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STUDIES IN UKRAINIAN LINGUISTICS

IN HONOR OF GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

EDITED BY JACOB P. HURSKY

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George Y. Shevelov

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Foreword

This volume has been prepared to honor Professor George Y. Shevelov, an eminent scholar, teacher, colleague, and a good friend, on his seventy-fifth birthday. His wide and manifold scholarly and teaching activity over the last fifty years is a significant contribution to Ukrainian and Slavic linguistics as well as to Ukrainian literary studies and literary criticism.

Born on December 17, 1908, into a cultured middle-class family, Professor Shevelov was brought up in standard modern Russian and Ukrainian. In his home he had contact with French and German which his parents knew well. He received his secondary and university education in Kharkiv, where in 1939 he earned the degree of *Kandydat filolohičnyx nauk* with his thesis, "Sposterežennja nad movoju sučasnoji poeziji," written under Leonyd Bulaxovs'kyj's direction. In 1949, he earned his Ph.D. degree in Slavic Philology at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany.

Professor Shevelov's academic career began at the School of Journalism (1931-1935) and at the Ukrainian Institute of Journalism (1933-1939) in Kharkiv, where he was first Instructor, later *Docent* of Ukrainian Language and Literature. In 1939, he was appointed *Docent* of Slavic Linguistics at the University of Kharkiv, where he taught until 1943. From 1941, he simultaneously held a Chair in the Department of Ukrainian Philology. In 1943, due to the worsening conditions of the war, he left Kharkiv for Lviv and then for Munich. In 1946, he was appointed Associate Professor of Slavic Philology at the Ukrainian Free University, where he taught until 1949. From 1950 to 1952, Professor Shevelov held the position of Lecturer in Russian and Ukrainian at the University of Lund, Sweden, and from 1952 to 1954, a similar position at Harvard University. In 1954, he was appointed Associate Professor of Slavic Philology at Columbia University, New York, where, after having been promoted to Professor in 1958, he taught until he retired in 1977 with the title of Professor Emeritus.

Professor Shevelov was Visiting Professor at the University of Cali-

fornia, Berkely, in the summer of 1959, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in the summer of 1965, and at the University of California, Los Angeles, in the summer of 1970.

Since 1952, Professor Shevelov has lectured widely throughout the United States (at Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Pennsylvania State University, University of Pennsylvania, University of California in Berkeley, University of California at Los Angeles, Stanford, Syracuse, Brown, New York State University at Buffalo, Oakland, University of Michigan, Ohio State University, and at the University of Pittsburgh), Canada (at the University of Toronto, the University of Manitoba, and at the University of Alberta), and Europe (at the Universities of Helsinki, Stockholm, Uppsala, Gothenburg, Lund, Vienna, Berlin, Cologne, Munich, Paris, Aix-en-Provence, Copenhagen, and Oslo).

Among the many distinguished grants and fellowships he has received are awards from the Guggenheim Foundation (1959), the American Council of Learned Societies (1964, 1967), the National Endowment for the Humanities (1974), and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (1977).

In 1971, Professor Shevelov was presented a volume of essays in Slavic linguistics and literary studies in honor of the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. The authors represented in this volume were his former students, colleagues, and personal friends.

Professor Shevelov has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Alberta (May 31, 1983) and the Philosophiae Doctor *honoris causa* degree from the University of Lund (May 25, 1984). He has also served as President of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States from 1959 to 1961 and from 1979 to present.

Professor Shevelov has been a very productive scholar. His scholarly publications cover, within Slavistics, a wide variety of subjects: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicography, etymology, literary languages, onomastics, stylistics a.o., approached both synchronically and historically. Besides his studies on Slavic as a whole he has devoted special studies to Old Church Slavonic, Belorussian, Polish, Russian, Slovak Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and above all Ukrainian. His awareness of the problems of methodology led him to several articles in

general linguistics. Starting in the 1950s, his works increasingly centered on problems of the historical phonology of Slavic languages, especially Ukrainian, culminating in the publication of his book, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (1979). In this book a new concept of the history of that language was presented and many problems found new solutions based on ample factual data. Since the development of Ukrainian has been taken here not in isolation and not exclusively in the framework of Eastern Slavic but in a broad context of all the coterritorial and adjacent languages, the book has bearing also on the history of those languages. As a reviewer put it: "Sorgfältige Berücksichtingung des urkundlichen Materials, umfassende Kenntnis der dialektalen Erscheinungen, ausführliche Darstellung der innerukr. Verhältnissen und der Parallelen in verwandten und benachbarten Sprachen zeigen sich auf Schritt und Tritt... Eine hervorragende, beispielhafte Arbeit, die unsere Kenntnis über das Ukrainische auf eine neue, solide Grundlage gestellt hat. Die Slavistik und Indogermanistik wird von diesem Werk noch lange profitieren."*

In addition to his success in teaching, lecturing, researching, writing, and publishing, Professor Shevelov has also distinguished himself by his human qualities. In his relations with others, and especially with students and younger scholars, he has endeared himself to all by his integrity, his kindness, his willingness to help, his discernment, and his patience. For these qualities, all who know Professor Shevelov and especially those who have had the opportunity to work with him hold him in the highest esteem and share a common feeling of indebtedness toward him.

On behalf of the authors and readers of this volume we take pleasure in congratulating Professor Shevelov on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday and in extending to him their warmest wishes for many more years of good health and for a continued active retirement. *Многая Вам літа, Юрію Володимировичу*!

* Jürgen Udolph, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 88 (1983), pp. 365, 370.

In compiling this volume we would like to thank all the contributors for their papers, as well as for their patience during the long editorial work.

Jacob P. Hursky
Syracuse University

A Bibliography of the Publications of George Y. Shevelov

(1969 — 1983)

compiled by

JACOB P. HURSKY

The present bibliography continues and supplements the earlier bibliography of the publications of George Y. Shevelov (409 items), "Bibliohrafija prac' prof. d-ra Jurija Ševel'ova (1934-1968)," which I compiled in 1968 on the occasion of his 60th birthday and which was published in *Symbolae in honorem Georgii Y. Shevelov* (Munich, 1971), pp. 7-35. It is organized in two sections: I. Published Works and II. Editorial Work.

Entries in the bibliography comprise the years 1969-1983. Under each year items in section I are listed alphabetically by title in the following order: books, articles, reviews, obituaries, notices, and miscellaneous publications. Where deemed necessary, additional information is given: contents, references to reprints or translations. Items in section II are listed alphabetically.

I. Published Works

1969

1. (with John J. Chew, Jr.), "Open Syllable Languages and Their Evolution: Common Slavic and Japanese," *Word*, 25:1-3, pp. 252-274. [Reprinted in no. 11, pp. 15-34.]
2. "Počesti i čto on... Un gallicisme syntaxique dans littérature ukrainienne de la fin du XVIIIe, début du XIXe siècle," *Revue des études slaves*, 48, pp. 156-158.

3. "The Vicissitudes of a Syntactic Construction in Eastern Slavic (Impersonal sentences in *-no, -to* with the acc sg of object)," *Scando-Slavica,* 15, pp. 171-186.
[A sequel to item 358 in the bibliography of 1971].
4. "Rik vydannja druhyj," [Review of *Movoznavstvo.* Orhan viddilu literatury, movy i mystectvoznavstva Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR. Holovnyj redaktor I.K. Bilodid (Kiev, 1968), nos. 1-6] , *Sučasnist',* 8 (104) (Munich), pp. 58-70.
5. "Moji pryhody v Radjans'komu Sojuzi," *Sučasnist',* 2 (98) (Munich), pp. 54-66.

1970

6. "Potebnja Oleksander," *Encyklopedija Ukrajinoznavstva,* II, 6 (Paris—New York), pp. 2279-2280.
7. "Prarus'ka mova," *ibid,* pp. 2311-2312.
8. "Praslov"jans'ka mova," *ibid.*, p. 2312.
9. "Zum Problem des ukrainischen Anteils an der Bildung der russischen Schriftsprache Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch,* 16, pp. 5-33.
10. [Review of] *Rosijs'ko-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk,* 3 vols., by Akademija Nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR (Kiev, 1968), in: *Slavic Review,* 29:2, pp. 360-362.

1971

11. *Teasers and Appeasers.* Essays and Studies on Themes of Slavic Philology (=*Forum Slavicum,* 32) (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag), 336 pp.
12. [Review of] Vasyl Niniovs'kyj, *Ukrainian Reverse Dictionary* (Munich—Edmonton, 1969), in: *The Slavic and East European Journal,* 15:3, pp. 356-358.
13. "Kirova, 4. Kil'ka uvah pro movu, movoznavstvo i 'Movoznavstvo', pro pererubanu navpil dytynu, pro hračiv na flejti i lycariv jeryžky, pro sebe i svojix koleg i 'koleg' ta inši reči," *Sučasnist',* 6 (126) (Munich), pp. 38-55.

1972

14. "A Disturbance in the Protein," [A slightly abridged translation of Jurij Šerech's (George Y. Shevelov's) article, "Bilok i joho zaburen-

nja," which appeared in *Ukrajins'ka literaturna hazeta,* 3:9 (27) (Munich, 1957)], in: Valerian Pidmohylny, *A Little Touch of Drama* (= Ukrainian Classics in Translation, ed. by George S. N. Luckyj, no. 1) (Littleton, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press), pp. 9-16.

15. "Leonid Vasil'ev and His Work," in: Leonid Vasil'ev, *Trudy po istorii russkogo i ukrainskogo jazykov,* ed. and with introduction by George Y. Shevelov (= Slavische Propyläen, 94) (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag), pp. vii-xxxiv.
16. "Moravizmy v Izbornyku 1076 roku?" *Ukrajins'kyj istoryk,* 3-4 (35-36) (New York—Munich), pp. 85-91.
17. [Review of] *Akty sela Odrexovy* (Kiev, 1970), in: *Recenzija,* 2:2 (Cambridge, Mass.), pp. 44-57.
18. "Rjadky pro druha," [On Hryhory Kostiuk's 70th Birthday], *Novi dni,* 273 (Toronto), pp. 4-5.

1973

19. (with Olexa Horbatsch), "Semantyka," *Encyklopedija Ukrajinoznavstva,* II, 7 (Paris — New York), p. 2746.
20. "Boris O. Unbegaun, 1898-1973," *Slavic Review,* 32:2, pp. 446-448. Cf. no. 25.

1974

21. "Belorussian versus Ukrainian: Delimitation of Texts before A.D. 1569," *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies,* 3:2 (London), pp. 145-156.
    Cf. no. 28.
22. "The Reflexes of **dj* in Ukrainian," *Topics in Slavic Phonology,* ed. by D.J. Koubourlis (Cambridge, Mass.), pp. 223-234.
23. "Vprovadžujučy Ševčenka. Vstupne slovo na Ševčenkivs'kij konferenciji Ukrajins'koji Vil'noji Akademiji Nauk u N'ju-Jorku," *Novi dni,* 293 (Toronto), pp. 1-2.
24. (Jurij Šerech [George Y. Shevelov]), "Kartagena našoji provincijnosty musyt' buty zrujnovana," *Plastovyj šljax,* 2 (41) (Toronto), pp. 5-17; 3 (42), pp. 3-14.
    [Reprinted from *Dumky proty tečiji. Publicystyka* ([Neu Ulm], 1948).]

25. "Boris O. Unbegaun, September 4, 1898 — March 4, 1973," *Russian Linguistics*, 1 (Dordrecht, Holland), pp. 215-223.
Cf. no. 20.

1975

26. (Jurij Šerech [George Y. Shevelov]), *Halyčyna v formuvanni novoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* ([Edmonton]: Department of Slavic Languages, The University of Alberta, s.a.), 8 + 156 pp.
[Reprint of (1) Jurij Šerech, *Halyčyna v formuvanni novoji ukrajins koji literaturnoji movy* (Munich, 1949), and (2) Jurij Ševel'ov, "Černihivščyna v formuvanni novoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy," *Zbirnyk na pošanu Zenona Kuzeli, ZNTŠ,* CLXIX (1962), pp. 252-264.]
27. "The Gospel of Reims and the History of the Serbo-Croatian Language," *Xenia Slavica.* Papers presented to Gojko Ružičić on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, ed. by Rado L. Lencek and Boris O. Unbegaun (= Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 279) (The Hague: Mouton), pp. 185-194.
28. "The Literary Languages of the Ukraine in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and the Delimitation of Ukrainian and Belorussian Texts," *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies Held at Harvard University,* 5 (Cambridge, Mass.), pp. 74-76.
Cf. no. 21.
29. " 'Mojsej' Ivana Franka," *Novi dni,* 301 (Toronto), pp. 3-7; 302, pp. 2-7.
[Reprinted from: Ivan Franko, *Mojsej* (New York, 1968), pp. 7-10, 105-129.]
30. "On Lexical Polonisms in Literary Ukrainian," *For Wiktor Weintraub: Essays in Polish Literature, Language, and History.* Presented on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, ed. by Victor Erlich, Roman Jakobson, Czeslaw Milosz, Riccardo Picchio, Alexander M. Schenker, and Edward Stankiewicz (= Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 312) (The Hague: Mouton), pp. 449-463.
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33. "Simovyč Vasyl'," *Encyklopedija Ukrajinoznavstva,* II, 8 (Paris—New York), pp. 2840-2841.
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35. "Some Remarks on Written Records as a Source of Evidence for the Historical Phonology of the Middle Ukrainian Language (1569-1720)," *The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada* (Winnipeg), pp. 170-180.
36. "Starocerkovnoslov"jans'ka mova," *Encyklopedija Ukrajinoznavstva,* II, 8 (Paris—New York), pp. 3033-3034.
37. "Stjahnennja," *ibid*, p. 3088.
38. "Synjavs'kyj Oleksa," *ibid.*, pp. 2819-2820.
39. "Note," *Lingua*, 38 (Haarlem), pp. 357-358.
40. "Pered skljankoju vody," *Svoboda*, 204 (Jersey City, 23 October), pp. 2-3.

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44. "On the Chronology of *h* and the New *g* in Ukrainian, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies,* 1:2, pp. 137-152.
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46. [Review of] Hans Rothe, ed., *Die älteste ostslawische Kunstdichtung 1575-1647.* Erster Halbband (Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur

bei den Slawen 7,1) (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz), in: *Slavic and East European Journal*, 21:3, pp. 427-429.

47. "Porohy i zaporižžja," *Sučasnist*, 9 (201) (Munich), pp. 70-92.
[On the ideology of Soviet dissidents and of the Ukrainian emigrés.]

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48. (Yury Šerech [George Y. Shevelov]), *Druha čerha. Literatura. Teatr. Ideolohiji* ([New York]: Sučasnist'), 392 pp.
49. "Omega in the Codex Hankenstein. A Hitherto Unnoticed Episode in the Ukrainian Development *o* > *i*," *Studia linguistica Alexandro Vasilii filio Issatschenko a collegis amicisque oblata* (Lisse: The Peter De Ridder Press), pp. 369-386.
50. "On the So-Called Signature of Queen Ann of France (1063)," *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill,* IV (The Hague: Mouton), pp. 249-256.
For reprint, cf. no. 51.
51. "On the So-Called Signature of Queen Ann of France (1063)," *Studia Ucrainica*, 1 (= University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies, 3) (Ottawa), pp. 57-63.
[Reprint of no. 50.]
52. "Zur Chronologie der Entstehung der ukrainischen Dialekte im Lichte der historischen Phonologie," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, 40:2, pp. 285-310.
53. (with Petro Marčenko), "Oleksander Semenenko, 27 serpnja 1898 — 1 červnja 1978," *Sučasnist'*, 11 (215) (Munich), pp. 68-76.
54. "Poezija plastyčnoho obrazu," *Tvorčist' Jara Slavutyča.* Statti j recenziji, ed. Volodymyr Žyla (Edmonton: Slavuta), pp. 218-220.
[Reprinted from *Čas*, 22 (36) (Fürth), 8 June 1946.]
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For reprint, cf. no. 102.
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1979

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61. "Reflections of a Linguist on Ukrainian History," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies,* 6 (Toronto), pp. 62-69.
62. [Review of] *Slavica Hierosolymitana.* Slavic Studies of the Hebrew University, vols. I-II, in: *The Russian Review,* 38:2, pp. 266-268.
63. "Zustrič z 'Berezolem': Edinburg, 1979," *Sučasnist',* 11 (227) (Munich), pp. 76-82.
64. "Žyttja v Rejk"javiku (abo nezaležnist' — i ščo zavtra?)," *Sučasnist',* 7-8 (223-[224]) (Munich), pp. 170-180.
65. "325: Las Goyescas de Kiev," *Sučasnist',* 6 (222) (Munich), pp. 59-66.
66. (RMt [George Y. Shevelov]), "Na Šostij...," [Annotation on S. Dj. Rašković's paper, "Ways and Crossways of Our Ukrainian Studies and Ukrainian Literature in Translation (in Serbian)," delivered at the Sixth International Conference of Literary Translators, August 1977, Tetovo, Macedonia; published in *Šesta međunarodna sredba na literaturnite preveduvači. Pridonesot na prevodot za razvojot na nacionalnata književnost* (Tetovo, 1978)], *Sučasnist'* 7-8 (223-(224)) (Munich), p. 238.

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Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies), pp. 143-160.
[Translation of no. 273 in the bibliography of 1971.]

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[Abridged version of no. 318 in the bibliography of 1971.]

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STUDIES IN UKRAINIAN LINGUISTICS

Ikavism and Markedness in Ukrainian Diminutives

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In Contemporary Standard Ukrainian (CSU) there is an alternation between the two mid vowels /e/ and /o/ and the high vowel /i/ which is often referred to as ikavism.[1] Although the alternation was at one time phonologically conditioned in that the high front vowel was found in the closed syllable under retracted stress or as a result of what is traditionally called compensatory lengthening after the loss of a weak jer,[2] in CSU this alternation is not phonologically determined. The presence of minimal pairs in CSU such as *xid : xodu* 'process' vs *xod : xodu* 'type of cart', *holova : holivka* 'head' vs *holova : holovka* 'head of cabbage' and other forms in which the alternation does not take place in spite of the given phonological conditions, such as *meža : mež* 'boundary', *klen : klena* 'maple', *lovec' : lovcja* 'catcher' (as well as borrowings which do not exhibit this alternation, e.g., *aktor : aktora* 'actor', *moda : mod* 'fashion') indicate that the implementation of this alternation is not a productive phonological process in CSU.

[1] This is not generally true of the mid vowels which derive from strong jers, although there are isolated cases where nouns which had a jer now exhibit ikavism: *brova : briv* (< brъvъ) 'eyebrow'; *bloxa : blix* (< blъxъ) 'flea'.

[2] The theory of compensatory lengthening as a result of the loss of weak jers in Ukrainian generally originated with Miklosich (1852). Later Potebnja (1865) included studies of northern Ukrainian dialect diphthongs as a chain in this proposed development. His work was followed by Šaxmatov (1915) and expanded by Bulaxovs'kyj in numerous publications. Bulaxovs'kyj indicates that probably compensatory lengthening was more instrumental in the raising of the mid vowel than its mere occurrence in a closed syllable (1951:247). Shevelov (1979), on the other hand, expresses strong doubt about the theory of compensatory lengthening and especially about the tendency of scholars to postulate intermediate diphthongal stages in all Ukrainian dialects, suggesting instead that this development in the mid vowels is the consequence of narrowing. (See his extensive discussion on pp. 302-333, 425-439, and elsewhere.) The data in this paper are taken from Bulaxovs'kyj (1946, 1951), Holoskevyč (1955), Holovaščuk and Rusanivs'kyj (1975), Ninovs'kyj (1969), Pohribnyj (1964), Rusanivs'kyj (1969) and Žovtobrjux (1973).

The problem of ikavism in CSU is primarily an historical one. Traces of the alternation are found throughout the system as a result of phonological, morphological and analogical developments. In a synchronic analysis there are essentially two aspects to this problem. The first is the domain of the alternation—the distribution of its occurrence. The second is its role in the contemporary system.

This paper will address the second issue and examine the role of this alternation in the grammatical category of nouns. It will consider the implementation of this alternation within the noun paradigm and its use in neutral nouns as compared to the grammatically marked diminutive forms. It is suggested that when ikavism does take place in nouns, it is associated with grammatical markedness.

There is a significant but limited number of nouns which exhibits the *e, o : i* alternation. The following can be cited as representative (1):

(1)

NSG	GSG	GLOSS
hrim	*hromu*	thunder
viz	*voza*	cart
mist	*mostu*	bridge
rih	*roha*	horn
dim	*domu*	house
pič	*peči*	stove
osin'	*oseny*	fall

NSG	GPL	GLOSS
noha	*nih*	leg
hora	*hir*	mountain
zorja	*zir*	star
škola	*škil*	school
pole	*pil'*	field

In order to clarify the function of this alternation in the inflection of CSU let us consider some diachronic developments. The alternation has been levelled in the development of several nouns. This levelling can be of two types: either the mid vowel is generalized throughout the paradigm or the /i/ is generalized to other forms of the paradigm. The first type of levelling in the inflectional category is motivated by paradigm regularity, i.e., the mid vowel is more frequent in the paradigm. This

type of levelling occurred in the genitive plural (feminine and neuter nouns) as well as in the nominative singular (masculine nouns). For example: *sova* 'owl' N sg, *sov* G pl; *osa* 'wasp' N sg, *os* G pl (dialectal *vis*); *med* 'honey' N sg (dialectal *mid*), *medu* G sg, etc. These changes can be attributed to paradigm regularity where the more frequent variant is generalized.

The second type of levelling, in favor of the /i/, seems to be more restricted. This type of generalization took place only if the /i/ alternant was found in the nominative singular category. Thus, /i/ has been now generalized in the paradigm of 'clothes'; *odiž* N/A sg, *odiži* G sg (previously *odeži*), *odiži* D sg etc. and in a few other paradigms as well. There seem to be no regular instances of the /i/-alternant generalizing to the rest of the paradigm if it was found in the genitive plural, e.g., the paradigm of 'she-goat' has not changed on the model of the G pl *kiz* to +*kiza*, +*kizu*, +*kizy*, etc.

In CSU several nouns show variants in the genitive plural (2):

(2)	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
	stodola	*stodol/stodil*	barn
	pidloha	*pidloh/pidlih*	floor
	svoboda	*svobod/svobid*	freedom
	koza	*koz/kiz*	goat
	pančoxa	*pančox/pančix*	stocking
	sl'oza	*sl'oz/sliz*	tear
	udova	*udov/udiv*	widow

It is difficult to determine if these are chronological differences. There is a possibility that these variants reflect different dialectal developments which have entered the standard language.[3] Nevertheless, it is striking that CSU does not allow such extensive variation in the nominative singular category: the few existing variants actually differ in meaning, e.g., *sxid* 'east', *sxod* 'meeting'; *xid* 'process', *xod* 'cart'. The fact that variation is possible in the genitive plural suggests that the /i/-alternant in the genitive plural is generated by a rule.

[3] For example, Holoskevyč (1955) gives two variants for *nora: nor/nir* and for *suxota: suxot/suxit*, while Pohribnyj (1964) gives only *nir* and *suxot*.

The pleophonic forms are also interesting in this respect. They generally were not subject to ikavism as indicated in (3).

(3)	NSG	GSG	GLOSS
	voron	*vorona*	raven
	molot	*molota*	hammer
	holos	*holosu*	voice
	čerep	*čerepa*	skull
	bereh	*bereha*	shore
	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
	soroka	*sorok*	magpie
	vorona	*voron*	crow
	vereteno	*vereten*	spindle
	derevo	*derev*	tree

But some pleophonic forms do exhibit ikavism (4):

(4)	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
	boroda	*borid*	beard
	storona	*storin*	side
	doloto	*dolit*	chisel
	doroha	*dorih*	road
	boloto	*bolit*	mud
	čereda	*čerid*	herd
	bereza	*beriz*	birch

Ikavism in these forms is not supported by paradigm regularity. Although it may have at one time been motivated by a retraction of stress as Bulaxovs'kyj (1946) identifies, in CSU it is of interest that the alternation is widely found in the genitive plural but only in isolated cases of nominative singular forms, e.g., *porih* 'threshhold', *poroha* G sg; *smorid* 'stench', *smorodu* G sg.[4]

The hypothesis suggested by the data is that in the inflectional paradigm the *e, o:i* alternation, when it does occur, is identified with the category of genitive plural. Two other examples are of interest here: *kryxta* 'crumb' and *plaxta* 'skirt'. These nouns have several variants in

[4] Two neuter nouns have a retraction of stress from the desinence onto the stem but do not exhibit this alternation: *molokó* 'milk', *molók* G pl and *džereló* 'source', *džerél* G pl.

the genitive plural: *kryxt/kryxot/kryxit* and *plaxt/plaxot/plaxit*. Clearly these forms indicate the presence of an epenthetic vowel /o/. The /i/ is not epenthetic. The genitive plural form *kryxit* implements ikavism and suggests the possibility of a reanalyzed new nominative singular +*kryxota*.

The preceding discussion suggests that 1) ikavism in the nominative singular is a lexical phenomenon in that its occurrence is not at all predictable; 2) the genitive plural case differs from the nominative singular in that it may be morphologically marked by the presence of ikavism, and 3) in the inflectional (neutral) paradigm the mid vowel is the more frequent alternant and tends to be generalized.

In the derived diminutive-affectionate paradigm of these nouns the implementation of this alternation is of a different nature. Two types of derivations will be considered here. The first type is derived by the suffixation of *-(o)k-* and *-(e)c'-*, historically *-ъk-* and *-ьc'-*.[5] As a result of changes in the jers, the addition of these suffixes gave preceding open or closed syllables: CVC + ък+ъ > CV-C*ok*; CVC + ьк+*a* > CVC-*ka*, where ikavism was phonologically motivated in the latter (closed syllable). Forms which preserve this regular historical development in CSU are not numerous: *ostrovok : ostrivka* 'island'; *Donec' : Dincja* 'Donets River'. Most of these forms have undergone analogical changes, e.g., *vizok : vizka* 'cart'. The zero desinence is not an issue in these forms since it is the root vowel not the stem vowel which alternates.

The second type of derivation to be considered here is the formation of the second degree diminutive by the suffixation of *-oč(o)k-* and *-on'(o)k-*, e.g. *vizočok : vizočka*. The root vowel in these diminutives is never found in a closed syllable, in other words, ikavism was not phonologically motivated in any form of the paradigm.[6]

In order to clarify the role of ikavism in CSU nouns, let us compare the occurrence of ikavism in the neutral paradigm (where the alternating

[5] There is a homophonous suffix *-ec'-* which forms deverbal or denominal nouns with the meaning 'actor': *strilec'* 'sharpshooter', cf. *striljaty* 'to shoot'. The root vowel in these derivations is not usually subject to ikavism, although it does take place in a few: *honec'/hinec'* 'messenger', *hincja* G sg, cf. *honyty* 'to chase, run'.

[6] The diminutive-affectionate suffix *-yk-* does not elicit any changes in the root and therefore is phonologically regular. The *-yk-* retains its vowel in all cases: *kin'* 'horse' N sg, *konja* G sg, *konyk* N sg, *konyka* G sg; *nis* 'nose' N sg, *nosa* G sg, *nosyk* N sg, *nosyka* G sg, etc.

vowel is both the root vowel and the stem vowel) with its occurrence in the diminutive-affectionate paradigm (where the alternating vowel is only the root vowel). The environment of ikavism in the former is a zero desinence and in the latter it may be a consonant cluster. Data given in (5) are diminutives suffixed in *-(o)k*, those in (6) have the suffix *-(e)c'*.

(5)

NSG	GSG	NSG	GSG	GLOSS
drib	*drobu*	*dribok*	*dribka*	fraction
kil	*kola*	*kilok*	*kilka*	stake
mist	*mosta/mostu*	*mistok*	*mistka*	bridge
rih	*roha/rohu*	*rižok*	*rižka*	horn
čobit	*čobota*	*čobitok*	*čobitka*	boot
dzvin	*dzvona/ dzvonu*	*dzvinok*	*dzvinka*	bell

NSG	GSG	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
nič	*noči*	*nička*	*ničok*	night
kist'	*kosty*	*kistka*	*kistok*	bone

NSG	GPL	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
jahoda	*jahid*	*jahidka*	*jahidok*	berry
bdžola	*bdžil*	*bdžilka*	*bdžilok*	bee
noha	*nih*	*nižka*	*nižok*	leg
hora	*hir*	*hirka*	*hirok*	hill
soxa	*six*	*sišk a*	*sišok*	plow

(6)

NSG	GSG	NSG	GSG	GLOSS
stil	*stola*	*stilec'*	*stil'cja*	table/chair
dvir	*dvoru*	*dvirec'*	*dvircja*	courtyard/ railway station (dial.)
vzir	*vzoru*	*vzirec'*	*vzircja*	pattern
riv	*rovu*	*rivec'*	*rivcja*	ditch
ostriv	*ostrova*	*ostrivec'*	*ostrivcja*	island
hrebin'	*hrebenja*	*hrebinec'*	*hrebincja*	comb

NSG	GPL	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
koleso	*kolis*	*kolisce*	*kolisec'*	wheel
rešeto	*rešit*	*rešitce*	*rešitec'*	sieve
selo	*sil*	*sil'ce*	*silec'*	village

Both of these groups have ikavism in the neutral paradigm as well as in the derived diminutives. Nouns whose neutral paradigm allows two variants in the genitive plural (2) also have the /i/-alternant in the diminutive (7).[7]

(7)	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
	kizka	*kizok*	goat
	pančiška	*pančišok*	stocking
	slizka	*slizok*	tear
	komirka	*komirok*	shed
	ozirce	*ozirec'* (dial.)	lake

Some nouns which do not exhibit ikavism in the neutral paradigm do have ikavism in derived forms (8).

(8)	NSG	GPL	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
	xudoba	*xudob*	*xudibka*	*xudibok*	cattle
	kora	*kor*	*kirka*	*kirok*	bark
	smereka	*smerek*	*smerička*	*smeričok*	fir
	teta	*tet*	*titka*	*titok*	aunt

The data show that the presence or absence of ikavism in the inflectional (neutral) category does not have a direct effect on the occurrence of ikavism in the derived category and that ikavism seems to be more general in the dimunitive-affectionate category.

In the first degree diminutives considered, this generalization may be a consequence of paradigm regularity, given that in the derivational paradigm, unlike in the inflectional one, the regular phonological development resulted in the more frequent occurrence of the /i/-alternant. (See Table 1.) The /i/ was then generalized to environments where it was not phonologically expected, i.e., the N sg, the G pl.

[7] This is not always true. For example, *topolja* 'poplar' N sg, *topol'/topil'* G pl, has the diminutive *topol'ka; stopa* 'foot' N sg, *stop/stip* G pl, has the diminutive *stopka,* even though there is the word *stopka* 'wineglass'. Some neuter nouns also show interesting variation in the root: *slovo* 'word' N sg, *sliv* G pl, *slovko* N sg, *slovka* G sg, *slovečko* (not common) N sg, but *slivce* N sg, *slivcja* G sg, *slivec'* G pl. The word *kolo* exhibits a similar pattern.

Table 1. Inflectional vs derivational paradigm structure

N *viz*	*ko-za*	N *vi-zok*	*kiz-ka*
A *viz*	*ko-zu*	A *vi-zok*	*kiz-ku*
G *vo-za*	*ko-zy*	G *viz-ka*	*kiz-ky*
D *vo-zovi*	*ko-zi*	D *viz-kovi*	*kiz-ci*
L *vo-zi*	*ko-zi*	L *viz-ku*	*kiz-ci*
I *vo-zom*	*ko-zoju*	I *viz-kom*	*kiz-koju*
V *vo-ze*	*ko-zo*	V *viz-ku*	*kiz-ko*
N *vo-zy*	*ko-zy*	N *viz-ky*	*kiz-ky*
A *vo-zy*	*ko-zy*	A *viz-ky*	*ki-zok*
G *vo-ziv*	*kiz*	G *viz-kiv*	*ki-zok*
D *vo-zam*	*ko-zam*	D *viz-kam*	*kiz-kam*
L *vo-zax*	*ko-zax*	L *viz-kax*	*kiz-kax*
I *vo-zamy*	*ko-zamy*	I *viz-kamy*	*kiz-kamy*

It is suggested then that due to analogical levellings which have taken place in the substantive paradigm of CSU, the /e/, /o/-alternant of ikavism has come to be identified with the inflectional category and the /i/-alternant of ikavism has come to be identified with the derived category. This development represents a type of unilateral linkage as discussed in Elson (1980) since the diminutive is marked with respect to the neutral paradigm and one of the participants of the alternation, the /i/-alternant, is characteristic of the marked forms of this opposition. If linkage does indeed play a role here, then one would expect that the /i/-alternant be extended to other marked members within this grammatical category (nouns) and specifically to nouns in which ikavism was not a regular phonological development (nor one which can be still considered to be phonologically conditioned). Second-degree diminutives in CSU, that is, forms derived by the suffixation of *-on'-* and *-oč-*, provide precisely this type of supportive data (9).

(9)	NSG	GPL	GLOSS
	kizočka	*kizočok*	goat
	slizon'ka	*slizon'ok*	tear
	udivon'ka	*udivon'ok*	widow
	xudibon'ka	*xudibon'ok*	cattle
	titon'ka	*titon'ok*	aunt
	jahidon'ka	*jahidon'ok*	berry

nižen'ka	*nižen'ok*	foot, leg
bdžiločka	*bdžiločok*	bee
bdžilon'ka	*bdžilon'ok*	bee
ziročka	*ziročok*	star
ziron'ka	*ziron'ok*	star
hiročka	*hiročok*	hill
hiron'ka	*hiron'ok*	hill

NSG	GSG	GLOSS
kiločok	*kiločka*	stake
mistočok	*mistočka*	bridge
rižečok	*rižečka*	horn
dzvinočok	*dzvinočka*	bell
vizočok	*vizočka*	cart

In spite of the fact that the root vowel in each of these nouns is found in an open syllable and therefore theoretically not subject to ikavism, the /i/-alternant is found throughout the paradigm of these nouns.

The phenomenon illustrated here bears a resemblance to the example discussed by Shevelov (1979:605): "Kit lívnyj, xlop mívnyj—vsjúdy požývyt'sja" (A cat who is able to catch, a peasant who is able to talk—profit everywhere). *Mivnyj* is not an occurring form of CSU, but Shevelov points out that "there is paradigmatic motivation for such an invention: as in *livnyj, i* often (though by no means always) marks adj. in a consonant + *-nyj*." Likewise, the /i/-alternant has come to be associated not only with the suffixes adj. *-(o)k-* and *-(ɛ)c'-*, for which there is paradigmatic motivation, but with the second degree diminutives as well.

It is also of some interest that the statistical analysis presented by Chopyk (1980) on ikavism showed that in nouns derived by the suffixes *-ež-, -el'-, -en'-, -ov-, -ost'-, -ot-,* and *-oh-,* some 1270 examples exhibit ikavism in the nominative singular while only 10 do not. His data on the genitive plural of nouns which would normally be expected to undergo ikavism if it were still a phonologically productive process in CSU showed that 1119 nouns with the suffixes *-ečʼ(a), enn(ja), -ot(a),* and *-ott(ja)* do not exhibit this alternation, while only four of these types do. The above indicates not so much that ikavism is an active process in the nominative singular as opposed to the genitive plural, but that the /i/-

alternant has indeed become associated with derived forms and that it is linked to the marked member of the grammatical class. Thus the derivational suffixes are lexlcally marked as associated with ikavism and the /i/-alternant appears in the citation form, the nominative singular. It is possible that in many of these cases the /i/-alternant is perceived as the basic one. The lack of ikavism in the genitive plural simply reinforces this interpretation because for ikavism to occur in the genitive plural it would have to be implemented by some type of rule raising basic /e/ or /o/ to /i/.

The data suggest that the /i/-alternant may be identified with the derived category. It is interesting to speculate about the implication of this generalization with respect to developments in the neutral paradigm. It may be a factor in some of the changes that are taking place in the paradigm today. For example, new genitive plural forms have come into use: *poliv* (and *pil*); and substandard *seliv* (and *sil*); *sl'oziv* (and *sliz*); *udoviv* (and *udiv/udov*). Although this new gen. pl. ending *-iv* may be motivated by certain accentual properties of the feminine and neuter paradigm as Stankiewicz (1960) points out, and it is certainly in keeping with Greenberg's (1969) suggestion that marked grammatical categories tend to have overt marking, it should nevertheless be noted that the presence of this new ending resolves the problem of ikavism in these forms. Since ikavism is not considered to be functionally significant within the paradigm in that it is never the sole grammatical marker, the curtailment of this alternation is not unexpected. In the marked derived category, however, the /i/-alternant is a linked alternant.

In conclusion, the phonologically unproductive alternation known as ikavism is used in different ways in different morpholocial categories. Within the neutral noun paradigm it is not functionally significant and neither member of the alternation is specifically linked with either the nominative singular or the genitive plural. Borrowings generally do not exhibit ikavism. In other nouns, however, this alternation does seem to be linked in that the /i/-alternant is associated with the marked diminutive forms and possible even with the marked category of derived nouns in general. No claim has been made that ikavism must be characteristic of marked categories. It has simply been suggested that when ikavism does take place it is associated with the marked member of an opposi-

tion. In this way ikavism provides evidence for linkage, which, as Elson (1980:308) claims, "functions to manifest grammatical markedness."

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What is Ukrainian in the Multilayered Speech of the Yugoslav Rusini?

HENRIK BIRNBAUM

There can be little doubt that the author of *Narys sučasnoji ukrajins'koji movy, The Syntax of Modern Literary Ukrainian, Die ukrainische Schriftsprache, 1798-1975,* and *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language,* to mention just the milestones among a host of significant contributions to Ukrainian linguistics, is currently the ranking specialist in the field of synchronic and diachronic research into the Ukrainian language. Eminently qualified in other areas of Slavic linguistics as well—notably in the reconstruction of the Common Slavic sound system and its modifications through prehistoric time, in specific problems of Russian, Belorussian, and Polish linguistic evolution and structure—in addition to having published widely also in literary history and criticism, the linguist whom we honor with this volume holds indeed a unique position in Slavic studies worldwide, that is to say, not only in Western but in Soviet and East European scholarship as well.

If in his manifold and tireless inquiries into various facets of his native language, George Y. Shevelov has not, to the best of my knowledge, addressed the controversial question of the place and status of the speech and—starting with the beginning of this century—even the genuine literature of the small Slavic splinter group known as the Rusini (or Rusnaci, in their own vernacular; occasionally, less accurately also referred to as Ruthenians), now residing primarily in the Yugoslav region of Vojvodina—specifically, the districts of Bačka and Srem— and in a few nearby villages of Croatian Slavonia, that may well be, in part at least, owing to the fact that their language by most unbiased qualified experts has been considered essentially West Slavic—to be exact, a local variety or development of an East Slovak dialect—

rather than East Slavic, or in other words, a form of Ukrainian. Yet voices have been raised in the Rusin community itself—among them, in recent years, increasingly deserving of our attention, if not necessarily unqualified acceptance—which have contended that their native tongue, i.e., the speech of the settlers, who from the mid 18th century on had been moving down from their legendary Highland, or Hornjica, of the Carpatho-Ukraine and an adjoining district in East Slovakia (centered around the town of Prešov/Prjašiv) and across the Hungarian Plain, is indeed an offshoot of Ukrainian, a branch by and large independently developed while profoundly affected by other, neighboring and coterritorial language communities. By the same token, however, the Rusini have also insisted on not being identified and equated with the Ukrainian settlers who have come to what is today Yugoslavia only considerably later, mostly since the 1890s, making their home partly in some other areas in the new country, particularly, in addition to Vojvodina, also in Slavonia and Bosnia. Thus, beginning with the official Yugoslav census of 1971 the Ukrainians and the Rusini are recognized as separate and different ethnic groups, or nationalities, in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Before even making preliminary attempts to settle the hotly debated, emotionally charged issue of the national, ethnolinguistic identity of today's Rusini, let us first take at least a brief look at the evidence at hand. Is there perhaps some truth, after all, in the claim about their Ukrainian origin, or are these altogether misconceived and misguided views colored merely by wishful thinking conditioned by cultural heritage as embodied, above all, in their embracing the Greek-Catholic, or Uniate, form of Christianity? Or, is the problem possibly even more complex—and thus not so easily resolved—than what appears at first blush? In what follows, the discussion will focus on its purely linguistic aspect. In other words, we will address the question: What—if anything—is Ukrainian in the multilayered speech of the Rusini?

