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Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics...

**Volume 3**

# Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics

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## 1.  Introductory remarks

On the basis of the many common features of the Baltic and Slavic languages, an intermediate linguistic stage (*Zwischenursprache*) has been posited between the beginning of the Indo-European dispersion and the 2$^{nd}$ millennium BCE. The linguistic relationship between Slavic and Baltic (the so-called Balto-Slavic question) is notoriously one of the most discussed in all of Indo-European comparative linguistics, and a matter which is of course closely related to the question of the Slavic-Baltic-Germanic linguistic relationships (cf. 2).

During the prescientific period of linguistics (the so-called Palaeocomparativism), prior to the 19$^{th}$ century, the Baltic languages were only sporadically considered to be an autonomous linguistic family, and the most frequent question asked concerned the linguistic group to which they belonged. Thus, on the one hand, authors like Aenea Sylvius Piccolomini [1405−1464] and his followers considered them simply as Slavic (Dini 2010: 50−144, 2014a: 23−30), on the other hand, the so-called Philoglotts (Conradus Gessnerus [1516−1565], Angelo Rocca [1545−1620], Hieronymus Megiser [1554/5−1619]) and many others up to the time of Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro [1735−1809] assigned them to the Illyrian group of languages (Dini 1997, 2010: 571−618, 2014a: 31−44).

With the advent of Indo-European comparative linguistics, the main question was whether there existed a Balto-Slavic proto-language and how to understand it (Lötzsch 1986, 1990; Petit 2004). During the last two centuries, as a consequence of the different interpretations and evaluation of the linguistic facts, some explanatory models have been proposed. The best known are those of Schleicher (1861), Meillet (1908), Rozwadowski (1912), Endzelīns (1952), Ivanov and Toporov (1961), and Schmid (1978). Details are available in the histories of the question (Safarewicz 1945; Szemerényi 1948; Toporov 1958ab, 1962; Bogoljubova and Jakubaitis 1959; Meriggi 1965; Karaliūnas 1968; Dini 2014b: 204−216), in the huge number of specific contributions on this subject (e.g. Endzelīns 1911; Brückner 1914; Otrębski 1949, 1954; Gornung 1959; Devoto 1962: 352−359; Shevelov 1964: 613−614; Birnbaum 1970, 1975: 223−228 and 315−338; Schmid 1976a; Martynov 1982; Trubačëv 1982; Birnbaum and Merrill 1983: 61−64; Inoue 1986; Schenker 1995: 70 f.; Hock 2004, 2005, 2006; Anikin 2014), and in specialized bibliographies (e.g. Szemerényi 1957; Hood 1967; Zav'jalova and Civ'jan 2014).

## 2.  The Balto-Slavic-Germanic context

Several common features of Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic had already been observed by the Neogrammarians (Jacob Grimm, August Leskien, Johann Caspar Zeuss, and August

Schleicher). In nominal morphology, the best known are the *-m-* ending for Dat. and Instr. pl. (Lith. *vilk-áms* [< OLith. *-amus*] ~ OSl. *vlъk-omъ* ~ Goth. *wulf-am* 'to wolves'; for further development cf. Schmalstieg 2003) or the creation of a double flexion of adjectives and the formation of the numerals ('1000': OP *tūsimtons*, Lith. *tūkstantis*, Lat. *tūkstotis* ~ Goth. *Þūsundi* ~ OSl. *tysęšta* or *tysǫšta*; '11' and '12': Lith. *vienúo-lika*, *dvý-lika* ~ Goth. *ain-lif*, *twa-lif*). After a relatively long period of unpopularity as a result of Hirt's (1892) negative criticism and by the importance given to von Bradke's *centum* vs. *satem* criterion, the idea of a close Baltic-Slavic-Germanic (and also only Baltic-German-ic) relationship has recently regained importance (Schmid 1986). On the weight of hy-dronymy for the Balto-Slavic-Germanic question cf. Udolph (2005a, 2005b). Some well-known examples of Balto-Slavic-Germanic lexical correspondences are the following:

− 'beer' − Blt.: OP [E 392 'Mete'] *Alu*, Lith. *alùs* 'beer', Latv. *alus* ≈ Sl.: OCS *olъ*, Russ. dial. *olovina* 'mead' ≈ Germ.: OIc. *ol* 'beer', Engl. *ale* (cf. LEW 8 f., LEV I: 68).
− 'friend' − Blt.: Lith. *draũgas* 'friend', Latv. *draugs* ≈ Sl.: OCS *drugъ*, ORuss. *družina* 'army' ≈ Germ.: Goth. *ga-draúhts* 'soldier', OIc. *drótt* 'army' (cf. BSW 59, LEW 102, ÈSRJa I: 543, GED 94).
− 'rye' − Blt.: OP [E 258 'Rocke'] *rugis*, Lith. *rugys* 'rye' ≈ Sl.: Russ. *rožь* ~ Germ.: OHG *roggo* (cf. BSW 246, LEW 745 f., ÈSRJa III: 493 f.).
− 'bread' − Blt.: Lith. *kliẽpas* 'loaf of bread', Latv. *klaips* ≈ Sl.: OCS *chlĕbъ*, Russ. *chleb*, Pol. *chleb* ≈ Germ.: Goth. *hlaifs*, OIc. *hleifr* (cf. LEW 271, ÈSRJa IV: 241 f.; Otkupščikov 1973; differently in GED 186).
− 'govern, rule' − Blt.: Lith. *valdýti*, Latv. *valdīt* ≈ Sl.: OCS *vladǫ* / *vlasti* ≈ Germ.: Goth. *waldan* 'rule a household' (cf. BSW 340, LEW 1188 f., ÈSRJa I: 344).

There are a number of studies, especially of the Balto-Slavic-Germanic lexicon. Stang (1972) compiled 68 Baltic-Slavic-Germanic lexical isoglosses. Nepokupnij (1989) limit-ed the exclusive isoglosses to 25. Both Nepokupnij and Stang studied groups of words in specific semantic fields and hypothesized that they emerged at a time when the ances-tors of Balts, Slavs, and Germanic peoples lived close to each other and the differences among their languages were of a dialectal nature. According to Mažiulis (1994), close ethnic contacts between Balts, Slavs, and Germanic peoples existed probably even in the 3ʳᵈ millennium BCE, when they divided into two groups: the first (allegedly, Balto-Slavs) moved to the northeast, and the second (Germanic peoples) to the northwest.

## 3. Balto-Slavic lexical isoglosses

The affinity between Baltic and Slavic has always been most evident in the lexicon. The lexical relationships between Lithuanian and Slavic were noticed already 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 criteri-on to determine the possibility of an intermediate Balto-Slavic proto-language (cf. Brück-ner 1914). Endzelīns (1911: 192−200) emphasized especially the importance of the lexi-con. Interestingly enough, the similarities in the lexicon have been recognized even by scholars (e. g. Machek 1934 or Trubačëv 1966) who were not inclined to accept a Balto-

Slavic subgroup. The lexicon is, however, notoriously unreliable in supporting kinship relations (cf. Toporov 1962: 15) although Mańczak (1990) thinks differently, and Poljakov (1995: 30) partially agrees with him.

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 the 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: (i) the action of the Baltic substratum on Slavic territory; (ii) the historical connection of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with a large portion of Ukrainian, Russian, as well as Polish lands, which promoted extended contacts with pagan Lithuanian tribes; (iii) the reciprocal influence among neighboring peoples in border areas which produced typical border Baltisms distributed in a clearly defined area and exhibiting specific formal characteristics.

