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## RECENT PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF BALTIC METRICS

1. It goes without saying that the implications of the investigation of metric systems in Baltic languages go beyond Baltic studies in the narrower sense and influence such fields as comparative Indo-European metrics, linguistics, philology and literary studies. In spite of this obvious fact there is a lack of those researches which either give a survey of this subject matter or deal with its importance at least in a programmatic way<sup>1</sup>. Fortunately, most recently we have seen such results in Baltic metric investigations that make it predictable, just by taking them into account, that a new synthesis is going to take place soon in the study of Baltic metrics. We should like to contribute to this by outlining some relevant aspects and new research perspectives.

2. As far as the importance of these investigations is concerned, it is obvious that the archaic phonemics and tonemics of Lithuanian and Latvian can be related to the very old strata of Indo-European metrics. Since Baltic studies as an independent field of comparative philology came into existence, many attempts have been made to create — by way of a method which can more or less be called a philological reconstruction — on the basis of Baltic languages morphological, syntactic, phraseological units of the “common Indo-European“. Here rich mythological, linguistic and philological contrastive data have been utilized<sup>2</sup>, but

<sup>1</sup> The international metrical handbooks and poetical encyclopedias do not deal with a summary of Baltic metrics. Latvian resp. Lithuanian metrics are touched in the handbooks of literary histories. Linguistic works, while mentioning accent system, usually refer to some extent to metrical problems. Folk music researches often refer to the tunes and metrical forms of Baltic folk poetry. However, no major work on Baltic metrics has ever been published. The bibliographical references in notes below give a necessary insight into the problems of Baltic metrics, and usually have further references.

<sup>2</sup> Some most important works of this kind are e. g.: Иванов В. В., Топоров В. Н. К реконструкции праславянского текста. — In: Славянское языкознание. Доклады советской делегации. V международный съезд славистов. М., 1963; Топоров В. Н. Из области балто-славянских фольклорных связей. — LKK, 1963, t. VI, p. 149—175; Иванов В. В. Общеиндоевропейская, праславянская и анатолийская языковые системы. (Сравнительно-типологические очерки.) М., 1965, p. 185—289; Иванов В. В., Топоров В. Н. Славянские языковые моделирующие семиотические системы. М., 1965; Топоров В. Н. К анализу нескольких поэтических текстов. IV. Несколько соображений о структуре литовской народной баллады. — In: Poetics — Poetyka — Поэтика. The Hague—Paris—Warszawa, 1966, p. 77—120; R. Eckert. Minimale Textfragmente im Slavischen und ihre Entsprechungen im Baltischen. — „Baltistica“, 1968, t. IV(1), p. 79—91; V. Ivanov, V. Toporov. Le mythe indo-européen du dieu de l'orage poursuivant le serpent: reconstitution du schéma. Echange et Communications. — In: Mélanges Claude Lévi-Strauss. Paris, 1970, p. 1180—1202; Топоров В. Н. К реконструкции индоевропейского ритуала и ритуально-поэтических формул (на материале заговоров). —

there has been no special mention of particular metric problems. Moreover, in spite of opening up new perspectives for comparative research<sup>3</sup> the very promising recent Indo-European metric investigations have dealt with Baltic metric systems only in passing.

3. Even from a regional (areal) viewpoint it is very significant to carry out the comparative and historico-typological investigation of Baltic metrics. The excellent Polish and the newly revived White Russian metric researches have pointed out the fact that the so-called syllabo-tonic metrics is characterized by eastward migration, which started in the 16th century and was best known embodied in Simeon Polocky's ("Russian") metrical reform in the 17th century<sup>4</sup>. The study of Baltic metrics from the viewpoint of its historical development phases is important because in Baltic languages metrics has been in general of a folklore character for quite a long time and professional artistic poetry came to life relatively late. The protestant "revolution" in metrics was represented in Lithuanian by versified preface to his *Catechismusa prasty szadei* ('The Simple Words of Catechism' by Martynas Mažvydas, printed in Königsberg in 1547, further on in his remarks concerning poetry and metrics in the same books, and, in addition, in his posthumously published psaltery *Giesmės Krikščioniškos* ('Christian Songs', vol. I–II, 1566–1570). After this, however, it was as late as the 18th century that the metrics of professional Lithuanian literature began to emerge. It seems possible that protestant books were printed in the Latvian (and Esthonian) languages as early as 1525<sup>5</sup>, which already referred to the new metric ideas of protestantism. The first in Latvian published