If, as is customary in the case of a purely genetic language classification, we first examine the phonological characteristics of the speech of the Rusini, we note that: (1) Common Slavic (henceforth CS) *kv, gv* before secondary front vowel (*ě, -i* reflecting an earlier diphthong) are represented here by *kv, hv,* as in Slovak; thus Rus *kvet* (and *kvitki*),

Slk *kvet, hviezda* against Ukr *cv/kv, zv: cvit/kvit, zvizda.*—(2) Early CS (or Proto-Slavic) *x* under the conditions of the 2nd regressive and the so-called 3rd (or Baudouin) progressive palatalizations yield Rus š, as in Slovak, contrary to Ukr *s*: Rus *vše*, Slk *vše (-možný):* Ukr *vse*; Rus *širi*, Slk *šerý*: Ukr *siryj* (however, this reflex in Rusin is not necessarily pertinent since every *s* before front vowel yields *š* here; cf. *vešele, še, šedlo*; exceptions: *sebe, silni, siver, serdečnosc*).—(3) CS *tl, dl* (i.e., also where the cluster is not secondary, the result of jer-syncope) are retained, as in Slovak (and the rest of West Slavic), while Ukrainian (like the other East Slavic languages) here simplify the original cluster: Rus *modljic* (but *molitva,* further *pravilo, garlo*), *pletla,* Slk *modlic* (dial.), *plietla* vs. Ukr *molyty, plela.*—(4) CS *CŏrC, CălC, Cerc, CelC* are reflected as *CraC, ClaC, CreC, CleC* (Slk **CrěC, *ClěC)* as against East Slavic pleophony: Rus *draha, hlas, breza, mleko,* Slk *dráha, hlas, breza, mlieko* vs. Ukr *doroha, holos, bereza, moloko.*—(5) CS labial + *j* does not result in a cluster with epenthetic *l'* while in Ukrainian it does: Rus *sipeš,* Slk *sypeš,* but Ukr *sypleš.*—(6) CS *tj* (and *kt* before front vowel), *dj* yield *c, dz,* as in Slovak, as against *č, dž/ž* in Ukrainian: Rus *vracac,* Slk *vracat'* vs. Ukr *voročaty;* Rus, Slk *noc* vs. Ukr *nič;* Rus, Slk *medza* vs. Ukr *medža* (dial.), *meža.*—(7) CS *(j)e-* is reflected as *je-* in both Rusin and Slovak, but as *o-* in Ukrainian: Rus *ješen',* Slk *jeseň* vs. Ukr *osin'.*

To these more or less diagnostic criteria some other less well established could be added where the language of the Rusini in most—not all—instances coincides with Slovak rather than with Ukrainian. When it comes to the reflexes of CS *ě (jat')* Rusin coincides as frequently or perhaps more frequently with Ukrainian than with Slovak, thus, e.g., Rus *leto,* Slk *leto;* Rus *les,* Slk *les;* Rus *dzeci* (Po *dzieci*), Slk *deti;* Rus *mesto*, Slk *mesto;* Rus *človek,* Slk *človek;* Rus *veric*; Slk *verit';* Rus *mešac,* Slk *mesiac;* Rus *štreljic,* Slk *strelit';* Rus *premenjic,* Slk *premenit';* Rus *rezac,* Slk *rezat'.* But Rus *bida* (: Slk *bieda*), *bili (: biely), hvizda (: hviezda), djido (: dedo), ljik (: liek), mišac (: miešat'), rika (: rieka), pisok (: piesok), cin' (: tiěn), rišic (: riešit'), šviži (: sviežy), vični (: večný, šnih (: sneh), njižni (: nežný), siver (: sever).* By the same token, Rus *xleb* (: Slk *chlieb)* or *vira/vera* (: *viera*) are perhaps more difficult to judge.

While many instances of deviation from the normal evolution of the Rusin vowel and consonant system may signal some external influences—mostly from Ukrainian, but in part also from other Slavic languages (primarily Slovak), it is possible nonetheless to ascertain the basic structural characteristics of the Rusin sound system and to relate it, in synchronic (typological) and diachronic (genetic) terms, to the phonologies of the Slavic sister languages as well as to the underlying Common Slavic source. A description and brief analysis designed to achieve precisely this was sketched some years ago by M. Pešikan in *Južnoslovenski Filolog* 31 (1974/5), 111-35 ("Osnovne strukturalne karakteristike rusinskog glasovnog sistema").

When it comes to morphology, the share of similarities with Ukrainian rather than Slovak is, generally, somewhat higher. Thus, to mention just a couple of telling examples: Rusin has *tot* where Slovak, like the rest of West Slavic, uses *ten* (cf. Ukr *toj* and dial. *tot,* R *tot;* on the Ukrainian evolution, see, e.g., G.Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language,* Heidelberg, 1979, 246-7); or, Rusin is closer to the East Slavic long-form adjectival inflection than to the West Slavic: *dobroho, dobromu* (identical with Ukrainian) as opposed to Slk *dobrého, dobrému,* etc. However, the generalization of the ending *-ox* in the gen. and loc. plur., of *-om* in the dat. plur., and of *-ami* in the instr. plur. of all nouns Rusin shares with the dialects of East Slovakia while similar levelings in the plural paradigm of the substantive are found only in part also in the Lemkian dialect of Ukrainian but are not characteristic of standard literary Ukrainian. The influence of the Serbo-Croatian super- or adstratum is readily noticeable in Rusin nominal and (though somewhat less) verbal derivation, where older suffixes are often replaced by new ones of South Slavic origin. In inflection we may further note, of course, the retention—when used without the personal pronoun—of the auxiliary, a residue of the copula verb, in the 1st and 2nd person of the past tense, having the forms *som, ši, zme, sce* (cf. SC *sam, si, smo, ste*); cf. thus, for example, Rus *znal som, znal ši, znali zme, znali sce,* reminiscent of SC *znao sam,* etc.; but cf. further Po *znałem, znałeś, znaliśmy, znaliście.*

It is much more difficult to draw any valid general conclusions with regard to Rusin syntax. Although at the surface Rusin sentence struc-

ture, like that of other Slavic languages, is largely derivable (in synchronic or even generative terms) from a basic underlying Slavic syntactic model, it is here, in particular, that the impact of the different Slavic environment of the Rusini during the last two centuries—that is, of Serbo-Croatian—can be strongly felt. Thus, to give just one example, it is characteristic of their speech that they have largely (if by now not entirely) substituted *da* for the older conjunction *že* to introduce subordinate constructions corresponding to English *that*-clauses. In the thoroughly bilingual (and occasionally multilingual) milieu of the Rusini, all of whom today also speak Serbo-Croatian, a lexeme and phrase previously shared with West Slavic had thus to give way to borrowed South Slavic analogues. It should also be noted that some first attempts at describing and systematizing certain portions of Rusin functional syntax, that is, the use of word-forms, have been made in recent years; cf., e.g., A.D. Duličenko, "Gu sintaksi pripadkox u jaziku jugoslavjanskix Rusnacox," *Tvorčosc* 3: 3 (Novi Sad, 1977), 14-19.

Rusin vocabulary presents specific, intriguing problems connected with the fact that several chronological layers of the Rusin lexicon can be ascertained. Thus, the oldest, or "Carpathian," stratum of the language contains items shared with or borrowed from Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian. Probably some of the Hungarian and German loanwords of Rusin, too, date back to these early times. After their migration to Bačka (and Srem) the ties of the Rusini with Ukrainian as well as Russian culture were maintained largely through the vehicle of the Church and its texts. In the Vojvodina the Rusini came into close contact, actually coterritorial symbiosis, with the Serbs while earlier connections with Germans and Hungarians either continued or were renewed. Finally, in more recent years, the impact of Ukrainian (and, to a lesser extent, also Russian) has again become stronger, mostly as a result of a deliberate and directed cultural-linguistic orientation in the Rusin community, while the lexical penetration and, in fact, assimilation by Serbo-Croatian has, of course, further increased. Moreover, some terms belonging to an international, modern set of lexical items have now made their appearance also in the language of the essentially still rural Rusin population. For some additional details and illustrative examples, see, e.g., O. Horbač, "Leksyka hovirky bačvans'ko-srims'kyx

ukrajinciv," *Nauk. zb. Muz. ukr. kul't. v Svydnyku* 4: 1 (Prjašiv, 1969), 309-47; S. Gustavsson, *Rusinerna i Jugoslavien, deras kultur och språk* (= Inst. f. sl. o. balt. spr., Sthlms Univ., *Meddelanden* 13), Stockholm, 1975, 31-55; H.D. Pohl, "Minoritates Slavonicae," *Klagenf. Beitr. z. Sprachw.* 75-1 (1975), 38-43; A.E. Suprun, A.M. Kaljuta, *Vvedenie v slavjanskuju filologiju,* Minsk, 1981, 137-9.

As for the written language, it should be remarked that it has recently shown an increased tendency (partly, perhaps, to counteract total assimilation by Serbo-Croatian) toward secondary convergence with standard Ukrainian in line with the aims of local language planners. The present form of literary Rusin had gained currency only between 1904 (the year of the appearance of the volume of poems titled *Z mojoho valala* by Havrijil Kostel'nik, generally considered the first publication in literary Rusin) and the early 1920s at the expense of a latter-day form of Church Slavic, with a substantial admixture of genuine Russian and Ukranian, and the artificial, largely West Ukrainian "lingo" *(jazyčie)* previously adhered to. For a brief account of this development, see A.D. Duličenko, "Stanovlenie i razvitie rusinskogo literaturnogo jazyka v Jugoslavii," *Sov. slavjanoved.* 3/1972, 38-50, esp. 40-1; cf. further *id.*, "K voprosu o literaturno-pis'mennom i narodnom jazyke u bačsko-sremskix rusin v XVIII-XIX vv.," *Zb. za filol. i lingv.* 14:2 (Novi Sad, 1971), 61-9. It is worth mentioning, moreover, that slight dialectal differences, reflected also in the vocabulary, now exist between the variety of Rusin as spoken and written in Ruski Kerestur, which forms the basis for the literary norm, and that of Kocur; cf. *ibid.,* 46. For additional relevant information, including data on Rusin linguistic structure, see now also the same author's book *Slavjanskie literaturnye mikrojazyki,* Tallin, 1981, *passim.*

Particular consideration should, obviously, be given to the sociogeographic setting for the ethnogenesis—and thus for the emergence of the earliest language—of the Rusini. Their first homeland was, as was already mentioned, in the Carpathian region of East Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine (or Subcarpathian Rus'). This was for centuries a zone at the crossroads of several European cultures and languages. West Slavic (Slovak and Polish), East Slavic (Ukrainian and Russian), Hungarian, German, and Yiddish ethnic elements converged, mingled, and

interacted here. Though we must not necessarily agree with those who view this region not only as the focal point of a linguistic convergence area but as the center of a veritable Carpathian *Sprachbund* comparable to that formed by the Balkan languages (as narrowly, linguistically defined), interference and secondary convergence were certainly characteristic of the "Carpathian" languages. For some further details and a discussion of attendant problems, see, in particular, A.M. Rot, *Osobennosti vzaimodejstvija jazykov i dialektov karpatskogo areala,* Užhorod, 1973; S.B. Bernštejn, "Problemy karpatskogo jazykoznanija" in *Karpatskaja dialektologija i onomastika,* Moscow, 1972, 3-15; *id.*, "Problemy interferencii jazykov karpato-dunajskogo areala v svete dannyx sravnitel'noj dialektologii" in *Slav. jazykozn., VII Meždunar. s"ezd slavistov ... Dokl. sov. deleg.,* Moscow, 1973, 25-41; *id. et al., Obščekarpatskij dialektologičeskij atlas. Lingvističeskie i ėtnografičeskie aspekty,* Kišinev, 1976; *id.,* G.P. Klepikova, "Obščekarpatskij dialektologiceskij atlas. Principy. Predvaritel'nye itogi" in *Slav. jazykozn., VIII Meždunar. s"ezd slavistov ... Dokl. sov. deleg.,* Moscow, 1978, 27-41; *id. et al.,* " 'Obščekarpatskij dialektologičeskij atlas' i nekotorye problemy južnoslavjanskogo ėtnogeneza" in *Slav. jazykozn., IX Meždunar. s"ezd slavistov ... Dokl. sov. deleg.,* Moscow, 3-17. Cf. further M. Blixa, "Otraženie slovacko-ukrainskix jazykovyx kontaktov v toponimax nekotoryx regionov vostočnoj Slovakii" in *Perspektivy razvitija slavjanskoji onomastiki,* Moscow, 1980, 79-89, and for the early evolution of the Transcarpathian Ukrainian dialects, L. Dezső (Dežė), *Očerki po istorii zakarpatskix govorov,* Budapest, 1967.

Under such conditions, then, a changeover, or perhaps rather reintegration, of a Slavic dialect such as the prototype of the speech of today's Rusini may have been fairly natural or even expected. The additional, subsequent leveling force of the Serbian linguistic impact can only have contributed to make their vernacular both a peculiar, "isolated" language (in the sense conceived by A. Vašek; cf. his paper "K vývoji 'izolovaného' slovenského jazyka," *Slavia* 44, 1975, 1-6) and a firmly embedded, multiple-integrated member of the Slavic language family.

This, in conclusion, brings us back to the question how to classify the multilayered speech of the Yugoslav Rusini. To which branch of Slavic—the eastern, western, or southern—does their language belong today?

The answer to this question is not an easy one. In purely genetic terms, it would seem that, given in particular the many phonological agreements between Rusin and Slovak, the spoken and written language of the Rusini must be classified as essentially West Slavic. This was already the opinion of O. Broch who wrote in 1899: "das 'Russinische' dieser Bacska-Kolonien würde somit ... ein 'Ostslovakischer Cotaken-Dialekt' sein" (see *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* 21, 49-61, esp. 56), and the same view has since been repeatedly expressed by unbiased scholars (cf., e.g., C.E. Bidwell, "The Language of the Bačka Ruthenians in Yugoslavia," *SEEJ* 10, 1966, 32-45, esp. 32 and 36). Yet the belief that the language of the Rusini rather is a continuation of a form of Ukrainian, and thus basically East Slavic, has, as was mentioned, also been voiced, to be sure primarily by politically engaged non-linguists and by members of the Rusin community itself. Among the latter was, however, also the ranking local linguist, M.M. Kočiš, who stated with firm conviction that "as the language of a nationality it is a dialect of Ukrainian which for specific historical reasons had its own winding road of development" (cf. *Lingvistični roboti*, Novi Sad, 1978, 22). And in his textbooks for school use the same scholar and educator has claimed that Rusin could be considered one of the southwestern dialects of Ukrainian, acknowledging, though, that it is impossible at this stage of its evolution to indicate exactly to which of the earlier Ukrainian dialects Rusin is most closely related, or of which it is an extension. This latter is said to be owing to the specific regional development that the speech of the Rusini had gone through in its new locality during a period when other West Ukrainian dialects developed in their respective regions both independently and as a result of mutual interaction, as well as under the influence of the standard language. Consequently, some of the differences that previously may have been only rudimentary or even nonexistent are said to have turned more marked, or to have emerged where there were none before (cf. M.M. Kočiš, *Gramatika ruskoho jazika za VIII klasu osnovnej školi,* Novi Sad, 1972, 83).

Even though it cannot be argued that statements such as the ones just adduced or paraphrased are entirely free of some national bias (due to a long cultural tradition, enhanced in particular by religious commitment), they are, by the same token, also not to be simply discarded as

merely reflecting wishful political thinking. In simple terms, it would perhaps be safest to say that Rusin today is a genuine mixed Slavic language containing substantial elements of neighboring or previously adjoining languages of all three branches of the Slavic language group; cf. a definition to that effect by O. Horbatsch who remarked that "ihren südlemkisch-ostslovakischen Übergangs- und Mischdialekt erhoben sie im 20. Jh. zu einer selbständigen Schriftsprache" (see "Der Einfluss des Serbokroatischen auf die Sprache der ukrainischen Ansiedler in Jugoslavien" in *Slavist. Studien z. VIII. Intern. Slavistenkongr. ...*, Cologne & Vienna, 1978, 139). For a more general discussion of Ukrainian-Slovak transitional phenomena, see also, e.g., L.A. Bulaxovs'kyj, *Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins'koji movy,* Kiev, 1956, 205-6. However, the matter, more closely studied, is actually more complex and intricate. Following É. Benveniste and, with some reservations, L. Hjelmslev, I have tried to show elsewhere not only that genetic linguistics and genetic language classification, given some necessary qualifications, can be considered hierarchically subordinated to typological linguistics and a typologically-based grouping of languages, but also that the overriding typological classification rests primarily on criteria relatable to the underlying structure of meaning, its lexical expression and its formal, grammatical manifestation. And, using precisely certain facets of the speech of the Rusini as telling examples, I have attempted to demonstrate the inherent difficulty in arriving at a clear-cut, noncontroversial classification; cf. my paper "Language Families, Linguistic Types, and the Position of the Rusin Microlanguage within Slavic," *Welt d. Slav.* 28 (1983), 1-23. For certainly there can be no doubt that, in addition to displayng characteristics linking the Rusin language with the Slovak environment of its speakers' erstwhile home region, there are at present other traits—typologically definable, perhaps, rather than strictly genetic—that echo the ties by which the Rusin people were once associated, and in a way continue to be connected, also with the Ukraine, specifically the Carpatho-Ukraine, and the speakers of its language.

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Computer-Assisted Tallying and the Present State of *o, e: i* Alternations in Ukrainian Nouns

(Inflectional-level Analysis)

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The purpose of this paper is to illustrate, with the help of computer-assisted[1] and manual tallying,[2] the present, synchronic state of *o, e : i* alternations in Ukrainian nouns on the inflectional level.

Grammars and research papers[3] dealing with the Ukrainian language constantly point out that the most characteristic feature of the Contemporary Standard Ukrainian (CSU) is the intra-paradigmatic *o, e : i*

[1] Preliminary research and early drafts of this paper were aided considerably by grants from the University of Utah Research Fund and by a small travel grant from the Shevchenko Scientific Society (in America). An abbreviated version was read on September 29, 1980 at the Second International Congress of Slavists in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.

[2] Several dictionaries were searched for appropriate lexical terms, namely: C.H. Andrusyshen and J.N. Krett, *Ukrainian-English Dictionary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957); AN URSR, *Pol's'ko-ukraijins'kyj slovnyk*, ed. L.L. Humec'ka et al. (Kiev: AN URSR, 1958); B.D. Hrinčenko, ed., *Slovar' ukrajins'koji movy*, 2nd ed., (Kiev, 1963); V. Nin'ovs'kyj, *Ukrainian Reverse Dictionary* (Munich-Edmonton, 1969); M.I. Pohribnyj, *Slovnyk naholosiv ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*,2nd. ed., (Kiev: "Radjans'ka Škola," 1964); AN URSR, *Ukrajins'ka literaturna vymova i naholos* (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1973).

[3] Specialized publications were consulted: AN URSR, *Zakonomirnosti rozvytku ukrajins'koho literaturnoho movlennja* (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1965); AN URSR, *Strukturno-matematyčni doslidžennja ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1964); AN URSR, *Statystyčni ta strukturni linhvistyčni modeli* (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1967); L.A. Bulaxovs'kyj, *Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: AN URSR, 1956); L.A. Bulaxovs'kyj, *Kurs sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*, v.I. (Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1951; F.T. Žylko, *Narysy z dialektolohiji ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1966); A.P. Koval', *Kul'tura ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1964); M.M. Pylyns'kyj, *Movna norma i styl'* (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1976); G.Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Historical Phonology of the Slavic Languages, IV. Ukrainian), (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitäts-verlag, 1979).

alternation in the final, closed root/stem syllables of the inflected parts of speech. Closed syllables state the environment in which vocalic alternations occur. This environment specifies only phonological conditioning. However, particular instances in the declensional paradigms of the nouns where /i/ replaces /o, e/ are stated largely in morphological terms, as the following examples indicate:

1. /i/ occurs in place of /o, e/ in the nominative-accusative singular (also, but very seldom, in the instrumental plural) of masculine nouns with -∅ desinence in the dictionary form. Examples: *stil* (table) in N sg with a closed final syllable, becomes *stola* in the G sg, *stolovi* in D sg, etc. with /o/ whenever the stem is followed by a vowel which uncovers an open syllable in the stem. *e : i* alternation occurs in similar environment, e.g. *remin'* (belt) in the N sg, becomes *remenja* in the G sg, etc.
2. /i/ occurs in place of /o, e/ in the nominative-accusative-instrumental singular (and very seldom in the instrumental plural) of feminine nouns with -∅ desinence in the dictionary form. Examples: *sil'* (salt) in the N sg becomes *soli* in the G sg and *pič* (oven) in the N sg becomes *peči* in the G sg, etc.
3. /i/ occurs in place of /o, e/ in the genitive plural of feminine and neuter nouns with a vocalic desinence in the dictionary form. Examples: *kosa* (scythe) in the N sg becomes *kis* in the G pl, where final syllable is closed, and *selo* (village) in the N sg becomes *sil* in the G pl.

It is important to notice that along with the instances where the vocalic alternations in the noun-paradigms occur, there are many exclusions where vocalic alternations do not occur in the above specified phonetic conditions. Usually the following categories of nouns are listed as exclusions:

1. Loanwords. Examples: *motor* (motor) in N sg and *motora* in the G sg, *student* (student) in the N sg and *studenta* in the G sg.
2. Nouns in which questionable phonemes /e/ or /o/ are fleeting vowels. Examples: *den'* (day) in the N sg and *dnja* in the G sg, or *son* (dream) in the N sg and *snu* in the G sg etc.
3. Nouns in which questionable phonemes /e/ or /o/ are part of interconsonantal *-ere-, -oro-, -ele-, -olo-* sequences (C*oro*C-) Examples: *bereh* (bank, shore) in the N sg and *bereha* in the G sg, or *voroh* (enemy) in the N sg and *voroha* in the G sg.
4. Nouns in which questionable phonemes /e/ or /o/ are part

of interconsonantal *-er-, -or-, -ol-* sequences. Examples: *čort* (devil) in the N sg and *čorta* in the G sg, or *smert'* (death) in the N sg and *smerty* in the G sg.

The large number of nouns in which the expected vocalic alternations do not occur introduces confusion regarding the validity and intensity of *o, e : i* alternations. This situation becomes more acute when one encounters diachronic statements concerning vocalic alternation trends in the Ukrainian language. Thus Professor G. Shevelov[4] has pointed out that "in the 17th c more shifts occured from the non-alternational to the alternational type...; but beginning in the 18th c the trend changed, and the prevalent type of shifting was from the alternational to the non-alternational type. To be more specific, more often than not the trend was toward the restoration and complete or partial generalization of *o* (*e*). This may be interpreted as a tendency to limit the scope of the alternation *o, e : i.* It was, however, only a relative shrinking of the alternations: in most words, especially in high frequency words, it remained intact."[5] Similarly, Professor L. Bulaxovs'kyj,[6] referring to the present synchronic state of Ukrainian morphophonemics, has pointed out that, because the phonemes /o, e/ may often occur in closed syllables and /i/ in open ones, "the alternations *o : i, e : i* belong to an historical type and not to a positionally phonetic type... Compare, for example, such pairs as: *vin* (he) : *von* (away [with you]!); *umiv* (know how, past tense) : *umov* (G pl condition); *tij* (D sg f that) : *toj* (N sg m that); *six* (G pl wooden plough) : *sox* (to dry up, past tense); *hilka* (branch) : *holka* (needle); *bijky* (G sg fight) : *bojky* (N pl Boyko); *pist* (Lent) : *post* (post, position); *sil'* (salt) : *sol'* (sol, 'G' note)"[7]... etc. In the above examples both, the phoneme /o/ and /i/ occur in closed syllables. It should also be pointed out that there are innumerable examples in the Ukrainian language where the phoneme /i/ occurs in open syllables, as in *lito* (summer), *mira* (measure) etc. On the basis of these examples, one must reject the idea of binding, purely phonetic norms

[4] Shevelov, *Historical Phonology.*
[5] Shevelov, *Historical Phonology,* p. 721.
[6] Bulaxovs'kyj, Kurs.
[7] Bulaxovs'kyj, Kurs, p. 240.

governing vocalic alternations in the nouns. Many morphological conditions are involved in this process. However, these conditions, containing many exceptions, cannot be precisely formulated and consequently cannot serve as reliable indicators of regularity and hence predictability.

In an attempt to find ways of overcoming this entangled situation in Ukrainian morphophonemics, to reveal more regularities and to provide additional insight into the operating system of vocalic alternations, I decided to use statistics, i.e., statistical tallying and inventorying. My intention is to trace more precisely the present tendencies through the actual inventories of groups of nouns in which *o, e : i* alternations occur, describe their kinds, and indicate the density of these alternations. The data for this research were gathered from the six-volume Ukrainian-Russian dictionary[8] which was incoded on computer tapes at Harvard University.[9] These tapes, decoded by Mr. Nicholas Wipond,[10] contain a corpus of 227,888 lexical items. It was fortunate to find in this corpus incoded nouns with *o, e : i* alternations in their final stem-syllables. These were limited only to those nouns which appear in the dictionary lists with -∅ desinence in the nominative (N) singular (sg). The computer was instructed to list all those nouns.

There were 8,325 nouns ending at -∅ desinence in the N sg and exhibiting *o, e : i* alternations in declensional paradigms. In this total there were 8,196 nouns exhibiting *o : i* alternation, and only 129 nouns exhibiting *e : i* alternation in specified environments. In the first group there was an overwhelming dominance of third declension (feminine) nouns, in particular of nouns formed with the help of the highly productive word-forming suffix *-o/ist'-*. There were 7,477 of these nouns, leaving only 68 nouns for other third-declension nouns with *o : i* alternation,

[8] AN URSR, *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk,* ed. I.M. Kyryčenko (Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1953-1963).

[9] I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Joseph Van Campen from Stanford University for allowing me to use his computer tapes with incoded Kyryčenko's *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk* (which was part of his own research pursued at Harvard University).

[10] My thanks go also to Mr. Nicholas Wipond and Paul Luckau, graduate computer students at the University of Utah, for their help in decoding the Van-Campen-tapes and for sorting and collecting the statistical data on Ukrainian nouns with *o, e : i* alternations.

and 42 nouns with *e : i* alternation. Masculine nouns with *o : i* alternation numbered 651 items and those with *e : i* alternation 87 nouns. However, it should be pointed out that of those masculine nouns, and non-suffixed third declension feminine nouns, there are many derivatives, in some cases as many as 43 derived nouns from the same derivational base (root; e.g. derivatives from *-vid-*). To a large extent derivatives show the same vocalic alternations as their derivational base. Thus, the high number of derivatives and of nouns formed with the help of the same word-forming suffix, indicates the frequency of vocalic alternations and not its density, i.e., not the number of individual nonrelated nouns, subject to the same morphophonemic process of alternations. It is important that the distinction be properly understood between the notions of frequency and density. Frequency refers to the occurence of a particular process and density indicates the number of items in which a particular phenomenon occurs. Furthermore, (in the projection of the future tendencies) frequencies of particular phenomena indicate their high or low present utilization, while density, i.e. the high or low number of items in which that particular phenomenon occurs, indicates general historical trends: high item-density prognosticates vitality and an increased probability of their continual existence in the future, while low item-density indicates their general decline. If these conclusions are applied to CSU and to the computer data just obtained: 8,325 nouns with *o : i* alternation and 129 with *e : i* alternatio, then one does not see much future for the continued operation of *e : i* alternation in the Ukrainian nouns. However, no attempt is made here nor can be made to predict the date for the final burial of that phenomenon in the Ukrainian language. A further examination of the inventory numbers of the nouns with *o, e : i* alternations reveals tendencies toward their further decline. If one were to subject the 651 masculine nouns with *o : i* alternation to the count of a single item per a whole number of their derivatives, then this number is reduced to 271 nouns, while the 87 nouns with *e : i* alternation is reduced to 13 nonrepeated items.

The restrictive approach in counting only nonrepeating stems with *o, e : i* alternations to determine their densities proved useful. The author of this study, therefore, decided to manually gather representative (i.e. one representative item in place of the whole group of derivatives)

nouns/stems from several sources.[11] However, from this gathering count were excluded all prefixed nonbound roots and nouns in which the phoneme in question was a fleeting vowel. Our inventories of pertinent masculine and feminine nouns with alternating vowels followed by a consonant in a final position (-C#) have indicated antipodal tendencies: nouns with -∅ desinence in the N sg showed a high density quotient, while those with -∅ desinence in G pl indicated a low count results. More precisely, these data may be presented in the following statements:

a) Out of 1,553 indigenous nouns with -∅ desinence in the N sg, only 101 nouns do not exhibit *o, e : i* alternations in the environment before -C#, while 1,452 nouns do;
b) Out of 1,258 pertinent indigenous nouns with -∅ desinence in the G pl only 45 nouns exhibit *o, e : i* alternations in the environment before -C#, while 1,213 nouns do not.

Although in density there are probably as many nouns with the pertinent vowels in the environment before -∅ desinence in final position of both above mentioned groups of nouns, the items with -∅ desinence in the G pl do not adhere to the closed-syllable rule.

This restrictive inventory counting was further applied to the grouping of pertinent nouns according to their paradigmatic stress patterns. There seemed to have been some noticeable correlation between the items from particular paradigmatic stress pattern groups and the density of nouns with *o, e : i* alternations. Additionally, taking into consideration the fact that there are nouns with alternating *o, e : i* vowels among those which are usually considered exclusions (as they are listed also in this study), it was decided to list such items in the inventory tables. Separate data in these tables are therefore given for loan words; nouns containing interconsonantal —*or-*, *-ol-*, *-er-* sequences; pleophonic nouns, i.e., nouns in which the questionable vowel is contained in interconsonantal *-oro-*, *-olo-*, *-ere-*, *-ele-* sequences; and for indigenous nouns in whose stems the phonemes /o, e/ may be followed by a consonant in a final position, and thus subject to the rule of alternation.

Paradigmatic stress patterns of Ukrainian nouns are not indicated in

[11] All manual selections and counting of pertinent nouns were done by the author of this study from the dictionaries listed in note 2.

general dictionaries. However, there are nine such patterns. In the dictionary forms only accents for nominative and genitive singular are given. From such notations it may follow that the accent of a particular noun may be that of the G sg, yet deviations may occur in A sg, N/A and G pl. In this study, therefore, the paradigmatic stress patterns were determined by the presence or absence of an accent on the stem of the noun in the following instances: 1) in all singular cases except accusative; 2) in the accusative singular only; 3) in the nominative and accusative plural, and in the remaining cases in plural. By marking the presence of an accent on the stem-vowel in any of the above indicated instances with a plus (+) and its absence with a minus (-), the nine stress pattern types (marked with appropriate diacritic signs over the dotted alternating stem-vowels *ȯ, ė*) may be presented in the following tabular form:

Stress type	Example	Sg -A	A sg	NA pl	Obl pl	Examples (transliterated)
1. V̄	rōd-∅	+	+	+	+	*rīd, rīd, ródy, ródiv* (clan)
2. V	stȯl-∅	-	-	-	-	*stīl; stīl; stolý; stoláx* (table)
3. V́	vȯ́z-∅	+	+	-	-	*vīz; vīz; vozý; vozáx* (wagon)
4. V̀	kȯ̀n'-∅	-	-	+	+	*kīn'; konjá; kóni; kónjax* (horse)
5. Ṽ	kȯ̃s-a	-	+	+	+	*kosá; kósu; kósy; kósax* (scythe)
6. V̌	nȯ̌h-a	-	+	+	-	*nohá; nóhu; nóhy; nohax* (leg)
7. V̋	rȯ̋h-∅	+	+	+	-	*rīh; rīh; róky; rohax* (horn)
8. V̏	stȯ̏p-a	-	-	+	-	*stopá; stopú; stópy; stopax* (foot)
9. V̊	kȯ̊lés-o	+	+	+	+	*kóleso; kóleso; kolésa; kolésax* (wheel)

The last stress pattern type (as distinguished from the first) shows an accentual shift from the first stem-syllable (indicating stable paradigm stress in singular) to the last (which indicates fixed stress in the plural paradigm).

The stress pattern types are significant for prediction purposes. Nouns of certain stress patterns exhibit vocalic alternations much more rigorously than others. Our data (collected manually) support this contention, as can be observed from the following tables: (nouns with *o : i* alternations are called *o*-stems and those with *e : i* alternations —*e*-stems).

SUMMARY TABLES OF *O*-STEMS

A. Nonsuffixed *O*-stems with -∅ desinence in N sg

Stress type	Loan words		Nouns with -*CorC*-		Nouns with -*CoroC*-		Other native nouns	
	o:o	*o:i*	*o:o*	*o:i*	*o:o*	*o:i*	*o:o*	*o:i*
V̄	723	18	33	-	50	4	54	166
V	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	30
V́	8	-	12	-	13	1	-	37
V̀	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
V̋	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Totals	731	18	58	-	63	5	55	238
Add nouns with the suffixes *-ȯv, -ȯst', -ȯh, -ȯt.*[12]							-	1252
TOTAL:							55	1490

B. Nonsuffixed *o*-stems with -∅ desinence in G pl

Stress type	Loan words		Nouns with -*CorC*-		Nouns with -*CoroC*-		Other native nouns	
	o:o	*o:i*	*o:o*	*o:i*	*o:o*	*o:i*	*o:o*	*o:i*
V̄	156	1	20	-	28	3	48	6
V́	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
V̀	-	-	-	-	2	1	12	12
Ṽ	-	-	-	-	1	6	3	14
V̌	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
V̋	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Totals	156	1	20	-	31	11	63	37
Add nouns with suffixes: *-ott(ja), -ot(a)*[12]							96	-
TOTAL:							159	37

[12] All data for suffixed nouns were taken from the reverse-running dictionary: Vasyl' Niniovs'kyj, *Ukrains'kyj zvorotnyj slovnyk* (Munich-Edmonton, 1969).

SUMMARY TABLES OF E-STEMS

A. Nonsuffixed *e*-stems with -∅ desinence in N sg

Stress type	Loan words		Nouns with -C*er*C-		Nouns with -C*ere*C-		Other native nouns	
	e:e	*e:i*	*e:e*	*e:i*	*e:e*	*e:i*	*e:e*	*e:i*
V̄	927	-	27	-	31	-	25	12
V	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
V́	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1
V̋	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Totals	927	-	27	-	31	-	36	16
Add nouns with suffixes: *-èl', -èn', -èž, (-èv)*[12]							60	3
					TOTAL:		96	19

B. Nonsuffixed *e*-stems with -∅ desinence in G pl

Stress type	Loan words		Nouns with -C*er*C-		Nouns with -C*ere*C-		Other native nouns	
	e:e	*e:i*	*e:e*	*e:i*	*e:e*	*e:i*	*e:e*	*e:i*
V̄	230	-	18	-	11	1	20	-
V̄	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-
V	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
V̄	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
V̋	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
V̋	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	2
Totals	230	-	19	-	19	2	31	3
Add nouns with suffixes *-eč(a), -enn(ja)*[12]							1048	-
					TOTAL:		1079	3

Several statements of clarification would be appropriate here in connection with the statistical figures given above:

1. The number of indigenous nouns is considerably increased by the suffixed items which, on the inflectional level, may have /e, o/ in the environment before -C#. Included in this group are all nouns formed with the help of the following word-forming suffixes: *-èv/-òv, -èž, -èl', -òh, -òst', -òt* and *-eč(a), -enn(ja), -ot(a), -ott(ja).*

2. Among the nouns with -∅ desinence in the G pl there is evidently significant positive correlation between the nouns with moveable paradigmatic stress patterns and the presence of the vocalic alternations. This correlation is so strong that it extends itself even to the nouns with interconsonantal *-ere-/-ele-, -oro-/-olo-* sequences. Out of 76 nouns in this group, 43 of them exhibit vocalic alternations and 33 do not. The strongest correlation between the nouns with moveable paradigmatic stress pattern and the vocalic alternations is exhibited by the feminine nouns in which the desinencial paradigmatic stress in the singular is shifted from the desinence to the stem in the accusative singular. Out of 27 nouns in this group all but 6 nouns exhibit vocalic alternations. Especially noticeable in this group are the vocalic alternations in the nouns with interconsonantal *-ere-/-ele-, -oro-/-olo-* sequences.

3. Nouns with *e:i* alternations have phonological conditioning which differs from the conditioning in the nouns with *o:i* alternations before -C#. First of all the nonsuffixed *e*-stems ending in -C# in the G pl have an insignificant number of items exhibiting *e:i* alternation. Only 6 nouns out of a total 1352 have *e:i* alternation. These nouns are: *berèza* (birch), *čerèda* (herd), *kolèso* (wheel), *plèče* (shoulder), *rešeto* (sieve), *sèlo* (village).

Phonological conditioning of vocalic alternations in the nouns with -∅ desinence in the N sg shows these differences: while /i/ in place of /o/ may occur in *o*-stems in the environment before any consonant in final position, /i/ in place of /e/ may occur in *e*-stems primarily in the environment before palatal or palatalized consonants in final position, i.e. before -C'#.

The different tendencies toward vocalic alternations are evidenced by the total numbers of nouns which have been presented in our data. They show the following results:

	Nouns with no alternations	Nouns with alternations
o-stems with -C# in N sg	907	1490
o-stems with -C# in G pl	366	49
e-stems with -C# in N sg	1081	19
e-stems with -C# in G pl	1347	6

In conclusion, the present state of *o, e : i* alternations can be summarized thus: on the inflectional level, the *o, e : i* alternations are, in addition to phonological, also morphologically conditioned. Phonologically they occur in closed syllables, but morphologically they occur readily in the indigenous nouns with -∅ desinence in the N sg. They seldom occur (if at all) in the indigenous nouns with -∅ desinence in the G pl. More specifically:

1. /i/ in place of /o/ occurs readily in the environment before -C# of the nouns which have a -∅ desinence in the nominative singular;
2. in the nouns which have -∅ desinences in the genitive plural, the vocalic alternations are significantly restricted:
   a) They occur readily in those *o*-stems which exhibit moveable paradigmatic stress patterns;
   b) They seldom occur in those *o*-stems which exhibit fixed paradigmatic stress patterns.
   c) They are restricted only to a few individual items in *e*-stems.
3. /i/ in place of /e/ occurs in *e*-stems with -∅ desinence in the N sg but only and primarily in the environment before palatal or palatalized consonants in final position of the noun. Before other consonants these vocalic alterations are insignificant.[13]

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[13] Explanations of residual problems in this alternation may be found in: L. A. Bulaxov'skyj,'*Vybrani praci v pjaty tomax*, v. ii (Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1977), pp. 242-296; and in Shevelov, *Historical Phonology*, pp. 302-332.

Feofan Prokopovič and the *Duxovnyj Reglament*

CARIN DAVIDSSON

During the past two decades of historical research the reforms of Peter the First have attracted a great deal of attention. In Sweden there has been Claes Peterson's (1979) important work on the administrative and judicial reforms, while in the United States, James Cracraft (1971, 1972) has dealt with the ecclesiastical reform. In this connection Cracraft has had occasion to discuss Feofan Prokopovič, author of the *Duxovnyj Reglament,* Peter the First's ecclesiastical regulation. Peter summoned Prokopovič to St. Petersburg from Kiev in 1715, finding in him "a senior cleric whose sympathies (or antipathies) closely corresponded to his own" (Cracraft 1971:60). Furthermore, the *Duxovnyj Reglament,* commissioned by Peter in late 1718 and first published in the autumn of 1721, represents, in Cracraft's words, Prokopovič's own "greatest literary achievement and the most enduring monument to his genius" (*loc. cit.*). A translation of it, therefore, is more than welcome. It will make the work accessible to scholars who, though lacking a full command of Russian, are nevertheless engaged in areas of vital importance for research into Feofan Prokopovič and his place in the cultural history of Russia. By the same token, however, the standards by which such a translation must be judged should be of the very highest.

A. V. Muller's English translation came out in 1972. A great deal of effort has obviously gone into it: in addition to the translation proper, there is a comprehensive twenty eight page introduction and a carefully prepared and often exhaustive commentary (thirty seven pages) to both the introduction and the translation. The translation itself, however, leaves much to be desired. Without wishing to subject it to detailed critical scrutiny, I propose to offer here some comments of a more fundamental nature on translating technique.

My first observation has to do with the text chosen as a basis for the

translation. Muller remarks (1972: 85-86):

> The present translation of the Manifesto of 25 January 1721, the Oath of the Members of the Spiritual College, the *Spiritual Regulation,* and the Supplement to the *Spiritual Regulation* is based on the aforementioned text printed in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov,* compared, corrected, and amplified on the basis of the superbly edited version published by Verkhovskoi *(Uchrezhdenie,* 2, pt. 1: 3-105) and the less definitive, but still useful, compilation produced by N. V. Beneshevich *(Sbornik pamjatnikov po istorii cerkovnago prava, preimuščestvenno Russkoj Cerkvi do epoxi Petra Velikago...,* 2:89-155; 159-191).

Muller has chosen his text, then, from *Polnoe sobranie zakonov.* Since this makes no claim to being a critical edition, however, Muller has been obliged, as he says, to compare, correct and amplify his original text. One only wishes he had had access to one of the early printed editions, produced in Feofan Profopovič's own lifetime and probably under his supervision. Verxovskoj, in his edition of the Reglament manuscript, actually carefully notes the variants in the first printed editions. These books are, of course, very rare and consequently difficult for western scholars to gain access to. All the same, a copy of the second edition, printed on February 23rd, 1722 in Moscow with Church Slavonic text, can be found in the Uppsala University Library (shelfmark *Ksl. 112*) and is mentioned in L. Kjellberg's catalogue of Church Slavonic texts. This edition is also mentioned in T. A. Bykova and M. M. Gurevič's bibliography of Church Slavonic texts (no. 149), where it is accorded a very thorough commentary (1955:230-233). Despite Muller's detailed remarks, a scholar relying entirely on his translation will not find it easy to imagine exactly what the *Duxovnyj Reglament* was like in its original form.