In the present instance, however, only the common Baltic and Slavic innovations preceding the historical period must be considered. From this perspective, we can count over 1,000 words whose form and meaning is very close and no fewer than 200 common lemmas (cf. Sławski 1970; Sabaliauskas 1990).

## 3.1.  Specimina

The Balto-Slavic lexical stock, as established through a comparison of the vocabularies of both Baltic and Slavic languages, is often not exclusive. It has been determined that the words do not necessarily all belong to the same period. The Balto-Slavic lexical stock has been divided into some primary semantic fields (e.g. Sabaliauskas 1990: 112−141). Here are several examples (cf. Dini 2014b: 216−220) with a brief commentary:

1. Body parts

   – 'head' − Blt.: Lith. *galvà*, Latv. *galva*, OP [E 68 'Houpt'] *Galwo* ≈ Sl.: OCS *glava*, Russ. *golova*, Pol. *głowa*, Bulg. *glava*. A connection with Arm. *glux* 'head' (< * gholu-kho-) has been proposed. The Balto-Slavic words are perhaps related to *gal- 'naked' (cf. BSW 77, LEW 131 f., ÈSRJa I: 424, LEV I: 284 f.).
   – 'hand and arm' − Blt.: Lith. *rankà*, Latv. *roka*, OP [Gr 21 'handt'] *Rancko* ≈ Sl.: OCS *rǫka*, Russ. *ruka*, Pol. *ręka*, Bulg. *rъka*; cf. Koleva-Zlateva (1994). Other explanations have been proposed (cf. BSW 237, LEW 697, ÈSRJa III: 515, LEV II: 128 f.).
   – 'palm of the hand' − Blt.: Lith. *délnas*, Latv. *delna* ≈ Sl.: OCS *dlanь*, Russ. *ladónь* (< *dolonь*), Bruss. *dalònь*, Ukr. *dalónja*, Pol. *dłoń*, Bulg. *dlan*. A connection within the Indo-European languages has been proposed (cf. BSW 51, LEW 87 f., ÈSRJa II: 448, LEV I: 208).
   – 'finger' − Blt.: Lith. *pirštas*, Latv. *pirksts* and *pirsts*, OP [E 115 'Vinger'] *Pirsten* ≈ Sl.: OCS *prьstъ*, Russ. *perst*, Ukr. *perst*; Pol. *parst*, Cz. and Slovak *prst*, Upper Sorb. *porst*; SCr. *pr̀st*, Slov. *pȓst*, Bulg. *prъst*. There may be a formal connection with OInd. *pṛṣṭhám* 'peak', Avestan *paršta-* 'back' (cf. BSW 220, LEW 598, ÈSRJa III: 244, LEV II: 54; Machek 1934: 58−65).

2. Kinship terms

- 'uncle' − Blt.: Lith. *strùjus* 'uncle; old fellow' ≈ Sl.: ORuss. *strъi* 'uncle', Russ. *stroj*, Pol. *stryj*, Bulg. *striko*. A connection with OIrish *sruith* 'elder, venerable person' has been proposed (cf. BSW 290, LEW 926, ÈSRJa III: 780).
- 'son-in-law' − Blt.: Lith. *žéntas*, Latv. *znots* ≈ Sl.: OCS *zętь* 'bridegroom', Russ. *zjatь* 'son-in-law', Pol. *zięć*, Bulg. *zet*. The word is further related to Lat. *nōtus* 'known', Gr. γνωτός 'relative', and OInd. *jñātíḥ* (cf. BSW 370, LEW 1301, ÈSRJa II: 112, LEV II: 566).