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„Труды по Знаковым Системам“, 1969, т. IV, р. 9–75; Топоров В. Н. О структуре некоторых архаических текстов, соотносимых с концепцией „мирового дерева“. — „Труды по Знаковым Системам“, 1971, т. V, р. 9–62; Балто-славянский сборник. Ред. В. Н. Топоров. М., 1972; Иванов В. В., Топоров В. Н. К проблеме достоверности поздних вторичных источников в связи с исследованиями в области мифологии. (Данные о Велесе в традициях Северной Руси и вопросы критики письменных текстов.) — „Труды по Знаковым Системам“, 1973, т. VI, р. 46–82; Топоров В. Н. Об одном локальном варианте основного мифа (*Dieveniškės*). — „Материалы Всесоюзного симпозиума по вторичным моделирующим системам“, 1974, т. I(5), Тарту, р. 33–37.

A summary of previous researches: Иванов В. В., Топоров В. Н. Исследования в области славянских древностей. Лексические и фразеологические вопросы реконструкции текстов. М., 1974.

<sup>3</sup> See: R. Jakobson. *Slavic Epic Verse. Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics*. — "Oxford Slavonic Papers", 1952, V. III, p. 21–66; R. Jakobson. *The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature*. — "Harvard Slavic Studies", 1953, V. I, p. 1–71; R. Jakobson. *Selected Writings*. V. IV (*Slavic Epic Studies*). The Hague, 1966. We have to mention that recent researches in comparative Indo-European genre systems and poetics gave valuable data concerning the common origins of Indo-European poetry. Studies like those by Gonda, Schmitt, Benveniste, Dumézil, de Vries and others, however, have dealt with problems of metrics rather unsystematically, therefore, the problem needs a further investigation. See e. g.: J. Puhvel (ed.). *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans*. (Studies in Indo-European Comparative Mythology). Berkeley — Los Angeles — London, 1970; G. C. Kirk. *Myth. Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*. Cambridge — Berkeley — Los Angeles, 1970. Типология и взаимосвязи литератур древнего мира (ред. Аверинцев С. С., Гринцер П. А., Рифтин Б. Л., Семанов В. И.). М., 1971.

<sup>4</sup> Теория стиха (ред. Жирмунский В. М., Лихачев Д. С., Холшебников В. Е.). Л., 1968. Especially: Холшебников В. Е. Русская и польская силлабика и силлабо-тоника, р. 24–58; Ралько Т. Д. Беларускі верш. Старонкі історыі і тэорыі. Мінск, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> H. Biezais. *Beiträge zur lettischen Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte*. Åbo, 1973, p. 31.

*Undeutsche Psalmen* (1587) indicates the influence of a foreign metric system in Baltic and this became dominant in a century later, as is shown by Henrikus Adolfs in his *Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten* (Curland, 1685). For the sake of completeness we have to mention that the first Esthonian songbook left to us, which contains verse translations, is Abraham Winckler's *Neu Estnisches Gesangbuch* from 1656<sup>6</sup>. As a matter of fact, literary and religious poetry in Esthonian has been continuous from the 17th century onwards. We know, unfortunately, virtually nothing about Old-Prussian metrics (despite the two verse lines<sup>7</sup> in the 1561 *Enchiridion*). Nevertheless, the general picture of Baltic metrics at this time can be said to be homogeneous: it is the spread of Lutheranism that brings new metrical forms in the native tongues of the Baltic area. We may not exclude the influence of earlier religious (Latin, Greek, Slavic) or exceptionally literary metrics on Baltic versification. However, we have not found any sign of this phenomenon. Swedish (probably also Danish and Finnish) metrics must have also found its way to the literature of the Baltic peoples by way of the spread of protestantism, but this process only followed the previously mentioned period, and we have no investigation of the data which might prove its significance.