Muller comments on his translation procedure as follows (p. vi):

> The task of rendering the present documents into English was undertaken and completed without references to the one other full English translation of them, which appeared in the eighteenth century, or to any of the partial translations that have subsequently made their way into print. Only after that part of the project was done were other translations consulted. In this sense, then, this is a "fresh" translation, which also means that whatever errors or shortcomings it has are my responsibility.

Such an attempt to understand the original independently of other translators is certainly a good first step in translation. But the next stage ought to be an examination of all the earlier translations in a good deal more detail than seems to have been the case with Muller. Here I cannot help being reminded of Feofan Prokopovič's own sense of the cumulative nature of wisdom. I quote the relevant passage from the *Duxovnyj Reglament* in Muller's translation. It gives the first of Prokopovič's nine reasons for introducing an administrative council into the Russian church, as a replacement for the traditional system of patriarchal authority vested in one man.

> In the first place, truth is to be found more certainly by conciliar concurrence than through one individual. There is an ancient Greek proverb: Later thoughts are wiser than first. Moreover, many minds pondering a single issue will be wiser than one. It happens that, in a certain difficulty, a simple person may see what an educated and intelligent person will not see. How, then, is it that there is no need for a conciliar administration, in which many minds analyze a problem that has been presented, and what one does not comprehend, another will understand, and what this one fails to see, the other one will see? Thus, a doubtful matter will be explained more certainly, and more quickly, and whatever decision it required will appear without difficulty. (P. 9)

Two expressions in this extract from Muller's translation themselves call for comment. The first is "conciliar concurrence" as a rendering of *sobornoe soslovie* (instrumental case in the Russian). Muller's version does not distort the content of the text, but I interpret the expression differently. In my opinion *soslovie* means *sobranie,* "assembly", and *sobornoe* means *vselenskoe* = *vseobščee, vsemirnoe,* "general" or "universal." *Sobornoe soslovie* would therefore designate a body of roughly the same type as the *vselenskij sobor* mentioned in the first part of article eight of the *Duxovnyj Reglament* (fol. 9 r.), translated by Muller as "ecumenical council." This type of council had the character of an extraordinary episcopal assembly which could be summoned to solve especially awkward problems. The expressions *Sobornoe soslovie* and *Sobor selenskij* (in Feofan Prokopovič's forms) are in these instances printed with a capital letter in the 1722 edition, which could indicate that they refer to actually existing bodies. But the printed edition is by no means consistent. On fol. 4 v. *sobornago soslovija* appears without

the capital letter. One should note here that Cracraft's work of 1971, which translates extracts from the *Duxovnyj Reglament*, renders *sobornoe soslovie* as "general council." I shall return to Muller's translation of the adjective *sobornyj* in these expressions very shortly.

The second expression from my quotation of Muller (p. 9) is "conciliar administration." This is a rendering of *Sobornoe pravitel'stvo*, which the context suggests must mean a governing body. Feofan Prokopovič seems to waver between this expression and *sobornoe pravlenie* when he means a particular governing body. The word *upravlenie* also occurs, meaning an abstract system of government or treatment of questions. Muller usually renders all three Russian terms "administration" (sometimes "government"), so that the distinction made by Feofan Prokopovič is lost. Muller's translation of the adjective *sobornoe* as "conciliar" (cf. Lat. *concilium*) is partly to blame here. To my way of thinking, Cracraft has the better solution (1971:156): he translates *sobornoe pravitel'stvo/pravlenie* as "administrative council," which unambiguously indicates an existent body.

Wherever he thinks it possible, Muller has apparently tried to translate the adjective *duxovnyj* as "spiritual." Thus the book's title, *Duxovnyj Reglament,* has been rendered "Spiritual Regulation." In his commentary Muller offers (1972:86-87) a very detailed account of his thinking here, concluding with "two additional arguments in favor of the word 'spiritual'." In the first place, "spiritual" embodies

> a certain ambiguity that mirrors the literalness of the original, for the ambiguity is present in Russian as well as in English. Secondly, the ambiguity is a serviceable one. For in the present translation the word "spiritual" is intended to connote matters pertaining either specifically to church administration *or* to norms of religious practice in a more general sense. It is hoped by its use to avoid the narrower institutional orientation imparted by such titles as "Ecclesiastical Regulation", "Church Regulation", "Clerical Regulation," and so on.

All of Muller's arguments notwithstanding, it seems to me that the ambiguity of "spiritual" should not be allowed to broaden the reference of *duxovnyj* in the collocation *Duxovnyj Reglament.* For here I should say that *duxovnyj* means *cerkovnyj,* the difference between the two adjectives being mainly a matter of style, more or less as in the choice

between "Ecclesiastical Regulation" and "Church Regulation". In the 1719 Russian instruction for the Vojevodas reference is made to "a church regulation (*tserkovnyj ustav*)" (Peterson, p. 272). One point in favour of Muller's "Spiritual Regulation" would be the English expression "spiritual court," applied to a court having jurisdiction in matters of religion or ecclesiastical affairs. But paragraph seven in the first part of the *Duxovnyj Reglament* (fol. 3 r.) makes clear that religion and church, to Peter the First's way of thinking, are one and the same thing.

> As a Christian Sovereign, guardian of the true faith and of all good order in the Holy Church, having given consideration to spiritual needs, and desiring every best administration of them, he has vouchsafed to establish also the Spiritual College, (*duxovnoe kollegium* -C.D.; Muller, p. 8)

The renderings so far discussed may give the impression that Muller's translation nevertheless stays fairly close to the original. In fact, however, it often seems to be more in the nature of an interpretation than a translation. As a result, the style of presentation in the *Duxovnyj Reglament* sometimes suffers. To illustrate this I have chosen an example from the second paragraph of the first part (fol. 2 r.), where the Russian reads: *Ino že est' kollegium edinovremennoe, ino že est' vsegdašnee.* This could be rendered: "There are both temporary colleges (*ad hoc* colleges, 'nonce colleges') and permanent colleges." This sentence is the beginning of Feofan Prokopovič's pedagogically well-planned account of colleges of various types, which finally leads up to the *duxovnoe kollegium* instituted by Peter the First. Muller translates: "It is not an *ad hoc* college; rather, it is permanent." This refers to the newly instituted college as something already well-known. It jumps the gun, so to speak, and spoils Feofan Prokopovič's logical exposition of what a *duxovnoe kollegium* is like.

The pedagogical tact illustrated by this example is everywhere apparent in Feofan Prokopovič's text. It should therefore find its counterpart in any translation, which in this particular case would not be difficult. Other cases, however, are more complicated, as we can see from the chapter *Mirskie osoby, po eliko učastny sut' nastavlenija duxovnago* in the second part (fol. 67 r.). Literally, the translation runs: "Worldly people. Insofar as they take part in spiritual (religious) upbringing."

Here Muller translates *mirskie osoby* "laymen": "Laymen, insofar as they are concerned with Religious Instruction" (p. 45). He thus gives the exact reference of *mirskie osoby* right at the beginning, in the chapter's title. Feofan, on the other hand, before giving the directives relating to these people, has a long introductory account of how the Russian term should be interpreted. "Although it is unnecessary to say much in this short section, one or two words in preface are nevertheless appropriate, so as to enable a fuller understanding of why worldly people (*mirjane*) are called worldly people (*mirjane*), and of how they differ from the spiritual state. This term 'world' (*mir*) is used in a threefold meaning." There follows Feofan's perspicuous explanation of the three different meanings of *mir*. This introduction quite loses its point if the translator cannot find a way of rendering *mirjane* - *mirskie osoby* which preserves the *mir* - "world" link. One can see from Muller's translation that he has struggled with the problem. Sometimes he gives first a literal version, followed by an alternative in apposition, e.g. "worldly people, or laymen". But this is a long way from the concision of Feofan Prokopovič. The translation reflects the original's content, but not its formal, expressive dimensions.

The questions dealt with so far concern what one might call the text's most striking words and expressions. But I should also like to show that less noticeable words and expressions also affect the character of the translation. A passage in the first part of the *Duxovnyj Reglament* (fol. 7 r.-v.) has the word *mnenie* in three different sentences: one in the beginning, one in the beginning of the second half, and also in the penultimate sentence. To show how this word is rendered in the two different translations I quote first the sentences from the Russian text and then the corresponding sentences in the translations. The marking (extra spacing and italics) is my own:

Tako prostye serdca m n ě n i e m s i m razvraščajutsja, čto ne tak na Samoderžca svoego, jako na verxovnago pastyrja v koemlibo děle smotrjat.

Takomu že v narodě m n ě n i j u , velmi radi i ne prostyja, no kovarnyja čelověky, tii bo na G*s*drja svoego vraždujušče,

---

Čtož kogda ešče i sam pastyr' takovym o sebe nadmen m n ě n i e m , spat' ne poxoščet!

Muller (1972:11):

Wherefore simple hearts are misdirected *by this notion,* so that, in any kind of matter, they do not look so much to the Autocrat as to the Supreme Pastor.

Those particularly inclined to *such ideas* are not the common people, but insidious persons

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How, after all, would it be put to rest, when even the Pastor himself is inflated *with such an opinion* of himself?

Cracraft (1971:154):

Simple hearts are perverted *by these ideas,* so that in some matter they look not so much to their Autocrat as to the Supreme Pastor [the patriarch].

Criminal and dishonest persons are pleased to discover *such ideas* among the people:

And what if the Pastor himself, inflated *by such lofty opinions* of his office, will not keep quiet?

Leaving aside Muller's misinterpretation in the last instance, our general impression must be that the translations depart unnecessarily far from the original. In the case of expressions containing *mněnie,* neither of the two translations uses one and the same word consistently. Muller has "notion," "such ideas," "such opinion," while Cracraft has "ideas," "such ideas," "such lofty opinions." It is not until the third sentence that we find they both have rendering which might also have been suitable for the first two instances. The repetition of *mněnie* may well have been deliberate on Feofan Prokopovič's part, or the result of artistic intuition. But whatever its genesis, a translator should, in my view, do everything he can to preserve it.

Feofan Prokopovič's *Duxovnyj Reglament* belongs, of course, in the category of texts written for a specific "technical," "scientific" or "practical" purpose. It is, after all, a piece of officially ratified legislation. At the same time, however, it must also be classified as a text with a decided literary and artistic value (cf. the quotation from Cracraft 1971:60). This twofold character means that it is twice as difficult to produce a translation—one that will be faithful to its "utilitarian" and literary qualities alike. It would be extremely valuable if specialists in the field of translation were to pay more attention to the stylistic analysis of literary prose, so as to explore the special techniques authors use,

and the ways of translating them into the target language. The results of such research would have a direct application in the actual business of translating, and would help to ensure that the translation of a work such as the *Duxovnyj Reglament* would do justice, not only to its content, but also to the artistic form it has received from the masterly Feofan Prokopovič.

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Le mythe de l'allongement compensatoire en ukrainien

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Le changement phonétique le plus caractéristique de l'ukrainien, le passage de slave commun (sl. c.) *e, o* à ukr. *i* en syllabe fermée, donnant lieu à des alternances *e/i* et *o/i* (*pič, peči; dim, domu*) est expliqué traditionnellement par un "allongement compensatoire": lors de la chute des jers, les vibrations glottales de ces voyelles se seraient reportées sur les voyelles de la syllabe précédente, provoquant son allongement: *pečĭ* > **pēč, domŭ* > **dōm*. Ces voyelles longues se conservent sous forme de diphtongues *ie, uo* etc. attestées dans les dialectes ukrainiens du Nord et celles-ci, par différentes étapes également attestées dans les dialectes, passeraient en ukrainien du Sud et dans la langue littéraire à *i*. Cette interprétation, qui permet de rattacher les faits ukrainiens à ceux de plusieurs autres langues slaves, remonte initialement à Miklosich. Nous n'en retracerons pas ici l'histoire, qu'on peut trouver exposée de façon détaillée chez Shevelov (1979:331). Cette théorie a été combattue par Kurylo (1932) et Shevelov (1979), ainsi que par l'auteur de ces lignes (Garde 1974), mais elle reste assez largement répandue et a été reprise récemment, avec de nouveaux arguments, par Timberlake (1983). Elle mérite donc un nouvel examen.

Quand on parle d' "allongement compensatoire" (*Ersatzdehnung, compensatory lenghtening, zaminne podovžennja* etc.) on affirme deux choses: qu'il y a eu *allongement* et qu'il a été *compensatoire*, c'est-à-dire:

1° que, du point de vue *synchronique* relatif à une période ancienne de l'histoire de l'ukrainien, cette langue a possédé des phonèmes /ē/ /ō/ (devenus plus tard /i/) qui se distinguaient des phonèmes /ĕ/ /ŏ/ (restés /e/ /o/ jusqu'à aujourd'hui) par un trait pertinent de longueur, et non pas, par exemple, par la diphtongaison, la fermeture, ou tout autre trait pertinent qu'on pourrait imaginer.

2⁰ que, du point de vue *diachronique,* ces voyelles /ē/ /ō/ ont remplacé /ĕ/ /ŏ/ du slave commun par compensation de la chute des jers, c'est-à-dire par report sur ces voyelles de la sonorité des anciennes voyelles "ultra-brèves" qui se sont amuïes dans la syllabe suivante.

Ces deux assertions: l'une sur la nature de l'opposition entre les deux classes d'anciens *e* et *o*, l'autre sur ses causes, ne s'impliquent pas mutuellement de façon nécessaire, elles doivent donc être discutées séparément.

Dans cette discussion nous nous appuierons moins sur les données détaillées des dialectes ukrainiens (bien étudiées depuis longtemps et exposées en détail en dernier lieu par Shevelov 1979:323-334 et par Nazarova 1975) que sur le raisonnement à partir de quelques faits évidents et de confrontations typologiques.

I- Y A-T-IL EU UN ALLONGEMENT?

Lorequ'on parle d'"allongement compensatoire", on ne le fait pas à propos de l'ukrainien seul, mais on entend replacer le phénoméne étudié dans le cadre d'un ensemble de processus commun à de nombreuses langues slaves: on rapproche les alternances ukrainiennes du type *pič, peči; dim, domu* d'autre alternances existant dans d'autres langues slaves entre des voyelles apparaissant en syllabe fermée et les mêmes voyelles en syllabe ouverte. Par exemple, en citant des cas d'alternance entre le nominatif et le génitif d'un même nom:

s.cr. *dôm, dȍma; pêč, pȅči; lâž, lȁži; krȋv, krȉvi; žûč, žȕči;*
tch. *dům, domu; chléb, chleba; déšť, deště; mráz, mraza;*
pol. *wóz, wozu; dąb, dębu; rząd, rzędu; gród, grodu;*
h.sor. *wóz, woza; pěc, pjece; hród, hroda; brjóh, brjoha.*

Cependant il est clair que les conditions de fonctionnement de ces alternances sont très diverses d'une langue à l'autre, Sans entrer dans le détail de leur conditionnellement par l'accentuation ou par la nature de la consonne suivante, qui a été étudié par de nombreux auteurs, et en dernier lieu de façon particulièrement claire par Timberlake, nous relèverons seulement que:

I- parmi ces langues l'ukrainien est la seule où cette alternance concerne seulement les réflexes des voyelles sl. c. *e* et *o*. En serbo-croate on

trouve des réflexes de voyelles brèves les plus diverses par exemple *ŭ* dans *lâž, rŭ* et *lŭ* dans *kŕv* et *žûč;* en tchèque de voyelles diverses: *ě* dans *chléb*, *ŭ* dans *déšť*, *or* dans *mráz* etc.; en polonais moderne de *ę* et *ą* dans *rząd, dąb,* de *or* dans *gród* (et, comme on le sait, des voyelles les plus diverses dans la langue ancienne et les dialectes); en sorabe même on trouve l'alternance non pas seulement dans les réflexes de *e* et *o,* mais aussi régulièrement dans ceux de *or* et *er* (*hród, brjóh*): ceux-ci en ukrainien échappent à l'alternance, si l'on excepte le cas des gén. pl. du type *holiv, borid,* dont Shevelov (1979:607) a montrè qu'ils ne sont pas antérieurs au XVIIe siècle, et ne peuvent donc pas, comme le voulait Bulaxovskij (1961) se rattacher à des phénomènes slaves communs.

Cette répartition est liée au fait que dans la plupart des langues examinées la différence entre les deux types de syllabes est directement attestée sous la forme d'une alternance entre brève et longue. C'est le cas en serbo-croate et en tchèque, c'était le cas anciennement en polonais, comme en témoignent à l'évidence les dialectes (notamment kachoubes). Le sorabe est, avec l'ukrainien, la seule langue oú l'on n'ait pas d'attestation directe d'oppositions de quantité.

Il faut ajouter que l'ukrainien est la seule des langues considérées où la voyelle que l'on présume être issue d'une ancienne brève allongée (en ukrainien *i (< e, o)* apparaisse dans toutes les syllabes fermées où figuraient les voyelles en question et dans ces syllabes seules. Dans toutes les autres langues, et même en sorabe, il y a de nombreux autres cas d'allongement en dehors de celui présumé compensatoire.

Ainsi l'ukrainien est la seule langue où l'hypothèse de l'allongement apparaisse comme une explication *ad hoc*, rendant compte du seul phénomène qu'elle est censée expliquer, sans le mettre en rapport avec aucun autre.

Plus généralement, on peut diviser l'ensemble des langues slaves en deux grandes zones, que nous pourrions appeler: zone de *conservation* et zone de *disparition* des oppositions slaves communes de quantité. La zone de conservation ou zone Ouest comprend das l'ensemble le slave occidental et sud-occidental: Pol., Tch., Slovq., Slovn., S.-Cr. (nous réservons le cas du Sor.). La zone de disparition ou zone Est, le slave oriental et sud-oriental: R., BR., Ukr., Bulg., Mac.: c'est la zone que Jakobson (1963) appelle *bolgarsko-russkij prosodičeskij tip* et dont les

caractéristiques sont reconnues aussi par Shevelov (1964:447).

Nous disons "conservation" ou "disparition" parce que les oppositions de quantité existaient évidemment en slave commun sous la forme des oppositions *ā/ă, ǣ/ǣ̆, ū/ŭ, ī/ĭ* (écrites en v.sl. respectivement *a/o, ě/e, y/ъ, i/ь*). Mais dans tout le domaine slave ces différences quantitatives se sont accompagnées de différences qualitatives, au début redondantes, plus tard phonologisées: *ā* > *ā* (ouvert) mais *ă* > *ŏ* (moins ouvert et labialisé) etc.

Dans la zone Ouest les oppositions quantitatives et qualitatives ont continué à coexister, parfois jusqu'à nos jours; les oppositions qualitatives se sont phonologisées sans que les oppositions quantitatives se déphonologisent. Le meilleur exemple en est le serbo-croate où, encore aujourd'hui, en règle générale les voyelles issues d'une longue slave commune: *a* < *a*, *e* < *ě* ou *ę*, *u* < *u* ou *ǭ*, *i* < *i* ou *y*, *a* ou *e* dans les réflexes de groupes du type *tort*, sont encore aujourd'hui longues, tandis que celles issues d'une brève: *a* < *ъ* ou *ь*, *e* < *e* et *o* < *o* sont brèves, sauf quand il y a eu un processus d'abrègement ou d'allongement dont les conditions sont connues et peuvent être définies (le plus important de ces processus et sans doute le plus ancien est l'abrègement des voyelles sous ton aigu: *dȉm, dȅd, mrȁz,* cf. Jakobson 1963 et Garde 1976:213) c'est ce processus qui est sans doute à l'origine de la phonologisation des oppositions qualitatives. L'état du solvène s'explique à partir d'une situation proche de celle du serbo-croate.

A propos des autres langues du groupe Ouest: Tch., Slovq., Pol., on peut dire la même chose: les voyelles y ont conservé leur quantité sl. c. chaque fois qu'elles n'ont pas été abrégées ou allongées par un processus d'allongement ou d'abrègement dont les conditions peuvent être définies. Sans doute ces processus (surtout pour l'allongement) ont-ils été plus nombreux et plus divers dans ces langues qu'en s.cr. Mais le principe est le même; dans ces langues les oppositions quantitatives n'ont jamais été déphonologisées (sauf à date récente en polonais); la quantité actuelle continue directement la quantité slave commune héritée.

Au contraire dans le groupe Est il n'existe aucun fait qui nécessite pour son explication l'hypothèse d'une conservation des oppositions quantitatives slaves communes. Dans ces langues, les oppositions quantitatives ont été déphonologisées quand les oppositions qualitatives ent

été phonologisées. On pourrait résumer la différence entre les deux processus en les figurant comme suit:

à l'Est: *dămŭ* > *domъ* ; *dārŭ* > *darъ*
à l'Ouest: *dămŭ* > *dŏmъ* ; *dārŭ* > *dārъ*

Ainsi si à propos du serbo-croate ou du tchèque on admet un allongement *dŏmъ* > **dōm* (s.cr. *dōm,* tch. *dům*) on suppose ainsi l'apparition d'un phonème /ō/ opposé à /ŏ/ dans un système qui connaissait déjà l'opposition brève-longue. Si on fait la même supposition à propos de l'ukrainien, on est obligé d'admettre l'apparition d'oppositions *ŏ*/*ō* et *ĕ*/*ē* dans un système qui jusque là ne connaissait pas d'oppositions de longueur.

Or typologiquement il est habituel que l'opposition de longueur, si elle existe, englobe l'ensemble des voyelles. On ne trouve pas, semble-t-il, de systèmes où cette opposition s'applique à deux voyelles seulement, surtout s'il s'agit de voyelles d'aperture moyenne. Au contraire dans certaines langues l'opposition de quantité concerne toutes les voyelles, sauf précisément les voyelles moyennes, ainsi en lituanien moderne où le système vocalique est le suivant:

Brèves		Longues	
i	u	ī	ū
		ē	ō
æ	a	ǣ	ā

Ainsi, quand on postule en ukrainien ancien l'existence de longues *ē, ō,* on fait une hypothèse quadruplement improbable: improbable philologiquement, puisque ces longues ne sont en ukrainien nulle part et jamais attestées directement; improbable géographiquement, parce qu'on ne trouve rien de semblable dans toute la partie Est du monde slave; improbable chronologiquement, parce qu'aucun autre phénomène en ukrainien ni en slave oriental en général ne nécessite pour son explication l'appel à des oppositions de quantité postérieurement à la perte de la quantité slave commune; improbable enfin typologiquement, parce que l'existence d'oppositions quantitatives sur les seules voyelles moyennes *e, o* ne semble pas attestée ailleurs.[1]

[1] La situation du sorabe, comme l'a remarqué Stieber (1967) est assez semblable à celle

Il est beaucoup plus vraisemblable que ces sons aient été initialement soit des *ė, ȯ* fermés, soit des diphtongues *ie, uo*:

1- s'il s'agit de voyelles fermées on aurait un système à sept voyelles:

i	u
ė	ȯ
e	o

a

qui est fréquent dans les langues, par exemple en italien, ou, dans le domaine slave, en slovène et dans de nombreux dialectes russes (Leka).

2- s'il s'agit de diphtongues, c'est un phénomène très fréquent que des langues ne possédent aucune diphtongue, sauf celles dont l'élément le plus ouvert est une voyelle moyenne *e* ou *o*. C'est ce qu'on trouve en italien (*ie, uo*), en espagnol (*ie, ue*), en tchèque (*ou,* auquel il faut ajouter *ej* du tchèque parlé), et, si l'on considère les diphtongues descendantes seulement, en lituanien (*ie, uo*). Surtout, ces diphtongues sont directement attestées dans les dialectes ukrainiens du Nord et biélorusses du Sud.

Ainsi, l'hypothèse de la fermeture ou de la diphtongaison des voyelles en cause apparait comme bien plus satisfaisante que celle de l'allongement. Cette conclusion peut être atteinte sans qu'on ait à se prononcer sur l'origine, compensatoire ou non, de l'apparition de ces nouvelles voyelles.

II- LE PROCESSUS A-T-IL ÉTÉ COMPENSATOIRE?

Si l'on admet l'hypothèse de l'allongement, celle de son origine "compensatoire" est toute naturelle, elle a pour elle la vraisemblance phonétique (tranfert des vibrations glottales d'un point à un autre de la chaîne parlée lors de la chute d'un phonéme sonore) et de nombreux parallèles

de l'ukrainien, et les arguments avancés ici pour l'ukrainien pourraient l'être aussi à propos du sorabe, sauf l'argument géographique, qui joûe en sens inverse: si l'ukrainien est au coeur de la zone Est de disparition de la quantité, le sorabe est au centre de la zone Ouest où la quantité est conservée. Il y a entre les deux langues d'autres différences, notamment la présence de *ó* en syllabe ouverte en h.son dans des groupes issus de ˣ *tort,* ˣ *tolt,* ˣ *tert,* ˣ *telt: wróna, błóto* etc. (cf. Dybo 1963:57). Le cas du sorabe mérite donc un examen particulier.

typologiques, par exemple en grec ancien (**es-nai* > **eznai* > **ēnai*, écrit εἶναι "être", cf. Lejeune 1946:191), en latin (**pend-tus* donne *pēnsus* "pesé" en face de *pendō* "je pèse", cf. Ernout-Meillet 1951:876), en français (où la chute de l'*e* muet après voyelle produit d'abord un allongement, qui s'est conservé dans certaines régions où *amie* est distingué de *ami* par une plus grande longueur du *i*, cf. Bourciez 1937:33), etc. C'est pourquoi il n'y a aucune difficulté à admettre le caractère compensatoire de l'allongement dans les langues de la zone Ouest, où la longueur est directement attestée.

Si l'on renonce pour l'ukrainien à la thèse de l'allongement, celle de l'origine compensatoire du phénomène devient moins vraisemblable, mais encore faut-il la remplacer par une autre plus satisfaisante.

La première solution proposée a été celle de Kurylo (1932), elle suppose que le stade initial de l'évolution a été un timbre plus fermé (*ē*, *ȯ*) des voyelles des syllabes précédant un jer, et explique la fermeture de ces voyelles par une assimilation au timbre fermé (*i*, *u*) du jer lui-même. Ainsi on aurait *domŭ* > *dȯmŭ*, le *o* se fermant en *ȯ* sous l'influence du *ŭ* de la syllabe suivante. Cette explication a été acceptée dans ses grandes lignes par Shevelov (1979).

Sa difficulté est qu'elle suppose que, dans la période précédant la chute des jers, ceux-ci avaient encore un timbre *i*, *u* plus fermé que *e*, *o*, capable d'exercer une action assimilatrice sur ceux-ci, alors que les jers qui ont subsisté, ceux en position forte, ont dans toutes les langues slaves sauf le bulgare, soit un timbre de même aperture que les réflexes de *e*, *o* (tch., pol. *e*, slovq., mac., sl. or *e*, *o*, slovn. *ə*) soit même un timbre plus ouvert qu'eux (s.cr. *a*). En ukrainien même on peut dire que les jers forts ont des réflexes *plus ouverts* que *e*, *o*, comme on le voit en syllabe fermée où sl.c. ь, ъ > *e*, *o*, mais sl. c. *e*, *o* > *i*: *domъ* > *dim*, mais *sъnъ* > *son*. Si l'on suppose qu'au moment de leur chute les jers étaient encore *i*, *u*, il devient bien difficile d'expliquer la suite des changements selon la thèse de Kurylo:

1e phase: assimilation d'aperture:

domu > *dȯmu* *sunu* > *sunu*

2e phase: chute des jers en position faible:

dȯmu > *dȯm* *sunu* > *sun*

3e phase: évolution des jers subsistants (en position forte):

dôm > *dôm* *sun* > *son*

C'est ce dernier changement qui fait difficulté: comment *u* peut-il passer à *o* (*ouvert*) sans se confondre au passage avec *ò* (fermé) qui occupe du point de vue de l'aperture une position intermédiaire, et alors qu'on ne suppose aucun trait distinctif supplémentaire, tel que la longueur, pour les différencier?

Le caractère ouvert du *o* de *son* (et des réflexes des jers forts en ukrainien et dans toutes les langues slaves) ne peut s'expliquer que si les jers avaient commencé à perdre leur caractère fermé dès avant leur chute, prenant sans doute un timbre du type *ə* (conservé jusqu'à aujourd'hui en slovène), qui était pour ainsi dire le prélude à leur chute: une évolution semblable s'observe dans le cas du *e* muet français. Mais si ces voyelles avaient, dès avant leur chute, un timbre plus ouvert, elles étaient donc incapables d'exercer sur les voyelles de la syllabe précédente l'action assimilatrice supposée par la théorie de Kurylo.

Nous avons proposé (Garde 1974) une autre explication à l'évolution de *e, o* en ukrainies en syllabe fermée, explication qui nous paraît compatible aussi bien avec l'hypothèse de la fermeture initiale de ces voyelles qu'avec celle de leur diphtongaison ou même avec celle, invraisemblable, de leur allongement, Cette explication est fondée non pas sur les particularités des syllabes fermées, mais au contraire sur celle des syllabes ouvertes. Rappelons d'abord une évidence: au moment de la chute des jers ceux-ci sont encore des phonèmes distincts, ils ont encore un trait pertinent quelconque qui les différencie de *e, o,* sans quoi ils n'auraient pas pu tomber sans que tombent aussi *e, o.* Après la chute des jers en position faible, ceux qui subsistent, les jers "forts", ne peuvent exister qu'en syllabe fermée. La syllabe ouverte est donc une syllabe à vocalisme défectif: on peut y rencontrer tous les phonémes vocaliques de la langue, sauf ъ, ь. Si l'on considère dans l'ensemble du système vocalique le sous-ensemble des voyelles issues des brèves slaves communes *e o* ъ ь, l'inventaire des éléments de ce sous-ensemble possible dans les diverses positions est le suivant:

syllabe fermée: *e o* ъ ь

syllabe ouverte: *e o*

Plus tard, ъ et ь évoluent vers les timbres *e* et *o*. Mais ils ne se con-

fondent pas avec *e* et *o* anciens, ils présentent un timbre plus ouvert, ce qui aboutit à réinterpréter *e, o* anciens comme des voyelles fermées *ė, ȯ;*

sъn > *son* et *dom* > *dȯm*

dъn' > *den'* et *peč* > *pėč*

Mais cette évolution ne se produit pas en syllabe ouverte, parce que dans cette position l'opposition *e*/ь et *o*/ъ n'existait pas. La syllabe ouverte était une position de neutralisation des oppositions *ė*/*e* et *ȯ*/*o*, on y rencontrait seulement un archiphonème E, O, ni ouvert, ni fermé (comme aujourd'hui dans les syllabes inaccentuées du slovène, de l'italien, ou des parlers russes du type de Leka qui connaissent l'opposition *ė*/*e* et *ȯ*/*o*, seulement sous l'accent): gén. *dOmu, pEči.*

Dans la suite de l'évolution (et presque immédiatement) *ė* se confond avec le réflexe de *ě*, qui était jusque là, soit un *ė* encore plus fermé, soit une voyelle différente par quelque autre trait: *pėč* comme *lės:* c'est ce que marque dans la graphie l'apparition du "nouveau *jat'* ". Mais ce *ė* issu de *ě* est possible aussi en syllabe ouverte; *lėsu.* Dès lors la syllabe ouverte n'est plus en position de neutralisation de l'opposition d'aperture, et le E de *pEči* est réinterprété comme un *e* ouvert:

lěsu > *lėsu* (mod. *lisu*)

pEči > *peči* (mod. *peči*)

La réinterprétation de E comme *e* entraine celle de O comme *o* (ouvert):

dOmu > *domu* (mod. *domu*)

A partir de là l'alternance actuelle est déjà en place. Il ne restera plus à observer que l'évolution de *ė* it *ȯ* vers *i* (et, parallèlement, de l'ancien *i* vers *y*), dont on peut suivre les étapes dans les dialectes.

La conception exposée ci-dessus a été critiquée par Timberlake (1983:229-230) dans les termes suivants: "This hypothesis... suffers from a problem of chronology: after the fall of the jers, it would be too late to differentiate *e o* < **e* **o* from *e o* < strong ь ъ. Before the fall of the jers, all *e, o* were in open syllables, so there would be no way of differentiating those that would eventually end up in close syllables from those that would end up in open syllables, without referring to the presence or absence of a following weak jer".

Dans l'alternative proposée par Timberlake, le deuxième terme est de toute évidence juste, mais non pas le premier. Dire que "après la chute des jers il aurait été trop tard pour différencier *e o* <**e* **o* de *e o* < *ь

*ъ, c'est supposer que la chute des jers faibles et la confusion des jers forts avec telle ou telle autre voyelle sont un seul et même phénomène. Il est facile de voir que la chute des jers "faibles" et la confusion des jers subsistants, ou jers "forts", avec d'autres voyelles d'une autre origine sont non seulement des processus *logiquement distincts,* mais encore qu'ils n'ont pas pu être simultanés: la confusion des jers forts avec *e, o* (ou autres voyelles) a eu lieu nécessairement *après* la chute des jers faibles, dans certaines langues *très longtemps après,* dans certaines langues même elle n'a *pas eu lieu du tout.*

Que les processus soient logiquement distincts, c'est l'évidence: on ne voit pas pourquoi le premier impliquerait nécessairement le second. Le premier (chute des jers faibles) a lieu de façon identique dans toutes les langues slaves, le second a, comme on sait, des résultats différents selon les langues. S'ils ne s'impliquent pas logiquement, leur simultanéité absolue ne saurait être qu'un hasard d'une probabilité nulle, il y a donc succession, et nécessairement la chute des jers faibles précède, fût-ce de peu, la confusion des jers forts avec d'autres voyelles: si c'était l'inverse, tous les jers auraient été confondus avec d'autres phonèmes, et les auraient donc entrainés dans leur chute.

Mais en outre il existe des langues slaves où la confusion des jers forts avec un autre phonème n'a pas eu lieu. Si les jers se confondent avec *e* en tch. et pol., avec *e* et *o* en slovq. et mac., avec *a* en s.cr., avec *e* et le réflexe de *ǫ* en bulg., il reste le slovène où la voyelle *ə* ne peut être le réflexe que de ъ et ь: *sъn* > *sən, pъs* > *pəs.* Il en est de même dans les dialectes štokaviens du groupe de Zeta-Lovćen, où le réflexe des jers est *ȁ: sȁn, dȁn,* ce quis montre que la confusion des jers avec *a* en štokavien est un phénomène récent (cf. Ivić 1958:207).

Ainsi la confusion des réflexes des jers forts avec d'autres voyelles ne se produit pas au moment même de la chute des jers faibles, elle se produit après, parfois longtemps après, et peut ne pas se produire du tout. Il n'est donc pas vrai de dire qu'après la chute des jers il était trop tard pour différencier *e o* de ь ъ. C'est seulement après la confusion supposée de ces deux groupes de voyelles qu'il aurait été trop tard.

Or justement il est possible de montrer que l'ukrainien se range, comme le slovéne, dans la classe des langues slaves où cette confusion des jers avec *e o* (ou avec tout autre phonème) ne s'est jamais produite,

et où la distinction existe toujours, En effet dans la position où ces deux types de voyelles (*e, o* d'une part, *ъ, ь* de l'autre) étaient en concurrence, c'est-à-dire en syllabe fermée, il est impossible de trouver un mot où elles aient le même réflexe: partout l'opposition *e/ь* s'est conservée sous la forme *i/e* (*pič/pes*) et l'opposition *o/ъ* sous la forme *i/o* (*dim/son*). En syllabe ouverte cette opposition n'avait pas à être conservée, puisque dès le départ (dès après la chute des jers faibles) elle n'existait pas.

Ainsi, de même qu'en slovène *ə* ne peut être le réflexe que des jers, de même en ukrainien en syllabe fermée *e, o* ne peuvent être le réflexe que des jers (ou des voyelles issues du *polnoglasie*).

La suite des processus peut être figurée comme suit, en prenant comme exemples une langue où se produit la confusion des jers avec d'autrs voyelles, le macédonien[2] et une autre où elle ne se produit pas, l'ukrainien:

mac.	*domъ*	>	*dom*	>	*dom*	même voyelle
	sъnъ	>	*sъn*	>	*son*	
ukr.	*domъ*	>	*dòm*	>	*dim*	voyelles différentes
	sъnъ	>	*sъn*	>	*son*	

Un parellèle typologique est fourni par l'évolution des *e* muets en français, qui se produit, comme on sait, dans des conditions assez voisines de celle des jers en slave. La chute des *e* muets en position faible se produit dans toute la France d'Oïl au XVIe siècle. Les *e* muets en position forte se conservent avec un timbre distinct de celui de toute autre voyelle: *ə* (voyelle centrale non arrondie). Mais aujourd'hui cette prononciation *ə*, encore considérée comme la norme, n'est pas la plus fréquente: le plus souvent cette voyelle est prononcée *œ*, avec la même voyelle (antérieure arrondie moyenne) que dans *fleur* (selon Martinet 1945:67, ce serait là la prononciation de 75% des Français). Nous avons donc deux types de prononciation du français, qui ont en commun un

[2] Nous choisissons le macédonien et non le russe, parce que dans cette dernière langue l'opposition *dôm/son* a subsisté très longtemps et existe encore aujord'hui dans de nombreux dialectes (type de Leka).

premier processus: la chute de *e* muet en position faible, mais qui diffèrent par l'adoption ou non d'une second processus: la confusion de *e* muet en position forte avec une autre voyelle, à savoir *œ*. Ainsi, dans un mot comme *relever,* comportant deux *e* muets, le premier en position forte, le second en position faible:

Rəlve (pron. normative)

Rələve > Rəlve >

Rœlve (pron. usuelle)[3]

En français comme en slave, les deux processus restent bien distincts, et le second peut ne pas se produire.

Ainsi l'explication proposée ici suppose que la différenciation des *o* et *e* en syllabe fermée s'est produite nécessairement *après* la chute des jers faibles. Elle diffère ainsi de l'hypothèse de Kurylo qui veut qu'elle se soit produite *avant,* et de la théorie de l'allongement compensatoire, qui suppose qu'elle a eu lieu *en même temps.* Elle ne fait appel à aucun processus phonétique compliqué, mais seulement à la notion très simple d'"économie des changements phonétiques" (pour reprendre le terme de Martinet).

La théorie de l'allongement compensatoire est probablement valable pour les langues slaves occidentales et sud-occidentales. Appliquée à l'ukrainien, elle a tous les caractères d'une explication *ad hoc,* qu'aucun fait ne vient étayer, et puisqu'une hypothèse plus simple peut lui être substitutée, nous ne voyens aucune raison de la conserver.

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[3] Nous ne mentionnerons que pour mémoire la prononciation méridionale usuelle *Rœlœve* (le 2° processus s'est produit, mais non le 1°), et la prononciation méridionale hypercorrecte: *Rœlve, dežne* (pour *déjeuner*): le 2° processus s'est produit d'abord, et le 1° seulement ensuite, si bien que les *œ* même étymologiques, comme celui de *déjeuner,* ont disparu en position faible.

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Towards a Typology of Lexical Innovations in Canadian Ukrainian

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INTRODUCTION

Every speech community, whether of high or moderate complexity, reveals several varieties of language functionally or generationally differentiated from each other. In the process of differentiation new word forms come into being, and new words or combinations of words are formed: thus a new vocabulary evolves. No language which is being spoken and used daily is static, and neither is it uniform in its spatial-temporal dimension. It is in a state of continuous linguistic change. Most often the innovations of a language show up with particular clarity in its lexical repertoire.

Some degree of novelty is always desirable. However, where speakers are subjected to strong socio-cultural pressure from other people, linguistic innovation then becomes part of a more general outside influence, rather than language freshness. This is true of the Ukrainian language in Canada, which, separated spatially and culturally from its linguistic base in Europe for almost a century, began developing in a new direction.

This paper examines the innovation in the lexical repertoire of Canadian Ukrainian usage resulting from intra-lingual and inter-lingual interference. Furthermore, it attempts to develop a typology for the mechanisms of this innovation. The given observations are based on the linguistic data derived from a larger project, in which I have been engaged for several years.[1] The data consists of the following:

[1] Fieldwork and collection of materials for the study of the Canadian Ukrainian language were made possible through financial support in the form of a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

a) tape-recorded interviews with over 200 subjects of Ukrainian descent, ranging in age from 10 to 80 years;

b) recordings and written texts from the Ukrainian Canadian mass media;

c) published Ukrainian Canadian texts as auxiliary material.

It should be emphasized that the present study deals exclusively with the Canadian Ukrainian language and not with North American Ukrainian as a whole.

Before turning to the theme of innovation in the lexical repertoire of Canadian Ukrainian itself it is necessary to sketch the general linguistic situation of the Ukrainian language in Canada.

