

BALTO-SLAVIC OR BALTIC AND SLAVIC

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1. INTRODUCTION. The question of whether two languages share some common heritage, and then to what extent they are genetically linked has been the prime issue of most classificatory work in linguistics. In some cases, the volume of evidence is so compelling as to disallow any conclusion other than that the languages in question have shared some relatively recent history. In other cases, a complete lack of any correspondences prevents positing even a very ancient relationship between the two.

Apart from these two extreme cases, which present the scenario most likely to result in a consensus of all historical linguists, it is often the case that evidence is controversial in terms of its quantity or quality, to the extent that no clear agreement can be reached. Such has been the case with the question of whether the Baltic and Slavic languages shared a period of unity, subsequent to the breakup of the Indo-European language complex.

To complicate the issue, according to the principles of reconstruction, correspondence rules can be posited only between a language and its daughters, but not between siblings, as the relationships only hold relative to the proposed protoform which generated them (Meillet 1967a:41). Scholars determined at any early date, that both Baltic and Slavic are, indeed, members of the Indo-European family. But to demonstrate any period of unity beyond this, or between their common membership in the family and their current state of differentiation, has been the source of much heated debate for several generations.

The following represents a collation of the various arguments from Brugmann, Szemerényi, Meillet and Birnbaum relative to lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the two languages. The comments attributed to these historical linguists have been gathered from various sources, as have the counterarguments. The sequence of their presentation is not significant but they have been grouped by common subsystem as much as possible. I have preceded the linguistic discussion by a brief survey of the historical and archeological evidence relevant to the geographical origins of two groups.

1.1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL/ARCHEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE. Archeological evidence in conjunction with comparative philology is inconclusive on the issue of a Balto-Slavic unity, as neither discipline can testify directly to the ethnic uniformity. Additionally, the earliest archeological evidence for the region in question is reliably dated only to the early centuries of the Christian era, while it is presumed that the IE community broke up sometime during the third millennium B.C. (Entwistle & Morison 1949:20, Hamp 1988:695). Geographical contiguity between the Balts and Slavs is suspected to date from at least the beginning of the second millennium B.C., perhaps earlier, although it has been well attested that their communities were distinct. Certainly by the time of Tacitus (approximately 50 A.D.), the Balts and Slavs were separated (Entwistle & Monson 1949:25). However, Herodotus (500 B.C.) is a bit more vague about any distinction between them and refers only to 'Scythian farmers' who were later interpreted to be Iron-Age Slavs (Mallory 1989:80).

Best efforts at placing the early Slavs finds them scattered from the foothills of the Carpathians northward to the Pripet and eastward to the Dnepr, in the vicinity of Kiev (see Figure 1). To the best of our knowledge, other languages were spoken to the north and east,

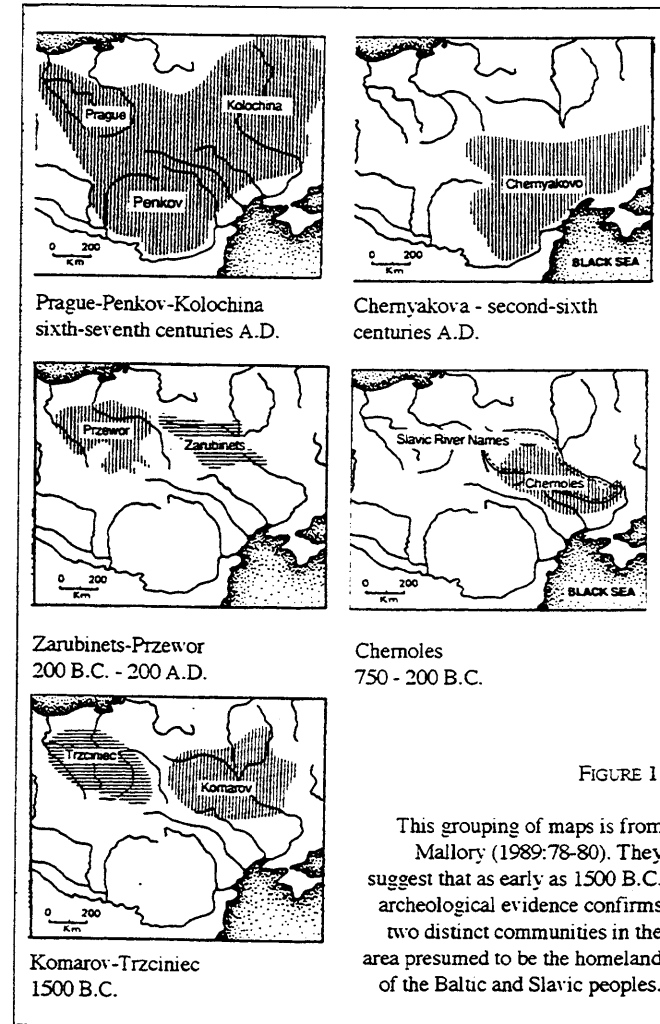


FIGURE 1.

