun–noun ~ noun–gen–pronoun) was very unstable, depending on frequency of use for emphasizing nouns in enclitic position and on influence of foreign sources; in the 20th century the model gen–pronoun–noun was completely grammaticalized.

The predominance of postposed genitive of the noun (noun–gen, instead of gen–noun) was fixed in the 16th–18th centuries; variations of position could be differently influenced by foreign models (Latin, Polish). In the 20th century the word order gen–noun became grammaticalized

(probably analogically by adopting the adjective position). To note that the consolidation of the preposing of the genitive at a late period of Lithuanian contradicts generally observed tendencies in the languages; in fact, contemporary Baltic and Finnic languages with their SVO + gen–noun models make up a unique areal group in all of Europe.

As a result of these processes, the models of word order of the attributive phrases during the time of literacy were frequently not fixed. The models of the attribute phrase constituents in OLith. frequently differ from those of Modern Lithuanian. Lithuanian is to be considered an example with variable word order depending both on communicative and pragmatic factors rather than the structure of the grammatical bonds or semantics. From a diachronic point of view, the former models acted particularly in an older stage of the language, whereas in contemporary Lithuanian they have been replaced by models of a structural nature.

7.4.4.4. Toward a syntax of Old Lithuanian? Many investigations in the last decades (including those on word order presented above [see 7.4.4.3.]) focussed on OLith. syntax and examined in detail different kinds of clauses and constructions, or specialized in the description of certain texts (naturally by comparing them with their sources in other languages). Looking into a future perspective, all these studies may already be considered the preliminary work toward a syntax of Old Lithuanian which is still to be written. In the following I illustrate just a couple of examples.

Thus, in a series of contributions Maskaliūnas investigates various types of construction expressing possession encountered in Old Lithuanian and discusses the competition occurring among them, e.g.: with locative adjectives (Maskaliūnas 2000), with the verb *priklausýti* 'to belong' (Maskaliūnas 2002), with reflexive verbs (Maskaliūnas 2004), with adjectival constructions (Maskaliūnas 2009).

Daukša's *Catechism* and *Trumpas Būdas* of 1595 have become the object of a detailed study with respect to clause coordination and its markers (Judžentis, Pajedienė 2001), to complement clauses (Judžentis 2002), to complex clauses of place and time (Judžentis, Pajedienė 2005a) and to clauses expressing comparison (Judžentis, Pajedienė 2005b). The research has also already involved other OLith. texts (Judžentis, Lučinskienė 2008; Judžentis 2010).

7.4.5. Lexicon

Over the course of centuries the lexicon of the Baltic languages was massively enriched (especially in certain sectors) by foreign elements. It is possible to identify two large components which vary in percentages in the different languages:

a) the autochthonous Baltic stratum which covers the semantic spheres of everyday life, agricultural production and socio-economic relations typical for feudal societies, particularly those isolated from the rest of the continent. Also included here is the heritage of pagan sacred terminology, or at least the words which survived the massive infusion of Christian terminology as the result of evangelism;

b) foreign elements introduced and used by individual authors as borrowings and calques, and then integrated into the indigenous languages which were in turn enriched by numerous neologisms. In this case one is dealing primarily with religious terms, often received as a borrowing or calque from Belarussian, Polish or German. The latter two languages often play an intermediary role when Latin or Greek are the language models (thus one speaks about international words).

However, the large number of borrowings, both in lexicon and in phraseology, should not be surprising if one keeps in mind that the majority of early Baltic printed texts were translations [see 7.2.2.]. The internal situation of the individual languages is characterized by specific features which should be examined separately.

7.4.5.1. Lithuanian. In the lexicon of the Old Lithuanian texts the Baltic component oscillates around 60-70%, including the lexicon of the IE heritage and the later derivatives, which on the whole are ascribed to dialectisms. The remaining part consists of foreign elements, variously integrated. As has been said, the considerable number of borrowings found in OLith. texts is explained by the fact that they are often translations from other languages, but in the colloquial language the portion of borrowings was, it seems, even greater. This notion derives from the close contacts and contiguity over centuries with the Slavic languages (particularly with *ruski* and Polish in the Grand Duchy and with MG in the Duchy of Prussia). In the

first group of inherited lexicon are *a*) words typical of a feudal society and pagan faith, *b*) certain archaic terms of the IE tradition, which have gone out of use today and, *c*) other terms which have undergone a semantic shift in the contemporary language:

   a) Lith. *baũdžiava* 'serfdom', *jùngas* 'yoke', *kaũkas* 'hobgoblin, gnome' etc.;

   b) Lith. *ašvà* 'mare', *pễkus* 'livestock', *vẽtušas* 'old', *nepuotìs* 'cousin, grandson', *dagà* 'intense heat' etc.;

   c) Lith. *bérnas* 'boy > bachelor', *narsà* 'anger > courage'; *tekéti* 'to run > to flow', *dvễsti* 'to breathe > to die' etc.

To the second belong, as mentioned, foreign words variously adapted to the Lithuanian system. The assimilation of the borrowings did not always have the same results: Slavisms were most easily assimilated; Germanisms to a lesser degree (especially anthroponyms) and still less borrowings from other languages. In the first rank by number are the Slavisms (about 4,000, comprising the anthroponyms), and now it is not always easy to establish the original language. Because the possible Slavic archetypes often resemble each other, and sometimes coincide, there still do not exist any unambiguous criteria to solve this problem. Still one can distinguish among: *a*) borrowings, *b*) calques, *c*) hybrid formations, and other types; e.g.:

   a) OLith. *arñotas* 'stole' ← Pol. *ornat*; OLith. *slūžyti* 'to serve' ← Blruss. служить;

   b) OLith. *visagãlis* 'powerful' ← Pol. *wszechmogący* ~ Latin *omnipotens*; OLith. *šventvagỹstė* 'sacrilege' ← Pol. *świętokradztwo*; OLith. *įsikū́nyti* 'to be embodied' ← Pol. *wcielić się* ~ Germ. *sich einkörpern*; OLith. *medžiavilnė, mẽdvilnė* 'cotton' ← Germ. *Baumwolle*; etc.;

   c) OLith. *klýstvierė* 'heresy', cf. Lith. *klýsti* 'to get lost' and *vierà* 'faith' ← Pol. *wiara* id.; etc.

In addition, the following tendency can be observed: the principal Catholic authors of the Grand Duchy, such as M. Daukša, K. Sirvydas, etc., tend to preserve their native dialect and try to avoid borrowings. On the other hand, Calvinist authors, such as M. Petkevičius, do not hesitate to use Slavisms. In general, the East Slavic (Ruthenian-Belarussian) borrowings prevailed significantly compared to other Slavisms (Polonisms).

The traditional opinion, represented by Skardžius (1931, 1934a), holds that there were twice as many Polonisms as Ruthenianisms (Belarussianisms) in the Old Lithuanian lexicon. This claim was challenged by Urbutis (1992, 1993), who claims that this impression was formed on the basis of inadequate knowledge of Belarussian lexicon from that period. Thus, as a result of a new, modern study of the problem it has become clear that a good three-quarters of archaic Slavisms are as plausibly of Belarussian provenance as of Polish. For the remaining quarter, the ratio of Belarussian and Polish origin is two to one.

The Polonisms were diffused, especially after 1569, for two principal reasons: *a*) the ever-increasing influence of the language and culture of Poland in the social life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which promoted the Polonization of the aristocracy and the clergy; *b*) the importance of the intermediary role which Poland played in the evangelization of Lithuania, and the fact that the Old Lithuanian texts are to a large degree translations of Polish originals (Borowska 1957).

Moreover, there are numerous borrowings from German, primarily in the dialects of the Duchy of Prussia. Regarding their specific source during this period, they are from Middle-German (especially from Low Germ., fewer from High Germ.), and they are often also found in official documents and in works of religious content published in Prussia between the 16th and 17th centuries.[743] Sometimes German borrowings entered into Lithuanian through Slavic, but it is not always easy to distinguish them from direct borrowings from Slavic (e.g. Lith. *kiẽlikas* 'cup' ← Pol. *kielich* ~ MLG *kelch*, *kelich*; Lith. *lémpa/lémpė* 'lamp' ← Germ. *Lampe* ~ Pol. *lampa*).

Rarer are the borrowings from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages. They are found in specific areas like religion, science and cultural terminology. Often these words entered into literary Lithuanian through Slavic or German, but there are also indirect borrowings; e.g. Lith. *Sebaot* 'Sabaoth' (Mažvydas); *komèdija*, *figūrà*, *triùmfas* (Daukša); *celibātas*, *matèrija*, *nòrma* (Vaišnoras), etc.

7.4.5.2. Latvian. The lexicon of the Old Latvian texts shows an analogous internal division to that of Lithuanian. In the popular song (*daina*), with its metrical structure, the archaic lexicon and constructions were preserved,

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[743] Reference works on Germanisms in Lithuanian are: Prellwitz (1891); Alminauskis (1935); more recent studies, cf. Čepienė (1992, 1993, 2006ab) with bibliography of previous studies. Chancellory documents have been published by Pakarklis (1955, 1960), and a linguistic study (excluding the lexicon itself) is contained in Bense (1957).

while the Old Latvian language was enriched with new terms for desig-
nating concepts and experiences unknown in Latvian life and society;[744]
these were primarily taken from German. Thus, a Baltic component was
preserved which included a lexicon of IE origin and its more recent deriva-
tions,[745] e.g.:

> Latv. *agrs* 'early'; *asins* 'blood; *govs* 'cow'; *priede* 'pine'; *sieva* 'wife;
> woman'; *smieties* 'to smile', *sviedri* 'sweat', etc.

But there are also many foreign elements, especially of German origin.
Sehwers (1918, 1936) carefully studies the influence of German lexicon on
Latvian and collected about 2,750 examples of lexical influence. He clas-
sifies them according to various semantic groups (clothing, decorations,
gardening, musical instruments, weights and measures, domestic sphere,
church, education and school, medicine, military sphere) and furnishes
useful information concerning their dating.[746] He discusses: *a*) borrow-
ings and *b*) calques from Middle Low German until the beginning of the
17th century, e.g.:

a) Latv. *brīvs* 'free' ← MLG *vrī*, Latv. *brūte* 'bride' ← MLG *brût*, Latv.
nagla 'nail' ← MLG *nagel*, Latv. *skāde* 'damage' ← MLG *schade*, Latv.
skapēt 'to do, to create' ← MLG *schapen*, Latv. *slikts* 'bad' ← MLG
slicht, Latv. *uperis* 'victim' ← MLG *opper*, Latv. *stunda* 'hour' ← MLG
stunde, Latv. *vinnēt* 'to win' ← MLG *winnen* etc.

b) Latv. *nākt priekšā* 'to happen, to take place; to arrive early' ←
Germ. *vorkommen*; Latv. *piekrišana* 'approval' ← Germ. *Beifall*; Latv.
piepaturēt 'to maintain' ← Germ. *beibehalten* etc.

Steinbergs (1992) focusses on the relationship between Latvian and (Baltic)
German in the framework of a substratum (Latvian) ~ superstratum (Baltic
German, prestige language of the dominant population) relationship, and
investigates in particular the influence exerted by (Baltic) German.

On the morphological level she observes that loanwords from
German ending in a vowel have been twice as likely to be assigned to the

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[744] Concerning the most important lexical features (including borrowings) of the Latvian language in the 17th
century, cf. Zemzare (1961, p. 9-102). An early (16th-18th centuries) Latv. historical dictionary project has
been initiated, cf. Andronova, Siliņa-Piņķe, Trumpa, Vanags (2008).

[745] On lexical archaisms in Latvian, cf. Ademollo Gagliano (1995 and similar 1998, 2007); Euler (1998). The
old elements in Latvian are also supported by Latv.-OPr. isoglosses (Schmid 1998b).

[746] The work of Sehwers, in spite of some *lacunae*, remains the most complete study of Germanisms in Latvian
(cf. Bušs 1977, p. 55). Specific contributions on German borrowings in Latv. are Bušs (e.g. 1986ab, 1987).

feminine gender in Latvian as compared to masculine nouns (e.g. LG *tūte* → *tūta* 'bag, sack'; HG *die Mode* → *mode* [muode] 'fashion', etc.). Loan-words from German ending in a consonant have been more likely assigned to masculine gender (e.g. LG *būr* → *būris* 'cage'; HG *die Post* → *pasts* 'mail, post'). Semantic association could as well play a role in the assignement of gender (e.g. HG *der Soldat* → *zaldāts* 'soldier'). The majority of neuter nouns in German have been assigned to feminine gender in Latvian (e.g. HG *das Kleid* → *kleita* 'dress'; HG *das Möbel* → *mēbele* 'piece of furniture'). All the German verbs have been assigned to the *ē* class (e.g. LG *pōten* → *potēt* [puote:t] 'inoculate, vaccinate'; HG *kämmen* → *ķemmēt* 'comb').

Regarding the phonological system of Latvian, one has to notice several changes as a consequence of the incorporation of so many loans. Thus, in addition to what was already illustrated above [see 7.4.1.2.-3.] one can present this inventory of Latvian sounds at around the end of 19th century (following Steinbergs 1992, p. 205):

short vocalism		long vocalism	
i	u	i:	u:
e	o	e:	
æ		æ:	
a		a:	

The consonant system also changed as a result of German influence. For instance a German alveopalatal sibilant was replaced by an alveolar in Latvian (before [p, t]) although not regularly (HG *Spargel* → *šparģeļi* 'asparagus', but HG *Sprotte* → *šprote* 'sprat'), and other similar phenomena. The result is the following:

Latvian consonantism at
around the end of the 19th c.

p b	t d	k g
		k' g'
	ts tʃ	
	dz dʒ	
f v	s ʃ	
	z ʒ	
m	n n'	
	l l'	
	r (r')	
	j	

In eastern Latvian dialects there is a particularly large number of borrowings from East Slavic languages, e.g.:

Latv. *cilvēks* ← ORuss. *чьловѣкъ 'man'; Latv. *grāmata* ← ORuss. грамота 'book'; Latv. *grēks* ← Russ. грех 'sin'; Latv. *krāsa* ← Russ. краска 'color', etc.

During these centuries the foreign influence in Latvian is felt mostly in the lexicon related to religion, social life, science (fauna and flora) and anthroponyms. In particular abstract vocabulary is enriched by borrowings and calques, e.g. Latv. *amatnieks* 'artisan' (cf. *amats* < MLG *ammet*), *ipasība* 'property', *likums* 'law' (cf. Germ. *Gesetz*), *viesības* 'reception', *virsniecība* 'order, command' (Mancelius), *apstiprināt* 'to strengthen', *dalība* 'participation', *dzimtene* 'fatherland', *noraksts* 'copy', *starpība* 'difference', *vadonis* 'guide' (Glück).

Although it is difficult to establish with precision, it can be conjectured that at this time as a result of the foreign influence certain phraseologisms entered into Latvian (primarily through German, but perhaps also through Swedish).[747] The investigations of Latin loans in the OLatv. texts are, on the contrary, not very much cultivated (e.g. Rūmniece 1997). For borrowings from the Roman languages, cf. Bankavs (1986).

7.4.6. Anthroponymics

In the area of Lithuanian onomastics numerous discoveries in anthroponymics have been made by Zinkevičius (1977a) and Maciejauskienė (1977), but also by historians such as Kiaupa (2000a), who investigated the diffusion of Lithuanian names conserved in books of acts of Kaunas advocates during the 16th century.

Zinkevičius (1977a), on the basis of a thorough study of a single, but very important source (the marriage and baptismal registry of the Church of St. John in Vilnius), has reconstructed a comprehensive picture of Lithuanian anthroponyms at the beginning of the 17th century. He demonstrates precisely the model for the transfer of personal names in Polish, e.g.: Lith. *Gełezela* (cf. Lith. *geležìs* 'iron') → Pol. *Żelaſka* (cf. Pol. *żelazko* 'iron'), Lith. *Bepirβtis* (cf. Lith. *be piřšto* 'without a finger') → *Beſpalcʒik* (cf. Pol. *bez palca* 'without a finger'); etc.

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[747] Cf. Rūķe-Draviņa (1987). A full collection of materials from a Latvian-German perspective is found in Kokare (1988).

Moreover, providing a comparison with later data (1671-1681) from the same source, Zinkevičius (1977a) identifies the principal directions of changes which took place in the Lithuanian system of anthroponyms in the Vilnius district after wars, plagues and famines. The results of the comparison show that at that time the make-up of the population of Vilnius changed significantly: the Christian (Catholic) anthroponymics took on a more definite Polish appearance, and in the Lithuanian names the phonetic and structural Polonization intensified (except for translations, the Pol. suffix *-ski*, cf. *Dulka > Dulkowski*, *Stulgys > Stulginski* was often added).

The research of Maciejauskienė (1993a) continues the promising work initiated by Zinkevičius, but covers a later period. The analysis of parochial books of Kriaunos (1676-1719) shows that in this period the binomial system had already become the norm. The first element was the first name, and the second was the surname (or another first name replacing it). In the case of women the designation was more complex: mothers with a first name, godmothers with two proper names, brides and witnesses with a binomial system. In addition, Slavic suffixes are often found, *-ova*, *-ovna* (these have now already disappeared) alongside the Lith. *-ienė* (rarer *-uvienė*). The overall percentage of names of Lithuanian origin in the two books is 42%, of which 30% still exist today. In the main texts about 60% of the personal names of that time are found in modern surnames. Moreover, a significant place is occupied, although irregularly, by the process of Slavization of many other Lithuanian forms, e.g. patronymics in *-ūnas*, *-onis*, *-aitis* (transformed into *-uniec*, *-anis* or *-aniec*, *-oyc*). Maciejauskienė (2004) also observes the suffix *-uitis* in the church registers of the Gruzdžiai parish.[748] Sometimes the Lithuanian roots are translated into Polish (more rarely into Russian), as shown by Zinkevičius (1977a).

There are many special investigations on the names of specific areas in definite periods, for instance, east Lithuania in the 17th century (Zinkevičius 1998b), the parish of Punia (Alytus), in the second half of the 17th century (Palionis 2003), or the Kaunas area from the 16th to 18th centuries by Ragauskaitė (2005).

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[748]   As for lit. *-utis*, pol. *-uć*, cf. Trypućko (1982).

THE NATIONAL RENAISSANCE, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVIETIZATION IN BALTIC LINGUISTICS

8.1. THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL RENAISSANCE AND THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE BALTIC COUNTRIES

The political events which took place in Europe at the turn of the 18th–19th centuries produced significant changes. Western European democratic ideas penetrate into the cultural strata and are reflected in the literature of the period. The periodical press becomes the source for the formation of national consciousness, especially in Latvia **[see 8.1.1.]**. The initial processes in the standardization of the Baltic languages begin at this time **[8.1.2.; 8.1.3.]**. The phenomena of integration are particularly reflected in the lexicon **[see 8.2.1.]**.

8.1.1. Baltic linguistics in the 18th century

Significant diversity in the political, social, and cultural life of the Baltic countries is noted in the 18th century. At this time the northern part of ancient Livonia comes under Swedish control and German ideas
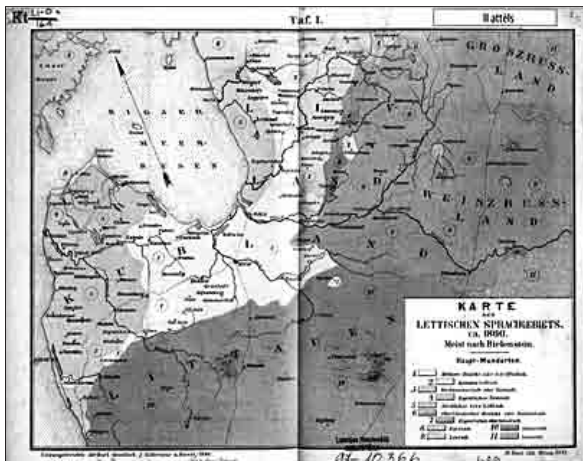
The territory of the Latvian language (Döring 1881)

of *Aufklärung* (the Enlightenment), spread among the educated strata of society. The German and Polish influence increases respectively in the two Lithuanian speaking regions of Prussia (*Lithuania Minor*) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Lithuania Major*). In the latter territory there were, with rare exceptions, no significant literary works, but in the Lithuanian Prussian lands the work of K. Donelaitis stands out. Precisely here there were at the same time accelerated attempts to Germanize the region culturally and linguistically.

8.1.1.1. Livonia. The 18th century was an important period in the history of Latvian culture. As previously, works on religious themes were produced, but at the same time, under the influence of German Enlightenment ideas, numerous works of a narrative and pedagogical nature were published. Among the important works on Latvian are: *Disputatio imperfecti ad optimum seu Rudimenta grammatices Lotavicae* [A disputation on the imperfect to the greatest degree or, rudiments of Latvian grammar, 1732], and somewhat later the *Lotavica Grammatica* [Latvian Grammar, 1737], not an original work, but based on previous grammars (Adolphi) and written in a dialect characteristic of the central regions.[749]

The most important of all were the *Neue vollständigere Lettische Grammatik* [New Complete Latvian Grammar, 1761] and the *Lettisches Lexicon* [Latvian Lexicon, 2 vols., 1789] both by Gothard F. Stenders the Elder [1714-1796], the author of a series of pedagogical works (primers) and the principal exponent of Latvian culture of the 18th century, who did much for the spread of Enlightenment ideas among the Latvians.[750]

An interesting source for better knowing the interethnic attitudes and also to a certain extent the sociolinguistic situation in Livland at that time are the works of the Baltic German publicist August Wilhelm Hupel [1737-1819], for instance his *Topografische Nachrichten aus Lief- und Ehstland* [1774, Topographical News from Livland and Estonia].[751] It is useful to keep in mind the relationships among the largest groups in Riga and its vicinity during the 18th century as established by Brambe (1982, p. 130) after archival research:

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[749] Pavīdis (1994) invesigates the Latvian grammars and vocabularies of the 17th and 18th centuries as sociolinguistic sources.

[750] Karulis (1989b); Toporov (1989); Schmid (2003a); Stender (2001). Cf. Zeiferts (1993, p. 218-223); Čakars, Grigulis, Losberga (1987, p. 78-91); also cf. Misiņš (1924-1937, I), *SLV* [see 10.3.3.].

[751] Cf. Lele-Rozentāle (1992); Jürjo (2006).

	1767	1779
German	43.9%	46.0%
Latvian	34.1%	32.2%
Russian	15.2%	13.2%
Poles	6.8%	8.5%

Less known authors were also working in this period (e.g. M. Stobbe, K. G. Elverfeld, G. Merkel, K. Hugenberger). From a historical perspective their work represents a preparatory phase to the subsequent so-called national period (Latvian *tautisks*).

The German influence is still strong in the works of the 18th century. At the same time all these publications had the effect of introducing the printed word into the houses of many Latvian peasants in the form of sermons or texts from the Bible. It should be emphasized that the level of literacy in the Baltic provinces was one of the highest in czarist Russia and was completely comparable to the situation in central east Europe.[752]

8.1.1.2. Lithuania Major. Three important social groups – the aristocracy, the intelligentsia and the clergy – underwent a gradual process of Polonization. The Lithuanian aristocracy (at least in the diocese of Vilnius) began to become Polonized under the influence of the Catholic Church, and in the Academy of Vilnius all students were required to speak and write in Polish (Žulys 1979, p. 7-9). A large part of the Catholic clergy abandoned the linguistic tradition inherited from Daukša and Sirvydas and no longer concerned themselves about using Lithuanian, turning instead to Polish (Jonikas 1987, p. 122-127).

At the same time the activity of the Jesuits in the 17th-18th centuries preserved the national consciousness among the Lithuanians. The catechism, sermons and literary publication were proffered by them in the language of the people (Jučas 1990). At the end of the 1750s a primer was published, the 1st edition in Lithuanian and Polish, and then only in Lithuanian, in the Samogitian dialect. This situation resulted in a significant infusion of foreign words (primarily Polonisms [see 8.1.3.]) into religious texts, at the cost of losing Lithuanian forms already attested in the language.

[752] Sources of the period prior to the abolition of serfdom report that a third of the peasants of Curlandia were able to read, and data from 1790 show that in Livonia 61% of youth was literate. On multilingualism in the Baltics in the period 1770-1850, cf. Plath (2012). Cf. Plakans (1993, p. 206-207) with bibliography.
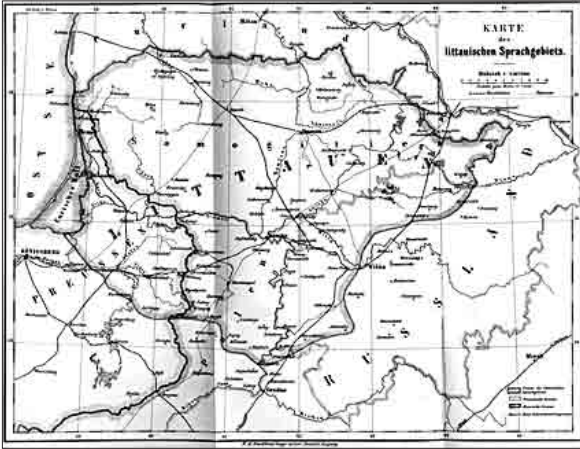
The territory of the Lithuanian language (Kurschat 1876)

Researchers usually refer to the decline of the language as fixed in written Lithuanian sources of the period.[753] A typical example of such a literary type is *Broma atwerta ing viečnastį* [The Door Open to Eternity, 1753] of the Samogitian M. Ališauskis (Olszewski, 1712-1779), where two Slavisms appear in the title (*broma* ← Pol. *brama* 'door'; *viečnastis* ← Blruss. вечнастъ 'eternity'). In the remaining religious texts of the period one observes, on the one hand, a weakening of the role of the "eastern variant" **[see 7.2.3.1.]**), and on the other hand a certain mixing of the dialects which facilitated the formation of a kind of church *koi-né* (Lith. *bažnytinė koinė*), based on the High Lithuanian speech with a variable insertion of "eastern" or Samogitian elements. The role of the latter increases in the course of the 18th century as the number of native regional authors grows. Lithuanian in a relatively better form was preserved in certain other manuscripts of religious texts, and particularly in literature, such as poetry, composed for specific occasions.[754] During this time of general decline, an important event which showed that there was still interest in the problems relating to the establishment of a norm for Lithuanian was the publication in 1737 of the *Universitas Lingvarum Litvaniae* [All the Languages of Lithuania). This was the first normative practical grammar produced in the territory of the Grand Duchy by an anonymous author.[755]

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[753] A different opinion based on a reinterpretation of the sociolinguistic situation in Lithuania at that time is expressed in Spires (2001).

[754] Cf. Palionis (1979, p. 106-108, and p. 112-116).

[755] Eigminas (1960, 1981); Palionis (1979, p. 109-112). It should be noted that in this work the main tonal models for Lithuanian are delineated and briefly described for the first time, cf. Rozwadowski (1897).

8.1.1.3. Lithuania Minor. The linguistic situation in the Prussian territories was definitely better than that which developed in the ethnographic territory of Lithuania (cf. Bense 1997).[756] As has already been mentioned [see 7.2.3.1.], in Prussia the formation of a religious variant of the language on the basis of west High Lithuanian dialects took place more quickly. In the beginning of the 18th century Prussian Lithuanian pastors argued about which Lithuanian should be used when speaking with the people. It is briefly recorded in the tract *Principium primarium in lingva Lithvanica* [A Primer of the Lithuanian Language, Königsberg 1706] that the pastor M. Mörlin (Merlinas) supports the principle of *loquendum cum vulgo*, that is, one should speak with the people as the people themselves speak. He announces his intention to fight vigorously against any German borrowings and other barbarisms [see 8.1.3.], and exhorts teaching pure Lithuanian to receptive minds and to more educated people (Jonikas 1937). Mörlin's tract, directed at the educated Lithuanian public, provided a strong stimulus to the process of the codification and normalization of the language.[757] This initiated the publication of grammars and the preparation of some lexicographical works: Haack, 1730 (Zubaitienė 2012); Brodovskis [Brodowski], ca. 1740 (Drotvinas 2009);[758] Ph. Ruhig, 1747 (Zubaitienė 2010); Chr. Mielcke [Milkus], 1800. The interest generated by Mörlin's tract was responsible for the appearance in Prussian territory of several texts of a non-religious content (Drotvinas 2008). The beginnings of secular literature are associated with the works of Kristijonas Donelaitis [Donalitius, 1714-1780], a solitary figure and complex personality, who in the troubled period of political turmoil composed a work in hexameters *Metai* or also *Metų laikai* [The Seasons of the Year, posthum 1818 [see 10.2.3.]].[759] With the appearance of Donelaitis's national poem *Metai*, the language of the people finally acquired the status of literary dignity. In the educated circles of the time Philip Ruhig's German tract concerning the Lithuanian language had

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[756] For a general survey of German–Lith. cultural and linguistic relationships in the *Lithuania Minor*, cf. Lepner 1744; Joachimsthaler (2012), Hartmann (2012).

[757] Other translations and publications favored the development of this process. I must also mention the linguistic polemics of G. Ostermeyer and K. Mielcke in the 1780s. For more details on the period, cf. Palionis (1979, p. 117-135).

[758] On Brodovski's German compounds, cf. Jarmalavičius (2013); on Brodovskis's vocabulary lexicographical sources, cf. Plaušinaitytė (2008, 2010).

[759] All the works of Donelaitis are collected in Korsakas (1977); the lexicon is analyzed by Kabelka (1964). Concerning Donelaitis as a Lithuanian poet, cf. Gineitis (1964); the commemorative issue of *Lituanus* 10-1, 1964; Kuzmickas (1983); Jovaišas (1992); Kuolys (2014); on Donelatis and the classic literatures, cf. Dilytė (2005). A large number events, new publications and new translations of *Metai*, are expected for 2014 on the occasion of the 2nd centenary of the birth of the poet. [see also 10.2.4.]

significant success [see 7.3.3.4.]. He was also the first to collect Lithuanian and Latvian folksongs, which were highly regarded by the German romantics (Lessing and Herder)[760] and also by Goethe.[761]

It is also worth mentioning that in these periods two Lithuanian Protestant seminaries were active, one in Königsberg (1718-1944)[762] at the beginning under the guidance of Henrich J. Lysius [1670-1731] and, although for a much shorter period, a second one in the very center of German Pietismus in Halle (1727-1740)[763] under the guidance of the theologian August Hermann Francke [1663-1727]. Both seminaries also undertook the teaching of the Lithuanian language. Books mostly came from Königsberg to Halle; nevertheless Friedrich W. Haack [1706-1754] produced in Halle two important works: *Vocabvlarivm litthvanico-germanicvm et germanico-lithvanicvm... Nebst einem Anhang einer kurtzgefassten litthauischen Grammatic* [Lithuanian-German and German-Lithuanian Vocabulary... with an Appendix of a short Lithuanian Grammar, 1730, Halle]. The Königsberg seminary employed famous authors in the history of Lithuanian culture and literature such as Jacob J. Quandt [1686-1772], whose name is connected with the first printed Lithuanian *Bible* (1735), and Ludvig Gedimin Rhesa [1776-1840], a poet, translator and folklorist.[764] Among the students there were Friedrich Kurschat [Kuršaitis, 1806-1884], author of a *Wörterbuch der littauischen Sprache* [Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language, Halle, I: 1870; II: 1883] and of an important *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* [Grammar of the Lithuanian Language, Halle, 1876}, the classic of Lithuanian literature Kristijonas Donelaitis [see *infra* and 10.2.3.], and the historian and philologist Gottfried Ostermeyer [1716-1800].[765] During the 19th century the seminary also became well-known abroad and a recognized center for foreign linguists who wanted to learn Lithuanian; F. Fortunatov [1848-1914] and P. Preis [1810-1846] came there from Russia; K.W. Smith [1811-1881] came there from Danemark.

At the beginning of the 18th century, however, the situation in Prussia was complicated by the numerous plans for Germanizing the Lithuanian lands. I will describe one episode from many illustrative of this situation.

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[760] On Herder and the Baltics, cf. Šešplaukis-Tyruolis (1995); for Latvian, cf. Scholz (1995); on Herder and Lith. *dainos*, cf. Šmidchens (2010).

[761] On Goethe and the Baltic literature, cf. Grinuma (2002); especially on Lith. literature, cf. Kubilius (1993).

[762] Citavičiūtė (2004). On the activity of Rhesa in the seminar of Königsberg, cf. Ermakova, von Biotticher (2011).

[763] Specht (1935); Schiller (1994).

[764] Jovaišas A. (1969).

[765] Citavičiūtė (1996).

The event was an attempt at *Verdeutschung Litauens* [i.e. Germanization of Lithuania], linked to the name of the school inspector H. J. Lysius, and relates to the 1720s, when a reform of the elementary system of education was carried out in the Duchy of Prussia. Not only did the program proposed by inspector Lysius for restructuring not take into consideration the interests of the Lithuanian speaking community, but it often openly contradicted them. In the evolving polemics concerning what language would be appropriate to use for teaching in the district's schools, Lysius pointed out the impossibility of finding at least a thousand teachers capable of speaking Lithuanian. On a larger scale he posed the question whether it was worth publishing books for such a small territory. Lysius made it his goal to draw Lithuanian youth to German culture, and he openly urged them to study German, but his political plans were met by opposition from the representatives of the Lithuanian church, and he lost interest in Lithuania. The Lithuanian translation of a Lutheran catechism (1722), which had been previously prepared under Lysius (1719), was published by G. Engelis [1685-1761].[766]

8.1.2. The first standardization of Baltic languages in the 19th century

When in 1795 the agreement between the Prussia of Friedrich II, the Russia of Catherine II and Hapsburg Austria put an end to the independence of the Polish–Lithuanian confederation, the ethnographic lands of Baltia (with the exception of the small Lithuanian region of Suvalkija) fell under Russian influence. Thus, willing or unwilling, the Lithuanians and the Latvians found themselves part of czarist Russia. In Latvia power was in the hands of the German and local nobility (the descendants of the knights of the Teutonic Order), who had their own administrative apparatus. Lithuania was at first divided into several districts and then was governed by a single governor (the Northwest Territory). With the onset of the period of liberal reforms of Alexander II, the echo of the French Revolution reached the Baltic provinces. The Latvian peasants had earlier on many occasions protested against the so-called Baltic Barons, but now the local nobility began to feel the economic crisis. For several decades significant changes took place: on the one hand, the peasantry of the Baltic countries was

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[766] For editions of the so-called Lysius's Catechism see Dini (1993bc); Panzer (1993); for studies: Aleknavičienė (2001); Dini (2005b).

freed from serfdom.[767] On the other hand, the spread of the "Slavophile" ideology encouraged the politics of Russification of non-Russian peoples in the Empire, which contradicted the ever-increasing idea among the Baltic peoples of national identity.

The epoch of Renaissance among the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Latgalians continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries,[768] parallel to the process of standardization of the Baltic languages.[769] In spite of many similarities, the development of each individual language demonstrated features which require a distinct approach to each one.

8.1.2.1. Russification and *Knygnešiai*. Among the subjects taught in the University of Vilnius were several eastern languages, but the study of Lithuanian was forbidden. Moreover, a committee of censors was installed, consisting exclusively of Poles. Their mandate was to prevent the publication of textbooks in Lithuanian. The proposals in the 1820s of the democrat K. Kontrimas to establish a department of Lithuanian in the University were not heeded (Žulys 1979, p. 10). Still, interest in Lithuanian did not abate, as witnessed by the work of X. Bohusz, (*O początkach narodu i języka litewskiego* [Concerning the Origins of the Lithuanian Nation and Language, 1809].[770] Furthermore, the work of the Samogitian mathematician Z. Niemczewski on Lithuanian and Samogitian was used by the French geographer C. Malte Brunn in his book, *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne* [Paris 1807, Table of Ancient and Modern Poland; cf. *LKTI*, I, p. 11].

Lithuanian scholars identify four periods in the history of the contemporary Lithuanian language, basing them on four historical events which significantly influenced its development (Jonikas 1972; Palionis 1979):

I) from the partition of 1795 when Lithuania was reincorporated into the Russian Empire (while maintaining close ties with Poland) until 1883, when the journal *Aušra* (*The Dawn*) was founded;

II) the period prior to the declaration of independence (1918);

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[767] Demonstrations erupted in Latvia in 1802. In 1803 the *sejm* of Livonia passed a law improving the condition of the peasants according to which they could not be sold or expelled from the land they worked. Serfdom was finally abolished in Estonia in 1816, in Curlandia in 1817, and in Livonia in 1819. But the effects of this abolition were more theoretical than practical, which led to new riots in 1838-1840. Serfdom existed until almost 1861 in Lithuania and Latgalia because of the turbulent political situation.

[768] For the historical context and bibliography, cf. the relevant sections in general works: Maciūnas (1939); Wittram (1973, p. 125-257); Bilmanis (1951, p. 197-257); Šapoka (1936, p. 440-531); Ochmański (1982, p. 192-255); Plakans (1995).

[769] Belardi (1994, 1995); Plakans (1993).

[770] Cf. Maciūnas (1937); Sabaliauskas (*LKTI*, I, p. 12); *Aliletoescvr*, p. 682-685.

III) the period of independence (1918-1940);

IV) the Soviet period (1944-1990) **[see 8.3.]**.

It is important to distinguish between east Prussia (*Lithuania Minor*) and the Lithuania of the Grand Duchy (*Lithuania Major*). In east Prussia the church style predominated and the language was more uniform and normalized compared to the territories of the former Grand Duchy. On the latter territory there was more dialectal fragmentation, while a significant stylistic variety existed (publicistic, scientific, and secular), and more linguistic works were created (published, it is true, mostly in Polish).[771] In general over the entire 19th century the relationship between Lithuanian, Polish and Russian in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was meaningful, and the competition between them reflects the socio-political contradictions of that time (Subačius 1991, 1998a).

In the first half of the 19th century no names of note appeared in the literary production of Lithuania, with the sole exception of Simonas Stanevičius [1799-1848], a poet, historian, and scholar of folklore, to whom one owes the re-publication in 1829 of the anonymous *Universitas Lingvarum Litvaniae* [i.e. the Lithuanian grammar of 1737] **[see 8.1.1.2.]**. At the same time a cultural atmosphere gradually developed which was conducive to national cultural development (Aleksandravičius 1989). Because a large number of publications – grammars, dictionaries, etc. – were devoted to the Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect, there was an opportunity (unrealized) to form a single language on its foundation.

One of the first attempts to write a grammar at the beginning of the 19th century is the *Prawidła Ięzyka Litewskiego Czyli GRAMMATYKA Litewska* [Rules of the Lithuanian Language or Lithuanian Grammar] known as X.D.K.P.S., a rather short grammar with few rules, written between 1820 and 1830, very probably for beginners (Subačius 2002a). Further, one can also cite *Krótkie pomysły o prawidłach grammatycznych języka żmudzkiego* [Brief Consideration of the Grammatical Rules of the Samogitian Language] by Juozas Čiulda [1796-1861], which appeared in the middle of the 19th century (Subačius 1993).

The hopes of forming a single language basing on Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect were linked to the activity of Simonas Daukantas [1793-1864], a famous historian and writer who shared the ideals of

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[771]   Palionis (1979, p. 147-291). Sociolinguistic considerations are found in Sužiedėlis (1981).

democracy and of a national movement.[772] In the Polonized and Russified Lithuania of the 19th century, Daukantas was the first public figure to publish his writings only in Lithuanian. He wanted to prove that his mother tongue was perfectly suited for literary and scholarly works and that it had to occupy a prominent place in Lithuanian culture. In the years from 1850 to 1856 Daukantas worked on his *Great Polish–Lithuanian Dictionary*.[773] "In my opinion", wrote Daukantas, "one cannot write in pure Samogitian [i.e. Low Lithuanian] or in pure Aukštaitian [i.e. High Lithuanian], but one must respect its delicacy, harmony, and conciseness." Applying this principle Daukantas collected lexical material from written sources from various dialectal regions, both High and Low Lithuanian and attempted to create a common language for all Lithuanians. However, being more a historian than a linguist he could not reconcile the two dialects and paid too little attention to the spoken language.[774]

The politics of Russification in Lithuania began in 1863, and a period of brutal repression and Siberian deportations began, which lasted for the remainder of the century. As a result the number of Lithuanians living in their ethnic territory decreased from 62% in 1897 to 52% in 1914. The rebellions of the Lithuanians were numerous, often coinciding with those of the Poles, but they were largely unsuccessful.[775] Although these rebellions did not result in liberty, during the course of the battle national self-awareness was reinforced in all sectors of the population. The students of the Universities of Vilnius and Königsberg were the carriers of the idea of a rebirth of the independent State; the national poet of Lithuania, Maironis (Jonas Maironis–Mačiulis [1862-1932]),[776] wrote about this in his works.

The czarist government responded to the rebellion of the Lithuanians with uncommonly cruel ethnic politics. A plan was implemented to lower

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[772] Merkys (1972); Žukas (1988 with bibliography) [see 10.2.4.].

[773] It is the Great Polish-Samogitian Dictionary which purported to be (as its breadth shows) the principal lexicographical source for the Samogitian Academy founded by Bishop M. Valančius. This lexicographical work is being edited by Subačius (1993-1996).

[774] Concerning Daukantas's conception of a common language, cf. Subačius (1995b). On models of standard written Lithuanian in the 19th century, cf. Subačius (1997).

[775] The armed revolts, speaking only of the main ones, took place in 1812, 1831, 1863 and 1904. The first led to the formation of the Lithuanian Provisional Government with the support of Napoleon, which was subsequently driven out after the defeat of Napoleon (cf. Dundulis 1981).

[776] Maironis (real name Jonas Mačiulis) was a poet and dramatist, a fervent patriot, an idealist and Romantic of European bent. Having graduated from the seminary in Kaunas and the Academy of St. Petersburg he taught moral philosophy in those cities. With his epic patriotic poems he created the classical tradition in Lithuanian literature: the collection of poetry *Pavasario balsai* (*Voices of Spring*, 1895), and the poems *Jaunoji Lietuva* [Young Lithuania, 1907] and *Mūsų vargai* [Our Misfortunes, 1920], a theater trilogy (1922-1930) about Vytautas the Great. All these works became an indispensible example for the patriotic movement and for the successive generations of Lithuanian writers.

the relatively high level of culture of the local population and to weaken the influence of the Catholic Church. A few facts can serve to illustrate the situation better. The Polish language, spoken by the Lithuanian aristocracy, who were already distant from the Lithuanian-speaking people, by decree was awarded more rights than Lithuanian, and was permitted as the language for study in school (Zinkevičius 1993a). In 1865, by order of Alexander II, Vilnius University was closed. Moreover, the czarist authorities introduced the *spaudos draudimas* (i.e. the prohibition of printing), forbidding the printing of Lithuanian in Latin letters for the next forty years (1864-1904). The aim of this move was to separate the Poles and Lithuanians and to train the latter in Cyrillic.[777] To boycott the imposition of the Cyrillic alphabet, Bishop Motiejus Valančius [1801-1875] decided to print Lithuanian books in nearby Tilžė (Germ. *Tilsit*) as well as in America with the help of Lithuanian emigrés **[see 9.2.1.]**. Thus, in the United States and east Prussia (*Lithuania Minor*) 1,856 books were printed, not counting newspapers and journals. During the entire period of the *spaudos draudimas* almost 2000 *knygnešiai* ('book-carrier' i.e. book smugglers) heroically disseminated the books throughout the homeland. In order to give an idea of the breadth and significance of the activity of these people, whose image became a literary *topos* in the Lithuanian renaissance, the following statistics are useful: between 1891 and 1893 the czarist customs agents confiscated 37,718 books at the borders, and from 1900-1902 another 56,182, not counting the ones found inside the country.[778]

Moreover, there was an attempt to introduce Russian into the Catholic liturgy, having organized its study in the seminaries and having liquidated Catholic centers and schools.[779] These political moves had the aim of forced indoctrination of Russian culture and Orthodoxy. In the period during the ban on the use of the Latin alphabet for Lithuanian there was of course also an attempt to force Lithuanians to write in the Cyrillic alphabet. Three individuals particularly acted to this purpose – as thoroughly investigated by Subačius (2011) – who were important for the preparation of Lithuanian text books written in the Cyrillic alphabet: Dmitrij Kаširin [1812-1896], Zacharijus Liackis [1836-1899] and Andrius Poidėnas

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[777] Concerning attempts to prohibit Latin characters in Latvia, cf. Bērziņš (1930).

[778] Supplementary information on this period of Lithuanian history can be obtained in the relevant sections of general works: Šapoka (1935); Ochmański (1982). Staliūnas (2004) is a collection of the contributions of a conference held in Šiauliai (2004.05.27-28) on the subject of *spaudos draudimas*.

[779] The struggle for the right of the Lithuanian language in the religious life in the region of Vilnius at the beginning of the 20th century is described in Raskauskas (2007). The importance of the language for the Lith. national movemente is underlined in Niendorf (2012).

[1859-1901]. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, it was becoming increasingly evident to the authorities that the ban on printing Lithuanian in Latin alphabet was completely absurd.

8.1.2.2. Latvia, Romanticism and the *Jaunlatvieši*. The interest in peasant culture which emerged in Germany in the first quarter of the 19th century had a positive effect on the fate of the Latvian language.[780] The presence of J. G. Herder [1744-1803] in Riga was decisive in this regard: Latvian came to be considered a subject worthy of research, and Latvians became acknowledged as a people (*Volk*) with their own individual characteristics.[781] The very approach to the study of Latvian oral traditions changed. In 1824, thanks to the efforts of Protestant pastors, the *Latviešu draugu biedrība* [Society of the Friends of Latvia] of Riga included in its plans the systematic study of Latvian language and folklore. Among other positive initiatives of the Protestant pastors it is worth mentioning the founding by K. F. Watson of the weekly *Latviešu avīzes* [The Journal of the Latvians, 1822], the first such publication in Latvian, and others followed. C. Chr. Ulman opened a pedagogical school which prepared teachers for primary schools in the Latvian countryside.

The art of the song had a peculiar and often unconscious importance for language unification in the 18th and 19th centuries. Choral singing and regional song festivals attracted huge numbers of participants and viewers. Such events generated a feeling of national unity, which in turn contributed to the process of standardization of the language. A network of schools scattered throughout the country played an important and this time conscious role in this process. Beginning in the 13th century in Vidzeme (northeast Latvia) there were schools organized on the German model, while in Riga the first Latvian schools were opened in the 16th century. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of these schools for the process of standardization of the language. Perhaps nowhere did teachers have such an influence on the formation of national self-consciousness.

The Latvian national movement was constantly persecuted by the czarist government, which supported the nobility – landowners of German descent – against the aspirations of the indigenous population. While local autonomy (земство) had already been introduced in other districts of the

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[780] On the role of Germans in the caretaking and developmet of the Latv. language in the 19th century, cf. Vanags (2012).