Originally the Ukrainian language in Canada was represented by a group of transplanted and substantially differentiated Southwestern Ukrainian dialects. In Canada these dialects found themselves in a state of multiple linguistic contacts. The language contact situation encompassed various types of languages, ranging from those structurally very different (e.g. English, French, the native Indian languages) to some fairly similar (e.g. the Slavic languages), as well as variants of the Ukrainian language and its dialects. Consequently, from the very beginning of its history in Canada the Ukrainian language, more properly—the group of Ukrainian dialects—was exposed to linguistic crosscurrents and linguistic interference.[2] As expected, this led to many linguistic changes.

With time, the continual exposure of the Ukrainian dialects to mutual interference, due to the frequency of social interactions of their speakers, resulted in a rearrangement of many speech patterns, which reduced the relative dialectal diversity and tended towards intra-dialectual levelling. The diminishing diversity of the language was further reinforced by the continual, although varied, interference from literary Ukrainian, which operated simultaneously with tendencies of intra-dialectal levelling, and thus leaning towards a degree of uniformity. However, interference from the literary Ukrainian in Canadian Ukrainian of the early

[2] In our work the definition of "linguistic inteference" is that of U. Weinreich: "The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language..." in his *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mounton, 1974), p. 1.

(pre-World War II) period was not particularly strong.[3] It was exerted mainly through literary publications and the Ukrainian Canadian press. At the same time the Ukrainian language also was subjected to outside interference, especially, interference from the dominant language of the nation—Canadian English.

It should be noted that when two or more languages come into close contact they rarely meet on equal terms but usually fall into a hierarchy of dominance. There is nothing intrinsic in the structure of one language that makes it superior to another, but the relative social or political positions of the speakers of these languages almost always give one language a dominant position. The Ukrainian language in Canada found itself in a subordinate position and, for obvious reasons, its speakers had to learn some English.

If we apply R.A. Hall's definition of bilingualism as "a minimum degree of proficiency in both languages",[4] we may assume that in the pre-war period the majority of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were already bilingual. But if we determine bilingualism considering a "relative proficiency" in each language,[5] we then must say that, in spite of a degree of bilingualism of many Canadian Ukrainians, a considerable number of them nevertheless remained monolingual. The Ukrainian language spoken in Canada in the pre-war period bore many of the typical Southwestern Ukrainian dialectal features as well as a strongly hybridized colouring resulting from interference from English.

New tendencies in the development of Canadian Ukrainian began to unfold in the post-World War II period. With the new wave of Ukrainian immigrants that entered post-war Canada, comprised of speakers from the whole of the Ukrainian territory, a fresh boost was provided for the existing Ukrainian language. Even though the new immigrants represented a variety of Ukrainian linguistic backgrounds and their spoken Ukrainian differed from the Ukrainian spoken in Canada, they

[3] However, determining to what extent this was literary Ukrainian, and not merely a series of Western Ukrainian idiolects stemming from a vertical cross-section of Ukrainian urban settlements, requires more research.

[4] Cf. R.A. Hall, "Bilingualism and Applied Linguistics," *Zeitshrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, 6 (1952), 13-20.

[5] Cf. Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York, 1933), and U. Weinreich, *Contact*, p. 3.

were cognizant of the acceptable standard of literary language and promoted its use. This newly arrived and more intensive interference from the literary variant of the language stimulated new developmental tendencies in the existing language.

In the sixties the dynamics of population mobility and an increasing trend towards urbanization began to change the settlement pattern of Ukrainians in Canada. Consequently, alterations in language distribution caused by demographic events on one hand, and further acquisition and spread of bilingualism on the other hand, promoted a major language shift.[6] Now the Ukrainian language receded from its position as the mother-tongue to that of the second language.

The beginning of the seventies was marked by changes in official government policies regarding the language question in Canada. The unusual proclamation in 1971 of Canada as an officially bilingual and multicultural nation sparked intensive popular interest in and concern about the question of ethno-cultural identity—"Canadian" versus "Ethnic." Within the Ukrainian population these developments stimulated a strong ethno-cultural awareness which led to the revival of interest in and use of the Ukrainian language in Canada, particularly by the younger generation. Before long the Ukrainian language became a medium of instruction in Ukrainian immersion programs in many public schools throughout several Canadian provinces.

The factors outlined above contributed to the direction in which the language developed further. A combination of two divergent forces, (1) intralingual interference, and (2) interlingual interference, acting simultaneously lead to the same process—the gradual Canadianization of the Ukrainian language.[7] This process has been further influenced by a number of extra-linguistic factors particular to the Canadian bilingual and multicultural society.

The subject of the Ukrainian language in Canada has already been discussed in a small number of works. The literature in this area consists

[6] The degree of language shift varies greatly with generations.

[7] The term "Canadianization" implies all innovations in the Ukrainian language that occurred either because of interference from the Ukrainian literary language or, on the other hand, from the nation's two dominant languages (Canadian English and Canadian French) and other immigrant and even indigenous languages found in Canada.

of a number of articles and several graduate school theses. Most of the articles stress the problem of the Anglicization of the language, and some examine this aspect in considerable detail.[8] More recent studies, however, investigate Ukrainian Canadian from the point of view of linguistic interference and introduce the new concept in the study of linguistic changes—the concept of a Canadian variant of Ukrainian language.[9]

It should be pointed out that in the development of the Canadian Ukrainian language two distinct periods can be identified. The division of periods coincides with the end of World War II, and this periodization is determined by the character of the language changes which were conditioned by altered linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors. Changes in Canadian Ukrainian proceeded and continue to proceed on all linguistic levels. However, the most visible impact of the language-in-contact situation on Ukrainian and its exposure to linguistic crosscurrents is reflected in its lexical repertoire.

LEXICAL INNOVATION

The lexicon of Canadian Ukrainian employs a number of mechanisms in its innovation. Not all of these, however, were active at the same time. Some are more characteristic of the pre-World War II period, while others are characteristic of the post-World War II period of the language's development.

Pre-World War II Period

From the very beginning the Canadian experience has caused Ukrainian immigrants to adapt their language accordingly. The need to designate new things, places, and new concepts is a universal cause of lexical

[8] In addition to articles of a survey character (e.g. J.B. Rudnyckyj, A. Royik, I. Pohorecky, R. Klymasz, Y. Slavutych, E. Burshtynsky, I. Gerus-Tarnawecka, etc.) dealing with Canadian Ukrainian, there are a number of graduate theses that examine various aspects of the influence of the English language in greater detail (e.g. R. Klymasz, J.M. Lewyckyj, A. Royik, L. Fedorkiw). Ju. O. Žluktenko has also displayed an interest in this problem.

[9] The concept of a Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language was first introduced by I. Gerus-Tarnawecka (1978) and further developed in her subsequent articles dealing with this problem (1978, 1983a, 1983b). A. Shymkiw in her thesis investigages the phonological interference found in the speech of Canadian Ukrainians and proposes a phonological description of the Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language.

innovations. Thus, Ukrainian immigrants, lacking or not being aware of the speech equivalents for some Canadian realities, filled the inevitable gaps in their vocabulary not by describing things afresh but by resorting to a more economical technique—that of borrowing. In the Canadian Ukrainian lexicon several types of borrowings may be distinguished.

1. *Loan assimilation*

Usually loan items were introduced into the Ukrainian language as they were perceived and reproduced by Ukrainian speakers; thus, they were marked by phonetic interference. These items were quickly adapted to the native language structure and assimilated without any resistance.[10]

1.1 *Simple words*

(a) In the process of adaption most of these loans were classified according to their external form and were accommodated into the suitable grammatical class of the Ukrainian language. For example, many English nouns end with hard consonants, which coincide with the characteristic of the masculine gender in Ukrainian. As a result, a great many new words were classified as nouns of the masculine gender and followed their declensional paradigm, e.g. *kopyk* 'cup', *trok* 'truck', *rum* 'room', *kovt* 'coat', *lojer* 'lawyer', *korner* 'corner', *karpet* 'carpet', *krysmes* 'Christmas'.

(b) Other loan words were associated with cognates in the native language and were introduced in the grammatical system accordingly, e.g. *pejlo (vidro)* 'pail', *halja (zalja)* 'hall', *pejda (platnja)* 'pay', *norsa (medsestra)* 'nurse', *stokinsy (pančoxy)* 'stockings', *batlja (pljaška)* 'bottle'.

(c) Still other loans were more loosely fitted into the language system, e.g. *holydej* 'holiday', *bara* 'bar', *jarda* 'yard', *polišuvannja* 'polishing'.

(d) In addition to borrowings from the English language the Canadian Ukrainian lexicon shows evidence of borrowings from other Canadian languages, e.g. French: *portydž* 'portage', *preriji* 'prairie'; from native Indian languages: *makasyny* 'moccasins', *saskatunky* 'saskatoons', *čypmank* 'chipmunk'. However, these words entered the Ukrainian language through the medium of English and were regarded and treated as English loans.

[10] The examples illustrating the pre-war period are taken from the recorded interviews.

1.2 *Compounds*

Most of the compounds were considered simple words and were therefore reproduced and adapted to the native system unanalyzed, e.g. *forman* 'foreman', *milkmen* 'milkman', *postmen* 'postman', *dragštor* 'drugstore', *honimun* 'honeymoon', *ajskrim* 'ice cream', *spajshem* 'spiced ham'.

Occasionally, however, the elements of some compounds were analyzed and, in the process of transfer, were recompounded in the native fashion, e.g. 'cream cheese' as *čizkrim,* or 'corned beef' as *bifkorn,* and 'roast beef' as *bifrost.*

1.3 *Short bound phrases*

Such compounds usually were perceived in an unanalyzed form and reproduced as single words. To this group belong:

a) some greetings, e.g. *gudej* 'good day', *gubaj* 'good bye';
b) interjections, e.g. *girap* 'get up!', *šarap* 'shut up!', *geraut* 'get out!', *vaccumera* 'what's the matter?';
c) others, e.g. *savanagana* 'son of a gun', *Grinekščendž* 'Grain Exchange'; *sentyklas* 'Santa Claus'.

2. *Hybridization*

Another technique of borrowing consists of the transfer of some elements and reproduction of others. Such combinations result in hybridized constructions or loanblends.[11]

2.1 *Verbs*

In the process of adaptation to the native language, the structure of borrowed verbs was subjected to more severe changes than that of nouns. Generally, only verbal stems were transferred and usually in a phonetically distorted form while native affixes were reproduced, e.g. 'to move' generated *muxuvatysja, zmuxuvatysja, peremuxuvatysja;* 'to clean'—*klinuvaty, poklinuvaty;* 'to like'—*lajkuvaty;* 'to watch'—*vočuvaty,* etc.

2.2 *Diminutives*

Many loans, especially nouns, served as a basis for further word for-

[11] Cf. E. Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowings," in R. Lass, ed., *Approaches to English Historical Linguistics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969).

mation, particularly for the formation of diminutives. In such instances loaned stems were transferred but derivational affixes were reproduced and new words were formed to suit the native system, e.g. 'dress' produced *dresyna, dresynka,* 'cup'—*kopyčok,* 'horse'—*horsio, horsyk,* 'boy'—*bojsyk.*

2.3 *Other derivatives*

It is interesting to note that many names of companies, institutions and government agencies, either in their full or abbreviated form, were perceived by Ukrainian immigrants as personal names and in this capacity served as a basis for new word creations. For example: Canadian National Railway (CNR) generated *Sinjar,* Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR)—*Sypjar.* Federal and provincial governmental institutions were named in general—*Goberman,* but city government as *Sity, Sytyj.* Thus, people were employed *u Sinjara, u Sypjara, u Gobermana,* and *u Sytoho.*

3. *Semantic extension*

Other types of lexical innovation involve an extension in the use of a native word in conformity with a foreign model.[12] For example, the word *pidloha* 'floor', which in Ukrainian language designates the inside bottom covering of a room, now is widely used also as meaning 'the storey of a building' and as 'the floor in the legislative assemblies designating the part of the house where the members sit and from which they speak'. The word *student* 'student' now designates a person who is studying in an elementary school, college or university; similarly there is an extended meaning and use of such words as *klasa* 'class', *rekord* 'record' and many others.

Post-World War II Period

The mechanisms discussed above were involved in the expansion and innovation of the Ukrainian Canadian lexicon and were very actively utilized in the pre-war period. In the post-war period the earlier tendencies of the Ukrainian community towards a quick structural speech

[12] Cf. Weinreich, *Contact,* pp. 48, 51.

adaptation and assimilation of loans changed considerably. On the one hand, changing linguistic factors, such as new sources of intralingual interference, as well as bilingualism and partial language shifts, and, on the other hand, altered extra-linguistic factors, brought other innovational mechanisms into action.

Previously, most lexical innovations resulted from the interference from Canadian English with the Ukrainian language, and very little, if any, came from interference from literary Ukrainian.[13] In the post-war period two sources of interference acted simultaneously: (1) outside interference, that is, interference from Canadian English (and other languages found in Canada), and (2) interference from standard literary Ukrainian. Furthermore a conscious effort at Ukrainization, associated with better education and class mobility began to appear. All these trends are reflected in the current lexical repertoire of Canadian Ukrainian.

A. *Source of Interference: Canadian English*

The previous technique of borrowing still is used greatly, but its mechanisms of application have changed and have resulted in new types of borrowings.

1. *Integration*

Whether a speaker has one language at his disposal or more, it is unlikely that his linguistic repertoire is purely of one kind. That is, even the monolingual's single-system repertoire includes several available varieties of the single language. The bilingual's multiple-system repertoire includes the available varieties of two languages. The availability of more than one variety of language for a speaker preconditions the integration of several varieties into his speech.

The term "lexical integration" used in this paper is a working term for the purpose of establishing our typology. It designates a types of loan acquired through direct borrowing or controlled switching to other language(s) and incorporated into the lexical repertoire of a speaker with minimal or no phonetic changes, no grammatical assimilation, and, as such, remains unassimilated for the time being.

[13] The intradialectal interference is not discussed here because it requires more research.

In the bilingual situation, integration of lexical items is motivated by the determining situational factors and also is affected by environmental frequencies of occurence.[14] Such lexems of high utterance potential are usually entities of daily life and interaction in the otherwise English-speaking community. In current Canadian Ukrainian usage, three types of such lexems related to the societal domain with which they are associated can be identified.

1.1 *Home setting*

Although many of these loans are of various linguistic provenance, they enter the Ukrainian language through Canadian English and in most cases are considered as English loans by their speakers. There are several types of these which can be classified in general terms as:

(a) names for food or drinks, e.g. steak, fish and chips, weiners, hot dogs, pizza, quince, ketchup, coke, soda, juice, gin, scotch, rye, etc;

(b) appliances and furniture, e.g. toaster, fridge,/refrigerator, deep freeze, garburator, dishwasher, sink, water-bed, fireplace, stereo;

(c) other words, e.g. party, holiday, experience, business, kleenex.

1.2 *School, work, government*

To this category belong names for subjects taught in schools, e.g. social studies, shop, fine arts, home ec. (home economics), phys. ed. (physical education); academic degrees, e.g. diploma, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Master of Science; names of learning institutions: high school, college, business school; in employment—names of positions or trades, e.g. plumber, caretaker, meterman, accountant, speaker, manager, clerk, executive director; names of institutions, e.g. City Hall, municipal [building], unemployment office, welfare.

1.3 *Specialized vocabulary*

The current lexicon is also expanding in response to modern technological and scientific needs; this category of words enters the Ukrainian language on a straightforward basis by means of integration. The list of this type of import is large and is expanding everyday. It comprises mainly scientific and technical terms or trademarks, such as: computer,

[14] Elsa Lattey, "Uterance Potential, Code-Switching and Speech Errors," MS. Paper presented at A.I.L.A., Montreal, 1978.

computer memory, key punch, atari, xerox, word processor, X-ray, pacemaker, chemotherapy, or skidoo, snowmobile.

A further examination of the integration mechanism shows that this kind of borrowing is largely contingent on other contributing factors such as the educational level of the speakers, age, relative proficiency in bilingualism, as well as their behavioural attitude towards both languages—English and Ukrainian. Considerable differences exist between those who intentionally switch to the English language and consciously integrate borrowed words and expressions into their speech, and those who switch to English because they lack control over certain language situations. In the first instance speakers are aware of language switching and often convey this awareness by, so to speak, verbal quotation marks. In the other instances language switching often occurs without this conscious awareness on the part of the users. This, of course, may suggest insufficient adherence to the Ukrainian language, consequently, in some instances the distinction between integration as defined here and code-switching (discussion follows) is very slight and requires further research.

2. *Code-switching*

Code-switching between distinct languages is a normal activity in many parts of the world. Code-switching by bilingual or multilingual speakers points to the human capacity for substitution. But, as stated before, there are two types of this phenomenon: (a) controlled or intended code-switching, and (b) unaware code-switching.

There are several definitions and explanations for the code-switching phenomenon.[15] The most common is that of Weinrich regarding ideal linguistic switches: "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence".[16]

The code-switching mechanism in our typology has the opposite tendency. It is uncontrolled switching from one language to the other in an

[15] Cf. J. Gumperz, "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code-Switching in Norway," in John Gumperz, *Language in Social Groups* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 274-310.

[16] Weinreich, *Contact*, p. 73.

unchanged situation and often within a simple sentence. This mechanism of code-switching employed to fill gaps in the lexical repertoire is in use on a wide scale now, especially among the younger generations. Here are a few examples: *Na snidannja ja budu maty 'bacon and eggs', a ja prošu 'french toast' abo 'pancakes'; ja xoču 'to invest my money'; Vono ne maje nijaku 'social value'; ja mušu 'quit' jisty.* This type of code-switching is carried on without any particular pattern; it is situational as well as unstable. The direction of borrowing by means of code-switching illustrates the manner in which the choice of language is often bound-up with social values.[17]

B. *Source of Interference: Standard Literary Ukrainian*

In a very complicated language contact situation, interference from standard literary Ukrainian somewhat compensates Canadian Ukrainian for inter-lingual interference, that is, for outside interference. Because of a more favourable socio-political environment for Canadian Ukrainian, the impact of interference from the standard literary language is much more effective now than it was in the pre-war period. Recent tendencies towards convergence of Canadian Ukrainian manifest themselves in conscious efforts at a certain language standardization and purification.

The main vehicle for introducing and popularizing literary "borrowings"is the Ukrainian Canadian mass media and schools. Furthermore, the influx of Ukrainian language literature dealing with various branches of the arts and sciences, as well as recent more frequent physical contacts with Ukraine, are all largely responsible for many innovations in the lexical fund of Canadian Ukrainian.

[17] The code-switching usually requires a choice or selection on the part of the user, according to a specific social situation at the time contact is made with languages by a bilingual. The social situations vary according to societal domains. The direction of borrowing by means of code-switching illustrates, therefore, the manner in which the choice of language is often bound-up with social values. My survey shows that the direction of this type of borrowings, insofar as the younger generation's speech in communicating is concerned, takes the direction of a "two-way street." In a social event where English is the language used as the tool of communication, quite often code-switching takes place in the reverse direction. Some Ukrainian words and expressions are introduced in the conversation, and the purpose of code-switching here is a metaphorical one and not a situational one. It is of a symbolic nature—a visible symbol of identity.

The mechanisms used in introducing literary lexical and phraseological items into their Canadian variant depend upon the degree of language shift and bilingualism. Among the younger generations, where tendencies at language standardization are associated with education and class, such efforts are demonstrated in the innovation of their lexical repertoire with so-called "more proper" Ukrainian words and expressions.

1. *Exact transfer*

This is exact transfer of lexical or phraseological item which functions in the language recipient exactly as it functions in the source language. Here are some examples: *telebačennja, teleproducenty, aviopošta, fotoiljustraciji, telemereža, korabel'-supernyk, ljačnyj vyhljad, zajnjalasja požeža, vodiji avtobusiv, rezul'taty opytuvannja, stereoprystrij.*

2. *Translations*

(a) Calques, that is the proper translations by which the model is reproduced exactly element by element, e.g. *sušalka* (dryer), *xolodyl'nyk* (refrigerator), *zamorožuvač/morozil'nyk* (deep freeze), *zmišuvač* (mixer), *sofa-ližko* (sofa-bed), *deržavnyj pravnyk* (solicitor general), *matirna mova* (mother tongue).

The trend towards word-for-word translation also explains many syntactic changes which language undergoes.

(b) Descriptive translations, where some elements of the model are reproduced descriptively, for example: *ližko ščo xovajet'sja* (hide-a-bed); *krislo, ščo pidnosyt'sja* (recliner); *stolyk na kavu* (coffee-table); *stolyk v kutok* (end table); *prylad dlja pidsmažuvannja xliba* (toaster); *švydkopsuvna jiža* (perishable food).

3. *Rendition*[18]

Rendition is a mechanism, whereby the reproduction of the model only furnishes a general hint of meaning for the model due to interference from both languages. Moreover, it may lead to confusion of usage.

Here are a few examples of such rendition: *socijal'nyj večir* (social

[18] The term has been borrowed from Weinreich, but is applied in a modified meaning. The illustrative material is taken from the recorded interviews and students' assignments.

evening), *kul'turni dijovyny* (cultural activities), *žonata z ukrajincem* (married to a Ukrainian), *rizni formy zabavlennja* (various forms of entertainment), *jixni tradyciji buly nasmiškani* (their traditions were laughable); and *Katja zlomyla vazu* instead of *rozbyla,* or *xanyč zaraz pamjatav step* instead of *xanenko pryhadav,* point to confusion in usage of some lexems.

4. *Bilingual transfer*

One of the more interesting and popular mechanisms applied to update the lexical repertoire with lexical items from literary Ukrainian brings them into use on a bilingual basis—Ukrainian and Canadian English in a Ukrainian adaptation. The reason for this phenomenon is the desire to ensure clarity of expression. This mechanism is now in use, especially by the mass media, e.g., (a) partially bilingual (the Ukrainian version is followed by the English in a Ukrainian adaptation as it appeared in the Canadian Ukrainian press): *perexodyly polihrafičny provirku (laj detector test), prylady zvohčuvannja povitrja (hjumidifajrs), domašni prylady (eplajensy), žovtyj syr (čedar čiz);* (b) completely bilingual expressions presented in both languages and both writing systems simultaneously: *texnične skladannja* / type setting; *pereklady, korekta* / translations, proof-reading; *narodžennja* / birth; *dyrekcija* / Board of Directors; *koncepcija peretopljuvannja* / melting pot; *narod seljan* / a peasant society.[19]

5. *Regularization*

As to regulatory endeavors, at present there are several linguistic publications which promote puristic efforts on one hand and linguistic liberalism and language internationalization on the other. The puristic efforts concentrate their attention on the purification of the language from Polish and, in particular, from Russian influences. Unwanted words of Polish or Russian provenance are discarded or avoided and substituted by Ukrainian equivalents.[20]

[19] The examples of the bilingual transfer are taken from Canadian Ukrainian press (*Ukrajins'kyj Holos, Novyj Šlax, Homin Ukrajiny, Visnyk, Oko*), as well as from students' assignments.

[20] For example, a number of articles on the standardization and purity of the language in most of the Canadian Ukrainian press appear regularly (P. Odarchenko, Chaplenko, Y. Sluvatych, J.B. Rudnyckyj and others).

a) Substitution of Polonism; for example it is advised to use *pyrih* instead of *pljacok, horodyna* for *jaryna, čaška* for *filiżanka, polunycja* for *truskavka, pljaška* for *butel'ka;* and substitution of Russisms: *kava* for *kofe, pomaranča* for *apel'syn, cukernja* for *kondytors'ka, cytryna* for *lymon,* or *pajka* for *pajok.*[21]

b) Linguistic liberalism promotes the usage of vocabulary from the lexical stock of all variants of the Ukrainian language, including North American Ukrainian, as well as a vocabulary from international stock. For example, in the Ukrainian press, especially in some of Rudnyckyj's articles, there are such uncommon expressions as *pomejisty, pomejists'-kyj, paskviljada, bovdleryzacija, redaktory-bovdlerysty, žurnalistyčna pomejistyka,* and many others. In his article "Kanadyzmy v navčanni ukrajins'koji movy v Kanadi," Rudnyckyj suggests introduction of Canadianisms into the Ukrainian language which is taught at schools, and he proposes such words as, e.g. *morgydž, farma, patrijarxal'nyk, karmanščyna, bul'dozer, rekorduvaty, kredytivka.*[22]

6. *New creations*

This is a working term. It implies not natural but artificial coinage of new words, either through invention or translation and reinterpretation of the existing words. This type of mechanism is applied by some laymen with extreme puristic intention in order to substitute for unwanted words. An excellent example of such an "endeavour" is Shtepa's *Dictionary.*[23] Here are a few illustrations of substitutions by such new creations: *skinmuka* for *ahonija; vysloganok* for *balkon; kepa, škila* for *ironija; sposobač* for *metodoloh; doščar* for *zontyk; doščarka* for *parasolja; mokrycja* for *kaloša/haloša; navčal'nyk* for *učytel'* or *slovoblud* for *sofist.* However, it should be stressed that such new creations are produced on an individual basis only and do not enter into the main stream of language usage.

[21] Most of the examples given here are taken from Odarchenko's articles in *Ukrajins'kyj Holos* and *Novi Dni.*

[22] J.B. Rudnyckyj, "Kanadyzmy v navčanni ukrajins'koji movy v Kanadi," *Ukrajins'kyj Holos,* No. 42 (Winnipeg, 1976). See also *Slovo na storoži,* No. 10, (Winnipeg, 1973); No. 11 (1974); No. 12 (1975); and Rudnyckyj's *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* (Winnipeg, 1961-71).

[23] P. Shtepa, *Slovnyk čuzosliv: znadihky* (Toronto, 1977); cf. also articles by M. Lavrenko, and others.

The trends and innovational techniques in onomastics somewhat differ from the generic vocabulary. Therefore, this problem will be discussed more extensively elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we would like to advance a typology of lexical innovations which summarizes various factors contributing to and governing innovations and represents all groups considered here:

Pre-World War II Period

1. Loans assimilation
   a) simple words
   b) compounds
   c) short bound phrases
2. Hybridization
   a) verbs
   b) diminutives
   c) other derivatives
3. Semantic extension

Post-World War II Period

A. 1. Integration
   a) home setting
   b) school, work, government
   c) specialized vocabulary
   2. Code-switching

B. 1. Exact transfer
   2. Translation
   3. Rendition
   4. Bilingual transfer
   5. Regularization
   6. New creations

It should be noted that there is no stable pattern of lexical innovation developed in Canadian Ukrainian. Historically, the lexicon is viewed as the most changable component in language structure. Thus, the lexical repertoire of Canadian Ukrainian in current usage represents a stage in

a transitional process towards crystallization of the Canadian variant of the language.

Finally, it should be stressed as well that the typology proposed here is the first attempt at the classification of Canadian Ukrainian vocabulary in terms of linguistic interference. Obviously, with continually changing linguistic situations some of the proposed categories may change too. Nonetheless, it is important to make a start towards a classification scheme.

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Bieszczady/Beskidy, a Vestige of the Germanic Bastarnians in the Toponymy of the Carpathians?

ZBIGNIEW GOŁĄB

First, it must be kept in mind that the Eastern Carpathians (extending from the source of the San river eastward) are called *Alpes Bastarnicae* on the so-called "Tabula Peutingeriana" (second-fourth centuries A.D.), undoubtedly in connection with a long sojourn of the Germanic Bastarnians in this region.[1] Today the oronym *Bieszczady* (Pol.) refers to the relatively inaccessible and well-forested mountain range between the *Osława* river, a western tributary of the Upper San, and the *Swicza* river, a southern tributary of the Upper Dniestr, whereas the oronym *Beskidy* (*Zachodnie* and *Wschodnie*) refers to the outer, i.e. northern ranges of the Western Carpathians (including here the *Bieszczady*). This is the official topographic use of these names established finally in the second half of the nineteenth century by geographers and cartographers. An older folk tradition in this respect is rather shaky. *Beskid* || *Bieskid* and its derivatives occur quite frequently in the Carpathians as names of separate (individual) mountains (cf. *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego,* v. V, 1880, p. 157). It is worth emphasizing that *Słownik Geograficzny* mentions that the name *b(i)eskid* is still used by the peasants in Małopolska and Silesia as a common name referring to individual mountains. This view is supported by B. Linde in his large dictionary as reflecting Polish usage from the sixteenth to the beginnings of the nineteenth century, e.g. "the Carpathian highlanders call a forest on the mountain *beskid, bieszczad*" (B. Linde, 1854 ed., v. I, p. 75). The use of the corresponding or related words in Ukrainian, namely *béskyd* ||

[1] The Germanic ethnicity of the Bastarnians has been recently convincingly proved by H. Łowmiański in *Początki Polski,* I (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 202-209.

bésked || *bésket* 1. 'utës, gora', 'rock, mountain'; 2. 'krutizna, obryv', 'cliff, precipice', etc. and *beskýduvaty* 'to graze cattle in the mountains', is also attested (cf. K. Moszyński 1968, II, 2, p. 884, *Ukrajins'korosijs'kyj slovnyk,* Kiev, 1965, and J.B. Rudnyc'kyj, 1963, 2, pp. 116-117).

So, besides proper names (oronyms) we have in Polish and Ukrainian common names which seem to continue two Com. Slav. forms **beščadъ* and *beskydъ* with the basic meaning 'mountain'; the meaning 'forest on a mountain', attested for Polish dialects in the nineteenth century, is secondary, conditioned by the local landscape in which the lower slopes of the mountains have been deforested for quite a long time.

The question which now arises is: whether in historical-comparative terms a regular phonemic relationship (correspondence) between the form *Bieszczad* / **beščadъ* / and the form *Beskid* / * *beskydъ* / can be established. I think that such a relationship can actually be established as I will substantiate in the following etymological analysis.

Among the attempts at an etymology of the oronyms in question (cf. F. Kopečny, 1954, pp. 158-173) only two deserve serious consideration: the Germanic and the Illyrian. A Germanic etymology of *Bieszczad* || *Beskid* has been proposed by J. Rozwadowski (1914, p. 162 etc.). He derives the variant **beščadъ* from Germc. **biskaid-* which is represented by MLG *beschêt (beskēt)* 'Trennung' and by Scandinavian[2] *bésked* borrowed from Low German; the variant **beskydъ* is derived by him from another Germc. "Ablaut"-form, **biskīd-*. The difference in the Slavic treatment of the consonant cluster *-sk-* before *ai* (= Slav. *ě*$_2$) and *ī* allegedly reflects the relative chronology of two stages of borrowing, namely: 1. **biskaid-* ≥ **beskěd-* ≥ *beščad-* with the palatalization of *-sk-* ≥ *-šč-*, an older, prehistorical stage; 2. **biskid-* ≥ *beskyd-* without the palatalization of *-sk-*, a younger, early historical stage.

Besides the fact that these two periods of Slavic-Germanic contacts in the Carpathian region (the second younger period according to J. Rozwadowski somewhere between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.) are very hypothetical and difficult to prove, the whole reasoning mechanism which operates behind the two successive borrowings from Germanic is

[2] i.e. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, see H. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1910).

unnecessary since the "phonetic laws" of the historical-comparative grammar of the Slavic languages allow us quite easily to start from only one prehistorical Germc. form. Namely, it is sufficient to start from **biskaida-* or rather from **bīskaida-* since the primary nominal compounds have a long vocalism in the prefix (cf. Germ. *Bei-trag, Bei-spiel,* etc. with the original **bī-* in contradistinction to *be-tragen* and other verbs with *be-* from the original **bi-*). This compound Germc. noun — a quite productive type of formation — has a clear etymology, stemming from a Com. Germc. verb **skaidan* (Goth. *skaidan,* OE *scēadan,* OHG *sceidan,* etc. 'divide'). It was borrowed by the Slavs somewhere in the Sub-Carpathian region about the time of the birth of Christ in the form **bĭskɔidos* || **bĭskɔidus.* After the monophthongization of diphthongs in Proto-Slavic this form resulted in **bĭskědŭ* with the so-called second "jat' " /ě$_2$/. The latter in its turn had to palatalize the preceding *sk* according to the well-known rules of the so-called "second palatalization of velars" in Proto-Slavic. And it is here that the whole problem begins.

The "second palatalization" of consonant clusters *sk, zg* in Slavic shows a dialectal differentiation: West Slavic, e.g. Polish and Czech, palatalizes *sk, zg* + *ě*$_2$, *i*$_2$ (i.e. from an earlier diphthong **ɔi*) into *šč, žʒ* which in Czech were later dissimilated into *št', žd',* e.g. OPol. *w Polszcze,* Cz. *čeští* N pl. animate of *český* 'Czech' adj. etc., but in the East and South Slavic languages the "second palatalization" of the above consonant clusters gives the same results as the palatalization of the single consonants *k, g,* thus *sk, zg* ≥ *sc, zʒ* later quite frequently dissimilated into *st, zd,* eg., OCS *vojьscě* || *vojьstě* D/L sg. of *vojьska* 'army', etc. A special case in this respect is represented by the Polesie-Kiev dialects of Old East Slavic. Namely, according to the Shevelov's explanation (1965, pp. 297-299) in the forms *vъ knjaženii pinьskě, Smolinьskě* (loc.), *vъ rusьskěi storoně veliceě, po dьskě,* etc. sequences *skě* (phonetically [*sk'e*]) should be interpreted as continuing an earlier *st'ě* from a dissimilated *scě.* Whether the process *sc* ≥ *st'* ≥ *sk'* was more widespread in the Proto-Ukrainian dialects of Kievan Rus', we do not know. In any case, some words with *sk* + *ě* instead of *sc*||*st*+*ě* are attested in the Carpathian region; e.g. Shevelov himself quotes *skiryty* (from **skoir-,* cf. Pol *szczerzyć,* S-C *ceriti,* etc). These prehistorical dia-

lectal processes allow us to explain the variant *bieszczad* as the West Slavic treatment, i.e. in this case Polish, of the early Proto-Slav. **beskoidŭs*, later **beskě$_2$dь*, etc., whereas the variant *beskid* would be an old dialectal Ukrainian treatment of the same Proto-Slav. word. Of course, in view of the preceding it is unnecessary to postulate a Proto-Slav. variant **beskydь*, as proposed by J. Rozwadowski and accepted by most etymologists. In this connection the contemporary Ukrainian forms with *y* after *k* (*beskyd*) should be interpreted as secondary, conditioned by "folk etymology" which associated *beskid* with the nouns in *-kyd* derived from the verb *kydaty* (Pol. *kidać*) 'throw', obviously from its various prefixed forms, as e.g. *perekydaty* → *perekyd*, etc. An older Ukrainian spelling, e.g. *beskidy* in the seventeenth century (cf. Rudnyc'kyj, l.c.), may reflect the primary form of this noun.

There remains, however, still one detail to clarify: the treatment of the Germc. prefix *bī-* in Slavic. Regularly we should expect **bь-* or **bi-*, depending on the Germc. source. The replacement of this Germc. prefix by *be-* in Slavic could be explained as an example of the preservation and vocalization of a weak ь in the word initial syllable for the sake of avoiding an unusual consonant cluster (**bьšč-* ≥ **bšč-* ≥ **pšč-*?) if we start from Germc. *bĭ-*; or if we start from Germc. *bī-*, it could be reinterpreted and identified with the original Slavic prefix *be(z)*, cf. e.g. *besěda* from **bez-sěda*, etc. The Ukrainian forms of the type *bésked*, etc., i.e. with *e* after *k* are also secondary and represent the merger of the phonemes /i/ and /e/ in unstressed syllables.

Now, if we accept the view that the variant *beskid* is Ukrainian, then the spread of this word and of the corresponding oronym in the Western Carpathians (i.e. the Polish Carpathians) should be historically related to the so-called "Walachian colonization" in this region. This colonization, which had started at the end of the fourteenth century and reached its peak in the fifteenth century, moved gradually from the east to the west bringing with it the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) ethnic element into the Western Carpathians. In economic terms it was largely a movement comprised of shepherds. Among others such oronyms as *Kiczora, Magura, Gruń* (the two last of the Rumanian origin), owe their spread to that "Walachian" migratory wave. Most probably also the name *Dział* (Ukr. *Dił*) should be included here since it is popular in

Rumanian territory (in the form *Deal* and as a common name with the meaning 'hill'). In Rumanian it is an obvious borrowing from Bulg. *djal* (**dělъ*) 'part, division', dialectal 'watershed, ridge'. In connection with the semantic development of Slavic *dělъ* from 'division, watershed' through 'ridge (as boundary)' to 'mountain ridge, mountain' we obtain an excellent parallel to the postulated development of the Germc. **bĭ-skaida-* from 'Trennung' to 'Bergrücken, Berg'.

The etymology of *Bieszczad* || *Beskid* presented above is actually the only one that satisfies the requirements of linguistics and represents a high degree of historical plausibility. Since, however, such an experienced etymologist as O.N. Trubačev returned recently (1968, p. 281) to an Illyrian etymology of this oronym, I consider it proper to take a position on this matter. Trubačev derives *Bieskidy* || *Bieszczady* (the forms used by him) from Illyr. **biz-kit-* || **biz-kēt-*, which in its turn would come from **būz-*, Proto-Indo-Europ. **bhūg* 'beech' + **kit-* 'forest', and as justification he quotes allegedly Illyr. *Κέτιον ὄρος* (explained as "Wiener Wald"?) in Ptolemy and *Citius mons* in Epirus. So the name under discussion would be in his opinion a vestige of the Illyrians who, before the prehistorical expansion of the Slavs to the west, most probably dwelt to the north of the Central Carpathians. The above view can be supported by some hydronyms in the Upper Dniestr basin which allegedly show etymological ties with the historical Illyrian territory in the Western Balkans.[3] But the whole linguistic part of this etymology is highly hypothetical: e.g. the very reconstruction of PIE **bhūg'-* 'beech' (the only sure archetype is **bhāg'o-*, cf. Lat. *fāgus*, Gr. Dor. *φᾱγός*, etc.), then the treatment of *sk+i/ē* in Slavic that has not been explained at all, etc. In view of this, the Germc. etymology proposed by J. Rozwadowski, with my interpretation of the double treatment of $sk+\check{e}_2$ in Slavic, seems to have much more "explanatory power". Besides that it is well rooted in historically verifiable circumstances, namely in the sojourn of the Germc. Bastarnians north of this part of

[3] This view, however, has been recently rejected with convincing arguments by J. Udolph in *Studien zu slavischen Gewässernamen and Gewässerbezeichnungen* (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 600-618.

the Carpathians where the oronym *Bieszczady* is attested and became fixed for the historical epoch.

In conclusion I would like to call the reader's attention to the historical-geographical role of the Central-Eastern Carpathians, including *Bieszczady,* with its two passes: *Łupków* and *Użok* and with the low and easy ridges of the *Dukla* Pass region. From time immemorial it has been that part of the Carpathians through which ethnic and demographic waves flowed chiefly from the north to the south, to the Danube basin. It is highly probably that at least a part of the Bastarnians reached the northern foothills of the Carpathians through this section of the mountains while withdrawing northward from the Danube basin. Later the Goths retreating westward from the Ukraine (pushed by the Huns) also used the Central Carpathian passes in their migration to Pannonia. This would be an additional fact speaking on behalf of the Germc. etymology of *Bieszczady* || *Bieskidy* presented above.

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Le verbe à thème d'origine française dans l'ukrainien contemporain

YAROSLAV HARCHUN

Dans la catégorie des mots empruntés ou transférés, le verbe, comme d'ailleurs l'adjectif, se classe à part, grâce à ses particularités d'ordre structural. A dire vrai, on ne peut pas proprement parler de verbes empruntés, car la nature des emprunts se trouve être généralement telle que l'a perçue un jeune linguiste français: "les mots suivent les choses",[1] ce sont donc, dans la plupart des cas, les substantifs qui arrivent les premiers. Les substantifs, plus indépendants dans la phrase du point de vue de la syntaxe, subissent peu de changements morphologiques. Très souvent leur nominatif ukrainien reflète entièrement la forme de leur singulier français, et ne subit qu'une adaptation phonétique: *abažur, bjuro, žjuri.* Ce n'est jamais le cas du verbe, car celui-ci doit nécessairement s'adapter morphologiquement à son milieu-récepteur, c'est-à-dire revêtir les traits formels d'une certaine classe verbale. Le plus souvent, un tel verbe est formé à partir d'un substantif emprunté auparavant, parfois le verbe et le substantif sont transférés simultanément, et si à l'époque de la technologie moderne on note des verbes empruntés qui ne sont pas accompagnés d'un substantif correspondant, leur adaptation morphologique suit l'analogie. Il est donc plus approprié de parler de *verbes ukrainiens à thème d'origine française* (ou, en général, étrangère) que de *verbes empruntés.* Car, à notre avis, il est tout aussi impossible

Editor's Note: This article basically describes the standards of the Ukrainian language as established by The Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev: all words with French roots are considered independently of whether they have been borrowed direclty from French or via a mediation of another language.

[1] L. Chirol, *Les "mots français" et le mythe de la France en anglais contemporain* (Paris, 1973), p. 13.

de transférer un verbe que d'emprunter à une autre langue un temps verbal ou une forme de l'infinitif.[2]

Le verbe ukrainien, selon V. Rusanivs'kyj, comprend 13 classes verbales que l'on détermine à partir du suffixe thématique. Il est essentiel de noter que, dans notre cas, c'est presque exclusivement la première (1) classe qui entre en jeu. Car tous les verbes possédant un thème d'origine française, comme, d'ailleurs, tous ceux qui ont comme formant des mots transférés, appartiennent à cette classe verbale.