4. If we want to become better acquainted with the specific and typical features of Baltic metrics, we have to turn to folk poetry. Fortunately enough, the Baltic folklore is not only exceedingly rich but also collected in unique high quantities and well elaborated, so we have abundant data evidence at our disposal for metrical studies. Despite these possibilities the number of major studies in Baltic folklore metrics is very low.

The results of international folklore research suggest that we should also account for constant genre differences in folklore metrics. Generally the ritual songs, children's songs and rhymes, and other improvised forms represent independent, very archaic but at the same time diverse metrical forms. Even the mere catalogue-like systematization of these may prove difficult. Dance songs, religious folk songs and hymns, ballads and romances, soldiers' songs and workers' songs are in Baltic folklore metrically of a later stratum and in tune and text follow international patterns. Thus, the central and original system of Baltic folk metrics can be deduced from the epics and strophic lyrical songs. Both Lithuanian and Latvian folklore are abounding in lyrical songs (Lithuanian *daina*, Latvian *dziesma*), and they have some non-strophic songs of varying length, although no real epic poetry has formed in Baltic folklore. Their metrics is text-based (opposed to tune-based), and this phenomenon is also supported by the linguistical-metrical forms of proverbs, riddles, and phraseological units as well. Baltic paroemiological folklore is inexhaustible which also adds to the large quantity of data obtainable for metrical researches. Though traditional folklore research sometimes isolated music from text, up to the present time such enormous number of song variants has been collected that it has become feasible to write a descriptive folklore metrics of the Baltic languages.

5. As far as the interpretation of metric forms is concerned, according to the traditional view both the more archaic and homogeneous Latvian and the rich-

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<sup>6</sup> H. Salu. Zur Entwicklung des estnischen Kirchenliedes im 17. Jahrhundert. *Apophoreta Tartuensia*. Stockholm, 1949, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> V. Mažiulis. *Prūsų kalbos paminklai*. V., 1966, p. 208–209.

er and more diverse Lithuanian folklore metrical system is also of “quantitative” character and is generally arranged in four-line (rarely six-line) strophes which, however, do not possess a specific stanzaic form. Its ictus system can be defined by a dactylic-trochaic character, especially in Lithuanian with the archaic practice of the so-called Flickvokal usage, where additional subsidiary vowels (mostly at the end of the words) are used to accomplish metrical rules. The number of syllables in a line in principle varies between 6–8–10, the most frequent is the asymmetric (5+3) octo-syllabism both in Lithuanian and Latvian, which the investigators of Indo-European metrics relate with the Indo-European asymmetric decasyllable which is claimed to be a very old form. Because of its possible contacts with the Indo-European decasyllable, the Baltic octosyllable is regarded also as a very archaic phenomenon<sup>8</sup>. Although more will be said about it later we have to mention also now that the Finnish (!), Estonian and the other related Balto-Finnic folklore metrics also favour octosyllabism. This very important problem deserves special treatment. Morphophonetically Baltic metrics is characterized by extensive syntactic parallelism, which is again common in Balto-Finnic metrics. At the same time rhyme and also homoteleuton in Baltic metrics are surely later formations, inseparable from the above mentioned international influences on Baltic metrics<sup>9</sup>.