[781] Cf. Plakans (1993, p. 207). Concerning Herder and Latvia, cf. Paklons (1978); Šešplaukis-Tyruolis (1995, p. 19-51); Scholz (1995).

empire, in the Baltic countries the power continued to be in the hands of the assemblies of noblemen. Following the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom, the land in the region was not conceded to them. 1856 is typically considered the date of the beginning of the renaissance of the Latvian nation. In this year the so-called *Jaunlatvieši* [i.e Young Latvians] began their activity and undertook to organize intellectual circles throughout the entire territory of Latvia with the aim of generating a feeling of national identity.[782] These were students (Auseklis, J. Alunāns, J. Bārs, A. Leitans), mostly from the University of Tartu, who gathered regularly to discuss the politics of nationality which was gathering momentum at that time in several European countries. Their leader was the intellectual Krišjānis Valdemārs [1825-1891],[783] and the prominent exponents of the group were Juris Alunāns [1832-1864] and Krišjānis Barons [1835-1923]. Alunāns was the first poet of the movement, and translated from German, Latin, and Greek. The collection of his verses and translations was called *Dziesmiņas* [Collection of Lyrics, 1856]. He also worked in linguistics, studied Lithuanian and introduced into Latvian many neologisms of his own creation. Barons helped Alunāns in his work on a newspaper, which in 1878 began publishing *dainas*, Latvian popular songs which he collected throughout his life: 8 volumes were published (Barons, Wissendorffs 1894-1915; Arājs 1983).[784]

The Young Latvians challenged the supremacy of the German (and Russian) languages[785] by publishing newspapers in Latvian: a weekly, *Mājas Viesis* [Master of the House, Riga 1856] and a daily *Pēterburgas Avizes* [The Newspaper of Petersburg, 1862-1865]. Because of his connections in the highest circles of Russian society, Valdemārs himself was named the censor. In the pages of this newspaper he wrote that the Latvian peasants should become the proprietors of the land on which they had toiled for centuries. Thus the linguistic challenge became a political one, touching the interests of the German Baltic nobility. The newspaper was forced to close and any hope of persuading high-ranking Russians to support the aspirations of the Latvians was illusory.

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[782] For various historiographical approaches to the Young Latvians movement, cf. Sočņevs (1989). One aspect that still remains little studied is the events surrounding the movement prior to Valdemārs, cf. Baltiņa (1989, p. 28).

[783] K. Valdemārs studied and worked in St. Petersburg, then returned to his homeland to conduct agricultural reform on behalf of Latvian peasants. Subsequently he lived in Moscow where he died.

[784] On the language of the Latv. *dainas*, cf. Ozols (1961), Vīķis-Freibergs (1989a) and various other contributions in *LPLFS*; especially on syntax, cf. Gāters (1993). A comprehensive investigation on phraseology, lexicon and syntax of Latvian *dainas* is Eckert (2007).

[785] Naturally this was not able to protect their own language from the influence of Russian, cf. Veidemane (1977).

For the participants in the national movement the definition "Latvian" was closely linked with the question of language. In the mosaic of the populations of the Baltics, the language served as the sole guarantee of belonging to the same community, the connecting link, capable of uniting the Latvians who were living on three administrative territories: Livonia, Curlandia, Vitebsk (Blinkena 1985a). However, the inferior position of Latvian was only a reflection of the unfair distribution of the political power among various groups (Plakans 1993, p. 209-212). The ideas agitated for by the Young Latvians contradicted (although often only externally) the initiatives of the Protestant theological evangelists. The principal representative of this tendency was the pastor and writer J. Neikens [1826-1868], who expressed a more moderate point of view, which is completely understandable given that the church governance remained in the hands of the Baltic Germans.

In 1868 the *Rīgas latviešu biedrība* [Latvian Society of Riga] was founded, which over the next decade would become the center of the intellectual life of the movement for national rebirth.[786] New newspapers appeared, and among the young Latvians Atis Kronvalds [1837-1875] stands out as an active publicist and polemicist who became notable for his successful disputations opposing the Germanizing arguments offered by the Baltic-German intellectual classes. Meanwhile, the politics of Russification which developed in the decade of 1880-1890 was extended to Latvia and Estonia as well. At the same time the economic integration with Russia was strengthened, and Riga became the industrial center of the region. The ethnic texture of its population changed substantially as the result of the massive stream of immigrants from the country. More and more Latvians appeared in the Baltic cities, working and trading, competing with the German population. The new citizens naturally needed texts in their native language. The image of Latvian as a subordinate language subsequently faded, and the activity of the Young Latvians[787] played an important role in this transitional period. They brought together both the cultured and the popular languages, thereby creating a base for the Latvian literary language. In an attempt to give the native language a vocabulary which would reflect

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[786] Plakans (1993, p. 211) warns against the invalid use of the term "movement" which supposes a much larger number of participants; the actual number of authors was small, but they were supported by at least 4,000 subscribers to the Petersburg Journal. The importance of the Latvian Society of Riga within the Latvian national movement and as a center of production of books is investigated in Volfarte (2009) and Zanders (2006).

[787] For questions related to the linguistic activity of the Young Latvians (as well as of their precursors, of the periodization, and so forth), cf. Baltiņa (1989).

the new conditions of life in the city, and the new mercantile relationships, the Young Latvians put a special priority on lexicon. The growth of the lexical patrimony of the Latvian language began in the second half of the 19th century thanks largely to their activity. Their principal goal was to make Latvian a language of culture, and the pursuit of this objective produced a rapid increase of Latvian vocabulary, which was achieved in four main ways:

a) the terminologization of dialectal words, e.g. Latv. (meteorological terms) *krasa* 'a brief rain shower', cf. Latv. dialect 'rain downpour');

b) the introduction of learned Baltisms (Lithuanianisms, Prussianisms), e.g. Latv. *ķermenis* 'body' ← OPr. *kērmens* id., Latv. *kareivis* 'soldier' ← Lith. *kareĩvis* id., Latv. *veikals* 'store' ← Lith. *veĩkalas* 'affair';

c) the creation of neologisms, e.g. Latv. *zinātne* 'science' (cf. *zināt* 'to know'), Latv. *nākotne* 'future' (cf. *nākt* 'to arrive');

d) the introduction of many international words of Greek or Latin origin, but through Russian or English (Baldunčiks 1991).

In addition the Young Latvians began to rework the syntax of the Old Latvian texts which had been strongly influenced by German. Their aim was to bring the syntax closer to that of the popular language. Their work anticipated the creation of the modern language with the same forms for the oral and written variants as well as strengthening the norms of orthography and pronunciation.

Blinkena (1996) has stressed the peculiar importance of the two last decades of the 19th century for the development of those processes which created precisely the language which was later used by the writers of the 20th century. During the period 1886-1900 more then 3,500 books were published by 100 editorial companies. The *Zinību komisija* [Scientific commission] of the above already mentioned Rigas Latvian society perfectionated the orthography, created a scientific terminology, and favored both empirical and theoretical investigation of the Latvian language. This was the epoch when J. Endzelīns, K. Mülenbach, J. Kauliņš, P. Šmits and still other known linguists were active, whose personalities and contribution to linguistics have been accurately studied by Kļaviņa (2008).

8.1.2.3. Linguistic rebirth in Latgalia. The history of the language of Latgalia, having its own peculiarities, intersects closely with the history of the other Baltic languages.

Over the course of history Latgalia belonged to different states: the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth), Sweden, the czarist Russian Empire. The role of the Jesuits contributed to the development of Latvian language and culture, and through religion (Catholicism) the influence of Polish language and culture spread both among the nobility and country folks. As a result of the Livonian war and the Altmark Peace Accord (1629) Latgalia remained under Polish rule (*Inflanty Polskie*) and in the 19th century it became a part of the Russian Empire. Thus, for almost three centuries (1629-1917) Latgalia's Latvians remained *de facto* separated from the rest of Latvia's ethnic territory (cf. Sots 2002). During this long period of time the region developed, of course, its strongly characterized own linguistic variant of the Latvian language (based on the High Latvian dialect) along with a distinct culture and customs.

In the 18th century a *koiné* was formed of High Latvian dialects. This *koiné* was distinct from the written Latvian language, at the basis of which was the dialect of the central region.[788] A crucial question regarding Latgalian has always been (and still is) that of the normalization of writing (spelling). Until 1908, when a unified writing for Latvians was established (Jansone 2008), two main scripts were in use: *fraktur* or Gothic script used for low Latvian texts, and *antiqua* or Latin script for High Latvian or Latgalian texts. One can say, that from the appearance of the first written monuments in Latgalian in 1730, there existed an uninterrupted tradition of normalization of this written language.[789] J. Špungjansks published the first Latgalian grammar *Dispositio imperfecti ad optimum* (1732), in which he tried to integrate the various alternative writings.

The first books which have been preserved until the present are the liturgical hymns *Evangelia Toto Anno* [Gospels for the Whole Year], the work of J. Lukaszewicz, which was published in the printing-house of the Academy of Vilnius in 1753, and is considered to be the foundation of Latgalian orthography until the beginning of the 20th century. The first missions of the Jesuits also came to Latgalia at this time: they founded the first school in Daugavpils and used the first Latgalian books. The authors of the first written documents using the Latgalian variant were Poles and Lithuanians, but the influence of Lithuanian was not very significant

[788] Material on Latgalian is gathered e.g. in Jokubauska, Blinkena (1983) and in Laumane (1999) [see 9.1.3.1.].
[789] Concerning the language of the Latgalians, cf. Bukšs (1948, 1961); Lelis (1961); Bukšs, Placinskis (1973). On the literary history of Latgalian, cf. Bukšs (1957). On the beginnings of written Latgalian, cf. Leikuma (2008).

and much weaker than that of Polish, which remained in all of Latgalian literature.

The history of the written Latgalian language dates from the 16th century and can be divided into three main periods: Old Latgalian, from 1730 through 1865; the period of the illegal use of Latin script in printed texts (1865-1904); and the period of standardization, from 1904 until the present (Stafecka 1991, 2009; Kursīte, Stafecka 1995).

In the 19th century Latgalia was under the jurisdiction of Vitebsk and the influence of the Baltic area was mediated by the Catholic religion and Polish culture, since the local intelligentsia on the whole was composed of church representatives. Some Latgalian authors began to follow the change in Polish orthography. In the following period of Russification, and of the printing prohibition of Latin alphabet, which began here in 1865, the principal authors were: M. Roth, J. Kurmin, J. Macilewicz, J. Akelewicz, and G. Manteuffel. Through the efforts of the latter the first calendar in Latgalian was published, *Infanty ziemies Lajkagromota aba Kalenders* [Schedule or Calendar of the Livonian land]. Books in Latgalian were copied by hand illegally or were published abroad (in Holland, Sweden, Germany, Finland) and smuggled into Latgalia illegally.

After the lifting of prohibitions on printing in 1904 work on the normalization of grammar rules and the elaboration of the new orthography began; also many normative texts for grammar and spelling appeared. At this time a group of Latgalian intellectuals was active in St. Petersburg.[790] In 1918 Latgalia entered the make-up of the Republic of Latvia. Under independent Latvia during the interwar period the Ministry of Education established an Orthography Committee, which elaborated and adopted in 1929 new orthography standards for the Latgalian written language. After World War II, however, the sphere of use for Latgalian diminished significantly, and ceased completely when a new printing prohibition came into effect in the 1960s, except for use in religious services (in particular, several texts for the Catholic liturgy were published), and for use among several groups of Latvian émigrés.[791]

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[790] Among them: Francis Trasuns [1864-1926], priest and deputy, author of Catholic calendars; Nikodēms Rancāns [1870-1933], priest and editor of the journal *Sākla* [The Seed, 1906]; Francis Kemps [1876-1952], a poet supportive of Latgalian separatism who died in Siberia; the brothers Ontons and Kazimirs Skrinda: Ontons [1881-1918] was a physician, author of the first anthology of Latgalian poetry *Kūkle* (Id., 1914), Kazimirs [1875-1919] was a priest and editor of the Latgalian weekly *Drywa* [The Countryside, 1908-1917]; Pīters Smeļters [1868-1949], a priest who collected Latgalian folk songs. A good synthesis of Latgalian literature is in Blese (1963). See also Štamere (2008).

[791] On Latvians and Latgalians in Siberia, cf. Andronov, Leikuma (2006).

A rebirth took place by the end of the 1980s, when the existence of this language was protected in the Latvian Republic by language laws although there was a very complex social and linguistic situation [see 9.1.3.1.]. As for the normalization of the writing, a new commission was formed in the 1990s under the guidance of Antons Breidaks [1932-2002] which developed many of the Latgalian written language principles introduced in the 1930s, based on the traditional orthography still used today, with some differences. Finally, the subcommission on orthography of the Latgalian Standard Language was established in 2003 in order to coordinate the work of the Latvian Language Experts Board in completing the Latgalian orthography reform. Thus, new standards for the Latgalian written language (including the orthography of words and their grammar forms) were elaborated and published in 2007.

8.1.3. The second standardization in the period of independence (1918-1940)

"With the end of the 19th and with the arrival of the 20th century the names Lithuanian and Latvian began to be applied not only to the communities of people speaking those languages, something which had been accepted for some time, but also to the newly constituted linguistic communities, to the respective languages of the nations of Lithuania and Latvia, which were destined, at least in the early stages, to become the common written languages."[792]

8.1.3.1. The ethnic and social situation of the new republics. In 1918 Lithuania and Latvia became independent states on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea.[793] The political situation was dominated by an excess of patriotism, and this produced a certain internal instability and chaos (also aggravated by the large number of political parties represented in the respective parliaments: there were 26 in the Latvian and 12 in the Lithuanian parliament). Moreover, as a result of the complicated international situation which had

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[792] Cf. Belardi (1995, p. 109). Concerning linguistic reform in Lithuania and Latvia, cf. respectively Rinholm (1990) and Rūķe-Draviņa (1990).

[793] For the historical background in different languages, cf. Senn A. E. (1959, 1966); Ehret (1969, 1970); Vardys, Misiūnas (1978); Ochmański (1982, p. 292-346); Hiden, Loit (1987); Hiden, Lane (1987); Dini (1991b, p. 81-110); Eidintas, Žalys, Senn A. E., Tuskenis (1999); Griffante (2010). For the chronology of events see Kaslas (1981). Cf. also the contemporary works in French by Pellissier (1918), Ehret (1919), Montfort (1933), Chambon (1933); Mauclère (1926, 1930, 1931), Bossin (1933); Lavoix (1938); in German by Jungfer (1938); in Italian by Cialdea (1940), Salvatori (1932), Speckel (1937), Turchi (1921, 1933).

been created in the 1830s and 1840s, there were several attempts to initiate revolutions, which resulted in bringing authoritarian governments to power. During the 22 years of independence, constitutions of an egalitarian–representative type were instituted, the economy was reorganized, mainly on an agricultural basis, and a system of governance was created. A certain level of material prosperity was achieved, and the bases for a rapid cultural development were put in place. On the internal social level there was ample liberty for the ethnic minorities, provisions for the protection of laborers, and the institution of medical services and free education. The external politics of the Baltic Republics, including Estonia, were oriented toward close political cooperation, which led to the conclusion of a treaty called the Baltic Agreement, but which was too short-lived to achieve any concrete results. The activity of Baltic diplomats resulted in the conclusion of a large number of international treaties, among which was the good neighbor agreement with the USSR. The course of European history was not especially favorable for the Baltic Republics, and on the eve of World War II they became exchange currency in the secret accords between Russia and Germany (the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, August 23rd, 1939).[794]

Latvia occupied the largest territory – 65,791 square kilometers; Lithuania extended over 55,670 square kilometers, but was cut up after two annexations. In 1920 Poland occupied Vilnius and its territory (Meriggi L. 1930) and in 1939 Germany seized the Klaipėda region. The census at that time counted 2,028,971 inhabitants in Lithuania on August 17th 1923; in Latvia 1,900,045 on February 10th, 1930. In the 1930s the density of the population was 44.2 inhabitants per sq. kilometer in Lithuania and 28.8 in Latvia. The population density in Lithuania was on average close to that of Spain or Ireland, but the density in Latvia (and Estonia) was significantly less. Lithuania already stood out among the Baltic states in this period for its birthrate.

The religious and confessional situation in Latvia was as follows: Lutherans dominated (57%), but there were also Baptists and Moravian Brothers. Catholicism represented 23% of the population and was centered primarily in Latgalia, where the spiritual center and pilgrimage destination was the monastery of Aglona. Nine percent of the population was Ortho-

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[794] There is a vast bibliography on this point; for initial information, cf. Anderson (1974); Urbšys (1989) translated into many languages; the special issue of *Lituanus* (35–1/2, 1989); Basciani, Macchia, Sommella (2013) with updated bibliography. Historical documents on the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact are published in Felštinskis (1989).

dox, Old Believers 5%, Jews 4%. In Lithuania the dominant religion was Catholicism, which represented 80% of the inhabitants. The Lutherans, concentrated in Klaipėda, constituted 8%, 2% Jews and a handful of Calvinists near Biržai, while the remainder was Orthodox or Old Believers.

The picture of the ethnic minorities looked something like this: in Latvia the Latvians were 73%, the Russians 12%, the Jews 5%, the Germans 4%[795] and the Poles 2.77%. In Lithuania 80.6% were Lithuanians and the largest minority were the Jews 7.1% (the so-called Litvaks, who spoke Yiddish and in general were Russified).[796] Next in order followed Germans (4%), concentrated in the region of Klaipėda and close to eastern Prussia;[797] Poles (2.4%) constituted the urban population in the region of Vilnius; Russians (2.4%), in general functionaries and military and in the villages in the building trades, and finally the Latvians (0.7%).

8.1.3.2. Ideas for the standard language. In Lithuania many factors contributed to make the southwest High Lithuanian dialect the foundation for the common language. First of all, compared with the Samogitian, this dialectal system was closer to the other varieties of High Lithuanian (central and east),[798] and therefore could serve as a national language. Moreover, this dialect had an important literary tradition, beginning with the early texts and ending with work of the poet Donelaitis. Also important was the activity of certain representatives of the intelligentsia who were born in this dialectal area (Suvalkija), as was the work for the unification enhanced by the editions of the patriotic journals *Aušra* [The Dawn] and *Varpas* [The Bell]. The activity of several philologists is also often mentioned (Stundžia 1991a): it is enough to mention the grammars published abroad, wherein the examples were in this dialect, e.g. the grammars of Schleicher[799] and Kurschat.[800] In this connection, Belardi (1994, p. 10-12) correctly points out the Schleicher effect as comparable to the Ascoli effect, which played

[795] Concerning the cultural and political life of the German communities, cf. Šimkuva (1994ab), Bender (2008).
[796] Concerning the important questions of Baltic Jews, their communities, the culture of Jewish communities in the Baltic republics, cf. Plasseraud (1991b, 1996 with bibliography). On the works of the linguist Ch. Lemchenas, cf. Pailis, Rozina (1994). On the name Litvak, cf. Katz (2008, p. 191); Polonsky (2008).
[797] On the linguistic situation of the Germans in Prussia, cf. Gerullis (1932).
[798] A comparison of various theoretical approaches to the problem bears witness to the high caliber of linguistic knowledge. A. Baranauskas [1835-1902] expresses himself in favor of a synthesis of various dialects from which to construct a common language. Zinkevičius (*LKI* V) looks at the entire problem.
[799] Schleicher (1861, 2008-2013). Cf. *LKTI, LKE*, *VL*. Schleicher also translated a collection of Lithuanian fables (cf. Range (1994) and edited Donelatis (Jovaišas 1995). On Schleicher in Prague in particular cf. Lemeškin (2008ac), and on his journey to Lithuania see Eckert (2008).
[800] Kurschat F. (1876; 2013). Cf. Sabaliauskas (*LKTI* I, p. 63-71 and 153-158); Stundžia (2013).

its own role in the discovery and study of the Ladin (Romansch) language (Belardi 1995, p. 84-131). Jonas Jablonskis [1860-1930][801] and Kazimieras Būga [1879-1924][802] completed the task of working out the norms, the codification of the orthography, and the grammar of the national language; they systematized the lexicon which was concretized in the *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language; cf. Klimas A. 1981a]. Their work was followed in the Soviet period by Balčikonis (Schmalstieg 1981c), who published the 1st (1941) and 2nd (1947) volumes of the dictionary (subsequent editors were J. Kruopas, K. Ulvydas, and V. Vitkauskas). With the publication of vol. 20 in 2002 this dictionary has now been completed.

In Latvia the process of creating a single language, begun by the Young Latvians, continued, especially in regard to the formation of a single pronunciation for the various dialects. This took place, on the one hand, thanks to the fact that school programs became oriented toward a single norm, and on the other hand, thanks to the numerous linguistic studies which were appearing.

Some earlier reflections on Latvian were written by the doctor Georg Heinrich Baars [1808-1879], the pedagogue Kaspars Biezbārdis [1806-1886] and also by the more famous scholar August Bielenstein [1826-1907], the author of the first modern and scientific grammar of the Latvian language, a work which was used by all the Indo-Europeanists of that time and even after that.[803] It is also worth stressing that Bielenstein firstly used the concept of isogloss without which linguistic geography would have been impossible.

Pioneering studies in the phonetics and orthography of the Latvian language are to be found in the second half of the 19th century and later continued with Anna Ābele [1881-1975], whose name is associated with the beginning of the study of experimental phonetics on the Latvian language.[804]

A linguistic section of the Latvian Society (*Rīgas latviešu biedrība*) was founded in Riga in 1904, and its activity was very important.[805]

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[801] Jablonskis J. [1860-1930] was originally from Suvalkija and was encouraged to study his native language by his Moscow mentor F.F. Fortunatov. His writings are collected in Jablonskis (1933-1936, edited by Balčikonis) and Jablonskis (1991, edited by Piročkinas); a selection is found in Jablonskis (1957-1959, edited by Palionis). For more on Jablonskis, cf. Piročkinas (1977, 1978, 1987, 2003).

[802] The writings of Būga were re-edited and indexed in *RR*, under the editorship of Zinkevičius. About Būga, cf. Zinkevičius (1981).

[803] On Bielenstein in the IE and Baltic studies, cf. Kļaviņa (2002); especially on Bielenstein's map of isoglosses published as an appendix of Bielenstein (1892ab), cf. Trumpa (2010; 2012, p. 17-49).

[804] Cf. Kuškis (2002); Kļaviņa (2008, p. 197-203).

[805] The linguistic activity of the Latvian Society of Riga is described in Blinkena (2000).

The same should be said for the ground-breaking work of Kārlis Mühlenbachs [1853-1916][806] and Jānis Endzelīns [1873-1961][807] in preparing the dictionary of the Latvian language. This period of Latvian linguistics may surely be defined as classic, and the two authors accomplished a highly significant and durable contribution by publishing the *Latviešu valodas gramatika* [1907, Grammar of the Latvian Language], and the *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* [1923-1946; 7 vols., Vocabulary of the Latvian Language]. Still other scientists who taught and researched at the University of Latvia participated in the very first activity of the Latvian High School (founded in 1919), which constituted the basis of the future university. Among them was Edīte Hauzenberga–Šturma [1901-1983],[808] who spent many years in exile, and the tragic and talented personality of Alvils Augstkalns [1907-1940].[809]

The preference for the dialect of the central regions was this time determined by extra-linguistic reasons (economic, political and cultural in nature). The dictionary, however, included forms taken from all the dialects.[810] It has been legitimately emphasized that in both cases preference was given to the linguistic expressiveness of the countryside and to rustic ambiance. This guaranteed a more "Baltic" character for the language, less subject to the foreign influences distinctive in the larger cities.[811] In the same epoch Eduard Wolter [1856-1941] was also active; he was a professor at the University of St. Petersburg, and a scholar who was particularly devoted to the study of the Baltic languages, and whose engagement with and support for K. Mühlenbachs's search for financial aid for the preparation of the Latvian dictionary are documented.[812] In addition, the Prague University professor Josef Zubatý [1855–1931] corresponded with K. Mühlenbachs and showed a strong interest in the Baltic languages and cultures.[813]

8.1.3.3. Moderate linguistic purism. With the winning of independence in the two Lithuanian and Latvian language areas, efforts increased to protect the national languages, whose formation had been subject to great difficulties. In the beginning of the 20th century the Baltic countries conducted

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[806] Druviete (1990); Kļaviņa (2003, 2011, 2012).

[807] Nītiņa (1989); Kļaviņa (2010, 2013a).

[808] Cf. Kļaviņa (2008, p. 205-216).

[809] Cf. Kļaviņa (2008, p. 217-228).

[810] Concerning the social history of Latvia at the beginning of the 20th century, cf. Metuzāle–Kangere (1990).

[811] This is the main theme in the work of Belardi (1995), who evaluates the developments of the Baltic languages from an unusual perspective.

[812] Kļaviņa (2011).

[813] The letters are kept in the Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, cf. Piročkinas (1976); Kļaviņa (2005); Lemeškin (2008ab).

a linguistic politics of moderate purism, the guides of which were the outstanding linguists cited above. In this way they could avoid extremes, concentrating their efforts on the battle against useless foreign borrowings for which equivalents already existed in the Baltic languages.

The determining factor for the Lithuanian lexicon was the activity of Jablonskis, which can be compared with the role of the Young Latvians for the Latvian language. Based on the dialect of Suvalkija (southwest or Kaunas High Lithuanian) he either *a)* created or *b)* corrected and brought into usage numerous terms which then took root in the Lithuanian language, e.g.:

a) *añtžmogis* 'superman; Übermensch', *bendradárbis* 'collaborator', *degtùkas* 'match', *turinỹs* 'index; contents', etc.

b) *ateitìs* 'future' in place of *ateitìnė*; *nedárbas* 'unemployment' in place of *bedar̃bė*, *viršininkas* 'supervisor' in place of *načálnikas* ← Blruss. начальник id. etc.

Many Polish and German borrowings were partially replaced by neologisms or dialectal words, e.g. Lith. *laĩkrodis* 'watch' for earlier *dziẽgorius* ← Pol. *zegar* id.; Lith. *sijà* 'beam' for earlier *bálkis* ← Germ. *Balken* id.); partially codified were *a)* borrowings and *b)* calques, coming into the language at different times and from different sources and for which there had been no equivalents. Many of them are still widely accepted, e.g.:

a) Lith. *grýbas* 'mushroom' ← Pol. *grzyb*, Russ. гриб; Lith. *ãmatas*, Latv. *amats* 'trade' ← MLG *ammat*; Lith. *dokumeñtas*, Latv. *dokuments* 'document'; Lith. *teãtras*, Latv. *teātris* 'theater';

b) Lith. *pusiáusvyra* instead of *lýgsvara* 'balance' ← Russ. равновесие; Lith. *netrùkus*, *tuojaũ* instead of *neužìlgo* 'quickly' ← Pol. *niezadługo*.

Official linguistic commissions were formed on the national and general Baltic level (reconstituted after the last restitution of indipendence) primarily for the working out of scientific terminology. In addition, in the 1930s work was undertaken to bring the two Baltic languages closer together. Latvia and Lithuania in the 1930s and 1940s put forward proposals for the future development of both languages with the goal of easing mutual understanding between the two related languages.[814]

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[814] Cf. Skardžius (1934b); Rūķe-Draviņa (1951; 1977, p. 80–81).

8.1.3.4. Public instruction. The winning of independence generated a new impulse in cultural life and launched a cultural politics which the corresponding ministries in the newly created republics embodied. Before the war the only institution of higher learning in Latvia was the Polytechnical Institute of Riga. With independence it was restructured into a university with eleven faculties. The docents were recruited from among Latvian specialists who had been working in Russian universities or who had returned from exile. The University of Riga quickly acquired a reputation and in the 1930s had around 7,000 students.[815]

Public instruction in Lithuania was the object of particular attention. In the 1930s there were about 2,600 primary schools accommodating 150,000 pupils, fifty-one lyceums with 16,000 students and twelve pedagogical and industrial schools, the latter mostly specializing in agriculture. Since Vilnius with its famous ancient university was occupied by Polish forces, it was decided to found a second Lithuanian university named for Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, the *laikinóji sóstinė* [i.e. provisional capital]. This university had seven faculties, including philosophy, Protestant theology, philology, law, mathematics and natural sciences, medicine and engineering, with an enrollment of about 4,000 students.

8.2. CHANGES IN THE BALTIC LANGUAGES

New attempts to standardize the Lithuanian and Latvian languages were undertaken at the end of the 19th century. This was the fruit of a widely-based historical and cultural–political movement which encompassed the entire Baltic region. The final result was a declaration of independence by the three Baltic republics and the establishment, at least for two decades, of politically independent states on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea.[816]

8.2.1. Linguistic interference and the development of lexicon

After the annexation of the Baltics to the Russian Empire under Peter the Great, new administrative terms entered into the Baltic languages (e.g. Latv. *guberņa* ← Russ. губерния, and Lith. *guber̃nija* ← Russ. or Pol. *gubernia*).

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[815] On the situation of Baltic studies, cf. Kļaviņa (2013b).

[816] For the historical background, in different languages, e.g. Lieven (1994); Meissner (1990); Hiden, Salmon (1991); Dini (1991b, p. 81–107, with bibliography p. 179–181). On Latvia, cf. Karkliņš (1994).

Such examples, although they are very symbolic, only partially reflect the full variety of the conditions which influenced the rise of linguistic interferences, especially lexical. These conditions are linked to the peculiarities of the development of the languages existing historically in the Baltics. At this point it is appropriate to again emphasize the distinctions between the Latvian and Lithuanian linguistic areas.

8.2.1.1. The Lithuanian language area. Over the course of the entire 16th century a steady stream of Polish and Belarussian borrowings entered Lithuanian. This process continued in the next century when the prohibition against printing books in the Latin script promoted the gradual Polonization and Russification of the language. This phenomenon appeared to the largest degree in texts of a religious content, which comprised 92% of the entire production of Lithuanian literature in the 18th century (e.g. Lith. *abiecavoti* ← Pol. *obiecować* 'to promise', Lith. *dočėsnas* ← Pol. *doczesny* 'temporary', Lith. *padabienstva* ← Pol. *podobieństwo* 'resemblance').

On the other hand, primarily Germanisms were spread in the Prussian region of Lithuania (e.g. Lith. *zakromentas*, *zokramentas* ← Germ. *Sacrament* 'sacrament'), although even here Slavisms were often used.[817] Formations of a mixed type are also found, such as calques from German, comprised of Slavisms, e.g. Lith. *klystviera* 'heresy', cf. Germ. *Missglauben* and Pol. *wiara* 'faith' or Lith. *griektvanis* 'deluge', cf. Germ. *Sundflut* and Blruss. *grech*, Pol. *grzech* 'sin'.

Recent research has shed light on the features of Lithuanian anthroponyms of the second half of the 19th century, formed under the influence of the Russian tripartite forms of nomenclature (surname, first name and patronymic), as used in official documents (Maciejauskienė 1993b). The principle deviation from the Lithuanian norm, which had already stabilized a bipartite form, consisted of using the patronymic without a fixed position (in various sources it stood before, after or between the first name and last name).

8.2.1.2. The Latvian language area. The reciprocal influence between Latvian and local Baltic-German dialects continued in this period. In the 19th–20th centuries the Baltic Germans could not be considered a socially homogeneous group. Lacking a more precise scientific definition, it is customary

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[817] For the *Catechism* of Lysius, cf. Dini (1990b, 1993b); for the *Lexicon Lithuanicum*, cf. Čepienė (1993), Gobber (1993); much more in Čepienė (1992, 2006ab).

to call their language "colloquial Baltic-German" (Latv. *baltvācu sarunu valoda*). The history of this language began, it is thought, in the middle of the 18th century, when the literary High German language began gradually to compete with the spoken Low German (which was *Baltendeutsch* in origin).[818] Ariste (1959) demonstrates that in Estonia a similar process took place in the beginning of the 19th century, while Bušs (1977) holds this chronology valid for Latvia as well. From the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century traces of Balto-German could be seen in Latvian, especially in barbarisms and in jargon. Practically speaking, in all cases these lexical elements did not enter the literary language because of the Young Latvians group, who concentrated on the formation of the Latvian literary language, and later on the spoken language; their activity counteracted the spontaneous development which had taken place in the earlier centuries. In spite of this, many Germanisms which did not make it into the literary language continued to be used in urban and rural dialects.

While the first scientific works on this topic were comprised of lists of German words in Latvian,[819] the works of modern authors put particular emphasis on the different types and levels of foreign influence. Thus, Bušs (1977) proposes the following classification of German borrowings:

a) those that correspond to forms of the High German literary language (the borrowings could have come directly);

b) those that correspond to non-literary High German (i.e. to dialects);

c) borrowings of Low German origin preserved in spoken Balto-German.

In this last case, research has fallen behind and it is necessary to separate out German-Baltic vocabulary contained in a large body of material collected at the beginning of the century in the cited works. One of the most typical features is the presence of Latvian alternating doublets *g* (from a later stage) or *j* (from an earlier stage) before palatal vowels (e.g. *ģipte* and

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[818] In spite of the inadequate terminology, the colloquial Baltic-German language should not be confused with *Baltendeutsch* [see 7.1.3.4.]. The latter became extinct in the 17th century, and now this term is used to define not only the spoken variant of Baltic-German, but also those features which were characteristic of German and German dialects used in the Baltics beginning with the first centuries of German presence (over the 12th-17th centuries). Cf. Mitzka (1923a).

[819] Baumgärtel (1868); Sehwers (1918, 1936); Masing (1923). A useful synthesis concerning the contacts between the different variants of German and Baltic languages appears in Hinderling (1984). The opposite direction of the loan, that is from Latvian into *Baltendeutsch*, has been less thoroughly investigated, cf. Balode I. (1997).

jipte 'poison', *ģenerālis* and *jenerālis* 'general', etc.); in certain cases this fea-
ture can combine with a stress shift onto the root syllable, which leads to a
reduction in the number of syllables.[820] While studying borrowings which
occurred in the opposite direction, Kiparsky (1936ab, 1936-1937) discovered
in BG newspapers, textbooks on economics, business correspondence, and
in other documents from the 19th-20th centuries, a series of borrowings
from the Latvian lexicon. On the whole this seems to involve professional
terminology, topographic names, household items and trades (e.g. BG *Deggut*
'birch tar', cf. Latv. *deguts*; BG *Gubbe* 'haystack', cf. Latv. *guba*; BG *Ahling*
'ice-hole', cf. Latv. *āliņģis*; BG *Luppat* 'rag, scrap', cf. Latv. *lupata*, etc.).

Again in the work of Bušs (1977) the role of Baltic-German as an
intermediary is emphasized, showing examples of words of French origin
(e.g. French *couche!* 'lie down!', cf. Latv. *kuš! kuša!* 'quiet!' from which comes
kušēt, *kušināt* 'to cause to be quiet'; French *blâmer* 'to reproach', cf. Latv.
blamēt 'to discredit'). Such a method of word formation was very productive
in Russian in the second half of the 19th century, but did not have a great
influence on Latvian. In other forms of Russian origin (e.g. Latv. *plīte* ← BG
Pliete ← Russ. плита 'brick'; Latv. *špicka* [← LG *Spitzki*] ← Russ. спички
'matches') the medium of Baltic-German is often probable but not certain.
It was during this period that certain phraseologisms also entered Latvian
from other languages, primarily directly or indirectly through German,
e.g. Latv. *iet uz Kanosu*, cf. Germ. *nach Canossa gehen* 'to go to Canossa';
Latv. *vieta zem saules*, cf. Germ. *Platz an der Sonne*, which in turn came from
French *place au/sous le soleil* 'place in the sun', etc. (Veisbergs 1989ab).

In connection with interference from German, morphemic analysis
has shown that a series of German words entered Latvian with word forma-
tive morphemes which are used for the formation of new Latvian words
(e.g. *-ūzis* in Latv. *ēdūzis* 'cafeteria' (today *ēdnīca*), cf. MLG *hūs* 'house';
-manis in Latv. *šucmanis* 'bodyguard', cf. MLG *man* 'man'; perhaps also
-īzeris in Latv. *plātīzeris* 'braggard (today *plātībnieks*)', cf. MLG *pletīzeris*
(Germ. *Plätteisen*) and *iser* 'iron', etc.).[821]

Naturally, many other borrowings entered Latvian directly from
Russian. In this case there is an observable tendency to render Russian

[820] This is one more feature of the colloquial Baltic-German language, e.g. *ontlīgs* 'orderly' from a BG
*orntlich, cf. Germ. *ordentlich* id.; Latv. *feirāms*, cf. Germ. *Feierabend* 'time to quit work for the day'; Latvian
student slang *moin!* 'Greetings!' from BG *Mojn* < /morjen/, cf. Germ. *Guten Morgen* 'good day'.

[821] Cf. Zemzare (1969). Concerning the origin of Latvian *nomina loci* with the suffix *-ūzis*, cf. Urbutis (1994),
who distinguishes between pure Germ. borrowings, independent Latvian formations and words interme-
diate between the two.

stressed syllables by long syllables in Latvian (e.g. Latv. *halāts* ← Russ. халáт 'dressing gown'). Guild (1978, p. 429-430) offers a hypothesis about the Russian origin of Latvian suffixes such as *-ija*, *-ācija*, *-ieris*, *-ijs* (e.g. Latv. *impērija* 'empire', *formācija* 'formation', *inženieris* 'engineer', *ģēnijs* 'genius').

8.2.2. Grammatical developments

At this point it is appropriate to offer a survey of the principal grammatical developments of Lithuanian and Latvian during this period.

8.2.2.1. Phonology. In the 18th-19th centuries in the vocalic system of Latvian and Lithuanian, processes are completed, the earlier stages of which have already been discussed [see 4.1.2.1. and 7.4.1.2.-3.]. For Latvian the picture looks more archaic:

Short vowels				Long vowels			
Lithuanian		Latvian		Lithuanian		Latvian	
i	*u*	*i*	*u*	*ī*	*ū*	*ī*	*ū*
(*ɛ*)	(*ɔ*)	*ɛ*	*ɔ*	*ie*	*uo*	*ie*	*uo* <o>
e	*a*	*e*	*a*	*ɛ̄* <ė>	*ō*	*ē*	*ā*
				ē	*ā*		

Table 1

Concerning the consonantal system in spoken Latvian, the frequency of the phoneme /r'/ is diminished, so that [r] and [r'] become two allophones. This is reflected in the spelling as well, where the grapheme <ŗ> disappears and only <r> remains.[822]

8.2.2.2. Morphology. The Lith. dual number, still used in the literary language at the beginning of the century, is preserved only in the Low Lith. dialects (Samogitian). The noun preserves seven cases. The postpositional locative cases disappear from the declension and are drastically diminished in their use: the illative and allative are preserved, but only in certain fixed adverbial forms. In the flexional system one observes the great productivity of the feminines in *-ā* and masculines in *-ŏ*. Some athematic forms are preserved in the Lithuanian verb system. Important changes take place

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822   On the history and the symbolism of the grapheme <ŗ> in Latvian, cf. Kessler (2008).

in the conditional mood, where personal endings in *–mb–* are replaced by the endings *–tum*(*ei*), *–tumėm*(*e*), *–tumėt*(*e*) or *–tum*(*i*), *–tumim*(*e*), *–tumit*(*e*) which appeared in the 18th century and supplanted the endings that existed earlier [see 7.4.3.2.].

In the case system of Latvian the instrumental sing. ending begin to overlap with the accusative form, and the instr. plur. overlaps with the dative, so that the number of cases equals five or six. The remnants of the former instrumental in *–is* are preserved in certain adverbs (e.g. Latv. *retumis* 'rarely') or in folksongs.[823] In the system of nouns, the stems in **-ā* and **-ŏ* remained productive and the stems in **-ŭ* shift into other declensional classes (cf. Latv. *krogus* ≥ *krogs* 'tavern', *cirkus* ≥ *cirks* 'circus', etc.), and stems in **-ĭ* pass into **-ē* and **-ā* declensions.

In the 19th century the Latvian conditional [see 7.4.3.3.2.] still had a conjugation: *es būtu*, *mēs būtum*, *jūs būtut* 'I would be, we would be, you would be', while subsequently only one generalized ending survives: *–u* (*es*, *mēs*, *jūs būtu*). Besides this there is vacillation between the endings of the imperative (*–iet*) and the indicative (*–at*) in the 2nd pers. plur., and also a growth in the number of participles in *–osš*, formed from verbs of all groups. The construction *iekš* 'in, within' with the genitive still is found, but only in exceptional situations. Moreover, during these years the suffix *–īb-a*, a suffix mainly used for the formation of abstract concepts, becomes very productive (Strautiņa 1967).

8.2.2.3. Syntax. I have already mentioned the serious attention which the Young Latvians paid to problems of syntax [see 8.1.2.2.]. Thanks to their activity, the syntax was restructured and cleansed of German influence. At the same time, traces of the former stage of the language remained in the language of the Young Latvians. Thus a tendency to put the predicate at the end of the sentence (not necessarily just after the subject) was widespread until the middle of the 19th century, and this reflected the adoption of the German sentence structure. After this period, however, such a tendency survived only in parodies of the style of that time and was already perceived as archaic.

In later Latvian texts there is a tendency to use the neutral word order subject–predicate. In contemporary Latvian this word order remains usual but with more flexibility than during the previous century (perhaps as a result of the influence of the Russian language). Another observation

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[823] Concerning the development of the instrumental in Latvian, cf. Holvoet (1992c).

concerns forms of the interrogative sentence, and precisely the existing fluctuation from early stages between the absence/presence of interrogative particles (cf. Latv. *ar*, *neg*; from the 16th-17th centuries *vai*, -Ø; Lith. *ař*).

A statistical analysis of a large corpus of texts has revealed that the word order of common Latvian was of type SVO (Porīte 1962). Two main types have been distinguished for Lithuanian: SVO and SOV. The former is more characteristic of modern Lithuanian. According to Ambrazas V. (1982) this word order was established relatively recently, after the construction preposition-noun was stabilized in Lithuanian as well as other European languages.

8.3. THE BALTIC LANGUAGES IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

In distinct contradiction to declared Leninist principles of national equality ("No preference to any nation or to any language"), the policy – including linguistic – of the U.S.S.R. was Russification.[824] In 1944-1945, immediately after the forced annexation of the Baltic countries to the Soviet Union, in the Latvian and Lithuanian SSR the main direction of linguistic policy was "the coordination of the laws of development of national languages in accord with the development of socialist nations" (Kruopas 1963, p. 26). This state of affairs continued for more than fifty years.[825]

8.3.1. Changes in the ethno-social situation

In the mid–1960s the ethnic and demographic situation in the Soviet Baltic republics was rather heterogeneous. Hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians and Latvians were deported to Siberia and to other regions of Russia as part of Stalin's "purges" (1941 and 1944-1953), while others perished in partisan warfare (1944-1953). They were replaced by Russians attracted to work in nuclear plants and factories in the Baltics. The influx of Russians took place in the period between the World Wars and also after World War II.

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[824] Concerning linguistic politics in the Soviet Union, among many studies, cf. Rigotti (1979); Eminov (1982); Kirkwood (1990). See also the bibliography given in the following footnote.

[825] For the historical background, in different languages, cf. Misiūnas, Taagepera (1983c, with extensive bibliography; 1989); Loeber, Vardys, Kitching (1990); Dini (1991b, p. 121-138); Hiden, Made, Smith (2008); Mertelsmann, Piirimë (2012). An insight into the Baltic States during the Soviet period is in Newman (1948, p. 129-171); see also the special issues of *JBS* (18-3/4, 1987; 19-1/4, 1988) devoted to "Regional identity under Soviet rule: The case of the Baltic States".

As a result of these displacements, in 1970 the population of Lithuania increased to 3,128,000, and in 1979 was up to 3,988,000 in an area of 65,200 square kilometers. The territory of the republic had increased over the period of independence thanks to the partial return of the region of Vilnius. In Latvia in 1976 there were 2,499,000 inhabitants in a territory of 63,700 square kilometers, which was smaller than during independence. The demographic growth of Lithuania is explained, largely, by a natural increase and is only partially linked to immigration; the ethnic percentages changed little here from the 1930s: Lithuanians (80%), Russians (9%), Poles (8%), the remainder Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Tatars, Karaites, Jews, Roma. The portion of Jews declined noticeably, almost to total disappearance. Before the war they were one of the largest minorities in Lithuania, and Vilnius was sometimes referred to as the Jerusalem of the north.

There was a mass influx of Russians into Latvia, which changed the ethnic composition of the republic, almost enough to alter the ethnic fabric of the republic and turn the native population into a minority. In 1970 in Latvia the Latvians comprised only 56.8% of the population, which confirms the significant decrease in their numbers compared to the 1930s (73%), and a noticeable decrease compared to 1959 (62%). The proportion of the Russian population, on the other hand, reached 12% in the 1930s, rose to 26.6% in 1959, and in 1970 already had reached 29.8%, exhibiting a steady tendency to growth, especially in the cities, where the Russians reached 80% (Semjonova 1977).

8.3.2. Russian bilingualism and linguistic resistance

The process of broadening the use and application of national languages which began in the first two decades of national independence continued in the Soviet period. For the Baltic Republics the essence of the situation was that, being under Soviet influence, they were no longer the object of German and Polish expansion. Thanks to this, in the course of a relatively long and stable period of time – however paradoxical it may be, for the first time in the history of these peoples – the formation of their national culture took place in their native language. The cultural and technological exchange within the context of the entire USSR created conditions for these languages to be used in those areas of knowledge where before they were little used.

8.3.2.1. "Harmonious" bilingualism. The conditions of Soviet society, however, did not promote the defense of national language rights: their role was made more marginal and superfluous. In point of fact a knowledge of Russian alongside a native language was obligatory in any sphere of activity. Gradually the number of functions performed only in Russian increased; as a result the teaching of Russian spread in schools and universities. Numerous regulations and instructions came from above to teach as many subjects as possible in Russian. Later in the universities students of Russian received a larger stipend than the students of Lithuanian and Latvian, and teachers of Russian had pay raises of 15%. As a result the national languages gradually became secondary and the use of jargon and Slavisms increased, even when there were corresponding words in the national languages. Even distinguished specialists, authors of works written with the exclusive aim of praising harmonious bilingualism, could not ignore such facts.[826]

In spite of numerous episodes of active and passive resistance to attempts at linguistic re-education, bilingualism, in its wider and commonly accepted sense as an alternative use of two languages by a single speaker, became a rather common phenomenon and took on various forms. Here are some facts from sociolinguistic research. Over the entire Soviet period bilingualism – "Russian / the national language" – continued to increase in the Baltic Republics (as in the other republics). Thanks to obligatory two-year military service the number of men who knew Russian reached 61.7%, while the corresponding percentage for women was 38.3%. Russian was used more in the cities and in the regions where the ethnic composition was less uniform, since in these environments Russian was more often a language of inter-ethnic communication. In the Latvian SSR, moreover, the ethnic composition changed in a radical way, and with the increase of Russian-speaking inhabitants the number of cases of harmonious bilingualism increased noticeably (Knowles 1990), although always in one direction.[827] The role of a transnational language was normally played by Russian in all inter-republic reports and constantly grew in importance within the republic itself. Thus in specific spheres (such as business cor-

[826] Among these Michal'čenko (1984); for Lithuanian Karaliūnas (1983); for Latvian Blinkena (1990); Drīzule (1990).

[827] One should consider the distinctions in the Russian population: older Russians of the first wave of immigration, a relatively small group, generally knew Lithuanian and Latvian well (and the corresponding national culture); meanwhile, Russians of the later immigration, generally with a low level of education, related to the Baltic languages with intolerance and arrogance. An inadequate knowledge of the national language was also a frequent phenomenon among directors and government employees, not to mention the police.

respondence, production instructions, the official language of the govern-ment administration and of the Communist party) the use of Lithuanian and Latvian was prohibited by official decree and these languages were forced out by Russian.

A series of factors favored Russian as a language of inter-personal communication. It was widely used in educational institutions (starting with high school and then in kindergartens), in the mass media (especially on television), and also in the above-mentioned military service. More-over, in workplaces (factories had mixed personnel, where Lithuanians and Latvians almost always comprised the minority) the conditions were favorable for contacts between languages and for the development of peo-ple speaking two languages. This situation was similar in institutions of higher education and universities (which were actually run by Lithuanians and Latvians for the most part), where, especially in Latvia, several courses (first of all of social and political sciences) were conducted in Russian.[828] It is not accidental that more than 80% of the terms from different areas of technology and culture entered Lithuanian and Latvian through Rus-sian.[829] Nor is it accidental that the number of borrowings increased to a significant degree and that the influence of the transnational language on the syntactic structure itself of the national languages was felt, especially in the translation of works from Russian (Tamošiūnas 1980).