3. Fauna

- 'crow' − Blt.: Lith. *várna*, Latv. *varna*, OP [E 722 'Kro'] *Warne* ≈ Sl.: OCS *vrana*, Russ. *voróna*, Pol. *wrona*, Cz. *vrána*, Bulg. *vranъ*. A comparison with Toch. B *wrauña* 'crow' has been proposed (cf. BSW 343, LEW 1201, ÈSRJa I: 353, LEV II: 489).
- 'horn' − Blt.: Lith. *rãgas*, Latv. *rags*, OP [E 705 'Horn'] *Ragis* ≈ Sl.: OCS *rogъ*, Russ. *rog*, Ukr. *rig*, Bruss. *rog*, Pol. *rog*, Cz. and Slovak *roh*; Upper Sorb. *roh*, Lower Sorb. *rog*; SCr. *rôg*, Slov. *rôg*, Bulg. *rog* (cf. BSW 235, LEW 684, ÈSRJa III: 489, LEV II: 99).

4. Flora

- 'berry' − Blt.: Lith. *úoga*, Latv. *oga* ≈ Sl.: OCS *agoda* 'fruit', Russ. *jagoda* 'berry', Pol. *jagoda*. Connections with other languages, e.g. Goth. *akran* 'fruit', Welsh *aeron* 'id.' (cf. BSW 202, LEW 1165, ÈSRJa V: 545 f., LEV I: 634).
- 'lime' − Blt.: Lith. *líepa*, Latv. *liepa*, OP [E 601 'Linde'] *Lipe* and place names *Leypein, Leypiten* ≈ Sl.: Russ. *lipa*; Pol. *lipa*, Bulg. *lipa*. There is a dubious parallel with Welsh *llwyf* 'lime' (cf. BSW 155, LEW 366, ÈSRJa II: 499, LEV I: 525 f.).

5. Natural objects and phenomena

- 'lake' − Blt.: Lith. *ežeras* (dial. *ažeras*), Latv. *ezers*, OP [E 60 'See'] *Affaran*, (?Selonian) lake-name *Zarasas* ≈ Sl.: OCS *jezero* and *jezerъ*, Russ. *ozero*, Ukr. *ozero*, Bruss. *vozera*; Pol. *jezioro*, Cz. *jezero*, Slovak *jazero*, Upper Sorb. *jezor*, Lower Sorb. *jazor*; SCr. *jȅzero*, Slov. *jêzer(o)*, Bulg. *ezero*. There are dubious parallels with Lat. *Egeria*, Illyrian Οσεριάτες, and with Gr. Ἀχέρων (cf. BSW 73, LEW 125, ÈSRJa III: 125, LEV II: 274; Hamp 1998; further discussion in Andersen 1996).
- 'ice' − Blt.: Lith. *lẽdas*, Latv. *ledus*, OP [E 56 'Js'] *Ladis* ≈ Sl.: OCS *ledъ*, Russ. *lëd*, Pol. *lód*, Bulg. *led*. Connections with OIrish *ladg* 'snow', Gr. λίθος 'stone' have been proposed (cf. BSW 154, LEW 350, ÈSRJa II: 474, LEV I: 512).

6. Activities and conditions

- 'hunger' − Blt.: Lith. *álkti*, Latv. *alkt*, OP [III 87,2 'Nůchtern'] *Alkīns* ≈ Sl.: OCS *alkati*, *alъkati*, and *lakati* 'hunger; desire', Russ. *lakatь*, Pol. *łaknąć*, Cz. *lákati* 'attract, fascinate'. Connections with OHG *ilgi* 'hunger', OIrish *elc* 'mischievous, bad' have been proposed (cf. BSW 6 f., LEW 8, ÈSRJa II: 452, LEV I: 67).

- 'plunge' − Blt.: Lith. *nérti* and *nìrti*, Latv. *nirt* ≈ Sl.: OCS *vъnrěti*, Russ. *nyrját'*, Bulg. *nirna*, SCr. *ponirati* 'flow underground' (cf. BSW 156 f., LEW 495, ÈSRJa III: 91 f., LEV I: 629).
- 'sleep' − Blt.: Lith. *miẽgas* 'sleep' and *miegóti* 'to sleep' (< *'to close the eyes'), Latv. *miegs*, OP [III 101,12 'Schlaff'] *maiggun* ≈ Sl.: Russ. *mig* 'blink (of an eye); instant' and *migat'* 'blink; wink', Pol. *mig*, Bulg. *mig* (cf. BSW 174, LEW 447, ÈSRJa II: 618, LEV I: 589).