This grouping of maps is from Mallory (1989:78-80). They suggest that as early as 1500 B.C. archeological evidence confirms two distinct communities in the area presumed to be the homeland of the Baltic and Slavic peoples.

slavs as an ancient people with historically unified culture and language, as no firm evidence of this condition, definitively and exclusively for the Slavs actually exists (Picchio & Goldblatt 1984:102).

Mažiulis (1988:690-1) proposes a definitive break from contact with Germanic peoples around 2,000 B.C. when the Balts moved from the south. They also make a convincing case for

specifically Finno-Ugrian dialects (Vlasto 1986:3).

It is interesting to note that the last traces of the Illyrians (the Venethi, who had been subjugated by the Romans in a series of wars throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.) disappeared with the Slavic invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The territory they inhabited at the height of their expansion stretched from the Danube River to the Gulf of Ambracia and from the Adriatic Sea to the Sar Planina. They are mentioned here since the earliest recorded name for the Slavs is a curiously similar 'Veneti.'

Attempts to identify the ancient Illyrians as Slavs persisted from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. This is explained as an effort to establish the southern/Balkan

the Proto-Baltic geographic area being much larger than that of the proto-Slavs.

There seems to be no argument that the two communities existed distinctly but in close contiguity for hundreds of years, regardless of the precise locations and borders for each. It is not the geographical or even linguistic distinctness which concerns this paper, as there is also no argument that there have existed two separate languages for at least fifteen hundred years. Rather, I have attempted to present and refute the accepted points of contention raised by those who believe that the two languages shared a common heritage beyond the Indo-European unity.

1.2. THE LINGUISTIC BACKDROP: DIFFICULTIES AND GUIDELINES FOR POSITING RELATIONSHIPS.

The following discussion suggests some of the relevant factors in comparative linguistics in general and the Balto-Slavic question in particular.

It is Meillet's position that in a diachronic analysis, the relative stability of certain major aspects of the language reflects the fundamental philosophy of mapping function with a given form, and can provide a framework for establishing relative chronologies. Although the rate of change is highly variable, he sees it as loosely correlated with the level of civilization. Primitive societies experience high stability; 'half-civilized' communities present high volatility (Meillet 1967a:60). One would have to attribute the relative stability of the language of modern civilized areas, at least in part, to the stabilizing effects of a standardized written language.

Further, Meillet suggests that, within a language, along a continuum that will perhaps vary from language to language, the lexicon will prove to be the most unstable system and the most susceptible to change. In most cases, the phonology also will prove to be remarkably unstable. Therefore the phonological system is the most useful in postulating a 'recent' relationship between two languages, in a comparative analysis. In contrast, morphology is considerably more stable and therefore, the relationships between languages with complex morphologies should be more readily demonstrated. Lastly, the syntax typically presents a picture of remarkable stability where even minor changes proceed at a much slower pace.

It is only after analysis of the correspondences within the entire language system represented by these four aspects that one can convincingly posit a relationship, or not. It is then largely a question of demonstrating that the innovations cited are, in fact, unique to the two languages under study. 'The more singular the facts are by which the agreement between two languages is established, the greater is the conclusive force of the agreement' (Meillet 1967a:41).

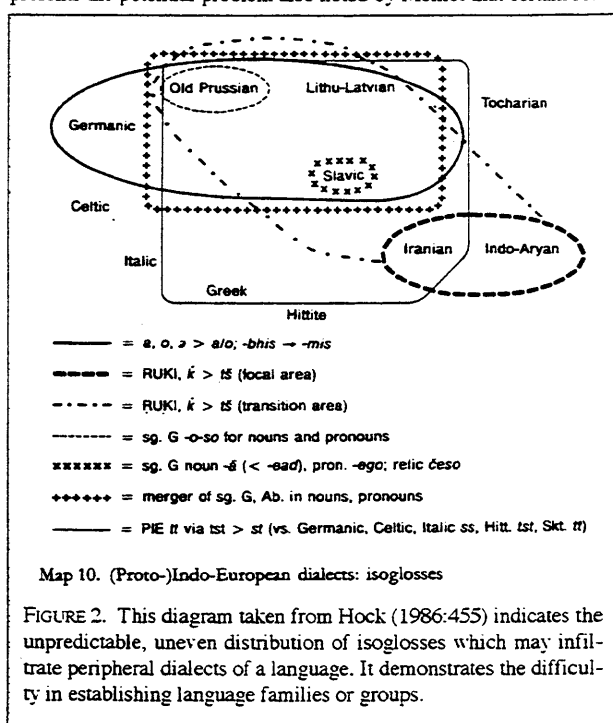
Attempts to posit two distinct dialects along the lines of the centum/satem division (Greek, Italian, Celtic, Germanic vs. Slavic, Baltic, Armenian, Indo-Iranian) have been unsuccessful, as looking at other parameters reveals different distributions. Therefore one can conclude that such isoglosses present evidence not of different dialects, but rather of different treatments of various morphological, phonological and syntactic features. And each difference has its own boundaries (Meillet 1967a:74).