8.3.2.2. On the lag in Baltic linguistics. Much has been written regarding the lag in linguistic research in Latvia and Lithuania during the Soviet peri-od.[830] In spite of propagandistic assertions about the flowering of Lithuani-an and Latvian linguistics (this also relates to the languages of other ethnic minorities), in fact, whole sectors of research, important from a scientific and pedagogical perspective, remained unexplored. Among the main rea-sons for this situation one can, probably, point to the lack of qualified personnel (many linguists had emigrated abroad) and the difficulty or im-possibility of contacting foreign colleagues (among whom were Lithuanian and Latvian linguists living abroad). Moreover, the influence of official Soviet linguistics (Marrism) and the fear of structuralism associated with it

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[828] In the teaching of Russian as an instrument of inter-ethnic communication certain cases of direct mutual grammatical intermixing of Lithuanian, and Latvian with Russian have been noted, cf. Drīzule (1988); Šarunova (1988); Gerentovič (1988).

[829] In this regard Skujiņa (1977) maintains that Latvian with Russian was not so decisive as a need for a system, a search for conciseness and precision.

[830] Cf. the observations in this regard: for Lithuania, Dambriūnas (1970); Stundžia (1990); for Latvia, Blinkena (1989b).

(by the way, quickly overcome in the Baltic countries) played a role. Everything connected with national language was looked on with suspicion. Since it was important to study old texts, and these were mostly of a religious nature, everything was done to impede such research. Ancient texts and modern materials by foreign linguistic colleagues were contained in special archives with closed access.

In the first decade after World War II linguists of the new generation were often occupied with large collaborative projects (Dictionary, Dialectal Atlas, monographs for the Academy Grammar). They worked in their respective Academies of Science (Lithuanian and Latvian), in the Universities of Vilnius and Riga and in Pedagogical Institutes (Liepāja in Latvia; Vilnius and Šiauliai in Lithuania).

The lag in linguistic research was particularly observed in Latvia, since in the period between the wars significant scientific results were achieved by Endzelīns and his students. At that time attention was focused on historical-descriptive studies, and the Latvian language was introduced into international comparative research. Subsequently, work of this type was stopped, and Vilnius became the linguistic center of the Baltic countries. Impressive advances in Lithuanian linguistics were openly recognized, and this work, at least partially, compensated for what was not being done in Latvia.[831]

8.3.3. Interference with Russian

In the Soviet period the state of affairs continued as before: on the one hand, there was the language of national communication and well-preserved dialects, while on the other hand, bilingualism grew, resulting in the expansion of Russian. There was constant interaction between the languages, while Russian had a clear advantage.[832] Moreover, since Russian in the USSR was the language of intra-national communication, the overall Sovietization of Latvian and Lithuanian societies together with new realities occasioned the mass influx of new borrowings from Russian [see 8.3.4.2.].

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[831]   Cf. Blinkena (1989b, p. 13; 1991). During the Soviet period the activity of Lithuanian and Latvian linguists was predominantly normative and codifying, and with a few happy exceptions, in a synchronic-descriptive direction. Among the volumes produced were the academy grammars of Lithuanian (*Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*, Vilnius 1965-1976, 3 vols.) and of modern Latvian (*Mūsdienu latviešu literārās gramatika*, Rīga 1959-1962, 2 vols.); academy dictionaries (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, Vilnius 1941-, 20 vols.; *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca*, Rīga 1972-, 8 vols.) and numerous other lexicographical works. Less attention was paid to problems of sociolinguistics and linguistic contact. Cf. Sabaliauskas (1966b, 1986a).

[832]   A report on the contacts between Russian and the languages of the Baltic countries (i.e. including Estonian) is represented by the contributions contained in the collective work Blinkena (1984).

The goal of this section is to identify and explore the linguistic changes in this period. The majority of them were caused primarily by internal factors, but were furthered by the influence of Russian.[833]

8.3.3.1. Phonetics. In Lithuanian there was a tendency to lose tone contrasts (Robinson 1984; Grumadienė 1991). The pronunciation of Russian bilinguals also changed as a result of Lithuanian influence (Vensaitė 1983). In Lithuanian there was a progressive weakening in the quantitative opposition between vowels. The palatalization of consonantal groups before front vowels became less noticeable (Grumadienė, Stundžia 1987).

In Latvian phonetics there was an evident tendency to get rid of sounds foreign to Russian and to approach the pronunciation of the Russians. Among native speakers of Latvian it has been noticed that vowel pronunciation differed across the generations both in quantity relationships and in formant structure (Bond, Stockmal, Markus 2006). Beyond that the diphthong *uo* (starting with old international borrowings and proper-names) tends to be confused with *ŏ* and *ō*, consonants *ǵ* and *ķ* have gradually disappeared and there was a tendency to change the nasal velar to a dental [ŋ → n]. Secondly, the consonants *č, š, ž* [tʃ, ʃ, ʒ] are pronounced with stretched lips. The alveolar pronunciation of *l* has practically disappeared and has become very hard; *ŏ* tends toward *ă* in unstressed position, not only in forms from Russian. Finally, the speaker does not always distinguish consonant lengthening which depends on its position in the word (e.g. in Latv. *aka* [ak:a] 'well', etc.). The stress may deviate from its usual place, that is from the first syllable, for instance, in foreign proper-names (Kuškis 1989).

8.3.3.2. Morphology. In Lithuanian changes took place in the area of morphology and morpho-syntax: simplification of the noun declension; diffusion of the adjectival suffix *-inis* (e.g. Lith. *kolūkinis* 'collective', *gamýbinis* 'productive, industrial', *tėvỹninis* 'patriotic', etc., cf. Russ. -енный);[834] the adverbial suffix *-(i)ai*. Moreover, there is a noticeable tendency to simplify compound verb tenses and a further tendency for nominal constructions to replace verbal constructions.

It is debatable whether the category of aspect in the Lithuanian and Latvian verb is grammatical or lexical [see 2.2.2.1.]. Under Slavic influence,

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[833] On many aspects of the interaction between Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian and Russian dialects in the Baltic area at this epoch see the contributions in *DiaSb* (1974).

[834] Concerning the possibility that Russian promoted the use of suffixes in conditions of subordinate bilingualism, cf. Pažūsis (1979, p. 74 n. 13).

however, the aspectual opposition was definitely strengthened compared to earlier periods.[835]

Changes took place in the morphology of the Latvian adjective: adjectives in texts from 17th-18th centuries had a zero suffix, but they now frequently use the suffixes *-īgs* ~ *-ējs* (e.g. Latv. *ārīgs* 'external', *ārišķīgs* 'extravagant, pretentious' ~ OLatv. *ārs* id.; Latv. *nederīgs* 'useless' ~ OLatv. *neliets* id.).

8.3.3.3. Syntax. In Lithuanian syntax the situation is the following: alongside simple case constructions (e.g. *pavirsti kuo* 'to become somebody/something') there is a frequent parallel use of prepositional constructions (cf. *pavirsti į ką* id.). The number of constructions of the type verb + verbal noun in *-imas/-ymas* (cf. *gerinti technikos panaudojimą* 'to improve the use of technology') and the use of the locative case has increased. The government of some verbs is often clearly Russian (e.g. *atstovauti komisiją*, infinitive-accusative, instead of standard *atstovauti komisijai* 'to represent the commission' infinitive-dative; etc.).

In the syntax of Latvian the Russian influence is particularly evident in the use of prepositions, which are either translated literally, by analogy with the foreign model (e.g. Latv. *priekš*, cf. Russ. для 'for'), or used in constructions outside of the Latvian norm, e.g. Latv. *priekš sacensībam* 'for the competitions' instead of the simple dative, cf. Russ. для соревнований (Nītiņa 1977). Another typical Russian influence is word order, especially in commercial or food labels (a definition such as e.g. *kompots ābolu* (*konservētu*) *ar putu krējumu* 'apple preserves compote with whipped cream', instead of *konservētu ābolu kompots ar putu krējumu* shows the influence of Russ. компот из консервированных яблок со взбитыми сливками (Ruža 1989; Saukāne 1991). There is also more frequent use of a construction with the verb *vajag* 'must' (cf. Latv. *man vajag strādāt* 'I must work') in place of the earlier verb of necessity (e.g. *man* (*ir*) *jāstrādā* 'I must work' ~ *strādāt* 'to work'). Here there is the influence of an analogous Russ. construction with нужно, надо '(it is) necessary'.

8.3.3.4. Lexicon. The Soviet period produced a considerable expansion in the lexicon of the Baltic languages as a result of a massive influx of terms from Russian (or at least through the medium of Russian). This phenomenon

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[835] Cf. Senn A. (1933); Endzelīns (1922b, p. 737-745; 1951); Stang (*VGBS*, p. 399-405) with attached bibliography; Holvoet (1990).

was linked to the use of new technologies, to the development of fields of research unknown previously, and to the establishment of new models of social life.[836]

The systemic changes in the lexicon of the Baltic languages during this period proceeded along three main lines (Lyberis, Ulvydas 1958, p. 31):

> *pirma, lietuvių literatūrinėje kalboje atsirado daugybė naujų žodžių bei posakių, įsigalėjus Lietuvoje socialistinei santvarkai; antra, dalis žodžių bei jų reikšmių, būdingų senajai, buržuazinei santvarkai ir buržuazinei kultūrai, paseno ir pasitraukė į pasyviąją žodyno atsargą; trečia, daugybė žodžių įgavo naujas reikšmes, naują turinį.*

> [first, many new terms and expressions reflecting new socialist realities entered into the Lithuanian (and also into the Latvian – *P.U.D.*) literary languages; second, some of the terms and their meanings, which related to the bourgeois society and culture, lost their significance and became a passive part of the lexicon; third, many words took on new meanings and a new content].

The first category was the most productive. Often Russianisms from international vocabulary took hold in the Baltic languages (as well as in the other national languages of the USSR) through the many technical and scientific texts that were translated from Russian and then disseminated by means of mass communication, e.g.:

> Lith. *kosmonáutas*, Latv. *kosmonauts* ← Russ. космонавт 'cosmonaut, astronaut'; Lith. *agitpùnktas*, Latv. *agitpunkts* ← Russ. агит(ационный) пункт 'office of electoral propaganda'; Lith. *traktorìstas* (*trãktorininkas*), Latv. *traktorists* ← Russ. тракторист 'tractor driver'; etc.

Other borrowings and calques from the Soviet period were generally treated in the same way in the two Baltic languages, with certain exceptions:

> Lith. *kolūkis*, Latv. *kolchozs* ← Russ. кол(лективное) хоз(яйство) 'collective farm'; Lith. *savikrìtika*, Latv. *paškritika* ← Russ. самокритика 'self criticism'; Lith. *peñkmetis*, Latv. *piecgade* ← Russ. пятилетка

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[836] Cf. the contributions in Blinkena (1984). For Lithuanian, cf. Salys (1967); Dambriūnas (1976). For Latvian Skujiņa (1977).

'five-year plan'; Lith. *ūkìskaita* ← Russ. хозрасчет 'self-financing' (but Latv. *saimnieciskais aprēķins*), etc.)

To the lexicon common at the beginning of the century, in the period of independence, and which became passive (referred to above as the second group) belong such words as: *gimnãzija*, Latv. *ǵimnãzija* 'gymnasium, secondary school'; Lith. *kapeliõnas*, Latv. *kapelāns* 'chaplain'; Lith. *savivaldýbė*, Latv. *pašvaldība* 'self-government' and many others (Ozols A. 1968). In many cases there was a semantic shift, broadening, shifting or narrowing of the meaning:[837]

> Lith. *pažangùs* 'swift, successful' → 'progressive'; Lith. *draũgas* 'friend, comrade' → party member (but Latv. *biedrs*); Lith. *kovóti*, Latv. *cīnīties* 'to fight, compete (in sports); seek to win' → 'seek to obtain something' (← Russ. бороться); etc.

Under the influence of Russian a large number of abbreviations appeared, and many dictionaries were created to explain them.

Moreover, in the formation of new words one notes:

a) The percentage of compound words increased significantly compared with derived words; both in Latvian and Lithuanian, although earlier the situation was reversed; e.g.: Lith. *keliãlapis* ≈ Latv. *ceļazīme* 'permission to travel', Lith. *bendrãbutis* ≈ Latv. *kopmītne* 'hostel, dormitory', Lith. *savìtarna* ≈ Latv. *pašapkalpošanās* 'self-service', etc. In Latvian this was especially true for adjectives (Latv. *dzintardzidrs* 'clear as amber', etc.).

b) In both languages the role of prefixes (and prefixoides) grew significantly. adjectives are formed with prefixes such as Lith. *tarp-*, Latv. *starp-* 'between' (← Russ. меж[ду]- id.), e.g.: Lith. *tarprespublikìnis* ≈ Latv. *starprepublikānisks* 'interrepublic'; Lith. *tarpplanètinis* ≈ Latv. *starpplanētu-* 'interplanetary'; Lith. *tarpbibliotèkinis* ≈ Latv. *starpbibliotēku-* 'interlibrary'. Compound substantives are formed with Lith. *savi-* ≈ Latv. *paš-* 'self' (frequently ← Russ. само- id.), e.g.: Lith. *savìraida* ≈ Latv. *pašattīstība* 'self-development'; Lith. *savìveikla* ≈ Latv. *pašdarbība* 'amateur activity'; Lith. *bendrasąjungìnis* (~ Latv. *vissavienības-*) 'pan-Soviet, all-union'; Lith. *bendražygis*

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[837] For Lithuanian, cf. Simonaitytė (1983). For Latvian, cf. Augstkalne (1968).

(~ Latv. *līdzgaitnieks*) 'fellow traveler'; in Lithuanian, but not in Latvian, the prefix *bendra-* 'common' (← Russ. обще- id.) was established.

c) In noun formation certain suffixes became more common: Lith. *-ystė*, Latv. *-ība* ~ Russ. -ство; Lith. *-umas*, Latv. *-ums* ~ Russ. -ость, etc.

THE BALTIC LANGUAGES AND THE NEW INDEPENDENCE. *BALTIA AUTOCHTONA* AND *BALTIA EMIGRATA*

9.1. REAFFIRMATION OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

With the advent of *perestrojka* the search for national identity in the Baltic Republics was from the very beginning closely tied to questions of language. This became the topic of numerous articles in the press and the object of scholarly research.[838] From this moment the role of the Russian language in the Baltic republics changed radically,[839] although differently in Lithuania and in Latvia as a result of the diverse ethnic composition of the population in the two Baltic States.

9.1.1. The sociolinguistic situation in the context of the new independence

At present Lithuania is the largest Baltic state, with a territory of 65,200 square kilometers, and according to the census of 1989 a population of 3,690,000; Latvia occupies 64,600 square kilometers, with a population of 2,681,000 (Estonia is the smallest of the Baltic countries, with a territory of 45,215 square kilometers and a population of 1,573,000).

Sixty-nine percent of the Lithuanian population lives in the cities (Vilnius 700,000, Kaunas 500,000, as well as Klaipėda, Šiauliai, Panevėžys). In the Soviet period the relationship of city to country changed radically

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[838] For a chronological and historical analysis of events, among a vast bibliography, cf. Ezergailis, von Pistohlkors (1982); Mantenieks (1984); Senn A. E. (1990, 1995); Clemens (1991); Dini (1991b, p. 143-172 with a bibliography on p. 183-186); Lorot (1991); Meissner, Loeber, Hasselblatt (1994); Nørgaard, Johannsen (1996). On Latvia, cf. Plakans (1994); Pabriks, Purs (2001); on Lithuania, cf. the special issue of *Lituanus* (36-2, 1990), Lane (2001); on Estonia, cf. Smith D. J. (2001). A balance after five years of independence is represented by the contributions offered at a special conference, cf. Scholz, Tenhagen (1997). Overviews of the linguistic situation are: in general, Plasseraud (1998); for Lithuanian, Zinkevičius (*LKI* VI, p. 312-338); Karaliūnas (1994a; 1997); for Latvian, Blinkena (1989a), Zuicena (1997); for Latgalian, Leikuma (1992, 1994a).

[839] In general on the role (dominant, co-dominant, or indominant) of Russian in the post-Soviet-era see Haarmann (1998); Poljakov (2000) is an historical sketch of the Russian language in the Baltics until post-Soviet times.

in favor of the city. The capital of Latvia, Riga (more than one million inhabitants) is the largest city in the Baltics. However, for Latvia as a whole there is a characteristic difference between *sēta* and *pilsēta*, that is the isolated farm house and the city.

Lithuania is now a republic with a relatively homogeneous ethnic makeup: Lithuanians comprise about 79.6% of the population and there are only 9.4% Russians, 7% Poles, 1.7% Belarusians, 1.2% Ukrainians.[840] This relatively uniform ethnic situation is a deciding factor in determining the readiness of Lithuanian authorities to grant citizenship to non-Lithuanians.

The ethnic situation in Latvia, on the other hand, is more complicated. Latvians comprise only 52% of the population (less in the capital), and there are 32-34% Russians, most of whom settled here after World War II. Most of them are laborers, as well as former military personnel who remained after retirement in the relatively well-to-do and "western" Latvian Republic. The remainder is made up of Belarusians (4.5%), Ukrainians (3.5%) and Poles (2.3%).[841] For non-Latvians this significantly complicates the process for obtaining citizenship.

The principal ethnic minorities of the two republics can be divided into those who settled in these countries several centuries ago (Livs, Poles, Jews, Tatars, Karaites, Germans, some of the Russians) and those who arrived more recently (Belarusians, Ukrainians, the majority of Russians).[842]

With regard to religion in the Baltic countries the situation is rather variegated. At first glance Lithuania appears to be predominantly Catholic (with three theological seminaries),[843] while Latvia is Protestant and Catholic, especially in Latgalia. The percentages of the main confessions are as follows: in Latvia Lutherans prevail (55%), followed by Roman Catholics (24%) and the Orthodox (9%). Lithuania has 85% Roman Catholics and a small minority of Lutherans and Orthodox. In Trakai near Vilnius there are active groups of Muslims.

9.1.1.1. Dialects, vernacular language and literary language. For a general characterization of the contemporary Baltic languages one might quote Rūķe-Draviņa (1977, p. 9) regarding Latvian, although her comments can be applied equally to Lithuanian:

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[840]   Statistikos Departmentas (1990, p. 76); Hoškova (1994).
[841]   Statistikos Departmentas (1990, p. 76); Lentz, Müller (1994). On the importance of ethno-psychological factors in the analysis of the linguistic situation in Latvia today, cf. Druviete (1994).
[842]   Cf. Kobeckaitė, Vaitiekus, Jusys, Kinka (1992).
[843]   Cf. Benz (1995).

> After more than 400 years of an uneven development process, contemporary Standard Latvian [~ Lithuanian] has reached the level of a modern many-sided cultural language. Its literary norms are today clearly distinct from both the dialects on the one hand and from colloquial style and forms in the spoken language on the other hand. These norms have crystallized from many grammars, dictionaries, intensive work on the establishment of terminology in all fields, as well as from the activities of various linguistic centers concerned with the purity of the language in printed texts, newspapers, in theaters and schools, in recent decades also in radio and television, and, of course, always from the works of many Latvian [~ Lithuanian] authors.

In spite of the fact that in the Baltic linguistic area the connection between dialects and the standard languages is still active and productive, the main source for the formation of a contemporary language norm remains primarily the literary language tradition. This situation has come about in a parallel fashion with the process of leveling within Latvian and Lithuanian dialects, influenced by two main factors: the influence of the literary language on the dialects and the reciprocal influence of the dialects themselves. The prestige of the literary language compared to the dialects grew significantly in the Soviet period as a result of the broad influence from the press, the educational system, radio and television.[844] Exhibiting itself variously within individual dialects of the Latvian–Lithuanian linguistic area, the leveling process touched the entire dialectal system of both languages equally. This process is even more clearly expressed in lexicon, where the numerous Slavic borrowings and whole lexical ranges related to the agricultural economy of the preindustrial period have disappeared. At the same time the morphology, and especially phonetics, was affected to a lesser degree (with the exception of border dialects [see *infra*]).

9.1.1.2. Varieties. At present, as in the past, the linguistic situation in the big cities of the Baltic countries is defined by the presence of several ethnic communities. These are indigenous inhabitants (Latvians, Lithuanians), as well as Russians, Poles, and to a much lesser degree representatives of Jewish, German and several other communities.[845]

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[844] For Lithuanian, cf. Grinaveckienė (1967); for Latvian Blinkena (1985b); for Latgalian Leikuma (1994b).

[845] Concerning the history of the linguistic situation in Riga with information about Vilnius and Tallinn, cf. Semjonova (1977).

9.1.1.2.1. Urban speech. There is a report (updated to 1996) of the linguistic situation in Vilnius (cf. Ureland-Voronkova 1998). The spoken Lithuanian of the indigenous population in Vilnius (studied based on the results of a questionnaire from 70 informants by Grumadienė 1983, 1988ab, 1989) shows peculiarities observed in various Lithuanian dialects. This speaks to the fact that in the common urban language the articulatory base is not uniform. The reason for this is the significant changes within the structure of the linguistic community, and the constant contacts with speakers of other dialects (Grumadienė 2005a) and even of other languages (Russian, Polish). It is particularly noted that: *a*) the character of palatalization in the consonantal system differs from standard Lithuanian; *b*) important changes in stress patterns have taken place; *c*) the distinction between long and short vowel sounds at the end of a word tends to be neutralized in the unstressed position (but is preserved in rendering grammatically important information); other pronunciation variants are dictated by sociolinguistic factors.

Compared with other Lithuanian cities Vilnius confirms itself as a multilingual and multicultural urban center. According to the data of the Lithuanian census 2001, the situation of Vilnius inhabitants concerning language behavior and self declared language is described in Ramonienė (2009).

9.1.1.2.2. Youth slang. The variety of Latvian spoken in Riga is characterized by deletion of the short vowel in word-final unstressed syllables (Kariņš 1995). In the slang of Latvian students from Riga there are found tendencies resembling those features characteristic of Latvian as a whole:[846] shortened forms are frequent, e.g. Latv. *maģis* for *magnetofons* 'tape recorder', *faķis* for *fakultāte* 'faculty', *lūpene* for *lūpu krāsa* 'lipstick', and slang phrases are common.

Moreover, there are many borrowings from Russian and English (Treilona 1989; Krūmiņa, Rimša 1992; Teleženko 1992). Bušs, Ernstsone (2006) have prepared a vocabulary of Latvian slang; Ernstone, Tidriķe (2006) a vocabulary of youth slang; beyond that, Bušs (2008) points out that in Latvian a process of "rehabilitation" of slang-words of German origin is still taking place at the beginning of the 21st century. Attention has also been given to the study of urban graffiti from the point of view of the linguistic landscape (Pošeiko 2013).

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[846]   Cf. also Bušs (1982).

For an interesting evaluation of the quality of the Latvian language produced by native speakers and by ethnic Russians, cf. Bond, Markus, Stockmal (2003); young native speakers of Latvian evaluate as acceptable only the pronunciation of Latvians from all age groups.

Beginning in 1989-1990 there has been a significant increase in the number of Anglicisms in the slang of Lithuanians, although the spread of Anglicisms was already a widely observed phenomenon, coming over from Russian at the height of the Soviet period.[847] The fact that this process was not reflected in specialized research does not cast doubt on its existence. However that may be, the number of borrowings after 1990 has doubtless grown. They are spread primarily through music, as well as the unrestricted freedom of the press (Klimas A. 1994). There are also cases where Russian borrowings are replaced by Anglicisms:

> Lith. *autsáideris*, *bìznis*, *brìfingas*, *márketingas*, *strèsas* ← English *outsider*, *business*, *briefing*, *marketing*, *stress*.

This has caused alarm among individual linguists and linguistic associations working for the purity of language (e.g. *Lietuvių kalbos komisija*), which have published a list of Anglicisms and other foreign words to avoid, along with recommended Lithuanian or Latvian correspondences. Still, there is today a strong psychological resistance to the replacement of English equivalents by indigenous terms, and the use of English is preferred.[848] Girčienė (2005) discusses the equivalents for about two hundred new borrowings which entered the Lithuanian written and spoken language during the period 1991-2001. Brazaitis (2006, p. 458-462) observes that many loanwords have successfully entered the language in spite of official disapproval.

The Lith. state language policy is at present rather puristically oriented. This fact has become an object both of study and of polemics concerning borrowings and other general matters common to the speech community.

Vaicekauskienė (2007), based on Lith. periodicals, shows that the latest decade of the 21th century has been an epoch of a renewed and vast influx of foreign elements in the Lith. language (more then 700 root morphemes have been detected). Only a small proportion of the root mor-

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[847] On Anglicisms in Lith. and Latv., cf. Baldunčiks (1988).
[848] Various aspects of linguistic interaction (Lith. and dialect; Lith. and Russian spoken in Lithuania; Lith., Russian and English) in the language of students of Šiauliai university are described by Kačiuskienė, Merkienė (2008).

phemes analyzed are likely to be integrated into the Lith. language system. The principal causes of borrowing seem to be the following: *a*) designative (64%) for new phenomena or concepts; *b*) semantic (13%); *c*) stylistic, related to the expressiveness of the language (12%); *d*) socio–psychological (11%) which demonstrates identification with another culture.[849] The author underlines that there is no reason to consider the last case particularly dangerous, because the new borrowings are in general easily integrated into the word-formation system of the Lith. language. The polemic against the prescriptive state language policy is also set forth in other contributions. Thus, in Vaicekauskienė (2008) the traditional Lith. criteria for the codification practice of borrowed lexicon are questioned because they are considered to be governed too much by the prevailing conservative, romantic ideology and too little attentive to the real usage; and in Vaicekauskienė (2012) the notion of 'good language' for Lith. broadcast (TV and radio) announcers and journalists is discussed with the purpose of evaluating their metalinguistic awareness. The author proposes to pay attention to both prescriptive and descriptive approaches.[850]

9.1.1.2.3. Colloquial language. The colloquial language in the Baltics is still a little–investigated field. There is not (yet) systematic research because the collection and analysis of natural spontaneous language data is a quite complicated and not often undertaken task. Dabašinskienė (2009a) is a first attempt at drawing a systematic comparison between spoken and written Lithuanian focused especially on morphological categories and lexicon. There is also a corpus of the spoken Lithuanian language available at the University of Kaunas (www.vdu.lt/LT-courses). Dabašinskienė (2009b) studies the employment of diminutive suffixes in the language of both children and adults; in the latter direct speech diminutives may also occur for pragmatic purposes, revealing conversational strategies of power and solidarity to show the dynamics of relationships between speakers.

The relationship between the young generation of Latvians' oral speech and Latvia's typical sociolinguistic situation, characterized by a strong bi- and multilingualism, is the object of study of Navicka (2008): lexical interferences (from Russian and English), the pragmatic function

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[849] Interestingly enough, the borrowings have actualized both already known suffixes (*–ingas*, *–eris*) and almost unknown ones (e.g. *–aizeris*).

[850] See also the special issues of *Lituanus* (58-2, 2012) devoted to these subjects.

performed by borrowings and calques, and the choice of register as an option for belonging to a determined social group are the most widespread strategies developed particularly by young speakers in colloquial daily communication, and characterize their own idiolect.

9.1.1.3. Acquisition. There are already some important studies on this subject for both Latvian and for Lithuanian.

Rūķe-Draviņa (1982)[851] has been a pioneering and ground-breaking study devoted to the acquisition of language by four children with Latvian as their mother tongue from five months up to five years, that is from the first utterances to their first autonomous linguistic production, using various materials: tape recordings, diaries, written observations. Special attention has been paid to the interplay of the use of verbal and non-verbal features of communication and also to the various factors determining the different tempo of apprenticeship of their own mother tongue by the children under investigation.

Different aspects of the acquisition process of Lithuanian have been investigated by various scholars, primarily for nominal,[852] but also for verbal morphology.[853] Along with a general work on the acquisition of Lith. noun morphology (Savickienė 2003) there are several contributions on specific questions: the acquisition of cases by a Lithuanian and a Russian child;[854] the use of the inflectional endings of all the cases by a Lithuanian girl;[855] the acquisition of Lithuanian noun diminutives;[856] the acquisition of Lith. compounds;[857] other different features of child language in a Lith. context (language register, directed speech).[858]

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[851]   This book puts together contributions from more than twenty authors (papers and reviews) in various languages on this topic, cf. Rūķe-Draviņa (1982, p. 413).

[852]   A general work on the acquisition of Lithuanian noun morphology is Savickienė (2003).

[853]   On problems related to verb morphology, in particular the acquisition of the category of person, cf. Wójcik (1994, 1997, 1998, 2000) and Wójcik, Smoczyńska (1997).

[854]   Voeikova, Savickienė (2001).

[855]   Savickienė (2002) observes that the child is very early (i.e. before the age of two) able to use the inflectional endings of all the cases (the most frequent case is the nominative in the function of grammatical subject, after that comes the possessive genitive, and the accusative of the direct object). The acquisition of the main meanings of the cases is gradual; the acquisition of some peripheral case meanings occurs much later.

[856]   The acquisition of Lithuanian noun diminutives is dealt with in Savickienė (1998) who offers the preliminary results of her investigation based on tape-recorded data of one child between 1.7 and 2.6. It results that the the child uses many diminutive forms quite early in a very close parallel with the mother's usage.

[857]   Dabašinskienė (2010).

[858]   Cf. Kamandulytė (2005, 2006, 2007). On Lith. adjective acquisition, cf. Kamandulytė (2012).

9.1.1.4. Language policy and education policies. As a result of political events at the end of the 1980s which led to the formation of the independent states of Latvia and Lithuania, both Latvian (1989) and Lithuanian (1990) have been restored to the status of the national languages of these two republics.[859]

In the period 1990-1992 a State language law was established which made Latvian the state language of Latvia,[860] and Lithuanian the state language of Lithuania. A distinction must be made, however, between a state language and the officially accepted language(s). According to the laws of the two republics only one language is the state language (mainly the language of the autochthonous population), but other languages are admissible only when public interests are not affected.[861] For official use, each citizen can choose between the state language and Russian in Latvia.[862]

I am talking here of symbolic landmarks which indicate – for Latvian to a greater degree than Lithuanian – the end of a century-long period which brought the Baltic languages from the status of local dialects of the Baltic Sea coast to the level of official languages of two contemporary states recognized by the international community. Thus the forced limitation of Latvian[863] and Lithuanian[864] to a few insignificant regions of use has come to an end.

Following the restitution of independence, one of the key questions, particularly for the Latvian government, was a successful language policy. Language planning has been particularly pursued in Latvia (and in Estonia, too) with the development and implementation of the Education and Citizenship Laws, which also address the language issue.

As a matter of fact, on regaining independence Latvia renewed state sovereignty but was faced with the major problem of a demographical balance, because in the seven major cities of the republic the population of those members of the titular nation had become numerically smaller

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[859] A reference work for the first two decades of the new independence on language politics and language practices in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is Hogan-Brun, Ozolins, Ramonienė, Rannut (2009) in which an overview on the topics in the Baltics is provided, including questions of bilingual and multilingual language use and of language provision in educational settings.

[860] Documents, interviews and information on the law are in Čeičs (1992). On the hopes connected to the language law in Latvia for the renewal of scientific research, cf. Blinkena (1989b, p. 7-8). An insight into the publications in the Latvian printed press from 1987 to 1989 is given in Liepa (2008).

[861] A useful and interesting comparative study of pre-independence language legislation and post-independence change in language policy has been undertaken by Järve (2002).

[862] On the concept of a national language in light of Baltic history and the situation after the restitution of indipendence, cf. Skujiņa (1992, 1994). From a decolonizational perspective for Latvian, cf. Jirgens (1998).

[863] Druviete (1995, 1996, 2012); Hirša (1998).

[864] Mikulenienė (1998).

than the ethnically diverse, although linguistically homogeneous, population.

Therefore the ultimate objective of language policy and language planning was to ensure the existence of the Latvian language in a context characterized by competition between languages.[865] The Latvian government was faced with the task of breaking down the hegemony of Russian. Declaring Latvian the official state language had the effect of inducing many Russian speakers to learn Latvian (in 1989 only 19% of minority speakers knew Latvian, by the year 2000 this was 54.4%). In addition, one observes an interesting phenomenon in the educational field, which is the opposite of what took place in the Soviet period: with the re-establishment of social prestige of the Baltic languages more and more children from the national minorities are attending Latvian and Lithuanian schools, in spite of not knowing these languages, after the 1990 provisions were made for public-sector employees to become (more) proficient in the state language.

By 1989, examinations in the Latvian language had already been established for those entering government service in the Latvian Republic. In the context of the new linguistic politics several measures were taken, directed toward the limitation of the use of Russian, especially in schools and public offices. During the Soviet period the countryside was the only place where Latvians and Lithuanians spoke exclusively in their native language (or the percentage of bilingualism was relatively small). However, with the re-establishment of the importance of the two Baltic languages one can soon expect a smaller percentage of bilingualism in the cities. In this regard the linguistic policies in both Latvia and in Lithuania have, if not identical, at least similar objectives.

These objectives include, for instance, expanding the use of the Baltic languages into all spheres of social life and revising the lexicon of the best explanatory dictionaries;[866] increasing the quantity and improve the quality of language courses for the non-native population (evening courses, courses for radio personnel, television, etc.); and protecting the languages of the ethnic minorities.

The law relating to ethnic minorities enacted in the 1990s gives legal status so that both in Latvia and in Lithuania the language of any national

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[865] Ozoliņš (1994); Druviete (1997abc, 1998a); Valdmanis (1994); Zepa (2003).
[866] For Lithuanian this tendency is to be found for instance in Keinys (1991) or Gaivenis (1994, 2002). In general see also the contributions collected in Auksoriūtė (2005).

minority could become officially recognized in any area or administrative region with a solid representation of the given minority. Moreover, the law includes a right to demand a translator. There are also television and radio programs in minority languages, as well as newspapers, journals and books in the various languages of those living in the republic. Theaters and other cultural centers exist under the aegis of various linguistic organizations and with government support.

A similar linguistic variety exists for religious creeds. In Lithuania the Catholic Church conducts liturgies in Lithuanian or Polish, depending on the language of the parishioners. The Catholics in Belarus attend the Mass in Polish, but it is also celebrated in Belarussian. The Protestant Church in Latvia uses Latvian as well as German. The Orthodox Church and the Old Believers use Russian. Beginning in 1990 not only churches representing various confessions, but also synagogues and mosques gradually re-opened.

With independence various linguistic societies (whose activities date to the 1930s) also received a renewed impetus (e.g. the State Commission for Linguistic Supervision, the National Center for Language Teaching, etc.). As for linguistic policies in the Baltic states for the near future, it is not improbable that they will regain the strength they had in the 1930s to continue projects related to interBaltic rapprochement **[see 8.1.3.3.-4.]**.

9.1.1.5. After 2004: The Baltic languages in Europe. After the European enlargement of 2004,[867] Lithuanian and Latvian became official languages of the European Union. Considering the relative scantiness of knowledge about the Baltics, many contributions had already been devoted to this field in the period preceding the EU (and NATO) enlargement.[868] The sociolinguistic situation, especially in Latvia, had already been an object of investigation for a long time, especially after the restitution of independence (Druviete 1996, 2003).

Hogan-Brun (2005a) has investigated the ideological debates regarding minority languages and citizenship resulting from the European Union accession negotiations. The general question is that of the transferability of western models of minority rights and multicultural citizenship to other

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[867] Reference historical studies for this period are e.g.: Giordano, Žvinkienė, Henseler (2003); Plasseraud (2003); Bayou, Chillaud (2012); a culture-historical synopsis is Garber, Klöker (2011).

[868] For a general (socio-)linguistic survey, cf. Hogan-Brun (2003, 2005b); Savickienė, Kaledaitė (2005). For Lithuanian, cf. Hogan-Brun, Ramonienė (2002, 2005b); Smetonienė (2003); Grumadienė (2005b, 2006). For Latvian Druviete (1998b, 2003); Metuzāle-Kangere, Ozoliņš (2005); Poriņa (2009).

sociohistorical and sociopolitical postcommunist countries. That is, if it is possible simply to export standards developed for established democracies in western Europe to countries like the Baltic States, which were still in transition to democracy, taking into account the strong impact left by the Soviet legacy in these post-colonial societies. The new status presented new challenges and also new (indeed different) problems for the two Baltic languages; for example already at the beginning of the post-Soviet era the so-called Copenhagen political criteria conditioning EU accession determined a change in language policies in Latvia (and also in Estonia, cf. Adrey 2005).

Some statistical data may be of interest, especially if considered contrastively as a different heritage from the Soviet period in Latvia and in Lithuania.

By the mid-1990s 81.3% of the population of Lithuania were first-language Lithuanian-speakers (83.8% in 1923) and the rest were minorities of primarily first-language Russian or Polish-speakers. According to 2011 estimates in Latvia 59.5% are Latvian speakers, and in Lithuania 83.9% are Lithuanian speakers.

More or less in the same period 54.2% of the population of Latvia were first-language Latvian-speakers (76.5% in 1925) and 33.1% were first-language Russian-speakers (10% in 1925); about 150,000 people did not manage to fulfill the requirements for achieving Latvian citizenship. It is also useful to look diachronically at the ethno-demographic change of the Latvian population during the last century:[869]

Nationality/Year	1935	1989	2006	2012
Latvians	77.0	52.2	59.0	60.5
Russians	8.8	34.0	28.5	26.6
Belarusians	1.4	4.4	3.8	3.3
Ukrainians	1.8	3.4	2.5	2.2
Poles	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.2
Lithuanians	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.2
Jews	4.9	0.6	0.4	0.3
Roma	3.8	0.3	0.4	0.3
Estonians	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
Germans	3.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
Others	0.2	1.1	1.1	2.1

[869]   Data from Veisbergs (2013, p. 54).

9.1.1.5.1. Latvia. In contrast to Lithuania, the proportion of Russian and other non-indigenous minorities is much greater in Latvia (and in Estonia). Although the level of bilingualism with the state language amongst minority communities has increased, here the actuation of linguistic and educational policies has been and still is much more difficult. After the restauration of independence about 500,000-700,000 persons remained in Latvia as a heritage from the Soviet period. They were mostly military persons and workers in many various fields with very little or absolutely no command of Latvian, but russophones. The new language laws caused a heated public debate in Latvian society (Priedīte 2005). The fact that on 18th-19th February 2012 a language referendum was held in Latvia as to whether the Latvian language should be the only state language shows how strong the question of social integration still is in this country with respect to the language. 74.8% (821,722) voted against the nomination of Russian as the second official language in the country whereas 24.8% (273,347) of the citizens voted in favor; 0.32% (3,524) votes were not valid. According to Cheskin (2013) in Latvia there is a great potential for an integrated, yet culturally distinct identity for Latvian-Russian speakers (cf. also Hanovs, Tēraudkalns 2012).

Baldunčiks (2010) points out several ways in which the English language was already influencing Latvian after the restitution of independence: new loanwords, strong reactivization of old loans (e.g. *bizness*), the appearance of many "false friends" especially in translations (e.g. *akadēmiķis*, *inteliģence)*, semantic overload of some polysemic words (e.g. in the case of Engl. *development* and Latv. *attīstība*), the adoption of questionable phraseological units and metaphors; but also changes in grammar (most of all the unusual plural or singular forms, unusual inflections), syntax (the segmentation of compound words) and even in orthography (the use of capital letters), and other phenomena.

9.1.1.5.2. Lithuania. In Lithuania the two major ethnic groups, the Russians and the Poles, have responded differently to integration and required different educational measures to support the different needs of a society in transition. Also, because of the favorable ethnic composition of the population, Lithuanian language and education policies have been successful in promoting social integration and at the same time have been able to safeguard cultural and linguistic diversity (Hogan-Brun, Ramonienė 2003). The officially reinstated Lithuanian language also determined problems of linguistic identification in

historically densely multilingual and multiethnic areas of the republic such as eastern and south-eastern Lithuania. In this regard, Hogan-Brun, Ramonienė (2005a) observed that the attitudes to Lithuania are generally positive, even in rural areas with a high percentage of multiethnicity, although language loyalties remain quite complex. In some areas there also exists a real possibility for developing a relatively stable bilingualism (for Lithuanians and Russians) and even trilingualism (for Poles) with the state language.

A first balance twenty years after the restitution of independence has been attempted by Liepa (2012), which is a Lithuanian-Latvian contrastive study connecting issues of linguistics and mutual relations of the Baltic peoples and attitudes toward the language policy and language of their own and neighbouring countries. Some questions remain not yet fully answered: how safe about their people, country and language do the Latvians feel and likewise the Lithuanians? What should be done in order to safeguard national identity and keep the languages of the Balts from disappearing and dissolving in the conditions of European multiculturalism, multilingualism and other multiterms?

9.1.2. Contacts among languages

Almost all the Lithuanians and Latvians in both republics recognize Lithuanian or Latvian as their native language. On the other hand, Russian is the native language for the majority of the Russian population in Lithuania and Latvia.

Several peculiarities of the language of Russians living in the Baltics, including Estonia, have been observed by Alekseeva (1974).[870] On the linguistic situation of Russians living in Riga cf. (Semjonova 1977). The regional features of Russian in Lithuania have been investigated in several contributions by Avina (2001; 2002 on semantic changes as a consequence of linguistic contact; 2004 on tendencies of the regional distribution with regard to the influence of the Lithuanian, Polish and Byelorussian languages; 2006 on regional innovations as a cultural specific component in the circumstances of intercultural communication).

Čekman (2001ab) discusses the Russian used in Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn and the rural area; according to him the Russian language in

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[870] Cf. also the contributions (Marčenko, Sivickienė, Šulienė on the situation in Lithuania; Nemceva, Sinica on Latvia; Mjurkchejn, Chejter on Estonia), contained in *Материалы IV диалектологической конференции по изучению говоров и языковых контактов в прибалтике*, Vilnius, October 1972.

this area derives firstly from the Old Believers seeking religious free-dom.[871]

Approximately half of the Belarusians, Ukrainians and Germans and a third of the Lithuanian Jews consider Russian their native language. Contacts with other languages mainly take place in border territories (Romančiuk 1989), but also encompass significant territories within the republics.

On the border of Lithuania and Latvia there are what might be termed linguistic islands. Already at the end of the 1970s 37,000 Lithuanians (1.5%) lived in Latvia, primarily concentrated along the common border and in the territory of Curlandia, while 4,354 Latvians (0.1%) lived in Lithuania.[872] As a result there was an active exchange between local Lithuanian and Latvian dialects.[873]

9.1.2.1. Linguistic minorities in the Republic of Lithuania. The consolidation of the position of Lithuanian, which took place on the background of the limiting of the role of Russian, initiated a whole series of social conflicts which have intensified the already complicated political situation. However, the linguistic law successfully resolved this question and after 1991 there were no more conflicts. It should also be pointed out that within the territory of the republic there are contacts with other languages,[874] particularly with Polish and Belarussian, as well as with Russian dialects[875] and other linguistic minorities (Yiddish, German, and others[876]); two other linguistic islands in Lithuania are of interest: the Karaim and the Tatar (the two ethnos are not always clearly distinguished).

9.1.2.1.1. Polish and Belarussian. There are three compact dialect areas of the Polish language in Lithuania: the Vilnius, Smalvos and Kaunas areas. One

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[871]   The Old Believers appeared in the Baltic region starting at the end of the 17th century, when they began to flee from the Orthodox authorities and the Czarist regime; in particular, they appeared in Lithuania after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth (i.e. after 1795). In general about the Old Believers' in Lithuania see the contributions to a special conference devoted to this subject in Čiubrinskas et al. (1998); particularly on the peculiarities and the genesis of the Old Believers' dialect, cf. Morozova, Čekman (1998).

[872]   The case of the Latvians in Šventoji is described in Kiseliūnaitė (2006).

[873]   The area most researched is lexicon, cf. Brence (1970a); Šaudiņa (1989). For other aspects, primarily of phonetics and dialectology, cf. Brence (1970b); Garšva (1984, 1985, 1989, 1995); on adaptation of Lithuanianisms, cf. Šaudiņa (1991).

[874]   Grumadienė, Stundžia (1997).

[875]   An analysis of Lithuanianisms and doublets in the Russian-speaking territories of northwest Lithuania (Zarasai, Rokiškis, Ignalina, Švenčionys) which resulted from a long period of contact is Sivickienė (1990); also cf. Verenič (1982, 1983).

[876]   On the about 600 Estonians living in Lithuania, cf. Klaas (2003, p. 55-59).

of the Polish dialects which differs from the common variants is the language of domestic communication still in use by 260,000 Poles living in the Lithuanian republic, mainly in the capital Vilnius (18%) and its environs,[877] including Trakai,[878] and in the eastern region of the country. Some take special courses to learn to use the Polish literary language in everyday speech. In most of the Lithuanian territory, Catholic church services are also conducted in Polish. Various cases of interference in Polish dialects in Lithuania have been observed and investigated.[879]

The prestige of Lithuanian in this region is lower than anywhere else. In official situations the local residents speak Russian, and at home they use either a Belarussian dialect or one of the variants of Polish (Garšva 1994). The situation is complicated by the fact that the population has difficulty relating with confidence to one or another ethnic and linguistic group. There are several historical reasons for this: the ancestors of the local inhabitants were Lithuanians, but their national identity was formed in the recent past thanks to Catholicism which came from Poland; therefore, many of these people consider themselves to be Poles. This idea was substantially strengthened during the Polish occupation (1920-1939), but during the years of the Soviet regime Russophile tendencies dominated. In 1989 and 1990 the linguistic question became especially acute and produced many discussions and press publications, as a result a special intergovernmental accord was achieved between Poland and Lithuania. This is the subject of specialized scholarly studies (Garšva 1990; Kniūkšta 1990; Garšva, Grumadienė 1993; Zinkevičius 1993b).

The ethnolinguistic situation which led to the spread of Polish and Belarussian dialects in southeast Lithuania and the contemporary sociolinguistic situation has been the subject of detailed research for sixty years.[880] From the work of Čekman and other scholars it follows that the variant of Polish mentioned above was formed on the basis of a Lithuanian (and to some degree Belarussian) substratum (Čekman, Grumadienė 1993; Grek-Pabisowa, Maryniakowa 1993), while Belarussian should be consid-

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[877] On the sociolinguistic situation in the area of Vilnius, cf. Čekman (1994a), Marcinkiewicz (1997). On the Polish language in the capital, particularly among young people, cf. Masoit (1999).

[878] On the Polish language near Trakai, cf. Morita (2001-2002).

[879] Cf. Rutkowska (2004); Zielińska (2004, for the area between Kaunas and Panevėžys). On lexical Lithuanianisms, cf. e.g. Adomavičiūtė (1979) and Smoczyński (1987b, for Vilnius area); on the forms of the Polish infinitive -*arć*, -*kć* (< ? Lith. -*rti*, -*kti*), cf. Tekielski (1983).

[880] In the 1930s, cf. Turska (1930 [= 1983], 1938 [= 1982, 1995], 1964); more recently e.g. Adomavičiūtė, Čekman (1984); particularly, cf. the contributions (Zinkevičius, Gaučas, Luckievič, Čekman, Vidugiris) to the session *Language. National Conscience*, contained in Garšva, Grumadienė (1993).

ered a secondary stratum.[881] Both exhibit characteristic features of Lithuanian in articulation, in morphology (e.g. the 3rd-pers. ending), in syntax (e.g. participial constructions), as well as in much of the lexicon.

9.1.2.1.2. Prosta mowa. A local variant of Polish has received the designation *prosta mowa* (i.e. 'simple language') or to speak *po prostu* 'simply'.[882] It was formed on the basis of Lithuanian, and partially on a Belarussian substratum. The *po prostu* designation is also used for the Belarussian dialect spoken in small villages in the environs of Vilnius (to the south, northwest, and northeast), as well as in the district of Šalčininkai in the southeast of the republic. They call themselves *tuteišy*, that is 'local', but their "local dialect" is close to Polish, although structurally it is related to East Slavic, specifically Belarussian dialects [see 9.1.3.1.].