Historiquement, la 1re classe verbale, selon V. Rusanivs'kyj, était divisée en deux groupes: celui avec le suffixe *-ova-* et le second avec le suffixe *-uva-*. Ils ont la variante *-va-* quand le thème contient une voyelle comme son final, ce qui dans notre cas est irrélatif. Mais le son [u] dans le suffixe *-uva-*, n'est à notre avis, qu'un morphophonème représentant le [o] dans la position inaccentuée (le plus souvent—préaccentuée: comparez le nom *zozulja*, où le premier [u] phonétique présent le *o* historique). Nous entrons dans ces détails parce que le suffixe *-uva-* n'a remplacé totalement son double *-ova-* qu'à partir du XXe siècle. Mais au début du XIXe siècle la variante graphique *-ova-* reste encore prédominante: O. Pavlovs'kyj, dans son vocabulaire, parmi 38 verbes de la 1re classe n'en écrit que 4 avec *-uva-*. Cette remarque concerne aussi les verbes avec des thèmes d'origine française ou supposément française. P. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, lui aussi, préfère dans son dictionnaire la variante *-ova-: banizyrovaty* (on parlera plus tard du suffixe *-ir- (-yr-)* formé à sur la base de la langue russe et qui n'est pas productif en ukrainien), *vakovaty, rezydovaty, ukontentovaty.* Mais chez lui nous trouvons aussi *ljustruvaty, muruvaty* etc.

L'histoire de la langue nous permet d'expliquer pourquoi la majorité des verbes d'origine étrangère est groupée dans une même classe. A partir du XIVe siècle, le suffixe *-ova- (-uva-)* reste typique pour les verbes contenant le thème nominal (et nous ne touchons pas les siècles précédents, car il s'agirait alors d'une langue littéraire qu'on ne peut nommer *ukrainienne* qu'avec beaucoup de réserve). Comme nous l'avons indiqué plus haut, la nature du transfert linguistique est telle, que c'est l'objet,

[2] Notons, par exemple, que le verbe français *sortir* devient un substantif dans l'argot russe et ukrainien (*chiottes*). Ou bien le cas curieux de l'emprunt de la forme négative du futur *chantera pas* devenu *šantrapa* (*vaurien*).

donc le nom, qui vient en premier; ceci explique pourquoi les verbes en question sont attirés par une classe préexistante qui accommode justement les verbes à thème nominal. L'ukrainien moderne, d'ailleurs, compte quelques verbes d'origine étrangère qui ne connaissent pas de contre-partie nominale, mais la force de l'analogie les a placés, eux aussi, dans la première classe.

Les verbes de la 1re classe deviennent nombreux surtout à partir du XVIe siècle, sans doute parce que la langue polonaise a renforcé l'usage du suffixe *-ova-*. C'est avec la langue polonaise que les thèmes nominaux pénètrent en masse dans l'ukrainien. Et c'est à travers ce canal qu'ont pénétré les premiers gallicismes: *benketovaty, respektovaty* (voir plus loin). La plupart des "polonismes" qui, au fond, étaient des gallicismes, ont disparu au cours du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècles mais le premier grand dictionnaire de la langue ukrainienne, celui de P. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, en fixe un bon nombre, y compris parmi les verbes. Voici quelques caractéristiques des verbes qu'on trouve chez Bilec'kyj-Nosenko:

banizyrovaty (bannir; provient du nom *bannissement* et garde le *s* devenue *z*). Ce verbe trahit déjà l'influence russe, car le suffixe russe d'origine allemande *-ir- (-yr-)* reste méconnu en ukrainien jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

barbarovaty (barbariser; provient du nom *barbare*). Ce verbe n'est plus usuel; il est intéressant de noter qu'il existait également une autre variante de ce verbe avec le suffixe -y-: *barbaryty*.

vakovaty (être disponible, vaquer). Le mot *vakans* était usé dans les documents de la chancellerie cosaque à partir du XVIIe siècle; il est intéressant de noter que ce verbe n'a pas le thème nominal qu'on pourrait espérer (+*vakansovaty*), ce qui veut dire que le nom et le verbe ont été transférés simultanément.

venerovaty (vénérer). Le dictionnaire fixe en même temps le nom *venerovan'je*.

dyryhovaty (diriger). Le dictionnaire indique que ce verbe est venu par l'intermédiairie du polonais; il existait en même temps un synonyme *rejmentovaty*—du latin *regimen*.

kasovaty (annuler, liquider). Provient du verbe *casser* avec l'extension du sens.

leportuvaty (faire un rapport). On le trouve chez H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, tandis que dans le dictionnaire en question on lit e *leport*, un mot strictement du domaine de la vie militaire.

matority (mûrir). Le dictionnaire donne le nom *maturité* comme le thème nominal de ce verbe. L'influence directe latine est plus probable.

rezydovaty (résider). Le dictionnaire ne donne pas, cependant, le nom *rezydencija*, qui est largement connu aujourd'hui.

respektovaty (respecter). Le nom *respekt* est connu des documents de la chancellerie cosaque surtout au cas instrumental: *respektom* (signifiant *tout en respectant*).

rujnovaty (ruiner). Le participe *rujnovanyj* et le nom *rujina* sont aussi fixés.

sapovaty (déraciner l'herbe mauvaise). C'est le cas de la restriction du sens du mot français *saper*. Un outil agricole employé à cet effet s'appelle *sapa* en ukrainien.

ukontentovaty (rendre qn. content). La préfixation des verbes avec le thème étranger suit les règles générales, mais ce verbe particulier n'était connu qu'avec son préfixe. Le substantif verbal *ukontentovan'je* est fixé également mais le mot *kontent* n'éxistait comme adjectif substantivé qu'en polonais du XVIIIe siècle.

fatyhovaty et *xvatyhovaty* (fatiguer). Provient du nom *fatyha* ou *xvatyha* ce qui voulait dire *labeur, besogne.*

fihurovaty et *xvyhurovaty* (représenter, figurer). Ce verbe est connu depuis le XVIIe siècle (Petro Mohyla, *Ucytel'noje Jevanhel'yje*, 1637).

La formation de ces verbes, qui pour la plupart sont archaïques de nos jours, constitue un modèle pour la formation des verbes à thème étranger dans l'ukrainien littéraire moderne. A l'exception de quelques cas extrêmement rares, ces verbes appartiennent à la 1re classe. Ils proviennent de noms transférés déjà dans la langue (y compris ceux qui sont devenus archaïques) et parfois de noms transférés d'une autre langue existant parallèlement sur le territoire de l'Ukraine. Quant à leur préfixation, elle suit les règles générales du verbe ukrainien. Et ils s'adaptent phonétiquement à la structure phonologique ukrainienne.

A partir de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle et avec l'unification de la langue littéraire ukrainienne, on note l'intensification du procédé d'emprunt lexical. Sur le plan général, la fréquence d'emploi du verbe diminue considérablement, surtout au XXe siècle. "... La phrase devient chargée de noms, surtout celle du style scientifique, ainsi que celle du style journalistique".[3] Ce phénomène n'empêche pas, d'ailleurs, l'augmentation de la quantité absolue des verbes nouveaux formés à partir

[3] V. Rusanivs'kyj, *Struktura ukrajins'koho dijeslova* (Kiev, 1971), p. 169.

de thèmes transférés. Ces verbes dérivés prolifèrent et ne cessent pas de désespérer les puristes.

En ce qui concerne l'usage du suffixe *-uva-*, V. Rusanivs'kyj écrit: "La 1re classe verbale englobe une grande quantité de thèmes verbaux; l'indicateur de cette classe, le suffixe *-uva-*, devient un des suffixes dérivatifs des plus répandus, et la fréquence de son usage augmente. Au XXe siècle ce suffixe s'emploie le plus souvent pour la dérivation du lexique terminologique formé à partir de mots d'origine étrangère".[4]

Dans le système moderne de formation des verbes a„ epỳme étranger le suffixe *-uva-*, du point de vue de la productivité, est suivi des suffixes binaires *-izuva- (-yzuva-)* et *-iruva- (-yruva-)*. Ils sont beaucoup moins productifs, le dernier surtout. Plus rares encore sont les suffixes désignant les verbes qui appartiennent aux autres classes verbales: *-y-* de la X-ième classe *(pudrytys', kadryty, odekolonytys', partyzanyty)*.

On trouve aussi dans la langue ukrainienne les verbes unis thématiquement mais formés à l'aide de suffixes différents. Ces verbes ne sont pas nombreux: *komandyruvaty—komanduvaty, bombarduvaty—bombyty*. Très souvent le suffixe *-ir-* est employé pour séparer les champs sémantiques des verbes avec des thèmes homonymiques: *budyruvaty—buduvaty, žyryruvaty—žyruvaty, krokiruvaty—krokuvaty, paryruvaty—paruvaty*.

Il existe en ukrainien une vaste classe de substantifs formés à l'aide du suffixe désignant l'agent *-nyk*. Parmi ceux-ci les noms d'origine étrangère ne sont pas rares: *kabotažnyk, sabotažnyk* (pour ne mentionner que ceux d'origine française). Si le verbe est formé à partir d'un tel nom, le suffixe *-nyk* ne disparaît pas, devenant ainsi un autre suffixe verbal *-nyc* (en conformité avec les règles de la 1re palatalisation): *kabotažnyčaty, sabotažnyčatyl* (ne pas confondre avec *sabotuvaty)*. Une fois emprunté au nom, le nouveau suffixe verbal *nyč-* devient indépendant et continue à former les verbes qui n'ont pas de rapport générateur avec un nom: *delikatnyčaty, intymnyčaty, liberal'nyčaty, sekretnyčaty, sentymental'nyčaty, famil'jarnyčaty*. Il est important de noter que ce groupe de verbes appartient à la 3e classe verbale (suffixe *-a-* pour l'infinitif et *-aj-* pour la 3e pers. pl.).

[4] V. Rusanivs'kyj, *Ibid*, p. 194.

Le suffixe nominal *-stv-*, lui aussi, est emprunté par le système verbal et, tout à fait comme *-nyk (-nyč-)*, il devient indépendant: *prožekterstvuvaty, krytykanststvuvaty, jakobinstvuvaty,* et même *estetsvuvaty, literatorstvuvaty, patriotstvuvaty.*

Il reste cependant à déterminer le rôle du suffixe français transféré *-až* (*-až-* pour le verbe). Il faut décider si un Ukrainian unilingue est déjà conscient du rôle de ce morphème qui, d'ailleurs, reste aussi exotique que les préfixes *kontr-, anty-, re-, de-*. Quant aux préfixes cités, il n'y a pas de doute que leur usage intensif dans la langue littéraire a produit un effet plutôt rare dans le domaine des rapports entre les langues: c'est en effet que le transfert morphémique a eu lieu. Si le phénomène est devenu possible en ce qui concerne les préfixes, il est peut-être aussi possible quant aux suffixes.

On trouve en ukrainien un bon nombre de substantifs qui comportent le suffixe nominal français *-až*. Il reste à juxtaposer ces substantifs et les verbes derivés du même thème afin de déterminer si pour un Ukrainien l'élément *-až (-až-)* paraît être détaché du thème (nominal comme verbal). Il ne reste plus qu'à en venir aux exemples.

Analysons toutes les paires du type "substantif—verbe" qui contiennent (ou omettent) le suffixe en question. Nous recourons à cette analyse détaillée parce que les autres auteurs n'en parlent guère. En voici la liste presque exhaustive:

> *(r)afinaž—rafinuvaty, bandaž—bandažuvaty, blindaž—blindažuvaty, demontaž—demontuvaty, dubljaž—dubljuvaty, zondaž—zonduvaty, kamufljaž—kamufljuvaty, kaptaž—kaptuvaty, masaž—masuvaty, sabotaž—sabotuvaty, staž—stažuvatysja, typ(až)— typizuvaty, fiksaž—fiksuvaty, šantaž—šantažuvaty.*

Le mot *stažuvatysja* ne fait partie de cette liste que pour mettre au point notre prochaine conclusion car l'élément *-až-* de ce verbe a toujours fait partie intégrale du thème.

Parmi ces exemples on ne peut dégager que trois verbes gardant le suffixe nominal *-až*. Cette quantité est insuffisante pour nous permettre d'affirmer que la règ*le est devenue générale, et que nous avons en ukrainien un autre suffixe verbal emprunté* au nom. En revanche, notre conclusion est beaucoup plus significative pour la catégorie des substantifs. L'omission si fréquente de l'élément *-až* au cours de la dérivation signifie

nécessairement que pour un Ukrainien, cet élément est en train de devenir un nouveau suffixe nominal.

L'ukrainien contemporain comprend aussi un grand nombre de verbes formés à l'aide de suffixes binaires dont les éléments initiaux sont d'origine étrangère: *-izuva- (yzuva-), -iruva- (-yruva).* Analysons-les à part.

Le suffixe binaire *-izuva-* contient l'élément *-iz-* qui n'est autre que le suffixe français très actif dans la formation des verbes et, par la suite, des substantifs verbaux. Le fait qu'en ukrainien ce même suffixe apparaisse dans les noms comme dans les verbes indique que "la chose" et "l'action" ont été transférées simultanément: donc, *ekranizuvaty* apparaót en même temps que *ekran* et *ekranizacija*, tandis que *ekranuvaty* se réfère à une autre période de la formation ainsi qu'à un autre domaine de la technologie. Voici la liste de ces verbes avec les noms correspondents:[5] *avtoryzuvaty, avtoryzacija; detalizuvaty, detalizacija; dyplomatyzuvaty; ekranizuvaty, ekranizacija, ekranizator; idealizuvaty, idealizacija; improvizuvaty, improvizacija; indyvidualizuvaty, indyvidualizacija; internacionalizuvaty, internacionalizacija; ironizuvaty; kolonizuvaty, kolonizacija, kolonizator; konkretyzuvaty, konkretyzacija; lokalizuvaty, lokalizacija; miniatjuryzuvaty, miniatjuryzacija; modernizuvaty, modernizacija; nazalizuvaty, nazalizacija; naturalizuvaty(sja), naturalizacija; orhanizuvaty, orhanizacija; paralizuvaty* (mais *paralič* vient directement du grec); *poetyzuvaty, poetyzacija; realizuvaty, realizacija, realizator; revoljucionizuvaty; romanizuvaty, romanizacija; romantyzuvaty, romantyzacija; symvolizuvaty, symvolizacija; systematyzuvaty, systematyzacija; solidaryzuvatysja, solidaryzacija; stylizuvaty, stylizacija; typizuvaty, typizacija; urbanizuvaty, urbanizacija; federalizuvaty(sja), federalizacija.*

Le fait que le suffixe *-iz- (-yz-)* soit devenu productif dans la langue-récepteur et qu' il participe au procédé du dérivation des "soviétismes" (*pasportyzuvaty, radjanizuvaty*) indique qu'il a été totalement incorporé dans le système morphologique de l'ukrainien.

En ce qui concerne le suffixe binaire *-iruva- (-yruva-),* c'est avec un peu de réserve que nous avons décidé d'en parler dans cette analyse. La réserve est due au fait que l'élément *-ir- (-yr-)* est d'origine allemande.

[5] N. Avilova croit que les deux composants sont un seul suffixe verbal *-izova-*. Voir N. Avilova, *Slova internacional'nogo proisxoždenija v russkom literaturnom jazyke novogo vremeni,* Moscou, 1967.

L'autre raison est que l'élément *-ir-* est extrêmement productif dans la langue russe [6] et que c'est cette langue qui nous fournit les verbes à thème étranger formés à l'aide du suffixe binaire *-iruva-* (*-irova-* en russe). Mais si le thème étranger est clairement d'origine française, nous plaçons le verbe dans la catégorie des gallicismes parvenus par le "canal" russe. Je ne serait pas juste de les abandonner aux étudiants specialisant dans les contacts russo-ukrainiens, car c'est après tout le thème et non pas le suffixe qui porte la charge sémantique principale.

Pour dresser la liste des verbes contenant l'élément *-ir-* (*-yr-*) les "internationalismes" nés en masse au cours de la révolution technologique, ont été rejetés ici pour ne laisser que les mots dont l'origine française ne présente pas de doute: *braviruvaty, drapiruvaty, dresyruvaty, kotyruvatysja, mankiruvaty, pikiruvaty, utryruvaty, filiruvaty, furažyruvaty.*

Le verbe *retyruvatysja*, d'ailleurs, n'appartient pas à cette liste, car ici l'élément *-yr-* représente la terminaison du thème du verbe correspondant français.

La modestie de la liste de verbes formés selon ce type montre qu'en ukrainien le suffixe binaire *-iruva-* (*-yruva-*) est peu productif et que son usage avec les thèmes d'origine française se maintient uniquement sous l'influence de l'usage parallèle en russe.

Nous avons en outre, très productif dans le procédé de formation des "internationalismes", mais d'usage modéré avec les thèmes d'origine française, le suffixe binaire *-fikuva-*, qui correspond au *-fi-* français suivi de la terminaison verbale *-er: intensyfikuvaty, kodyfikuvaty, ratyfikuvaty, fortyfikuvaty.*

Il reste enfin un groupe hétérogène de verbes appartenant formellement à la Xe classe (selon Rusanivs'kyj): *bombyty* (pour l'aviation; *bombarduvaty*—pour l'artillerie et l'aviation), *kadryty* (argot: se procurer une *kadraiun kadr*—une filleiun gars), *odekolonyty(sja), partyzanyty, forsyty* (argot: prétendre être un dandy).

Les verbes aiyant un thème étranger qui se forment à l'aide du suffixe

[6] Avilova ne précise pas l'origine de *-ir-* et constate tout simplement: "Ils (les verbes) sont formés à l'aide des formants dérivatifs russifiés *-irova-, -ficirova-, -zirova-, -izirova-*". De nouveau, Avilova croit qu' *-irova-* soit un seul suffixe (*Ibid*, p. 19). Ce n'est pas, tout de même, notre point de vue.

-y-, se trouvent souvent pour une raison qui reste à définir en marge de la langue littéraire: *frajerytysja, rokenrolyty, styryty* (voler; tirer qch.-?).

Les derniers paragraphes de cet article traótent la question des mutations phonétiques qui se produisent à la jonction *thème + suffixe.*

Pour dégager le thème verbal on juxtapose le verbe et le nom correspondant: *avansuvaty—avans*; si le nom correspondant n'existe pas en ukrainien, on a recours directement au français: *blanšuvaty—blanche*; on a également recours au français si le nom ukrainien contenant le même thème que le verbe analysé apparaót avec un suffixe français qui, d'ailleurs, n'est pas perçu comme suffixe dans le cadre du système morphologique ukrainien: *abonuvaty—abonn + ement* (les noms correspondants ukrainiens sont *abonement* et *abonent*, et n'aident pas à dégager le thème); de même pour *servuvaty*: les mots existant en ukrainien *serviz* et *servis* n'aident pas à comprendre d'où vient le thème *serv-*.

Les thèmes ainsi dégagés se terminent le plus souvent sur une consonne dure qui, à la jonction avec le suffixe du verbe de la 1re classe, ne produit aucune mutation ni difficulté d'ordre orthographique: *aviz-uvaty, ažjust-uvaty, aranž-uvaty, atak-uvaty, blanš-uvaty, deton-uvaty, dešyfr-uvaty, zond-uvaty, konserv-uvaty, koryh-uvaty, mas-uvaty, paraf-uvaty,* etc.

Cependant, le *l* français devient toujours le *l'* ukrainien à la jonction *thème+ suffixe verbal.* Orthographiquement ce phénomène est reflété par le changement de *-uva-* en *-juva-*, mais le changement est illusoire, car la transcription phonétique, même simplifiée, nous montre qu'aucune mutation ne se produit à cette jonction: [za-vual'-uva-ty], [defil'-uva-ty], [dubl'-uva-ty], [emal'-uva-ty], [žonhl'-uva-ty], [izol'-uva-ty], [kamufl'-uva-ty], [kontrol'-uva-ty], [model'-uva-ty], [patrul'-uva-ty], [pedal'-uva-ty], [profil'-uva-ty], [reful'-uva-ty].

Les verbes comme *dyferencijuvaty* et *kompanijuvaty* (*dial.*) appartiennent aussi au groupe de verbes à thème mouillé, car le [j] phonétique fonctionne comme une consonne pour tout propos morphologique: [dyferen'cij-uva-ty], [kompanij-uva-ty].

Mais les mutations phonétiques importantes ont lieu à la jonction *thème+ izuva-, thème + iruva-*. Quelles sont les conditions qui modifient ces deux suffixes binaires de telle manière qui'ils deviennent *-yzuva-, -yruva-*?

Nous avons établi par la voie expérimentale que les variantes *-izuva-*, *-iruva-* prédominent, tandis que les variantes *-yzuva-*, *-yruva-* n'apparaissent qu'après sept consonnes: [d, t, z, ž, s, š, r]: *komand-yruvaty, romant-yzuvaty, viz-yruvaty, furaž-yruvaty, dres-yruvaty, marš-yruvaty, solidar-yzuvatysja; utr-yruvaty.*

Pour voir ce que tous ces thèmes ont de commun, consultons le tableau dressé par Morris Halle pour les sons de la langue russe, avec les traits distinctifs essentiels aux jonctions morphologiques (le phonétiste ukrainien peut s'y référer avec confiance tout en tenant compte des distinctions fondamentales mais évidentes).[7]

Il en résulte que tous les sons mentionnés, outre *+consonantique*, n'ont en commun qu'un autre trait distinctif. Celui-ci appartient au domaine des caractéristiques acoustiques du son: *-tonalité basse* (*-low tonality*). Ce trait est donc celui qui détermine le choix de *y* dans le suffixe parmi les deux variantes de suffixes binaires.

En marge de ce groupe, d'ailleurs, se trouve le son [r] pour lequel le trait *tonalité* est non-pertinent. A notre avis, le [r] fait partie de ce groupe pour des raisons historiques. En effet le [r] final des mots transférés n'a jamais été mouillé et reste dur pour tout propos morphologique. Ce n'est pas cependant le cas des mots ukrainiens d'origine: comparez, par exemple, *kobzar-juvaty* et *bazar-uvaty*.

D'autre part il faut noter que parmi les autres consonnes, celles qui attirent le suffixe à *-i-*, possèdent, comme attendu, le trait distinctif opposé—*+tonalité basse* (*+low tonality*), sauf le [n] qui se distingue du groupe de consonnes précédent par un seul trait—*+nasal.* Ce trait articulatoire empêche le thème à *n* d'attirer le suffixe à *-y-*. Ces deux exceptions (le [r] et le [n] finals) suggèrent la necessité de l'analyse plus poussée du phénomène décrit.

Parmi les 273 verbes analysés, les verbes transitifs sont en majorité absolue. On en a compté 205, c'est-à-dire—75%. Tous les verbes analysés appartiennent au vocabulaire contemporain et presque tous sont fixés par les dictionnaires les plus récents.[8] Il reste toujours à préciser com-

[7] M. Halle, *The Sound Pattern of Russian* (The Hague—Paris: Mouton, 1971), pp. 45-46.

[8] *Slovnyk inšomovnyx sliv*, ed. par O.S. Mel'nyčuk, Kiev, 1977.

ment cette distribution correspond au schéma général de la transitivité/intransitivité du verbe ukrainien.

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Die ukrainische Sprache im Počajiver Druck "Książka lekarstw końskich" aus dem Jahre 1778

OLEXA HORBATSCH

Dem unermüdlichen Literarhistoriker M. Voznjak verdankt die ukr. Sprachwissenschaft die Veröffentlichung "der bibliographischen Rarität" aus dem J. 1788, die sich vermutlich nur in einem einzigen Exemplar (der Warschauer Universitätsbibliothek, Sign. 12.28.5.44) erhalten hat[1]). Das Büchlein trägt einen polnischen Titel[2]), ein polnisches Vorwort (Przedmowa, S. 3-8), das die Notwendigkeit dieses ukr. tier- und humanmedizinisch ausgerichteten Druckes für Landbewohner und vor allem für Dorfjugend rechtfertigt, einen ukr. Titel[3]) (S. 9) sowie den eigentlichen kyrillischen Text (S. 10-97), dessen letzte Kapitel (ab S. 97),

[1] Voznjak, M.: Ukrajins'kyj hospodars'kyj poradnyk z 1788 r., In: *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka* (weiterhin: *ZNTŠ*), Bd. 122, L'viv 1915, S. 37-78.—Aus dieser Veröffentlichung wurde der Text für das historische Wörterbuch des Ukrainischen (Tymčenko, Je.: *Istoryčnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koho jazyka,* Bd. I, 1-2, Xarkiv-Kyjiv 1930-32, (*A-Ž*) exzerpiert.—Ebenfalls daraus kennt ihn Pljušč, P.P. (*Istorija ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy,* Kyjiv 1971, S. 223) sowie—vermutlich nur "verbal"—kennen ihn die Autoren der Geschichte der ukr. Sprache (*Istorija ukrajins'koji movy. Syntaksys,* Kyjiv 1983, S. 487), bei denen der bibliographische Verweis auf Voznjaks Veröffentlichung nicht stimmt.—Auch Maxnovec', L.Je. (*Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk,* Bd. I, Kyjiv 1960) ist unsere *Książka-Knyžycja* unbekannt.—Auch Tymošenko, P.D. (*Xrestomatija materialiv z istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy,* Bd. I, Kyjiv 1959) sowie die Autoren der Geschichte der ukr. Schriftsprache (*Kurs istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy, I. Dožovtnevyj period,* Kyjiv 1958) fanden den Počajiver Druck nicht erwähnenswert.

[2] Książka lekarstw końskich, oraz sposoby ratowania w chorobach bydła, owiec, etc.—w typografii WW. OO. Bazylianów za przywileiem J.K. Mci. 1788 r. w Poczaiowie. (Weiterhin: *K*).

[3] *Knyžycja dlja hospodarstva* [...].

im erhaltenen Exemplar bis zur S. 110) mit polnischen Buchstaben "transliteriert" werden[4]).

Voznjak hat den Text nur in einer Abschrift gehabt, die ihm vor 1914 Jevhen Tymčenko in Warschau angefertigt hatte. Sein Aufsatz enthält außer einer philologisch-sprachlichen Analyse (einschließlich vermutliche polnische Textvorlagen, — S. 37-58) auch einen Abdruck des kyrillischen Textes (S. 59-78). Beides benötig Ergänzungen und Korrekturen: Erstens unterscheidet sich die "polnische" Wiedergabe des kyrillischen Textes nicht nur textuell, sondern auch sprachlich (der Unterschied wird bei Voznjak durch einen Parallelabdruck desselben Textes aus den S. 95 und 100 nur flüchtig illustriert); zweitens ist Voznjaks Abdruck nicht überall befriedigend — sei es, daß Tymčenkos Abschrift ungenau war, sei es, daß das ursprüngliche Manuskript Voznjaks während der russischen Besatzung Lembergs 1914 vernichtet wurde (vgl. Voznjak, *op. cit.*, S. 58, Fußnote 2). Voznjaks Abdruck enthält Stellen mit fehlerhaften Auslassungen, ungenauen und falschen Wiedergaben des Originals (z.B. провѣвáлъ, 65, statt -вáвъ, -ъ statt "pajeryk", Verwechslungen von -ъ und -ь u.a.) sowie mancherorts falsche oder weggelassene Wortbetonungen. Das Identifizieren der Beispiele in Voznjaks Analyse wird durch sein Zitieren nach den von ihm numerierten Kapiteln und nicht nach den Seiten seines Textabdruckes erschwert.

Der Buchinhalt wurde eingehend von Voznjak (*op. cit.*, S. 41-50), beschrieben. Das Počajiver Werk befaßt sich mit Ratschlägen und Mitteln, wie man Pferde (S. 10-48), Ochsen (S. 48-63), Schafe (S. 63-69), Ziegen (S. 67), Schweine (S. 69-71), Hunde (S. 71-72) kurieren kann, wie man sich vor Pest hüten soll (S. 72-75), wie man gegen Heuschrecken (S. 75-77), Raupen (S. 77-79 und 88), Schlangenbisse (S. 79-80)

[4] Als ein einziges unkomplettes Exemplar nennt es auch Estreicher, K.: *Bibliografia polska*, Bd. XX, *Stólecie 15-18. W układzie abecadłowym*, Kraków 1905, S. 345: Książka lekarstw końskich oraz sposoby ratowania w chorobach bydła, owiec... W typogr. WW. OO. Bazylianów za przywilejem JKMci 1788 r. w. Poczajowie. 8° stron przeszło 110.— Über dieses Exemplar berichtet Dr. Sen'kiv, Ivan, In seinem Artikel "Likars'ka knyžka z 1788 roku oo. Vasylijan u Počajevi. Unikal'na bibliohrafična ridkist'" in der Zeitung *Ameryka* (Philadelphia, USA) vom 5.—6. I. 1984, ohne von der Veröffentlichung M. Voznjaks gewußt zu haben.—Dr. I. Sen'kiv verdanke ich die Ausleihe des Mikrofilms des Exemplars der Warschauer UB.

vorgehen kann, wie man erfolgreich Fische fängt (S. 80-82), wie Leinen gebleicht wird (S. 82-84), wie man psychische (S. 84-85) und körperliche Erkrankungen bei Menschen (z.B. Fieber, Tuberkulose, Schwellungen, Zahnschmerzen, S. 85-87 und 97) behandelt, wie man Mäuse und Kornwürmer (S. 87) bekämpft, wie Feldschäden durch Rinder (S. 87-88) vorzubeugen sind, wie man Obstbäume pfropft (S. 88-91), wie man Haselnüsse (S. 91) und Eier (S. 94) aufbewahrt, wie man Walnüsse pfropft (S. 92-93) und Zwiebeln im Winter vor Frostschäden beim Transport schützt (S. 94-95), welchen Nutzen man von der Kaninchenzucht hat (S. 95-96) und was man für den Brandschutz (S. 96-97) tun muß.

Neben einem anderen weltlichen Počajiver Büchlein Полѣтика свѣцкая... (um 1770 — vom guten Ton und Benehmen)[5] gehört unser Hauswirtschaftsbuch zu den kulturhistorisch und sprachgeschichtlich interessantesten Erscheinungen jener Jahre der Počajiver Basilianerdruckerei.[6] Diese weltlichen Publikationen entsprachen der Rolle, die dem Basilianerorden auf dem Gebiete des Schulwesens in der polnischen Adelsrepublik nach der Auflösung des Jesuitenordens (1773) im Zuge der Aufklärungsbemühungen zukam. Es ging um eine Hebung des wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Niveaus auch bei der ukr. Bevölkerung der Republik. Darüber spricht das polnische Vorwort in unserem Büchlein:

> "Dotąd wychodziły książki różnych lekarstw językiem i drukiem polskim [...] żadnego albo bardzo mały zysk w kraiu naszym Ruskim czyniły czytania i roznoszenia tych książek, ponieważ one dostawały się zawsze w ręce obywatelow Polakow, w ręce panow [...] A przeto dało się teraz do druku książeczkę [...] z polskich i innych autorów przetłumaczoną /3/ na język ruski, w zwyczaiu miany, używany i rozumiany od pospólstwa polskiego w Woiewództwach Wołyńskim, Kijowskim, Podolskim i Bracławskim mieszkaiącego. Użyło się nawet charakteru słowieńskiego czyli ruskiego, w którym

[5] Ebenfalls von Voznjak, M. (Ukrajins'kyj "savoir-vivre" z 1770 r.) in: *Ukrajina,* 1914, Heft 3, S. 35-55, Kyjiv 1914, und auszugsweise in: *Stare ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo. Vybir dlja serednix škil* (L'viv 1922, S. 474-81) veröffentlicht. Die 2. Auflage dieses Büchleins aus dem J. 1790 als Beilage zur Lemberger Fibel *Bukvar' jazyka slavenskaho* [...] wurde von Franko, I. (Galicko-russkij savoir-vivre) in: *Kievskaja starina,* Bd. 32, S. 281-99, Kiev 1891, nachgedruckt. — Sie wurden von Maxnovec' (*op. cit.,* S. 485, vgl. unsere Anmerkung 1) sowie nebenbei von Pljušč (*op. cit.,* S. 222, vgl. unsere Anmerkung 1) erwähnt.

[6] Tylawskyj, I.: Monastero di Počaiv—la sua tipografia e le sue edizioni, In: *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni,* series II, sectio II, vol. IV, fasc. 1-2, Romae 1963, p. 250-90.

wielka część ludu pospolitego iest wyćwiczona albo też łatwiey ćwiczyć się może. /4/ [...] Dla czego nie od rzeczy będzie dać radę wszystkim obywatelom i dziedzicom miast i wsiów, ażeby poddanym swoim ćwiczenie się w czytaniu ruskim z młodu zalecili [...] /5/ [...] Żeby zaś młódź pospólstwa do tey przyszła pory, iż by się czytać i rady uskuteczniać potrafiła, wy zacni plebani ritus Graeci i przełożeni [...] zalecić zechciycie kościelnym dedaskalom swoim, ażeby w parafialnych szkółkach dzieci wzięte do ćwiczenia w czytaniu językiem słowieńskim kśiąg drukowanych i tey także kśiążeczki onym do używania dawali. [...] /6/ [...] Może się zdawać komu to wszystko, cokolwiek ten zbiór mały w sobie zawiera, za niedostateczne, zostało przeto pole dla chcącego i ochoczego lud pospolity i ubogi w ich potrzebach oświecać [...] /7/".[7]

Besonders interessant für die Geschichte der ukr. Schriftsprache ist die aufklärerische Einstellung des Autors (bzw. der Autoren) in bezug auf den Gebrauch der für die breite ukr. Fronbauernmasse verständlichen lokalen Volkssprache; dieses Buch wird als Leselektüre für die Pfarrschulen empfohlen. In dieser Hinsicht ist die Auswahl der Dialektbasis (unserer Meinung nach des ostpodolischen und nicht, wie Voznjak, *op. cit.*, S. 58, meinte,—des wolhynischen Dialektes) von besonderer Bedeutung. Dabei wurde gerungen mit der kirchenslavischen Tradition und Rechtschreibung sowie mit lokalen Abweichungen (etwa in den letzten Kapiteln—ab S. 60 ungefähr). Nicht minder interessant ist der Versuch, die polnische Transliteration für einen Teil der Kapitel einzuführen, wobei hier das Polnische (einschließlich manche Ausspracheeigentümlichkeiten und Grammatik) die kirchenslavische Tradition verdrängte.

In diesen polnisch-orthographischen Merkmalen kann man einen Vorläufer für den literarischen Gebrauch des ostpodolischen Dialekts bei den adligen Autoren der "polnischen Schule" in der ukr. Literatur des 19. Jhts. (T. Padura, S. Ostaševśkyj u.a.) sehen. Vielleicht wirkten hier anregend ähnliche polnische adlige Vorbilder im zeitgenössischen weißrussischen Schrifttum des Wilnaer Zentrums.

Bei P. Pljušč (*op. cit,* S. 221-22, vgl. unsere Anmerkung 1) ist es also ein Irrtum, wenn er den Počajiver Druck in Absatz über das Schrift-

[7] Das Vorwort wurde von Voznjak (*op. cit.*, S. 38-40) ebenfalls in extenso in ukr. Übersetzung angeführt.

tum "Galiziens und Transkarpatiens" behandelt.

Wie die Sprachanalyse der *K* erweist, stammte ihr Verfasser etwa aus dem Hajsyn-Umań-Raum; dafür sprechen: 1) entpalatalisierter *ŕ*-Laut (*radnó* 'Leintuch' 95, *kručkómъ* 'mit einem Haken' 23) sowie die velare Endug *-t* in der 3. Pers. Sg./Pl. (*vypadáetъ* 'fällt aus' 41, *xodytъ* 'geht' 10, *róbjatъ* 'sie tun' 27, *róbljatsja* 'sie werden' 13), 2) das wolhynisch-ostpodolische Suffix *-C'-anyj* der wurzelbetonten Ptz. Prät. Pass. der *-i*-Verben (*zróbljanoho* 81), 3) der sonst im heutigen Ukrainischen nicht registrierte Rumänismus *zgájba* 'Art Hufkrankheit bei Pferden' 35 (rum.-mold. *zgáibă* 'verschorfte Wunde, Rindsgeschwüre') sowie die Erwähnung der Geldeinheit *dráxma* 80, was die Nähe von griechischen Krämern vermuten läßt, 4) die Erwähnung des "Geheimtips" gegen Rinderseuche eines "ehrwürdigen Gutsbesitzers in der Ukraine" (зацный обивáтелъ єдинъ въ оукрáиннѣ 62) d.h. etwa aus dem benachbarten Čerkasy-Kyjiv-Gebiet, 5) einiges aus der reichen Synonymik der *K* würde ebenfalls für Podolien sprechen *zastúp* 74, *továryna* 88).

Schon der Textcharakter und Umfang der *K* bestimmen von vorn herein, daß darin nur eine begrenzte Anzahl von bedeutungsmäßig spezial ausgerichteten Substantiven (meistens Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Akkusative Sg. und Pl.), wenige Adjektive sowie besondere Formen von Verben (Infinitive, Präsentia—3. Sg. und Pl.—und Imperative sowie Partizipien) anzutreffen sein werden.

Phonetik. Phonetische und morphologische Merkmale des kyrillischen Textes hat Voznjak (*op. cit.*, S. 50-57) behandelt, wenn auch seine Darstellung veraltet wirkt, da er die phonetischen mit den morphologischen Erscheinungen durcheinanderbrachte.

Die unetymologischen и—ы-Schreibweisen übergehen wir hier als

[8] Estreichert, K.: *Bibliografia polska. 140 000 druków, cz. III. t. II (Ogólnego zbioru t. IX. Stólecie XVIII. Dopełnienia do wieku XV-XVII). Bibliografia polska, t. IX, Stólecie XVIII. Spis chronologiczny,* Kraków 1888.—Hier finden sich etwa seit den 1750er Jahren mehrere in Warschau und Wilna gedruckte Werke, deren Titel unserem Počajiver Druck entsprechen könnten; sie sind oftmals aus deutschen und französischen Vorlagen übersetzt (z.B. 1756, 1757, 1760 von Cerner/Zerner, S. 280, 285, 301, 304, 308; vgl. auch die während der Pest der 1770-71 Jahre entsprechenden Aufklärungsdrucke über die Bekämpfung dieser insbesondere in Podolien wütenden Seuche—von Asch 1770, S. 386, 390, 392,—von Szylarski W., S. 392; 1771: S. 396, 397, 398, 399; 1774: von Milhörd N.A., S. 423,—gegen Pocken, Fieber und Viehseuchen; 1774: von Krupiński J., S. 422, 424, 434; 1776: von Ryszkowski F.X., S. 449; 1773: über Brandbekämpfung, S. 413 u.a.).

wenig interessant für das 18. Jhdt. in Ostpodolien.

Der Vokal anstelle des **ō* wird geschrieben: 1) traditionell mit *o* (конь 10, ночъ 84), 2) seltener mit *ѣ* (сѣллю 24, пѣдковою 10, на нѣчъ 31, рѣгъ 36) sowie mit *u* bzw. *ï* (глúстивъ 42, въ ропѣ солонїй 77); 2) ähnlich wird der Vokal anstelle des **ē* geschrieben: 1) selten mit *e* (шесть 18, на немъ 16, на ней 61), 2) häufig mit *ѣ* (пóпѣлъ 13, сѣмъ 33) und ausnahmsweise mit *u* (гноúвъ G³76, на своúмъ 88). Das etymologische *ѣ* wird geschrieben: 1) meistens als *ѣ* (прѣснúмъ медомъ 24), 2) ab und zu als *u* insbesondere wenn unbetont (присно́го 30, на синожáтяхъ 13// сѣно 61). Dies beweist, daß die Mundart des Übersetzers noch nicht überall den heutigen südukrainischen "Ikavismus"-Stand (mit dem Übergang **ō, *ē, ѣ* ≥ *i*) erreicht hatte. Wenig aussagend sind hier Fälle vom Typ зы́йде 84, зїйшлá 68, da es nicht sicher ist, inwieweit hier der nördliche ukr. Übergang **-ъ-jь-* ≥ *-yj-* bzw. Analogien zum typ пóйде 88, розогрѣти 33// розигрѣти 59, vorliegen.

Anstelle des vortonigen etymologischen *o* tritt in der *K* als eine Folge des Einflusses der Wolhynien- und Poliśśa-Mundarten die Schreibweise mit *a* auf (гарáчка 38, гарáчїй 38, багацко 83, небагáто 41).