This difficulty was pointed out by Hoenigswald (1966:8) in his discussion of the inadequacies of traditional subgroup models. Specific to the family tree models he warned against the dangers of simply counting up 'innovations' as evidence of relationships. '...this amounts to saying that if languages A and B share an authentic "innovation" as against language C, then there can be none linking C and B against A. Where this nevertheless happens, as it frequently does, it indicates the inadequacy of the family tree as a device to depict a language relationship.'

An additional potential difficulty is that derived rules which are neatly applicable may actually lead to results or conclusions which are wrong or improbable (Hoenigswald 1966:10). An

example of this failing can be seen in Brugmann's reconstructed proto-IE phoneme system. It has been heavily criticized as implausible in that it does not correspond to any system of an attested language.

While the wave theory may be a more accurate model of language family relationships, it presents the potential problem also noted by Meillet that certain features suggest one sub-grouping while others are strongly in favor of a slightly different sub-grouping. (See Figure 2.)



language or dialect group. This correspondence has led some linguists to consider that there was never a Common Baltic analogous to the well-accepted Common Slavic. As this implies that post-Indo-European, the various Baltic dialects shared no common language prior to their divergence FROM EACH OTHER, if this is true, it would be particularly damning evidence against any unified Balto-Slavic form.

2. THE BALTO-SLAVIC PROBLEM

2.1. LEXICON. The issue of shared Baltic/Slavic lexicon presents a confusing picture. The more closely the agreements are analyzed, the more insistent becomes the notion of an exceptionally close relationship. The example is given of the root **dhegwhi-* 'burn'. Although corre-

ing while others are strongly in favor of a slightly different sub-grouping. (See Figure 2.)

Hock's discussion (1986:492) of convergence points out that prolonged bilingual contact over a millennium (or more - our Baltic-Slavic neighbors certainly meet this criterion) may make it impossible to determine which shared features originated where.

Birnbaum (1978:19) adds another confusing dimension to the issue by pointing out that of those characteristics that appear ONLY in Slavic and Baltic, the Baltic counterpart may be in evidence in only East or only West Baltic or in some cases only one

lates are found in Celtic, exact cognates are apparent only in Lithuanian *degū* and Old Slavic *zega*.

There are many ancient loanwords in Slavic from Iranian which relate to spiritual culture, which never appeared in Baltic. Some more recent ones, which are nevertheless quite old, were borrowed from Germanic and relate to material culture (Jakobson 1963:5) The Iranian vocabulary is presumed to have been borrowed so early, (some words showing Sanskrit influence) that their entry into Slavic is suggested to have occurred even before the Indo-Iranian split from IE, e.g., OPers. *baga-*, R. *bog* 'god' (Entwistle & Morison 1949:24).

Birnbaum (1978:17) addresses the lexical issue with a great deal more skepticism, suggesting that the words concern in large part *Wandervörter* "migratory words" of undetermined origins and untraceable routes of travel.

Unfortunately the 'substrata' explanation for their common vocabulary, which is so popular among many linguists, is not available to the discussion of Baltic and Slavic shared and unique vocabulary. As discussed earlier, it is unlikely that these peoples did much geographical shifting during the very early period from which these items date, nor is there any evidence to suggest that the Balts or Slavs moved into these areas from elsewhere. Concurrent vocabulary can more easily be postulated as resulting from common culture and environment, and cultural exchange, but its uniqueness is not so easily dismissed.

Meillet (1967b:66) identifies two distinct cognate groups in his Indo-European analysis: Indo-Iranian, Baltic, Slavic; and Italic, Celtic, Germanic. The relationships within each group and the interrelationships between two groups is anything but clear.

Evidence from the lexicon includes considerable shared vocabulary in basic word classes: R. *jáblonja* 'apple tree', OPr. *wobalne* 'apple', R. *žernó* 'grain', Lith. *žirnis* 'pea', R. *list*, Lith. *laiskas* 'leaf', R. *ranká*, Lith. *rankà* 'hand' etc. (Entwistle & Morison 1949:54, Senn 1966:145).