Considering the more recent studies we can say that the folklorists have paid keen attention to the rhythm and tunes of the Baltic folk poetry (usually discussed according to the genre differences), and also to its stylistics, poetics and music<sup>10</sup>. However, the metric systematization of all these phenomena has not been done yet, although certain preliminary observations have been made. Some scholars who have dealt with relationships of metrics with language in general have pointed out that the natural rhythmic factors of language are organized according to a given obligatory metrical system<sup>11</sup>. Thus, the “secondary” metrics generally goes in the direction of syllabism (sometimes even in the direction of syllabo-

<sup>8</sup> J. Lotz. Notes in Structural Analysis in Metrics. — „Helicon“, 1942, V. IV, p. 119–146; A. de Groot. Algemene versleer. 's-Gravenhage, 1946; J. Kuryłowicz. Indo-European Metrical Studies. — In: Poetics — Poetyka — Поэтика. Warszawa, 1961, p. 78–98; C. Watkins. Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse. — „Celtica“, 1963, V. VI; L. Gáldi. Littérature comparée et métrique comparée en Europe orientale. — „Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae“, 1962, t. V, p. 207–213.

<sup>9</sup> See the author's views concerning this problem: A balti-finn népek folklórja mint az európai folklór része, I–II. — „Ethnographia“, 1967, t. 78, p. 406–437; 1968, t. 79, p. 37–61. Die ostseefinnische Volksdichtung als Gegenstand der europäischen Folkloristik. — In: Congressus Secundus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, t. II. Helsinki, 1968, p. 411–419.

<sup>10</sup> L. Bērziņš. Ievads latviešu tautas dzejā. I. Metrika un stilistika. Rīgā, 1940; A. Ozols. Latviešu tautas dziesmu valoda. Rīgā, 1961; J. Čiurlionytė. Lietuvių liaudies dainų melodikos bruožai. V., 1969; K. Aleksynas. Lietuvių liaudies dainų kalbinės stilistinės ypatybės. — „Literatūra ir kalba“, 1971, t. XI (Lietuvių tautosakos stilius ir žanrai), p. 8–300. After completing my paper there appeared a very valuable study of Lithuanian folk metrics, with interesting theoretical statements. The article proves many of my points and is highly instructive in general Baltic metrics as well: L. Sauka. Lietuvių folkloro eilėtyros istorijos ir teorijos klausimai. — „Literatūra ir kalba“, 1974, t. XIII („Lietuvių poetikos tyrinėjimai“), p. 87–238.

<sup>11</sup> A. Senn. Zur Betonung in der älteren litauischen Dichtung. — In: Rakstu krājums... Jānim Endzelīnam. Rīgā, 1959, p. 247–250; P. Trost. Das Metrum der litauischen Volkslieder. — In: Poetics — Poetyka — Поэтика. Warszawa, 1961, p. 119–125. See also J. Zaube. Par kvantitātes nozīmi latviešu tautas dziesmu ritmā. — In: In honorem Endzelīni ... Chicago, 1960, p. 131–137.

tonism), and its investigation can open up new perspectives in the researches of Baltic metrics as well.

6. Curiously enough it is not the recent inner advancement of Baltic studies that has led to new discoveries in Baltic metrics but that of general metrics, linguistics and phonetics. In addition the new ways and results of Balto-Finnic metric research also seem usefully applicable in Baltic philology.

6.1. The "new" prosody research<sup>12</sup> in the narrower sense has not been taken into account from the viewpoint of Baltic studies so far, although its relevance is again obvious in Baltic (especially in Lithuanian) metrics, mostly because it is the striking problem of stress and pitch (i. e. of accentuation and tonemics) in Indo-European that was investigated.

6.2. Inseparably from the phonetics and tonemic research initiated by Roman Jakobson and his circle, Valdis Zeps was already about a decade ago of the view<sup>13</sup> that the metrics of the traditional Latvian folklore is not stress-based but syllable-based and each line is divided by a cesure. This idea can easily be applied to Lithuanian folk poetry as well. And exercising some caution the same conclusions can be drawn concerning traditional Finnish folklore metrics. However, the first similar Finnish studies emphasized the importance of morpho-phonetic features in the closely related twin categories of meter and rhythm<sup>14</sup>. Here we can add that similar observations can be made as regards Esthonian metrics too. For the time being, however, we just put forward these views as implications, because their general acceptance would be premature yet.