9.1.2.1.3. Yiddish. The Jewish population of Vilnius, which was large until World War II [see 7.1.3.3.], has decreased significantly in recent times and is listed at about 8,000. The majority of Jews who settled in Lithuania a long time ago use Yiddish (*litvišer jidiš*), while recent arrivals from Soviet republics speak mainly Russian.[883] After 1990, schools were established with instruction in Hebrew and not Yiddish, as was the situation between the two World Wars. Yiddish survives as a colloquial and familiar language in big cities of modern Lithuania.[884] This language has been investigated by Katz (1983), dialectologically; by Weinreich (1964, passim) in the framework of languages in contact, and especially by Lemchenas [Lemkhen] (1970, 1995) on the influence on it of Lithuanian. A very informative contribution on north east Yiddish with an emphasis on the features shared with the Baltic languages is found in Jacobs (2001). The bulk of the Lithuanian influence on Yiddish is lexical. Lithuanian borrowings conform to the phonology of Yiddish (for example the distinction between sibilants and shibilants is lost).[885]

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[881]   Čekman (1982). For phonetic phenomena, cf. Grinaveckienė, Mackevič (1988); for lexical phenomena, cf. Jaškin (1993).

[882]   Cf. already Otrębski (1931, 1965), and later many other scholars have studied its various aspects. For the morphosyntactic influence of Slavic languages, cf. Wiemer (2009).

[883]   For the history of Jewish settlements in Lithuania, cf. Atamukas (2001); for Jewish among other ethnic minorities in Lithuania, cf. Potašenko (2008, p. 47-51 and 103-107).

[884]   About the cultural life of the Jewish population in the Baltics and in Lithuania, cf. Katz (2003, 2004, 2008).

[885]   The sociolinguistic situation of the Yiddish community (only four elderly people) in contemporary Švenčionys is described in Zamblera (2007, 2012 partly) where many cases of interference and code switching with Lithuanian and Russian are considered.

9.1.2.1.4. German. About 2,000 Germans live in the east and south of Lithuania and consider German to be their native language, although one can hardly speak of any significant recent influences between Lithuanian and German. Their number was largely reduced by the Soviets after the war, killed or repatriated; today most of them are newcomers. Germans in Lithuania are divided into two religious groups: Evangelist Lutherans and Evangelist Reformats. It is worth mentioning one typological similarity: the same term used for those speaking the Belarussian dialect in Lithuania, *tuteišy*, is also found in the Klaipėda region. Local Lithuanians have lived near the Germans beginning with the *Drang nach Osten* (13th century) are still called *šišioniškiai*, meaning 'local, from here' (cf. Lith. *šišionai*, *šičionai* 'here, to here').

9.1.2.1.5. Karaim. The Karaims preserve their native (Turkic) language (Lith. *karaìmų kalbà*). In 1997 there were 269 Karaims living in Trakai, the ancient capital about thirty kilometers from Vilnius. Today about 50 Karaim live there, and some temples are preserved there for Jewish worship. The Karaim language is taught at Sunday schools. The local variant contains Lithuanian borrowings, mostly lexical.[886] The situation of the Karaim community at present is studied by Csató (2001) from the point of view of "code-copying" (i.e. how elements of the contact language are inserted into another language).

9.1.2.1.6. Tatar. Distinct from the Karaites are the Tatars. They do not preserve their (equally Turkic) native language, which they had lost by the 18th century. During the independent period between the two World Wars they maintained religious communities in Kaunas and other Lithuanian cities and villages. Their religious books were and are in Belarussian or Polish (but written in Arabic alphabet). They live in the villages in the environs of Vilnius and speak Belarussian and Polish; before 1940 only a minority sometimes spoke Lithuanian. In 1997 the Tatars numbered about 4,000 people.[887]

9.1.2.2. Linguistic minorities in Latvia. Apart from Russian, which has already been mentioned [see 9.1.1.], it is worth considering the possible influence of

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[886] Among other studies, cf. the contributions presented at the conference dedicated to A. Zajączkowski (*A. Zajączkowskio 90-sioms gimimo metinėms*, Vilnius 1993 m. spalio 14-15 d.); Gedmintas (1997) on ethnic survival. On the plurilingual situation in South-Eastern Lithuania, cf. Zamblera (2012). On the social status of Lith. Karaites, cf. Bairauškaitė (2007); Vitureau (2007) [see 7.1.3.3.].

[887] Concerning the situation in the past and for a minimal bibliography [see 7.1.3.3.]. On linguistic questions, cf. Danylenko (2006).

Finnic languages on Latvian which is manifested primarily in the structure of the grammar [see 3.2.3.]. Moreover, it was recently discovered that in many cases it is possible to observe an influence of the Livonian substratum. For the situation in Latgalia [see 8.2.1.2. and 9.1.2.1.].

9.1.2.2.1. Livonian. The Livs are a Finnic tribe which has gradually been assimilated with the Latvians. This small Finnic tribe, which gave its name to the geographical region of Livonia, long ago settled on the shore of the Gulf of Riga. In the beginning of the 13th century it was the first tribe to experience the aggression of the Teutonic knights. *The Livonian Chronicle* of Henry the Latvian begins with a description of the battles of the Livs with the Teutons. The German–Latvian historian G. Merkel was also concerned with the fate of the Livonian tribe which always played a role in Latvian culture. References to it appear both in ancient songs and in the works of contemporary authors.

In 1925 there were in Kurzeme 1238 Livs; in 1930, 962, and in 1935, 944 (Biezais 1961). At the beginning of the 1980s, regarding the approximately three hundred bilingual Livs living in Latvia the interpretation of Comrie (1981, p. 100) is interesting. He looks at this situation as representing "the final stage in the merging of the Baltic and Balto–Finnic substratum in Latvian." Statistics about the number of modern Livs who speak their native language are contradictory: until recent years some sources gave the number of a couple of hundred persons, others only some ten (von Noltein 1996). In the mid-1990s, the Livonian language was still considered to be on the way to extinction,[888] and the call of the Latvian linguist Rudzīte (1994ab) to study the connections between Latvian and Livonian was felt to be particularly urgent. Today this language is extinct: the last speaker Viktor Berthold died on 28th february 2009.[889] Nevertheless there still exists an Association of Livs, but more important for the vitality of their culture is the activity of the folklore groups *Livlist* (later *Scandinieki*) in Riga and *Kangla* in Ventspils.

In the framework of languages in contact many different aspects of interference between Latvian and Livonian have been investigated. Certain aspects such as the Latvian verb prefixes which passed into Livonian have

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[888] In general on the Livonians and their language, cf. Vääri (1971, 1996, 1998); Karma (1994); Suhonen (1996); Le Calloc'h (1995, p. 6-8); Toporov (2002). A bilingual Livonian-Latvian dictionary is Ernštreits (1999).

[889] Cf. the testimony of the Catalan writer and traveler Albert Lázaro-Tinaut in *transeuntenorte.blogspot.com* (2010.03.27); cf. also www.livones.lv

been studied by de Sivers (1971), Rudzīte (1980), and Vääri (1985).[890] Various interference cases have been described both in the lexic (Wälchli 1988) and in the morphosyntax, e.g. the lost of impersonals (Christen 1998), the common strong tendency to reduce local cases (Wälchli 1998) and the loan of verb particles (Wälchli 2001).

There are phenomena which show the influence of the Livonian substratum (especially in the territories which the Livs settled historically), specifically: the frequent change from the masculine gender to the feminine, the generalization of form of the 3rd pers. to the remaining forms of the verb (Endzelīns 1970). A certain number of calques and prefixes have passed from Latvian into Livonian (e.g. Liv. *võttõ* 'to take' and *aiz-võttõ* 'to borrow', formed parallel to the Latv. *ņemt/aizņemt* id.) and into the Estonian border dialects (*at-*, *bez-*, *iz-*, *no-*, *pa-*).[891]

9.1.2.2.2. Lithuanian. Lithuanians in Latvia live primarily in the capital Riga, in some other big cities (Liepāja, Daugavpils, Jelgava) and along the border. The migration process began in the middle of the 19th century and stopped with the restitution of independence; this history and specifics are described in Jēkabsons (2003). In 1993 there were 36,600 Lithuanians in Latvia. Garšva (2001b) analyzes the phonetic characteristics of the Lithuanian dialects in Latvia. Kvašytė has investigated many different linguistic characteristics of the Lithuanian community in Latvia such as Latvian colloquial style, loans, expression of realia and other lexical peculiarities,[892] sociolinguistic aspects and the contact between the languages.[893]

9.1.2.3. Romani dialects in the Baltics. As is known, there exists in the Baltics a particular variant of the Romani language, a so-called Baltic variant of the northern Romani dialect.[894] It extends into the east (in Lithuania and eastern Latvia), and into the West Baltics (in western Latvia and Estonia). The features of the Lithuanian variant (Lith. *čigõnų kalbà*, Pol. *litóuska romá*; used by 3,000 Roma living in Lithuania) and its connections with Lithuanian have not been studied, with the exception of certain cases of lexical borrowing.

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[890]   Cf. also Rudzīte, Karma (1980). More in general on the diffusion of Balto-Finnic loanwords in the Latvian dialects, cf. Bušmane (2000).
[891]   Ariste (1958a, 1960).
[892]   Kvašytė (1997, 2001, 2002, 2003a).
[893]   Kvašytė (2003b, 2006).
[894]   On the lexeme *čigāni* 'gypsies, roma' in the Latv. *dainas*, cf. Rozenbergs (1986).

The variant of Romani spread in the north and west (so-called *čuchny*) underwent a strong influence from Latvian, which was reflected partially in the borrowing of Latvian morphemes. Thus, certain Latvian prepositions (*no-*, *sa-*, *pie-*) are used as verbal prefixes, and the suffixes *-ums*, *-uma* are more often used in place of traditional *-imo*, *-ima* in the eastern variant of the north Romani dialect (cf. *fárduma* 'prison', cf. Pol. *twardy* 'hard' and Latv. *ciets* 'closed', Latv. *cietums*, *cietuma* 'prison'). In the area of lexicon the influence is reciprocal.[895]

9.1.2.4. Lithuanian communities in Belarus and Poland. The restitution of indipendence also re-awakened linguistic self-awareness in the Lithuanian communities incorporated into Belarus and Poland[896] (Zinkevičius *LKI* VI, p. 363–368).

According to the Lithuanian linguistic maps[897] Lithuanian communities in Belarus, where about 7,600 Lithuanians live officially, are located in approximately twelve villages (the principal ones are: Gervéčiai,[898] Lazúnai,[899] Pelesà,[900] Ramaškónys,[901] Zíetela[902]), as well as several minor linguistic islands.[903] Smułkowa (1969) studies the Lithuanianisms in the vocabulary of agriculture of the Belarussian language. Additional material is comprised of elements present in the Lithuanian substratum, either in the contemporary Belarus language or in the Belarussian dialects (Astrejka 2010) of various regions;[904] e.g. the toponyms of Lithuanian origin in the region of Vidzy in Belarus show how the process of Belarussification gained still more ground.[905]

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[895] Cf. Ariste (1958b, 1966, 1969). A very important tool is Mānušs, Neilands, Rudevičs (1997), containing an etymological dictionary and a grammar of the Latvian Romani dialect.

[896] Chomiński, Bednarczuk (2010) is a report of the work of Chomiński [1884–1943] who described in detail the territory and the boundaries of the Lithuanian language in Poland, and prepared them in the form of a map published in 1939.

[897] Of the atlas of Lithuanian linguistics three volumes have appeared, dedicated to lexicon, phonetics and morphology, cf. Grinaveckienė, Morkūnas, Vidugiris, Zinkevičius (1977, 1982, 1991 [1994]).

[898] Concerning the dialect of Gervéčiai, cf. Kardelytė (1975). The loss of the phonological value of the tones in this dialect is notable, cf. Mikulėnienė (1993); the same phenomenon in the area of Puńsk, in Poland, has been studied in Buch (1967c).

[899] The Lith. dialect of Lazúnai is disappearing; the lexicon is fixed in Petrauskas, Vidugiris (1985, 1987, 1991) [see 7.2.1.1.]. The interaction of the Lith., Bruss. and Polish phonological systems is investigated in Sudnik (1972b).

[900] Especially useful for the dialect of Pelesà and its local history are the contributions (by Sudnik, Vanagas, Čekman, Jonajtytė, Nevskaja) presented in *BSlek*.

[901] Cf. Šukys (1960).

[902] Cf. Vidugiris (1959).

[903] Kindurytė-Sivickienė (1989).

[904] Urbutis (1969, p. 159): "There is no doubt that a large portion of such Lithuanianisms [in modern Belarussian] should be looked at as lexical elements of a relatively new substratum."

[905] Sudnik (1972a); Grinaveckienė (1995).

Sociolinguistic situation
and boundaries of Lithuania
(Grumadienė, Stundžia 1997, p. 1914)

The Lithuanian minority in Poland was at various times more or less numerous. Polish Lithuanians settled mainly in the region of Sejny (Lith. *Seinaĩ*) and Białystok (Lith. *Balstogė*),[906] but the most vibrant and active center according to use and preservation of the language and traditions is doubtless Puńsk (Lith. *Pùnskas*), where several scholarly conferences on this theme have been held.[907] The dialect of this latter Lithuanian community has been the object of many systematic linguistic aspects: phonetics,[908] phonology,[909] prosody,[910] morphology,[911] syntactics,[912] lexicography[913] and onomastics.[914]

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[906] In general, cf. Brzezina (1988). Concerning Lithuanians in the region of Vilnius between the two wars, cf. Makowski (1986). Polish family names of Lith. origin are investigated by Kondratiuk (2000).

[907] Works devoted to the history, traditions and characteristic features of Lithuanians in Puńsk and Sejny have been collected in *ABS* 18 (1987). Also the toponym *Suwałki* is considered of Lith. origin according to Zdancewicz (2005). The methods of Slavicization, both phonetic and regarding word composition in the Lith. place names of Sejny and Suwałki districts are studied in Grzybowska (2005). On the reciprocal substitution processes of Slavic and Baltic place names in the region of Suwałki, cf. Prinz (1968). On lexical aspects in the territories of Suwałki, Podlasie and Białystok, cf. Zdancewicz (1963, 1968).

[908] Niewulis-Grablunas (2008).

[909] Buch (1966a, 1967a); Smoczyński (1981b, 1986a).

[910] Niewulis-Grablunas (2009).

[911] Smoczyński (1984a); Niewulis (2001); Grablunas (2001).

[912] Roszko D. (2011) investigates the problem of lexical indicators of the hypothetical modality in the Lith. dialect of Punsk, whilst Roszko R. (2011) covers the Lith. standard language. Basing themselves on partially different (Lith.-Polish contrastive) corpora, both authors analyze the gradational character of the hypothetical modality phenomenon by distinguishing six groups, each of which is characterized by a different degree of probability.

[913] Smoczyński (1984b, 1986b); Garšva, Stoskeliūnaitė, Vaina (1991); Roszko D. (2009).

[914] Buch (1961b, 1964, 1970 et al.).

The dialects of the Sejny region have been studied primarily in connection with phonology[915] and occasional reciprocal exchange of lexicon with Polish.[916] It should also be noted that a portion of the Lithuanian borrowings entered Polish dialects not as a result of direct transfer, but through Belarussian. From the comparative analysis of Lithuanian border dialects by Garšva (1989), it appears that the dialect in use in the Lithuanian communities between Sejny and Puńsk is the best preserved. The Polish-Lithuanian linguistic interference in Puńsk and its region Suwałki is the subject of various studies.[917] A general study on the phonology of all the peripheral dialects of the Lithuanian language area is found in Garšva (2005).

9.1.2.5. Slavic-Baltic borderland. Mutual influences are also being studied in border areas. The best researched is the lexical aspect,[918] but influences in the area of phonetics have also been investigated,[919] and, although less frequently, in morphology[920] and syntax.[921] A typological description of the phonological systems of Belarussian, Polish, and Lithuanian dialects used in the territory in question has been made by Sudnik (1975). A general study on Polish self-consciousnes on the Lithuanian-Polish borderland is Čekman (1994b), and an updated investigation on the sociolinguistic situation of the Polish language of the Slavic-Lithuanian borderlands in Zielińska (2002).

Wiemer (2003) points out and comments on the peculiar methodological intermingling characteristic for research on linguistic contact in this area, an interdisciplinary object which requires simultaneous dialectological, sociolinguistic and typological competences.

Evidence of the mutual influence of Polish, Lithuanian and Belarussian has been studied by Smułkowa, who offers an exposition of the question from a historical perspective.[922] Smułkowa (2007) describes the semantic and structural dependence of the Polish language actually functioning on the Belarussian-Polish-Lithuanian border line on the Belarus-

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[915] Hasiuk (1978); Garšva (2001a).

[916] Zdancewicz (1960 and 1964) touches on a wider circle of problems. Cf. also Smoczyński (1972); Gołąbek (1987, 1990).

[917] Birgiel (2002); Marcinkewicz (1994, 1997).

[918] Cf. Urbutis (1969); Čekman (1972); Stankevič (1990); Grinaveckienė (1993a). Occasional borrowings are mentioned in Sudnik (1990); Ksjandzova (2010) where attention is also drawn to compositional elements as a result of Baltic influence (so-called hidden Baltisms).

[919] Sudnik (1975), Grinaveckienė, Mackevič (1988, 1989); Glinka (1990).

[920] Sudnik (1983); Adomavičiūtė, Čekman (1984).

[921] Sudnik (1991); Grinaveckienė, Mackevič (1993).

[922] Smułkowa (1988, p. 403; 1990, p. 160-163; 1994); on the Polish language in Latgalia, cf. Ostrówka (2006a).

sian basis and Russian influence. This work considers examples (known as *spentany jenzyk*, i.e. 'tangled, mixed language') which came into being as a result of semantic difference between the languages in contact (e.g.: Russ. (с)путать, 'to mistake', Blruss. (с)путац 'to mistake and to fetter; to hobble', and Pol. *(s)pętać* 'to fetter'; Pol. *spotykać się* 'to joust in speaking' ← Blruss. спатыкацса. For the *pentaniny* (i.e. 'mixed people', the users of tangled language) calquing of Belarussian and Russian vocabulary, and operating a permanent link of words, seems to be the ways to maintain the usage of Polish language under the conditions of considerable limitation of its usage. Smułkowa (2010) presents the character of contemporary multilingualism among the residents on the Slavic-Baltic borderland in the region of Brasłav (Pol. *Brasławszczyzna*), and underlines the strong attachment to their place of birth and the sense of community they have regardless of their national self-identification. Interestingly enough, one observes here an advanced linguistic convergence situation, whose description goes beyond the traditional theory of linguistic contacts, because the thresholds of classic interference (essentially borrowings and calques) have already been crossed in this region. This situation makes the Slavicization of the younger generations of lithuanophones more easy.

9.1.3. Regional languages in the Baltics?

A question which arose especially after the restitution of the independence of the Baltic States is that of the existence of regional languages (regiolects) in their territories.[923] At present this possibility seems to be in order and under discussion at least for two linguistic varieties: Latgalian and Samogitian.

9.1.3.1. Latgalian. Latgalia shows the characteristic feature of a so-called borderland, being located on the boundary between Baltic and Slavic countries for centuries. Beyond that, this region has belonged during the centuries to many different political entities **[see 8.1.2.3.]**, later to the USSR, and finally to an independent Latvia.

Particularly complex and interesting is the sociolinguistic situation in contemporary Latgalia (Druviete 1997d) where there live inhabitants of different nations (Latvians, Russians, Poles, Belarussian, Lithuanians, Roma) and where there co-exist various religious confessions (Catholics, Orthodox, Lutherans, Old-Believers), not to speak of the variety of lan-

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[923]   Ostaszewska, Wicherkiewicz (2001); Kessler (2012).

guages hosted in this region. Besides, of course, Latvian with its strongly characterized variant Latgalian[924] (*Augšzemnieku dialects*), the inhabitants speak Russian, Polish, Belarussian, Lithuanian (in the region of Tiskādi) and Estonian.[925]

As is shown from an analysis of the material presented in the Atlas of Latvian dialects,[926] the mutual influences of these languages is chiefly reflected in semantic fields describing the peasant economy and life, and forest fauna and flora (Laumane 1977). Ninety percent of the Slavisms are found in eastern Latvian dialects which cover a relatively large part of Latgalia, in certain cases reaching Vidzeme. Along with the preponderance of Russianisms, there are also forms which show a clear influence of Belarussian and Polish, while the influence of Lithuanian can be observed in the south of Latvia.

Several authors (Rembiszewska 2009; Stafecka 2010a) have written about the strong influence of the Polish language and other languages of the vicinity, and have studied the presence of Polonisms in the Latvian dialects of Latgale. Those borrowings which have the greatest extension in the Latvian-speaking territory (e.g. *gasts* 'guest', *sābris* 'neighbor', *pads* 'clay floor') go back to the period before the separation of Latgalia from Vidzeme (1629), while others should be looked at separately, keeping in mind the administrative borders which were formed in this region over a long period of time, along with the migrations of Poles, Belarussians and Russians (14th–19th centuries). It is not always easy, however, to establish the diachronic aspects of the borrowings. Beyond that, not only Polish, but also Belarussian or Russian may have been the source language as well (e.g.: *bocjans* 'stork', *butelka* 'bottle', *koldra* 'quilt', *skvarkas* 'crackling'); in other cases Polish or other Slavic languages were a medium for borrowing words of German origin (e.g.: *cegla* 'brick', *kartufelis* 'potato', *svagars* 'brother-in-law').

The Polish language in Latvia,[927] especially in Latgalia, has been deeply investigated in several contributions by Ostrówka (e.g. 2006a) who studied the linguistic peculiarities of various areas: Daugavpils-

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[924] Concerning Latgalian in the context of the Baltic languages, cf. Lelis (1961).

[925] Concerning the varieties of Estonian spoken in the Ludza region, cf. Ariste (1963).

[926] The manuscript materials of the Atlas of Latvian dialects: questionnaires, 200 maps, notes of phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical facts (prepared by M. Graudiņa, E. Šmite, B. Laumane and others) are archived in the Institute of Latvian Language and Literature of Riga. Concerning the atlas of Latvian linguistics, cf. also Rūķe-Draviņa (1947, 1954).

[927] Aspects of the cultural and national identity of the Poles in Latvia are investigated in Besiadowska (2004), Jankowiak (2010); the Polish element in the anthroponymy of Lataglia in Jurģite (2006).

Dynaburg,[928] Indrani-Indrycy,[929] Kraslava–Krasław.[930] Ostrówka (2006b) is an outline of the history of the Polish presence in the territory of Latvia, and especially in Latgalia (so-called Polish Livonia).

A peculiar role also played in the region by the so-called *prosta mowa* (i.e. simple language) [see 9.1.2.1.]. Ostrówka (2005) is an attempt at establishing the place of this variety in the system of communication of the Poles residing in Latvia within a project headed by B. Wiemer (Konstanz) whose results are quite interesting: the *prosta mowa* occurs mostly as familiar language in the borderline Latvian–Lithuanian and Latvian–Belarussian areas, whilst further to the north, its usage becames weaker; Polish is the language of religious services, and at least in its informal version Russian is known as well; Latvian is not known by the older generation, and among the youngest people only those who attended the Latvian school are able to speak it. The knowledge of Latgalian is minimal in these areas.

The variants of the High Latvian dialect (Latgalian) so-called deep Latgalian, which is no longer well known to the young generation of speakers, is a field of relatively recent interest. Markus (2011, 2012) investigates the phonetic and the lexical (Markus 2008) characteristic features of the Malenian variant, spoken in northeast Vidzeme, and particularly its most peculiar feature, the sharply broken syllable tone.

A genuine interest in the language and folklore of Latgalia only grew in the last decade of the 20th century. There are already good descriptions of this linguistic variety,[931] and specific congresses on Latgalian have been organized since 2009, the proceedings of which (*Latgalistikys kongresu materiali,* I–2009, II–2010, III–2011, IV-2012) are published in *VLat.* At the same time a discussion erupted about whether Latgalian was a variant of Latvian or an independent language.[932]

A large-scale project, called *Survey Latgale*, conducted between 2006 and 2009 by Rēzeknes Augstskola and *Centre d'Études linguistiques pour l'Europe*, intended to investigate thoroughly the complex interplay between language, religious and ethnic affiliation in this region.[933] By means of

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[928] Ostrówka, Ostrowski, Źielinska (1996).

[929] Ostrówka (1999).

[930] Ostrówka (2000).

[931] Breidaks (2006, 2007); Nau (2011).

[932] There are also attempts to approach questions of multilingualism matters in Latgalia from the point of view of linguistic landscapes, cf. Kroplijs, Raščevska (2010), Litavniece, Murinska (2012); for the results of the project: *Teritoriālās identitātes lingvokulturoloģiskie un sociālekonomiskie aspekti Latgales reģiona attīstībā* [Linguo-cultural and socio-economic aspects in the development of the territorial identity of the Latgalia region, http://tilra.ru.lv], cf. Marten (2012).

[933] The results of this inquiry are presented in Lazdiņa, Šuplinska, Iannàcaro, Dell'Aquila (2011).

printed questionnaires and by using more than 9,000 respondents divided into four age groups and distributed in 74 geographical places, the project led to the generalization that it is possible to distinguish two main (a–b) and two peripheral (c–d) areas:

a) an only–Baltic Latgalia area, north of Rēzekne, for the vast majority Catholic, where Latgalian is used, Latvian tolerated, and Russian almost unnecessary;

b) a mixed–Latgalia area, in the south, where Latgalian and Russian coexist with a preference for the latter, and without strict religious differences among the speakers;

c) a hyper–Latvian area, located in the north–western border, where both Lutheranism and Latvian are important, and other languages or confessions almost absent;

d) a minority area, in the very south, mainly Catholic, but with some Old Believers; speakers use Slavic dialects, Russian as the usual standard language, and declare themselves as ethnically Polish or Belarussian.

The authors underline the "fuzziness" of the general picture in present–day Latgalia where a clear-cut link between languages, ethnic identities and religion cannot be taken for granted. In Latgalia there seem to coexist both "old-style" (religion, ethnicity) and "modern style" (language) markers of affiliation. "Latgalianness" itself appears to be a complex (transversal) feature consisting not only of language, ethnicity or religion but a mixture of all three (cf. Apine 2007).

9.1.3.2. Samogitian. The area of Lithuania where there exist spoken varieties of the Low Lithuanian dialects (Žemaitian) is not only linguistically very different [see 7.2.1.1.], but has also obtained, as a consequence of several historical events, a strong cultural identity.

The region of Samogitia (Lith. *Žemaitija*) was already largely autonomous at the time of Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the 13th-14th centuries. In the period 1398-1409 it belonged directly to the Teutonic Order and was separated from the life of the rest of the Grand Duchy. The local people were baptized here only in 1413, that is later than in the other Lithuanian territories (1386-1387), and this was rather formal and symbolic. During the 15th century the first schools were founded next to the churches.

It may be useful to sketch briefly the most important dates and events in the history of Samogitia: 1444, when it passed under the privilege of the king of Poland and had a period of relatively prosperity; 1595, when the first bishopric of Samogitia was founded through the efforts of Merkelis Giedraitis [1536-1609] in Varniai which later became the cultural center of the whole region; during the 16th century the confrontation between the Reformation and the Counter Reformation also played an important role here, and in the 17th century the war with Sweden; since 1795 Samogitia also belonged to the Russian czarist empire, and follows the history of the rest of Lithuania. Nevertheless Samogitia always maintained very marked distinctive features (and related stereotypes) within the Lithuanian context and also with respect to foreign observers (with respect to the Polish cf. Sawaniewska-Mochowa, Zielińska 2010). It may be interesting to call to mind here also the novel *Lokis* (1869) by Prosper Merimée [1803-1870] which takes place precisely in Samogitia.

The investigation of the Žemaitian linguistic variety has been particularly pursued in several works by the Lithuanian linguist and dialectologist Aleksas Girdenis [1937-2011].[934] In particular Girdenis (1994) affirms that Samogitians (Low Lithuanians) started drifting away B.C. that is, in the same period when common East Baltic was splitting into separate languages; Girdenis maintained that Žemaitian was one of these languages which later turned into a dialect (of Lithuanian) as a consequence of the process of linguistic convergence under the conditions of the Republic of Lithuania during the two World Wars.

The Žemaitian element has been detected as early as in the first Lithuanian book by Mažvydas (cf. Zinkevičius 1977-1978). Since the beginning of the 18th century the Lithuanian written language (central variant) was normally called *žemaičių kalba*, and several books appeared in it. There were also projects for a standard lowland Lithuanian (cf. Subačius 1998a).

In the same century ideas were also expressed on Žemaitian as a distinct language. It is, however, much later, in the cultural and political situation arising in 1989, that the *Žemaitiu kultūras draugėja* [Samogitian cultural association, www.zkd.lt] was founded with the aim of fostering the linguistic, cultural and scientific level in the region. Although the Samogitian variety still has problems of normativization, many books, newspapers and also radio broadcasts are produced in it.

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[934] Girdenis (1979-1980, 1992, 1996) and many others; Girdenis, Girdenienė (1997); Skirmantas, Girdenis (1998).

Especially in the years after 2000 a new interpretation of the past and of own identity led a (small) part of the population of Samogitia to consider Samogitians as a nation and seek for their own non(-only-)Lithuanian heritage (Kulevičius 2012).

9.2. LINGUISTIC PHASES OF BALTIC EMIGRATION

Baltic emigration is not a recent phenomenon. Beginning in the second half of the 19th century it was a common event and the resettlement took place primarily on the North American continent. The wave of emigrants was bolstered first by emigrants directly from the Baltic countries (the first wave of Baltic emigration of 1850-1914 was mainly motivated by the search for work); secondly by emigrants who crossed through European countries in 1948-1952, primarily for political reasons. After independence in the Baltic countries, the stream of emigrants has increased, motivated by the difficulties of transition to a market economy. This latter emigrant wave has also been directed to the North American continent, and daily flights from Baltic countries take place, with stops in the main capitals of Europe. But one also notes, especially for Lithuanians, a relatively large number of emigrants leaving for European countries such as Ireland, UK and Spain (Valencia, Almeria).[935]

9.2.1. World Baltophone communities

One of the main features uniting Lithuanians and Latvians living in emigration is the jealous preservation of their language and national culture (with the help of Saturday schools and other organizations) and participation, to the widest extent possible, in the socio-political life of the homeland. Despite the changed and restricted conditions for the use of Lithuanian and Latvian, the situation of bilingualism and diglossia quickly became the norm, and in emigration these languages remained and remain until today the primary sign of belonging to the ethnic community. It should be noted that from the moment that the Baltic diasporas were based in North America [see *infra*] and Australia,[936] for the first time there was direct contact between English and Lithuanian.

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[935] Ramonienė (2013) gives initial information on the project *Emigrantų kalba* [The language of the emigrants, 2011-2013] of Vilnius University.

[936] Namsons (1967); Juškaitė (1980); Karnups (1980); Biršys (1986).

For Baltic emigré communities a scheme for the development of functional bilingualism can be offered:

a) a phase of studying English (as a second language) for communication and limited use in those spheres where the native language (Lithuanian and Latvian) could not be used;

b) a phase of a deeper assimilation of Baltic emigrants together with a more active use of the second language: a widening of the spheres of use for both the native and second languages (coordinated functional bilingualism);

c) a phase of further expansion of the spheres of use of the second language, while the use of the native language is limited only to the spheres where English is impossible, that is a situation opposite to that described in phase *a)*.

It is difficult to say to what phase the current situation corresponds, since the degree of assimilation of various Baltic communities is very different.[937] For the support and dissemination of Baltic languages, cultures and literatures much has been done during these turbulent decades by the newspapers and journals of the Baltic diaspora[938] **[see *infra*].**

9.2.1.1. Emigration from Lithuania. Between 1897 and 1910 the average annual growth of the population in Lithuania was approximately 16-18,000. The stream of migration was about the same – 15,000. During the period of independence about one million Lithuanians were living abroad, not counting those who lived in the Vilnius region (250,000 according to statistical data of that time), those who still lived in East Prussia (approximately 80-90,000) in Latvia, primarily in Riga (25,000), and in the USSR (41,000), in the territories sharing a border with the Lithuanian Republic. Many more Lithuanians were residing in the United States. Lithuanians began to arrive there as far back as 1668, but the most numerous waves of emigration took place beginning in 1861 after the abolition of serfdom. In the New World Lithuanians preferred, as a rule, Boston, Chicago or Baltimore. Before World War II the number of Lithuanians living in the U.S. reached

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[937] Briefly on two main strategies for conserving the Lith. mother tongue by emigrants (i.e. creation of a Lith. ambience and disposition to speak Lith.), cf. Jakaitė–Bulbukienė (2013).

[938] For Baltic literatures especially *World Literature Today*, under the leadership of Ivar Ivask (Estonian) [1927-1992] and his wife Astride (Latvian).

650,000 and of these 100,000 in Chicago alone.[939] A vivid picture of Lithuanian everyday life in the community of Chicago is given in the novel *The Jungle* (1906) by the American writer Upton Sinclair (Subačius 2006); the same Subačius (2004) has historically investigated the orthography used in the American Lithuanian newspapers as well. In the post–War years the stream of emigrants from abroad did not cease, but its destinations were more varied: Canada, Argentina, and also Brazil and South Africa. It has been estimated that for the five years between 1926 and 1930 an average of 12,000 persons per year left. Then the numbers decreased radically to 1,200 in the period 1931-1932. Several leading cultural figures settled in France and Germany with the first wave of migration.[940]

After Lithuania was annexed to the USSR in the 1940s, a period of mass emigration began and Lithuanian intellectuals were for several years forced to live in refugee camps in Austria and Germany. In spite of these conditions, thanks to publishing houses like *Tėvynė* [The Fatherland] in Tübingen, the cultural and literary life in emigration did not cease. In the 1950s almost all refugees from Lithuania went abroad. In the main they settled in the U.S., particularly in Chicago, where they formed a Lithuanian literary society and many periodicals were published (for instance, the daily newspaper *Draugas*,[941] *Tėvynės Žiburiai*, the journals *Metmenys* (1959-2006, ceased) and *Aidai*, all in Lithuanian; and *Lituanus* in English, as well as many others). During Gorbachev's *perestrojka* the journal *Santara* (*Reconciliation*) was launched, which set as its goal the renewal of connections with Lithuanian culture in emigration.

Kavaliūnas (1994) is useful for information about Lithuanian–American communities and their changes over the last decade. The American census of the 1980s indicated that the majority of Lithuanians were living in the states of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York. In the census conducted ten years later (1990) 811,865 persons were counted (an increase of 69,000 or about 10%), which made Lithuanians the 36th largest ethnic group in the country. The states receiving the largest numbers of Lithuanian emigrants

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[939] For more information about the Lithuanian diaspora, cf. Kučas (1975); Budreckis (1976); Alilunas (1978); Van Reenan (1990); Fainhauz (1991).

[940] E.g. the poet Oscar V. de L. Milosz [1877-1939] (cf. Buzaitė S. 2000; Kohler 2005); the art historian Jurgis Baltrušaitis Jr. [1903-1986] (cf. Karvelis 2003; Ducci 2008), son of the famous poet Jurgis Baltrušaitis, Sr. [1873-1944] (on the latter, cf. the special issue of *Lituanus* (20-1, 1974); Ivanov 1979); the semiologist and scholar of Baltic mythology Algirdas Julien Greimas [1917-1992] (cf. Broden 2011); the philosopher and theologian Antanas Maceina [1908-1989] (cf. Skrupskelis 1969; Maceinienė 2000); the philosopher Emanuel Levinas [1905-1995], cf. Mickūnas (1978, p. 45-53), Pažeraitė (2013).

[941] For a historical overview of the activity of *Draugas*, cf. Kviklys (2009); on orthographical choices, cf. Tamošiunaitė (2009).

were Florida, California and Texas. Other states with increased numbers were North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alaska and several southern states. There were two reasons for the increase: the natural increase (the differential of births/deaths) and the growing recognition and awareness of being part of the Lithuanian nation (owing to the particular attention paid to this aspect in the mass media from 1989 through 1990). Immigration as such did not have clear results. In Canada in 1961 there were 14,997 Lithuanians, in 1971 – 14,410, in 1981 – 12,100, and in the early 1990s – 4,300.[942]

9.2.1.2. Latvian emigration. The demographic increase in Latvia between 1897 and 1914 was greater than in Lithuania. The population increased from 1,926,000 to 2,500,000 in spite of losses in the war, mass emigration of Baltic Germans and elevated mortality. Added to these was an outflow of laborers to Russia. Emigration abroad was rather insignificant: during these years only about 55,000 Latvians lived in the U.S., 3,500 in Canada, 15,000 in Brazil, concentrated in the state of San Paolo. More prolific was the internal migration stream coming out of Latgalia toward Riga and the region of Jelgava. After the Soviet occupation in the 1940s there were about 120,000 refugees from Latvia, among whom there was a high percentage of intellectuals. During the first decade the Latvian community in emigration published about two hundred books annually in Latvian, with particular attention to reprinting the classics. Many writers and cultural activists continued their activity in emigration: first in East Germany, then in Sweden, the United States[943] and Canada[944] and Australia.[945]

Here are some statistics relating to recent decades: one observes an increase in the U.S. and a slight fluctuation in Canada. In Canada there were 14,062 in 1961, 14,140 in 1971 and 12,630 in 1981 (Rudnyc'kyj 1987, p. 8); according to 1970 census figures there were about 80,000 Latvians in the U.S., 92,000 in 1980 and 100,331 in 1990 (Kavaliūnas 1994); finally, the latest census data show 9,383 Latvians in Australia (Zdanys 1980; Muzikants 1980).

The cultural life of the Latvian communities is centered around several periodicals. *Archīvs* concentrates more on language issues, providing

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[942] About Lithuanians in Canada, cf. Danys (1986); Rudnyc'kyj (1987, p. 8). About Latvians in Canada, cf. Miezītis (1990). On this subject see also the other contributions of the special issue of *JBS* (21-3, 1990) devoted to "Ethnic language and identity retention".

[943] About Latvians in the United States, cf. Kārklis, Streips (1974).

[944] About Latvians in Canada, cf. Rodman, Deglavs-Brenzinger (1973).

[945] About Latvians in Australia, cf. Bērziņa (1966); Putniņš (1981); Ozoliņš (1993); Bettoni (1995).

data and publishing the results of emigré research on Latvian emigration (*latviešu trimda*).[946]

Carpenter (1988) has written about the position of Latvians in exile, and concerning the Latvian language in emigration there is the remarkable ethnographic research of Latkovski (1993).[947] In this work the author describes synchronically the variants of Latvian within the diaspora over a period of almost forty years of emigration as the language was passed on to new generations in a situation of subordinate bilingualism. The attitude toward *latvietība* ("Latvianness") is studied in connection with bilingualism, national ideology and present linguistic practice. After the restoration of independence, meetings were organized regularly between Latvian emigrants and their countrymen living in Latvia (Jāne 1989).

Metuzāle-Kangere (1991) has wrtten concerning the situation of Latvian as spoken in the homeland and in emigration, and particularly concerning the necessity to unify these two variants in order to preserve Latvian.

9.2.2. Linguistic features of the Lithuanian and Latvian communities in emigration

The problems discussed in this section not only relate to the Baltic languages but, touch on other linguistic aspects of a more general character. Since most emigration from Lithuania was (and still is) directed to North America and Australia, one can talk of linguistic interference primarily in the context of English-Lithuanian bilingualism. This interference has been studied since the 1930s. Latvian emigration has been directed toward Scandinavia, North America, and Australia. At present the Latvian nation as *tauta trimdā* (i.e. people in exile) is the object of close study by ethnographers. However, there is not a large number of works devoted to the study of Latvian emigration from a linguistic point of view.

9.2.2.2. The Lithuanian language in America. The spoken language of many Lithuanian communities in America has changed over the course of time depending on the number of new immigrants and particularly on the regu-

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[946] To notice e.g.: *Archīvs* 5 and 14 about assimilation (*pārtautošanas*) of Latvians in various countries of emigration; *Archīvs* 15 about Latvians in Canada.

[947] Especially interesting is Chapter III, *A Language in Exile* (p. 71-119), where the problem is presented in detail.

larity of these waves. There is not a large number of specialized studies on this topic and the few existing works are too varied either by the time that they were written or by their methodology. In the 1930s Senn A. (1932, p. 43) defines spoken Lithuanian in America as "pidgin Lithuanian", or *wilde Mischung von verschiedenen Dialektformen* [i.e. a wild mixture of dialect forms]. On the other hand, the written language tended toward a spontaneous dialectal unification. Pažūsis (2009) and in several previous contributions has described the various features of the Lithuanian lexicon used in America; in these studies the linguistic interference is seen as the distinguishing feature of a subordinate bilingualism.[948]

The influence of English on Lithuanian in America is much greater on the lexical level than on the grammatical level. In terms of phonetics there are several phenomena:

a) a strong distortion of the intonation of Lithuanian words;

b) the treatment of sounds which are secondary in the phonetic system of Lithuanian (e.g. [h] is sometimes pronounced and sometimes not, cf. American Lith. *háuzas, áuzas* ← Eng. *house*); [f] is generally allowed and does not change to [p], cf. American Lith. *fréntas* ← Eng. *friend*).

Among the many Anglicisms which have entered into the lexicon of American Lithuanian is a large number of verbs, which function according to the rules of English and if necessary take on prefixes and serve to form verbal nouns. There are frequent cases of syntactic interference, as for instance between Lith. *man patinka ~ aš mėgstu* 'I like' or Engl. 'I love' (e.g. American Lith. *aš myliu šį valgį* 'I love this food' ← Engl. *I like this food* id., compared to Lith. *aš mėgstu šitą valgį* or *man patinka šitas valgis* id.).

A superficial glance would indicate that the spoken lexicon of American Lithuanian in the 1930s was more conservative than the language in Lithuania. This occurred thanks to the purist movement in Lithuania at the beginning of the 20th century which excluded from use many Slavicisms which had entered the language in the preceding centuries. Senn A. observes that in the Lithuanian of America were found large groups of Slavicisms (conservative elements) and of Americanisms (innovative elements); moreover, in borrowings, he notes a tendency to adapt nouns

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[948] Pažūsis (1969, 1973, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1988); on Lith. names and surnames in North America, cf. Pažūsis (1977).

(except for words signifying feminine animate beings), to the masculine declension (e.g. American Lith. *divòrsas* ← Engl. *divorce*; *kìsas* ← Engl. *kiss*, etc.). Semantic changes were rare (e.g. Lith. *prēkė* 'merchandise' → American Lith. *prēkė* 'price, cost' and Lith. *prekiúoti* 'to bargain' → American Lith. *prekiúoti* 'to buy' etc.), which could lead to lexical shifts in certain microsystems (e.g. American Lith. *kãrė* 'war' replaces the more common Lith. *kãras* in order to avoid the American Lith. homophone *kãras* 'car' ← Eng. *car*).[949]

Pažūsis (1969) looking at the problem points out that the large number of English borrowings, as well as the loss of the use of Lithuanian in certain spheres of social life, produced a veritable restructuring of the lexical-semantic system of Lithuanian. The semantic integration of English borrowings on syntagmatic and paradigmatic levels is characterized by three principal features:

a) certain borrowings were completely adapted in the lexicon of the American variant of Lithuanian (e.g. those borrowings which signified the realities of the new society);

b) other borrowings led to the disappearance (or passive, limited use) of Lithuanian words;

c) frequency of alternative use of semantically similar English replacements for Lithuanian words.[950]

English influence is noted in simple cases of phonetic convergence (e.g. Lith. *šokolãdas* 'chocolate', *deĩmantas* 'diamond', *karnavãlas* 'carnival', which are American Lith. *čokolãdas*, *daĩmantas*, *karnivãlas* under the influence of the frequent use of the English words *chocolate*, *diamond*, *carnival*), as well as in certain semantic calques (e.g. American Lith. *šaltis* 'cold, low temperature', which also takes on the meaning of 'head cold' on the model of English *cold*, or American Lith. *šaukti* 'to call' which also means 'to telephone', like

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[949] Among many examples described by Senn A. (1932, p. 41-42) is the following: "So wird z.B. die Ehefrau in Amerika überall *móteris* genannt, während in Litauen *móteris* eine Frau im Allgemeinen bezeichnet und der spezielle Terminus für Ehefrau *žmonà* ist" [Thus, e.g. wife in America is called *móteris* everywhere whereas in Lithuania *móteris* means 'woman' in general and the special word for wife is *žmonà*]. Also interesting in this regard is the observation of Schmalstieg (1994, p. 78): "This may well have been true of earlier immigrants, but all of the post World War II American Lithuanians used the word *žmona* as 'wife' and perhaps only jokingly might have used the word *moteris* in that meaning." This is an excellent example of a semantic shift which entered the language with the first wave of migration and which lost its meaning with the second wave.

[950] This is the subject of the research in the works of Pažūsis 1979, 1981 (cf. Pažūsis 2009).

English *call*). In the same context American Lithuanians use adjectives in –*inis* (and adverbs formed from them in –*in*, –(*i*)*ai*), which are less connected with any lexical meaning than adjectives with other suffixes, and thus, (being neutral) are the most appropriate morphological means of forming adjectives from nouns. This quality is most evident in their contact with other languages, and they are widespread in American Lithuanian, as a result of the syntactic interference from the English adjectival construction (e.g. American Lith. *kongresiniai rinkimai* 'congressional elections' instead of Lith. gen. sing. *kongreso* 'of congress'; American Lith. *religiniai žmonės* 'religious people' instead of Lith. *religingi*). Making a calque of the English variant, Lith. substitutes adjectives in –*inis*.

Senn A. (1932 p. 45) was already warning that many of his observations were valid for the first generation of American Lithuanians and adds that the influence of English on the language of the Lithuanians born in America was much stronger. This group had for all practical purposes ceased to be bilingual and therefore there was influence on their Lithuanian, not only of interlanguage mixing with English, but also intralanguage factors. Pažūsis makes the first attempt to illustrate the particular features of this second phenomenon.[951] He convincingly demonstrates this thesis on the basis of the morphology of the noun and verb. For the noun the intra-language interference concerns above all the less productive and less numerous types of declensions (consonant –*ŭ*, –*ĭ* stem declensions), although the more productive types are not free from interference (–*ŏ*, –*ā* stem declensions), where changes and frequent merging because of homonyms on case endings are observed. It should be emphasized that the phenomena are in many respects similar to the processes characteristic of Lithuanian dialects, especially marginal ones, but that there was no possibility of acquiring these phenomena from the Lithuanian of the parents. Analogous occurrences, also having parallels in Lithuanian dialects, have been observed in the verbs of American Lithuanian.

One also observes the tendency to harmonize the vocalism of the present with that of the preterite or of the infinitive (e.g. *pirka* instead of *perka* 'he/she buys' related to *pirkti* 'to buy', *pasilika* instead of *pasilieka* 'he/she remains' related to *pasilikti* 'to remain'), which facilitates the loss of the characteristic apophonic alternation and derivational infixes.

In the formation of the 3rd pers. present there is a confusion between the stems in –(*i*)*a* and those in –*ā*, therefore, the ending –*i̯ā* sometimes com-

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[951] Plioplytė, Pažūsis (1982), Pažūsis (1985).

bines with a hard stem (and not with a soft stem as required) and vice versa (e.g. *užsidegia* in place of *užsidega* 'it catches fire').