However, while there is much shared vocabulary, there are numerous very old borrowings into Slavic which never appeared in Baltic, e.g., the words for god, man, father, horse, dog, bird, milk, sun, moon, etc. (Entwistle & Morison 1949:54).

2.2. PHONOLOGY. In Slavic, the Indo-European *a* and *o* merged in *a*. However this development presents a curious distribution. Operating in the northwest and southeast, it is postulated to have been brought about through contact with Mordvinian, a Uralic language spoken between the Oka and the Volga. If this is true, than the merger began during the thirteenth century (Auty & Oblensky 1977:11).

The open syllable rule is proposed as the first EXCLUSIVELY Slavic (independent from Baltic) development (Hamp 1988:695). However, effectively dating this process has not been successful.

2.2.1. Other evidence from phonology includes the following: Proto-Indo European prevelar stops presumably underwent palatal assimilation in both Baltic and Slavic (Szemerényi in Senn 1966:144). As explained by Hock (1986:442): [+stop, + 'pal'] > [+ assibl.], that is, the palatal stops were converted into assibilated clusters which subsequently underwent cluster simplification, finally surfacing as some kind of sibilants.

Senn responds to this point along with that in §2.2.2; he suggests that, if the palatalization did not operate during a period of Balto-Slavic unity, then Szemerényi's number 2 (below) is not valid either. In making his argument, Szemerényi apparently relied on Kurylowicz' identifi-

cation of the SECOND Slavic palatalization with the Lettish palatalization. Citing Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*, Senn proposes that Gothic borrowings which entered Slavic early enough to have undergone the first AND second palatalizations can be dated to the third and fourth centuries A.D., Loans of Eastern Baltic river names, as late as the sixth century A.D. still underwent the [k'] > [č] shift in Slavic, while they remained intact in Lithuanian (as [k'] - e.g., *Laukesà* and *Merkys* > *Lučesa* and *Mereč*).

The Lettish palatalization, which resulted in affricates tʃ-č, can be demonstrated, à la Senn, to have post-dated the Latvians' invasion of Latgala about the seventh or eighth century and have run its course by the thirteenth century (as suggested by various German documents from this time-frame. This would have been considerably later than the second Slavic palatalization. Further, Lithuanian stops were retained well after the Latvian shift. In fact, Buga postulates the early split between Latvian and Lithuanian as having been initiated by the Lettish palatalization. e.g., Latv. *čēpt* vs. Lith. *kēpti* 'to bake', and Latv. *čiest* vs. Lith. *kesti* 'suffer'.

Shevelov (1965:250) agrees with this analysis and summarily states that the first palatalization of Slavic is NOT shared with Baltic.

2.2.2. Common response to syllabic sonorants (Hamp 1988:694, Szemerényi in Senn 1966:144). Baltic & Slavic apparently responded in similar fashion (that is, preinserted [i]) to sonorants ([r], [l], [m], [n]) which were posited to have been syllabic in reconstructed forms of proto-Indo-European.

Counter to this, Meillet suggests that the glide vowel for syllabic sonorants began to be fixed in IE itself. While each language resolves the issue apparently independently, there is some concurrence between languages similar to the Balto-Slavic case. Greek and Armenian both use *a* with the liquids, which also appears in Indo-Iranian with the nasals. While Baltic and Slavic agree on *i* (in Celtic we find *ri* and *li* for *r* and *l*) and *u* (in Germanic also *ur*, *ul*, *un*, *um*), the high vowels are used sporadically in languages which generally developed other reflexes (Meillet 1967b:61).

2.2.3. When the Baltic or Slavic [s] follows [r], high vowels ([i], [u]), or a velar stop [k] of Indo-European protoforms, it surfaces as [ʃ] (Senn 1966:144). (Hock 1986 discusses this phenomena as 'the RUKI rule' (442) while others consider it 'the "iurk" rule'.

There seems to be no clear consensus relative to this item for the Baltic correspondence. Senn dismisses it on the grounds that, since the same change occurred in Indo-Iranian, it cannot support an exclusive relationship between Slavic and Baltic. We certainly can dismiss it also on these grounds. However, this seems a simplistic response given that the literature is quite confusing.

Entwistle & Morison (1949:55) state that Baltic shows no effect of the 'iurk' rule, and that the innovation shared by Indo-Iranian and Slavic is believed to have operated considerably BEFORE 1,000 B.C., and perhaps even before the final split between Slavic and Indo-Iranian (e.g., R. *such* vs. Lith. *sausas* 'dry'.