7. Instruments et alia

- 'hammer' − Blt.: Lith. *kũjis*, Latv. *kūja* 'stick', OP [E 518 'Hamer'] *Cugis* ≈ Sl.: ORuss. *kyjь*; Russ. *kij*, Pol. *kij*, Bulg. *kijak* 'weight' (cf. BSW 123, LEW 232, ÈSRJa II: 231, LEV I: 435).
- 'butt' − Blt.: Lith. *péntis* 'butt (of an axe)', Latv. *pietis* 'heel', OP [E 147 'Verſe'] *Pentis* ≈ Sl.: OCS *pęta*; Russ. *pjatá*, Pol. *pięta*, Bulg. *peta* (cf. BSW 214, LEW 571, ÈSRJa III: 424).

## 4.  Old and new Balto-Slavic dictionaries

The classical collection of the Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences is the dictionary of Trautmann (= BSW). 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 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. 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 dictionary statistically and divided the correspondences into two main types based on the notions of "divergence" and "convergence"; since, sharing the highest degree of commonality, the latter type is more likely to represent Balto-Slavic lexemes.

Since Trautmann's pioneering work (originally printed in 1923, reprinted in 1970), lexicographic investigation in the field of both Baltic and Slavic languages has made considerable progress. Monumental works like the *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* (Dictionary of the Latvian language, 6 vols., 1923−1932) or the academic *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (Dictionary of the Lithuanian language, 20 vols., 1941−2002) have been finally completed. The lexicographic project of a Proto-Slavic dictionary (cf. Sławski 1974−; Trubačёv 1974−1999) has been equally important. Many etymological dictionaries of individual Baltic languages have been published (Lithuanian, cf. Fraenkel 1962−1965; Smoczyński 2007; Latvian, cf. Karulis 1992; Old Prussian, cf. Toporov 1975−1990; Mažiulis 1989−1997) and Slavic (Russian, cf. Vasmer 1953−1958; Czech and Slovak, cf. Machek 1957; Slovene, cf. Bezlaj 1976−1995; Sorbian, cf. Schuster-Šewc 1978−1989; Croatian, cf. Skok 1971−1972).

All these works have produced a huge harvest of new lexical entries and have led to new interpretations of known facts. Many contributions dealing with 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 with onomastic (especially hydronymic) issues (cf. Udolph 1990 and 2005a, 2005b 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: (i) forms which were borrowed directly into Slavic from the Baltic languages; (ii) forms of Baltic origin which entered into Slavic as indirect borrowings through other languages (e.g. through Finnic into Northeastern Slavic); (iii) forms of non-Baltic origin which entered into Slavic through Baltic languages.

Utilizing the lexicostatistical method, Zeps (1984) explained Slavic as a West Baltic dialect; therefore he questioned the label "Baltic" and proposed that what was traditionally called Baltic, Slavic, and Balto-Slavic should "evolve an alternative nomenclature".

Smoczyński (1986) showed how one could revise Trautmann's dictionary and offered as well several theoretical principles overlooked by Trautmann: a) the entries should be limited only to common innovations; b) the reconstruction of Balto-Slavic should always rely on the comparison 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 equivalent protoforms (which Trautmann systematically avoided). Applying these principles, Smoczyński corrected many of Trautmann's doubtful correspondences. Although this work was conceived of as a sketch (on the same topic also, cf. Smoczyński 1989, 2003), its methodological value is important since priority has been given to internal reconstruction within the two different groups prior to making a comparison of them.

