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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN FINNO-UGRIC AND BALTO-SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

The presence of Finno-Ugric peoples on the territory South-East from the Baltic Sea and to the South from the Dvina river for the last thousand years B. C. can be proved by:

- (I) Historical sources (Tacitus, Ptolemy).
- (II) Archeological discoveries (so-called culture of comb-pottery).
- (III) Certain ethnographical phenomena¹.
- (IV) The early Germanic borrowings in the West Finnish languages² and certain words of Finno-Ugric provenience in Germanic.

(V) A number of Finno-Ugric hydronyms found in the region between the Dvina and the low Vistula. They were already dealt with by J. Rozwadowski³. Recently M. Rudzite⁴ has investigated them on the Latvian territory, while A. Vanagas⁵ made researches from the ethnographic Lithuania. From the Polish territory — besides those quoted by Rozwadowski⁶ — we can

¹ Cf. K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian*², Warszawa 1967—1968.

² From the epoch which precedes the sound shift.

³ „Rocznik Slawistyczny“, VI, 39—58; *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich*, Kraków 1948.

⁴ *Latviešu leksikas attīstība*, Rīga 1968, 175—197.

⁵ III Републіканська ономастична конференція, Київ 1965 (in press).

⁶ „Rocznik Slawistyczny“, VI, 41—53.

mention here among others: the names of the rivers *Narew*, *Narwa*, *Narwica*, *Narewka*; cf. Prussian *Narus* (river), Lithuanian *Neris*, *Naris* (the name of the river Vilia), Byelorussian *Narocz* (lake) and other hydronyms belonging to the stem *nar(v)*-, owing to the non-Indo-European character of this form and its equivalents in the Finno-Ugric area, cf. Estonian *Narwa* (river), Finnish *Nara*, *Nara-joki* etc. In the neighbourhood of the lake *Narocz* we find three further Finno-Ugric hydronyms: *Świr* (lake)⁷, *Miadziot* (id.)⁸ and *Lyntupy* (place name derived from the name of a river)⁹. It is probable that also the name *Niemen* and *Dvina* as well as the hydronymical suffixes *-nga* and *-usa* (*-osa*)¹⁰ quite frequent in this region are also of Finno-Ugric origin¹¹.

(VI) Certain (A) lexical and (B) grammatical similarities between Finno-Ugric and Balto-Slavonic, which will be discussed below.

(A) The Finno-Slavonic contacts explain, according to Rozwadowski¹², the Finno-Ugric origin of certain Slavonic words, to which some names of fish may be added, such as **kilьka* (**kilьсь*) 'culpea sprattus', **menь(tusь)* 'lota lota', **okunь* 'perca fluviatilis', may be also **karasь* 'carassius vulgaris' **seljava* 'coregonus

⁷ Cf. J. Rozwadowski, *Studia...*, 210—213.

⁸ According to K. Būga, *Rinktiniai raštai*, Vilnius 1958—1962, III, 532, it is related to the Latvian toponym *Mende(s)*, which J. Endzelin, *Latvijas PSR vietvārdi*, Rīga 1961, II, 420, compares with the Estonian place name *Mānde-maa*.

⁹ Cf. from the Latvian territory quoted by M. Rudzīte, *ibidem*, 186, *Lind-urga*.

¹⁰ Cf. E. Поспелов, „Вопросы языкознания“, 1965, II, 30—38; A. Mambeeb, *ibidem*, VI, 3—15.

¹¹ Many termes (not only hydronyms) of this region, including the names of all the great rivers, are suspected of being of Finno-Ugric origin. It is not improbable, that the Baltic name for 'sea' — *jura* (being a doublet of *mare*, attested from Proto-Indo-European) is related with the West Finnish name for 'lake', cf. Finnish *järvi*, Lapp *jaur* etc., which was pointed to by Rozwadowski, „Rocznik Slawistyczny“ VI, 46. Also the ethnonym **kurš-* (the name of the extinct Baltic tribe) as well as the name *Latvia* distinctly connected with *Lithuania* (but with abnormal alternation, which points to a borrowing) may be of Finno-Ugric origin.

¹² „Rocznik Slawistyczny“, VI, 52—53.