The fact that the reflexive forms are avoided is explained by the influence of English, as in the opposite phenomenon, which results in the erroneous combining of the particle -*si*, when it is necessary to emphasize the middle voice (e.g. *vaikščiotis* instead of *vaikščioti* 'to stroll').

Cases of the influence of Lithuanian on English are few. It is possible, however, to account for an isolated case of lexical influence in this sense through the medium of a third language. Laučka (1988) has shown that the English *s(c)hnook*, first recorded as a slang word in American and British dictionaries, comes from the Lith. *snùkis* 'snout, muzzle', which entered English through Yiddish *šnuk* id.

Macevičiūtė Aritz (2002) discusses a case of language attrition between American English and the Lith. language spoken in the USA concerning the peculiar use of demonstrative pronouns which tend to avoid or lose their (original) use of explicit references and serve rather to check with the interlocutor for approval and acceptance.

According to United States Census data in 2000 there were 38,295 people in the United States that speak Lithuanian. The majority of them (about 90 percent) declare that they speak English "very well" or "well"; only about 10 percent are scarcely or completely not proficient in English. There are only a few studies conducted on the Lithuanian language in the U.S. or studies that investigate generational language shift among Lithuanian speakers (e.g. Norvilas 1990; Tamošiūnaitė 2008[952]), but there is no reliable evidence to confirm the shift of language or generational loss. Both the studies of Norvilas and Tamošiūnaitė reveal that most of the respondents a) use Lithuanian mainly with grandparents, parents or with someone who does not speak English or has limited knowledge of it, as well as in Lithuanian settings, and b) consider English more "natural"; of course this depends on how long the respondents have been living in the U.S. Tamošiūnaitė (2008) shows that the turning-point for the shift is the period of 8 to 12 years living in the U.S.

9.2.2.3. The Latvian language in America and Australia. Statistical data indicate that there is a definite decline in the number of Latvian speakers (Kalniņš, Dreifelds 1990) and in the use of Latvian among second and third genera-

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[952] This article is based on a study conducted in two Chicago-area Lithuanian Saturday schools (in Gage Park and Lemont), using self-report questionnaires.

tion Latvians as a colloquial domestic language (Miezītis, Matiss 1990). This does not mean, however, that Latvian is headed for extinction, since concomitant to this primary tendency there is increased attention to the native language among certain small groups of Latvians.

The following are the principal linguistic changes observed in American Latvian compared with the common Latvian spoken in the fatherland.[953] In the phonetics of American Latvian the tendency to eliminate the short syllables in final position is stronger and is expressed by dropping the final vowels; e.g. American Latv. *es zin* 'I know', *tu zin* 'you know', *viņš zin* 'he knows', instead of Latv. *es zinu, tu zini, viņš zina.* In morphosyntax there is a strengthening of another feature, also characteristic of spoken Latv.: the tendency to reduce the genitive after a negative, which becomes a stylistically marked construction. Under the influence of English there is noted a tendency to change from synthetic forms to analytical forms; this is particularly evident in the use of prepositions, e.g. American Latv. *priekš manis* instead of Latv. dat. sing. *man* 'to me, me; for me'). In lexicon one notices the frequent inclusion in Latvian phrases of many English borrowings by means of simply adding the ending *-s*, and placing them in the required declension.

Zeps (1987) carried out research concerning the colloquial lexicon of Latvian immigrants by circulating a survey among young Latvians of 10 to 20 years old in Toronto (50 informants) in 1970 and in Kalamazoo, Michigan (20 informants) in 1982. Analysis of the results shows that on the basis of about 40 lemmas of high lexical frequency in domestic life the capacity to adapt and restore Latvian, despite the absence of academic instruction of the speakers, is significant.

English words are substituted by corresponding Latvian either by simple translation (e.g. American Latv. *saldētajs,* (*gaisa*) *mitrinātājs, alumīnija papīrs* ← Engl. *freezer, humidifier, aluminum foil*), borrowing (e.g. American Latv. *frustrēts* ← Engl. *frustrated*) or adaptation (e.g. American Latv. *bērnu auklis* ← Engl. *baby-sitter*).

The questionnaire responses also revealed another interesting feature of the language of Latvian immigrants: a false gen. plur. in *-u* frequently appears in noun-noun combinations, a feature not found in Latvian grammar (e.g. American Latv. *instantu kafija* ← Engl. *instant coffee*; American Latv. *laiku mērītājs* ← Engl. *time measurer*). This *-u* is an empty connecting morpheme which has its origin in a tendency in common Latvian of the

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[953]   Cf. Latkovski (1993). Concerning the case of an extended exposure in an English ambiance without undergoing phonetic changes, cf. Bond (1995).

fatherland (e.g. Latv. *puķu veikals* 'flower store', *divstāvu nams* 'two-story house') to change the function of the morpheme from flectional to derivational (Zeps 1987, 1990).

The onomastics of this community has been studied by Baltaks (1975), and the language of the youth population by Priedkalns (1993). Silkalns (1986) writes in general terms about the relationship of Latvian in Latvia and in emigration.

9.3. ISSUES OF AREAL LINGUISTICS

The concept of linguistic convergence in the Baltic area, something evaluated in various ways by researchers, has found its way into scholarly literature for several decades. The research has examined a number of variables within the Baltic languages. The object has been to create an inventory of cases of convergence among these languages, in spite of the genealogical diversity.[954]

9.3.1. Convergences among the languages of the Baltic area

Within the languages of the Baltic area there exists a substantial stratum of lexicon of common origin; there is also a series of peculiar semantic parallels in which historical and cultural events are reflected. There are three principal components to the common lexical stratum:

a) a common nostratic fund,[955] the component which is the least easily definable and rather relates to the problem of generalizing hypotheses;

b) reciprocal borrowings or Baltisms in Balto-Finnic or Balto-Finnic elements in Baltic (e.g. Lith. *strãzdas* 'thrush', Eston. *rästas*, Finn. *rastas*; Latv. *bùrė* 'sail', Latv. *bura*, Finn. and Eston. *purje*);

c) parallel borrowings from either Slavic or Germanic.

In this last group Bušs (1985) records as most numerous words borrowed from Russian during various epochs: in the sphere of religion (e.g. Lith.

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[954] Specific studies with the goal of corroborating this idea are sporadic and limited to phonology or lexicon and are exclusively for Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Finnic, cf. Zeps (1962); Bušs (1985); Mathiassen (1985ab, 1994b, 1996); occasionally Slavic languages are included, cf. Nepokupnyĭ (1977). Mathiassen (1999) writes about swear words in Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Baltofinnic. A tentative approach in terms of a Baltic area for onomatopoetic verbs is also made in Urdze (2010, p. 254-270).

[955] Bušs (1985) makes reference to the research of Illič-Svityč. For other hypotheses [see 1.5.].

krìkštas, Latv. *krusts*, Eston. *rist*, Finn. *risti* ← ORuss. крестъ 'cross'), mercantile (Lith. *pūdas*, Latv. *puds*, Eston. *puud*, Finn. *puuta* ← Russ. пудъ 'measure of weight', and domestic (Lith. *pyrãgas*, Latv. *pīrāgs*, Eston. *pirukas*, Finn. *piirakka* ← ORuss. пирогъ '(a type of) pastry'). The spread of Russ. borrowings is rather uniform, however, in Lithuanian and Latvian there are more borrowings from other Slavic languages (from Belarussian, Polish). There are significant parallel borrowings in all the Baltic languages from the Germanic languages (e.g. Lith. *ãmatas* 'profession, trade', Latv. *amats*, Eston. *amet*, Finn. *ammatti*; Lith. *iñkaras* 'anchor', Latv. *enkurs*, Eston. *ankur*, Finn. *ankkuri*; Lith. *kùnigas* 'priest', Latv. *kungs* 'gentleman, Mr.', Eston. and Finn. *kuningas* 'king'[956]; Lith. dial. *naglà* 'nail', Latv. *nagla*, Eston. *nael*, Finn. *naula*; etc.). As for Germanisms there are fewer of them in Lithuanian (Sabaliauskas 1966a counts 43 and another 50 in dialects),[957] while in Latvian and Estonian there are more than 500 words. Sources of the borrowings are various: for Estonian and Finnic they are mainly Old Icelandic and Swedish, for Latvian it is Middle German. A certain correspondence is also noted between the various meanings of certain forms in Latvian and Finnic (e.g. Latv. *likt* 'to put, to arrange, to dress'; Eston. *panema*, Finn. *panna* id.).

Besides the lexical-semantic parallels already seen, other types of convergence are found as the result of the Balto-Finnic influence on Latvian (to distinguish from those described in 3.2.3.). The most important is doubtless the word order: verb-adverb (e.g. Latv. *iet projãm* 'to go away', *kāpt ārā* 'to descend; to go out', *būt klāt* 'to be/to be near' etc.); such a construction was considered by Endzelīns to be the result of Finnic influence, but so far no exhaustive analysis exists which would take into account the data from dialects where such constructions are more often found than in the literary language and preserve meanings, however secondary, for which there are parallels in the Balto-Finnic languages. Moreover, asyndetic constructions are typologically similar in the Finnic and Baltic languages (Uotila 1979).

9.3.2. Toward a linguistic union in the Baltic area?

A linguistic community (variously labeled: Latv. *valodas savienība*, Germ. *Sprachbund*) in the Baltic area – with its center a variable nucleus of lan-

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[956] For the history of the word, cf. Ekblom (1957); Vykypěl (2004).
[957] About 2,500 borrowings collected by Alminauskas (1935) are described in *Lithuania Minor*.

guages – is considered quite plausible by many.[958] At the same time schol-
ars recognize the corpus of statistical data, especially lexico-semantic, as
insufficient to establish such an idea, and they point to the necessity of
verifying it after a careful analysis of the Balto-Finnic dialects.

A claim of this magnitude obviously cannot be founded exclusively
on lexical data, since this is the most flexible and variable part of language.
For this reason several contributions of Mathiassen (1985ab, 1994b, 1996d)
must be taken into account; on the basis primarily of syntactic similarities
he notes the large area of convergence which unites East Slavic, Baltic and
West Finnic languages. Here are the main common features:

a) possessive constructions with *to be* instead of *to have* (e.g. Russ.
у меня [есть] книга 'I have a book', Finn. *minulla on kirja* id., Latv.
man ir grāmata id.);

b) Nominative object with the infinitive **[see 2.3.3.2.]** (e.g. Russ. надо баня
(nom. sing.) топить 'the bath must be heated', Lith. dialect *reikia
vaikai* (nom. plur.) *guldyti* 'the children must be put to bed', Finn.
minun (gen. of *minä* 'I') *täytyy ostaa* (nom.) *kirja* 'I must buy a book');[959]

c) use of the partitive Genitive as a logical subject (e.g. Russ. грибов
(gen. plur.) у нас есть 'we have some mushrooms', Lith. *miške yra
vilkų* (gen. plur.) 'there are some wolves in the forest', Finn. *kadulla
on autoja* (gen. plur.) 'there are some cars in the street');

d) nominal predicate expressed with a case other than the nominative
(e.g. Russ. он был офицером (instr.) 'he was an officer', Lith. *jis nori
būti studentu* (instr. sing.) 'he wants to be a student', Finn. *isä on tullut
vanhaksi* 'papa has become old'); etc.[960]

Thus, the picture described by Mathiassen supposes a linguistic unity
(*Sprachbund*) in the East Baltic region,[961] with its center in West Finnic,

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[958] Among the many studies, cf. Mathiassen [see *infra*]; Niit, Remmel (1989); Stolz (1991); Nilsson (1991); also
Belardi (1995, p. 131). Also mentioned in Veenker (1980, 1981), where the noun and verbal morphology
of Baltic and Finnic languages is compared. For other hypothesis about a *Sprachbund* existing around the
Baltic in the past, cf. Ureland (1979), between 800 and 1100 A. D.; Bednarczuk (1994, 1997) during the
Grand Duchy of Lithuania [see also 1.5.3.4.]. Rottmann (2003) also proposes a morphological *Sprachbund*
between Russian and Latvian. A good survey on *Sprachbund* studies on the East Baltic for the period 1988-
1997 with bibliography is Nilsson (1997). On the so-called Carpenter effect in the genesis of *Sprachbünde*,
cf. Vértes (1996).

[959] These examples of the nominative case with an object come from Mathiassen (1985b, p. 278). Cf. also
Otkupščikov (1974).

[960] Holvoet (2001b) points out possible areal links between the passive and impersonal construction of Lithua-
nian and Latvian and those of Finnic; see, however, Schmalstieg (2003c, p. 135-138).

[961] Cf. Mathiassen (1985ab, 1994b, 1996); the latter contains references to other contributions of the author.

Latvian and to a lesser degree Lithuanian and Russian; Ukrainian would be placed on the periphery.

The contribution of Stolz (1991) concentrates attention on the Latvian-Estonian region, in an attempt to isolate the largest number of elements of linguistic convergence. At the basis of his version are two types of isogloss: one network of isoglosses is narrow, nuclear which would constitute an incipient linguistic union (*Sprachbund*), and a wide network, more external, which would delineate an area of maximal convergence (*Konvergenzlandschaft*).[962]

9.3.3. Circum-Baltic linguistic area

Current study shows a clear interest in research analyzing the near-Baltic area from the point of view of areal linguistics combined with linguistic typology.[963] These scholars consider that the notion of *Sprachbund* is not a satisfactory model for describing the linguistic complexity in the Circum-Baltic area and prefer to characterize it as a contact superposition zone (*Kontaktüberlagerungsareal*) or, even more precisely, as a "coastal superposition zone in the European periphery". By means of this concept the existence of superimposed intensive linguistic micro-contacts in this area is expressed, where contacts among many different languages have been taking place continuously for at least two millennia. They are both IE (Germanic, Baltic, Slavic) and Uralic (Finnic, Sami) languages, and also Turkic languages [see 9.1.2.1.5.-6.] as well as Romani languages [see 9.1.2.3.] which are also widespread in the whole area.

Based on the results of a project with an areal-typological approach to the languages of the by now so-called Circum-Baltic area carried out by the Faculty of Humanities at Stockholm University, one can establish a number of cross-linguistic phenomena characteristic in this area, although rarely for its entirety. Synchronichally some of the phenomena involving Lithuanian and Latvian, to a different degree, are illustrated in the following.

a) case alternation for marking total ~ partial objects or subjects;

b) alternation between case-government and agreement within numeral constructions;

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[962] According to Tenhagen (1993) the work of Stolz in a paradoxical way leaves something to be desired in its phonetic and phonological parts, that is, in those areas best studied.

[963] Cf. Dahl, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1992, 2001); Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Wälchli (2001); Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002).

c) flexibility (variation) in SVO order;

d) nominative object in various constructions (infinitives dependent on impersonal verbs, imperatives) [see 2.3.3.2., 7.4.4.2.2.];

e) reflexive postfixes as markers of valence reduction (recession, in the terminology of Geniušienė 1987);

f) order of genitive and noun in SVO languages;[964]

g) comparatives involving various particles.

Moreover, there are some phenomena involving only Latvian:

h) mixed adpositional systems (presence of prepositions and postpositions);

i) syncretism of instrumental and comitative;[965]

k) predicative possession not based on have–verbs.[966]

A diachronic consideration would obviously change the picture, nevertheless this combination of different features is an evidence for convergence. And, if one programmatically avoids emphasizing details and considers general types of linguistic phenomena, then the Circum-Baltic also assumes its own linguistic specificity.

Koptjevskaja–Tamm (2002) recalls a distinction suggested by Nichols (1992) between two types of languages areas – i.e. "residual zones", prototypically: Caucasus, and "spread zones", prototypically: Western Eurasian steppe –, and observes that the Circum–Baltic area fits between these two zones because of its high degree of areal continuity and its high time depth (that is continuity of contacts over a long period of time),[967] which determined moderate genetic and structural diversity. Another important acknowledged factor determing convergence in the Circum-Baltic area is linguistic contact due both to great mobility in the space (e.g. migrations, crusades and expansive activities of dominant nations) and to the exist-

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[964] Christen (2001) investigates the different genitive positions in Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and also minor Finnic languages, and comes to the conclusion that in Lithuanian the word order is freer than in the other languages examined.

[965] Stolz (2001) examines the syncretism of comitative and instrumental categories in the languages of the Baltic area and some other places; according to him Lithuanian displays cases of syncretism but not regularly.

[966] Cf. Ballester (2013).

[967] In parenthesis, it is not without interest to note that for founding and substantiating the Circum-Baltic linguistic area credit is given exactly to a historical consideration.

ence of extensive bi- and plurilingual (e.g. polyglossia, superimpositions of languages, substrat phenomena) and religious (Catholicism, Lutheranism, Orthodoxy etc.) areas during the time.

All these reasons, together with the fact that it has never known economic unity, constitute the unique geographical and historical preconditions which render the Circum-Baltic linguistic unique.

A crucial question remains open: what defines and delimited a region as a linguistic area? This is a question which has gone unanswered in many (perhaps all?) studies of this kind. The relevance given to the concept of "historical-cultural space" in describing an area is often (perhaps always?) much more important than the truly shared linguistic features (especially if one goes into detail). Nevertheless it is useful to observe and describe many and various typological convergences within a regional area (such as the Circum-Baltic area) although it would probably be even more useful to investigate the connections among the observed convergences and to understand "the mechanism through which structural patterns are replicated in the context of discourse in a multilingual setting,"[968] even if, of course, it implies the risk of dissolving areal studies into the study of contact (and historical) linguistics.

9.4. CONCERNING THE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THE BALTIC LANGUAGES

In the following final paragraphs I will refer to possible future changes in the Baltic languages which may be determined both by the internal linguistic evolution and also by external, mostly socio-political factors.

9.4.1. The direction of the internal evolution

The most active type of change in the Baltic languages is the gradual reduction of inflected forms of the nouns and verb, and in general the weakening of the syntactic structure of the language overall. Acknowledging the common process of evolution of the IE languages (agglutinative → synthetic → isolating), it should be said that Lithuanian has hardly begun the last stage of development, while Latvian has gone much further. Among the Baltic languages the drift in Latvian is greater, while in Lithu-

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[968] Cf. Matras (2003) whose constructive criticism deserves serious attention.

anian the changes are much slower. Therefore among all the modern IE languages Lithuanian is morphologically the most conservative. On the other hand, the tendency to put the accent on the first syllable in spoken Lithuanian (that is, where it is put in Latvian historically) indicates the closeness of the two languages.

At first glance the general direction of the future evolution of the Baltic systems seems to be the following:

a) (morpho)phonetic reduction and increase of truncated inflectional morphemes in the noun and verb;

b) reduction of the types of declension, reduction of the number of cases because of syncretism and leveling of the morphophonemic alternation of the verb;

c) increase of prepositional constructions at the expense of the functions originally expressed by cases.

In the linguistic arena of Lithuanian as well as in Latvian, in the sphere of the noun there is a definite tendency to shorten long endings (e.g. Lith. dat. plur. *upėm* 'for the rivers' < *upėms* < *upėmus*). Moreover, there is a tendency to reduce the declensional classes to two and to increase the productivity of the declensions in **-o* (Lith. *-as*, Latv. *-s*, masculine) and **-ā* (feminine). At the same time the few consonant stem nouns have been disappearing. Such changes in the declension have led to identical case forms, syncretism, which to a certain degree was always present in the Baltic noun declension (e.g. Lith. nom. sing. *pilìs* 'castle' ~ acc. plur. *pilìs*). The locative postpositional cases, which in practice were not used, have also disappeared.[969] The neutralization of case distinctions takes place rather quickly in dialects and slower in standard languages. If this process were to continue it could change the syntactic structure of the languages, since the most common method of replacing case is to transfer it to prepositions.[970] At the present time the existence of case constructions (an archaic feature, cf. Lith. *dù kartùs dienojè* 'twice a day') and prepositional constructions (an innovative feature, cf. Lith. *dù kartùs per diẽną*), as well as the change of the functions of the oblique cases to direct cases are characteristic features of the syntax of the Baltic languages. It is probable that such a state of affairs will con-

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[969] Today such forms are used only in small dialectal regions of eastern Aukštaitija, cf. Laigonaitė (1957); Zinkevičius (1982).

[970] For Lithuanian, cf. Reklaitis (1972, 1973, 1974, 1986, 1989, 1991). For changes in Latvian, cf. Ozola (1989).

tinue for some time and will gradually give increased preference to prepositional constructions and to the use of direct cases in place of oblique ones.

Analogous tendencies are seen in the verb. Primarily in dialects there is an observable tendency to decrease the number of verb classes, and within the classes a tendency to decrease the number of forms. Among the most striking phenomena is the loss of the final vowel in the 1st and 2nd pers. plur. (e.g. Lith. *rãšėm* 'we wrote' < *rãšėme*); the decrease in the number of allomorphic variants (e.g. Lith. *grė̃sti, grė̃sia, grė̃sė* 'to threaten, he threatens, he threatened' compared to Lith. dialect *grė̃sti, grė̃sia, grė̃sė* with the root vowel *-ė-* throughout the whole paradigm); the almost complete disappearance of the athematic class of verbs (a few archaic forms remain in Lithuanian) [see 7.4.3.1.]; the substitution of characteristic endings of the permissive [see 7.4.3.3.1.] (or optative) with indicative endings (which has taken place in many Lithuanian dialects); a tendency to unify the personal endings (e.g. the general form for all persons of the Latv. conditional *būtu* 'I/you/he would be...', compared to the different endings in Lith.: *bū́čiau* 'I would be', *bū́tum* 'you would be', *bū́tų* 'he would be', etc.); in Latv. participles there is a tendency toward a more frequent use of forms in *-ošs*, *-oša*, compared to earlier phases of the development of the language. Such participles usually serve an attributive function, e.g. Latv. *ziedoši augi* literally 'flowering plants', and only occasionally a predicative function, e.g. Latv. *puķe ir ziedoša* literally 'the flower is flowering' (Ozola 1989).

In lexicon there is a tendency toward more frequent use of the short derivative suffixes (e.g. in modern Latvian in *-a*, *-e* instead of *-ibā*, *-šana(s)*, etc.). In the sphere of word formation one can predict a more frequent use of compound words. Moreover, at present, after independence in the Baltic countries and the establishment of relations with the west, more and more English words are entering the languages directly and often indiscriminately. Precisely in the area of lexicon a new fashion is evident to substitute for the aversion to Russian (Russophobia), which was imposed for so many years, an unjustified and often useless indulgence for English (Anglomania).

9.4.2. The direction of the externally determined evolution

In the attempt to individuate the external factors and the processes determining the future of the Baltic languages (Lithuanian and Latvian) a parallel has been drawn with what has already taken place place in the neighbouring languages of the area, especially in the Nordic countries (cf. Valdmanis

1994). According to this, the main processes are probably the following three: *a*) influence of the media; *b*) influence of computerization, and *c*) Europeanization. These three points may be dealt with in more detail.

a) The influence of the media is still destined to increase in both languages (cf. Marcinkevičienė 2006). Valdmanis (1995) reminds us that the ways in which media influence language involve different forms of receptivity: words yield to pictures; analysis yields to narration; written style yields to more or less colloquial speech; and also national languages yield to (American) English.

b) Computerization is a factor of standardization in language usage, e.g. by employing registers and databases (i.e. tools which need a high and extensive degree of standardization).

c) In addition, the Baltic countries are experiencing an increasing process of integration into the European Union,[971] and this will probably reinforce the role of English as the dominant language at the interstate level whilst the different national languages will have importance mostly within the single societies, firstly for the expression of national cultures.[972]

All these processes erode the position of the traditional standardized written languages and strengthen the domination of English over the national languages. The process of Europeanization generates the need to be bi- and multilingual in every EU country.[973] Also as a result of this situation both Lithuanian and Latvian are taught as a foreign language in many stages of different duration offered to foreign students.[974]

On the other hand the Europeanization process produces a strong pressure of the English language on the other languages. There are also phenomena of unnecessary individual voluntary increasing acceptance of the English language at various levels. If in the case of some languages

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[971] For Latvian, cf. Zauberga (2001). For Lithuanian this aspect has been discussed in Rudaitienė (2011).

[972] Specific reasearches have been undertaken over the past fifteen years. Brazaitis (2006) discusses the infiltration of English loanwords into Lithuanian and presents a typology of their more or less successfull integration into the morphosynctactic system of Lithuanian. Veisbergs (2006a) comments on several aspects of the impact of English upon the Latvian language and its influence on word formation, and the lexicon; the influence on phraseology of the Latvian language has been investigated in Veisbergs (1994).

[973] It is interesting to considera the different ways to understand "multilngualism", that is one of the core terms within the EU language policies, in the Baltic States: learning of several languages in Estonia, language diversity issue with focus on minority languages in Latvia, learning of the major languages (English) in Lithuania, cf. Veisbergs (2013).

[974] Salienė 2006.

(e. g. Italian) this can often be seen as a form of provincialism,[975] in the case of "smaller" languages (e. g. the Baltic ones) this could even cause a gradual recession of the local languages to the level of informal relations or just to express aspects related to the national culture (for Latvian, Valdmanis 1994 speaks of the risk of becoming "mere folkloristic decor in the end").

The situation that has been briefly illustrated here represents the general framework in which the Baltic languages will have to face the new challenges in their future development...

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[975] Cf. Bertinetto (2009, p. 32).

BALTIC TEXTS

10.1. OLD PRUSSIAN TEXTS

10.1.1. The Trace of Basel

The Trace of Basel (TB) is an OPr. micro text found inserted in folio 63r of a manuscript preserved in the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel (*Codex basiliensis*, signature F.V.2). It follows the text of the work *Questiones Super Quattuor Libros Methororum* of Nicola Oresme and preceded by the undated text *Registrum quartium* [sic!] *librorum methororum*, which lists all the questions treated by Oresme.

The Trace was accidentally discovered in 1974 by Stephen C. McCluskey, a graduate student in philosophy from the University of Wisconsin, who attracted the attention of Baltic researchers working in American universities. The first reproductions of quality of the Trace of Basel have been provided in Schaeken (2002-2003). Codicological, paleographical and philological aspects related to this linguistic monument are especially investigated in Ardoino (2012ab). In particular, differently from the traditional point of view, which accepts the date attested in the *colophon* immediately preceding TB (i.e. 5/6 January 1369) as the date of composition for TB itself, Ardoino (2013) establishes a new system of dating, and he provides a *terminus post quem* (5/6 January 1369) and a *terminus ante quem* (1460) for the insertion of the micro text in the page of the *Codex basiliensis*.

10.1.1.1. Text. The Trace of Basel is written in a Baltic dialect strictly close to OPr. The first interpretations of the micro text belong to McCluskey, Schmalstieg, Zeps (1975), followed by interpretations from Mažiulis (1975) and Schmid (1982).[976] Purkart (1983), not a Baltist, proposes an interesting,

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[976] The study of the manuscript material, preserved in K. O. Falk's papers, shows his interest in the Trace of Basel. For the publication of this material, cf. Stundžia (1995b); Sinkevičiūtė, Stundžia (2001).

although not completely convincing interpretation of this Old Prussian text in the context of the manuscript in which it was found and with consideration of the monastic ambiance.

Several scholars agree on the following transliteration:

Kayle rekyſe ·   *thoneaw labonache thewelyſe ·*
Eg · koyte · poyte ·   *nykoyte · pēnega doyte ·*

10.1.1.2. Commentary. Scholars offer diverse explanations regarding the interpretations of individual forms below. The frequent final vowel *-e* is problematic; probably paragogic, it has been interpreted variously.

Kayle Form of greeting; cf. in the same function OPr. *Kails*, *Kaylas*, *Kailes*, *Kaileſs* in the fragments of Maletius.[977] For the source cf. Slavic *cělъ* 'whole, healthy', Goth. *hails* id.[978] In this case, the final *-e* can also be derived from Latin *salve*. For McCluskey, Schmalstieg and Zeps it is an ending of vocative sing., for Mažiulis it is a nom. sing. which should be emended in *<kayls>* or *<kayles>* (cf. the variants listed above); for Kortlandt (1998abc) it is an indication of the discrepancy between the spoken and written language of the time; for Bammesberger (1998) the whole first line would be meaningless.

rekyſe Cf. OPr. [EV 404 *Herre*] *Rikis* 'king'. For Mažiulis it is a nom. sing. used as a vocative sing. **rīkīs* 'lord'; the final *-e* was probably added for metrical reasons. For Schmid the word does not refer to just any lord, but the Lord God, with an obvious humorous reference to the phrase *Jesus, ich leide* ('Jesus, I am suffering') contained on the standard hold by the figure; his particular approach is also reflected in the interpretation of other forms.

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[977] Mažiulis (1981c, p. 63–64).
[978] Bezzenberger (1922); *BMRT*, p. 116–126, and more comprehensive *PrJ* III, p. 136–142.

thoneaw It is a rather obscure form. Mažiulis divides it into: *tho* (cf. OPr. I 9:13 *thu* 'thou') and *neaw* /n'au/ (cf. Lith. dialect *niaũ* /n'aũ/ 'really? indeed!' < *ne-jau*, Latv. *nav* 'it is not'; and it indicates the palatalization as in [EV 288 *Moſebruch*] *Pan̑ean* 'swamp, marsh'. Stang expresses the lone opinion that the proper name *(An)Tonius* is hidden in this form.[979]

labonache Cf. OPr. *labs* 'good'; Lith. *lãbas*, Latv. *labs* id. The suffix *-on-ache* is obscure as witnessed by the rather complex series proposed by Mažiulis: **lab-nas* > **lab-ans* > **labants* > **labanats*; this presupposes two paleographic emendations: <-ch-> to <-th-> through /t/; <-e> to <-s>. The meaning of the suffix is diminutive-endearing, i.e. 'pretty, nice', as in the forms that follow. Schmid, however, holds to a stem *labo(n)*, cf. OPr. *labban*, *labbai* 'wohl; of course, certainly', based on **labu(n)* with *a* > *u* after a labial (a phenomenon common particularly to the III Catechism); moreover, he considers *-ch-* as a written variant of *-s(s)-*. Based on this he proposes two interpretations: *labon-asse*, cf. OPr. *asse(i)* 'you are', or *labo(n)naˣse*, cf. the multiple variants of the possessive pronoun 1st pers. plur. *noussen*, *nause*, *nanse*, etc. 'our'.

thewelyſe Schmalstieg and Mažiulis see here a form with a diminutive-endearing meaning – OPr. **tēvelis* 'uncle', cf. Lith. *tėvēlis* 'daddy', *dėdēlis* 'uncle' id. Schmid, however, connects it to Lith. *tėvas* 'father', Latv. *tēvs* 'father', cf. OPr. *thāws* 'father', [EV 176 *Vetter*] *Thewis* 'father's brother', for the suffix cf. [EV 179 *Stiffater*] *Patowelis* 'stepfather'. Purkart, basing himself on a narrow cultural context, prefers to talk about a *provider* and sees here an allusion to the abbot (cf. Abbas = Father), whose task was to pay the scribe for his work.

Eg koyte Cf. Ench. 79:9 *Jquoitu* 'Wiltu' 'if you want', Ench. 81:9 *Jquoi tu* 'Wiltu = if you want'. *Eg* is read as 'if' conditional (instead of /i:g/, cf. Lith. *jéi-gu* id.; *koyte* 'want you' verb, 2nd pers. sing. present (cf. OPr. GrG *koyto* id., GrA *koytu* id.); this presupposes the appearance of the enclitic use of the personal pronoun 2nd pers. sing. in *-te*, perhaps rhyming with the previous form. Schmid interprets *koyte* differently as the 1st pers. sing., where the *-e* represents a vowel as in OLatv. texts or is completely without meaning.

[979] Stang, a private conversation, cited in McCluskey, Schmalstieg, Zeps (1975, p. 162); cf. also Dini (2000c). The reading **Tonie* from *Antonius* and connected with *laban asse* 'you are well' is shared also by Matasović (2001). Abbreviations for *Antonius* in Latvian are discussed in Siliņa-Piņķe (2013).

poyte Cf. Ench. 53:12 *poūt* 'trincken; to drink', Ench. 73:17 *poutwei* id. Here and in the following form *doyte* Mažiulis sees two forms of the infinitive with corresponding meanings 'to drink' and 'to give'; McCluskey, Schmalstieg, Zeps also suggest the possibility, formally possible, that it is an imperative, although they admit the situational difficulty that this implies; the digraph *-oy-* attested in TB instead of **-o-*, is defined (Mažiulis) as an internal phonetic rhyme with the earlier *koyte*. Schmid also considers both these forms infinitives, *-y-* simply indicating that the *o* is long [see *infra*].

nykoyte Cf. GrA *ny koytu* 'wiltu nicht = won't you'; *ny* 'not', cf. Ench. 15:6 *ny* id. According to Schmid in this case one should interpret <*-e*> as *-u*, cf. OPr. *-quoitu*.

pēn̄ega The sign of abbreviation is usually interpreted as doubling, therefore this form should be corrected to *pennega*. Several difficulties arise from the ending where, it is presumed, **n* is missing (acc. sing. 'money'), as Mažiulis would have it, or an **-a* which conceals the partitive gen. sing., as Schmalstieg prefers to explain it and with which Palmaitis (1977, p. 336) agrees; however, Schmid observes that in OPr. and in other languages the word for 'money' is only found in the plur., cf. Ench. 33:9 *penningans* 'Gelt', Lith. *pinigai*, Pol. *pieniądze* id., thus here it is the form of the gen. plur. corresponding to the following series after a velar: *-ga(n)* < **-go(n)* < **-gu(n)*.

doyte Cf. Ench. 89:12 *dāt* 'geben' 'to give', Ench. 33:15 *dātwei* id. A verbal form of the infinitive (cf. OPr. *dātwei* 'to give', Lith. *dúoti*, Latv. *dot* [dwɔt] id. < **dō-t-*); *doyte* compared to the expected **dot* arose according to Mažiulis through the need for a rhyme with *nykoyte* (as in the preceding couplet *poyte* : *koyte*).

10.1.1.3. Interpretations. Schmalstieg (McCluskey, Schmalstieg, Zeps 1975, p. 161) proposed this interpretation:

> *To your health, sir!*   *You are not a good fellow,*
> *If you want to drink [and]*   *do not want to pay money.*

Mažiulis (1975, p. 130), with minor differences, agree on a translation as follows:

> *Sveikas pone!*   *Tu nebe geras dėdelis,*
> *– jeigu nori tu gerti, [bet]*   *ne[be]nori tu pinigą duoti.*

Schmid's (1982, p. 207) interpretation views the entire TB as a humorous parody of the Lord's Prayer, in which case the micro text should be translated as:

Salve, o Herr!   *Du bist wohl nicht mehr unser Vater (Väterchen).*
Wenn ich trinken will, *willst du kein Geld geben*

Purkart (1983) places the TB in a monastic setting typical for scribes and excludes any reference to Lord's Prayer. Rather he sees here an address to the father-abbot, the head of the monastery. But the linguistic analysis on which this reading is based is rather weak.

10.1.1.4. Lemeškin's hypothesis. As a continuation of the research carried out by Ardoino (2012ab), and of an intuition of Bammesberger (1998), a new hypothesis regarding the TB is given in Lemeškin (2013b), which is closely related to the circumstances of the emergence of this micro text. The author considers that: *i)* the until now proposed interpretations of the micro text need too many graphic emendations despite of its brevity; *ii)* the micro text contains some rhythmic elements; *iii)* a connection between the micro text and the colophon has been demonstrated (Ardoino 2012b, p. 350-354).

According to this, Lemeškin proposes seeing rhymes in the text (*rekyſe – thewelyſe*; *poyte – doyte*; *eg koyte – nykoyte*; *kayle – nache*, according to a repeated metric scheme) and understanding both *thoneaw* and the *-e*'s as autonomous additions by an unknown author into an already existing oral text belonging to the genre of asking charity (alms giving and alms taking) typical of Christmas songs (developing in this way Ardoino's observed connection with the colophon *in vigilia epiphanie*). For its content and its stylistic form it is possible to compare the TB with those texts; the colophon and the picture of the mendicant man with an outstretched hand permit other considerations. Lemeškin interprets several single words of the text in a new way:

kaile It is explained as an imperative 2nd pers. sing. **kail-ei-s*, and *rekyſe* as a vocative form, probably from an interjectional incipit **kailerīkīs* at the beginning of the Christmas song (for parallels cf. Lith. *Skalsink Dieve*, *Padėk Dieve*; Latv. *Dievs svētī*; OPr. *Deiwa engraudīs*; German *Grüß Gott*; Czech *Pozdrav pánbůh* etc.) directed to the different masters according to the concrete situation (e.g. in Christmas folk songs, Lith. *Labas vakaras, kalėda, / Mūs ponas sandorius...*; Ukr. Здороў буў, пан хозяін etc.).

labonache The form is non-traditionally connected to Lith. *labõnas*, *labõnė* 'head; vertex', *labõnis* 'head; mind, intellect' from which the meaning of 'chief / boss / leader of a house / manor / family' could have arisen; ***thewelyſe*** is also understood as a vocative (analogically to *rekyſe*) indicating generally an old fellow to whom the request in the song for alms giving is directed. The global meaning of the two words would more or less be 'o chief [of the house...], old fellow'. (This is indeed the more questionable point in the explanation.)

thoneaw This is read (according to Stang, cf. Dini 2000c) as the personal name *(An)Tonius*, but the personal name could change in every concrete situation or even be omitted.

Eg koyte (present 2nd pers. plur.), ***poyte*** (imperative present 2nd pers. plur.) with the possible translation: 'if you want, drink (together with us) ~ give (us) a drink'; in order to avoid the difficulty posed by the interpretation of *poyte* as a causative, a parallel with Slavic поити 'to give a drink', Imper. пои, поитє is offered.

nykoyte (negation and present 2nd pers. plur.), ***pē͡nega*** (object in gen. sing.), ***doyte*** (imperative present 2nd pers. plur.).

Thus, the new interpretation according to Lemeškin (2013b) should be the following:[980]

> *(Be healthy!) Hallo, o sir*   *Antony, o chief, old fellow!*
> *If you want, you drink!*   *[If] You do not want, you give money!*

10.1.2. The Old Prussian Lord's Prayer compared (The three Catechisms)

The three texts which are compared have been taken from the three OPr. Catechisms. The originals have been reproduced and transcribed by Mažiulis (1966c, 1981c). The following abbreviations are used here: Germ. = the German original in the first two Catechisms; I, II = OPr. translations of 1545; Ench., III = OPr. translation of 1561; Luther = the original German of 1561.

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[980] Finally, Lemeškin also proposes to read the phrase in the banner as 'I lead' (instead of 'I suffer', cf. German *ich leid* according to Schmid 1982), a circumstance which should be related to the fact that the singer conducted his company as a leader to the house or manor where they had to perform and ask for gifts. This circumstance does not agree, however, with the evidence given by Ardoino (2013) concerning the chronology of folio 63r of the *Codex Basiliensis*.
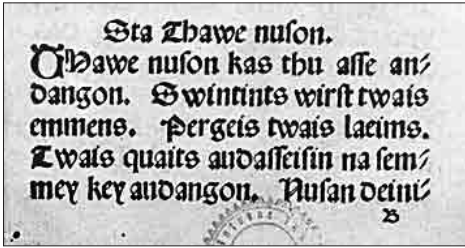
OPr. Lord's Prayer from the 2nd *Catechism*

10.1.2.1. Writing. Usually the trigraph <ſch> indicates [s'] or [ʃ], cf. II *ſchian deynan* for [s'an deinan]; in II <y> (and <-y>) generally indicates /i/, but is sometimes an error for <n> = /n/, cf. II *geytiey* = <-en> compared with I *geittin*, III *geitien* 'bread'.

10.1.2.2. Texts and Commentary.

(a) Germ.	*Das Vater unſser.*	*VAter vnſer der du biſt jm himmel.*
I	Sta Thawe nuſon.	Thawe nuſon kas thu aſſe andangon.
II	Stan Thawe nouſon.	THawe nouſon kas thou æſſe ændengon.
III	Stas Tāwa Noūſon [...]	Tāwa Noūſon kas tu eſſei Endangon.
Luther	*Das Vater vnſer.*	*Vater vnſer der du biſt im Himel.*

Literal translation: 'Our Father. Our Father who art in heaven.'

sta*, *stan*, *stas demonstrative pronouns (cf. Lith. *šìs*, *šìtas* 'this'; Lith. and Latv. *tas* 'that'), the use as an article is noted, probably on the model of German: ***nuſon*, *nouſon*, *noūſon*** [nus-on/-un] pronoun 1st pers. gen. plur., cf. Lith. *mūsų* (< *-un*). *kas* relative pronoun nom. sing. ***thu*, *thou*, *tu*** pronoun 2nd pers. nom. sing. ***aſſe*, *æſſe*** [æssə], ***eſſei*** [æssei] with diphthongization of the unstressed vowel, 2nd pers. sing. present; ***andangon*, *ændengon*, *endangon*** preposition [æn-], cf. Lith. *į*, Latv. *ie* + acc. sing [dang-on/-un] cf. Lith. *dangų* < **dangun*, noted is the absence of the locative, cf. Lith. *dangujè* < *-ien*. There is no contrast between /a ~ e/ the like as in MG.

(b) Germ.	*Geheyliget werde dein name. Zukomme dein Reich.*
I	Swintints wirſt twais emmens. Pergeis twais laeims.
II	Swyntits wirſe tways emmens. Pareyſey noumans twayia ryeky.
III	Swintints wīrſt twais Emnes. Perēit twais Rijks.
Luther	*Geheyliget werde dein Name. Dein Reich komme.*

Literal translation: 'Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.'

The OPr. texts reproduce the analytic structure of the German models, but the German subjunctive is expressed by the indicative. **swintints**, **swyntits**, **swintints** are the masc. sing. nom. of the past passive participle (cf. I 5:10 *swintintwey* and Lith. *švę̃sti*, *švéntinti* 'to celebrate, to bless, to consecrate'). **wirſt**, **wīrſt**, **wirſe** = <wirſst>, the form *wirſe* is probably a typographic error, 3rd pers. present (cf. Lith. *virstù* 'I become', Latvian *virstu* id. **twais**, **tways**, **twayia** is the possessive pronoun nominative. *emmens*, *emnes* = <emens> is masc. nom. sing., a word absent in the other Baltic languages (cf. Lith. *vardas*, Latv. *vards* 'name'). **pergeis**, **pareyſey**, **perēit** the latter probably <perēiſ>, cf. OLith. *péreiti* 'to return', Lith. *pareĩti* 'to return home'; note the 3rd pers. ending –*s* < *-si ~ 2nd pers. –*sei* < *-si (with diphthongization of the unstressed vowel?), 3rd pers. future, with probable optative meaning. **noumans** is the personal pronoun 1st pers. plur. dat. **laeims** is an adjective, a scribal error confusing the German noun *Reich* 'kingdom' and the adjective *reich* 'rich', cf. OPr. *laimiskan* 'rich' (moreover, Lith. *láimė* 'fortune; happiness', Latin *laime* id.). **ryeky**, **rijks** is an old borrowing from Goth. **reikeis*.

(c) Germ. *Deyn wille geſche[h]e auff erden als jm himmel.*
   I   Twais quaits audaſeiſin naſemmey key audangon.
   II   Tways quaits audaſeyſin naſemmiey kay endengan.
   III   Twais Quāits Audāſin, kāgi Endangon tijt dēigi noſemien.
   Luther *Dein Wille geſchehe, wie im Himmel, also auch auff Erden.*

Literal translation: 'Thy will be done on earth and in heaven.'

quaits, **quāits** [kvaits] < **kvait(i)s*, cf. Ench. 95:13 *quaitin*, Lith. *kviẽsti* (< **kvei-*) 'to invite'. **audaſeiſin**, **audaſeyſin** [au-dāsei-sin] with diphthongization, **audāſin** [au-dā(si)-sin] with apocope, –*sin* reflexive, from Ench. 39:23 *audāt sien* 'geschehen; to happen, to occur, to take place', 3rd pers. future, cf. OLith. Vln 20:9 *nussidůtu* (cf. Czech *udati se* 'to happen, to be realized'). **na**, **no**- preposition + acc. **ſemmiey**, –**ſemmiey** where <-ey> probably –*en* based on comparison with –*ſemien*. **key**, **kay** adverb (cf. Lith. *kaĩ* 'as'). **audangon** to emend as <andangon> etc. **[see (a)]**. Ench. follows another edition of the original: **kāgi** adverb *kā,* with an intensifying particle –*gi*. **tijt** adverb elsewhere also *tīt* < **tī* < **tē*, cf. Goth. *ē* id. **dēigi** is an adverb elsewhere attested as *dīgi*, –*gi* intensifying particle, cf. Lith. –*gi*, Pol. *te-ż*, Russ. то-же 'also', OGr. ἔγωγε 'I for my part'.

(d) Germ. *Unſer teglich brodt gib vns hewtte.*
  I Nuſan deininan geittin dais numons ſchindeinan.
  II Nouſon deyninan geytiey days noumans ſchian deynan.
  III Nouſon deinennin geitien dais noūmans ſchan deinan.
  Luther *Unſer teglich Brodt gib vns heute.*

Literal translation: 'Give us this day our daily bread.'

nuſan, **nouſon** possessive pronoun gen. plur. **[see *infra*]**. **deininan**, **deyninan**, **deinennin** adj. acc. sing., cf. *deinan*. **geittin**, **geitien**: noun acc. sing. of OPr. I *geits*, II *geytiey* = <-en>. **dais** present imperative (or indicative?) 2nd pers. sing. **numons**, **noumans**, **noūmans** possessive pronoun dat. plur., the ending /-ans/ is probably influenced by the nouns (cf. OLith. *mumus* 'to us'). **ſchin**, **ſchian** with [ſ'-] ~ **ſchan** with [ſ-]: demonstrative pronoun acc. sing. fem. + -**deinan**, **deynan**, **deinan** noun acc. sing., cf. Lith. *dienà*, Latv. *diena* 'day'. **ſchian deynan**, cf. Lith. adverb *šiandien(q)*, Latv. *šodien*, Russ. сегодня 'today'.

(e) Germ. *Vnd verlass vns unſere ſchulde, als wir verlaſſen.*
  I Bha atwerpeis noumans nuſon auſchautins, kay mas atwerpimay.
  II Bhæ etwerpeis noumans nouſon anſchautins, kay mes etwerpymay.
  III Bhe etwerpeis noūmas nouſons āuſchautins, kai mes etwērpimai.
  Luther *Vnnd verlaſſe vns vnſer ſchulde, Als wir verlaſſen.*

Literal translation: 'And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive.'

bha, **bhæ** [bæ]: conj. 'and', cf. Lith. *bei* 'and' (< *be-i[d]*); Lith. Latv. *bet* 'but' (< *be-tai[g]*). **atwerpeis**, **etwerpeis** [et-verp-eis] present imperative (or indicative?) 2nd pers. sing. **noumans nuſon** shows <ou> an innovation compared to archaic <u>, **noūmas** perhaps <noumās> read [noumans], regarding the pronominal forms discussed above. **auſchautins**, **anſchautins** = <au->, **āuſchautins** noun acc. plur., according to *PKEŽ* (I, p. 122) [au-ſau-t-ins] derives from OPr. *aušau-* 'to lend → debt'; according to Smoczyński (1988b, p. 901) [au-skaud-ins] corresponding to Lith. *núo-skauda* 'mistake, guilt'. **mas**, **mes** [mæs] pronoun 1st pers. plur. cf. Lith. *mẽs* 'we'. **atwerpimay**, **etwerpymay**, **etwērpimai** present indicative 1st pers. plur.

(f) Germ. *vnſern ſchuldigern. Vnd nicht einfüre vns jnn verſuchunge.*
  I nuſon auſchantnikamans. Bha ny wedais mans enperbandan.
  II nouſon anſchautinekamans. Bhæ ni wedeys mans enperbandaſnan.

III   noūʃons auʃchautenīkamans. Bhe ni weddeis mans emperbandāʃnan.