Birnbaum is not so quick to dismiss the issue, although he also arrives at the conclusion that this is not a clear indicator of relationship. It is his position that [s] > [ʃ] in Baltic regularly only after [r], [k] and sporadically after [i], [u]. For him, the shift is clear only in Lithuanian, as secondary developments ([s] > [ʃ]; [sj], [tj] > [sʃ]) in Latvian and Old Prussian (the latter also com-

pllicated by 'awkward' orthography) confuse the correspondences. Further, he dates the Indo-Iranian consonant shift BEFORE 1500 B.C., as presumed to have preceded the Indo-Iranian vowel merger [e/o/a] > [a], in the preliterate period.

2.2.4. The original accentual system of both the Baltic and Slavic languages seems to have been similar (Entwistle & Morison 1949:53, Senn 1966:144) in nouns and verbs (Hamp 1988:694).

Reference is often made to similar patterns of accent innovations in Baltic and Slavic. With particular emphasis on Slavic, Shevelov provides a lengthy discussion regarding this issue, which reveals a very confusing—certainly NOT consistent—result.

IE presented a quantitative opposition in vowels: long and short. The two original associated type of pitch are retained, type (a) in Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian under stress as a long falling intonation and type (b) in Serbo-Croatian under stress as a short falling pitch. In other Slavic languages, the two types appear variously as stress shifts or qualitatively different reflexes of certain CS vowels. In Baltic, the picture becomes even more variegated. Type 1 surfaces in Lithuanian as long rising, and in Latvian as long falling. While type 2 in Lithuanian is expressed as long falling and in Latvian as long even. Old Prussian shows an opposition only on diphthongs (Shevelov 1965:38).

While Shevelov (1965:40) concedes that this curious distribution may (or must ?) be a product of independent and individual trends, it serves to demonstrate two points: (i) the instability of the phonetic realizations for such characteristics, caused by (ii) the 'interplay of various factors in interchanges and switches in pitch, quantity, and stress patterns.' Clear indications of these features are, in fact, available from, at best, the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. This leaves any and all theories or approaches open to considerable controversy and discussion.

2.2.5. Neither Baltic nor Slavic shows geminate consonants (Baldi 1983:120).

This argument is quite weak and not significant, in that IE tended to eliminate double consonants everywhere (Meillet 1967b:62).

2.3. MORPHOLOGY. Meillet (1967a:43) stresses the need to confront the whole morphological system, not isolated pieces (as an isolated item in the phonological system would make positing a correspondence somewhat capricious without confirmation that the reflex obtains throughout the system). When a form is everywhere eliminated, correlations are drawn between the individual languages' responses to / compensation for the loss (Meillet 1967a:42). As Baltic and Slavic present the most elaborate morphology within Indo-European, this area should be the most significant in substantiating the claims of a previous unity.

2.3.1. The specific evidence from morphology includes the following: Definite declension of adjectives through post-positive demonstrative suffix (Entwistle & Morison 1949:53, Senn 1966:144) is common to both Baltic and Slavic.

Meillet (1967b:63) points out that in detail the two types are not the same, and they do not achieve equal importance in both languages. Also, the Avesta bases its forms on the same *yo-stem, which finds variance in placement.

Schmalstieg (1987:303-9) presents a theory of development of the definite adjective from a relative pronoun. This suggestion is supported by data from OCS, and elaborated on in

Schmalstieg's citation of numerous historical linguists including Lehmann, Reichelt, Hirt, Valeckiene, and Vjačeslav Ivanov. In OCS, the predicate adjective was in the indefinite form since in predicate position it was not originally a subordinate clause, as one would assume the definite adjective to have been. In Lithuanian, the third declension adjectives provide an example, as a possessive compound like *begėdis* 'one who has no shame'. These compound adjectives were originally nouns and came to modify nouns to which they had stood in apposition. Other linguists agree with this analysis and parallel the development with that of the Avestan relative pronoun into a definite pronoun.

Schmalstieg's expert arguments also include: (i) the suggestion that the definite adjective derives from a post-posed deictic pronoun. As such, parallels for such development are found in at least the Italic and Germanic families, as well; (ii) a proposal that the definite adjective has developed from a syntactic collation, which (iii) is comparable to Vedic, Avestan and Greek.

While this situation is obviously confusing, the relevance to this paper is that regardless of the origins, such a development can be demonstrated as similar to other language groups and therefore not unique to Balto-Slavic.

2.3.2. *-io-* declension of active participles (Senn 1966:144) is similar in both Baltic and Slavic.