6.3. Some of the results of recent Finnish and Esthonian metrical research have to be mentioned separately here. As it is well known, the relationship between Baltic folklore and Balto-Finnic folklore has been continuous and multiplex, and especially in the field of metrics the already mentioned similarity between *dainametrics* and the so-called *Kalevala-metrics* may have become striking to the experts. But these are not the only reasons why we refer to those results. We have also to add that the Baltic and Balto-Finnic metrical systems in their developmental stages show a genetic and typological analogy, which has not been dealt properly with so far<sup>15</sup>.

In traditional Finnish metrics we find the accent-syllable theory<sup>16</sup>, and similar view was favored by Esthonian metricists. Although between the two world wars Professor Walter Anderson examined carefully the syllabic stress system of the Estho-

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<sup>12</sup> K. Shapiro. *A Bibliography of Modern Prosody*. Baltimore, 1948; S. Chatman. *A Theory of Meter*. The Hague, 1965; D. Crystal. *Prosodic Systems and Intonation in English*. Cambridge, 1969, p. 3–125; F. R. Palmer (ed.). *Prosodic Analysis*. London, 1970.

<sup>13</sup> V. Zeps. *The Meter of the So-called Trochaic Latvian Folksongs*. — "International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics", 1963, V. 7, p. 123–128; V. Zeps. *The Meter of Latvian Folk Dactyls*. — „Cēli“, 1965, t. 14, p. 45–47; V. Zeps. *Folk Meters and Latvian Verse*. — „Lituanus“, 1972, t. 18, p. 10–26.

<sup>14</sup> P. Kiparsky. *Metrics and Morphophonemics in the Kalevala*. Originally — *Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson by his Students*. Cambridge, Mass., 1968, in a new ed.: D. C. Freeman. *Linguistics and Literary Style*. New York, 1970, p. 165–181.

<sup>15</sup> A. R. Niemi. *Vanhän suomalaisen runomitan synnystä*. — „Suomi“, 1918, t. IV, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> M. Sadeniemi. *Die Metrik des Kalevala-Verses*. Helsinki, 1951 (*Folklore Fellows Communications*, 139); M. Sadeniemi. *Kalevalänmitta*. Helsinki, 1957.

nian versification, it is only today that the achievements of his statistical method<sup>17</sup> have been understood by recent scholars and, moreover, he then did not explicate systematically his ideas concerning a meter theory either. Contemporary Finnish metrical research — e. g. Pentti Leino's folkloristic and linguistic studies — first yielded a detailed picture of alliteration<sup>18</sup>, then dealt with the main problems of the Kalevala-metrics<sup>19</sup>. Although his researches are far from being accomplished, what we can conclude from them is that the characteristic Finnish meter should be more closely connected with the general theory of meter than it has been done until now. It seems likely that in Finnish we also have to do with a syllabic by principle metrics in which the following oppositions prevail: strong—neutral—weak. The traditional but arbitrary genetic identification of Finnish metrics with either Mordvian proper, or the more general and distant Finno-Ugric metrical systems seems at present to be an overemphasized and similarly untenable view.

The modern Esthonian metric research has set out to investigate quite different problems, which, even if they do not make it possible to outline a metrical scheme valid for the whole Esthonian folk literature, serve to compliment Finnish and Baltic metric research. One has obtained a much more exact picture of the transitory forms, as from the so-called regivärsiline rahvalaul 'set-meter-folksong' to the riimiline rahvalaul 'rhymed folksong', which took place in the 18—19th centuries<sup>20</sup>. Of particular interest are the metric studies by Jaak Põldmäe who investigates the metrical systems of the Esthonian poetry in the last 150 years<sup>21</sup>. He managed to show that in Esthonian there are no less than eight possible metric systems, which can be grouped in a series ranging from the simple accentual system to the syllabo-tonic system (resp. to the free verse). Põldmäe, following V. V. Ivanov, calls his system axiomatic and does not draw detailed historical conclusions. Nevertheless, future investigations should be pursued in the direction of historical and comparative metrical studies shown by his main results.