In this context, Anikin's (1998) work must be mentioned. The author has analyzed about one thousand(!) lemmata from *A to *G. His aim has been to collect systematically the currently established Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences. Therefore, he used 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 only been incomplete attempts, cf. Steinbergs 1996−1997; Lanszweert 1984). Anikin is a scholar who is truly capable of revising 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).

## 5. An areal approach

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 last 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 con-
necting 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, cf. Dini 2014b: 238−245).

These proposals, 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.

Another direction in Balto-Slavic research is developing around the ideas of W. P.
Schmid (1992, 1993), whose aim is to clarify the prehistoric spatio-temporal differences
in specific dialectal areas.

## 5.1.  Baltic and North Slavic

Nepokupnij's research (1964 and 1976) relative to a group of lexical isoglosses connect-
ing Baltic and North Slavic (*severnoslavjanskij*) is very instructive. Nepokupnij has iden-
tified three types of lexical and semantic isoglosses: those common for 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. Widely used were the Balto-Slavic
lexical data of Polessia which enriched the Trautmann inventory. According to Nepoku-
pnij, the most important evidence of contacts between Baltic and North Slavic are the
extant onomastic data in the Jatvingian settlements in the Carpathian region and the
traces of dialectal separation among the Eastern Balts found in the lower course of the
Berezina. Nepokupnij concludes that the contribution of the Baltic languages to the
North Slavic lexicon was larger than commonly thought. The southern border of distribu-
tion of toponyms from Baltic anthroponyms also should be relocated from Belorussia to
Ukraine, the explanation of which is probably connected with the politico-administrative
division of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The specific concordances between East Baltic and Slavic have been investigated by
Reķēna (1975), between Baltic and East-Slavic, particularly with Russian, by Anikin
(1995, 2003, 2005).

## 5.2.  Baltic and South Slavic

Bezlaj (1966−1968, 1974, 1977, 1981), Boryś (1992) and Nepokupnij (2000) have inves-
tigated the specific lexical isoglosses connecting the Baltic and South Slavic languages.
Bezlaj has paid special attention to Slovenian data 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* 'language mixture' (but without providing a more specific theoretical definition of this phenomenon). 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., SCr. dial. *jëža* 'flower bed' and Slov. dial. *jéža* 'boundary (between a field and road)' can be compared, on the one hand, with Lith. *ežià* 'boundary' and, on the other, with Latv. *eža* 'flower bed', all of which in his opinion derive from a reconstructed Balto-Slavic agricultural term *eža*.

Baltic and South Slavic relationships have also been investigated by Duridanov (1969, 1970, 1971, 2006) who puts the accent primarily on the concordances with Bulgarian, e.g. Bulg. *bъrna* 'mouth' and Lith. *burnà* 'id.', Bulg. *gragor* 'gravel (of a river)' and Lith. *gargždas* 'gravel', Bulg. *brъkam* and *bъrkam* 'shove (the hand)', SCr. *brknuti* 'grasp' and Lith. *brùkti* 'poke, shove', Latv. *brukt* 'wipe off'.

Also the comparative study of folkloristic and mythological traditions (cf. Mikhailov 1996) permit the establishment of interesting parallels between Baltic and South Slavic.

# 6. A thematic approach

A different way of studying Balto-Slavic lexical relations is based on their classification by thematic criteria correlated with their areal distribution.

The importance of the thematic approach was already mentioned by Endzelīns (1911: 199) who emphasized among other points the large number of concordances in the names of body parts. Such an approach is presented in the works of Trubačëv (1966), Nepokupnij (1976), Otkupščikov (1971, 1986, 1989, 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.

(i)  Affecting the entire area of the Slavic languages and the entire area of the Baltic languages: All the Slavic languages preserve the reflex of Indo-European names for 'domestic pig'. Cf. Russ. *svinьja* (< *sŭ-īn-*) and Russ. (regional) *porosja* 'piglet' (< *porsę*); similar differing terms also occur in Baltic but are distinguished by area,

cf. Lith. *paršas*, OP [E 686 'Ferkel'] *Prastian* (corrected to *\*parstian*) compared with OP [E 682 'Swin'] *Swintian*, Latv. *sivēns*, *suvēns* 'pig'.