Counter to this Senn notes that 'the *-io-* and *-ia-* stem declension of the present active participles is the rule in Old High German, Old Saxon, and Old English'. It would be highly coincidental if such an innovation were completely independent of the Slavic and Baltic.

Meillet also noted the evidence in West Germanic: Old English *berende*, Old Saxon *berandi*, and Old High German *beranti*. He suggests that this shift is only one part of a general IE innovation which saw adjectives take vocalic inflections earlier than nouns (Meillet 1967b:63).

2.3.3. Genitive and ablative singular, originally distinct, was decided, in both Baltic and Slavic, in favor of the ablative (Greek identifies these as genitives; Entwistle & Morison 1949:53, Senn 1966:144).

However, in proto-Indo-European there was originally no distinction between ablative and genitive singular—a single ending (*-os or *-s) was used for both cases. In the most productive inflectional class (thematic nouns, characterized by *-e/o suffix), the ending was *-so or *syo in the majority of cases. On the other hand, the PRONOUNS made a distinction between genitive and ablative singular. Additionally, there was a close formal similarity between the demonstrative pronouns (*te/o-) and the thematic nouns.

(a)		*deyw-o-s(y)o	'of from the god'
(b)	sg.G	*te-s(y)o	'of that one'
(c)	sg.A	*te-ad (or *te-sme-ad)	'from that one'

(Hock 1986:453)

Indo-Iranian, Greek, Latin, and Germanic resolved the situation by generalizing *-ad for ablative and *s(y) for genitive. Baltic and Slavic essentially lost the ablative (as did Greek). Lithuanian, Latvian and Slavic generalized *-ad for nouns. Lithuanian extended this to pronouns also, while Old Prussian opted for *s(y)o for both nouns and pronouns, and Slavic split and inno-

vated an **-ego/ogo* ending for pronouns (Hock 1986:453-4). This split between East and West Baltic complicates the analysis and prevents any definitive claims.

2.3.4. Similar infinitive formation (derived from the IE dative singular **-t-ei*) is found in both Baltic and Slavic. The use of the dative as direct object of the verb—where one might expect an accusative—attests to the age of the construction. Both the supine (accusative singular) in **-t-un* and the infinitive (dative singular) in **-t-ei* originally functioned in much the same way and the functions became separate in Baltic and Slavic. The comparatively free use of cases in the infinitive as apparent direct objects of verbs reflects a very early situation (Entwistle & Morison 1949:53, Schmalstieg 1987:219-220).

Counter to this in Indo-Iranian, the infinitive is derived from the verbal nouns in the dative, accusative, and locative case—and in Iranian, the instrumental case as well (Schmalstieg 1987:219).

2.3.5. Both languages share future formation in *-s-* (which doesn't survive in Slavic) (Entwistle & Morison 1949:53).

However, this feature is found in Greek as well as Slavic and Baltic.

2.3.6. The configuration of declensional system is the same in both groups (7 cases, 3 numbers).

This configuration is shared with Sanskrit.

2.3.7. Baltic and Slavic developed a similar past formation (two forms in *-a* and *-e*).

2.3.8. *-n* suffixation (and/or infixation) is a means of deriving inchoative verbs (Birbaum 1978:17).

However, this process was shared with Germanic (Birbaum 1978:17).

2.3.9. Both languages developed a new comparative formation (Senn 1966:144).

2.3.10. Present tense in both Baltic and Slavic does not use reduplication (**domi / dosi / dost- / dodm-* 'give').

Senn (1966:145) responded to this argument as follows: 'Germanic does not use reduplication in the formation of the present tense. Thus, since the lack of reduplication is shared by Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic, there would be no exclusive Balto-Slavic innovation.'

2.3.11. **men-(mun-)* in oblique cases of the pronoun of the first person singular; genitive **nosom* of the pronoun of the first person plural.

But this morphology is common in both Germanic and Latin.

2.3.12. Similar demonstrative pronoun (*tos/ta* for IE *so/sa*) (Senn 1966:145).

However, this represents another case where East and West Baltic differ (only Old Prussian has forms beginning with *s*). However, even the East Baltic and Slavic shared characteristic appear to have gradually developed in West Germanic (*s*-forms in Old Norse, and old English, but *t*-forms in Old Saxon, Old High German, and Modern English) (Senn 1966:149)

2.3.13. Verbs in Lithuanian *-duju* = Slavic *-uju* (Senn 1966:145).

Counter to this, Brugmann has demonstrated that Slavic *-ovati* and Lithuanian *-auti* are related to the Greek *-awo* and therefore are not unique to Balto-Slavic.

2.4. SYNTAX. Shields (1982:17-33) builds a case for IE having been originally an ergative/absolutive configuration, a position which Schmalstieg supports citing attestation in Old Indic, Old Armenian and Latin (see also Schmalstieg 1987:189-92).