7. As far as the proper perspectives of Baltic metrics are concerned, on the basis of what we have summed up so far the following future tasks of researches should be mentioned.

7.1. A descriptive, but axiomatic in its method, summary of both Latvian and Lithuanian metric systems should be worked out; that is the presentation of every relevant metric system in folk poetry and high literature of the Baltic people. Naturally, what we have in mind is not a mere catalogue of every meter but an enumeration and evaluation of all existing metrical systems among the Baltic peoples.

7.2. Afterwards a historical-contrastive investigation should take place, most usefully within the framework of Baltic philological studies. Thus Lithua-

<sup>17</sup> W. Anderson. Studien zur Wortsilbenstatistik der älteren estnischen Volkslieder. Tartu, 1935 (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis B XXXIV, 1).

<sup>18</sup> P. Leino. Strukturaalinen alkusointu Suomessa. Helsinki, 1970.

<sup>19</sup> P. Leino. Kalevalamitan ongelmia. — „Kalevalaseuran — Vuosikirja“, 1974, t. 54, p. 243—269.

<sup>20</sup> E. Laugaste. Eesti regivärsi struktuuriküsimusi. Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised, 1962, t. 117, p. 25—70; E. Laugaste. Sõnaalguline ja sisealliteratsioon eesti rahvalauludes. Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised, 1969, t. 234, p. 1—356; Лаугасте Э. Р. Начальная и внутренняя аллитерация в эстонских народных песнях. Тарту, 1970.

<sup>21</sup> Пылдымяэ Я. Р. Системы эстонского стихосложения и черты развития силлаботонической системы XX века. Тарту, 1971.

nian and Latvian data would join each other. In this method the differences in the metric systems, or between folk poetry and high literature could easily be revealed, on the one hand, and the developmental tendencies of different metrical systems of artistic poetry would also be shown, on the other. Research so far has been necessarily and dominantly genetic in character and has favored the investigations of the "Indo-European origins". Now it is time to move a step further and investigate Baltic metrics with complex areal-typological method.

7.3. With regard to the origins and essence of Baltic metrical systems even former investigations have revealed the mutual relationships of rhythm and meter, linguistic and poetic, text based and tune based, generic and individual features. Today complex descriptive analyses are needed to clarify all these further.

7.4. As far as theoretical investigations are concerned, the above mentioned remarks would suffice for complex metric research. If we can conclude our search for perspectives by saying that we do not know yet again what the original system of Baltic metrics looks like, this can be contributed to previous research and it can be a pledge for new investigations.

8. This work has an intermediary status, as it were, and beyond it further research work can be accomplished. Among these here we mention only the next and most important ones.

8.1. Regarding the theory of meter the recent Halle—Keyser school of stress and accent metrics<sup>22</sup> and the debates concerning this trend<sup>23</sup> pertain directly to English metrics, but the question of accentuation was presented in such a way that the ideas involved seem to be applicable to Baltic metrics. However, works with this orientation have not appeared as yet. We firmly hope this method will be put to use by scholars of Baltic metrics in the near future.

8.2. The specific investigation of the specific features of the different Baltic dialects is a separate question which remained unsolved so far. Traditional metrics presupposed the existence of a single system within each given language. Modern metrics, on the other hand, postulates more than one system where one mutually influences the other and where small differences and qualities should also be taken into account. In Baltic languages (and in the neighbouring languages too) there was a strong dialectization tendency and this phenomenon should also be considered directly in metrics.