*albula*¹³; Toporov and Trubačov¹⁴ include also the names **ščuka* (**ščupa*) 'esox lucius', **sgmz* 'silurus glanis' as well as **dqbz* 'oak', **ščurz* 'rat', **pol(ov-ina)* 'half'. K. Moszyński quoted certain onomatopoeic expressions¹⁵. The West Finnish term for the Russian — **venäddä* originally must have referred to all Slavonic peoples, however mainly to the West Slavonic (cf. German *Wenden*)¹⁶. The chronology of Slavonic borrowings in West Finnish languages is not clear, yet the opinion of their being comparatively late is prevailing here. The Baltic peoples came to their present homes from the South-East (probably from the area of the upper Dniepr)¹⁷. The early and lasting Balto-Finnish contacts proved the existence of numerous Baltic loan-words reaching as far as the Lapp language. The presence of the Livonian and Estonian loan-words in Latvian is a well known fact; recently some attention has been paid to the words of West Finnish origin in Lithuanian¹⁸.

(B) Moreover, we find a number of characteristic grammatical similarities between Balto-Slavonic and West Finnish languages, which are generally unknown in the remaining Indo-European languages, while they have been attested in the Finno-Ugric area. Thus it seems, that these phenomena could be explained in Balto-Slavonic as a result of some influence of Finno-Ugric substratum on the territory South from the Dvina and Oka.

The following phenomena may be considered here:

1. The disappearance of affricate and spirant alveolar consonants in Latvian and Prussian; cf. also so-called „cokanie“ in North Russian and „mazurzenie“ in the Polish dialects.

2. The initial alternation of voiced and unvoiced consonants in Latvian.

¹³ Cf. recently: I. Leder, *Russische Fischnamen*, Wiesbaden 1968.

¹⁴ *Лингвистический анализ гидронимов Верхнего Поднепровья*, Москва 1962, 246—247.

¹⁵ *Kultura ludowa Słowian*, I, 131—133.

¹⁶ Cf. П. Аристе, *Вопросы этнической истории эстонского народа*, Таллин 1956, 24.

¹⁷ Cf. K. Būga, *op. cit.* III, 729—742; K. Moszyński, *op. cit.* II—2, 863—872; B. Топоров, О. Трубачёв, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Cf. A. Sabaliauskas, *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai*, Vilnius 1963, 131—135.

3. The length of the voiceless consonant after a short vowel in Latvian (similarly as in Estonian).

4. The initial stress in Latvian and partly in the Samogitian dialect of Lithuanian and the following reduction of the final syllable in Latvian, Samogitian and Prussian; cf. the more recent reduction in the Tahmish dialect of Latvian.

5. The relative frequency of diminutives in Balto-Slavonic.

6. A tendency to disappearance of grammatical gender: neutrum in Baltic and Byelorussian dialects and consequently — femininum in the Tahmish dialect of Latvian.

7. The possessive genitive instead of possessive adjective in Baltic.

8. The predicative instrumental in Baltic and North Slavonic.

9. The new local cases in Baltic and certain changes of functions of the cases in Russian.

10. The object in nominative after debitive infinitive in Baltic and North-West Russian.

11. The identification of the 3rd person singular with the 3rd person plural in copula (similarly as in Estonian and Livonian)¹⁹ in Baltic and East Slavonic and then after this fashion — in all verbs in Baltic.

12. The limitation of connections of the verb 'have' in Latvian and Russian.

13. The new moods (permissivus, debitivus) in Baltic²⁰.

14. So-called auditivus in East Baltic.

15. A tendency to morphologization (i.e. agglutination)²¹ of periphrastic verbal constructions in Balto-Slavonic, especially in

¹⁹ Cf. the Estonian paradigm of the verb 'be': singular 1st *olen*, 2nd *oled*, 3rd *on*; plural 1st *oleme*, 2nd *olete*, 3rd *on*. In the first half of the nineteenth century J. A. Sjögren, *Livische Grammatik*, S-Petersburg 1861, 153, noted from Livonian: sg. 1st *um*, *vuob*, *om*, 2nd *uod*, *vuod*, 3rd *um*, *om*; pl. 1st *uom*, *vuom*, *om*, 2nd *uot*, *vuot*, *uoti*, 3rd *om*, *ät*, *umäd*; the latter is used in the present-day dialect.

²⁰ Also the Balto-Slavonic change of optative into imperative may have been an influence of the West Finnish potential with *-ne-*, which fulfilled both the functions (the Finno-Ugric imperative with *-k-* is a relatively late phenomenon).