It is Friedrich's position that Proto-Indo-European word order was most likely SVO, although some evidence suggests VSO. He proposes that the shift to the attested word orders took place between 3500 and 2000 B.C. The case for the OV of Lithuanian is strongly supported within Indo-European by Indo-Iranian, Tocharian, Italic, and Hittite, as well as the Lithuanian (Friedrich 1975:32). Additionally, OV appears regularly within the 'Eastern Sprachbund', dominated by Caucasian, Altaic, and Dravidian languages which are ALL verb-final. He proposes substratum influences for the European community as well, although he concedes that not enough is known about the substratum in this area to make any stronger claims (Friedrich 1975:39).

Regarding modern Slavic, Friedrich suggests that the shift back to SVO (from the VSO of Proto-Slavic) was begun quite late as a response to outside influences, notably Latin. He invokes Wackernagel's Law, which places the verb in the unmarked 'enclitic' position, and therefore 'requires' the verb in second position (Wackernagel 1955:197-9), as further encouragement for the shift. Later literary trends (Karamzin to Tolstoy) tended to urge the SVO order while popular, spoken Russian and folklore, even today, shows a heavy preference for VSO; especially in direct temporal adverbs, i.e., spatio-temporal specifiers, in general (Friedrich 1975:61-3).

My first criticism of the data in Table 1 would be that despite the slow pace presumed for syntactic changes such as basic word order, there is roughly 2,000 years difference between the two languages here being compared. While the variation demonstrated is perhaps irreconcilable even given this kind of time difference, such a discrepancy makes the evidence highly questionable.

Word order comparisons for the two languages:

	Proto Slavic	19th Century Lithuanian*
Adjectival	NA	AN
Demonstratives	NA/AN	AN
Numerals	NA	AN
Genitival	NG	GN
Dominant	VSO	SOV

Table 1: Data taken from Bemeker 1900:56-8

2.4.1. Other evidence from syntax includes the following: Both lost middle and passive voices and settled on an association of the verb with the reflexive pronoun (Entwistle & Morison 1949:53). Slavic and Baltic middle voice became obsolete and its functions were partially assumed by a construction with the enclitic accusative of the reflexive pronoun which was generalized for all persons (Jakobson 1963:20).

2.4.2. A periphrastic passive was developed with verbal adjectives changed into participles (Jakobson 1963:20).

2.4.3. An objective genitive in negative clauses (Birbaum 1978:16).

2.4.4. The Proto-Slavic aspectual system shows some parallels in Baltic, but is only fully systematized in Slavic (Birnbaum 1978:17).

3. SUMMARY. LEXICAL evidence of unity between Baltic and Slavic is perhaps the biggest mystery in this controversy. While it is, perhaps, the shared characteristic most easily attributed to geographical contiguity, its uniqueness from the balance of the Indo-European languages is decidedly curious. Perhaps analysis of non-Indo-European neighbor dialects (Caucasian, Finno-Ugric, etc.) might yield a clue to its origins. Further, perhaps Friedrich's suggestion of a non-Indo-European substrate should not be so readily dismissed.

In terms of PHONOLOGY, it has become widely accepted that the 'satemization' of a part of the IE language area must be conceived of as an early innovation, characteristic of its CENTRAL REGION and 'should not therefore be considered as significant a trait as a previous STAMMBAUM-ORIENTED view of IE linguistic relationships may have been inclined to regard it' (Birnbaum 1978:16).

Similarly, the MAJOR phonological evidence for Balto-Slavic unity is refutable as representative of isoglosses which either encompassed other Indo-European languages or not all of the Baltic region.

The MORPHOLOGICAL evidence is a confusing melange. Of the thirteen major points debated for the past one hundred years, fully eleven can be seen as having operated in other Indo-European languages. This leaves only two issues which can be postulated as unique to Baltic and Slavic.

There has been postulation of a northern usage (Germanic/Baltic/Slavic) as represented by the *-m* dative and instrumental) as predating or concurrent with an eastern usage (roughly correlate with centum/satem division) in opposition to the southern usage in *-bh-* of Indo-Iranian, Greek, Latin, and Celtic, which PREDATES the centum/satem split. The following examples support this position: OB. *vlkomu*, Lith. *vilkams*, Goth. *wulfam* 'to the wolves' vs. Skr. *açva-bhyam*, *bhis* 'to the horses' (Entwistle & Morison 1949:22).