Luther   *vnʃern Schuldigern. Vnd fů̊re vns nicht in verʃuchung.*

Literal translation: 'those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation.'

noūʃons possessive pronoun gen. plur. with –s as a result of contamination with the personal pronoun dat. *noumans* (?). ***auʃchantnikamans***, ***anʃchautinekamans*** = <au->, ***auʃchautenīkamans*** noun dat. plur., suffix *–nik–*, a noun indicating agent from *auʃchautin* **[see (e)]**, *–mans* a pronominal ending. ***wedais***, ***wedeys***, ***weddeis*** [ved-æis] present imperative (or indicative with optative meaning?) 2nd pers. sing., cf. OPr. *west*, Lith. *vèsti* (< **ved-*) 'to lead'. ***mans*** possessive pronoun acc. plur. *en-* preposition + acc., *em-* as a result of phonetic assimilation. ***perbandan***, ***perbandaʃnan***, ***perbandāʃnan*** [per-band-a-(sna)-n] noun acc. sing., deverbal from *per-bānda* 'he tries, they try', cf. Lith. (*per-*)*bandýti* 'to try'.

(g) Germ.   *Sonder erloʃe vns von dem vbel. Amen.*

I   Sclait is rankeis mans aʃʃa wargan. Amen.

II   Slait is rankeis mans æʃʃe wargan. Emmen.

III   Schlāit iʃrankeis mans, eʃʃe wiʃʃan wargan. Amen.

Luther   *Sondern erlő̊ʃe vns von dem ů̊bel.*

Literal translation: 'but deliver us from (all) evil. Amen.'

sclait, ***slait***, ***schlāit*** [sklait] adversative conj., cf. OPr. adverb *schklāits* 'particularly; specifically' and as well Lith. *skleĩsti* 'to explain'. ***is rankeis***, ***iʃrankeis*** [iz-rank-eis] present imperative (or indicative with optative meaning?) 2nd pers. sing., cf. Latv. *izrocīt*, Russ. изручить 'to liberate, to emancipate'. ***mans*** **[see (f)]**. ***aʃʃa, æʃʃe, eʃʃe*** [æsə] preposition + acc. ***wiʃʃan***: adj. acc. sing., cf. Lith. *vìsas, –à* 'all'. ***wargan*** neuter noun acc. sing., cf. Lith. *var̃gas* 'misfortune, hardship', Pol. *wrog* 'enemy'.

10.2. LITHUANIAN TEXTS

10.2.1. The Old Lithuanian Lord's Prayer Compared (Manuscript, Mažvydas, Daukša)
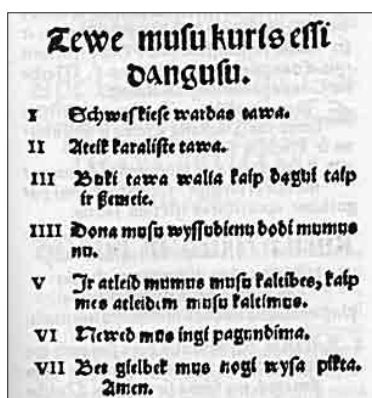
There are several extant versions of the Lord's Prayer in Old Lithuanian. Three texts will be compared here: the Lithuanian manuscript of the Lord's Prayer, which is on an absolute scale one of the very first Lithuanian texts, and the 16th century printed versions of Martynas Mažvydas, a Lutheran,

and of Mikalojus Daukša, a Catholic. The manuscript text was discovered by accident in 1961 by the librarian Ona Matusevičiūtė on the last page of the *Tractatus sacerdotalis* published in 1503. Lebedys and Palionis (1963) have identified the dialect as that spoken in northern Dzūkija, that is to say the scribe must have been a native of the eastern High Lithuanian region. The second version of the Lord's Prayer was published in the Catechism of 1547 of Mažvydas, and has both High and Low Lithuanian features.

10.2.1.1. Writing. In the orthography of the anonymous manuscript the following features are noted: <e> = [e, ɛ, ie]; <ÿ> = [i, ī, j], and also *į* (< *ę̈); *v* = [u, ū] ir *ų* (< *ǫ); *va*, *wa* = [uo]; *ʃ* = [s]; *ʃȝ* = š [ʃ], *ž* [ȝ]; *ȝ́* = [z]; *th* = [t].

In Mažvydas the use of the following graphemes is observed: <ß>, derived from a diagraph (<ʃ> + <ȝ>) = ž [ȝ], cf. *ßemeie* 'on earth'; the trigraph <sch> = š [ʃ], cf. *Schwęʃkieʃe* 'may you be blessed, be blessed'; [w] = [v], cf. *walia* 'will'; sometimes <i> is simply a sign of palatalization of the preceding consonant, cf. *gielbek* 'save' [g'elbe:k].

In Daukša an apostrophe is used to indicate shortened forms (cf. *kaip'* = *kaipo* 'as'), *a̧, ȩ, i̧, u̧* (that is vowels with *skersinė šakelė*), as well as *an*, *en*, *in*, *un* to show nasal vowels. Moreover, he uses various simple graphemes (<ł> = hard *l*, cf. *atłáid'* 'forgive'; <w> = [v]; <ʃ> = [s]; [ȝ] = [z]; <ȝ́, ȝ> = [ȝ]) and combined graphemes (<ȩ, e> = [ɛ], cf. *Téwe* 'father'; <ů> = [uo], cf. *dagůʃe* 'in the heavens'; <ʃȝ> = š [ʃ], cf. *ʃȝia* 'this'; <cȝ, cȝ, cȝ́> = č [tʃ]).

OLith. Lord's Prayer from Mažvydas (1547)   OLith. Lord's Prayer from Daukša (1595)
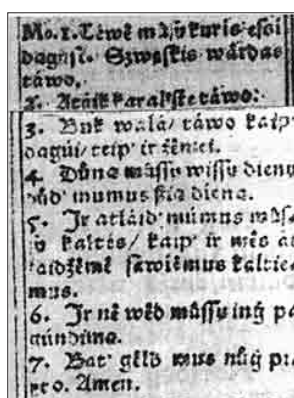
10.2.1.2. Texts and commentary. The textual differences between the three versions are small and minimal except for the (*e*) of the last reconstructed line. The texts follow:

(a) Ms.   *Teve mvʃu kuriʃ eʃi dangwaʃu ʃʒvijʃkiʃi vardaʃ tava.*

Mažvydas   *Tewe muʃu kuris eʃʃi danguʃu. Schweʃkieʃe wardas tawa.*

Daukša   *Téwĕ̊ mûʃu kuris eʃsi dɑgŭ̊ʃe Sʒweʃkis wârdas táwo.*

There are no textological deviations. **Teve, Tewe, Téwĕ̊** masc. vocative 'O Father'. **mvʃu, muʃu, mûʃu** pronoun 1st pers. gen. plur. 'of us, our', **kuriʃ, kuris,** relative pronoun, nom. sing. 'which'. **eʃi, eʃʃi, eʃsi:** 2nd pers. sing. 'you are'. **dangwaʃu, danguʃu, dɑgŭ̊ʃe:** masc. noun loc. plur. 'in the heavens', one notes the orthographic variation in the root <*dang-* ~ *dag-*> and the different thematic vocalisms before the endings: *–waʃu* [uosu], *–uʃu* which reflect *–usu* (< *-us-én*) or *–ūsu* (< *-ū́s-én*); *–ŭ̊ʃe* [uose] is an innovation parallel with the stems in *–ŏ*. **ʃʒvijʃkiʃi, Schweʃkieve, Sʒweʃkis:** impersonal 'let it be blessed'. **vardaʃ, wardas, wârdas:** noun nom. sing. 'name'. **tava, tawa** [tavɐː], **táwo:** possessive pronoun 2nd pers. sing. 'your', the preservation of **ā* is noted in Ms. and Mažvydas (according to the rule: the atonal final <a> = [ɐː]), while in Daukša it is *ō*.

b) Ms.   *athaijki tava karaliʃtija buki thava vala kaijp dvngvij theijp ʃʒamijaij.*

Mažvydas   *Ateik karaliʃte tawa. Buki tawa walia kaip dɑgui taip ir ßemeie.*

Daukša   *Atáik karalîʃte táwo. Buk walá / táwo kaip' dɑgúi / teip' ir ʒ́ĕ̊mei.*

Minimum textological deviations. **athaijki, Ateik, Atáik**: imperative forms 'may it come' (instead of *teateina*); Mažvydas and Daukša show the short form of *-ki*. **karaliʃtija, karaliʃte, karalîʃte**: fem. noun nom. sing. 'kingdom'. **buki, Buki, Buk**: imperative forms 'let it be'. **vala, walia, walá**: fem. noun nom. sing. 'will' (in Mažvydas there is an *i* as an indicator of palatalization). **kaijp, kaip, kaip'**: adverb 'as'. **dvngvij, dɑgui, dɑgúi**: masc. noun loc. sing. 'in heaven'; in Ms. one notes the stem *dvng-* compared to *dang-* in *(a)*. **theijp, taip, teip'**: adverb 'thus'. **ʃʒamijaij, ßemeie, ʒ́ĕ̊mei**: fem. noun loc. sing. 'on earth', the postpositional loc. case is only in Mažvydas.

(c) Ms.   *dvanv mvʃu viʃu dʒenv dvaki mvmvʃ nv.*

Mažvydas   *Dona muʃu wyʃʃudienu dodi mumus nu.*

Daukša   *Dŭ̊na mûʃʃu wiʃʃu dienu dŭd' mumus ʃʒia diena.*

There is a difference in the end of the verse in Daukša's text which shows **ʃʒiɑ** the demonstr. pronoun fem. acc. sing. 'this' and **dienɑ**, fem. noun acc. sing. 'day' (cf. Lith. adverb *šiandien(ɑ)*, Latv. *šodien*, Russ. сегодня 'today'); the other two texts give **nv, nu** = [nū], cf. Lith. dialect *nū*: adverb 'now,

today'. **mʊmʊʃ**, **mumus**: pronoun 1st pers. plur. dat. 'to us'. **dvaki** [duoki] imperative 'give!' shows the formant –*k*– alongside **dodi**, **důd'** forms of the imperative without such a formant. Ms. **dʒenʊ** reflects a characteristic Dzūkish dialect *dz* < **di̯*, cf. **wyʃʃudienu**, **wiʃʃu̯ dienʊ**: fem. noun gen. plur. 'of all days; daily'. Ms. **dvanʊ** [duonu], **Dona**, **Důna**: fem. noun acc. sing. 'bread', the characteristic eastern and Southern-HLith. dialect (*ǫ* > *ū*, *u*).

(d) Ms. *ijr athlaiʃki mʊmʊʃ mʊʃu kalthєʃ kaijp ijr mєʃ athlyaijdʒame mʊʃu kalcʒijemʊʃ.*
   Mažvydas *Jr atleid mumus muʃu kaltibes, kaip mes atleidem muʃu kaltimus.*
   Daukša *Ir atłáid' múmus mûʃʃų kaltés kaip' ir mⁱⁱⁱⁱⁱ́ⁱⁱs átłaidǯⁱm̌ⁱ ʃáwiêmus kaltiemus.*

There are no significant textual differences. **ijr**, **Jr**, **Ir** conj. 'and'. **athlaiʃki**, **atleid**, **atłáid'**: imperative 'forgive', note the difference in the formation of mood **[see infra]**. **kalthєʃ** and **kaltés**: fem. noun acc. plur. 'sins', distinct from *kaltibes* id. with the abstract suffix *–*īb*–. **mєʃ**, **mes**, **mⁱⁱ́ⁱs**: pronoun 1st pers. plur. 'we'. **athlyaijdʒame**, **atleidem**, **átłaidǯⁱm̌ⁱ**: present 1st pers. plur. 'we forgive', note the –*dʒ*– along with the Low Lith. variant –*de*–, both forms deriving from **di̯*.

(e) Ms.   *nijevijaʃki mʊʃu ʃʒalanʊ ale mʊʃ gijalbijak nvagi viʃa piktha amen.*
   Mažvydas *Newed mus ingi pagundima. Bet gielbek mus nogi wyʃa pikta. Amen.*
   Daukša *Ir nⁱ wⁱd mûʃʃu inǵ pagúndima. Bat' gⁱ́lb mus nůǵ pikto. Amen.*

In Ms. the formula *ing(i) pagundimą* 'into temptation' is absent (cf. Mažvydas and Daukša, OGr. εἰς πειρασμόν, Latin *in tentationem*, Pol. *na pokuszenie*), already typical for printed versions: this is the main difference between the texts of the Lord's Prayer, compared here. Instead of the prepositional construction, Ms. shows a form sing. **ʃʒalanʊ** [ʒala:nu], cf. Lith. fem. sing. *žalà* 'harm, condemnation'; this formation is problematic: proposed is an illative plur. with a loss of *s* in the ending <an(ʃ)v>, or an illative sing. *žalõn(à)* < acc. sing. *žalān + *nā with a scribal error (<v> for <a>), or finally that <anv> is a hapax and a reflection of an illative sing., attested nowhere else. **ale** conj., cf. Pol. *ale* 'but'. **Bet** conj. (< *be-ti) 'but'. **Bat'** a secondary formation. Different forms of the imperative are noted **nijevijaʃki** 'do not lead!' and **gijalbijak** 'save!'; **Newed** and **gielbek, nⁱ wⁱd** and **gⁱ́lb**: the endings in –*k(i)*, are formed from the infinitive stem, those in -Ø from the present stem. **mʊʃ**, **mus**: pronoun 1st pers. plur. acc. 'us', the form is omitted in Ms. **nvagi**, **nogi**, **nůǵ**: preposition *nuo* + the intensifying particle *gi*, which governs **viʃa**, **wyʃa** (adj. masc. gen. sing. 'all', omitted in Daukša) and **piktha**, **pikta**, **pikto**: noun masc. gen. sing. 'evil'.

10.2.1.3. Contemporary Lithuanian Lord's Prayer. One can compare the preceding Old Lithuanian texts with the official Lord's Prayer in use today in the Lithuanian Church (Senkus 1981, p. 31). In the contemporary text the phrase (Mažvydas) *Newed mus ingi pagundima*, (Daukša) *Ne wed muſſų ing pagúndimą* is changed to *neleisk mūsų gundyti* 'lead us not into temptation' literally: don't let [anyone, someone] tempt us, although this is somewhat distant from the evangelical text. Everything else in essence repeats the old tradition.

> *Tėve mūsų, kuris esi danguje,*   *duok mums šiandien*
> *teesie šventas Tavo vardas,*   *ir atleisk mums mūsų kaltes,*
> *Teateinie Tavo karalystė,*   *kaip ir mes atleidžiame*
> *teesie Tavo valia,*   *savo kaltininkams;*
> *kaip danguje, taip ir žemėje.*   *ir neleisk mūsų gundyti,*
> *Kasdieninės mūsų duonos*   *bet gelbėk mus nuo pikto.*

### 10.2.2. The beginning of the Catechism of Mažvydas (1547)

The importance of Martynas Mažvydas, the author-compiler of the first Lithuanian book, lies in his role, based on his work as translator and author, in the rise of literature, hymnology and versification, as well as in the creation of the earliest forms of the Lithuanian literary language. He was born about 1510 and died on May 21, 1563. Apparently, he was born in Samogitia and, after an early period of study (it is not clear where this took place), taught from 1539 to 1544 at the College of Vilnius founded by Abraham Kulvietis.[981]

Persecuted for his Protestant ideas – he signed himself: *deditissimus Martinus Mossuid, Protomartyr dictus, Artium Baccalaureus* [i.e. most humble Martynas Mažvydas, called the first martyr, Baccalaureate of Arts], he arrived in Königsberg in 1546 at the invitation of the Duke of Prussia, Albrecht von Hohenzollern, and he continued his studies at the Albertine university. In the spring of 1548 he received the baccalaureate and the following year he served as the pastor of Ragainė (Germ. *Ragnit*), a parish in the Prussian territory but largely inhabited by Lithuanians.

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[981] Abraham Culvensis (Abraomas Kulvietis) [1509-1545] was a native of Kulva near Kaunas; he studied in Cracow and Louvain where he became interested in ancient languages. He managed to continue his studies in Italy; but during a stop in Königsberg he was persuaded to go to Wittenberg to hear Luther and Melanchthon. Nevertheless, he also spent time in Siena, where he received his doctorate. Culvensis returned to Vilnius and invited Zablockis and Rapolionis, with whom he had studied in Cracow and Wittenberg, to be his assistants at the College. Cf. Lebedys (1977, p. 39-42); Ulčinaitė, Tumelis (1986); Pociūtė (2011).

Besides Lithuanian he knew several other languages (Latin, Polish, German) and was a fervent Lutheran activist. Mažvydas was the initiator of the preparation of the first Lithuanian book, a Catechism of 79 pages, printed in Gothic characters in the printing house of Johannes Weinreich in Königsberg in 1547. The work consists of a dedication *Ad Magnum Ducatum Lituaniae* [i.e. For the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], a Latin introduction *Pastoribus et ministris ecclesiarum in Lituania gratiam et pacem* [i.e. Grace and peace to the pastors and servants of the Lithuanian churches], a second introduction in verse *Pygus ir trumpas mokſlas ſkaititi yr raſchity* [i.e. A simple and short instruction in reading and writing], an alphabet, and finally a primitive sketch of Lithuanian phonetics. The Catechism itself follows and comprises 23 pages divided into five sections. This is partially a translation of a work by the Pole Jan Seklucjan. The final 39 pages contain several religious hymns, partially works and translations by Mažvydas himself and partially by other authors (Abraham Kulvietis, Stanislovas Rapolionis, Jurgis Zablockis).

Along with pastoral, agricultural, and literary activity, including the Catechism, Mažvydas prepared a whole series of works for publication: *Gieſme S. Ambraßeijaus* [i.e. The Hymn of S. Ambrose, Königsberg at the Johannes Weinreich press, 1549, 12 p.], *Forma Chrikſtima* [i.e. Baptismal Formula, Könisberg at the Johannes Daubmann press, 1559, 42 p.], *Giesmes Chrikſczoniskas* [i.e. Christian Hymns, Königsberg at the Johannes Daubmann press, 1566, 94 p.; 1570, 350 p.]; in addition, his cousin Baltramiejus Vilentas published posthumous editions of Mažvydas's works: *Trumpas klauſimas ir prieprovimas tu kurie nor prijmti ſchwentaghi Sacramenta Altoriaus* [i.e. A brief set of questions and preparation for those who wish to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, Königsberg, 1579], *Paraphrasis* [i.e. Paraphrasis, Königsberg, 1589, 14 p.].
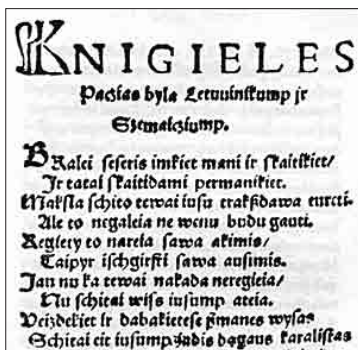
Incipit of the Preface from Mažvydas (1547)

10.2.2.1. Text and commentary.

The original text:
KNIGIELES
Pacʒias byla Letuuinikump jr
Sʒemaicʒiump.
BRalei ſeſeris imkiet mani ir ſkaitikiet/
Ir tatai ſkaitidami permanikiet.
[982]*Makſla ſchito tewai iuſu trakßdawa tureti.*
Ale to negaleia ne wenu budu gauti.
Regiety to nareia ſawa akimis/
Taipyr iſchgirſti ſawa auſimis. […]

The first phrase provides a basis for two different interpretations, each of which has been well argued. According to the traditional interpretation: *byla*: 3rd pers. present '(begins to) speak' as *bỹlo* (< **-ā*) from *bylóti* '[to begin] to speak' or as *byló(ja)* from *bylóti* id.

KNIGIELES Pacʒias in traditional literature *KNYGIELES* is considered a *plurale tantum* (i.e. plural only): *knygelės* fem. noun nom. plur. 'books' with a diminutive hint to the meaning; *pãčios* fem. pronoun nom. plur. 'themselves';[983] in this case the form *KNYGIELES* does not correspond with *imkiet mani* 'take me' in the following line [see *infra*], while another reading proposes: **byla**, that is *bylà* fem. noun nom. sing. 'discourse' and accordingly *KNYGIELES Pacʒias*, that is: *knygelės* fem. gen. sing. 'of the book', and *pačiõs* feminine pronoun gen. sing. '[of] itself' (Bammesberger 1971). The meaning of *KNYGIELES* is traditionally interpreted as 'book', with a diminutive shading; according to another interpretation, however, and in accord with the cultural context of the Protestant period, this word really means 'textbook' (cf. Nepokupnyĭ 1994).

Letuuinikump jr Sʒemaicʒiump are forms of the allative plur. with the typical post-position *-pi* (< **-pie*), added to the gen. plur. (**lietuvinīkun, *žemaiti̯un*). In the first word one observes <uu> = *uv*, <i> = *i, y* [i, i:], High Lith. <Let-> = *Liet-* and the suffix <-inik> = *inyk-* (rarer today, replaced by *-inink-*); in the second word one observes <Sʒ> = *ž* [ʒ]. The conj. 'and' as *jr* often alternates with *ir* (cf. the following

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[982] From this point on the beginning letters of each line form an acrostic: MARTJNVS MASVJDJVS, as astutely observed by Safarewicz (1939).

[983] Korsakas, Lebedys (1957, p. 38); Palionis (1974); Zinkevičius (1977c).

lines) and also with *yr* (cf. the last line), and, correspondingly, appears rarely in the works of Mažvydas.

In **BRalei** <R> is probably decorative, while <a> = [ɐ:] is a frequent spelling (96%) in Mažvydas in the root and in the stressed ending of inflected forms, rarer in invariable forms, <-ei> = *iai*; this is noun masc. nom. plur. with the function of a voc. plur. [see 2.2.1.5.1.]. In **ſeſeris**, possibly, is reflected the Low Lith. feature in <i> abbreviated in the unstressed ending (cf. the modern form *sẽserys* (< *-*i̯i̯(e)s* [see 2.2.1.5.4.] instead of IE *-*ei̯es*), but it is not certain since in Mažvydas the length of vowels is generally not observed (cf. further *Skaitidami* compared with the modern form *skaitýdami*); this is also a noun fem. nom. plur. with the function of a voc. plur.

In the phrase *imkiet mani ir Skaitikiet. Jr tatai Skaitidami permanikiet*, again shows the spelling <i> for *y* [i:]; moreover, three forms of the imperative 2nd pers. plur. **imkiet** (*im̃ti* 'to take'), **Skaitikiet** (*skaitýti* 'to read'), **permanikiet** (*permanýti* 'to reflect') with Low Lith. formant *-kie-* (*-kia-*) compared with High Lith. *-ki-* [see 7.4.3.3.3.]. The 1st pers. sing. acc. pronoun is the Low Lith. variant **mani**, compared with High Lith. *manè*. **Skaitidami** is the masc. nom. plur. of the semi-participle of *skaitýti* 'to read'.

Traditionally: **Makſla** masc. noun gen. sing. 'knowledge, science'; for <-a> (< *-*ā*), cf. Latv. *māksla* 'art'. **Schito** demonstrative pronoun gen. sing. masc. 'this', the genitive case is governed by the verb **trakßdawa** 3rd pers. iterative preterite of *trókšti* 'to wish', with the typical iterative formant *-dav-*, and <a> = *o* both in the stressed root, and in the ending. *turéti* is an infinitive 'to have, to possess'. **tewai** masc. noun nom. plur. 'parents', in spelling one has <w> in place of *v*. **iuſu** possessive pronoun 2nd pers. plur. 'your'.

Ale 'but', cf. Pol. *ale* id.; *to* demonstrative pronoun gen. masc. sing. 'that'. **negaleia** and **nareia** are 3rd pers. preterite forms, corresponding to the infinitives (*ne*)*galéti* '(not) to be able' and *noréti* 'to want'. **ne wenu budu** 'in no manner', a feature of Low Lith. is reflected in <e> (instead of <ie>) of *wenu*, an indefinite pronoun masc. instr. sing. *budu* masc. noun instr. sing. In the infinitives: **gauti** 'to achieve, to receive';

Regiety 'to see' and **iſchgirſti** 'to hear', graphical alternation between <-i> and <-y> is not significant. **ſawa** indeclinable reflexive possessive pronoun, with <-a> = *-o*. **akimis** 'with the eyes' and **auſimis** 'with the ears' noun fem. instr. plur. **Taipyr** adverb *taip* 'thus, in this way' and *yr* conj. 'and'.

The text in modern Lithuanian (Korsakas, Lebedys 1957, p. 38):

a1) *Knygelės pačios bỹlo lietuvininkump ir žemaičiump.*
a2) *Knygelės pačiõs bylà lietuvininkump ir žemaičiump.*
  Broliai seserys, imkit mane ir skaitykit
    Ir tatai skaitydami permanykit.
  Mokslo šito tėvai jūsų trokšdavo turėti,
    Ale to negalėjo nė vienu būdu gauti.
  Regėti to norėjo savo akimis,
    Taip ir išgirsti savo ausimis.

a1) The books themselves speak to the Lithuanians and Samogitians.
a2) The speech of the book itself to the Lithuanians and Samogitians.
  Brothers, sisters, take me and read,
    And thus reading reflect.
  This knowledge your fathers wished to have.
    But in no way could obtain it.
  And they wanted to see it with their own eyes,
    And thus to hear it with their own ears.

10.2.3. A fragment from the Metai of K. Donelaitis. The beginning of the *Joys of Spring*

For his work *Metų laikai* (*The Seasons of the Year*), Kristijonas Donelaitis is considered one of the fathers of Lithuanian letters. This poem, composed of 2,968 hexameters according to the rules of classical metrics (Girdenis 1989, 1993), is the first secular work in Lithuanian literature and has been translated into many languages (German, Polish, Russian, English, Swedish, Spanish, Italian and many others).

Donelaitis was born in Lazdynėliai (Germ. *Gumbinnen*), in Lithuania Minor (East Prussia), on the January 1st 1714 and died in Tolminkiemis on February 18th 1780. Little is known of his childhood. Donelaitis, who knew Lithuanian and German equally, was sent to study first at the "school for paupers", where he learned to read and sing, and then at a college in Königsberg where he studied classical languages. Based on his talents he was admitted to the university in 1736 to study theology. Having finished

his studies he worked for three years as a cantor at the school of Stalupėnai and then as rector. During these years he made his first literary attempts, several verses and works in German, and fables (six have been preserved), which he read to students who had no texts in Lithuanian. Their subjects are partly original and partly taken from Aesop.[984] In 1743 he was assigned a parish in Tolminkiemis, where Lithuanians constituted one third of the population. Here Donelaitis, a many-sided personality, spent thirty-six years in tranquility, fulfilling his church duties and pedagogical responsibilities according to the pietistic principles to which he adhered. He constructed musical instruments, fabricated optical lenses and studied meteorology. He read his verses to the pastors of the neighboring parishes. He dedicated his poems primarily to nature and to the life of the peasants, with whom he was in daily contact and whose customs, psychology, defects and moral character he knew well. These are also the subject of his hexameter work *Metai*.

During his lifetime Donelaitis published nothing. The publication of his masterpiece appeared only in 1818 (the fables in 1824) through the efforts of Wilhelm von Humboldt after its rediscovery by Ludwig Martin Rhesa [Liudvikas Martynas Rėza, 1776-1840].[985] It was subsequently republished by Schleicher (1865) and Nesselmann (1869) and has been translated into many languages.

10.2.3.1. Text and commentary. The original text of *Pavasario linksmybės* (*Joys of Spring*) from *Metai* (Korsakas 1977, p. 90):

> *Iau Sauléle wél atkópdămă buddĭnŏ Swieta,*
> *Ir Ʒ́iemôs ſʒaltôs Truſùs pargráudămă jŭkės.*
> *Sʒalcʒû Prámonės ſŭ Lĕdaìs ſugaìſʒtĭ păgáwo;*
> *Ir puttódam's Snieg's wiſſùr į̃ Nieką̃ păwirto.*
> *Tŭ Laukùs Oraì drungnì gaiwįdămĭ glófſé,*
> *Ir Ʒ́ŏlĕlès wiſſókias iſʒ Numirrŭſŭ ſʒaùkė.*
> *Krúmus ſù Sʒillaìs wiſſaìs ĭſſibbudĭnŏ kéltiſ '*

[984] The fables of Donelaitis are: *Lapės ir gandro čėsnis* [The banquet of the fox and the stork], *Vilkas provininkas* [The wolf-judge], *Ą́žuolas gyrpelnys* [The vain oak], with subjects taken from Aesop and Phaedrus and *Rudikis jomarkininks*, *Šuo Didgalvis* [Dog Big Head], *Pasaka apie šūdvabalį* [The fable of the scarab], with original subjects.

[985] Rhesa was a Lithuanian poet of German origin, a scholar of folklore and a translator. He studied at the University of Königsberg where he was a professor of theology and director of the Lithuanian Seminar. He is famous particularly for having first published the work of Donelaitis, *Metai* in 1818 together with a translation into German. He also edited a collection of Lithuanian folk songs (*Dainos*, 1825) and a *Geschichte der litauischen Bibel* (*A history of the Lithuanian Bible*, 1816). Moreover, he wrote several original poems in German (*Prutena*, 1809 and 1825). Cf. Šešplaukis-Tyruolis (1994, p. 53-58).

O Laukû Kalnaì ſù Klóneis pàmĕtĕ̆ Skrándas.
Wiſſlâb, kàs Ruddens Biaurybėj' numĭrĕ wèrkdams;
Wiſſlâb, kàs Eʒĕrè gywéndams pérʒ́iĕmăwójo,
Ar po ſàwô Kĕrrù pèr Ʒ́iemą bùwŏ miĕgójęs,
Wiſſlab tŭ Pulkaìs ifʒlindo Wáſărą ſwéikįt'...

The text in modern Lithuanian (Vitkauskas 1994, p. 11):

Jau saulelė vėl atkopdama budino svietą
Ir žiemos šaltos trūsus pargraudama juokės.
Šalčių pramonės su ledais sugaišti pagavo,
Ir putodams sniegs visur į nieką pavirto.
Tuo laukus orai drungni gaivydami glostė
Ir žoleles visokias iš numirusių šaukė.
Krūmai su šilais visais išsibudino keltis,
O laukų kalnai su kloniais pametė skrandas.
Vislab, kas rudens bjaurybėj numirė verkdams,
Vislab, kas ežere gyvendams peržiemavojo
Ar po savo keru per žiemą buvo miegojęs,
Vislab tuo pulkais išlindo vasarą sveikyt.

A first English translation by Nadas Rastenis (members.efn.org/~valdas/
seasons.html):

The climbing sun again was wakening the world
And laughing at the wreck of frigid winter's trade.
The icy season's grip was thouroughly undone,
And heaps of high-piled snow had dwindled down to naught.
Each day a soft south breeze caressed the barren fields
And coaxed each blade and leaf to rise again and live.
Each hill and dale had cast away the snowy furs;
The bush and heath were glad to heed the springtime's call.
All things that died away in tearful autumn's mire,
All things that lay in sleep beneath the winter's ice,
Or huddled shivering under a stunted bush,
Crept out in joyous throngs to hail the smiling spring.

Another more recent English translation is that by Peter Tempest
(Donelaitis 1985, p. 14):

The sun again ascending wakes the world
And laughs, as it undoes what winter's done.
The quirks of frost and ice are no more seen,
old snowdrifts froth and leave the raw earth clean.
Life-giving warmer air caresses fields
Bidding all grasses rise up from the dead.
Thicket and pine wood stir and straighten up
As hill and valley doff white sheepskin coats.
All who in autumn were struck numb with grief
Or wintered in the depth of frozen lakes
Or slept under a stump all winter long
Into the open to greet summer throng.

Donelaitis's lexicon overall represents the author's native dialect, and foreign borrowings are frequent (in general, but not in the fragment examined).

Iau adverb 'already'. ***Sauléle*** fem. noun nom. sing. diminutive of *saulė* 'sun'. ***wėl*** adverb 'again'. ***atkópdămă*** semiparticiple nom. sing. fem. of *atkopti* 'to rise'. ***buddĭnŏ*** causative preterite 3rd pers. of *budinti* 'to awaken'. ***Swieta*** masc. noun acc. sing. of *svietas* 'world'.

Ir conj. 'and'. ***Ӡiemôs*** fem. noun gen. sing. of *žiema* 'winter'. ***ſӡaltôs*** adj. fem. gen. sing. of *šaltas* 'cold'. ***Truſùs*** masc. noun acc. plur. of *triūsas* 'heavy labor'. ***pargráudămă*** semiparticiple nom. sing. fem. of *pargriauti* 'to destroy'. ***jůkės*** reflexive preterite 3rd pers. of *juoktis* 'to laugh'.

Sӡalcӡû masc. noun gen. plur. of *šalčiai* 'frost'. ***Prámonės*** fem. noun nom. plur. 'works, attempts'. ***ſŭ*** preposition 'with'. ***Lĕdaìs*** masc. noun instr. plur. of *ledai* 'ice'. ***ſugaìſӡtĭ*** infinitive 'to disappear (to spoil)'. ***păgáwo*** preterite 3rd pers. of *pagauti* 'to begin (to grasp; to obtain)'.

puttódam's semiparticiple masc. nom. sing. of *putoti* 'to foam'. ***Snieg's*** masc. noun nom. sing. 'snow'. ***wiſſùr*** adverb 'everywhere'. ***į*** preposition 'in'. ***Nieką̆*** masc. pronoun acc. sing. of *niekas* 'nothing'. ***păwirto*** preterite 3rd pers. of *pavirsti* 'to become; to change'.

Tů (*tuojau*) adverb 'suddenly'. ***Laukùs*** masc. noun acc. plur. ***Oraì*** masc. noun nom. plur. 'winds; breezes'. ***drungnì*** adj. masc. nom. plur. 'warm'. ***gaiwįdămĭ*** semiparticiple masc. nom. plur. of *gaivyti* 'to revive'. ***glóſtė*** preterite 3rd pers. of *glostyti* 'to caress'.

Z̆ŏlĕlès fem. noun diminutive acc. plur. of *žolė* 'grass'. ***wiſſókias*** indef. adj. fem. plur. 'each'. ***iſʒ*** preposition 'from'. ***Numirrŭſŭ*** active participle in preterite, gen. plur. of *numirti* 'to die'. ***ſʒaùkė*** preterite 3rd pers. of *šaukti* 'to call'.

Krúmus masc. noun acc. plur. 'bushes'. ***ſù*** preposition 'with'. ***Sʒillaìs*** masc. noun instr. plur. of *šilas* 'woods'. ***wiſſaìs*** adj. instr. plur. masc. of *visas* 'all'. ***ĭſſibbudĭnŏ*** reflexive preterite 3rd pers. of *išsibudinti* 'to wake up'. ***kéltiſ '*** reflexive infinitive 'to rise up'.

O conj. 'and; but'. ***Laukû*** masc. noun gen. plur. of *laukas* 'meadow; field'. ***Kalnaì*** masc. noun nom. plur. 'hills'. ***Klóneis*** masc. noun instr. plur. of *kloniai* 'valleys'. ***pàmĕtĕ*** preterite 3rd pers. of *pamesti* 'to throw'. ***Skrándas*** fem. noun acc. plur. of *skránda* 'overcoat'.

Wiſſlâb indeclinable pronoun 'all'. ***kàs*** pronoun nom. sing. masc. 'which, what'. ***Ruddens*** masc. noun gen. sing. of *ruduo* 'fall'. ***Biaurybėj'*** fem. noun loc. sing. of *biaurybė* 'vulgarity; ugliness'. ***numĭrĕ*** preterite 3rd pers. from *numirti* 'to die'. ***wèrkdams*** semiparticiple masc. nom. sing. from *verkti* 'to cry'.

Eʒĕrè masc. noun loc. sing. from *ežeras* 'lake'. ***gywéndams*** semiparticiple nom. sing. masc. from *gyventi* 'to live'. ***pérʒiĕmăwójo*** preterite 3rd pers. of *peržiemavoti* 'to spend the winter'.

Ar conj. 'or'. *po* conj. 'under'. ***ſàwô*** indeclinable reflexive possessive pronoun 'one's own'. ***Kĕrrù*** masc. noun instr. sing. of *keras* 'stump'. ***pèr*** conj. 'during, over, through, across'. ***Z̆iemą*** fem. noun acc. sing. of *žiema* 'winter'. ***bùwŏ*** preterite 3rd pers. of *būti* 'to be'. ***miĕgójęs*** preterite active participle from *miegoti* 'to sleep'.

Pulkaìs masc. noun instr. plur. of *pulkas* 'rank, army', cf. Pol. *pułk*, ORuss. пълкъ id. ***iſʒlindo*** preterite 3rd pers. from *išlįsti* 'to emerge'. ***Wáſărą:*** fem. noun acc. sing. of *vasara* 'summer'. ***ſwéikįt'*** infinitive 'to greet'.

10.2.4. A passage from *Būdas senovės lietuvių kalnėnų ir žemaičių* by S. Daukantas

Simonas Daukantas was born in Kalviai on October 28th 1793 and died in Papilė in 1864. He became the most productive and famous Lithuanian writer of the first half of the 19th century. In 1814 he moved to Vilnius to study, and having finished the gymnasium, entered the university, where he was particularly interested in history and philology. He was very recep-

tive to the democratic ideas and national entreaties which were encouraging the Lithuanian movement, and decided to write books for his own people. Above all he was interested in history and philology: while still a student he prepared the *Darbai senųjų lietuvių ir žemaičių* [Deeds of the Ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians, 1822]. Having finished the university he moved to Riga in connection with his work and in 1835 went to St. Petersburg. In 1850, affected by serious health problems, he settled permanently in Lithuania and joined a group of the intelligentsia (religious and civil), which at the initiative of Bishop Motiejus Valančius, held meetings in Varniai, in Samogitia. Here Daukantas wrote the *Great Polish-Lithuanian Dictionary* [see 8.1.2.1.]. During this period he published the work *Būdas senovės lietuvių kalnėnų ir žemaičių* [The Character Of Ancient High Lithuanians and Samogitians, 1845], which appeared while Daukantas was still alive. His other works appeared posthumously *Istorija žemaitiška* [The History of Samogitia, 1893-1997], *Darbai* [Deeds, 1929]. It should not be overlooked that Daukantas was of a Pan-Lithuanian bent concerning European antiquities.

10.2.4.1. Text and commentary. Here is the original opening of the work of Simonas Daukantas, *Budas. Senowęs-Lětuwiu Kalnienû ir Zámajtiû* (Petropílie, Hintze, p. 1):

> *Gìloie jau senowie… pìrm gìmìmo Krystaus Lětuwiû tauta yra jau rąndama gywenąntì uksìniusì arba Joudusiusì pamariusì sziauręs linkon, noris ne Lětuwejs; bet kìtajs wardais, jau nu jòs budo, jau nu wìjtos, kórioie gyweno wadinama, beje: Indìjonimis, Kìjmarionìmis, Skytajs ir Getais; kartajs Erulejs arba Gìrrulejs.*

Modern Lithuanian transcription (Vanagienė 1988, p. 13):

> *Gilioje jau senovėj… pirm gimimo Kristaus lietuvių tauta yra randama gyvenanti Uksiniuose, arba Juoduosiuose, pamariuose šiaurės linkan, noris ne lietuviais, bet kitais vardais jau nuo jos būdo, jau nuo vietos, kurioje gyveno, vadinama, beje: indijonimis, kiemarionimis, skitais ir getais, kartais eruliais, arba girulais.*

A literal translation:

> In deep antiquity… before the birth of Christ the Lithuanian people lived in Euxine or on the Black Sea, on the northern shore, al-

though they were not called Lithuanians but by different names either according to customs or place of habitation, specifically: Indians, Chiemoriani (Cimmerians), Scythians and Getai, sometimes Erulians or Herulians.

Gìloie adj. fem. loc. sing. of *gilì* 'deep'. **jau** adverb 'already, at last'. **senowie** fem. noun loc. sing. of *senovė* 'antiquity'.

pìrm adverb 'before'. **gìmìmo** masc. noun gen. sing. of *gimimas* 'birth'. **Krystaus** gen. sing. of *Kristus* 'Christ'. **Lëtuwiû** masc. noun gen. plur. of *lietuviai* 'Lithuanians'. **tauta** fem. noun nom. sing. 'people, nation'. **yra** present 3rd pers. of *būti* 'to be'. **rąndama** present passive participle nom. sing. fem. of *rasti* 'to find'. **gywenąntì** nom. sing. fem. present active participle of *gyventi* 'to live'. **uksìniusì** *Uksiniuose* toponym loc. plur.

arba adverb 'or'. **Joudusiusì pamariusì** toponym, *Juoduosiuose* def. adj. masc. loc. plur. of *juodasis* 'the black one', and *pamariuose* noun loc. plur. of *pamarys* 'shore, shoreline'. **sziauręs** fem. noun gen. sing. of *šiaurė* 'north'. **linkon** preposition 'toward', <-on> (-*an*) allative ending.

noris conj. 'although'. **ne** particle. **Lëtuwejs** masc. noun instr. plur. **bet** conj. 'but'. **kìtajs** adj. masc. instr. plur. of *kitas* 'other'. **wardais** masc. noun instr. plur. of *vardas* 'name'. **nu** preposition 'from'. **jòs** personal pronoun fem. gen. sing. of *ji* 'she (here: its)'. **budo** masc. noun gen. sing. of *būdas* 'custom'. **wìjtos** fem. noun gen. sing. of *vieta* 'place'.

kórioie relative pronoun. loc. sing. of *kuri* '(in) which'. **gyweno** preterite 3rd pers. of *gyventi* 'to live'. **wadinama** present passive participle neuter nom. sing. of *vadinti* 'to name'. **beje** particle 'besides'. **Indìjonimis** masc. noun instr. plur. '(with the) Indians'. **Kìjmarionìmis** masc. noun instr. plur. '(with the) Chiemoriani (Cimmerians)'. **Skytajs** masc. noun instr. plur. '(with the) Scythians'. **ir** conj. 'and'. **Getais** masc. noun instr. plur. '(with the) Getai'. **kartajs** adverb 'sometimes'. **Erulejs** masc. noun instr. plur. '(with the) Erulians's. **Gìrrulejs** masc. noun instr. plur. '(with the) Herulians's. Daukantas provides two variants of the ethnonym – one western and one (with *g*-) Slavo-eastern.

10.2.5. A Lithuanian folk song: *Mėnuo saulužę vedė*

Here is one of the more well-known Lithuanian *dainos* 'songs', already present in the collection of L. J. Rėza (Rėza 1958 I, p. 92-93, number 27).

One should note that in Lithuanian *ménuo, mėnùžis* 'moon' is masculine, while *saulùžė* 'sun' and *aušrìnė* 'dawn' are feminine (cf. Haudry 2001).

	Literal translation
Ménuo saulùžę vedė	The Moon married the Sun
pìrmą pavasarė̃lį.	early in the spring.
Saulùžė ankstì kėlės,	The Sun rose early,
*mėnùžis atsiskýrė*the	Moon was left behind.
Ménuo víens vaikštinéjo,	The Moon was walking around alone
aušrìnę pamyléjo.	and fell in love with the Dawn.
Perkű́ns didei supykę	Greatly angered, Perkūnas
jį́ kárdu pérdalijo.	sliced him in half with a sword.
Kõ saulùžės atsiskýrei	Why did you abandon the Sun,
aušrìnę pamyléjei,	fall in love with Dawn,
víens naktỹ vaikštinéjei?	and wander alone at night?

10.3. LATVIAN TEXTS

10.3.1. Old Latvian Lord's Prayer of Hasentöter

The Latvian Lord's Prayer, called the Lord's Prayer of Hasentöter, received this designation from Johann Hasentöter [1517-1586], a public secretary who spent some years in Riga. Sebastian Münster received the text from him and printed it in his popular work *Cosmographiae universalis Lib. VI*, published in many editions and translations. There are several differences in the OLatv. texts of the Lord's Prayer (cf. Draviņš 1952, with bibliography).

10.3.1.1. Text and commentary. Here it is the text of the Lord's Prayer in the Basel edition of Sebastian Münster, *Coſmographei oder beſchreibung aller lãnder/ herſchafften/ fürnemſten ſtetten/ geſchichten/ gebreüchẽ/ hantierungen etc. ietz zum drittem mal trefflich ſere durch Sebaſtianum Munſterũ gemeret vnd*
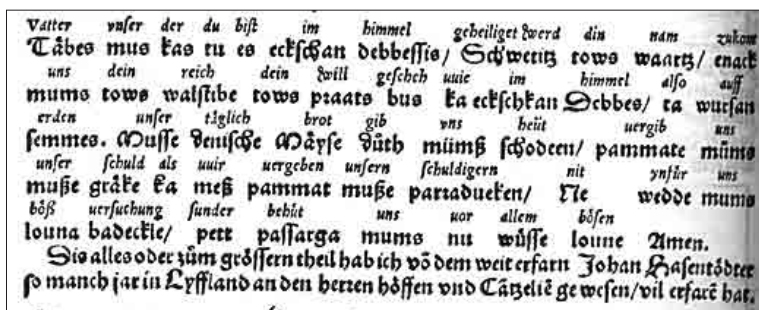
gebeſſert/ in weldtlichẽ vnd naturlichen hiſtorien. [...] Getruckt zů Baſel durch Henrichum Petri/ Anno M.D.L. (1550), p. 932:

> *Tȧbes mus kas tu es eckſchan debbeſſis / Schwetitʒ tows waartʒ / enack mums tows walſtibe tows praats bus ka eckſchkan Debbes / ta wurſan ſemmes. Muſſe deniſche Mȧyſe důth mümß ſchodeen / pammate mȕms muſſe grȧke ka meß pammat muſſe parradueken / Ne wedde mums louna badeckle / pett paſſarga mums nu wȕſſe loune. Amen.*

One immediately notes the use of a generalized ending *–e*, in which, probably, one can see the reflection of the German way of rendering Latvian endings. In this connection it is appropriate to recall an anecdote, told by Gerullis, Salys and finally Schmalstieg (1974a, p. i), according to which the name of the Latvian city *Saldus* was accordingly heard and conveyed by the Germans as *Salde*.

Tȧbes masc. noun nom. sing. with the function of a voc. sing. 'father'. ***mus*** pronoun 1st pers. plur. gen. of *mēs* 'we'. ***kas*** relative pronoun nom. sing. 'which'. ***tu*** pronoun 2nd pers. sing. nom. 'you'. ***es*** present 2nd pers. sing. of *būt* 'to be'. ***eckſchan*** (in the following line ***eckſchkan***) preposition 'in, within'. ***debbeſſis*** masc. noun acc. plur. of ***Debess*** 'sky' (in the following line), the acc. in place of the loc. is a result of German influence.

Schwetitʒ preterite participle passive nom. sing. masc. of *svētīt* 'to sanctify'. ***towʒ***: possessive pronoun 2nd pers. sing. 'your'. ***waartʒ*** masc. noun sing. 'name'. ***enack*** imperative 2nd pers. sing. of *ie-nākt* 'to come'. ***mums*** personal pronoun 1st pers. plur. dat. of *mēs*. ***walſtibe*** (modern Latv. writing: *valstība*) fem. noun sing. 'reign'. ***praats*** masc. noun nom. sing. 'knowledge'. ***bus*** future 3rd pers. of *būt* 'to be'. ***ka*** adverb 'as' (modern Latv. writing: *kā*). ***ta*** adverb 'thus' (modern Latv. writing: *tā*). ***wurſan*** preposition 'on'. ***ſemmes*** fem. noun gen. sing. of (modern Latv. writing) *zeme* 'land'.