Without a claim for completeness the following dialect differences are to be accounted for<sup>24</sup>. In Finnish, the difference between Western (Häme) and Eastern (Karelian) dialects — this problem has already come up in connection with the possible origin of Kalevala-metrics, but without the necessary emphasis and final results in researches; in Estonian, the difference between Northern and Southern (within this the Setu) dialects; in Latvian, the relationship of the Latga-

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<sup>22</sup> M. Halle—S. J. Keyser. *English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, and Its Role in Verse*. New York—Evanston—London, 1971.

<sup>23</sup> See e. g.: W. K. Wimsatt. *The Rule and the Norm: Halle and Keyser on Chaucer's Meter*. — In: S. Chatman (ed.). *Literary Style. A Symposium*. London—New York, 1971, p. 197—220; M. Halle—S. J. Keyser. *Der jambische Pentameter*. — In: J. Ihwe (hrsg). *Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*. Bd. 2. Frankfurt, 1973, p. 246—267.

<sup>24</sup> Baltic and Balto-Finnic dialectological studies are abundant. Therefore, there is no need to quote the works separately.

lian metrics with the standard Latvian; historically even the question of the Kurian metrics; in Lithuanian, the main difference between Western (also Prussian) and Eastern dialects, historically the Old Prussian metrics also belong here, although we can hardly here more than make some general statements, because the reliable sources on Baltic dialectal metrics are limited.

8.3. This reviewed method of Baltic metrics will find its way towards Indo-European comparative metrics. As it has already been noted, despite the emphasis that Indo-European metricists have laid on the importance of Baltic meter, this has received much less attention than the Classical or Sanskrit meter. The secondary place of Baltic metrics in the domain of Indo-European metric studies is also due to the lack of descriptive systems within. The new trend offers more opportunities also in this respect, because it seeks to outline the specific development of Baltic metrics on the basis of more than one factor and their correlations. Naturally, similar factors have manifested themselves in every Indo-European (and non-Indo-European) language.

With regard to this aspect it would seem fruitful to carry out a large-scale comparative analysis of German, Slavic and Balto-Finnic metrics. Such a comparative analysis would concern the immediate surrounding of the Baltic area and it has to be able to separate genetic congruences from typological ones in East European metrics.

9. Needless to mention again that the starting point of all this new research perspective should be the detailed elaboration of a multi-factor system of Baltic metrics. In the present paper we have had no space to present in detail this<sup>25</sup>, but its principles involved had to be surveyed rather shortly. We claim, however, that we were able to show that it is possible to draw such a multi-factor model and that the possibilities to outline it are highly favourable today. The mutual importance and connections of these factors can only be revealed in depth investigations (according to the particular languages and dialects, genres and historic ages!), nevertheless, the major tendencies can be anticipated in advance.

In general, Baltic metrics is of linguistic (not musical or gestural-choreal) origin, characteristic is the stichic metrics both in epics and in strophic songs, its basic unit is the syllable and originally it embodies a three-feature system, the inner development of which can leave to a quantitative syllabo-tonic metrical system. The main lines of development, however, may be different in each (lingual or generic) case. Quantitative and ictus (stress) systems may emerge together and it is just this "double-determination" that may give rise to a clear form of syllabism. The original forms of syllabism are of stichic and not of strophic-stanzaic character and later there appears homostichism first influencing lines and couples and then larger textual-metrical units as well. In spite of this at that time we do not find a hierarchy of metrically regulated further phenomena within the lines (e. g. compulsory rules between the main and subsidiary stress, or obligatory quantitative substitution). Lines and sets of lines are connected by morphophonetic and morphosyntactic parallelism. Meter has falling tone, thus altering the accent-pattern of language but still having its origin in it. Other forms (e. g. rising rhythm, close relationship of the

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<sup>25</sup> This should be the subject of a forthcoming paper.



tune and text, rhymes, stanzaic metrics) are considerably later phenomena as a result of outside influences but coming from the potentials of the original forms of Baltic metrics. All this is the historical and developmental "dialectics" of local and universal, individual and general metric rules in the Baltic area.