(ii) Affecting only a part of the area of the Slavic languages or only a part of the Baltic languages: Thus the Indo-European name for 'tooth' in all the Slavic languages derives from Slavic *\*zǫbъ* which has correspondences in the other Indo-European languages and also in Latv. *zobs* 'tooth'. The Lith. cognate *žambas* 'sharp edge, corner' also has other correspondences in the Indo-European languages. The forms Lith. *dantìs* 'tooth' and OP [E 92 'Czan'] *Dantis*, however, do not have correspondences in Latvian, but evidence of a probable cognate is encountered in Proto-Slavic *\*dęsn-*, cf. ORuss. *djasna* 'gum', Russ. *desná*, Pol. *dziąsło*, Cz. *dáseň*, Scr. *desna*, Slov. *dlésna* (ÈSRJa I: 506).

# 7. Onomastics

It is well known that the territory on which one can trace Baltic (especially hydronymic) elements was considerably larger than that inhabited by the Balts during historical times (for general information, cf. Dini 2014b: 46−61 with further bibliography). 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 (cf. Schmid 1976ab, 1978; Vanagas 1983; Udolph 1990). Onomastic evidence (hydronymy and toponymy) speaks against the existence of a Balto-Slavic subgroup.

# 8. Phraseology

Some correspondences of textual fragments (phraseologisms) have also been identified in the (East) Baltic and Slavic languages (Eckert 1991, 1993). Some areas have proven particularly fruitful for phraseological research, such as:

a) Dialectal and folkloric language (poetry), e.g. 'berry and girl'. This phraseologism occurs in Eastern Slavic expressions: Ukr. *Divka*, *jak jagidka* 'a girl like a berry', Bruss. *Njavestka*, *jak jagatka u lese* 'the bride like a forest berry', cf. Russ. *jagodka* 'berry' a sobriquet for a girl; an analogous use is found in Lith. (*kaip uoga* 'very beautiful', literally 'like a berry', or in folk songs: *aš mergelė kaip uogelė* 'I am a girl like a berry').

b) Technical language concerning the fabrication of beverages, e.g. 'sweet drink and bitter drink'. This phraseologism occurs in formulaic expressions like OSl. *\*medъ olъ* 'mead beer' ≈ *olъ medъ* (also *\*medovina olovina*) and Lith. *alùs medùs* 'beer honey', *alùs midùs* 'beer mead'; Latv. *alus medus* 'beer honey'.

c) Technical language of apiculture, e.g. 'to place a beehive'. This phraseologism occurs with exact genetic correspondence of the lexical components in Latv. *dēt dori* and in Polish *dziać drzewo*.

## 9. Final remarks

The evidence encountered in the Balto-Slavic lexical correspondences cannot 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' (*rankioti*, intensive), cf. also Latv. *roka* 'hand ~ arm' and OPr. *ſen-rīnka* [III 45,16 *ſamlet* 'collects'], whereas Russ. *rukà* and its Slavic cognates cannot be directly derived from any Slavic verbs (cf. Bernštejn 1961; Safarewicz 1976);

(ii) the river-name *Laukesà* in Lithuania (*Laucesa* in Latvia) is certainly derived from Lith. *laũkas* 'open air, field' (cf. Vanagas 1981: 183), but the Slavic cognate *Lučesa* in Russia cannot be explained on the basis of Slavic data.

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 term can be derived from the Baltic but not vice-versa; i.e., the Baltic data may be directly derived from Indo-European, but the Slavic data require an intermediate stage. The investigation of the lexicon confirms the Balto-Slavic model of a (very probably "baltoid") dialectal *continuum* advocated primarily by Toporov and Ivanov.

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