Muſſe possessive pronoun 1st pers. plur. nom. 'our'. ***deniſche*** adj. acc. sing. fem. of *dienišķs* 'daily'. ***Mȧyſe*** fem. noun acc. sing. of *maize* 'bread'. ***důth*** imperative 2nd pers. sing. of *dot* 'to give' (cf. OLith. *dúodi* id.). ***ſchodeen*** adverb 'today' (modern Latv. *šodien*, cf. Lith. *šiandien*). ***pammate*** imperative 2nd pers. sing. of *pamāt* 'to pardon'. ***grȧke*** masc. noun acc. plur. 'sins', *–e* is obscure. ***meß*** pronoun 1st pers. plur. nom. 'we'. ***pammat*** present 1st pers. plur. *–t* is obscure (it might have arisen

in the translation on the bais of the German homonyms *uergeben* 'we forgive', 'to forgive', 'forgiven'). **mußße** pronoun 1st pers. plur. nom. 'us'. **parradueken** masc. noun dat. plur. 'debtor' (modern Latv. *parādnieks*).

Ne negative particle. **wedde** imperative 2nd pers. sing. of *ie-vest* 'lead'. **louna** (modern Latv. *ļaunā*) masc. noun loc. sing. of *ļauns* 'evil'. **badeckle** (modern Latv. *badeklē*) fem. noun loc. sing. of *badekle* 'temptation'. **pett** (modern Latv. *bet*) conj. 'but'. **paſſarga** imperative 2nd pers. sing. of *pasargāt* 'preserve'. **nu** adverb 'from'. **wů̊ſſe** adjective dat. plur. masc. of *viss* 'all'; perhaps <-ē> = *em*.

10.3.1.2. Contemporary Latvian Lord's prayer. For comparison I provide an official version of the Lord's Prayer in contemporary Latvian as used in the Latvian Catholic Church and a literal English translation.

	Lord's Prayer in English:
Tēvs mūsu, kas esi debesīs,	Our Father, who art in heaven,
svētīts lai top Tavs vārds,	hallowed be thy name.
lai atnāk Tava valstība,	Thy kingdom come,
Tavs prāts lai notiek kā debesīs,	thy will be done on earth
tā arī virs zemes.	as it is in heaven.
Mūsu dienišķo maizi	Give us this day
duod mums šodien	our daily bread
un piedod mums mūsu parādus,	and forgive us our trespasses
kā arī mēs piedodamas	we forgive
saviem parādniekiem;	our trespassers.
un neieved mūs kardināšanā,	and lead us not into temptation
bet atpestī mūs no ļauna.	and deliver us from evil.

10.3.2. Fragments from the Lutheran Catechism of 1586

The extracts of the following text are taken from the first Latvian Lutheran Catechism, printed in the middle of the 16th century. *ENCHIRIDION. Der kleine Catechismus: Oder Chriſtliche ʒucht fůr die gemeinen Pfarherr vnd Prediger auch Hausueter etc. Durch D. Martin. Luther. Nun aber aus dem Deudſchen ins vndeudſche gebracht / vnd von wort ʒu wort / wie es von D. M. Luthero geſetʒet / gefaſſet werden [...] Gedruckt zu Kǒnigsperg bey George Oſterbergern Anno M. D. LXXXVI.*[986]

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[986] Cf. Inoue (2002). The study of the sources of this important text (and others) of Old Latvian literature has barely begun, cf. Vanags (1995b).

10.3.2.1. Text and Commentary. Below is an example of the reading with an indication of the source and a short grammatical commentary.

III. *Thȯw buus tho ſweete Dene ſwee=tyt.*   Germ. *Du sollst den Feirtag heiligen.*

IV. *Thȯw buus touwe Thewe vnd touwe Mathe cʒenit / ka thȯw labbe klaias / vnd tu Jlge cʒiwo wuerſſon Semmes.*

Germ. *Du sollst deinen Vater und deine Mutter ehren / auff dasz dirs wol gehe, und lange lebest auff Erden.*

IX. *Thȯw nhe buus ekarot touwe Tu=wake Namme.*

Germ. *Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Haus.*

X. *Thȯw nhe buus ekaroth touwe Tuwake Sʒewe / Kalpe / Kalpune / lope / ieb wueſſe kas tam peder.*

Germ. *Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Weibes, Knecht, Magd, Vieh oder was sein ist.*

Thȯw, ***thȯw*** pronoun 2nd pers. sing. dat. of *tu* 'you'. ***buus*** future 3rd pers. of *būt* 'will be'. ***to*** demonstr. pronoun masc. acc. sing. of *tas* 'that', with the function of an article. ***ſweete***: adj. acc. sing. fem. 'holy'. ***Dene*** noun acc. sing. fem. 'day'. ***sweetyt*** (modern Latv. *svētīt*) infinitive 'to celebrate'. Note: the Latvian *Thȯw buus* literally is 'it shall be to you', cf. Germ. *Du sollst* 'you must'.

touw, ***touwe*** (modern Latv. *tau*) possessive pronoun 3rd pers. sing. masc. or fem. 'your'. ***Thewe*** noun acc. sing. masc. of *tēvs* 'fater'. ***vnd*** conj. 'and'. ***Mathe*** noun acc. sing. fem. of *māte* 'mother'. ***cʒenit*** (modern Latv. *cenīt*) infinitive 'to honor'. ***ka*** (modern Latv. *kā*) preposition 'as; so that'. ***labbe klaias*** phrase 'to live well', *labbe* adverb 'well' and *klaias*

present reflexive 3rd pers. of *klāties* 'to go'. ***Jlge*** (modern Latv. *ilgi*) adverb 'at great length'. ***cʒiwo*** (modern Latv. *dzīvo*) 3rd pers. present of *dzīvot* 'to live'. ***wuerʃʃon*** preposition 'on, above'. ***Semmes*** noun gen. sing. fem. of *zeme* 'land'.

nhe negative particle. ***ekarot*** (modern Latv. *iekārot*) infinitive 'to desire'. ***Tuwake*** noun gen. sing. formed from *tuvs* 'neighboring' + *-ak-* comparative ending. ***Sʒewe*** noun acc. sing. fem. of *sieva* 'wife'. ***Kalpe*** noun acc. sing. masc. of *kalps* 'slave, servant'. ***Kalpune*** (modern Latv. *kalpūni*) noun acc. sing. fem. of *kalpūne, kalpuoni* 'female servant'. ***lope*** noun masc. acc. sing. of *lops* 'cattle'. ***ieb*** conj. 'or'. ***wueʃʃe*** adj. acc. sing. masc. of *viss* 'all'. ***tham*** demonstr. pronoun dat. sing. masc. ***peder*** present 3rd pers. of *piederēt* 'to belong'.

10.3.3. A fragment from Augstas Gudrības Grāmata of Stenders the Elder

Gothards F. Stenders, called the Elder, was born in the village of Laši in 1714 and died in Sunākste in 1796. He studied theology in Jena and Halle (1736-1739), as well as at other German universities. In 1740 he returned to Curland and taught in the schools, then went abroad again, where he headed a school in Germany and served as advisor on geography at the royal court of Copenhagen. In 1765 he returned to Curland for good and was pastor in Sēlpils and Sunākste until 1780 when he retired. His son Alexander, called Stenders the Younger, wrote the first Latvian comedy (1790).

G. F. Stenders was the author of the already mentioned [see 8.1.1.] linguistic works. He also wrote the first Latvian verses of secular content, such as *Jauna izskaidrota dziesmu grāmata* [A New Book of Hymns with Commentary, 1783-1792, 2 vols.], a natural science work containing principles of cosmography *Augstas Gudrības Grāmata no Pasaules un Dabas* [An Advanced Book of Knowledge about the World and Nature, 1776].

10.3.3.1. Text and commentary. Here is the beginning of this work (Samsons 1988, p. 102):

From Stenders (1796, p. 3).

> *Mihļi Latweeʃchi! Schè jums tohp ta augʃtas gudrības grahmata ohtru reiʃi un kà no jauna dohta. Juhs tannî daudʃ ʃweʃchas leetas laʃʃiʃeet.*
>
> *Ne dohmajeet, ka ʃemneekam tahdas augʃtas ʃinnaʃchanas ne waijaga.*

Mihki Latweeschi!

Schè jums tohp ta augstas gudribas grah-
mata ohtru reisi un kà no jauna dohta.
Juhs tanni daudsi swefchas leetas lassiieet. Ne
dohmajeet, ka semneekam tahdas augstas sinna-
fchanas ne waijaga. Kad winfch fawus lauku
un mahjas dàrbus jeb kautkahdu ammatu proht,
kad winfch gudrs irraid pee mainifchanas un
pahrdohfchanas, kad fawus pahtarus nofkaitiht
un kad daudsi, lassiht mahk, kam wehl zittas gu-
dribas waijaga? Bet kadehl fakka Sahlamans:
Gudriba irr labbaka ne kà pehrles, un wiff, ko tu

*Kad winfch fawus lauku un mahjas darbus jeb kautkahdu ammatu
proht, kad winfch gudrs irraid pee mainifchanas un pahrdohfchanas, kad
fawus pahtarus nofkaitiht un kad daudsi, lassiht mahk, kam wehl zittas
gudribas waijaga?*

*Bet kadehl fakka Sahlamans: Gudriba irr labbaka ne kà pehrles, un
wiff, ko tu tikkai warri eewehletees, ne irr ar tahs falihdfinajams.*

Literal translation:

Dear Latvians! Here for you is created this book of highest wisdom
for the second time and as edited anew. You will read in it many for-
eign things. Do not think that for a peasant this higher knowledge is
not needed. If he knows his labor in the field and in the household
or some other affair, if he is clever in trade and selling, if he can read
his prayers and if he is literate, what else does he need to know? Why
does Solomon say: wisdom is better than pearls, and nothing you may
desire is comparable to it.

Mihli adj. nom. (with function of voc.) plur. masc. *mīļi* 'dear'. *Latweefchi*
noun masc. nom. (with function of voc.) plur. *Latvieši* 'Latvians'. *Schè*
adverb *še* 'here'. *jums* pronoun 2nd pers. plur. dat. 'to you, for you'.
tohp present 3rd pers. of *tapt* 'to become; to be formed', *top* 'becomes,
is formed'. *ta* demonstr. pronoun nom. sing. fem. 'this'. *augftas* adj.
gen. sing. fem *augstas* 'high'. *gudribas* noun fem. gen. sing. *gudrības*
'of (the) wisdom'. *grahmata* noun fem. nom. sing. *grāmata* 'book'.
ohtru adj. acc. sing. fem., *otru* 'second'. *reifi* noun fem. acc. sing.,
reizi 'time'. *un* conj. 'and'. *kà* conj., *kā* 'as'. *no* preposition 'from'.
jauna adj. gen. sing. masc. 'new'. *dohta* preterite participle passive

nom. sing. fem. from *dot* 'to give', *dota* 'given'. **Juhs** pronoun 2nd pers. nom. plur., *Jūs* 'you'. **tannî** demonstr. pronoun loc. sing. fem. (archaic), *tanī* (modern Latv. *tajā*) 'in this'. **daudſ** adverb *daudz* 'much'. **ſweſchas** adj. acc. plur. fem. *svešas* 'foreign'. **leetas** noun fem. acc. plur. *lietas* 'affair, thing'. **laſſiſeet** future 2nd pers. plur. of *lasīt* 'to read', *lasīsiet* 'you will read'.

Ne dohmajeet negative particle + imperative 2nd pers. plur. of *domāt* 'to think', *ne-domājiet* 'do not think!' **ka** conj. 'that'. **ſemneekam** noun masc. dat. sing., *zemniekam* 'to (the) peasant, for (the) peasant'. **tahdas** demonstr. pronoun nom. plur. fem. *tādas* 'such'. **augſtas** adj. nom. plur. fem. *augstas* 'high'. **ſinnaſchanas** noun fem. nom. plur., *zināšanas* 'knowledge'. **ne waijaga** negative particle + present 3rd pers. of *vajadzēt* 'to be necessary', *ne-vajag* 'is not necessary'.

kad adverb 'when'. **winſch** pronoun 3rd pers. masc., *viņš* 'he'. **ſawus** possessive pronoun acc. plur. masc., *savus* 'his own'. **lauku** noun masc. gen. plur. 'of (the) fields; estates'. **mahjas** noun fem. gen. sing. *mājas* 'of (the) house'. **darbus** noun masc. acc. plur. 'labors'. **jeb** conj. 'or'. **kautkahdu** particle + interrogative pronoun instr. sing. masc., *kaut kādu* 'with which'. **ammatu** noun masc. instr. sing. *amatu* 'with the trade'. **proht** present 3rd pers. of *prast* 'to know (to make) known', *prot* 'he knows'. **gudrs** adj. nom. sing. masc. 'wise; astute'. **irraid** present 3rd pers. (archaic) of *būt* 'to be'. **pee** preposition *pie* 'at, near'. **mainiſchanas** noun fem. gen. sing. (archaic), *maiņas* 'of (the) exchange'. **pahrdohſchanas** noun fem. gen. sing. *pārdošanas* 'of (the) sale'. **pahtarus** noun masc. noun acc. plur., *pātarus* 'prayers', cf. Latin *Pater*[noster]. **noſkaitiht** infinitive 'to spell out'. **laſſiht** infinitive 'to read'. **mahk** present 3rd pers. of *mācēt* 'to know (to be able)', *māk* 'is able'. **kam** interrogative pronoun dat. sing. 'to which (thing)'. **wehl** adverb *vēl* 'again'. **ʒittas** adj. nom. plur. fem., *citas* 'other'. **gudribas** noun fem. nom. plur., *gudrības* 'wisdom'.

Bet conj. 'but'. **kadehl** adverb, *kādēļ* 'why'. **ſakka** present 3rd pers. of *sacīt* 'to say'. **Sahlamans** Anthroponym masc. nom. sing. *Zālamans* 'Solomon'. **Gudriba** noun fem. nom. sing. *gudrība* 'wisdom'. **irr** see *iraid*. **labbaka** adj. nom. sing. fem. (*laba*) comparative degree (*-āk-*), *labāka* 'better'. **ne kà** adverb, *nekā* 'than'. **pehrles** noun fem. acc. plur. *pērles* 'pearls'. **wiſſ** pronoun nom. sing. masc., *viss* 'all'. **ko** interrogative pronoun acc. sing. of *kas* 'what'. **tu** pronoun 2nd pers. sing. 'you'. **tikkai** adverb *tikai* 'only'. **warri** present 2nd pers. sing. of *varēt* 'to can, to be able'. **eewehletees** reflexive infinitive, *ievēlēties* 'to choose'. **ne irr** nega-

tive particle + present 3rd pers. of *būt* 'to be', *neir* (modern Latv. *nav*) 'is not'. **ar** preposition 'with'. **tahs** demonstr. pronoun gen. sing. fem. *tās* 'of this'. **ſalihdſinajams** present passive participle masc. nom. sing. of *salīdzināt* 'to compare', *salīdzinājams* 'comparable'.

10.3.4. A fragment of Lāčplēsis of Pumpurs

Andrejis Pumpurs was born in Lieljumprava in 1841 and died in Riga in 1902. His name is connected with the epic-mythological work *Lāčplēsis* [The Bear Killer, 1888], a late 19th-century reconstruction of pagan Latvian antiquity. The content of the poem and its external elements taken from Latvian tales, consist of a battle of the Latvians against the aggressors from the Teutonic Order in the 12th-13th centuries. Although the poetic quality of this work is usually considered modest, its popularity and the image of the hero protagonist *Lāčplēsis* (from *lācis* 'bear', cf. Lith. *lokỹs* id., and *plēst* 'widen, broaden, expand, enlarge, break into pieces') have become so important as to represent a symbol of the fighting spirit of the Latvians.

10.3.4.1.

Here is the beginning of the first canto (*I Dziedājums*) of Pumpurs's poem (Verses 1-8), devoted to the meeting of the gods (*Dievu sapulce*) in the castle of Pērkons (Peters 1988, p. 146):

	Literal translation:
Zilajā debesu velvē	In the vault of heaven,
Pērkona brīnišķā pilī	in the marvelous castle of Pērkons,
Kur mājo mūžīga gaisma,	where the eternal light abides,
Kur nemitas priecība jauka,	where charming joy does not change,
Sabrauca Baltijas dievi	The gods of Baltia gather
Klausīties Likteņa tēvu,	to listen to Father Destiny
Kurš baltas, nebaltas dienas	who in days white and not white
Gan nolēma raibajā mūžā.	makes decisions in our variegated life.

Zilajā definite adj. loc. sing. fem. of *zila* 'blue, heavenly'. **debesu** masc. noun gen. plur. of *debess* 'heaven'. **velvē** fem. noun loc. sing. of *velve* 'vault'. **Pērkona** gen. sing. of *Pērkons*, the principal divinity of the pagan Pantheon of the Balts. **brīnišķā** adj. masc. loc. sing. of *brīnišks* (modern Latvian *brīniškīgs*) 'marvelous'. **pilī** masc. noun loc. sing. of

pils 'castle'. **kur** adverb 'where'. **mājo** present 3rd pers. of *mājot* 'to abide'. **mūžīga** adj. nom. sing. fem. 'eternal'. **gaisma** fem. noun sing. 'light'. **nemitas** present reflexive 3rd pers. of *mitēt* 'to change'. **priecība** fem. noun nom. sing. 'joy'. **jauka** adj. nom. sing. fem. 'pleasant'. **Sabrauca** present 3rd pers. of *sabraukt* 'to gather'. **Baltijas** fem. noun gen. sing. of *Baltija* 'Baltia', but in the works of Pumpurs this term designates Latvia alone or ancient Livonia. **dievi** masc. noun nom. plur. 'gods'. **Klausīties** reflexive infinitive 'to listen to'. **Likteņa** masc. noun gen. sing. of *liktenis* 'destiny'. **tēvu** masc. noun gen. plur. of *tēvs* 'father'. **Kurš** relative pronoun nom. sing. masc. 'which, that which'. **baltas** adj. acc. plur. fem. of *balta* 'white'. **dienas** fem. noun acc. plur. of *diena* 'day'. **Gan** intensifying particle. **nolēma** present 3rd pers. of *nolēmt* 'to decide'. **raihajā** definite adjective loc. sing. masc. of *raiha* 'variegated'. **mūžā** masc. noun loc. sing. of *mūžs* 'life'.

10.3.5. A Latvian folk song: *Pūt, vējiņi*

An example of a popular Latvian song (*daina*) is this very famous song of emigrants *Pūt, vējiņi* (Dovgjallo 1969, p. 141-142):

	Literal translation:
Pūt, vējiņi, dzen laiviņu,	Blow, wind, touch the sail,
Aizved mani Kurzemē.	Carry me to Curland.
Kurzemniece man solīja	A Curland girl promised me
Sav' meitiņu malējiņ'.	Her daughter the miller girl.
Solīt sola, bet nedeva,	She promised her, but didn't give her,
Teic man lielu dzērājiņ',	She said that I was a great drunkard,
Teic man lielu dzērājiņu,	She said that I was a great drunkard,
Kumeliņa skrējējiņ.	A jumping mare.
Kuru krogu es izdzēru,	In which tavern did I drink,
Kam noskrēju kumeliņ'?	Why did the mare jump?
Pats par savu naudu dzēru,	I myself drank on my own money,
Pats skrēj' savu kumeliņ,	I myself rode on my mare.
Pats precēju līgaviņu,	I myself married my sweetheart,
Tēvam, mātei nezinot.	But the mother and father didn't know it.

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

A1. *Bibliography by linguistic topics*

The most important recent bibliographical research on Baltic languages is indicated, grouped by topic, while also referring to the sections on Baltic languages in the various volumes of the *Bibliographie Linguistique*. Further references for all works can be found in the bibliography contained in this book.

- *General Baltistics.* Bibliographies related to the Baltic languages in general are: Fraenkel (1941); Kubicka (1967-1977); Rudzīte (1976); Fennell (1981a); Eckert (1971); for Balto-Slavic refer to the sources furnished in Chapter 3 of this volume. For current bibliography cf. *Die Sprache* (up until 1990); *Linguistica baltica* (1-10); *Res Balticae* (1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10); *Linguistica Lettica* (in each issue by Migla I.; www.lulavi.lv/valodniecibas-bibliografija); cf. *LKTI, LKE*, *VL*.

- *Old Prussian Studies.* Kubicka (1967); Schmalstieg (1976); Klusis, Stundžia (1995, p. 113-138). Beyond that cf. Swiggers (1985-1987), Eckert (2010); Dini (2010c); Rinkevičius (2013). On Yatvingian, cf. Matelska, Pochodowicz-Maj (1985).

- *Lithuanian Studies.* Brender (1932); Fraenkel (1936, 1939); *LB* 1969-1990; Klimas A. (1981b). Also the series of publications under the title *Lietuvių kalbotyra*, which appeared sporadically (1963, 1965, 1971, 1977) under the auspices of the Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, and which classified bibliographical material related to Lithuanian linguistics starting in the 1960s.

- *Latvian Studies.* Blese (1932); Misiņš (1924-1937); Barbare (1976, 1977, 1987); *SLV*. The publications concerning Latvia published abroad from 1940 until 1970 are available in Jēgers (1968-1972, 1977); on Latvian dictionaries until 1994, cf. Klaviņa (1995).

- *History of Baltic Linguistics.* On the Renaissance period (1350-1700) one can use *RLA*; more specifically *Aliletoescvr.* For later periods: Subačius (1998a) on 19th century Lithuanian, and Kļaviņa (2008) on 19th and 20th century Latvian linguistic thought.

- *Others.* For many different subjects one may find very useful the *Baltische Bibliographie. Schriftum über Estland, Lettland, Litauen*, edited by Paul Kaegbein, and published by the Herder-Institut in Marburg, Germany; cf. also Kaegbein, Lenz (1997).

A2. *Specialized Journals*

Below I cite references for the main linguistic journals in Baltic studies grouped by topic.

- *General Baltistics*. With a primary diachronic interest: *Studi Baltici*, Rome, I series 1931-1938; Florence, II series 1952, 1969 (10 vols., ceased publication; for a summary of the journal's activities cf. Prosdocimi 1969b); *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, Białystok (later Poznań) 1964- (35 vols. until 2011); *Baltistica*, Vilnius, 1965- (48 vols. and 7 supplements until 2013; www.baltistica.lt); Балто-славянские исследования, Moscow, 1980- (18 vols. until 2009); *Ponto-Baltica*, Florence, 1981-2005 (11 vols., ceased publication); *Baltu filoloģija*, Rīga, 1991- (21 vols. until 2013); *Linguistica Baltica*, Warsaw, 1992-2002 (10 vols., ceased publication); *Acta Baltica*, Kaunas, 1994–; *Res Balticae. Miscellanea italiana di studi baltistici*, Pisa, 1995- (13 vols. until 2013); *Prace Bałtistyczne* 2003- (4 vols. until 2013), *Journal of Baltic Studies* 1972- (formerly the *Bulletin of Baltic Studies*). For onomastics: *Baltų onomastikos tyrimai*, Vilnius, 2006- (2 vols. until 2013). With a primary synchronic focus: *Baltic Linguistics*, Warsaw 2010- (4 vols. until 2014) devoted to theoretically and typologically oriented research.

  In addition to the specialized journals cited, other journals primarily devoted to IE studies and diachronic linguistics – e.g. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* (or *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, cf. Schmalstieg 1988b) now called *Historische Sprachforschung*, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, *General Linguistics*, *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, *Lingua Posnaniensis*, and others – should be included, which frequently contain contributions related to the Baltic languages.

- *Old Prussian Studies*. At present there are no journals specifically related to Old Prussian linguistics (although there is abundant information in journals of general Baltistics; a special series was *CP1* and *CP3*). Beyond that, journals published in East Prussia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th are still worth mentioning, e.g.: *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, 30 vols., ceased publication in 1906; *Altpreußische Monatsschrift*, 1864). The foundation Tolkemita (Potsdam, www.Tolkemita.de.vu) regularly publishes various materials on Prussia in *Tolkemita. Waistsennei / Mitteilungen* (since 1990) and *Tolkemita-Texte*.

- *Lithuanian Studies*. There are numerous journals devoted primarily to Lithuanian studies: *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica*, Vilnius, since 1999- (previously *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai*, Vilnius, 1957-1998); the e-journal *Lietuvių kalba* (www.lietuviukalba.lt); *Kalbos kultūra*, Vilnius, 1961–; *Mūsų kalba*, Vilnius, 1968-1989 (ceased publication); *Gimtoji kalba*, Kaunas, 1933-1940; USA 1958-1968; Vilnius, 1990–; *Terminologija*, Vilnius, 1994–. Especially devoted to translation studies is *Vertimo studijos*, Vilnius, 2008- (6 vols. until 2014). Not specifically linguistically oriented: *Lituanus*, Chicago, 1954-55–; *Lituanistica*, Vilnius, 1990–; *Lituano-slavica posnaniensia*, Poznań, 1985–.

- *Latvian Studies*. Journals currently dedicated to Latvian studies are the following: *Valodas aktualitātes*, Rīga, 1984-1992 (ceased publication); *Latviešu valodas kultūras jautājumi*, Rīga, 1965-1993 (ceased publication); cf. also the section *Valodniecība* (*Linguistics*) in *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis*, Rīga, 1947–. With a prevalent synchronic focus: *Linguistica Lettica*, Rīga, 1997- (20 vols. until 2013; www.lulavi.lv/rakstu-krajums-linguistica-lettica).

- *Latgalian Studies*. For Latgalian studies: *Acta Latgalica*; *Via Latgalica*, Rēzekne, 2009-.

A3. *Language Aids*

Below I cite references for basic linguistic tools for Baltic studies (generally published after 1900), divided into several sections: grammars, dictionaries, linguistic atlases, linguistic corpora, other fields of investigation (stylistics, language acquisition), useful Internet resources.

i) Introductory works. Among the introductory works of different sizes on Baltic philology and linguistics (for Grammars, Dictionaries etc. [see *ultra*]) are the following.
- *Baltic languages.* Rozwadowski (1915); Šmits (1936); Kiparsky (1939a); Devoto (1939b, 1952); Endzelīns (1945); Fraenkel (1950a); Otrębski (1964-1965); Safarewicz (1967); Mažiulis (1974a); Schmid (1976b); Erhart (1984b); Smoczyński (1988b); Levin (1992), Euler (1992), Dini (1993a); Eckert, Bukevičiūtė, Hinze (1994); Forssman (1995); Blinkena, Morkūnas (1997); Bojtár (1997, 2000); Toporov (1997a, 2006a); Breidaks (1998, 1999); Schmalstieg (1993); Buligina, Sineva (2006); Young (2006a); Eckert (2010b); Holvoet (2011).
- *Old Prussian.* Kuzavinis (1964a); Palmaitis (1998b); Eckert (2002a); Kaukienė A. (2004); Toporov (2006b); Schmalstieg (forthcoming).
- *Lithuanian.* Devoto (1929); Dambriūnas (1964); Stundžia (1997, 2010a); Petit (1999); Smoczyński (1993b, 1997-1998); Michelini (2001b); Eckert (2002c, 2003); Klimas (2002); Bammesberger (2005); Young (2006c); Dini (2014b).
- *Latvian.* Devoto (1939a), Blinkena (1991), Eckert (2002b, 2003), Staltmane (2006), Young (2006b); Jansone (2010).
- *Latgalian.* Breidaks (2006, 2007); Eckert (2010c).

ii) Grammars and books on phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax.
- *General Baltistics.* For a synoptic overview of grammars of the Baltic languages, cf. Eckert, Bukevičiūtė, Hinze (1994). For a comparative grammar of the Baltic languages cf. Endzelīns (1948; there is an annotated English translation by Schmalstieg and Jēgers, 1971); Stang (*VGBS*, 1975). In spite of the titles the following should be included: Endzelīns (1922b), Otrębski (1956-1965); Kazlauskas (1968); Zinkevičius (*LKIG*); Rudzīte (1993b); Schmalstieg (2000b) on the historical morphology of the Baltic verb.
- *Old Prussian Studies.* For Prussian the fundamental classic studies are: Nesselmann (1845; 1873, the latter reviewed by Bezzenberger 1874 and Matzenuer 2009); Berneker (1896); Trautmann (1910) reviewed by Bezzenberger (1911) and Endzelīns (1911c); after that: Endzelīns (1943), Schmalstieg (1974a), Eckert (2001b) and Mathiassen (2010); an historical grammar of OPr. is Mažiulis (2004, in Lithuanian; English translation and comments by L. Palmaitis, available online [see *Bibliography*]). For Old Prussian texts cf. Mažiulis (1966c and 1982; see also TITUS: httm://titus.uni-frankfurt.de). For the history of research on Prussian cf. Schmalstieg (1976 and forthcoming). For so-called neo-Prussian cf. Klusis (1989).
- *Lithuanian Studies.* For Lithuanian see primarily the grammars of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences edited by Ulvydas (1965-1976) and Ambrazas V. (1985a, 1994b, 1997). Other grammars are the following: in English, Mathiassen (1996b); in German, the classic work of Senn A. (1957-1966); in Polish, Vaičiulytė-Romančuk (2012). For historical grammar, cf. Kazlauskas (1968), Zinkevičius's (*LKIG*).

On Lith. accentology, cf. Laigonaitė (1978); Stundžia (1995a); Mikulėnienė, Pakerys A., Stundžia (2007). On Lith. prosody (Pakerys A. 1982) and phonetics, cf. Pakerys A. (1986, 1994-2002). On Lith. phonology, cf. Girdenis (1981b, 1995). On Lith. morphology, cf. Jakaitienė, Laigonaitė, Paulauskienė (1976); Paulauskienė (1983, 1994); Klimas (1974). On Lith. syntax diachronically, cf. Schmalstieg (1988a), Ambrazas V. (1990, 2006). A project for a new Lith. grammar has produced its first results in the series of books *Lietuvių kalbos gramatikos darbai* [Studies on Lithuanian Grammar] published by Holvoet, Judžentis (2003); Holvoet, Semėnienė (2004); Holvoet, Mikulskas (2005, 2006).

- *Latvian Studies*. For Latvian see primarily the grammar of the Latvian Academy of Sciences edited by Grabis R. (1959-1962), and Nītiņa, Grigorjevs (2014). In English: Fennell, Gelsen (1980), Mathiassen (1997), Nau (1998). In German: Holst (2001) with the connected Pinnow (2001), and Forssman (2001), Prauliņš (2011). Still very useful for Latvian diachronic research are Bielenstein (1863-1864) and Endzelīns (1922b).

On Latv. phonetics and phonology Laua (1961); Muižniece (2002); on historical phonetics Rudzīte (1993a). Primarily synchronically on morphology Paegle (1996); on word formations Soida (2009); on syntax Ceplītis, Rozenbergs, Valdmanis (1989), Holvoet (2001a).

- *Latgalian Studies*. Especially for Latgalian see the grammars by Breidaks (2006), Nau (2011).

- *Stylistics*. Stylistic studies have been cultivated both for Lithuanian and for Latvian. Župerka (1997) is a general introductory work for Lithuanian (more in *AHUS*, 3, 2007, p. 9-20), and Rozenbergs (1976, 1995) for Latvian. Many different styles of Latvian have been investigated by Klaviņa (1977, 1983) and of Lithuanian by Žilinskienė (2005) and specifically, e.g. publicistic (Žilinskienė 2001, 2002a), scientific (Žilinskienė 2002b) styles.

- *Textbooks and practical grammars*. For Old Prussian: Kaukienė, Pakalniškienė (2011). Among the many others, for Lithuanian, e.g.: Leskien (1919); Dambriūnas, Klimas, Schmalstieg (1966), also reprinted as *Beginners' Lithuanian* by Hippocrene Books (1998); Bense (1991); Baldauf (1992); Ramonienė, Press (1996) with cassettes; Pischel (2001); Press (2004); Žindžiūtė Michelini (2007); Ramonienė, Pribušauskaitė (2008); a textbook for Lith. accentology is Stundžia (2009c). For Latvian, e.g.: Lazdiņa Budiņa (1966, 1968); Lasmane (1981, 1985); Blandow (1990); Priedīte, Ludden (1992); Moseley (1996) a textbook with cassettes; Nītiņa, Laczházi (1998); Petit, Petit (2004). For Latgalian, e.g.: Leikuma (2003, available online at: http://www.genling.nw.ru/baltist/Publicat/LatgVol1.htm)).

iii) *Dictionaries*. The production of lexicographical and etymological materials is notable for the two living Baltic languages, and also rich for OPr. In general for Lithuanian lexicography cf. Hofman (1974), Schmalstieg (1991b); for Latvian cf. Schmid (1991), Ķļaviņa (2012, 2013ab), and for OPr. Schmalstieg (1991b).

There are of course plenty of bilingual dictionaries Latvian or Lithuanian (cf. Melnikienė (2009) vs. other languages, including Latvian-Lithuanian (Balkevičius, Kabelka 1977; Butkus 2003) and Lithuanian-Latvian (Bojāte, Subatnieks 1964) very useful for Balticists.

- *Old Prussian Studies.* For OPr. the classic works of Nesselmann (1868, 1873) should still be mentioned along with Bezzenberger (1874) and Matzenauer (2009). Fundamental etymological works on OPr. are Mažiulis's *PKEŽ*, and Toporov's *PrJ*, the vast collection of lexical material unfortunately incomplete (see the web pages: http://prussk.narod.ru, and http://toporov.lki.lt). Rinkevičius (2013) has edited a second, corrected and supplemented edition of Mažiulis's *PKEŽ*, and also prepared a web-page related to it (http://www.prusistika. flf.vu.lt/).
- *Lithuanian Studies.* The most important lexical work for Lithuanian is the edition of the Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language, *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (20 vols., Lietuvių kalbos institutas, Vilnius, 1941-2002) begun by K. Būga, which has published 20 volumes (Zabarskaitė, Šimėnaitė 2002; Naktinienė, Šepetytė-Petrokienė, Zabarskaitė 2006); there is also an updated electronic version (www.lkz.lt). Corrections to the *LKŽ* are collected in Vitkauskas (2006). Useful especially for the literary language is Niedermann, Senn, Brender (1932-1968). For the contemporary language: *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (*DLKŽ*, 4th edition, Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2000). For Lith. lexicography, cf. Veisbergs (2006c). For Lith. lexicology cf. Jakaitienė (1980, 2009a).
- *Latvian Studies.* For Latvian lexicography primarily the classical work *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* in 4 vols. + 2 supplements (*ME*, 1923-1946) of K. Mühlenbach, J. Endzelīns must be quoted (cf. http://www.tezaurs.lv/mev/); for the literary language the *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca* in 8 vols. (*LLVV*, 1972-1996; cf. http://www. tezaurs.lv/llvv/) of L. Ceplītis. On both historical and contemporary problems of Latv. lexicography see the monographic issue of *LgLet*, 7, 2000. For the contemporary language: *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* (Rīga, Avots, 1987; cf. http://www.tezaurs.lv/mlvv/). More for Latv. lexicography, cf. Klaviņa (1995); Veisbergs (2006b); for lexicology, cf. Laua (1969). For Latv. computational linguistics, cf. Spektors (1998) and generally *BF* 8 (1988); Grūzītis (2012).
- *Latgalian Studies.* Reķēna (1975); Bērzkalns (2007). A dictionary of Latgalian is Slišāns (2009).
- *Etymological dictionaries.* Indispensable for Lithuanian and Baltic etymology is the *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (*LEW*, 1962-1965) of Ernst Fraenkel, copiously used by scholars of IE. More recent is *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego* (*SEJL*, 2007) of Wojciech Smoczyński with several additions (Smoczyński 2008, 2009; cf. also Vitkauskas 2009). Especially on Volksetymologie, cf. Kabašinskaitė (1998). For Latvian etymology cf. Lapiņš (1967-1975), but primarily the *Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca* (*LEV*, 1992) of Konstantīns Karulis. Among many other minor contributions in this sector I should mention Pisani (1969a), which contains reviews of the separate volumes of the Lithuanian etymological dictionary of Fraenkel; Urbutis (1981) with significant new features and an original systemization; Jēgers (1966) important for all three languages; Schmalstieg (1983); Otkupščikov *OPE*.

Two projects for the preparation of Baltic etymologycal dictionaries have been announced by Rick Derksen (Leiden) for Lithuanian, and by Wolfgang Hock (Berlin) for Old Lithuanian (*ALEW*). For OPr. cf. Toporov *PrJ*, Mažiulis *PKEŽ*, Rinkevičius (2013).

- *Other dictionaries.*

Synonym and Antonym dictionaries. Grīnberga, Kalnciems, Lukstiņš et al. ([3]2002), Ozols J. (2006) on Latvian (cf. http://www.letonika.lv/groups/default.aspx?g=5&r=1108). Lyberis (2002) on synonyms, and Ermanytė (2003, 2008) on Lithuanian antonyms.

Phraseological dictionaries. For Lithuanian Paulauskas (1977); Ermanytė, Kažukauskaitė, Naktinienė, Paulauskas, Šimenaitė, Vilutytė (2001); For Latvian: Laua, Ezeriņa, Veinberga (1996).

Jargon and slang dictionaries. For Latvian jargon Mirovics, Dubaus (1990), for Latvian slang Bušs, Ernstsone (2006), and for the language of youth in general Ernstone, Tidriķe (2006); especially for the criminal argot Kavalieris (2002). For Lithuanian jargon Zaikauskas (2007).

Reverse dictionaries. For Latvian Soida, Kļaviņa (1970, [2]2009); for Lithuanian Robinson (1976) and Žilinskienė (1995).

Frequency dictionaries. There are many frequency dictionaries for Lithuanian which are often the result of teamwork; in chronological order: Grumadienė L., Žilinskienė V. (1997, 1998), Mauricaitė, Norkaitienė, Pakerys A., Petrokienė (2004); Mauricaitė, Norkaitienė, Pakerys A., Sviderskienė (2005); Utka (2009); Rimkutė, Kazlauskienė, Raškinis (2011ab). The following web pages are also very useful:

(i) http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/lkk/pdf/DazI.pdf.,

(ii) http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/lkk/pdf/DazII.pdf.,

(iii) http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/lkk/pdf/DazIII.pdf.,

(iv) http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/lkk/pdf/AbcI.pdf.

A frequency dictionaries for Latvian is Jakubaite (1966-1976).

Linguistic dictionaries. For Latvian Skujiņa (2007). For Lithuanian Gaivenis, Keinys (1990).

Foreign terms dictionaries. For Latvian: Baldunčiks J., Pokrotniece K. (2007). For Lithuanian, Bogušienė, Bendorienė (2008), cf. www.tzz.lt. For place names, cf. Pakerys A. (2006).

Abbreviations dictionaries. For Latvian: Bankavs (1994, 2001, 2003).

iv) Linguistic atlases. The result of a fruitful collaboration of the University of Latvia, the Latvian language institute and the Institute of the Lithuanian language is the *Atlas of the Baltic languages. A Prospect,* published in 2009. This preliminary prospect presents 12 maps (cloud, top, juniper, toad, pigeon, lark, stork, Swedish turnip, winter wheat, grain bin, stack, blacksmith) with commentaries. Cf. Stafecka, Trumpa (2008); Mikulėnienė, Stafecka (2008; electronic edition 2012); Stafecka (2010b); Leskauskaitė, Mikulėnienė (2010).

Three volumes of the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* (*Lietuvių kalbos atlasas*) have been published: Grinaveckienė, Morkūnas, Vidugiris, Zinkevičius (1977, 1982, 1991). The beginnings of geolinguistics in Lithuania are linked with the activities of the linguist Antanas Salys. The authors of the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* mostly drew on the work of Salys and his colleagues: they used the same network of settlements, which they modified a little. The network of the points of the Atlas did not change with the contemporary classification of Lithuanian dialects. In this way the possibility to further observe and study the development of Lithuanian dialects remained. On the *Atlas of the Latvian Language*, cf. Rūķe-Draviņa (1947, 1954).

v) Linguistic Corpora.
• *Titus.* (Online: httm://titus.uni-frankfurt.de). A well established reference tool that is worth mentioning is the Electronic Thesaurus (TITUS) (Frankfurt University, *Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*); this site contains a section of Baltic texts which

can be consulted in real time. Cf. Gippert (2005).

- *Senie: latviešu valodas seno tekstu korpuss* (www.korpuss.lv/senie) is the result of the collaboration between the Department of Mathematics and Philology of The Latvian University. The corpus contains Latvian texts from 16th, 17th and 18th centuries with word indexes. The oldest texts are available in facsimile form. Cf. Elksnīte (2012). In general on corpus linguistics in Latvia cf. Baltiņa (2006).

- *Sliekkas.* The so-called SLIEKKAS project is a multimodal annotated reference corpus of Old Lithuanian developed since 2009 by the Goethe-University of Frankfurt am Main (Germany), the Institute of Lithuanian Language (Vilnius, Lithuania), and the University of Pisa (Italy). Its aim is to prepare a scientific as well as a technological foundation for the diachronic annotated reference corpus of Lithuanian. During the period 2013-2014 a pilot project operated under the guidance of the Institute of Lithuanian Language in Vilnius. Especially on the SLIEKKAS Project cf. Gelumbeckaitė, Šinkūnas, Zinkevičius (2012ab).

- *Šnekamosios lietuvių kalbos tekstynas* (http://sruoga.vdu.lt/lituanistiniai-skaitmeniai-istekliai/istekliu-aprasai/snekamosios-lietuviu-kalbos-tekstynas) is a corpus of contemporary spoken Lithuanian. On contemporary Lithuanian corpora in general, cf. Kovalevskaitė (2006). On contemporary spoken Lithuanian specifically, cf. Dabašinskienė, Kamandulytė (2009).

- *Donelaitis* (donelaitis.vdu.lt/index) is a corpus of the contemporary Lithuanian language (tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/) prepared by the Centre of Computational Linguistics of Kaunas University; Marcinkevičienė (1997, 2000) is an overview of the principles for preparing a Lith. language corpus (ca 40-50 million words); cf. also *DiD* 24 (2000).

- *Līdzsvarots mūsdienu latviešu valodas tekstu korpuss* (http://www.korpuss.lv). The corpus of about 3.5 million (morphologically marked) words of the Latv. contemporary language was created on the basis of texts from different genres. Cf. Rābante (2012).

- *Latviešu valodas tīmekļa korpuss* (http://www.semti-kamols.lv/?sadala=218). Automatic synctatical analyzer (SemTi-Kamols) for the experimental marking of textual fragments, and word formation (the lexicon of the analyzer contains about 50,000 lexemes).

- *MLTK. Mūsdienu latgaliešu tekstu korpuss* (http://hipilatlit.ru.lv/eng/) is a corpus of contemporary Latgalian online.

- *LILA. Lygiagretusis lietuvių-latvių-lietuvių tekstynas* (http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/page.xhtml?id=parallelLILA) is a parallel Lithuanian-Latvian-Lithuanian corpus online.

vi) Useful Internet resources.

- www.baltnexus.lt/news – "The BALTNEXUS network has been created as a result of co-operation among Vilnius University Departments of Lithuanian Literature and Baltic Studies, as well as the Faculty of Mathematics and Informatics. The main objective of this network is to intensify scientific communication and co-operation of researchers involved in Baltic and Lithuanian studies worldwide. The BALTNEXUS network provides its registered members with the possibility of instant contact with the global community of their scientific sphere, as well as that of reporting all the academic news via the mailing list."

- www.mch.mii.lt./more/LKI/pradzia.htm – The Institute of the Lithuanian language in Vilnius.
- http://www.lnb.lv/lv/digitala-biblioteka – The digital section of the Latvian national library (Latvijas Nacionālā digitālā bibliotēka).
- www.lulavi.lv – The Institute of the Latvian language in Riga.
- www.valoda.lv – The Agency of Latvian Language.
- www.letonika.lv – Letonika. With many useful electronic tools (especially bilingual dictionaries) for linguists.
- www.depts.washington.edu/aabs – For the diffusion in the world (beyond the Baltic countries) of Baltic studies since the end of the 60-ies the *AABS* (*Association for the Advancement of the Baltic Studies*) founded on December 1st 1968, at the 1st conference on Baltic Studies at the University of Maryland (cf. Anderson 1969) is very active. Since 1991, the *AABS* has been a constituent member of the American Council of Learned Societies. As an international educational and scholarly non-profit organization, the *AABS* promotes research and education in Baltic Studies by sponsoring meetings and conferences, supporting publications, sustaining a program of scholarships, grants, and prizes, and disseminating news of current interest in Baltic Studies. It publishes the journal *JBS*, an *Annual Report* and the *Baltic Studies Newsletter* (cf. Šilbajoris 1997).

A4. *BALTISTICS AND BALTICA (beyond the Baltic Countries).*

In this additional bibliographical Appendix – far from achieving completeness – the following issues are considered: *i)* Baltistics cultivated beyond the Baltic Countries (at least a section in the series *LitPŠ* is devoted to these themes), and *ii)* Baltica collections located in some libraries in Europe (beyond the Baltic countries), in America and in Australia.
It is impossible to provide an exhaustive bibliography on these points, but at least some general main works will be of benefit for those readers who wish to deepen their knowledge of these aspects.

i) Baltistics.
General works. LKTI (I-III)*, LKE*, *VL*; Kalniņš (1971); Trinkūnas (1998); Schiller (2000a); Pakalniškytė (2008); Zabarskaitė (2009); Blažienė (2013); Gaižutis (2013); Šeferis (2013). On single authors, cf. Sabaliauskas (1986b [enlarged edition ²2002] with translations); *LKE*, *VL*.
Australia. Zdanys (1980); Taškūnas (2005, 2008). On Fennell, cf. Vanags, Kangere (2001). *LKTI* (III, p. 727-728, on Fennell). • In the Australian Baltic milieu the journal *Lithuanian Papers*, a refereed journal published since 1987 is worth mentioning (Utas Library Open Repository; eprints.utas.edu.au). Another journal, *Baltic News*, has ceased publication (1975-1990). The editor of the two journals is Algimantas P. Taškūnas.
Austria. Uibopuu (1990).
Belarus. Vensaitė (1997); on single authors cf. Palionis, Sabaliauskas (1990).
Bulgaria. LKTI (I, p. 148-150, on: Dorič; III, p. 567-568).
Czech Republic. Šeferis (2009); Lemeškin (2013c). *LKTI* (I, p. 144-148, on: Geitler,

Zubatý; II, p. 164-171, on: Machek, Trost, Erhart; III, p. 561-566). On Zubatý, cf. Kļaviņa (2005). On Marvan, cf. Lemeškin (2007).

Denmark. *LKTI* (I, p. 98-100 and 222-226, on: Thomsen, Pedersen, Hjelmslev; III, p. 634-635, on: Rasmussen, Olander).

Estonia. *LKTI* (I, p. 233-235, on: Arumaa; III, p. 622-624, on: Vaba).

Finland. Myllyniemi (1990); Kaškelevičienė, Balode (2013). On Mikkola, cf. Balode (2001). *LKTI* (I, p. 111-116, on: Mikkola; III, p. 616-622, on: Liukkonen).

France. de Bonnieres (2000); Sabaliauskas (2001); Petit (2004a, p. 5); de Penanros, Vaitiekūnas (2013). On Gauthiot, cf. Zinkevičius (1977d). On Meillet and the Lith. language, cf. Schmittlein (1937). On Schmittlein, cf. Defrance (2008). *LKTI* (I, p. 106-111, on: Meillet, Gauthiot; III, p. 683-689, on: Petit). • In the French-language world it is worth mentioning the journal *Cahiers Lituaniens*, published by the *Cercle d'histoire Alsace-Lituanie* in Strasbourg, which has carried out for over 10 years important work for the diffusion of the Lithuanian and Baltic cultures in western Europe (www.cahiers-lithuaniens.org).