10. Because of the enormous amount of empirical data it would be most convenient to apply statistical methods in research, to quantify data and to use computer whenever possible. This also has its methodological preconditions, which, however, — since they have been worked out in general modern metric research, — need not be presented in detail here.

## SMULKMENOS

### XXXV

Prieš trejis metus straipsnyje „Dėl baltų substrato Balstogės vaivadijoje“ (Baltistica, t. XI, 2, p. 149—153) buvo atkreiptas dėmesys į lituanizmus Knišino (Knyszyn, Lenkijoje) apylinkės lenkų šnektoje, esančioje už 80–90 km į pietvakarius nuo dabartinio lietuvių kalbos ploto pakraščių. Tai senoji jotvingių žemė. Iki 1569 m. Knišino apylinkės priklausė Lietuvos valstybės teritorijai. Matyt, praeityje čia būta sudėtingų kalbinių procesų bei kontaktų, kuriems išryškinti dar neturime pakankamai duomenų. Lenkų kalbininkų darbuose kaskart iškeliami vis naujų faktų, rodančių čia daug kur buvus sąlyčio su lietuvių kalba. Minėtina Michalo Kondratiuko knyga apie Balstogės krašto pietryčių dalies vietovardžius<sup>1</sup>, kurioje užfiksuota apie pusšimtį baltiškų vietovardžių, iš kurių daugelis aiškiai lietuviškos kilmės, pvz., *Dojlidy*, *Dzidziule*, *Kiewłaki* (< \**Kiaul-akiai*), *Kojły*, *Kojrany* (< \**Kair-ėnai*), *Narejki*, *Paceliszki*, *Romejki*, *Szernie*, *Żegunie* ir kt.<sup>2</sup> Lietuviškos kilmės vietovardžių esama ir vidurinėje bei vakarinėje Balstogės vaivadijos dalyse. Tai matyti iš Irenos Halickos knygos apie šio krašto vietovardžius<sup>3</sup>. Čia be kita ko randame vietovardžius *Downary*, *Kienstutow Brod* || *Brod Kienstuta* („Kęstučio brasta“), *Narajki*, *Radzwiłów* || *Radzwiłowo*, *Romejki*, *Żodziki*, *Oliszki*, kurių lietuviška kilmė, atrodo, neturėtų kelti didesnių abejonių. Dar plg. vietovardžius *Litwa* (net 5 vietovių vardai), *Litewka* (2 vietovės), *Litwiany*. Esama čia ir jotvingiškos resp. prūsiškos kilmės vietovardžių, pvz., *Kiersnowo* || *Kirsnowo*, *Sasiny*. Dar plg. *Jatwież* (2 vietovės), *Prusy*, *Pruska* ir kt. Įdomus kaimo vardas *Guty*, kuris XV a. dokumentuose vadinamas *Guthi alias Karwowo*. Gal tai senovinis (jotvingiškas?) vietovardis (: la. *gūovs* 'karvė', dim. *gūotina*, lie. *guōtas* 'banda') ir jo lietuviškas (: *karvė*) ar lenkiškas (: *karw* 'jautis') vertinys? Stebina antroponiminės kilmės vietovardžių gausumas. Tokios kilmės gyvenviečių pavadinimai labai būdingi teritorijai, kuri senovėje priklausė Lietuvos Didžiajai Kunigaikštystei.

Z. Zinkevičius

<sup>1</sup> Kondratiuk M. Nazwy miejscowe południowo — wschodniej Białostoczczyzny. Wrocław — Warszawa — Kraków — Gdańsk, 1974.

<sup>2</sup> Žr. ypač p. 275—277.

<sup>3</sup> Halicka I. Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostoczczyzny. Dzierżawcze, patronimiczne i rodzinne. Warszawa, 1976.