It has been established to the satisfaction of most historical linguists that there was no period of unity between Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic following the period of Indo-European unity. The similarities between the three groups must therefore represent a dialectical distinction. Hirt (in Schmalstieg 1987:303-9) suggested that *-bh-* (the dative plural form shared by Sanskrit, Avestan, Latin, Oscan, O. Irish, and Greek) must have been the dative-ablative, and **-m-* had been the instrumental. The proposal is that each language generalized on one or the other similar to the genitive-ablative singular situation discussed earlier. This is certainly speculative as Armenian, with only the one case (instrumental), has only **-bh-* and no trace of **-m-*. However, there is no evidence of **-m-* outside of Germanic, Baltic and Slavic.

Further discussion of the endings in **-bh-* and **-m-* builds a case for contrasting Indo-Iranian, Slavic, Baltic, and Armenian, where these endings demonstrate precise values throughout the inflectional system, and Greek, Italic, Celtic and (secondarily) Germanic, where these endings mark several cases.

An additional coincidence finds the eastern bloc converging on **-su* as a locative plural ending (Armenian has a form in **-s* which may have lost the final **-u*), while the other families are markedly different.

Meillet's discussion of the present suffix **-ye-* results in positing 3 distinct groups:

- a) Greek and Indo-Iranian with the single suffix **-ye/yo-* and serving for presents both of verbs of state and of derived verbs;
- b) Slavic, Baltic and Armenian, with the suffix **-i-* in presents of verbs of state, and the suffix **-ye/yo-* in derived verbs; and
- c) Germanic, Celtic, and Italic with the suffix **-yol-i-* in derived verbs. (Meillet 1967b:138-42)

These three groups (with Armenian shifted to Group a) demonstrate another development; namely treatment of the IE perfects:

- i) maintains the original reduplicative form;
- ii) presents an aorist perfective and a perfect active participle; and
- iii) shows a general preterite build on a combination of perfect and aorist forms (Meillet 1967b:136-7)

Groups ii and iii can be collapsed to include all groups which lost the IE verbal augment, while the first group retained this feature (Meillet 1967b:125-29).

SYNTACTIC evidence is also not at all conclusive. However it tends to suggest that the distinctness of these two languages extends to a considerable time-depth, and that therefore, they most likely emerged from Indo-European independently.

4. CONCLUSION. Historical linguists seldom attempt to establish a relationship based simply on retention. Common/shared innovation can be equally important in making such a claim (Meillet 1967a:42). To list differences between two groups is only relevant if the innovation is shown to have originated early enough to help date the divergence of the two groups, i.e., most of these listings are difficult to evaluate without at least SOME absolute dates, however approximate they may be.

Various positions have been taken over the years to explain similarities in terms of a shared protolanguage and differences in terms of a concurrent divergence from the original IE. The controversy will likely continue for some time as linguists battle over what issues are 'significant' and which are not. Immediately prior to his systematic refutation of Brugmann's list of PROOFS on this issue, Meillet states: 'No IMPORTANT isogloss divides Baltic from Slavic, i.e., Baltic and Slavic are never found on opposite sides of the lines marking the boundaries of the features by which the dialects of Common Indo-European are distinguished. So total a measure of sameness is not found, as we have seen, at the Indo-European origin of either Indo-Iranian or Italo-Celtic' (Meillet 1967b:59 - emphasis mine). Nonetheless, he concludes that if there was a period of common development, 'neither Baltic nor Slavic, the most conservative of the Indo-European languages, produced any notable innovations in the course of it' (Meillet 1967b:67).

A couple of fascinating and thought-provoking proposals challenge these traditional oppositions and present additional potential explanations for the data under consideration. Several critical state-of-the-art reports were presented at the Fourth International Congress of Slavists in Moscow. Bernštejn 1958 suggested that controversial agreements between Baltic and Slavic can be explained by an early, secondary convergence between the two peoples. While not an original theory, this particular paper is lauded by Birnbaum (1978:227) for its explicitness in exposition. Ivanov & Toporov 1961 adopt a modeling approach to the controversy. Working from available data, the authors constructed two linguistic models (on phonological and morphological levels).

By superimposing the two abstract models, they conclude that the Slavic is derivable from the Baltic--but not vice versa (Birnbaum 1978:227).

My research suggests that several authors would likely find the latter an entirely reasonable theory: 'When Baltic and Slavic differ, it is usually because Baltic is the more archaic, while Slavic has innovated' (Entwistle & Morison 1949:25), and 'If the evidence of river-names were pressed too far, it would leave the Slavs no original foothold in the world!' (Vlasto 1986:18).

Based on the researched evidence available for this paper, I would conclude, like Meillet and Senn, that there is not sufficient indication of a common heritage for Baltic and Slavic to propose a unity beyond their Indo-European parentage.

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