Postvokalisches silbenschließendes *l* wird im Wortinlaut nicht nur als в (довго 17), sondern etymologisch-traditionell (und unter polnischem Einfluß) auch als л geschrieben (волкъ 69, połnym 110). In den maskulinen Präterita wird fast immer *-в* geschrieben (провѣвáвъ 65). Den "mittleren" *l*-Laut darf man in den Schreibweisen mit *-лъ* im Wortauslaut anstelle des etymologischen *-ль* vermuten (солъ=соль 34, 69, хмѣлъ=хмѣль 64, жужелъ 61:G¹ жужлю 62, полъ=поль 76, auch: въ лóху 89// въ лїохáхь 74),—neben der bereits traditionellen Schreibweise der Gruppen *-лн-, -лк-, -лск-* (вóлно 24, кѣлко 48, ковáлского 46). Die neue ukr. *l*-Epenthese nach jotierten Labialen kommt nicht nur in der 3. Pl. Präs. (рóблятся 73// робятъ 27), sondern auch in der Deklination vor (с крóвлю 31).

Den fast ausnahmslosen *ŕ* ≥ *r-* Übergang charakterisieren die Schreibweisen трáсця 31, повѣтре // повѣтра 69, нóздры // нѣздры 19).

Der *ć*-Laut wird traditionsgemäß (und vielleicht unter poln. Einfluß) im Suffix *-есь* entpalatalisiert als *-ець* geschrieben (конéцъ 12, selten концá 14, meistens конця́ 90, на концѣ 23, пéрецъ 72// пéрцю 46), jedoch bleibt er in *-иця* fast immer palatal (живúцю 48, самúць 95).

Morphologie. In der Deklination der Substantive läßt sich in der *K* (wie in den heutigen wolhynischen und podolischen Mundarten) ein deutlicher Einfluß des velaren Typs im Lok. Sg. der Maskulina, Neutra und Feminina (hier auch im Dat. Sg.) feststellen; er ist auch in der "dritten" Deklination der Feminina spürbar, obgleich sich hier noch Überreste der Endungen der *i*-Stämme erhalten haben.

Bei den Maskulina findet man folgende Endungsmorpheme in den einzelnen Kasus vor: 1) im Gen. Sg.: *-a* (bei Lebewesen, Einzelgegenständen, beim Suffix *-k-* und im palatalen Typ: пса 72, токарá 27, оухналя́ 36, бѣлкá 34), *-у* (bei Pflanzen- und Stoffnamen: бобу 32, лóю 33); 2) im Dat. Sg.: *-ови/-овѣ, -еви/-евѣ* (исóви 72, волóвѣ 53// -óви 56, конéви 27// конéвѣ 11, chlibowy 110); 3) im Instr. Sg.: *-омъ, -емъ* (знáкомъ 31, конéмъ 19, клéїомъ // -éемъ 53); 4) im Lok. Sg.: *-ѣ, -і, -и, -у* (на версѣ́ 33// -хý 25, на концѣ́ 23, при коренѣ 92, въ мáрцѣ 88, в напóю 48// -óи 71, в октóвріи 88, по посторóнку 22, по грóшу 61, на спóду // -óдѣ 92: na spodi 98); 5) im Nom. Pl.: *-и, -ѣ, -е* (пси 71, робакú 38, кóнѣ 10, три тúжднѣ 32, майстрѣ́ 29, люде 22, hryby 110); 6) im Gen. Pl.: *-овъ, -ѣвъ, -ивъ, -ей, -ій, -∅* (волóвъ 48, крáмаровъ 11, купцóвъ 12, бѣлкѣвъ 38, самцѣвъ 96, селéдцѣвъ 87, днѣвъ 47// дней 13// день 49, рáзый 29// рáзїй 30, грóшїй 92: hroszey 98, людéй 9, кóней 10, чобѣ́тъ 28, клубъ 24); 7) im Dat. Pl.: *-амъ/-ямъ,-емъ* (баранáмъ 69, кóнямъ 27, людемъ 23); 8) Akk. Pl.=Nom. Pl. (рáки 78, карáски 63, волú 51, кожáни 25) und nur bei Personen Akk. Pl.=Gen. Pl.; 9) im Instr. Pl.: *-ами/-ями, -ми* (бокáми 30, пáлцями 39, клѣщами 20, людмú 75); 10) im Lok. Pl.: *-ахъ* (въ язы́кахъ 51, в робакахъ 60).

Bei den Feminina sind zu vermerken: 1) im Gen. Sg.: *-ы/-и, -ѣ, -е* (дятелúны 81, вúки 58, грýшы 89, землѣ 58, саранчѣ́ 77// -чú 9, сóлѣ 110 soli 110, пáши 49, пóмочи 11, мочи 25, чáсти 67, солóности 82, крóве 81// крóви 36// крвѣ 31); 2) im Dat. Sg.: *-ѣ* (овцѣ 69, ку осенѣ 88, корóвѣ 62); 3) im Instr. Sg.: *-ою, -ею, -їю, -ю/-у* (стрѣ́хою 93: pod strychom[9]98, мóчою 51, пáшою 52, шúею 25, жóвчею 44, тлýстостїю

[9] Falls die Form *strychom* statt стрѣ́хою (Instr. Sg.) kein Irrtum ist (d.h. nicht als Instr. Sg. von *stryx* "Dachboden" verstanden wurde!), kann sie mit den identischen westlichen nordpodolischen Endungen des Instr. Sg. der Feminina (*boronóm* = boronóju) zusammengestellt werden. Vgl. Dejna, K.: *Gwary ukraińskie Tarnopolszczyzny,* PAN, Komitet Językoznawczy, Prace Językoznawcze 13, Wrocław 1957, Karta Nr. VII.

21, тру́дностїю 65, се́чу 51, кро́влю 31// кровїю 40, сѣ́л'лю 23// сѣллю 24); 4) im Lok. Sg.: *-ѣ́ -и* (въ бра́зѣ 64, на овцѣ 65, на землѣ́ 22// при земли́ 92: pry zemli 98, о саранчѣ 75, въ темни́цѣ 55, въ осени́ 92: u oseni 109, на ча́сти 74, в побли́зкости 75, na peczy 109); 5) im Nom. Pl.: *-ы/-и, -ѣ́, -і* (ко́зы 9, но́ги 58, кишки́ 46, галу́зки 52, вѣ́вцѣ 8// о́вци 64, kartofli 110); 6) im Gen. Pl.: *-∅, -ивъ, -ѣвъ, -ей, -їй* (козъ 67, пчѣлъ 42, отру́бъ 47, ґул'окъ 14, голово́къ 39, гли́стив 42, пе́чѣвъ 77, ми́шїи 26, конопле́й 12); 7) im Dat. Pl.: *-амъ* (овцамъ 64); 8) Akk. Pl. = Nom. Pl. (ду́ши 61, ми́ши 26, во́ши 26, ку́ри 50// -ры 94, сѣ́ти 81, рѣ́чи 82, вну́трности 40, сто́роны 95, хоро́бы 67, ра́тицѣ 48, скро́нѣ 73); 9) im Instr. Pl.: *-ами, -ми* (голо́вами 79, рука́ми 32, костми́ 25); 10) im Lok. Pl.: *-ахъ/-яхъ* (въ головка́хъ78, в ха́тахъ 74, по кѣше́няхъ 73, въ овча́рняхъ 69). Überreste des Duals sind nach den Zahlwörtern *двѣ, три* in den Fällen двѣ годы́нѣ 19 (aber: четы́ри годи́ни 94), три добѣ́ 14 anzutreffen; sonst aber treten nur Pluralformen auf (двѣ ква́рти 54, три жи́лки 16).

Bei den Neutra treten auf: 1) im Nom. Sg.: *-о, -е, -я, -а* (о́ко 23, збоже 76, повѣ́тре/-ра 69, кло́че 38, запалѣ́нїє 75, дере́вя 79, здоро́вя 73, воло́ся 41, зѣ́лля 68, сѣ́мя 28); 2) im Gen. Sg.: *-а/-я* (ока 23, повѣ́тра 61, здоро́вя 72, заморо́жѣня 57, ли́стя 52, начи́ня 52, яйця́ 28); 3) im Dat. Sg.: *-овѣ* (копи́товѣ 32); 4) im Instr. Sg.: *-омъ, -емъ, -ямъ* (жи́томъ 16, збо́жемъ 15, желѣ́зцемъ 68, коло́сямъ 10, чере́пямъ 92: czerepiem 98); 5) im Lok. Sg.: *-ѣ́, -ю, -у* (в копи́тѣ 19, въ теплѣ́ 11, на тертцѣ 86: na tertci 110, въ го́рлѣ 44, на свѣта́нѣ 50, на мѣсцѣ 76// на мѣстцу 67: na mistcu 98, въ по́лѣ 62, на со́лнцѣ 91, по оукушѣ́ню 80, на вѣ́всиску 63); 6) im Nom. Pl.: *-а* (поля́ 76, оу́ха 24, полотна́ 84, болота́ 77); 7) im Gen. Pl.: *-∅* (зе́ренъ 52, яе́цъ 18, полъ 76, зе́рнятъ 52, сщеня́тъ 71); 8) im Instr. Pl.: *-ами, -има* (вѣ́драми 96, оу́хамн 25, очи́ма 24); 9) im Lok. Pl.: *-ахъ/-яхъ* (въ оу́хахъ 29, въ оча́хъ 24, въ мѣ́сцяхъ 76).

Unter den Deklinationsendungen der Adjektive sind nur selten Spuren des Kirchenslavischen anzutreffen (so im Gen. Sg. der Maskulina-Neutra *-аго:* пе́рваго 13// пе́ршого 30, друга́го 13// -го́го 31, тре́таго 13// -того 31, туре́цкаго 97).

Als eine Angleichung betreffs der Silbenzahl an die Form des femininen Dat. Sg. tritt im femininen Gem. Sg. der Adjektive und Demon-

strative die Endung *-оѝ* auf (бѣ́лой 37, сухóй 16, печéной 80, криня́чной 30,—ausnahmsweise: лѣ́тнои 44); diese Erscheinung hat Parallelen in der polnischen und in der russischen Sprache. Erleichtert wurde diese Angleichung des femininen Gen. Sg. an den Dat. Sg. bei Adjektiven vermutlich durch den Gleichklang des Genitivs und Dativs im palatalen Paradigma der femininen Substantive, nachdem hier das palatale paradigma die Endung *-ѣ* (*-i*) des velaren Paradigmas angenommen hat (Gen. Sg. землѣ und Dat. Sg. землѣ ≤ земли).

Im Nom. und Akk. Sg. der Feminina und Neutra sowie im Nom.-Akk. Pl. treten Lang- und Kurzformen (nichtkontrahierte und kontrahierte Formen) auf, wobei die Kurzformen eher im prädikativen als im attributiven Gebrauch häufiger sind. Von zwei Adjektiven (здорóвъ 24, пови́ненъ 76) kommen maskuline Kurzformen des Nom. Sg. nur in prädikataver Funktion vor. Häufiger sind die Kurzformen des Nom. Pl. (etwa 8, wovon drei prädikativ gebraucht werden: здорóви 70, пови́нни 22, намáщены бывáли 21, роски́даны 14, покусáни 72, пропéчаны 56, крýгли 45, тлýсти 63). Anders sind die Häufigkeitsverhältnisse bei femininen Kurzformen (drei prädikative Kurzformen im Nom. Sg. sowie weitere 30 attributive Kurzformen stehen hier nur noch drei Langformen gegenüber; im Akk. Sg. sind es 22 Kurzformen und genauso viele Langformen), bei neutralen Kurzformen (im Nom.-Akk. Sg.: 12 Langformen gegenüber 21 Langformen) und im Nom.-Akk. Pl. (8 Kurzformen auf *-u/-ы;* sonst nur Langformen: wovon 10 auf *-ïe,* 32 auf *-ïu* sowie 2 "palatale" auf *-ѣu* und 3 auf *-ыu/-yi*).

Es läßt sich eine Ausbreitung des palatalen Typs der Adjektive (*sýńij*) auf die wurzelbetonten Eigenschaftswörter mit dem Morphem *-C-n-yj* insbesondere im Nom. Sg. mask. und im Nom.-Akk. Pl. feststellen (ca. 50). Sicher sind jedoch nur die 7 Beispiele (вéрхня, вéрхнюю 93, дáвнїй 64, зáднѣи 15, зáднѣми 46, лѣ́тнїого 86, переднѣи 15, перéднюю 19, сы́нѣмъ 14, си́ня 66), die den palatalisierten Konsonanten auch in den Kasus obliqui aufweisen. Denn in der "poln. Transliteration" wurden die maskulinen Nom. Sg.-Formen *-ïй* mit *-y* (каждїй 93: każdy 99) und die Nom.-Akk. Pl.-Formen *-ïu* mit *-yi* (зелéнїи 85: zełenyi 102) wiedergegeben.

Deadjektivale Adverbien gehen auf *-o* (смýтно 10, дрѣбно 47, дрѣбнéнко 81, клинясто 90, мѣ́лко 40, пѣ́зно 75) und auf *-e* aus

(беспéчне 77, нагле 46, конечне 40, особливе 33, оуставúчне 73— gewiß unter dem poln. Einfluß). Ihre Komparativformen lauten: болшъ 34// бóлшей 10, вышше 17// вышшей 90, беспéчнѣй 72, мéнше 37// помéншей 31, латвѣ́й 92, смѣлѣ́й 97, хутнѣ́й 29.

In bezug auf die Kurz- und Langformen sind die Verhältnisse bei adjektivalen Pronomina ähnlich. Im Nom. Sg. der Maskulina sind anzutreffen: кóжденъ 61// кóждїй 19, кáждый 76/ -дїй 93, ввесь 16, самъ 36. Im femininen Nom. Sg. sind es: котóрая 42// -óра 47, такáя 84, якá 70, тáя 77// та 27; auch bei den Neutra: úнше 68, сáмое 48// самó 18, такóе 52// таке 41, тóе все 56// тéе 80// то 80. Die anderen Kasusformen lauten: 1) Gen. Sg. fem.: той 71// тоéй 11 (bei Voznjak, S. 55, 59, falsch *moeu*!), 2) Akk. Sg. fem.: всю 45, кóжду 56, якý 61// якýю 78, такýю 93, úншую 12, котóрую 16, тýю 13, 3) Instr. Sg. fem.: тóю 88// тéю 36// тоéю 47, 4) Nom.-Akk. Pl.: всѣ 10, úннїи 12// úнїи 68// úншїи 14// -шїе 77, котóрїи 51// -óрїе 74, гденекóтрїи 71, сáмїи 41// самúи 46, вшелякїе 88, тїи 89: tyi 110, тыи 13.

Das Personalpronomen der 3. Person (keine anderen treten im Text auf) weist folgende Formen auf: Gen. Sg. mask. (єгó 39, зъ негó 72), fem. (єй 39, з ней 45), Dat. Sg. mask. (ємý 10), Akk. Sg. fem. (ю 65), Instr. Sg. fem. (нéю 23, попóдъ éю 23), Lok. Sg. (въ нѣмъ 83, на ней 61), Nom.-Akk. Pl. (онú 69), Gen. Pl. (ихъ 27, ich 40, з нихъ 89), Instr. Pl. (z nymy 110) und Lok. Pl. (на нихъ 22).

Bei Zahlwörtern sind folgende Formen hervorzuheben: 1) Nom.-Akk.: два 92, óба 22, óбѣ 12, на двóє 73, mask. за обúдва концѣ́ 18, 2) Gen.: двохъ 16, зъ обóхъ бокѣ́въ 24, зъ обóхъ скрóней 44, з обоúхъ ногъ 16, 3) Instr.: fem. обыдвомá 17, двомá годúнами 81, 4) Lok.: въ обóхъ оýхахъ 24, 5) die polnisch beeinflußte Kollektiva-Form des Gen. Sg. до осмéрга самúць 95.

Die Konjugation der Verben ist in der *K* nur spärlich belegt: 1) die Endung der 3. Sg. und Pl. ist *-t* (ausgenommen єсть 11, суть 14): дасть 61, вúтекутъ 19, im Sg. kann *-тъ* in der *e*-Konjugation wegfallen (бýдетъ 84// бýде 80); die *-тъ*-losen Formen erreichen zahlenmäßig etwa die Hälfte der *-тъ*-Formen; 2) die 2. Sg.-Form geht auf *-шъ* aus (постережéшъ 37, мýсишъ 37); bei den athematischen Verben sind nur дасú 50 und *-есь* des Hilfsverbs Präteriti belegt (клúнокъ, которїй въбúв-есь въ пнякъ 90, древо, що-сь росколовъ 90, помáлу, áби-сь

пру́тиковъ з мѣсця не руши́въ 90); 3) das Infinitivformans *-ty* (einmal *-mь:* позна́ть 25) tritt auch bei den Verben mit der Infinitivwurzel auf einen Guttural auf (оусѣ́кти 40, стерегти́ся 74); das Suffix *-ovaty* (напова́ти 39, вонѣтова́ти бу́дутъ 71) erscheint bereits in der Form *-uvaty* (хорувати 51, задму́хувати 35) in einem Drittel aller Belege; 4) das Postfix *-ся* wird noch von seinem Verb getrennt (insbesondere im 2. Teil der *K*) und ihm vorangestellt (нѣ́гди ся таки́й песъ не скази́ть. // а коли́ песъ скази́тся 71); dieses *-ся* dient sowohl zur Bildung der Reflexiva als auch des Passivs (hier neben den mit passiven Partizipien zusammengesetzten Formen: [свинѣ] тимъ ся куру́ючи лѣ́чать 70, дабы́ [...] лопатки́ [...] тлу́стостїю нама́щены быва́ли 21) wie auch in unpersönlichen Sätzen (когда́ ра́зомъ бага́цко ся полотна́ бѣ́лить 83); 5) Futurum wird bei imperfektiven Verben nur mit dem Infinitiv und dem (meist postpositiv gebrauchten) Hilfsverb бути (63) gebildet (кул'га́ти бу́де 19); 6) hervorzuheben sind besonders die auftretenden Aspektfeinheiten (переганя́ти 69: перегна́ти 68, переноси́ти 96: поднести́ 15, натира́й 24: натри́ 24); die iterativen Formen werden von präfigierten Perfektiva (закопа́й 88 zu копа́ти 77) sowohl mit Suffixen als auch mit einem verschobenen Wortakzent gebildet (зако́пувати 77; засипова́ти 51// засипа́ти 14: заси́пати 57); die Perfektivierung der Iterativität wird durch doppelte Präfigierung des Verbs erreicht (*пона-, попере-, попри-, попро-, поот-:* понадра́пувати 68, поотпа́лювати 60, поперетина́й 24, попропѣка́ти 56); Perfektivierungen mit dem Präfix *u-* sind vermutlich durch polnische Vorlagen bedingt (оуросте́тъ 92, оулѣчи́ти 10, оука́жется 23, оувари́ти 35, оувяза́ти 20, оупаслися 49, оусуши́ 46): heute findet man hier andere Präfixe; 7) in den präfigierten Verben (im Typ несли́ 94: поднести́ 15, приходи́ли 96, доходи́ла 34, виноси́ти 77, und nur einmal прохо́дивъ 83) ist der nicht zurückgezogene Wortakzent hervorzuheben.

Der von Voznjak völlig außer acht gelassene Wortakzent der *K* (er wurde im abgedruckten Text mancherorts fehlerhaft bezeichnet, wie dies unser flüchtiger Vergleich mit dem Original beweist) weist weitere interessante Erscheinungen auf, die wir hier nur schematisch andeuten wollen: 1) die typische südwestukr. (und z.T. auch die schriftsprachliche) Morphologisierung der Wortbetonung bei Substantiven (der Gegegnsatz Sg.: Pl. sowie Nom. Sg.: Akk. Sg. bei Feminina) ist in der *K*

noch nicht so weit fortgeschritten wie in der heutigen Schriftsprache (insbesondere bei dreisilbigen: Akk. Pl. полотна́ 84, в ха́тахъ 74, в овча́рняхъ 69, аптика́ровъ 65); 2) die postpräpositionale Zurückziehung der oxytonalen Betonung der Pronomina tritt in der *K* nicht ein (з' того́ 16, з' него́ 72// нѣчо́го 40); 3) unter den passiven Partizipien Präteriti auf *-oványj/-ányj* kommen Spuren der nordukr.-weißrussischen Betonung vor (затратова́ну 33, практикова́ного 77, покуса́ни 72, оувязáнїй 40); es herrscht jedoch die südukr. Betonung *-óvanyj, -anyj* vor; 4) bei denselben Partizipien auf *-enyj* treten die üblichen Unterschiede zwischen den adjektivisierten Formen (варéную 10, печéный 80, скажéнїй 72, — denen sich einige weitere Partizipien mit der "huzulisch-pokutischen" Betonung *roblényj* angeschlossen haben: куплéнїй 49, роскалéный 90) und den Partizipien auf (сплéченїй 19).

Von einer eingehenden Untersuchung des Wortakzentes der Adjektive nehmen wir hier aus Platzgründen Abstand.

Aus der Syntax seien hier nur zwei Konstruktionen erwähnt, die über den Heimatdialekt des Verfassers der *K* aussagen können: 1) es treten nebeneinander die beiden Konstruktionen bei *bolity* auf: die nordukrainische вола́мъ голова́ болит 53 und die südwestukr. вола́ голова́ боли́тъ 53; 2) die Gleichzeitigkeit der Handlung, die durch ein undeklinierbares aktives Partizip ausgedrückt wird, mit der Handlung, die im Hauptsatz durch das Prädikatsverb bezeichnet ist, wird in der *K* einmal — nach der ostukr. Art — in der Partizipialkonstruktion durch ein imperfektives undeklinierbares Partizip Präteriti (und nicht Präsentis) ausgedrückt (трéба то́лко оуважа́ти, щобъ самцѣ́ рѣ́зати або продава́ти, не зоставля́вши до осмéрга сами́ць якъ єдно́го самця́ 95).

In der Wortbildung sind Suffixe *-yna* (für die Bezeichnung der Einzelstücke und -wesen gebraucht: това́рина 88: bydłyna 101) und *-nyk* (für Kräuternamen verwendet: слю́зникъ 27, крва́внику 47, пятерни́ку́ 83) hervorzuheben.

In der Lexik fällt eine hohe Anzahl von Polonismen auf, die z.T. noch heute den westukr. Mundarten sowie der ukr. Sprache des 17. Jhdts. eigen sind. Es geht dabei um Abstrakta (остро́жности 67), botanische und medizinische Termini (зярка 97, чо́мбѣру 80, плю́ца 81, пуща́дломъ 14) sowie Reihe von Adverbien und Partikeln (завше 51, допѣро 59, на́ветъ 74, збитъ 65). Die auffälligsten sind von Voznjak

aufgezählt. Ein Polonismenangler könnte in der *K* noch einen reichen Fang von versteckten poln. Lehnprägungen machen.

Die "transliterierten" Kapitel der *K* unterscheiden sich bedeutend von ihren kyrillischen Vorlagen, wobei die Veränderungen bewußt durchgeführt wurden und dabei eine andere Dialektbasis (etwa eine mehr nordwestlich gelagerte) des Transliterierenden darstellen. Ein Teil davon sind durch die polnischen orthographischen und phonetischen Besonderheiten bedingt: 1) eine Wiedergabe von *х* durch *h* (до верху́ 92 ≥ do werhu 98) und von *г* durch *ch* (снѣгъ 92 ≥ snich 98), 2) *-ки* durch *-ki* (ремесники́ 93 ≥ remesnyki 99), 3) die Palatalität der Dentalen in *-ть, -дь, -ць* bleibt unberücksichtigt (шесть 93 ≥ szyśt 98, єсть 93 ≥ iest 99, огнь 91 ≥ ohon 101), 4) *рь* wird wie auch *ри* oftmals durch *ry* wiedergegeben (рѣзати 95 ≥ ryzaty 100), 5) *-и* wird in morphologischen Endungen sowie identischen in Wurzelmorphemen an die poln. Endung *-i* bzw. an die poln. Form angeglichen (ра́днами 96 ≥ radnami 101, одъ искри 97 ≥ od iskry 102, широке 96 ≥ szeroke 101), 6) Angleichungen von Präpositionen und Präfixen finden statt (зопсуются 94 ≥ zepsuiutśia 106, от 87 ≥ od 105), 7) auch sonstige Angleichungen der phonetischen und morphologischen Formen an die polnischen finden statt (па́росткамъ 92 ≥ parostkom 98, конця́ 90 ≥ końca 108, переховува́ти 94 ≥ perechowywaty 105, стоя́ла 96 ≥ stała 101, за иншую 92 ≥ za innu 98, шку́рки 89 ≥ skurki 107, шмару́й 84 ≥smaruy 103, на́тщо 85 ≥ na czczo 102, конця́ми 89 ≥ koncamy 107, з мѣсця 90 ≥ z miyśca 108, воло́скій 92 ≥ wołoski 98, хоро́шій 93 ≥ choroszy 99).

Abgesehen von Druckfehlern (ка́ждій 95 ≥ hażdy 100) gibt es auch eine Reihe von textuellen Veränderungen, indem sie den kyrillischen Text erweitern (hnuczyi 106), die Vorlage kürzen (и и́нныхъ древе́съ 88 ≥ i proczyich 106) oder ihre Vorlage anders interpretieren (з' древа ро́жного 89 ≥ z derewa rodzaynoho 107, кромъ того́ не ду́же кошту́ють 91 ≥ pokarm onych ne duże kosztuiet 100).

Wesentlicher sind die sprachlichen Veränderungen bei dem Transliterieren: 1) die kirchenslavischen Formen wurden beinahe konsequent beseitigt (єди́нь, єдно́, єдно́го 96 ≥ odyn, odno, odnoho 101, єдна́къ 88 ≥odnak 106, четири 94 ≥ czotyry 99, гонь 91 ≥ ohon 101, между́ 93 ≥ meży 99, дре́во 92 ≥ derewo 98, въ предъ 89 ≥ wpered 107), 2) einzelne morphologische Endungen wurden verändert (огню́ 96 ≥ ohnia

101, гро́шій 92 ≥ hroszey 98, селе́дцѣвъ 87 ≥ seledcow 104, под' стрѣхою 93 ≥ pod strychom[99]98, сѣллю 94, 86 ≥ syllu 1/6, sollu 105, при земли́ 92 ≥ pry zemli 98, въ осени́ 93 ≥ w oseni 98, камѣнямъ, чере́пямъ 92 ≥ kaminiem, czerepiem 98, im Nom.-Akk. Pl. *-ïu* ≥ *-yi:* кото́рїи, 92, тїи 93, молодїи 96, зеле́нїи 85, малїи 89 ≥ kotoryi 98, tyi 99, mołodyi 100, zełenyi 102, małyi 106; *-ïu* ≥ *-yé:* пшени́чнїи ≥ pszenycznyé 106, im Gen. Sg. fem. *-oй* ≥ *-oi:* суко́нной 93, про́стой 93, проти́вной 86, ди́кой 90 ≥ sukonnoi 99, prostoi 102, protywnoi 105, dykoi 107; Langformen werden durch Kurzformen und umgekehrt ersetzt: окромѣшное 96, другóе 96, тóе 87, лѣтнюю 94, третую 22 ≥ okromiszne 101, druheie 101, teie 104, litniu 106, tretiu 110; тре́того 90 ≥ tretioho 108; курачѣ, гусячѣ 94 ≥ kuraczyi, husiaczyi 105, die *-mъ*-Endung der 3. Sg. in der *e*-Konjugation wird gewöhnlich weggelassen: будетъ 93, прикладáетъ 87, мáетъ 89 ≥ bude 98, prykładaie 105, maie 107; verbale Präfixe und Wurzelmorpheme werden modifiziert bzw. geändert: оуросте́тъ 92, прикри́ти 95, ви́стелити 92, поме́рзла 94, бѣгти 96, оумочи́вши въ водѣ 94, розорвати 97, одпрѣе 93, ратовáтися 86 ≥ wroste 98, okryty 100, wysłaty 98, peremerzła 99, biżaty 101, umaczawszy w wodu 99, rozrywaty 102, odopryie 99, ratowatsia 104).

Der Transliterierende hat weiterhin gewählt: 1) eine andere phonetische Form des Wortes (желѣзными 96 ≥ zeliznymy 101, госпóдаръ 95 ≥ gospodar 100, крѣпкой 96 ≥ krepkoi 101, потóмъ 91 ≥ potym 102, камѣннистый 93 ≥ kamenysty 99, фебру 85 ≥ frybru 102, цвя́хами 96 ≥ ćwiakamy 101), 2) eine andere Suffixation (въ сикли́нѣ своей влáснои 87 ≥ w sekłyny swoi własnyi 105, на обхóдъ 95 ≥ na obychódku 100, яблоню 89 ≥ iabłonku 101), 3) eine andere syntaktische Konstruktion (на четири лóктѣ 96 ≥ na czotyry łoktiw 101, на лóктѣвъ два 92 ≥ na łokty dwa 98, двъ пя́дей 90 ≥ dwi piady 107, въ пáшни 88 ≥ w paszniu 105, в óцтѣ 86 ≥ z octom 103, въ лѣтѣ 94 ≥ litom 105, людемъ 93 ≥ od lodey 99), 4) ein anderes Lexem (чи 91 ≥ albo 101, товáрина 88 ≥ bydłyna 105). Gerade die Wahl des typisch wolhynischen Wortes *bydlýna* spricht dafür, daß die polnische Transliteration von einem Wolhynier stammen kann.

* * *

Anmerkung. Die komplizierte kyrillische Rechtschreibung der *K* mußte bei der obigen Wiedergabe aus drucktechnischen Gründen vereinfacht werden: 1) das präjotierte *a* (stets im Wortanlaut geschrieben) und der "kleine Jus" (an allen anderen Stellen geschrieben) wurden mit *я* wiedergegeben, 2) ein einfaches *o* wurde auch anstelle von "o mega" (in Präfixen/Präpositionen *ob-, ot, o,* in der Gen. Sg.-Endung *-oho,* in der Gen. Pl.-Endung *-ov,* sowie im Anlaut mancher Substantive, und in *oba* geschrieben) bei der Wiedergabe geschrieben, 3) das Gravis-Akzentzeichen (stets über einer betonten offenen Auslautsilbe der Wörter gesetzt) wurde hier durch das Akutzeichen ersetzt.

Korrekturnote. Aufgrund von Angaben des unierten Lućker Domkapitulars Teodozjusz Brodowicz (im Werk *Widok przemocy na słabą niewinność srogo wywartej, I-II,* herausgegeben von Ja. Holowačkyj, L'viv 1861-62) gibt M. Voznjak (in *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* Bd. III, Teil 2, L'viv 1924, S. 105-06) den Starosten Lenkevyč als den Übersetzer der *Książka/Knyžycja* an. Voznjaks Angaben wiederholt Metropolit Ilarion (Ivan Ohijenko) in *Fortecja pravoslavija na Volyni svjata Počajivs'ka Lavra. Cerkovno-istoryčna monohrafija,* Winnipeg 1961, S. 325.

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The Language of "Bolgarski" Heirmologia of the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries from the Manjava Velykyj Skyt Monastery in Galicia

JACOB P. HURSKY

The text to be discussed in this article was first published in photoreproduction in Sofia, May 1981, by Elena Tončeva.[1] It constitutes only a portion of three mixed-content seventeenth-eighteenth century heirmologia manuscripts of the so-called "Bolgarskij rospev," which were discovered by Elena Tončeva in 1969 and 1971 in the Music Department of the Central State Library (under the call numbers MS. SLAV No. 10846, dated from 1676—henceforth H1, and MS. SLAV No. 10845, dated from 1684—henceforth H2) and in the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest (under the call number No. 525, dated from 1731-1733—henceforth H3). According to the data of the manuscripts, the three discovered heirmologia originate from the Manjava Velykyj Skyt Monastery in Galicia,[2] which was founded in 1612 and was active until 1785.[3]

The content of SBI consists of 2 forewords, 4 title pages, 315 selected

[1] Elena Tončeva, *Manastirət Goljam Skit—škola na "Bolgarski rospev". Skitski "bolgarski" irmolozi ot XVII-XVIII v.* Část II ([Sofia]: Muzika, 1981)—henceforth SBI. I wish to thank Prof. George Y. Shevelov for calling my attention to this publication, and the author Elena Tončeva for providing me with a copy of it.

[2] Cf. the title pages to each of the three heirmologia in SBI, pp. 14, 15, and 16.

[3] For more information on the history of this monastery, see Část I of E. Tončeva's *Manastirət* ..., pp. 25-45; "Manjavs'kyj Skyt," *Encyklopedija Ukrajinoznavstva,* II, 4, NTŠ (Paris—New York: Molode Žyttja, 1962), p. 1464; "Manjavs'kyj skyt," *Ukrajins'ka Radjans'ka Encyklopedija,* 8 (Kiev: AN URSR, [1962]), p. 466.

chants (nearly all of which are written in the square-type Kievan five-line staff notation and some, although transcribed in the Cyrillic script, belong linguistically to the Greek repertory), 18 miniatures, and a one-page document written in Polish—a permission for the transfer of two monks from Skyt to Moldavia.

Although the main interest of SBI is in the musical notation, it is of no less importance as a source for linguistic studies. A closer look into the text reveals that it abundantly represents the living Ukrainian language of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.

Elements of the living Ukrainian language are especially well attested in the two forewords—where the author addresses "the God-loving singer," resorting, for better understanding, to the Ukrainian vernacular (*prostaja mova*)—and, to a lesser degree, in the chants which were sung during the devine services traditionally conducted in Church Slavonic.

The aim of this article is to analyze the most characteristic phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features of the Ukrainian language as evidenced in SBI. Except for the phonetic features the analysis of which will be based on the whole text, the discussion of the other features will be based almost exclusively on the two forewords where they are well documented.

PHONETIC FEATURES

The most notable phonetic features observed in SBI include the following:

1. The coalescence of the etymological *y* and *i* into a front-central [ÿ] sound, which is characteristic for Modern Ukrainian and for the majority of its dialects.[4] This is evidenced by the very frequent confusion and interchange of the letters *ы* (*y*) and *и, і, ї* (*i*), e.g. *гу́слы* : *гу́сли* 'psaltery' (H1, 1);[5] *вы́мислылъ* : *вы́мысли(л)*[6] 'invent' masc sg pret, *ѱа(л)ти́ры* :

[4] The merger of the etymological *y* and *i*, although with a different phonetic result, is also typical of Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages as well as of Czech and Slovak (cf. George Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (= Historical Phonology of the Slavic Languages, IV) (Heidelberg: Winter, 1979), p. 379).

[5] Each illustration in this article is followed by its English translation, grammatical characterization (if the illustration is not in citation form), reference to the manuscript, and reference to page in SBI. In the grammatical characterization, the following abbreviations are used: 1) grammatical terms: acc—accusative, act—active, C—consonant, dat—

ѱалтыри 'psalter' loc sg, *музыкы* : *музыки* 'music' gen sg (H2, 6; H1, 1); *моглы* : *моглѝ* 'can' pl pret (H2, 7, 6); *пусти́ны* : *пусты́ни* : *пустыны* : *пустини* 'desert, wilderness' loc sg (H2, 8, 98, 270); *мѝ* : *мы* 'we' (H2, 9; H1, 1); *Сы́юже кныгу* : *Сїю кныгу* : *Сїю кни́гу* 'this book' acc sg (H2, 12; H1, 4); *Сину* : *Сыну* 'son' dat sg (H2, 31, 20); *нинѣ* : *нїнѣ* : *нынѣ* 'now' (H2, 39, 32, 65); *молитви* : *моли(т)вы* 'prayer' gen sg (H2, 55, 81); *оусти* : *оусты* 'mouth' instr pl (H2, 36,; H1, 3); *Землы* : *Зе(м)ли* 'earth' loc sg (H2, 89; H1, 566); *Хрыста* : *Христа* 'Christ' acc sg (H2, 91, 36); *похвальними* : *похвальнимы* : *похвальными* 'praiseworthy, laudable' instr pl (H2, 184, 190, 193); *Апостоли* : *Апостолы* 'apostle' nom pl (H2, 209; H1, 520); *рабы* : *раби* 'servant' voc pl (H2, 250); etc.

2. The pronunciation of the etymological *ě* as the sound [i]. This is usually reflected by spellings of *ѣ* instead of *и*, in several instances of *и* instead of *ѣ*, and sporadically of *ы* instead of *ѣ*, e.g. *лѣнѣ́ѧхъ* 'line' loc pl (H1, 1)—cf. MStU *лі́ніях; ѱа(л) мѣста*: *ѱалми́ста* 'psalmist' nom sg (H2, 6; H1, 2)—cf. P *psalmista; нѣчого* 'nothing' gen sg (H2, 7)—cf. MStU *нічо́го; нѣма́ло* 'not at all' (H2, 7)—cf. R *нима́ло*, MStU *нітро́хи; слѣ́чности* 'grace, charm, beauty' dat sg (H2, 9)—cf. P *śliczności*; *поклонѣ́(м)сѧ* : *поклони(м)сѧ* 'bow down, worship' 1 pl imp (H1, 510; H3, 235) — cf. OCS *поклонимъсѧ*, MStU *поклоні́мося*; *благословѣте* : *благословите* 'bless' 2 pl imp (H1, 553; H2, 251, 252, 615) — cf. OCS *благословите*, MStU *благослові́ть*; *ѡповѝдѣль* 'tell' masc sg pret (H2, 7) — cf. OCS *повѣдѣль*, MStU *оповів*; *вѣры* 'faith' loc sg (H2, 611) — cf. OCS *вѣрѣ*, MStU *вірі*; *ты(х)* 'that' gen pl in acc function (H1, 1) — cf. OCS *тѣхъ*, MStU *тих*; *ты́мъ* 'that' dat pl (H2, 7)—cf. OCS *тѣмъ*, MStU *тим;* etc.

Examples of the confusion of *ѣ* and *и*, *ї* are also found in Cyrillic transcriptions of the Greek chants, e.g. *аґѣѡсъ* / *аγѣѡсъ* / *акгѣо(с)* : *аґиѡсъ* / *аγиѡсъ* / *аґїо(с)* 'holy' (H1, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309 ...)—

dative, du—dual, fem—feminine, fut—future, gen—genitive, ger—gerund, imp—imperative, instr—instrumental, loc—locative, masc—masculine, neut—neuter, nom—nominative, part—participle, perf—perfective, pl—plural, pres—present (tense), pret—preterite, sg—singular, voc—vocative; 2) languages: Bg—Bulgarian, Br—Belorussian, ChSl—Church Slavonic, Gr—Greek, MStU—Modern Standard Ukrainian, OCS—Old Church Slavonic, OU—Old Ukrainian, R—Russian, U—Ukrainian, WU—West(ern) Ukrainian.

[6] Letters in parentheses represent the supralinear symbols in the original text.

cf. Gr ἅγιος; *мееґалѣноменъ* / *меґалѣномеенъ* 'magnify' 1 pl pres (H1, 403, 405, 407, 456)—cf. Gr μεγαλύνομεν; *епѣкалесоме* 'call (upon)' 1 sg fut (H1, 425, 426, 427, 438, 439; H3, 530, 531)—cf. Gr ἐπικαλέσομαι; *енѣте* 'praise' 2 pl imp (H1, 408, 409, 411, 415)—cf. Gr αἰνεῖτε; etc.

There are, however, instances of spellings with *е* instead of *ѣ* which seem to reflect the Bg ChSl pronunciation of the etymological *ě* as the sound [e]. In general, the *е* spellings are found in ChSl words or word forms, primarily in unstressed syllables, e.g. *чловеколюбецъ* 'lover of mankind' (H2, 23) : *человѣколюбе(ц)* (H2, 626) / *чловеколю́бче* voc sg (H3, 230; H2, 37) : *человѣколюбче* (H2, 591, 593, 598, 599, 604, 639); *чловеколюбые* 'love of mankind' acc sg (H2, 89); *чл҃веколюбное* 'loving mankind' acc sg neut (H2, 54); *чл҃век* / *чл҃овекъ* 'man' (H2, 5; H3, 246) : *человѣ(к)* (H1, 536, 569); *чловека* gen sg (H2, 90) : *человѣка* acc sg (H3, 697); *чловеческій* / *чловеческий* / *чловеческі(й)* 'of man' (H2, 449, 79) : *человѣческі(й)* / *человѣческое* acc sg (H3, 671; H2, 650); *въчловечитисѧ* 'to become incarnate, to become a man' (H2, 47) / *въчлове(ч)шасѧ* past part act acc sg (H2, 132) : *вочеловѣчшасѧ* (H2, 628);[7] *телесы* / *телеси* 'body' instr pl (H2, 185, 636) / *телесома* instr du (H1, 219; H2, 138) / *телесную* 'bodily' acc sg fem (H2, 297) / *теле́снимъ* instr sg masc (H2, 12) : *тѣло* (H2, 36); *девицу* 'girl' acc sg (H1, 570; H2, 21) : *дѣвицу* (H2, 604) / *девичу* 'maid's' gen du masc (H2, 628) : *дѣвичу* acc sg fem (H2, 618) / *дѣва* 'virgin' (H2, 31) / *дѣво* voc sg (H2, 27) / *дѣвиче(с)кое* 'maid's' nom sg neut (H2, 627); *гробе(х)* 'tomb' loc pl (H1, 507) / *ꙗзыцехъ* 'tongue, language' (H1, 515) / *пророце(х)* 'prophet' (H3, 637) / *херувиме(х)* 'cherub' (H3, 547) / *мире(х)* 'world' (H2, 121); *ныне* / *нине* / *нїне* 'now' (H1, 496; H2, 180; H1, 20) : *нынѣ* / *нинѣ* / *нїнѣ* (H1, 549; H2, 39, 32); бе(з) *истлениѧ* 'without reduction to dust' (H2, 293) : *нетлѣн(н)о* 'immortal, iternal, imperishable' nom sg neut (H1, 535); *обители* 'monastery' loc sg (H1, 14) / *ѡбытели* gen sg (H2, 15; H3, 16); a.o.[8]

[7] It is interesting to note that all the *чловек-* (ChSl) forms recorded in SBI are written with *е* instead of *ѣ*; on the other hand, the *человѣк-* ("secularized") forms show only *ѣ* spellings. From this we may conclude that, in the latter, *ѣ* was read as [i].