²¹ Cf. H. Wagner, *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln. Ein Beitrag zur geographischen Typologie des Verbums*, Tübingen 1959, 245—256.

„reflexive“ mood in Baltic and North Slavonic; cf. also the reflexive substantive in Latvian.

16. The development of various participial constructions in Balto-Slavonic, especially in the northern area.

From the above review it can be seen that — as it has been expected — the Baltic languages, notably Latvian²², were subject to a much greater Finno-Ugric influence than the Slavonic ones, and it is only in Russian that this influence was considerably stronger²³. All the Slavonic phenomena, which are suspected of having been subject to Finno-Ugric influence, are known in the Baltic area. However, we are not authorized to infer that they reach as far back as the Proto-Balto-Slavonic epoch, owing to differences between details and to the fact that some of these have a distinctly northern scope (6, 8, 9, partly 11, 15, 16). Occasionally the Finno-Ugric influence was but an inspiration to further changes (2, 4, 11).

Moreover, certain grammatical peculiarities in West Finnish languages can be explained as a result of Balto-Slavonic influence. To these probably belong: the use of the genitive after negation and the declension of adjective in West Finnish languages²⁴.

We can also find in both groups generally different phenomena, which show certain similarities, such as the fact that in Slavonic²⁵ and West Finnish²⁶ the function of direct object is fulfilled by means of genitive or accusative. However, its semantical distribution is here different.

Finally, it should be remembered, that the Finno-Ugric influence in the above discussed phenomena has not been sufficiently proved and, consequently, it needs further investigation, notably from the Finno-Ugric point of view. It is not unlikely, that certain

²² Cf. J. V. Zeps, *Latvian and Finnic Linguistic Convergences*, Bloomington 1962.

²³ Cf. W. Veenker, *Die Frage des Finnougrischen Substrats in der Russischen Sprache*, Bloomington 1967.

²⁴ Cf. W. Veenker, *op. cit.* 129—130.

²⁵ Cf. also the use of genitive as accusative in personal pronouns in East Baltic.

²⁶ Cf. K. Kont, *Käändsõnaline objekt läänemeresoome keeltes*, Tallin 1963.

similarities have arisen independently, however, they are too numerous to be a mere accident.

The problem of contacts between languages (especially in the relation: „substratum — superstratum“) is very complicated and not clear enough. It deserves a more exact and systematic examination, as it constitutes one of few really certain factors in the evolution of language, whereas the so-called internal factors are virtually unascertainable.

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EINIGES ÜBER DAS PROBLEM DER ALTERSKLASSEN IN NEOLITHISCHEN GESELLSCHAFTEN

Das ständige Vermehren der Zahl der Ausgrabungsmaterialien ermöglicht uns immer besser das Leben des Jungsteinzeit-Menschen kennen zu lernen. Wir können nicht nur uns mit der materiellen Kultur dieser Zeit bekannt machen, sondern auch Einblick in die geistige und soziale Kultur gewinnen. Besonders die Grabfunde, immer zahlreicher und immer eingehender erforscht, bieten dazu grosse Möglichkeit¹. Es scheint jedoch, dass immer noch gewisse Aspekte des damaligen Lebens, besonders aus dem Bereich der sozialen Kultur, von den Forschern ausser acht gelassen werden. Zu diesen gehört u. a. das Problem der Altersklassen in den neolithischen Gesellschaften.

Aus den Studien über die Kultur der zeitgenössischen primitiven Bauern- und Hirtenvölker (die sich wahrscheinlich auf derselben Entwicklungsstufe befinden, wie einst die neolithischen Völker) ist bekannt, dass die Altersklassen ein wesentliches Element der sozialen Organisation bilden. Die Schranken zwischen einzelnen Gruppen, z. B. zwischen Kindern oder Jugend einerseits und den Erwachsenen andererseits, sind sehr streng gehalten; der Übertritt von einer Klasse zur anderen ist bei manchen Völkern mit besonderen Zeremonien und Feierlichkeiten (Initiation) verbunden; bei anderen, die die Initiation nicht kennen, wird der

¹ Als Beispiel kann man hier die Arbeit von A. Häussler, *Zur Verhältnis von Männer, Frauen und Kindern in Gräbern der Steinzeit*, „Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege“, B. 14/5, Berlin 1966, S. 25—73 nennen.