Germany. Fraenkel (1948); Scholz (1987, 1990, 1993, 1997); Hellmann (1990); Eckert (1992d, 1994d, 1994-1995, 2000); Bukevičiūtė (1994); Klein L. (1997); Schiller (2000b); Huelmann (2008); Klein, Judžentis (2013); Gelumbeckaitė (2013). On Schleicher, cf. Drotvinas (1979), Range (1994), Sabaliauskas (1995c, 2008), Eckert (2008), Lemeškin (2008c); see also the contributions (of Sabaliauskas, Kilius, Jovaišas, Range, Kozianka, Skliutauskas) in *DLKB*. On Bezzenberger, cf. Schmalstieg (1974c), Schmid (1995b). On Fraenkel, cf. Scholz (1956 with bibliography). On Hauzenberga-Šturma, cf. Jēgers (2003, with bibliography); Kļaviņa (2008, p. 205-215). On Eckert, cf. Range (2001); Vanags (2001, with bibliography); Stundžia, Venckutė (2011). *LKTI* (I, p. 59-97 and p. 209-222, on: Berneker, Bezzenberger, Brückner, Brugmann, Gerullis, Hermann, Leskien, Nesselmann, Schleicher, Schmidt, Specht, Sittig, Trautmann, Wiedemann; II, p. 174-181, on: Falkenhan, Eckert, Bense; III, p. 572-615, on: Bammesberger, Bukevičiūtė, Bense, Eckert, Hinze, Range, Schmid, Scholz).

Georgia. Kavalauskas (2013).

Hungary. *LKTI* (III, p. 568-571); Galicza (1998); Petkevičius (2008, 2013).

Island. *LKTI* (III, p. 635-638, on: Hilmarsson).

Israel. *LKTI* (III, p. 695, on: Sawicka).

Italy. Dini (1993d, 1994c, 1997c, p. 431-438, 2008a); Michelini (1994a, 1996); Sabaliauskas (1995a); Bugiani (2007). On single authors: on Devoto (2004) with specific presentations by Dini (2004d) and Stundžia (2004); Bonfante (2008) with specific presentations by Dini (2008a) and Stundžia (2008a); on Pisani, cf. Michelini (1994c); on Michelini, cf. Stundžia (1980); on Dini, cf. Stundžia (2010b). *LKTI* (I, p. 237; II, p. 225-227, on: Pisani; III, p. 646-683, on: Ademollo Gagliano, Michelini, Dini, Parenti). On specialized journals: Prosdocimi (1969b) for *SB*; Parenti (2007) and Klioštoraityė (2008) for *RBl*.

Japan. Inoue, Morita (2007); Onaka (2008); Inoue, Sakurai (2009). *LKTI* (III, p. 717-726, on: Murata, Inoue).

Norway. Mathiassen (1977, 1984); Sabaliauskas (2009); Jakaitienė (2009b). *LKTI* (III, p. 628-634, on: Mathiassen, Rinholm).

Netherlands. Schaeken (1998). *LKTI* (I, p. 226-228, on: van Wijk; III, p. 638-645, on: Kortlandt, Derksen). • The series "On the Boundary of Two Worlds: Identity,

Freedom, and Moral Imagination in the Baltics", directed by Leonidas Donskis (Rodopi, Amsterdam) is specifically dedicated to Baltic Studies (37 vols. until 2014).

Poland. Sabaliauskas (1978); Stundžia (1989); Hasiuk (2000); Bairašauskaitė, Miknys (2013); Niewulis-Grablunas (2013). On single authors: on Baudouin de Courtenay; Schmalstieg (1995). On Safarewicz, cf. Sabaliauskas (1995b), Smoczyński (1993a). On Otrębski, cf. Dambriūnas (1966). On Smoczyński, cf. Stundžia (1991b). *LKTI* (I, p. 133–136 and 222–143, on: Baudouin de Courtenay, Hanusz, Karłowicz, Rozwadowski; II, p. 145–164, on: Otrębski, Safarewicz, Kudzinowski, Borowska, Buch; III, p. 536–561, on: Smoczyński, Bednarczuk, Kondratiuk).

Russia. Vensaitė (1997); Eckert (2009b); Druseikaitė–Ruževičiūtė (2013); Lopetienė (2013). On single authors: Palionis, Sabaliauskas (1990). On Larin, cf. Gusarova (1991). On Toporov, with specific presentations by many authors, cf. Sabaliauskas (2007); Sabaliauskas, Zabarskaitė (2008). On the Moscow school, cf. Poljakov (2005, 2006). *LKTI* (I, p. 117–133 and 136–138, on: Fortunatov, Uljanov, Porzeziński, Sokolov, Aleksandrov; III, p. 482–530, on: Toporov, Ivanov, Trubačev, Bulygina, Stepanov, Otkupščikov, Dybo, Anikin, Andronov).

Spain / Catalonia. Lázaro-Tinaut (2001, 2004); Lázaro-Tinaut, Dini (2001) both with a focus on literatures. *LKTI* (III, p. 694–695).

Sweden. Kangeris (1990); Radzevičienė (1998); Vanags (2013). On Rūķe-Draviņa, cf. Leikuma (1993), Metuzāle-Kangere (2004). *LKTI* (I, p. 231–233, on: Ekblom; II, p. 221–224, on: Rūķe-Draviņa; III, p. 625–627, on Larsson L.-G.).

Switzerland. Hofer (2000); Saussure (2012); Stundžia (2012); Petit (2012, 2013). On Locher, cf. Sabaliauskas (1986c). *LKTI* (I, p. 100–110 and 228–231 on: Saussure, Niedermann; III, p. 690–693).

Ukraine. Vensaitė (1997). On single authors: Palionis, Sabaliauskas (1990); Stundžia (2006). *LKTI* (III, p. 531–535, on: Nepokupnyĭ).

UK. Hope (1990).

USA. Dzelzītis (1969); Skreija (1971); Sabaliauskas (1977); Subačius (1998b); Kuizinienė (2013). On Schmalstieg, cf. Baldi (2004 with bibliography). *LKTI* (II, p. 234–243, on: Senn, Schmalstieg, Ford; III, p. 696–716, on: Schmalstieg, Hamp, Jēgers, Zeps, Robinson, Young). On Jēgers, cf. Krēsliņš (2001 with bibliography).

ii) Baltica.

Europe in general. Šešplaukis (1971, 1986).

Germany. Totok (1971); Jäger (1978); Robinson (1972); Range (1980); Kaegbein (1990); Bollin (2000).

Italy-Vatican. For Livonica, cf. Hildebrand (1887); for Lithuanica, cf. Gidžiūnas (1971).

Russia-Kaliningrad. For Lithuanica, cf. Marcinkevičius (2000).

Switzerland. Robin (1915); Albisetti, Gili (2006) on Rainis and Aspazija archive in Castagnola, Lugano.

UK. Navickienė, Zmroczek (1997, 1998).

USA. Kukk (1971, 1976); Balys (1974); Lassner (1974); Kantautas A. (1974); Kantautas A., Kantautas F. (1975, 1979); Subačienė, Subačius (1999); Kolevinskienė (2013); Tumėnas (2013).

Canada. Ziplans (1972); Kantautas A., Kantautas F. (1975, 1979).

Australia. Zeps (1980).

A5. *BALTISTICS IN THE WORLD (beyond the Baltic countries).*

Beyond the Baltic countries there are about 40 Baltic (Lithuanian and/or Latvian) studies centers all over the world, mostly in Europe, where Baltic subjects (philology, language and culture) are researched and/or taught. Independent study programs in Baltic (Lithuanian and/or Latvian) Studies are also available. In other places, Lithuanian is taught as an optional or free elective subject. Sometimes Lithuanian and/or Latvian (language and culture) is a minor subject in both traditional and interdisciplinary study programs. This picture is changing over time.

Australia.
　　University of Tasmania.

Belarus.
　　Institute of Linguistics of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences, Minsk.

Croatia.
　　Zagreb university.

Czech Republic.
　　Charles University, Prague, Baltic section of the Department of Slavonic and East European Institute, (Eastern European Studies, BA, MA, PhD).
　　Masaryk University, Institute of Linguistics and Baltic Studies (major study program), Brno.
　　Institute of Linguistics of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

Estonia.
　　Tartu University, The Language Centre.
　　Tallinn University Language Centre.

Finland.
　　University of Helsinki, Department of Slavonic and Baltic Languages and Literatures (major study program).

France.
　　École pratique des hautes études, Paris.
　　INALCO Institute (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), Paris (Eastern Languages and Civilisations, BA).

Germany.
　　Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University of Greifswald, Institute of Foreign Philologies, Institut für Baltistik (major study program).
　　Johann Wolfgang Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main (Empirical Linguistics, BA).
　　Humboldt University, Lithuanian Studies Centre, Berlin (Historical Linguistics, BA, MA).
　　Westfalische Wilhelms-Universität, Institut für Interdisziplinäre Baltische Studien, Münster.
　　Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft und Indogermanistik.

Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz.
Erlangen University, Lithuanian Studies Centre.

Hungary.
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (Slavonic Studies, BA).

Italy.
University of Parma (Modern foreign languages and civilizations, BA).
University of Pisa, Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura, Linguistica (Linguistics, BA, MA, PhD).

Norway.
University of Oslo.

Poland.
University of Warsaw, Department of General and Baltic Linguistics (major study program: *Filologia bałtycka*).
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Baltic section of the Institute of Linguistics (major study program: Filologia bałtycka).
Jagiellonian University in Cracow.
Wrocław University (Polish Philology, BA).

Russia.
Immanuel Kant University, Kaliningrad.
Moscow Lomonosov State University (major study program).
St Petersburg State University, Baltic section of the Department of General Linguistics (major study program).
Institute for Slavonic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.
Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.
Institute of Linguistic Investigations, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.
Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk.

Sweden.
University of Stockholm, Department of Baltic Languages, Finnish and German (major study program).
Lund University.

Ukraine.
A. A. Potebnya Institute of Linguistics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Department of Slavonic and Baltic Languages and Literatures, Kiev.

USA.
University of Illinois at Chicago, The Endowed Chair for Lithuanian Studies, Department of Slavic and Baltic Languages & Literatures (major study program).
University of Washington, Seattle (major study program).
Maryland University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Periodicals:

AASF = Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Helsinki.

AAWG = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen.

AAWH = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Heidelberg. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Heidelberg.

AAWL = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Wiesbaden.

AB = Acta Baltica. Liber annalis Instituti Baltici, Königstein im Taunus.

ABHPS = Acta Baltica Historiae et Philosophiae Scientiarum, Rīga.

ABlt = Acta Baltica, Kaunas.

ABS = Acta Baltico-Slavica, Białystok – Poznań.

AE = Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija, Rīga.

AFA = Annals of Foreign Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Kobe City University.

AGI = Archivio Glottologico Italiano, Firenze.

AHP = Archivum Historiae Pontificiae, Roma.

AHUS = Acta humanitarica universitatis Saulensis, Šiauliai.

AION = Annali Istituto Orientale Napoli, Napoli.

AL = Acta Linguistica Hafnensia, København.

ALL = Acta Linguistica Lituanica, Vilnius.

ALt = Archivum Lithuanicum, Vilnius.

Altpreußen = Altpreußen, Königsberg; since 1938 Alt-Preussen, Königsberg.

AnLas = Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università della Basilicata, Potenza

AnnLE = Annali della fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Torino.

Antiquity = Antiquity. A quarterly review of World Archaeology, Durham.

APhil = Archivum Philologicum, Kaunas.

ApiL = Antwerp Papers in Linguistics, Antwerpen.

APM = Altpreussische Monatschrift, Königsberg.

Archaeologia = Archaeologia, Wrocław – Warszawa.

Archīvs = Archīvs. Raksti par latviskām problēmām, Elwwod/Australia.

ArchL = Archaeologia Lituana, Vilnius.

ArmLg = Annual of Armenian Linguistics, Cleveland.

AslPh = Archiv für slavische Philologie, Berlin.

AtSGM = Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese, Milano.

AtW = Ateneum Wileńskie. Czasopismo naukowe, poświęcone badaniom, przeszłości ziem Welkiego X. Litewskiego, Wilno.

AUS = Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm.

AUS-CR = Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion, Stockholm.

BalkE = Балканско Езикознание. Linguistique balkanique, Sofia.

BALM = Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo, Venezia.

BalMon = Baltische Monatsschrift, Rīga.

BB = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen [= Bezzenbergers Beiträge], Göttingen.

BČ = Балканские чтения, Moskva.

BDSL = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, Tübingen.

BF = Baltu filoloģija. Baltu valodniecības žurnāls, Latvijas Universitāte, Rīga.

BDGSL = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, Berlin.

BIAP = Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres. Classe de philologie, Kraków.

BL = Baltische Lande, Leipzig.

BLg = Baltic Linguistics, Warszawa.

BlSl = Balticoslavica, Wilno.

Blt = Baltistica. Baltų kalbų tyrinėjimai, Vilnius.

BMov = Беларуская мова, Мінск.

BollSV = Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi, Torino.

BOT = Baltų onomastikos tyrimai, Vilnius.

BPTJ = Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego, Wrocław – Kraków.

BSI = Балто-славянские исследования, Moskva.

BSL = Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris, Paris.

BSpr = Beiträge für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der arischen, celtischen und slawischen Sprachen, Berlin.

BzNF = Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Heidelberg.

CAnthr = Current Anthropology, Chicago.

CB = Commentationes Balticae, Baltisches Forschungsinstitut, Bonn.

Ceļi = Ceļi. Rakstu krājums, Rīga – Lund.

CFS = Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure, Genève.

CILP = Current Issues in Language Planning, New York.

Clio = Clio. Rivista trimestrale di studi storici, Roma.

CLit = Cahiers Lituaniens, Strasbourg.

Diachronica = Diachronica. International Journal for Historical Linguistics, Amsterdam.

DiD = Darbai ir dienos, Kaunas.

DUHZV = Daugavpils Universitāte. Humanitāro Zinātņu Vēstnesis, Daugavpils.

EFO = Études Finno-Ougriennes, Paris.

ESlRoum = Études Slaves et Roumaines, Budapest.

EstPAL = Estonian Papers in Applied Linguistics, Tallinn.

EstRom = Estudis Romànics, Barcelona.

Ėtimologija = Этимология, Moskva.

EurOr = Europa Orientalis, Roma.

Filologija = Filologija. Vilniaus Gedimino technikos universiteto mokslo darbai, Vilnius.

FBR = Filologu biedrības raksti, Rīga.

FoLing = Folia Linguistica, Berlin.

FoSl = Folia Slavica, Ohio.

FUF = Finnisch–Ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki.

FuFort = Forschungen und Fortschritte, Berlin.

GD = Geodezijos darbai, Vilnius.

Genus = Genus, Roma.

GGA = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, Göttingen.

GK = Gimtoji kalba, Vilnius.

GKr = Gimtasis kraštas, Vilnius.

GL = General Linguistics, University Park – London.
GRM = Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, Heidelberg.
HansGB = Hansische Geschichtsblätter, Leipzig.
HÉL = Histoire Épistemologie Langage, Paris.
HS = Historische Sprachforschung, Göttingen.
HSSL = Humanities and Social Sciences Latvia, Rīga.
HZV = Humanitāro Zinātņu Vēstnesis, Daugavpils.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen, Berlin.
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut.
JAUK = Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg/Pr., Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis.
JBS = Journal of Baltic Studies, Millersville, PA.
JGO = Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, München.
JEMH = Journal of Early Modern History, Amsterdam.
JIES = Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington.
JiS = Jezik i slovstvo, Lubljana.
IJSL = International Journal of Sociology of Languages, The Hague.
IJSLP = International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, Columbus.
JLCL = Journal for Language Technology and Computational Linguistics, Trier.
IMM = Izglītības Ministrijas mēnešraksts, Rīga.
JP = Język Polski, Kraków.
IRSLg = International Review of Slavic Linguistics, Edmonton, Alta**.**
JWP = Journal of World Prehistory, New York.
KB = Kultūros barai, Vilnius.
KBS = Klagenfurter Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Klagenfurt.
KK = Kalbos kultūra, Vilnius.
Klb = Kalbotyra, Vilnius.
KNf = Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny, Warszawa.
Knygotyra = Knygotyra, Vilnius.
KnVP = Культурое наследие Восточной Пруссии, Kaliningrad.
Kratylos = Kratylos. Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionorgan für indogermanische und all-
    gemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden.
KSB = Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, Berlin.
KSIS = Краткие сообщения Института славяноведения АН СССР, Moskva.
KUJ = The Kobe City University Journal, Kobe.
KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen
    Sprachen [= Kuhns Zeitschrift] (since 1990 → *HS*).
LaH = Language and History, London (formerly the *Bulletin of the Henry Sweet Society for the*
    History *of Linguistic Ideas*).
Language = Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, USA.
LangVC = Language Variation and Change, Cambridge.
LeSt = Lingua e Stile, Bologna.
Lětopis = Lětopis. Jahresschrift des Instituts für sorbische Volksforschung, Bautzen.
LEuOr = L'Europa Orientale, Roma.
LgB = Linguistica Baltica. International Journal of Baltic Linguistics, Warszawa – Kraków.
LgLet = Linguistica Lettica, Rīga.
LgLjubl = Linguistica, Ljubljana.
LgTyp = Linguistic Typology, Berlin.
LHS = Lithuanian Historical Studies, Vilnius.
Liburna = Liburna. Revista Internacionale de Humanidades, Valencia.
LieK = Lietuvių kalba. Mokslo elektroninis žurnalas, Vilnius.
LietPr = Lietuvos praeitis, Kaunas – Vilnius.
LieT = Lietuvių tauta, Vilnius.
LiK = Literatūra ir kalba, Vilnius.

LiM = Literatūra ir menas. Lietuvos rašytojų sąjungos savaitraštis, Vilnius.

Lingua = Lingua, Amsterdam.

Lit = Lituanistica, Vilnius.

Lituanus = Lituanus. The Lithuanian Quarterly, Chicago.

LKK = Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai, Vilnius (since 1999 → *ALL*).

Llit = Литва литературная, Vilnius.

LMAD = Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos darbai, Vilnius.

LPo = Lingua Posnaniensis, Poznań.

LSP = Lituano−Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica, Poznań.

LT = Linguistica, Universitas Tartuensis, Tartu.

LU = Linguistica Uralica, Tallinn.

LUR = Latvijas Universitātes raksti. Acta Universitatis Latviensis. Filoloģijas un filosofijas fakultātes sērija, Rīga.

LVIŽ = Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls, Rīga.

LVKJ = Latviešu valodas kultūras jautājumi, Rīga.

LZARaksti = Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas raksti, Rīga.

LZAVēstis = Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas vēstis, Rīga.

Metai = Metai. Lietuvos rašytojų sąjungos mėnraštis, Vilnius (formerly *Pergalė* since 1941 up to 1990).

Metmenys = Metmenys. University of Illinois at Chicago.

MH = Museum Helveticum, Lausanne.

MiG = Mokslas ir gyvenimas, Vilnius.

MittLLG = Mittheilungen der litauischen literarischen Gesellschaft, Heidelberg.

MK = Mūsų kalba, Vilnius (since 1990 → *GK*).

MNAW = Mededeelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam.

Movoznavstvo = Мовознавство, Київ.

MP = Museum Patavinum, Padova.

MSFOu = Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki.

MSS = Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, München.

NAnt = Nuova Antologia, Firenze – Roma.

Narmon'Gi = Narmon'Gi. Arbeitspapiere des Berner Projekts zur vergleichenden Darstellung der nordosteuropäischen Sprachen und Literaturen, Universität Bern.

NAWG = Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen.

NOA = Nordost-Archiv. Zeitschrift für Regionalgeschichte, Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg.

NTS = Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Oslo.

OnLett = Onomastica Lettica, Rīga.

Onomastica = Onomastica. Pismo poświęcone nazewnictwu geograficznemu i osobowemu, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk.

Orbis = Orbis, Louvain.

OrH = Orientwissenschaftlichen Hefte, Halle-Wittenberg, Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum der Martin-Luther-Universität.

OSlP = Oxford Slavonic Papers, Oxford.

Oy = Oksforder yidish. A yerbook of Yiddish Studies, Oxford.

ÖFVSF = Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar, Helsingfors.

Paideia = Paideia. Rivista letteraria di informazione bibliografica, Brescia.

Palaeoslavica = Palaeoslavica, Cambridge, Mass.

PBA = Proceedings of the British Academy, London.

PBH = Patma-banasirakan handes (Историко-филологический журнал), Jerevan.

Pergalė žr. *Metai*.

PrF = Prace Filologiczne, Warszawa.

Phonetica = Phonetica, Kiel.

PrJ = Prace Językoznawcze. Język, literatura, kultura, Kraków.

Pluriling = Plurilinguismo, Udine.

PolKn = Polata Knigopisnaja, Nijmegen.

PonBalt = Ponto-Baltica, Firenze – Milano.

PrBlt = Prace Bałtystyczne, Warszawa.

PrNAS = Proceedings Natl. Acad. Sciences USA.

QALT = Quaderni dell'Atlante Lessicale Toscano, Firenze.

Quaderns = Quaderns. Revista de traducció, Barcelona.

QS = Quaderni di semantica, An International Journal of Theoretical and Applied Semantics, Bologna.

Raksti = Raksti. Zviedrijas Latviešu filologu biedrības, Stockholm.

RANLSc.Mor. = Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Scienze Morali, Roma.

RBl = Res Balticae. Miscellanea italiana di studi baltistici, Pisa.

RBPH = Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis, Bruxelles.

RCClM = Rivista di cultura classica e medievale, Pisa – Roma.

RESl = Revue des Études slaves, Paris.

RFV = Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik, Warszawa.

RHum = Res Humanitariae, Klaipėda.

RicL = Ricerche Linguistiche, Roma.

RicSlav = Ricerche Slavistiche, Roma.

RIO = Revue International d'Onomastique, Paris.

RivGlott = Rivista di Glottologia, Alessandria.

RivLing = Rivista di Linguistica, Pisa.

RoczBiał = Rocznik Białostocki, Białystok.

RoczPJ = Rocznik naukowo-didaktyczny. Prace Językoznawcze, Kraków.

RoczSl = Rocznik Slawistyczny, Warszawa.

RoczTat = Rocznik Tatarski, Wilno (1–2), Warszawa (3).

RPhil = Respectus Philologicus, Kaunas.

RRSBN = Revista Română de Studii Baltice şi Nordice, Tărgovişte.

SA = Studi Albanesi, Roma.

SAScL = Storia, antropologia e scienze del linguaggio, Roma.

Santalka = Santalka. Filologija, Edukologija, Vilnius.

SB = Studi Baltici, Roma – Firenze.

SbFAW = Sitzungsberichte der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Helsinki.

SbSAW = Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.

SCelt = Studia Celtica, Caerdydd – Cardiff.

ScSl = Scando–Slavica, København.

SE = Studi Etruschi, Firenze.

SeB = Studia etymologica Brunensia, Brno

SEER = The Slavonic and East European Review, London.

SemH = Semantische Hefte. Mitteilungen aus der vergleichenden, empirischen und angewandten Semantik, aus der Wort- und Metaphernforschung, Hamburg-Heidelberg.

SF = Славянская филология, Moskva.

SFPS = Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej, Kraków – Warszawa.

SH = Slavica Helsingiensia, Helsinki.

SJ = Славянское языкознание, Moskva.

SJHist = Scandinavian Journal of History, Oslo.

SlAnt = Slavia Antiqua. Rocznik poświęcony starożytnościom słowiańskim, Poznań.

Slavica = Slavica, Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Słowianoznawstwa, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Lódź.

SLL = Senoji Lietuvos literatūra, Vilnius.

SlOc = Slavia Occidentalis, Poznań.

SlOr = Slavia Orientalis, Warszawa.

SPK = Studia nad polszczyzną kresową, Wrocław.

Socling = Sociolinguistica. Internationales Jahrbuch für Europäische Soziolinguistik, Berlin.

Sprache = Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden.

Sprachw = Sprachwissenschaft, Heidelberg.

SprOKrPAN = Sprawozdania z posiedzeń komisji naukowych. Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie, Kraków.

SprPAU = Sprawozdania z posiedzeń komisji naukowych. Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, Kraków.

SprPNW = Sprawozdania z prac naukowych Wydziału i Nauk Społecznych, PAN, Warszawa.

SprPoz = Sprawozdania Poznańskiego towarzystwa przyjaciół nauk, Poznań.

SSL = Studi e Saggi Linguistici, Pisa.

SSlFin = Studia Slavica Finlandensia, Helsinki.

StRuss = Studia Russica, Budapest.

ŠD = Švietimo darbas, Kaunas.

Švyturis = Švyturis, Kaunas

TiŽ = Tauta ir žodis, Kaunas.

TPr = Tautos praeitis. The Past of Nation. Istorijos ir gretimųjų sričių neperiodinis žurnalas. Lithuanian Historical Magazine, Chicago, Illinois.

TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society, Oxford.

TT = Tolkemita-Texte, Dieburg – Potsdam.

TWM = Tolkemita Waistsennei-Mitteilungen. Informationsschrift für Prußen und Prußenfreunde, Berlin.

UAJb = Ural–Altaische Jahrbücher, Wiesbaden – Bloomington, Indiana.

ULit = Užsienio Lituanistika. Humanitariniai mokslai, Vilnius.

UUA = Univ. Årsskrift, Uppsala.

Uzis = Ученые записки института славяноведения. Проблемы славянского языкознания, Moskva.

ValAkt = Valodas aktualitātes, Rīga.

VB = Vilnius-Вильнюс. Эжемесячный журнал Союза писателей Литвы, Vilnius.

Verba = Verba, Santiago de Compostela.

Vestnik MGU = Вестник МГУ, Moskva.

VG = Вопросы географии, Moskva.

VI = Вопросы истории, Moskva.

Virittäjä = Virittäjä, Helsinki.

VJ = Вопросы языкознания, Moskva.

Vlat = Via Latgalica. Humanitāro zinātņu žurnāls, Rēzekne.

WLG = Wiener Linguistische Gazette, Wien.

VSJ = Вопросы славянского языкознания, Moskva.

WobüF = Wolfenbüttler Forschungen, Wiesbaden.

WobüNB = Wolfenbüttler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte, Wiesbaden.

WobüBN = Wolfenbüttler Barock-Nachrichten, Wiesbaden.

Word = Word, New York.

WSlaw = Die Welt der Slaven, München.

WSlJb = Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch, Wien.

WSt = Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, Patristik und lateinische Tradition, Wien.

WuS = Wörter und Sachen, Heidelberg.

WZHalle = Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.

ZCPh = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, Tübingen.

ZDK = Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde, Leipzig.

ZdM = Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten, Berlin.

ZDPh = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Berlin.

ZfPrGL = Zeitschrift für Preußische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Königsberg.

ZfSl = Zeitschrift für Slawistik, Berlin.
ZfSlPh = Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie, Leipzig (1924-1950); Heidelberg.
ZGS = Zürcher Germanistische Studien, Bern.
ZNUG = Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Prace
    Językoznawcze, Gdańsk.
ZOstF = Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, Marburg – Lahn.
ZOstMEF = Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, Marburg.
ZRPh = Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Tübingen.
ŽŽ = Žmogus ir žodis, Vilnius.

Vocabularies and Encyclopaedia:

BSW → Trautmann R. 1923.
ČES = Rejzek J. 2001: *Český etymologický slovník*, Praha, Leda.
DLE = Real Academia Española [20]1984: *Diccionario de la lengua española*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe.
DLF = Littré É. 1956: *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, Paris, Pauvert.
DW = Wahrig G. (Ed) 1980: *Brockhaus Wahrig. Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Brockhaus Wiesbaden –
    Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart.
EB = *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macropedia, 15th Edition, London, H. Hemingway,
    W. Benton Publisher.
EDAL = Martirosyan H. K. 2009: *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian inherited Lexicon*,
    Leiden, Brill.
EH = Endzelīns J., Hauzenberga E. 1934-1946: *Papildinājumi un labojumi K. Mŭlenbacha
    Latviešu valodas vārdnīcai*, 2 vols., I (A-M), II (N-Ž), Rīga, Kultūras fonda izdevums →
    ME.
EI = Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, Treccani.
ERBKE = Mladenov S. 1941: *Етимологически и правописенъ речникъ на българския книжовенъ
    езикъ*, Sofija, Knigozdatelstvo Christo G. Danovъ.
ESJČ = Machek V. 1957 [²1968]: *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*, Praha, Akademia.
ÈSRJa = Vasmer M. 1986-1987: *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. Translation from
    German (→ *REW*) with comments by Oleg N. Trubačev, 4 vols., Moskva, Progress.
ÈSSJa = Trubačev O. N. (Ed) 1974-1999: *Этимологический словарь славянских языков*, 1-25,
    Moskva, Nauka.
ESSJ = Bezlaj F. 1976-1995: *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika*, 3 vols., Ljubljana, Slovenska
    akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovenski jezik.
GED = Lehmann W. P. 1986: *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden, Brill.
GRLF = Robert P., Rey A. ²1985: *Le grand Robert de la langue française. Dictionnaire alphabétique
    et analogique de la langue française*. 10ème éd. entièrement revue et enrichie par A. Rey,
    Paris, Le Robert.
HEWNS = Schuster-Šewc H. 1978-1989: *Historisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der ober- und
    niedersorbischen Sprache*, 6 vols., Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag.
LEV = Karulis K. 1992: *Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca*, 2 vols., I (A-O), II (P-Ž), Rīga, Avots;
    ²2001, 1 vol., Rīga, Avots.
LEW = Fraenkel E. 1962-1965: *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols.,
    I (A-privekiúoti, 1962); II (privyeti-žvolgai, by E. Hoffman and E. Tangl, with the
    collaboration of A. Slupski, 1965), Göttingen, Vandenhoek & Ruprecht; Heidelberg,
    Winter.
LLVV = Ceplītis L. 1972-1996: *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca*, 8 vols., Rīga, Zinātne.
LVV = Dambe V., Hirša Dz., Siliņa-Piņķe R. (Eds) 2010: *Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca*, Rīga, LU
    Latviešu valodas institūts.
LKŽ = Lietuvių kalbos institutas 1941-2002: *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, 20 vols., I
    (A-B), II (C-F), III (G-H), IV (I-J), V (K-Klausinys), VI (Klausyti-Kvunkinti),

VII (L-Mèlti), VIII (Melūda-O), IX (P), X (P), XI (R), XII (S), XIII (Slèsna-Stvoti), XIV (Su-Šliuožti), XV (Šliup-Telžti), XVI (Tema-Tulè), XVII (Tūlè-Valgus), XVIII (Vali-Vèsus), XIX (Veša-Zvumterèti), XX (Ž), Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas.

LVŽ = Lietuvių kalbos institutas 2008–: *Lietuvos vietovardžių žodynas*, I tomas A-B, Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas.

ME = Mülenbachs K., Endzelīns J. 1923-1932: *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca,* 4 vols., I (A-I, Rīga, Izglītības ministrija), II (Ie-O, Rīga, Kultūras fonds), III (P-S, Rīga, Kultūras fonds), IV (Š- Ž, Rīga, Kultūras fonds) → EH.

NEB = *The New Enyclopædia Britannica*, Micropædia, Chicago etc., Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

OED = *The Oxford English Dictionary.* 2nd edition, 20 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press.

PKEŽ = Mažiulis V. 1988-1997: *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas*, I (A–H, Vilnius, Mokslas, 1988); II (I–K, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1993); III (L–P, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996); IV (R–Z, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1997). → Rinkevičius V. (Ed.) 2013, Second, corrected and supplemented edition, 1 vol., Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras.

PrJ = Toporov V. N. 1975-1990: *Прусский язык,* 5 vols., I (A-D, 1975); II (E-H, 1979); III (I-K, 1980); IV (K-L, 1984); V (L, 1990), Moskva, Nauka.

REW = Vasmer M. 1958: *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols., Heidelberg, Winter [Reprint, Id. 1980].

SEJ = Smoczyński W. 2007: *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego*, 2 vols., I (A-Ž), II (Index), Wilno, Uniwersytet Wileński Wydział filologiczny.

SłPrsł = Sławski F. et al. 1974–: *Słownik prasłowiański*, Wrocław etc., Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

ERHSJ = Skok P. 1971-1972: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, 2 vols., Zagreb, Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.

VLI = Duro A. 1986: *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.

Webster 1911 = *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, London, Bell & Sons; Springfield, Mass, USA, Merriam Company.

Webster 1963 = *Webster's New Twentieth century Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, Cleveland and New Yprk, The World publishing Company.

Webster 1989 = *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, New York, Portland House.

Other Abbreviations:

ABDI = Breidaks A. 2007: *Darbu izlase*, 2 vols., I (1. sējums, p. 608), II (2. sējums, p. 628), Rīga, LU Latviešu valodas institūs, Daugavpils universitāte.

ABF = Range J.-D. (Ed) 2000: *Aspekte baltistischer Forschung*, Essen, Die blaue Eule, p. 404.

AIC = Smoczyński W. (Ed) 1995: *Analecta Indoevropaea cracoviensia Ioannis Safarewicz memoriae dicata*, Kraków, Universitas, p. 586.

Aliletoescvr = Dini P. U. 2010: *Aliletoescvr: Linguistica baltica delle origini. Teorie e contesti linguistici nel Cinquecento*, Livorno, Books & Company, p. 844. → Dini P. U. 2014a.

BaLing = Magner Th., Schmalstieg W. R. (Eds) 1970: *Baltic Linguistics*, University Park-London, The Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 282.

BAuM = Bammesberger A. (Ed) 1998: *Baltistik. Aufgaben und Methoden*, Heidelberg, Winter, p. 456.

BFS = Judžentis A., Ambrazas V. (Eds) 2010: Dini P. U., *Baltų filologijos studijos. Rinktiniai straipsniai 1991-2007*, Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas, p. 404.

BH = Ziedonis A., Winter W. L., Valgemäe M. (Eds) 1974: *Baltic History*, Columbus, Ohio, AABS, p. 342.

BJPM = *Baltské jazyky v proměnách metod.* Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní baltistické konference, která se konala na Filozofické fakultě Masarykovy univerzity 7.-9-. listopadu 2007, Brno, Masarykova univerzita, p. 172.

BiS = Civ'jan T. V., Judžentis A., Zav'jalova M. V. (Eds) 2011: *Baltai ir slavai: dvasinių kultūrų sankirtos. The Balts and the Slavs: Intersections of spiritual cultures.* International conference dedicated to the memory of academician Vladimir Toporov. Vilnius, September 14-16, 2011, Vilnius, Seimo leidykla „Valstybės žinios".

BLaL = Ziedonis A., Puhvel J., Šilbajoris R., Valgemäe M. (Eds) 1973: *Baltic Literature and Linguistics*, Columbus, Slavica, p. 251.

BlkSb = Civ'jan T. V. (Ed) 1977: *Балканский лингвистический сборник*, Moskva, Nauka.

BLNC = Berg-Olsen S. (Ed) 2009: *The Baltic Languages and the Nordic Countries.* Papers presented at the conference held at the University of Oslo. June 19-20, 2009, Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas, p. 148.

BltC = Zabarskaitė J., Meiliūnaitė V. (Eds) 2008: *Lietuvių kalbos institutas ir Baltistikos centrai. Bendradarbiavimo kronika 2007-2008 metai.* Informacinis leidinys, Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas, p. 40.

BltPSK = Lietuvos Edukologijos universitetas. Vilniaus universitetas. Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, *Baltistikos centrai ir Lietuva: Baltistika pasaulio kontekste.* Tezės. 2013 m. vasario 21-22 d. Vilnius, Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas, Vilnius, Edukologija.

BMRŠ = Vėlius N. (Ed) 1996-2005: *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai*, 4 vols., I (*Nuo seniausių laikų iki XV amžiaus pabaigos*, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopediijų leidykla, 1996, p. 744); II (*XVI amžius*, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2001, p. 800); III (*XVII amžius*, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2003, p. 840); IV (*XVIII amžius*, Vilnius, Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2005, p. 284).

BMRT = Mikhailov N. (Ed) 2000: V. Toporov, *Baltų mitologijos ir ritualo tyrimai. Rinktinė*, Vilnius, Aidai, p. 360.

BPIŠ = Karaliūnas S. 2004-2005: *Baltų praeitis istoriniuose šaltiniuose*, 2 vols., I (2004, p. 218), II (2005, p. 470), Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos institutas, Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas.

BSlek = Sudnik T. (Ed) 1980: *Балто-славянские этноязыковые контакты*, Moskva, Nauka.

BSlSb = Toporov V. N. 1972: *Балто-славянский сборник*, Moskva, Nauka.

BsprKR = Gelumbeckaitė J., Gippert J. (Eds) 2005: *Das Baltikum im sprachgeschichtlichen Kontext der europäischen Reformation.* Internationales Arbeitsgespräch Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 21.-23- Mai 2003, Vilnius, Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla, p. 140.

BSZJ = Kondratiuk M. (Ed) 1990: *Bałto-słowiańskie związki językowe*, Wrocław et al. (Prace Slawistyczne, 81), Ossolineum, p. 402.

BVkL = Nazarova E. L., Budraitis J., Zav'jalova M. V., Matuzova V. I., Čistjakov K. A. (Eds) 2007: *Балты и Великое Княжество Литовское. Историко-лингвистический взгляд*, Moskva, Посольство Литовской Республики в Российской Федерации, Дом Ю. Балтрушайтиса, РАН, p. 312.

BVST = Blinkena A. (Ed) 1985: *Baltu valodas senāk un tagad. Балтийские языки в настоящем и прошлом,* Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmija Andreja Upīša Valodas un Literatūras Institūts, Rīga, Zinātne, p. 256.

BvVap = *Baltu valodas: Vēsture un aktuālie procesi. Akadēmiķa Jāņa Endzelīna 140. dzimšanas dienas atceres starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences materiāli*, Rīga, LU Latviešu valodas institūts.

B&BS = Kortlandt F. 2009: *Baltica & Balto-Slavica*, Amsterdam (Leiden Studies in Indo-European, 16), Rodopi, p. 440.

CBL = Dahl Ö., Koptjevskaja-Tamm M. (Eds) 2001: *The Circum Baltic Languages. Their Typology and Contacts*, 2 vols., I (Past and Present), II (Grammar and Typology), Amsterdam-Philadelphia (Studies in Language Companion Series, 55), Benjamins.

CBS1 = Ivask I. (Ed) 1969: *First Conference on Baltic Studies. Summary of proceedings*, Washington, Tacoma, AABS, p. 128.

CBS2 = Šilbajoris R., Ziedonis A., Anderson E. (Eds) 1971: *Second Conference on Baltic Studies. Summary of proceedings*, Oklahoma, Norman, AABS, p. 232.

ClcaB = Fernandez M. M. J., Raag R. (Eds) 1996: *Contacts de langues et de cultures dans l'aire baltique. Mélanges offerts à Fanny de Sivers,* Uppsala, Centre for Multiethnic Research, p. 348.

ConfGimb = s. a. 1994: *International Conference The Indo-Europeanization of Northern Europe. In memoriam Marija Gimbutas. Vilnius, September 1-7 1994*, Vilnius, The University of Vilnius, p. 32.

CP1 = Smoczyński W., Holvoet A. (Eds) 1992: *Colloquium Pruthenicum primum*, *Papers from the First International Conference on Old Prussian held in Warsaw, September 30th − October 1st, 1991*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, p. 184.

CP2 = Smoczyński W. (Ed) 1998: *Colloquium Pruthenicum secundum*, *Papers from the Second International Conference on Old Prussian held in Mogilany, October 3rd − 6th, 1996*, Kraków, Universitas, p. 214.

CRLE = Ross K., Vanags P. 2008: *Common roots of the Latvian and Estonian literary languages*, Frankfurt am Main etc., P. Lang.

DB = Rūķe-Draviņa V. (Ed) 1970: *Donum Balticum. To Professor Chr. S. Stang on the occasion of his seventieth birthday 15 march 1970*, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, p. 598.

DI = Endzelīns J. 1971-1982: *Darbu izlase*, 4 vols., I (1971), II (1974), III (1. daļa, 1979), III (2. daļa, 1980), IV (1. daļa, 1981), IV (2. daļa, 1982), Rīga, Zinātne.

DiaSb = Sivickienė M. (Ed) 1974: *Диалектологический сборник. Материалы IV диалектологической конференции по изучению говоров и языковых контактов в Прибалтике*, Вильнюс, Министерство высшего и среднего специального образования Лит. ССР.

DLJ = Grabis R. (Ed) 1986: *Dialektālās leksikas jautājumi divos sējumos*, 2 vols., Rīga, Zinātne.

DLKB = Bense G., Kozianka M., Meinhold G. 1995: *Deutsch–Litauische Kulturbeziehungen.* Kolloquium zu Ehren von August Schleicher an der Friedrich–Schiller–Universität Jena vom 19. bis 20. Mai 1994, Jena, Universitätsverlag Druckhaus Mayer.

ĖkVkL = Budraitis J., Zav'jalova M. V., Nazarova E. L. (Eds) 2006: *Этнокультурные и этноязыковые контакты на территории Великого княжества Литовского.* Материалы Международной научной конференции, Moskva, Посольство Литовской Республики в Российской Федерации, Дом Ю. Балтрушайтиса, p. 224.

EL&L = Brown K. et al. (Ed) 2006: *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics. Second edition*, Amsterdam etc., Elsevier.

FLEJ = Blažienė G., Grigaravičiūtė S., Ragauskas A. (Eds) 2010: *Florilegium Lithuanum: in honorem eximii professoris atque academici Lithuani domini Eugenii Jovaiša anniversarii sexagesimi causa dicatum*, Vilnius, Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, p. 420.

FLWPS = Eggers E., Becker J., Udolph J., Weber D. (Eds) 1999: *Florilegium Linguisticum. Festschrift für Wolfgang P. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main etc., P. Lang, p. 560.

Germ. = Tacitus. *Germania* → Rives 1999.

Hoops = *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin-New York, de Gruyter.

IBbS = Euler W. 2013: *Indogermanisch, Baltisch und baltische Sprachen*, Wien (Studia Interdisciplinaria Ænipontiana, 20), Praesens Verlag, p. 432.

IBK = Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Innsbruck.

IBS = Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Innsbruck.

ICDG4 = Timuška A. (Ed) 2006: *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of Dialectologists and Geolinguists*, Rīga, Latvian language institute.

ICHoLS IV = Niederehe H.J., Koerner K. (Eds) 1990: *History and historiography of linguistics. Papers from the fourth international conference in the history of the language sciences*, II, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, Benjamins, p. 874.

IELR = Tavoni M. et al. (Eds), *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: confronti e relazioni*, 2 vols., Modena, Panini.

IENE = Jones-Bley K., Huld M. E. 1996: *The Indo-Europeanization of Northern Europe.* Papers presented at the International Conference held at the University of Vilnius, September 1-7, 1994, Washington D.C. (JIES Studies Monograph, 17), Institute for Study of Man, p. 362.

IiB = Bumblauskas A., Petrauskas R. (Eds.) 1999: *Tarp istorijos ir būtovės. Studijos prof. Edvardo Gudavičiaus 70-mečiui*, Vilnius, Aidai, p. 518.

IUG = Dini P. U. 2014: „*ins undeudſche gebracht*". *Sprachgebrauch und Übersetzungsverfahren im altpreußischen Kleinen Katechismus* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, n. F. 33), Berlin – New York, de Gruyter.

IWoBA2 = Olander Th., Larsson J. H. 2009: *Stressing the past. Papers on Baltic and Slavic accentology* (Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics, 35), Amsterdam – New York etc., Rodopi.

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LBLS = Petit D., La Feuvre C., Menantaud H. (Eds) 2011: *Langues baltiques, langues slaves*, Paris, CNRS Editions, p. 290.

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LDKTP = Pšibilskis V. B. et al. (Eds) 2008: *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos tradicija ir paveldo "dalybos"* (Lietuvos istorijos studijos, 5), Vilnius, Vilniaus universiteto leidykla.

LettB = von Aderkas C. 2001: *300 Jahre lettische Bibelübersetzung durch Ernst Glück und ihr Einfluss auf die lettische Kulturgeschichte*. Neun Beiträge zum 3. Baltischen Seminar, Lüneburg, Verlag Nordostostdeutsches Kulturwerk.

LetVR = Bušmane B. (Ed), *Letonika otrais congress. Valodniecības raksti*, vol. 1, Rīga, LU Latviešu valodas institūts.

LILVV = Klaviņa S. (Ed) 1995: *Latvijā izdotās latviešu valodas vārdnīcas. Bibliogrāfsks rādītājs (1900–1994)*, Rīga, Latvijas Universitāte.

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LK 1963-1977: *Lietuvių kalbotyra. Literatūros rodyklė*, 11 vols., I (1917-1929); II (1944-1960); III (1961-1964); IV (1965-1968); V (1969-1972); VI (1973-1976); VII (1977-1980); VIII (1977-1980); IX (1981-1985); X (1986-1990); XI (1991-1995); Papildymai: I (1944-1972), Vilnius, LTSR MA Centrinė biblioteka ir Lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros institutas.

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LLD = Bezzenberger A. 1874-1884: *Litauische und lettische Drucke der 16. Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols., I (Der litauische Katechismus vom Jahre 1547, Göttingen, Peppmüller, 1874); II (Der lettische Katechismus vom Jahre 1586, Das (angeblich altpreußische) lettische Vaterunser, Göttingen, Peppmüller, 1875); III (Bartholomäus Willent's litauische Übersetzung des Lutherschen Enchiridions und der Episteln und Evangelien, nebst den Varianten der von Lazarus Sengstock besorgten Ausgaben dieser Schriften: mit einer Einleitung, Göttingen, Peppmüller, 1882); IV (Szyrvid's Punkty Kazań (Punktay Sakimu) vom Jahre 1629: mit einer grammatischen Einleitung, 1884).

LLVV = Ceplītis L. 1972-1996: *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca*, 8 vols., Rīga, Zinātne.

LOSP = Hasiuk M. (Ed) 1993: *Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań*. Monograph Supplement Series, 2. *Contributions to Baltic Linguistics*, Poznań, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, p. 243.

LPE = Bammesberger A., Vennemann T. (Eds) 2003: *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, Heidelberg, Winter, p. 364.

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LVKP = Blinkena A. (Ed) 1987: *Latviešu valodas kontaktu pētījumi*, Rīga, Zinātne, p. 276.

MLPh = Marcinkiewicz J., Ostrowski N. (Eds) 2001: *Mvnera Lingvistica et philologica Michaeli Hasivk dedicata*, Poznań, Uniwersytet Im. A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, p. 274.

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PrAcerbi = Cappellari S., Colombo G. (Eds) & Dini P. U., Kvietkauskas M. (Guest Eds), *Letteratura Lituana*, Quaderni del Premio Letterario G. Acerbi, Castel Goffredo, Gilgamesh Edizioni.

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PTK = Nepokupnyĭ A. P., Stafecka A., Švambarytė J. (Eds) 2001: *Paribio tarmių ir kalbų problemos*, Šiauliai, Šiaulių universitetas, p. 182.

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RLA = Tavoni M., Lardet P., Flood J. (Eds) 1989-1991: *Renaissance Linguistic Archive*, 3 vols., Ferrara, Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali.

RKJE = Egle K. (Ed) 1959: *Rakstu krājums. Veltījums akadēmiķim Dr. Jānim Endzelīnam viņa 85 dzīves un 65 darba gadu atcerei*, Rīga, Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas izdevniecība, p. 735.

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SeP = Cimdiņa A. (Ed) 2012: *Scientiae et Patriae. A Festschrift in honour of Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga on her 75th birthday*, Rīga, LU Akademiskais apgāds, p. 448.

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The book is a general introduction to Baltic philology and linguistics consisting in ten chapters. An appendix is helpful for bibliographic orientation. This book is panoramic work on the Baltic languages from their beginning until nowadays and an original and conceptual synthesis of the history and current state of the Baltic languages.

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