[8] All these examples seem to support Shevelov's consideration of similar *е* (<*ě*) spellings in Middle Ukrainian texts as ChSl. See his *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, pp. 433-434, 195-196, 111-112.

The pronunciation of *ě* as [e] is also reflected in one spelling with *ѣ* instead of *е*: *тѣбе* 'thou' gen sg (H2, 62)—cf. *тебе* (H2, 51, 79, 85, 95).

3. The use of [w] instead of the etymological *u* in the word-initial position before a consonant. This is evidenced by several spellings with *в* in place of the original *у* after words ending in a vowel, e.g. жесѧ *не(в)чиле(м)* 'which I have not studied' (H1, 3) — cf. OCS *оучити сѧ*; Сты(й) Рома(н) Пѣвецъ ... *невмѣлъ* ... спѣва́ти 'St. Roman the Singer did not know how to sing' / кото́рыѝ *невмѣю(т)* спѣва́ти 'those who do not know how to sing' (H1, 3) — cf. OCS *оумѣти;* абы ... ср(д)це свое *втопилы* 'so that they would drown their heart' (H2, 7)—cf. OCS *оутопити.*

4. The distinction of the pharyngeal spirant sound [h] and the velar stop [g]. The velar stop [g] is found exclusively in words of foreign origin and in Cyrillic transcriptions of the Greek texts and is rendered in writing either by the letter *г*, or by the diagraph *кг,* or by the Greek letter *γ*, e.g. *гды́* 'when' (H1, 1-4; H2, 7, 8, 11)—cf. P *gdy; Ав(д)енаго* 'Abednego' (H1, 3)—cf. Gr *'Αβϑενάγὼ*; *Геѡ(р)гие* 'George' voc sg (H2, 51)—cf. Gr *Γεώργιος*; *Гаврии(л)* 'Gabriel' (H2, 57)—cf. Gr *Γαβριήλ*; *игу́мена* 'abbot' gen sg (H2, 12)—cf. Gr *ἡγούμενος*; *агѣѡсъ* / *агиѡсъ* / *акгѣосъ* (H1, 304, 305, 309)—transcriptions of Gr *ἅγιος* 'holy'; *анґеликесъ* (H1, 361, 369, 376 ...)—transcription of Gr *ἄγγελικαῖς* 'angelic' dat pl; *лого(н)* / *логон* / *ліого(н)* (H1, 403, 405, 455)—transcriptions of Gr *λόγον* 'word' acc sg; etc. Considering the fact that there are no instances of interchange of *г, γ, кг* with *г* in numerous transcriptions of Gr *γ* [g], one can conclude that the letter *г*, found in words of Slavic origin and in "secularized" loan words, represents the pharyngeal spirant sound [h], e.g. *го́лосо(м)* 'voice' instr sg (H1, 2), *огни́стую* 'fiery' acc sg fem (H1, 3), *ѡглѧда́ли* 'examine' 1 pl pret (H2, 5), *горы̀* 'mountain, hill' gen sg (H2, 8), *гни́га* 'book' (H2, 11), *догма́товъ* 'dogma, tenet' gen pl (H1, 1), *ѡрга́нъ* 'organ (an instrument)' (H2, 6), a.o.

5. The use of [o] instead of the original *е* after the sibilants *ч, ш, ж* before a non-palatalized consonant. This is attested only by a few spellings with *о* in the forewords: *спѧ́чому* 'sleeping' dat sg masc (H1, 3), *чого̀* 'that' gen sg (H1, 4), *учо́нїе* 'learned' nom pl (H2, 7), *нѣчого и́ншого* 'nothing else' gen sg (H2, 7, 9), *прирожо́ны(м)* 'innate' instr sg

/ *прирожо́наѧ* nom sg fem (H2, 5, 6). The last two of these spellings seem to reflect their P origin, cf. P *przyrodzony*.

6. The loss of the initial unstressed [i] in the following words: *ма́ю* 'have' 1 sg pres (H1, 3) / *мѣ́й* 2 sg imp (H2, 11) — cf. OCS *имати* / *имѣти*, MStU *ма́ти* / dial. *мі́ти*; *Збавители* 'Saviour' loc sg (H2, 9)—cf. OCS *избавитель*, MStU *Збави́тель*.

7. The loss of [w] from [l] before [v] in the original *CьlC* sequences. This is seen in several spellings with *в* instead of *вв*: *Предмо́ва* 'foreword' (H1, 1; H2, 5) — cf. MStU *передмо́ва*, OCS *млъва* 'shouting, tumult'; *мо́вити* 'say' / *мо́ви(т)* 3 sg pres / *мовѧчи́й* ger (H1, 4, 2, 3, 6) — cf. OCS *млъвити*, MStU *мо́вити*. The [w] < [l] before [v] here seems to have coalesced with the latter rather than dropping out completely.[9]

8. The assimilation of [j] to the preceding palatalized consonant and the change of [e] into [a] in the sequences [C' + je] which arose after the loss of [ь] / [i] between them. This is reflected by the following spellings: *спѣва́нѧ(м)* 'singing' instr sg (H1, 2), *доспѣва́нѧ* 'for singing' (H1, 1, 4) / *доспѣ́ванѧ* (H2, 6), *изспѣва́нѧ(м)* / *изспѣва́нѧ(м)* / *испѣванѧ(м)* 'with singing' (H1, 1; H2, 6), *в спѣва́ню и выклада́ню* 'in singing and interpreting' / *в спѣва́ню* (H1, 3), *наспотыка́нѧ* 'for a meeting' (H1, 2), *в ти́мже створе́ню его̀* 'in that creation of His' / *вствоpе́ню его̀* (H2, 6, 7), *ща́стѧ* 'happiness' acc sg (H2, 7). As a consequence of this assimilation, the palatalized post-vocalic dentals (except [r]) and post-dentals became geminated (lengthened) in MStU—cf. *співа́ння, выклада́ння, ство́рення*, but *ща́стя*. The fact that the gemination of palatalized consonants from [j] clusters is not recorded in SBI suggests two possible explanations: a) that the non-geminated spellings are a reflection of the WU dialects to which the gemination was alien, or b) that the scribe of the text, due to his orthographical difficulties, failed to render the gemination in writing. Judging by the location of the monastery where the manuscripts were written and used, it is more logical to assume that the text reflects the WU feature. However, the second explanation should not be ruled out here, since the

[9] According to Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, p. 417, the U *mov(a)* forms developed under a strong influence of P.

gemination is rarely marked in other manuscripts of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, including the manuscripts from the regions where only the forms with double (long) consonants are known.[10]

9. The use of the [ro] (< *or*) sequence in word-initial position before a consonant, e.g. *zaро́zумо(м)* ты(л)ко прирожо́ны(м), идучѝ 'following only [their] innate intelligence' (H2, 5) — cf. OCS *разоумъ*, MStU *ро́зум; ѿро́гныхъ* цвѣтовъ 'from different flowers' (H2, 8)—cf. OCS *разъно*, MStU *рі̂зний* (< *роз[ъ]ный*); *вроспа(д)лына(х)* скалѝ 'in the clefts of the rock' (H2, 9) — cf. OCS *распалина*, MStU *розпа́дина* / dial. *розпа́лина*; *пре(з)розмышле́ніе* уставѝчное 'through ceaseless meditation' (H2, 9)—cf. OCS *размышление*, MStU *ро́змисел*.

10. The dispalatalization of the original *r'*. It is evidenced by several spellings with *o* instead of *e*, *y* instead of *ю*, and *ъ* instead of *ь* after *p*, e.g. *Панамаро(м)* 'sexton' instr sg (H1, 3)—cf. OU *пономарь*; *усмо́труючи* 'perceive' ger, *усмо́трую(т)* 3 pl pres (H2, 6, 7) / *присмо́труючисѧ* 'look attentively' ger (H2, 7)—cf. R *смотреть, смотрю* 'look (at)'; *цр҃ъ* 'king' (H1, 461, 491; H2, 89) / *цару* dat sg (H2, 128) / *царующи(м)* 'ruling' dat pl (H1, 492)—cf. R *царь*, MStU *цар*, but *царя, царювати*; *буру* 'storm' acc sg (H2, 606)—cf. MStU *буря*; etc. As seen from the comparisons, in MStU *r'* is not dispalatalized in the prevocalic position.

11. The use of [or] / [ol] / [er] sequences instead of the original *ъr* / *ъl* / *ьr* between consonants — a feature shared with R and Br, e.g. *торжествýе(м)* 'celebrate' 1 pl imp (H1, 2) — cf. OCS *трьжьство*, MStU *торжество; го́рло* 'throat' (H1, 4) / *горта́ны* 'larynx' dat sg (H2, 8) — cf. OCS *гр҃ьтань*, MStU *го́рло* / *горта́нь*; *бо(л)га(р)ского* 'Bulgarian' gen sg masc (H1, 101; H2, 11; H3, 103) / *болга́рское* nom sg neut (H2, 11) — cf. ChS1 *бльгаринь*, MStU *болга́рин*; *сто́лпъ* 'pillar' (H2, 10) — cf. OCS *стльпь*, MStU *стовп*; *Черво́номь* 'red' loc sg neut (H1, 2) — cf. OCS *чрьвень*,

[10] Cf. S.P. Samijlenko, "Do xarakterystyky poltavs'ko-kyjivs'koho dialektu za pam"jatkamy XVII st.," *Poltavs'ko-kyjivs'kyj dialekt—osnova ukrajins'koji nacional'noji movy* (Kiev: AN URSR, 1954), pp. 34-35; Je.M. Markovs'kyj, "Do xarakterystyky movy ukrajins'kyx intermedij XVII-XVIII stolit'," *Pytannja istoryčnoho rozvytku ukrajins'koji movy* (Kharkiv: XDU, 1962), p. 108.

MStU *червóний*; *вцерквѝ* 'in church' (H2, 11) — cf. OCS *црькы*, MStU *цéрква*; etc.

12. The reflexes [č] < *tj*, [ž] / [d] < *dj*. They are attested by several spellings with *ч* and *ж*/*д* resp., e.g. *тысѧчу* 'thousand' acc sg (H1, 2) — cf. OCS *тысѧшти*, MStU *тúсяча; вьрóчалисѧ* 'return' pl pret (H1, 2) — cf. ChSl *вращатисѧ*, MStU *ворóчатися* 'turn'; *пахнучи(й)* 'smelling (good)' acc sg (H2, 8); *плынучею* 'running' instr sg fem (H2, 9) — cf. OCS *плинѧштеѩ*; *надимáючих* 'blowing' gen pl (H2, 11)—cf. OCS *надыманѧштиихъ; гудýчих* 'playing (psaltery)' gen pl (H2, 13); *межи* 'among' (H2, 5) — cf. OCS *междоу*, MStU *між, межú*; *прирожóны(м)* 'innate' instr sg masc / *прирожóнаѧ* nom sg fem (H2, 5, 6) / *родествѣ* 'birth' loc sg (H2, 645)—cf. OCS *родити* 'gave birth (to)', *рождѧ* 1 sg pres, MStU *родúти, роджý*; *побужае(т)* 'induce' 3 sg pres (H2, 6) — cf. OCS *боудити* 'wake', *боуждѧ* 1 sg pres, MStU *будúти, буджý*; *оутве(р)женїе* 'affirmation' acc sg (H2, 23, 632) / *оутве(р)денїе* voc sg (H2, 62)—cf. OCS *оутврьждение*, MStU *утвéрдження*; etc. The two spellings with *д*, the only of the kind found in SB1, are rather peculiar since the Ukrainian spelling required *ж* as the reflex of *dj*. If these are not erronous spellings, the *д* in the words of this type could have resulted from an earlier *ж*/*дж* (< *dj*) by analogy to other forms with *д* (cf. MStU *студéний* 'cold' / dial. *студю́* 'cool' 1 sg pres < *стýджений* past part pass / *студжý* resp. by analogy to *студúти* 'cool', *стýдиш* 2 sg pres, etc., *(з')їдений* 'eaten' < *(з')їджений* by analogy to *їдя́ть* 'they eat', *їдá* 'meal, eating', *їдéць* 'eater' etc.; Bg *родѐн* 'born' < *рождѐн* by analogy to *родѝш* 'give birth (to)' 2 sg pres, *родѝт* 3 sg pres, etc.).[11]

13. The changes in consonant clusters. These are confined to simplification, unvoicing and voicing, and assimilation in the articulation place.

Instances of the simplification of consonant groups are observed in a few isolated spellings with *зн, рц, рш* instead of *здн, рдц, рвш* resp., as in other Slavic languages: *пра(з)нующихъ* 'celebrating' gen pl (H2, 13) / *оупра(з)нила еси* 'abolish' 2 sg perf (H2, 133)—cf. OCS *праздьновати*

[11] On the reflexes [d'] < *dj*, [t'] < *tj* in U and Bg, see P.O. Buzuk, *Narys istoriji ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1927), pp. 28-29; Je.K. Tymčenko, *Kurs istoriji ukrajins'koho jazyka* (Kiev, 1927), p. 147; St. Stojanov, *Gramatika na bəlgarskija knižoven ezik* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1964), p. 103; S. Mladenov, *Istorija na bəlgarskija ezik* (Sofia: BAN, 1979), p. 156.

'celebrate' / *праздьнь* 'empty'; *се(р)це* 'heart' (H2, 586, 644, 648) / *се(р)ца* acc pl (H2, 626) — cf. OCS *срьдьцє; найпéрше* 'in the first place, first of all' (H1, 1)—cf. OCS *пръвыи,* MStU *пéрший* / dial. *пéрвий,* P *pierwszy.*

Unvoicing and voicing are reflected in *пчéла* 'bee' (H2, 8) and *збыра́ючи* 'gather' ger (H2, 8) resp. — cf. OCS *бьчела* / *бьчела, събирати.* It is interesting to note that the prefix/preposition *з/з* (< *съ*) also occurs before sonants and sometimes before vowels and voiceless consonants, e.g. *зви́тую* 'rolled up' acc sg fem (H1, 3) — cf. OCS *съвити; з музи́кою* 'with music' (H1, 4); *з нéба* 'from the sky' / *з вѣ́рою* 'with faith' (H2, 6); *з ны́мь* 'with him' / *змигнеть* 'wink, blink' 3 sg (H2, 7) — cf. OCS *съмѣжити* 'close (the eyes)'; *зовсѣ́(м)* / *зо(е)сѣ́ми* 'with all (his)' (H1, 2; H2, 9); *зостаючи́* 'remain' ger (H2, 5); *з па(л)мами и (з) корóнами* 'with palms and crowns' (H2, 10); etc. In three spellings, the preposition *з* (< *съ*) appears as *из* / *из,* and in one spelling as *и[с]* (i.e. with [z] fully assimilated to the following [s]): *из спѣва́нѧ(м)* / *из спѣва́нѧ(м)* (twice) 'with singing' (H1, 1) / *испѣванѧ(м)* (H2, 6). The word-initial *и* in these examples apparently functioned as a cluster-breaker, cf. MStU *із/зі співами, із/зі стра́хом* 'with fear', *із/зі схóдом сóнця* 'with sunrise', etc.

Assimilation in the articulation place is evident in *ща́стѧ* 'happiness' acc sg (H2, 7) — cf. ChSl *съчѧстьнь* 'participating', R *сча́стье,* MStU *ща́стя* (< **sъčęstьje*).

14. The dispalatalization of word-final labials in substantives—a feature shared with Bg and other Slavic languages. This is evidenced by spellings with post-liabial *ь* and *ы* instead of the original *ь*: *голубь* 'dove' (H2, 7, 8) — cf. OCS *голѫбь,* MStU *гóлуб*; *црькôвь* 'church' nom sg / *црьквь* acc sg (H2, 11, 620) — cf. OCS *цръкы* / acc sg *цръкъвь,* MStU *цéрква* / *цéркву*; *кровь* 'blood' acc sg (H2, 9)— cf. OCS *кръвь,* MStU *кров; любовью* 'love' instr sg (H2, 651)— cf. OCS *любы* / *любъвьѭ,* MStU *любóв* / *любóв'ю.*

15. The pleophonic forms—a feature shared with Br and R, e.g. *перевыш(ш)áе(т)* / *перевыша́е(т)* 'surpass' 3 sg pres (H1, 1; H2, 6), *вѣрóчалисѧ* 'return, come back' 3 pl pret / *гóлосо(м)* 'voice' instr sg (H1, 2), *переходи́ти* 'pass, exceed' (H1, 3), *дорогоцѣ́нных* 'precious' gen pl (H2, 10).

MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

Among distinctive morphological features found in SBI which are characteristic of U, the most important are:

1. The masculine noun ending *-у* (*-ю*) in the genitive singular, e.g. *триу́мфу* 'triumph' (H1, 2), *сну* 'sleep' (H1, 3), *ча́су* 'time' (H2, 7), *да́ру* 'gift' (H2, 11), *тала(н)ту* 'talent' (H2, 12), *поко́ю* 'peace, rest' (H2, 12), *ро́ку* 'year' (H2, 15; H3, 16).

2. The ending *-ѧм* in the instrumental singular of the neuter nouns in *-я*: *спѣва́нѧ(м)* 'singing' (H1, 2, 1; H2, 6).

3. The adjectival ending *-ого* in the genitive singular masculine, e.g. *старо́го* 'old' (H1, 1), *ново́го* 'new' (H1, 1), *не́(в)ного* 'definite, certain' (H2, 5), *бо(л)га(р)ского* 'Bulgarian' (H2, 11), *вели́кого* 'great' gen sg in acc function (H1, 2), *правди́вого* 'true' gen sg in acc function (H2, 5), *проклѧто́го* 'cursed, damned' gen sg in acc function (H2, 9), *златого* ꙗзыко(м) 'golden-tongued' gen sg in acc function (H2, 189).

4. The ending *-оӣ* in the genitive singular of feminine adjectives, e.g. *цр҃ко́вной и дх҃о́вной* 'church and spiritual' (H1, 1; H2, 6), *пр҃то̄й* 'most holy' (H1, 3), *ѡти́шної* 'peaceful' (H2, 9), *мо́цної* 'strong, firm' (H2, 9), *вѣ́чної* 'eternal' (H2, 10, 12), *а҃гл҃ьскої* 'angelic' (H2, 12), *н҃бної* 'heavenly' (H2, 12).[12]

5. The adjectival ending *-ї̄и* in the accusative plural feminine, e.g. *сегосвѣ́(т)нїи* потѣхи *доча́снїи* 'temporal pleasures of this world' (H2, 7).

6. The use of the following pronominal forms: *ты(х)* 'that' acc pl (H1, 1) / *[на]то́й* '(at) that' acc sg masc (H1, 2) / *ты(м)* instr sg (H2, 6) / *тымъ* dat pl (H2, 7), *своéю* 'his, their, its' instr sg fem (H1, 1; H2, 7, 12), *ко(ж)даѧ* 'every' (H1,1) / *[на]ко́ждо(м)* '(at) every' loc sg neut (H1, 4), *жа(д)ної* 'no, not any' gen sg fem (H1, 3), *чого̀* 'what' gen sg (H1, 4), *котро́го* 'which' gen sg neut (H2, 5) / *котры́(м)* instr sg neut (H2, 6) / *котро́е* nom sg neut (H2, 6) / *[до]котрої* gen sg fem (H2, 6) / *котрыи̇* nom pl (H2, 7), *и̇нши(х)* 'other' acc pl (H1, 3) / *и̇нши(м)* dat

[12] Judging by the symbols *u* and *ŭ* which are regularly used in SBI to indicate the sounds [i] and [j] resp., one may assume that the letters *ū* (with the supralinear dot and the horizontal line over it) and *ŭ* (with the supralinear spiritus lenis and acute accent mark) in these spellings stand for the jotated *i* vowel, as *ī* [ji] in MStU.

pl (H1, 3) / *ѝншими* instr pl (H2, 5) / *инши(х)* gen pl (H2, 9), *собѣ* 'themselves, himself' dat (H2, 5, 7), *самоѝ* 'itself' gen sg fem (H2, 6), *що* 'which' (H2, 7) / *[на]щд* '(at) something' acc sg (H2, 7), *нѣчого ѝншого* 'nothing else' gen sg (H2, 7, 9), *ѧки(м)* 'which' instr sg masc (H2, 11), *[в]сїѝ* '(in) these' acc pl (H2, 12), a.o.

7. *-мо* as the ending of the 1st person plural present/future tense and imperative: *мо́жемо* 'we can', *бу́демо хвали́ти* 'we shall praise', *ско(н)чимо̀* 'we shall end' (H1, 4); *приносимо* 'we offer', *пѣва́емо* 'we sing' (H2, 10, 11); *спѣва́ймо* 'let us sing' (H1,3,1, 2; H2, 9); *выхвалѧ́ймо* 'let us praise' (H1, 2)—cf. MStU *мо́жемо, бу́демо, скі̂нчимо, прино́симо, співа́ємо, співа́ймо, вихваля́ймо.*

8. The present gerund forms in *-чи*: *наоуча́ючи* 'teaching' (H1, 1), *хва́лѧчѝ* 'praising' (H1, 1, 2; H2, 5), *мовѧчѝ* 'saying' (H1, 3; H2, 6), *будучѝ* 'being' (H1, 3; H2, 5), *наслѣду́ючи* 'following, imitating' (H1, 4), *похвалѧ́ючи* 'praising' (H1,4), *спѣва́ючи* 'singing' (H1, 4), *zостаючѝ* 'remaining' (H2, 5), *усмо́труючи* 'perceiving, seeing' (H2, 6), *присмотруючисѧ* 'looking closely (attentively) at' (H2,7), *не припуща́ючи* 'not admitting, not allowing' (H2, 7, 9), *zбыра́ючи* 'gathering' (H2, 8), *вспомина́ючи* 'remembering, thinking of', *уступу́ючи* 'entering' (H2, 9), *ѿпочива́ючи* 'resting' (H2, 9), *побѣ(ж)да́ючи* 'conquering' (H2, 9).

9. The past gerund forms in *-вши*: *ѿпусти́(в)ши* 'having left', *просїа́вши* 'having shone' (H2, 7); *ѿрима(в)ши* 'having received', (H2, 10).

10. Verbs with the postfix *-сѧ*, e.g. *вѣрочалисѧ* 'return' 3 pl pret (H1, 2), *показа́лисѧ* 'appear' 3 sg pret fem (H1, 3), *уда́лисѧ* 'go, follow' 3 pl pret (H2, 7), *тѣшитисѧ* 'rejoice' (H2, 7), *весели́тсѧ* 'rejoice' (H2, 10), etc.

11. The past-tense verbs in *-лъ*, e.g. Сла́вны(й) Іѡва, кото́рый *оучинилъ* музы́ку інструме(н)талную... 'Famous Job, who arranged the instrumental music...' / Іѡа́нъ Дама́скинъ ... *вы́мысли(л)* но́ту доспѣва́нѧ 'John Damascenus ... invented the note(s) for singing' / *Написа́лъ* Прр̃къ Дв̃дъ ... 'Prophet David wrote ...' / *Вы́полни(л)* тое Прр̃чество Ст̃ый Іѡа́нъ Дама́ски(н) 'St. John Damascenus fulfilled that prophecy ...' (H1, 1), Гды́ *вѣро́чалисѧ* до домо́въ свои(х), нато́й ча(с) змѣстъ Іил̃ски(х) *выходили* лю́де, пан(н)ы и невѣсты наспоты-ка́нѧ Сау́ла и Дв̃да, *иволи́ли* вели́ки(м) го́лосо(м) ... 'When [they]

were returning to their homes, at that time the people, girls and women, were coming out of the cities of Israel, hailing in a loud voice, to meet Saul and David' (H1, 2), Теды́ *покаzáласѧ* ему спѧ́чому вѣснѣ Пр҃: Дв҃а Бц҃а 'Then the most Holy Lady, the Virgin Mary appeared in his dream when he was sleeping' (H1, 3), etc.

12. The preservation of the infinitive suffix *-ти,* e.g. *хвалити* 'praise' (H1, 1, 4), *спѣвáти* 'sing' / *иґѣ́сти* 'eat' / *нвреходи́ти* 'surpass' (H1, 3), *мóвити* 'say' / *написáти* 'write' (H1, 4), *видѣ́ти* 'see' / *zнáти* 'know' / *по(з)нáти* (H2, 5, 6), *ѡглѧдáти* 'look at, examine' / *ѿдавáти* 'give' (H2, 6), *выхвалѧ́ти* 'praise' (H2, 7), *пѣ́ти* 'sing' (H2, 11, 13).

13. The use of the particle *нехай* 'let' in the analytic form of the third person imperative: *неха(й)* прóсѧ(т) Пр҃чтои Дв҃ы 'let them ask the Virgin Mary' (H1, 1).

SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Among distinctive syntactic features attested in SB1 which are characteristic of U, it is necessary to note:

1. The use of the preposition *до* with the genitive in the following functions: a) to denote the direction of a movement, e.g. бо ґды *вѣрóчалисѧ до домóвъ* свои(х) 'for as they were returning to their homes' (H1, 2), *ѡ́зме(т)* на(с) Хс҃ *до нб҃а* '[Jesus] Christ will take us to Heaven' (H1, 4); b) to express the meaning of approximation which does not exceed the named quantity, e.g. тр(о)паре(й) и кондако(в) *до тысѧщи* 'about one thousand troparions and kondakions' (H1, 3); c) to convey the meaning of purpose, e.g. Іѡáнъ Дамáскинъ ... вы́мысли(л) *нóту до спѣвáнѧ* 'John Damascenus ... invented the note(s) for singing' (H1, 1; H2, 6); d) to show the indirect object toward which an action or an attribute is directed, e.g. ... 'Прр҃къ Іѡ́на ... *спѣвáлъ до Бг҃а* мовѧчй ...' '... Prophet Jonah ... sang to God saying', и Ст҃ы(й) Рóма(н) Пѣвецъ ...*бы(л) набóжны(й) до Пр҃ой Дв҃ы* 'and St. Roman the Singer ... was devout to the most Holy Lady' (H1, 3), Пáве(л) С҃ в *послáнїй* свое(м) *до ри(м)лѧ́нъ* 'St. Paul in his letter to the Romans' (H2, 5); e) to render a temporal meaning, e.g. тылко ту *до чáсу,* а поти(м) навѣ́кы 'here only for the time being, and then forever' (H2, 7).

2. The use of such conjuctions and conjunctive words as *бо* 'because', *але* 'but', *абы* 'in order that', ꙗкъ 'how', ѧ*ким* 'what, which', *котрóго*

'which', e.g. и Сѿый Прп҃бный ѿцъ нш҃ъ Іѡа́нъ Дама́скинъ всѣх ты(х) а҆второ(в) сла́вою своею перевыш(ш)ае(т), *бо ѡнъ* е(ст) авторъ музы́ки цр҃ко́вной и дх҃о́вной 'and our Reverend Father John Damascenus surpasses all those authors with his fame, because he is the author of sacred and spiritual music' (H1, 1)—in this complex sentence, the conjuction *бо* is used to introduce the adverbial clause of cause; на то́е ѿповѣ́даю: же и Сѿы(й) Ро́ма(н) Пѣвецъ ... невмѣ́лъ жа(д)ной но́ты и пѣ́сни спѣва́ти, *а҆́ле* бы(л) набо́жны(й) до Пр҃той Дв҃ы 'to that I answer that St. Roman the Singer also did not know how to sing any note and song, but he was devout to the most Holy Lady' (H1, 3)—in this sentence, the conjunction *але* joins two coordinate predicates; Гдь и Бг҃ъ нашъ ... сътвори(л) свѣ́тъ выдо́мы(й) на то́ ... *а҆́бы* чл҃вѣк ... Бг҃а хвали́лъ 'Our Lord and God ... created the visible world so that man would glorify God' (H2, 5)—in this complex sentence, the conjunction *абы* is used to introduce the adverbial clause of purpose; Сѿый Іѡа́нъ Дама́ски(н) .. написа́лъ но́ту на пѧте(х) лѣнѣѧхъ и пѧте(х) спа́ціахъ и постанови(л) на о҆́ны(х) ꙗ҆́кѣ на десѧте(х) струна(х) хвали́ти Бг҃а 'St. John Damascenus ... wrote the note(s) on five lines and five spaces and arranged on those how to glorify God on ten strings' (H1, 1)—in this complex sentence, the conjunctive word ꙗ҆́кѣ introduces the subordinate object clause; невѣ́ми что и ѧ҆ки(м) гла́сомъ и ꙗзыко(м) пою(т) 'we do not know what and in what voice and tongue they sing' (H2, 11)—in this example, the conjunctive word ѧ҆ким introduces the subordinate object clause; абы́ чл҃вѣк, сотво́рен(н)ый на выѡбраже́ніе и подобе́нство е҆́го, Бг҃а хвали́лъ, а хва́лѧчи е҆го́, заслуговалъ себѣ́ бл҃гословéнство вѣ́чное, до *котро́го* ꙗ҆́ко до конца̀ своéго пé(в)ного е(ст) створен(н)ы(й) 'so that man created in the image and likeness of His would glorify God, and glorifying him would earn himself eternal blessedness, for which, just as for his definite end, he was created' (H2, 5)—in this complex sentence, the conjunctive word *котро́го* is used to introduce the subordinate attributive clause.

3. The use of the *л*-participles without the copula in the function of the past tense (for examples, see item 11 under "Morphological features"). It should be noted here that these seem to be the only past-tense forms used in the vernacular language of the two forewords. However, whenever there is a reference to the Holy Scriptures (i.e. psalmist,

prophet, apostle, etc), ChS1 is used and the past tense is, as a rule, rendered by the aorist, and sporadically, by the imperfect, e.g. Такъ *чини(л)* Пр҃ркъ Іѡна: ґды̀ *бы́лъ* вкйненій в мо́ре и пожéрты(й) ѿ веліоры́ба, в то(м) теды̀ фрасу(н)ку *спѣва́лъ* до Бг҃а мовѧчи: Възопи(х) во печа́ли моéй къ Гд҃у Бг҃у моéму 'So did the prophet Jonah, when he was cast into the sea and was devoured by a whale, then in that sorrow he sang to God saying: I appealed in my sorrow to my Lord God' (H1, 3)—in this example, the vernacular *спѣва́лъ* corresponds to the ChS1 *възопи(х)* (aorist); Тóе(ж) *чини́ли* и три ѿро́ки, Сидра(х), Міса(х) и Ав(д)енаґо. Ґды̀ *былй* въ Вавѵлѡ́нѣ вверже́ни в пе́щъ огни́стую, на то(й) ч҃а *спѣва́ли* хвалѩчй Бг҃а: та(к) мо́ви(т) Пр҃ркъ Данїйлъ: Тогда̀ сїй трїе ѩ҆ко единѣ́ми оустѣ̀ *поѧ́ху* и *славѧ́ху* Бг҃а 'And the three youths, Shadrach, Meshah, and Abed-nego, when they were cast into a burning fiery furnace in Babylon, at that time they sang glorifying God, so says the prophet Daniel: Then these three youths as though with one mouth were singing and glorifying God' (H1, 3)—in this example, the vernacular *спѣва́ли хвалѩчи* corresponds to the ChS1 *поѧ́ху* и *славѧ́ху* (imperfect forms).

4. The use of the particle *нехай* in combination with the third person indicative in the function of the third person imperative (for an illustration, see item 13 under "Morphological features").

LEXICAL FEATURES

Although the text, on which our observations regarding lexicon are based, is limited to the two forewords, it still abundantly reflects vocabulary, which is characteristic of U, e.g. (for purposes of comparison, each illustration is provided with parallel forms in the present-day four standard(ized) languages: U, Bg, R, and P):

a) Words recorded in citation forms:

		U	Bg	R	P
найпéрше	'first of all' (H1, 1)	*найпéрше*	*най-първо*	*прéжде всегó*	*najpierw*
те(ж)	'also, too' (H1, 1, 2)	*теж*	*също*	*тóже*	*też*

бо	'because' (H1, 1, 2, 3, a.o.)	*бо*	*понѐже, защдто*	*и́бо*	*bo*
ꙗкъ	'how; as, like' (H1, 1; H2, 7)	*як*	*как, катò*	*как*	*jak*
хвали́ти	'glorify, praise' (H1, 1)	*хвали́ти*	*хвàля*	*хвали́ть*	*chwalić*
той	'that' (H1, 2)	*той*	*тòзи, той*	*тот*	*ten*
ѧ	'I' (H1, 3)	*я*	*аз*	*я*	*ja*
спѣва́ти	'sing' (H1, 3)	*співа́ти*	*пѐя*	*петь*	*śpiewać*
неха(й)	'let' (H1, 3)	*неха́й*	*нѐка*	*пусть*	*niech*
мо́вити	'say' (H1, 4)	*мо́вити*	*говòря*	*говори́ть*	*mówić*
написа́ти	'write' (H1, 4)	*написа́ти*	*напѝша*	*написа́ть*	*napisać*
голубь	'pigeon' (H2, 7)	*го́луб*	*гѝльб*	*го́лубь*	*gołąb*
го́рло	'throat' (H1, 4)	*го́рло*	*гѝрло*	*го́рло*	*gardło*
зна́ти	'know' (H2, 5)	*зна́ти*	*знàя*	*знать*	*znać*
ѡглѧда́ти	'look at, see, view' (H2, 6)	*огляда́ти*	*оглѐждам*	*огля́дывать*	*oglądać*
выхвалѧ́ти	'glorify, praise' (H2, 7)	*вихваля́ти*	*вѣзхваля́вам*	*восхваля́ть*	*wychwalać*
ща́стѧ	'happiness' (H2, 7)	*ща́стя*	*щàстие*	*сча́стье*	*szczęście*
а́бы	'in order that, to' (H2, 7)	*аби́*	*за да*	*что́бы*	*aby*
що	'what; that' (H2, 7)	*що*	*що*	*что*	*co*
пи(л)но	'alertly, intently, attentively' (H2, 7)	*пи́льно*	*втрѐнчено*	*при́стально*	*pilno*
зда́лека	'from afar' (H2, 7)	*зда́лека*	*издалѐко, издалѐч*	*и́здали, издалека́*	*z daleka*

b) Words recorded in non-citation forms:

старо́го	'old' gen sg masc (H1, 1)	*стари́й, старо́го*	*стар*	*ста́рый ста́рого*	*stary, starego*
ново́го	'new' gen sg masc (H1, 1)	*нови́й, ново́го*	*нов*	*но́вый, но́вого*	*nowy nowego*
ꙗку́ю	'some, any' acc sg fem (H1, 1)	*яка́, яку́*	*каквà, коя́*	*кака́я, каку́ю*	*jaka, jaką*
вдѧ́чную	'thankful' acc sg fem (H1, 1)	*вдя́чна, вдя́чну*	*благодàрна*	*благода́рная, благода́рную*	*wdzięczna wdzięczną*
черво́номь	'red' loc sg neut (H1, 2)	*черво́не, черво́ному, черво́нім*	*червѐно*	*черво́нное черво́нном*	*czerwone czerwonym*
мѣ́ст	'city' gen pl (H2, 2)	*мі̂сто, міст*	*мя̀сто* 'place'	*ме́сто* 'place' *мест*	*miasto, miast*

го́лосо(м)	'voice' inst sg (H2, 2)	*го́лос, го́лосом*	*глас*	*го́лос, го́лосом*	*głos, głosem*
ма́ю	'have' 1 sg pres (H2, 3)	*ма́ти, ма́ю*	*ѝмам*	*имѣ́ть, имѣ́ю*	*mieć, mam*
жа(д)ної̄	'not any, no' gen sg fem (H1, 3)	*жа́дна, жа́дної*	*никаквà*	*никака́я, никако́й*	*żadna, żadnej*
ѡздо́бу	'ornament' gen sg (H1, 4)	*оздо́ба, оздо́бу*	*украшѐ-ние*	*украше́ние украше́ния*	*ozdoba, ozdobę*
котро́го	'which' gen sg neut (H2, 5)	*котре́, котро́го*	*коѐ, кòѐто*	*кото́рое, кото́рого*	*które, którego*
пе(в)ного	'definite' gen sg masc (H2, 5)	*пе́вний, пе́вного*	*опреде-лѐн*	*определён-ный, опре-лённого*	*pewny, pewnego*
ро́зумо(м)	'mind' instr sg (H2, 5)	*ро́зум, ро́зумом*	*рàзум*	*ра́зум, ра́зумом*	*rozum, rozumem*
о́чи	'eye' nom pl (H2,7)	*о́ко, о́чі*	*окò, очѝ*	*гла́з, глаза́* arch *о́ко, о́чи*	*oko, oczy*
нѣ́чого ї̈ншого	'nothing else' gen sg neut (H2, 7, 9)	*ніщо́ інше, ні́чого ї̈н-шого*	*нѝщо дрѹ̀го*	*ничто́ ино́е ничего́ ино́го*	*nic innego nic innego*
проклѧто́го	'cursed, damned' gen sg masc in acc function (HH2, 9)	*проклѧ́тий, проклѧ́того*	*проклѐт*	*проклѧ́тый проклѧ́того*	*przeklęty przeklętego*
приносимо	'offer' 1 pl pres (H2, 10)	*прино́сити, прино́симо*	*принàсям принàсяме*	*приноси́ть прино́сим*	*przynosić przynosimy*
ро́ку	'year' gen sg (H2, 15; H3, 16)	*рік, ро́ку*	*год*	*год, го́да*	*rok, roku*

It must be added that the analyzed text has a considerable quantity of Polish words.

* * *

The features which we have analyzed allow us to conclude that 1) the phonetic system of the Ukrainian language of the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, as well as the grammatical structure and lexicon as a whole, were substantially the same as what we know of Ukrainian today, and 2) the analyzed text should be considered as an important source for the study of the history of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian Church Slavonic.

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Zum sprachlichen Erbe des 17. Jahrhunderts aus der Ukraine im Russischen

GERTA HÜTTL-FOLTER

Vor mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten prägte G.Y. Shevelov treffend den Ausdruck "dritter kirchenslavischer Einfluß" für die späte ukrainische Redaktion des Kirchenslavischen, die durch die ukrainische und weißrussische Geistlichkeit im 17. Jh. nach Rußland übertragen wurde (Shevelov 1960:78ff.). Die Hauptursache für eine Renaissance des Kirchenslavischen in der Ukraine zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts sieht dieser in der Zersetzung der auf der Umgangssprache basierenden Literatursprache, *prostaja mova* (Shevelov 1956:75). Die späte ksl. Redaktion wurde in der Grammatik von Meletij Smotryc'kyj (1619) und in Pamva Beryndas Wörterbuch (1627) kodifiziert und war—mit einigen Abänderungen—auch in Moskau richtunggebend.

Der dritte kirchenslavische Einfluß wurde wohl von einigen Gelehrten in großen Zügen beschrieben, so z.B. von N.S. Trubetzkoy (1927:24f.) und N.I. Tolstoj (1962:258-265), doch bleibt nach wie vor G.Y. Shevelovs Feststellung gültig: "Wie auch im Falle des zweiten südslavischen Einflusses sind wir nicht in der Lage, zu sagen, welche Elemente des Wortschatzes gerade während dieses dritten kirchenslavischen Einflusses von der russischen Sprache aufgenommen wurden. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, wären Spezialuntersuchungen erforderlich und müßte es vor allen Dingen ein historisches Wörterbuch der russischen Sprache geben, das das Material des 16. und 17. Jh.s umfassen würde" (Shevelov 1960:78f.).

Seit 1975 erscheint allerdings ein historisches russisches Wörterbuch, Словарь русского языка XI-XVII вв. (=SRJa, bisher 9 Bände, A - M), doch bietet dieses keine Hilfe für die Abgrenzung des russischen, ukrain-

ischen, weißrussischen und kirchenslavischen Wortschatzes der verschiedenen regionalen Redaktionen. Als Quellen werden nämlich außer russischen auch Texte aller genannten Sprachen und Varietäten herangezogen, wie die Erstausgabe von Smotryc'kyjs Grammatik—und nicht etwa der in Moskau redigierte Nachdruck von 1648—oder verschiedene in der Ukraine verfaßte Lexika. Weiters ist unklar, nach welchen Prinzipien solche Denkmäler exzerpiert wurden. Ihr Wortschatz ist nämlich in SRJa ganz sporadisch registriert. An anderer Stelle zeigten wir kürzlich in Einzelheiten, welche Wörter aus dem Ukrainisch-Kirchenslavischen und/oder der *prostaja mova* dem SRJa einverleibt wurden (Hüttl-Folter 1983), daher folgt hier nur ein kurzer Überblick. Es handelt sich nicht nur um Kirchenslavismen, sondern besonders um Polonismen, Latinismen und andere Fremdwörter, die in der Ukraine und in Weißrußland früher als in Rußland verbreitet waren. Beryndas Lexikon (1627) bildet z.B. im SRJa die älteste Quelle für lediglich rund 20 Stichwörter, für ebenso viele das Лексікон словенолатинскїи (= LSL, Ausg. Nimčuk 1973) von Slavynec'kyj und Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj. Für 42 Stichwörter im SRJa stammen die einzigen Belege aus den Werken Simeon Polockijs. Es fiel uns nicht schwer, mit Hilfe von Wörterbüchern zusätzlich lexikalische Parallelen im Ukrainisch-Kirchenslavischen und in der neueren russischen Literatursprache festzustellen. So ergab ein Vergleich von LSL mit dem Словарь Академии Российской (= SAR, 2. Ausg., 1806-1822) für die Buchstaben A - L, daß über 50 Wörter in beiden Werken mit gleicher Form und Bedeutung registriert sind, die in Sreznevskijs Wörterbuch und im SRJa fehlen. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß diese in der Ukraine gebräuchlich waren und in die neuere russ. Literatursprache übernommen wurden.

Das Gesagte zeigt, daß uns das neue historische Wörterbuch des Russischen der Lösung des Problems einer Abgrenzung des sprachlichen Erbes nicht näher bringt. Dies ist jedoch m.E. für die historische Erforschung des Wortschatzes der neueren russischen Literatursprache unbedingt erforderlich, denn man läuft sonst Gefahr, übernommenes Wortgut als Neologismen der letzteren Sprache anzusehen. Wie vordringlich dieses Problem tatsächlich ist, bewies kürzlich wieder H. Keipert für Adjektive mit dem Suffix -тельный. Viele solcher Bildungen, die in der Fachliteratur als russische Neuschöpfungen des 18. Jh. angesehen

werden, konnte er aufgrund selbst gesammelten Materials besonders in der Übersetzungsliteratur vorangehender Perioden nachweisen (Keipert 1977: 191ff.).

Bei diesem völlig unbefriedigenden Stand der Erforschung des sprachlichen Erbes bleibt derzeit nur der andere, von G.Y. Shevelov postulierte Weg übrig, nämlich durch eine Spezialuntersuchung ein wenig zur Aufhellung dieses Problems beizutragen.

Im folgenden versuchen wir zu zeigen, wie ein besonders populäres Denkmal aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jh. zur Verbreitung solchen Wortgutes beitrug, das in der Ukraine heimisch war und in den Wörterbüchern von Zyzanij, Berynda und/oder Slavynec'kyj in der Regel vermerkt ist.

Ioanikij Galjatovs'kyjs Predigtsammlung "Ključ Razuměnija" (1. Ausgabe Kiev 1659, zu den weiteren vgl. Bida 1975: S. XLIII-LI, Voznjak 1975:333f.) erfreute sich mit Recht größter Beliebtheit bei Ukrainern und Russen, zählte dieser Schriftsteller doch zu den bedeutendsten und fruchtbarsten Vertretern der ukrainischen Gelehrsamkeit des 17. Jh. Auf die Bedeutung dieses Werkes für die Entwicklung der Literatur auf russischem Boden wurde wiederholt hingewiesen (z.B. Čiževskij 1960: 365), seinen sprachlichen Einfluß hebt V.V. Vinogradov ausdrücklich hervor: "Но особенно сильно было воздействие на русский литературный язык конца XVII в. югозападной риторики (ср. "Ключ разумения" Иоаникия Голятовского). В публицистических, церковно-полемических и художественно-литературных стилях русской книжной речи укрепляются своеобразные формы отвлеченного символизма, аллегорического изложения, изысканных параллелей и сравнений. "Символы и эмблемата", приемы каламбурного сочетания слов придают своеобразный оттенок смысловой игры, риторической изощренности церковно-книжному языку и ломают его семантику, придавая ей "светский" характер (см. "Ключ разумения")." (Vinogradov 1938: 25). Es kann also kein Zweifel bestehen, daß gerade dieses Werk zur Verbreitung von Wortgut beitrug, das in der Ukraine eingebürgert war.

K. Bida verdanken wir eine Faksimile-Edition der Erstausgabe des "Ključ Razuměnija" mit einer eingehenden literarisch-kulturgeschichtlichen Beschreibung dieses rhetorischen Barockwerkes und einen Überblick über die Fachliteratur (Bida 1975:III-CIV, Text 1-512, Indices). Die

Sprache Galjatovs'kyjs berührt K. Bida lediglich in folgenden Zeilen: "Коли такі його сучасники, як Лазар Баранович чи Іннокентій Ґізель вживали мови «церковної» чи «слов'янської», тоді Ґалятовський так, як Антоній Радивиловський, пише майже народною мовою, якою ще до сьогодні говорить простолюддя у північно-західних областях України. Мова ця густо переплітана передусім лексичними польонізмами, як у багатьох наших письменників доби барокка." (*ibid.* LXXX).

W. Witkowski widmete der Sprache Galjatovs'kyjs eine Monographie im Rahmen eines Vergleiches mit anderen zeitgenössischen, in *prostaja mova* abgefaßten Werken (Witkowski 1969:164 S.). Einleitend wird die Sprachsituation der Epoche sowie Auffassungen über diese Sprache in der Fachliteratur erörtert. Die Phonetik, Morphologie und Syntax Galjatovs'kyjs werden ausführlich beschrieben, der Wortschartz wird nicht behandelt. Wie fruchtbar jedoch lexikalische Studien auf diesem Gebiet sein können, zeigte W. Witkowski in seiner Arbeit über die Bezeichnungen der Edelsteine in den ostslavischen Sprachen (Witkowski 1974:7-17). Hier wird nachgewiesen, daß diese fast ausschließlich aus dem Weißrussischen und Ukrainischen des 16.-17. Jh. stammen, soweit nicht direkte Entlehnung aus dem Orient vorliegt. Deshalb fordert der Autor zu einer gründlichen Untersuchung des Einflusses dieser Sprachen auf das Russische auf.

Nach Ansicht von K. Bida und W. Witkowski ist also "Kluč Razuměnija" in der *prostaja mova* abgefaßt. V.V. Vinogradov ordnet dieses Werk offensichtlich dem Ukrainisch-Kirchenslavischen zu, da es unter Paragraph 5 besprochen wird, namens "Украинские стили церковно-литературного языка на московской почве и их воздействие на русскую литературную речь высших слоев общества". Die auseinandergehenden Meinungen erklären sich wohl dadurch, daß Bida sich nicht näher mit der Sprache Galjatovs'kyjs auseinandersetzte und Witkowski dessen Wortschatz aus seiner Untersuchung ausklammerte, während in Vinogradovs "Očerki" Lexikalisches einen besonderen Schwerpunkt bildet.

Was die Lexik des "Ključ Razuměnija" anbelangt, so erscheint mir G.Y. Shevelovs allgemeine Auffassung am zutreffendsten zu sein, wenn auch unser Autor nicht erwähnt wird: Die meisten damaligen Werke

spiegeln die ganze Skala von Nuancen und Übergängen zwischen Meletijs Kirchenslavisch und der *prostaja mova* wider, wie es dem vorherrschenden Barockstil entsprach (Shevelov 1979:568f.). Somit umfaßt der dritte kirchenslavische Einfluß zweifellos auch weitgehend Komponenten der *prostaja mova.*

In einem Sammelband der Studien des ukrainischen Slavisten Vasyl Simovyč, den G.Y. Shevelov kürzlich herausgab, findet sich ein Artikel, der in diesem Zusammenhang von besonderem Interesse ist: "Спроби перекладів св. письма у творах Й. Галятовського." (Simovyč 1981:119-143). Einleitend wird festgestellt: "його проповіді містять у собі силу цитат із біблії, що він їх частенько зараз-таки й передає мовою інтеліґентних українських шарів XVII ст." In der Fußnote wird vermerkt, daß sich das Gesagte besonders auf die in 1. und 2. Ausgabe des "Ključ Razuměnija" bezieht, während in der dritten viele Zitate unübersetzt blieben. Daß dies auch in der Erstausgabe der Fall ist, wenn auch weniger häufig, deutet Simovyč selbst durch "частенько" an. Der Artikel enthält nicht nur eine Gegenüberstellung von Stellen aus der Ostroger und polnischen Bibeln mit Galjatovs'kyjs oft freien volkssprachlichen Wiedergaben, sondern auch einen Überblick über sprachliche und stilistische Eigenheiten dieses Autors mit einer Aufzählung von Substitutionen für Kirchenslavisches, wie владѣти — зостати паном.

Allgemein gesagt, ist die Lexik des "Ključ Razuměnija" sehr bunt: sie umfaßt Kirchenslavismen aller Perioden, solche, die spezifisch für die ukrainische Redaktion des 16.-17. Jh. sind, ukrainische Wörter, Polonismen, weißrussische Elemente und zahlreiche Europäismen. Für unser Thema sind vor allem solche Lexeme interessant, die für die ältere Periode nicht registriert sind (vgl. Sreznevskijs Wörterbuch), wohl aber im Russischen vorkommen und im SRJa fehlen. Es ist anzunehmen, daß solche Wörter bereits vor dem 18. Jh. in das Russische gelangten, und zwar durch die Vermittlung von so verbreiteten Werken wie "Ključ Razuměnija". Dazu kommt, daß häufige Wiederholung derselben Wörter für diese Predigten charakteristisch sind, (vgl. z.B. die Auslegung der einzelnen Sakramente S. 58ff.).

Folgende Wörter, die Galjatovs'kyj in den ersten sechzehn Predigten verwendet, werden in SRJa nicht genannt[1]: аллегоричный 171, Birža.-

[1] Die Orthographie ist aus technischen Gründen modernisiert. Die Zahl nach jedem Wort

kova dass. 1724, mit Verweis auf ukr. Vermittlung, vgl. weiter Hü FW unter аллегория; гоноръ 134, 180, Sobik 1673, Biržakova 1696; ґрунть 123, Vasmer 1645, Polikarpov, SAR: дишкуровати 8, Biržakova 1724; зашкодити 101, Sobik (Akty Zap 1600-05), in den ersten Moskauer Dramen 1673; инстиґовати 194, dass. Smirnov; конверсовати 217, Biržakova über Poln. 1707; кондиция 128, Vasmer zuerst Peter 1703; кшталтъ 83, Vasmer 1694; литералный Smirnov (Kurakin); лямпа 60, Berynda auch лампа, vgl. Hü FW und Vasmer; моралный 171, Hü FW 1721; мѣнута 36, Berynda минута, Weiteres Hü FW.

Der Polonismus досконалный 65 scheint tatsächlich erst im 18. Jh. in das Russische eingedrungen zu sein, obwohl д. seit dem 16. Jh. im Ukrainischen belegt ist; zu den Gründen vgl. Kochman (1975:54), der досконально 1765 nachweist.

Eine ganze Reihe von Wörtern, die Galjatovs'kyj in seinen Predigten verwendet, werden in SRJa angeführt, allerdings mit späteren Datierungen[2] oder lediglich mit Angabe des Jahrhunderts. Das zeigt den starken Einfluß der Lexik aus Werken ukrainischer Provenienz. Es handelt sich hier ähnlich wie bei der vorhergehenden Gruppe ganz vorwiegend um Polonismen und Europäismen: арфа 188, dass. Zyzanij und Berynda, SRJa 1698; банкетовати 122, dass. Berynda, SRJa 1699 (18. Jh.); бериллюсъ 103, SRJa берил 1670 (18. Jh.), vgl. weiter Hü FW und Witkowski 1974:8f.; бестия 30 'Unmensch', SRJa 17. Jh. (18. Jh.), dass. Biržakova um 1700, in anderer Bedeutung Zyzanij und Berynda; вдячность 160, SRJa 1688; дияментъ 10, SRJa диямантъ 1672, Berynda дияментъ, vgl. weitere Varianten Witkowski 1974:10; дорогоцѣнный 99, SRJa 17. Jh.; елементъ 82, Berynda dass., SRJa 17. Jh.; забобоны, SRJa 17. Jh., LSL dass.; загасити 75, SRJa 1679; затвердѣлость 27, 79, 186 'Verhärtung', immer figurativ, dass. SAR, SRJa nur 'род опухоли' 1672; зеґарь 174 (*ibid.* зеґаровый), SRJa зегарь 1676, dass. LSL; инструментъ 14, vgl. ukr. Belege Hü FW, SRJa 1679; карбункулъ 'Edelstein' 100, SRJa 1670 (18. Jh.), каръбукуль 17. Jh.,

gibt die Seite des Vorkommens in der Faksimile-Ausg. an; ihr folgen Verweise auf die Fachliteratur über Belege im Russischen und Ukrainischen, ohne Seitenangaben im Falle von Glossaren; angeführte Daten beziehen sich auf das Auftreten.

[2] Es ist zu beachten, daß z.T. Kopien aus dem 18. Jh. von Originalen des 17. Jh. exzerpiert wurden; in solchen Fällen fügen wir "18. Jh." in Klammern hinzu.

Vasmer nur карбункул 'Geschwür' ohne Datum; кармазиновый 131, dass. Berynda und LSL, SRJa 1668; катъ 167 (катовский *ibid.*), LSL dass., SRJa 17. Jh.; коляска 129, SRJa 1687, к. ist ostslav. Ursprungs, vgl. Kochman 1975:77f.; коштовный 127, 151, SRJa 1688, vgl. ukr. und russ. Belege Hü FW; лихтаръ 60 (лѣхтаръ 30), SRJa das erstere 1668 mit nicht aufgelöster Quelle; лѣнѣя 174, Berynda линѣя, SRJa линия 1681, линея 1688; лявровый 53, 228, SRJa лавровый 1672; музыка 40, SRJa dass. 1678, мусика 1681, doch ist die letztere Form seit dem 14. Jh. belegt, vgl. Sreznevskij; мѵропомазание 61, SRJa 1665. Weiters enthalten die ersten 16 Predigten des "Ključ Razuměnija" noch rund 90 Wörter mit den Anfangsbuchstaben Н-Я, die in Sreznevskijs Wörterbuch nicht belegt sind und im Russischen des 17.-18. Jh. vorkommen, also möglicherweise durch dieses Werk verbreitet wurden. Es ist anzunehmen, daß ein guter Teil von diesen Lexemen in dem im Druck befindlichen folgenden Bänden des historischen Wörterbuches des Russischen verzeichnet sein wird, daher hat es derzeit wenig Sinn diese auch noch aufzuzählen.

Abschließend soll noch erwähnt werden, daß "Kluč Razuměnija" nicht nur eine lexikologische Fundgrube ist, sondern auch für Volksetymologien (S. 45), Sagenhaftes, wie wundertätige Wirkungen der Edelsteine (99-104), die Nomenklatur der klassischen Mythologie (40) und vieles mehr.

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Deverbal Suffixless Masculine Nouns in Modern Ukrainian

WASYL JASZCZUN

1. In Modern Ukrainian, as in other Slavic languages, there are two kinds of noun formation: paradigmatic and derivational,[1] the latter being both syntactic and lexical. The meaning of a syntactic derivative is identical with the meaning of its deriving word; the derived word differs from the deriving one only by belonging to different part of speech, and subsequently, by its different syntactic function in the context. Here belong deverbal nouns denoting action (*čytánnja* 'reading', *likuvánnja* 'medical treatment'); adjectival nouns with the meaning of an abstract feature (*bilyzná* 'whiteness', *čornotá* 'blackness', *vesélist'* 'gaiety, cheerfulness'); and denominal adjectives denoting an abstract, non-concretized relationship to the content of the deriving base (*nebésnyj* 'heavenly', *zemnýj* 'earthly').

Lexical derivatives are those whose lexical meaning differs from the meaning of their base words, e.g., *čytáč* 'reader', *čytáty, lîkar* 'physician' < *likuváty, vynaxídnyk* 'inventor' < *vynaxódyty*.

In both types of derivatives, lexical and syntactic, "the presence of

[1] Opinions differ as to whether derivation belongs to lexicology or morphology. The first view is advocated, e.g., by A.V. Isačenko: "Die Bildung neuer Wörter hat mit der Morphologie, welche die Bildung von Formen ein und desselben Wortes untersucht, nichts zu schaffen," *Die Russische Sprache der Gegenwart*, Teil I: *Formenlehre* (Halle/Saale, 1962), p. 9. However, this view has no firm grounds and cannot be accepted. More convincing is Stankiewicz's view that the "derivation and paradigmatic levels are both synchronically and diachronically in a state of interdependence, and neither level can be fully understood without considering the ways in which it circumscribes and modifies the other." ("The Interdependence of Paradigmatic and Derivational Patterns," *Word*, XVIII (1962), 3.) Also Dean S. Worth regards derivation "as an integral part of the morphological system, whose relation to the flectional system is one not of autonomy but of interdependence." ("The Notion of Stem in Russian Flection and Derivation," *On the Structure and History of Russian*, München: Otto Sagner, 1977, pp. 101-120.)

semantic derivativeness is obligatory and sufficient indication of derivational relationship." This general statement made by some linguists, e.g., by I. I. Kovalyk,[2] is correct with regard to affixal word-building but it does not explain the direction of the derivational process with regard to deverbative masculine nouns with no suffixal morpheme. This is one of questions raised in this article. Other questions include the genetic aspect of the formation of the above nouns and their lexical -semantic relationship to their motivating verbs; morphonemic changes accompanying this formation and irregularities in these changes; and the question of the productivity of the nouns discussed.

So far these questions in regard to Modern Ukrainian have not been given proper attention. Some grammarians do not mention such nouns in their books,[3] at all and some indicate their existence but do not discuss them.[4] O. F. Pinčuk in his chapter "Slovotvirna struktura viddijeslivnyx immenykiv sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy"[5] gives somewhat more information but it too is limited and superficial. Some valuable observations with regard to the semantic difference between this type of noun and deverbal nouns with the suffixes *-nn(ja)*, *-tt(ja)* have been made by Yurij Šerex (= George Y. Shevelov).[6]

1.1 The main source of the material investigated in this paper has been the eleven volume *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy* of the AN URSR.[7] Also consulted were *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* by Z. Kuzelja and J.

[2] An URSR, *Slovotvir sučasnoji ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1979), p. 10.

[3] e.g., O. M. Parxomenko, *Ukrajins'ka mova* (Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1954), pp. 199-218.

[4] M. P. Ivčenko, *Sučasna ukrajins'ka literaturna mova* (Kiev: Vyd. Kyjivs'koho universytetu, 1965), p. 240; O. Synjavs'kyj, *Normy ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*, 3 vyd. (State College: "Zyttja i škola," 1967), p. 115; M. A. Žovtobrjux and B. M. Kulyk, *Kurs sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*, 3 vyd. (Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1965), p. 204; I. K. Bilodid, *Sučasna ukrajins'ka literaturna mova* (Kiev: AN URSR, 1969), pp. 46-47; O. T. Volox, M. T. Čemerysov Je. I. Černov, *Sučasna ukrajins'ka literaturna mova* (Kiev: "Vyšča škola," 1976), p. 145.

[5] AN URSR, *Morfolohična budova sučasnoji ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1975), pp. 45-46.

[6] Yurij Šerex (= George Y. Shevelov), *Narys sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (Munich, NTŠ, 1951), pp. 208-209.

[7] AN URSR, *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy, 11 vols.* (Kiev: AN URSR, 1970-1981).

B. Rudnyc'kyj,[8] *Ukrajins'ko-anhlijs'kyj slovnyk* by M.L. Podvez'ko,[9] *Anhlo-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk* by M.L. Podvez'ko, M.L Balla,[10] *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk* by cV.S. Il'jin and others,[11] *Pravopysnyj slovnyk,* 8 ed., by H. Holoskevyč,[12] *Handwörterbuch zu der altkirchenslavischen Texten* by L. Sadnik,[13] and *Leksyčnyj fond literaturnoji movy kyjivs'koho periodu X—XIVst* by P. Kovaliv.[14]

1.2. *Formal conventions.* In this paper the following notations are used: hyphens separate structural parts (morphemes). Zero morpheme is indicated by #, and addition of a morpheme by +. Morphonemic transcriptions are given in curved brackets { }, phonemic transcriptions in slants / /, alternation is indicated by ~. These notations are used only in the examples illustrating derivational processes; otherwise they are omitted and the transliteration of Cyrillic used by the *Slavic and East European Journal* is supplied. An * before a word denotes a reconstructed word or element. Marks > or < denote direction of the development, namely, the word or form listed beyond the edge of the angle or before it developed from the word or form listed before the wide part of the angle or beyond it. The abbreviations impf, pf, and inf denote "imperfective aspect," "perfective aspect," and "infinitive" respectively. The letters C and V stand for "consonant" and "vowel" respectively. Ukrainian words consisting of two or more syllables are stressed.

2. Suffixless masculine nouns in the Slavic languages originally developed on the basis of the suffixal formation of nouns in the prehistoric period of Slavic by means of the thematic suffix *-ŏ-* which was transformed into the ending *-ъ* after the final morphological suffix *-s* in that period was dropped due to the tendency towards open syllables. Cf.

[8] Zenon Kuzelja and Jaroslaw B. Rudnyc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* (Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1943).

[9] M. L. Podvez'ko, *Ukrajins'ko-anhlijs'kyj slovnyk,* (New York, 1954).

[10] M. L. Podvez'ko and M. I. Balla, *Anhlo-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk* (Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1974).

[11] V. S. Il'jin, K. P. Dorošenko, S. P. Levčenko and others, *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1965).

[12] H. Holoskevyč, *Pravopysnyj slovnyk,* 8 ed. (New York, 1955).

[13] Linda Sadnik and R. Aizetmüller, *Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten* ('s- Gravenhage and Heidelberg, 1955).

[14] P. Kovaliv, *Leksyčnyj fond literaturnoji movy kyjivs'koho periodu X-XIV st.* (New York: NTŠ, 1962).

**voz-ŏ-s* > **voz-ŭ-s* > **voz-ŭ* > **voz-ъ*.[15] On this model many masculine nouns were formed from verbal roots and formed prefixed verbal stems in all Slavic languages. They are found in Old Church Slavonic, e.g. in unprefixed form: *běgъ, blǫdъ, govorъ, kovъ, lovъ, morъ, svarъ, skokъ, sporъ, tvorъ, tokъ* etc., and in prefixed form: *vъsxodъ, istokъ, načъnъ, otъvětъ, ponosъ, sъborъ, užasъ*, and others; in the language of Kievan Rus': *běgъ, bludъ, govorъ, kovъ, lovъ, morъ, svarъ, sudъ, tokъ, istokъ, naězdъ, otъvětъ, ponosъ, sъborъ, užasъ*, etc. Eventually the ending *-ъ was lost, first in South Slavic, then in East Slavic,*[16] and the nouns acquired a zero suffix and zero ending in the nominative/accusative singular. The original small stock of such nouns increased in all Slavic languages in the course of their development in concomitance with morphonemic changes in each language. Here are some examples in four modern languages.

Ukrainian	Russian	Polish	Czech	
svyst	*svist*	*świst*	*hvizd*	'whistling'
trisk	*tresk*	*trzask*	*chrst*	'crack, snap'
bih	*beg*	*bieg*	*běh*	'run, running'
rist	*rost*	*wzrost*	*růst*	'growth'
kryk	*krik*	*krzyk*	*křik*	'cry, scream'
xov	—	*chow*	*chov*	'raise'
rozdil	*razdel*	*rozdział*	*rozdíl*	'division'

3. There are two groups of suffixless masculine nouns whose base correlates with or is identical to the base of the corresponding verbs:

[15] Linguists such as Miloš Dokulil (*Tvoření slov v češtině, I, Teorie odvozování slov*, Prague: Československá Akademie Věd, 1962, p. 592), V. P. Besedina-Nevzorova (*Staroslavjanskij jazyk*, Kharkiv, 1963, p. 266) and many others state that the suffix *-ŏ-* together with the ending *-s* gave *-ъ*. However, more correct is G. Y. Shevelov's opinion that final *-s* was lost in Common Slavic approximately by the sixth century (*Prehistory of Slavic*, New York, 1965, pp. 227-229): arose only by the beginning of the 9th century (*ibid*, pp. 436-439).

[16] The loss of ъ, ь (jers) for Slavic as a whole is to be placed in the period between the early tenth century and the middle of the thirteenth; see Shevelov's *Prehistory of Slavic*, p. 459.

nouns whose base is equal to the verbal root (with possible alternation of vowels), e.g., *bih* 'run, running' and *bíhty* 'to run'; and nouns whose base contains the verbal root together with prefix, e.g., *výdyx* 'expiration' and *vydyxáty* 'to expire'. Most linguists call these nouns deverbal (or verbal) suffixless nouns.

The first group of these nouns in Modern Ukrainian is represented by about 90 examples, the other by about 710 examples, based on the eleven-volume *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy,* AN URSR.[17] Dialectal, regional and low colloquial expressions are not included in the discussion.

3.1 *Suffixless nouns with the stem corresponding to the verb root.* From the etymological point of view one may also consider as suffixless nouns such examples as *stil-#-#* 'table', *plit-#-#* 'fence' etc., whose stems are traced to the verb roots **stъl-(a-ti)* and **plet-(ti)* respectively. However, these nouns have undergone a total semantic divergence from the corresponding verbs, losing all verbal features; therefore they cannot be considered now as deverbal nouns.

The stems of other examples of the first group of nouns and the roots of the corresponding verbs are the same but one cannot determine with absolute certainty the sequence of the derivational process for each noun. In many cases we follow our "linguistic feeling" to make the determination which seems to have psycholinguistic grounds. Nouns of this type are abstract and, in relationship to their corresponding verbs, present a higher stage of thinking; that is, abstract notion is built on its lower stage—concrete verbal meanings. For instance, we feel strongly that the noun *xid* 'going, motion', *bih* 'running', *rist* 'growth', *hin* 'impulse, drive', *hnit* 'oppression', *let* 'flight' etc. are formed from the corresponding verbs *xodýty* 'to go, walk', *bíhaty* 'to run', *rostý* 'to grow', *honýty* 'to drive', *hnitýty* 'to oppress', *letíty* 'to fly'; however, one would hesitate to make such a statement in case of the noun *spix* 'a hurry' and its correlative verb *spišýty* 'to hurry', or *bunt* 'revolt' and *buntuváty* 'to revolt'. From the synchronic point of view we would con-

[17] The Kuzelja and Rudnyc'kyj *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* lists about the same number of the unprefixed nouns with verbal roots and about 750 nouns formed from prefixed verbs.

sider *spix* the derivative of *spišýty* (with the historical alternation /x~š/, but from the diachronical standpoint *spišýty* was formed from *spěx-ъ* which in its turn was formed from *spě-ti*. Even more uncertainty arises with regard to *bunt* and *buntuváty(sja)*. It is difficult to determine whether the noun was derived from the verb or vice versa. According to the *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* by J. B. Rudnyc'kyj this noun appeared in Ukrainian in the 16th century. Unfortunately, the dictionary does not indicate the time of the appearance of the verb *buntaváty(sja)*. However, since the noun *bunt* was borrowed from the German noun "Bund" and the suffix *—uva-* and infinitive formant *—ty(sja)* are characteristic of Ukrainian, not German, these elements must have been attached to the noun *bunt* after it had been borrowed. Therefore it is justifiable to state that the verb *buntuváty(sja)* was derived from the noun *bunt* and not vice versa. However, such cases seem to be rare in the realm of unprefixed masculine nouns identical with the corresponding unprefixed verb roots; in general, we consider verb roots as the motivating bases of such nouns.

3.1.1. Since many nouns of the first group, that is, nouns formed from unprefixed verbs, are motivated by both aspectual variants of the verb, their aspectual meaning depends on the context in which they are used. For instance, the noun {kryk}-{#}-{#} 'shout', {žax}-{#}-{#} 'dismay, fright', {rysk}-{#}-{#} 'risk' may indicate durative and iterative action, or an instantaneous, single action. In the first case our "linguistic feeling" associates them with the impf aspect verbs {kryč}-{á}-{ty} (/k~č/)[18] 'to shout out', {žax}-{á}-{ty} 'to frighten' {rysk}-{uvá}-{ty} 'to risk' expressing durative, continuous or repeated action, and in the second case—with the pf aspect verbs {krýk}-{nu}-{ty} 'to shout once (single time)', {žax}-{nú}-{ty} 'to have frightened', {rysk}-{nú}-{ty} 'to have risked'; cf. *Zdaléka donósyvsja sumnýj kryk žuravlív* (durative action); *Z hrudéj prostrílenoho bijcjá proníssja ostánnij kryk* (instantaneous action). Nevertheless, impf aspect verbs with the suffix *-nu-* which have no pf aspect partner serve as bases for the formation of

[18] /k~č/: a reflection of the first palatalization; **krik-ě-ti* > **krič-ě-ti *krič-a-ti* > *kryč-a-ty*.

nouns tending to indicate durative action, e.g., *tysk* 'pressure' from *tysnúty* 'to press'.[19]

The first group of nouns includes those at whose base lies an aspectual pair of single verbs differentiated only by the stem-forming suffixes (and possible alternating final root consonants), namely, suffix *-a-(-uva-)* in the impf aspect, and suffix *-nu-* in the pf aspect. The general shape of the roots is (C)CVC(V)(C). Most roots are monosyllabic and identical in the verb and in the derived noun, with the exception of some examples involving vowel or consonant alternation. Typically verbs serving as deriving bases of these nouns belong to the first conjugation, of the type *pýšeš, čytáješ.*

3.1.2. Many nouns of this group have a tendency to express an instantaneous action even if they have coexisting aspectual pairs of simple verbs. This interpretation occurs especially in those cases where we envisage durative action as a repetition of instantaneous sounds or movements and particularly when we express such nouns as isolated units, that is, without context. Nouns of this group expressing sounds or movements are: *blysk* 'lustre, glitter'<*blýsk-a-ty, blýs-nu-ty,*[19] *hrjuk* 'bang, slam', *huk* 'hail, whoop', *hyk* 'hoop', *klyk* 'call, cry', *klip* 'wink', *kop* 'kick', *kyv* 'nod, bed', *lusk*[19] 'crash, noise', *max* 'stroke, wave', *myh* 'wink, blink', *plesk*[19] 'splash, lap', *pysk*[19] 'squeak, chirp', *ryk* 'roaring', *ryp* 'creak', *skryp* 'squeak, scroop', *stuk* 'knock', *svyst*[20] 'whistle', *šélest*[20] 'rustle', *trisk*[19] 'crash, crack', *trosk*[19] 'striking, flogging', *trus* 'shaking; search', *xl'ost*[20] 'whip', *xljup* 'splash', *xrusk*[19] 'crackling', *xlyp* 'sob, whimper', *xux* 'blow, puff', *xryp* 'wheeze, rattle', *xrjask*[19] 'crash, crackle', *xyt* 'shake, sway', *zojk* 'wail, yell'. Many of these nouns are often used as interjections with the stylistic function of onomatopoeic expressions.

3.1.3. Some nouns of this group are motivated by impf aspect verbs possessing a suffix other than *-nu-*, namely, *-i-*, *-y-*, *-uva-*, and having no pf aspect variants to form aspectual pairs; although prefixal pf forms exist, they do not form aspectual pairs with these impf verbs. In some cases the derivational process of these nouns involves the morphonemic alternation {o~i}. Examples (the number by the noun in parentheses

[19] *k* of the sequence *sk* is dropped before the suffix *-nu-; *tisknǫti* > **tisnǫti* > *tisnuty.*
[20] *t* of the sequence *st* is dropped before the suffix *-nu-: svystáty, svýsnuty.*

indicates first or/and second conjugation of the deriving verb): *bij*(1) 'battle, combat' (*bj-u, býty, ubýty*), *bih*(1) 'run' (*bıhaty/pobíhaty, bıhty/pobıhty*), *xid*(2) 'going, motion' (*xodýty/poxodýty*). Other examples include: *hart*(1) 'hardening, temper', *hin*(2) 'drive', *hlum*(2) 'mockery', *hóhit*(1 or 2) 'cackle', *hnit*(2) 'press; oppression', *hómin*(2) 'sound of voices', *hóvir*(2) 'sound of talking', *húhit*(1) 'ring, boom', *hud*(1) 'hum, drone', *kvas*(2) 'sour fermented drink', *lément*(2) 'cry', *lépet*(1) 'babble', *let*(2) 'flight', *ljak*(1) 'fright', *lov*(2) 'catching, catch, take', *pal*(1) 'heat', *plav*(1) 'flow, stream; litter floating on the river's surface', *spir*(2) 'dispute', *spiv*(1) 'singing', *spix*(2) 'hurry', *stúhin*(2) 'buzzing, drone', *sum*(1) 'sadness', *strum*(1) 'current', *sum*(2) 'noise', *ščébet*(1) 'twitter', *šal*(1) 'frenzy, fury', *tjah*(1) 'pull(ing)', *torh*(1) 'bargain; trade', *trépet*(1 or 2) 'tremble', *vhav*(1) 'cease, stop', *var*(2) 'intense heat; pitch (='tremble', *vhav*(1) 'cease, stop', *var*(2) 'intense heat; pitch (=cooked tar)'.[21]

Twenty-five of these nouns are motivated by impf intransitive verbs. Those having intransitive verbs as their base tend to express durative action or state, especially when used out of context. Nouns motivated by transitive verbs usually denote durative action, but some can also acquire a specific or concrete meaning. This process of concretization is called by Charles E. Townsend "hypostasis".[22] Hypostasis takes place when the object in mind is inanimate; e.g., *lov* (*lovýty*) can mean 'catching, huntig' and also 'that which was caught; catch, take'. Cf. *Lov výnahorodyv rybálok. Za dóbu výpovnyly voný barkás po bortý* (Tulub, *Liudolovy)* 'Catch (= the amount of caught fish) rewarded the fishermen. Within twenty four hours they filled the launch up to the boards.'

It is tempting to accept Dokulil's assumption with regard to the evolution of lexical meanings of deverbal suffixless masculine nouns. According to him, such nouns originally did not differentiate the meaning of action from that of the material object on which the action was demonstrated. Only later, with the evolution of human thinking, did these meanings began to differ: some nouns coming to denote

[21] In Soviet Ukrainian dictionaries: 1) intense heat; 2) pitch (= cooked tar). In the *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* by Kuzelja and Rudnyc'kyj: 1) juice extracted from fruits by boiling; 2) intense heat.

[22] Charles E. Townsend, *Russian Word Formation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 152.

concrete objects, e.g., *plit* 'fence' (<**pletti*), *stil* 'table' (<**stъlati*), some acquiring the meaning of an action, e.g., *dóviz* 'delivery'. In some, both meanings developed, that of abstract action and that of concrete object.[23]

The root of the verb *lov-ý-ty* was "lexicalized", because a noun *lov-#-#* with the original meaning of the action 'catching' which then passed over to the object, most frequently "fish"; gradually, the result of the action, that is, the amount of caught fish, took the form of the noun of action *lov*. As Yurij Šerex (= George Shevelov) correctly observed, "deverbal nouns with zero suffix denote the action in a more abstract way, the action as such, beyond the time of its course."[24] which allows them to become "objectivized."

4. *Deverbal suffixless masculine nouns formed from prefixed verbs.* Example: {v-xód-y-ty}>{vxod-}>{vxid-}+{#suffix} +{#ending} 'entrance'. The headword *vxid* in this string becomes an abstract noun with the primary meaning of "action" and the secondary concrete meaning of "an opening or space for entrance into the interior of a lodging;" the whole string serves for further types of derivation, namely, the generation of the flectional stem of *vxid* {*vxid-*} on one hand, and the generation of all derived words on the other (e.g., *vxid-n-ýj*).

Whereas suffixless masculine nouns correlative with unprefixed verbs can sometimes create uncertainty with regard to the chronological aspect of their derivational process, masculine nouns with zero suffix correlative with prefixed verbs are not concomitant with such uncertainty. In such instances, the verbs comprise the motivating, deriving base of the corresponding nouns. Cf. *perépyt* 'repeated inquiry' and *perepýtuvaty* 'to inquire over again'. As for the formation of the noun *perépyt* one cannot consider it to be result of the addition of the prefix *pere-* to the noun *pyt* because such a noun does not exist; consequently, the prefix must have been added to the verbal stem. Secondly, the noun *perépyt* cannot be considered deriving base of the verb *perepýtuvaty* because semantically it is identical with the abstract noun *perepýtuvannja*

[23] M. Dokulil, *Tvoření slov v češtině*, 1,... p. 592. (Dokulil's article transl. by Margaret Bayuk, M. A. , University of Pittsburgh).

[24] Yurij Šerex (= George Y. Shevelov), *Narys sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (Munich: NTŠ, 1951), p. 209.

'repeated questioning'. The only difference between them consists in that *perepýtuvannja* denotes a durative or iterative action, while *perépyt* can indicate durative as well as completed action. Since *perepýtuvannja* is a derivative of *perepýtuvaty*, the noun *perépyt*, with almost identical meaning, leads us to infer that it also is a derivative of that verb.

However, there are instances where the root of the prefixed verb exists in the form of an independent noun, e.g. *-xod-* in the verb *vxódyty* 'to enter' exists as the noun *xid* (with *o* changed to *i* in closed syllable; see below). Thus, it may seem that the noun *vxid-#-#* 'entrance' could be formed by adjoining the prefix *v* to the noun *xid-#-#*. But this is not the case. The first of these nouns was formed from the verb *vxódyty* 'to enter' and not by way of *v+xid-#-#*, as is evidenced by their close semantic relationship, much closer than that between *vxid* and *xid*. The semantic closeness between two words is one of the most significant criteria for determining their derivational relationship to one another. In addition, the formation of nouns by prefixation (prefix+noun>noun) has never been productive in Ukrainian.

4.1. The stems of zero-suffix masculine nouns formed from prefixed verbs can coincide: a) with the bases of the prefixed impf aspect verbs only, the prefixed pf verbs not existing; b) with the bases of the prefixed pf aspect verbs only, the prefixed impf verbs not existing; c) with both bases: of the prefixed impf and the prefixed pf verbs; d) with the bases of the prefixed impf verbs, certain morphonemic changes having occurred in the bases of the prefixed pf verbs; e) with the bases of the prefixed pf verbs, certain morphonemic changes having occurred in the bases of the prefixed impf verbs; f) in addition, the noun can differ morphonemically from both verbal bases.

The general shape of the roots of prefixed deriving verb is the same as that of unprefixed deriving verbs (see 3.1.1.). Deriving verbs are transitive, intransitive, or (a relatively small number) reflexive. Prefixes participating in their formation are (according to frequency): *vy-, roz-(rozi-), po-, za-, pro-, na-, pry-, s-, vid-(vidi-), pere-, do-, v-, z-, u-, pid-(pidi-), ob-, o-, nad-*. Most roots are monosyllabic.

Nouns under a) are motivated by impf aspect verbs of the first conjugation which have no pf partners. The number of such nouns is very limited. They are: *nádzir* 'supervision' <*nadzyráty; násmix* 'mock-

ery'< *nasmixátysja; óbzir* 'field of view (milit.)' <*obzyráty; póviv* 'soft blowing of wind' <*poviváty; pódyv* 'admiration' <*podyvljáty; porýv* 'gust; passion' <*poryváty; pólysk* 'lustre, gleam' <*polýskuvaty; pósmix* 'derision, mockery' <*posmixátysja; prýdyx* 'aspiration' <*prydyxáty; uháv* 'interruption' <*uhaváty; ústrij* 'regime, order' <*ustrójuvaty; vídblysk* 'reflection, gleam' <*vidblýskuvaty; výblysk* 'flare, flash' <*vyblýskuvaty*. These nouns have a tendency to express durative or iterative action with the exception of the last two which are usually understood as instantaneous actions.

Under group b) fall about 25 nouns according to the eleven-volume *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*. The overwhelming majority of the motivating verbs belong to the first conjugation (the number in parentheses indicates the conjugation): *nápys* 'inscription' <*napysáty*(1); *nárys* 'outline' <*narysuváty*(1); *pryvít* 'regard' <*pryvitáty*(1); *polít* 'flight' <*poletíty*(2); *pohovír* 'gossip' <*pohovorýty*(2); *pokís* 'reaped (mowed) strip of field (meadow)' <*pokosýty*(2); *pónjux* 'pinch of snuff' <*ponjúxaty*(2); *poríz* 'cut, wound' <*porízaty*(1); *pórub* 'forest-offence' <*porubáty*(1); *póslux* 'obedience' <*poslúxaty; potóp* 'flood' <*potopýty*(2); *póčerk* 'hand-writing' <*počerkáty*(1); *perelják* 'fright, shock' <*pereljakáty*(1); *postíj* 'quartering' <*postójaty*(2); *rózbrat* 'enmity' <*rozbratáty(sja)*(1); *rozhnív* 'anger' <*rozhnívaty(sja)*(1); *skin* 'death' <*skonáty*(1); *sxov* 'keeping, storing' <*sxováty*(1); *ukís* 'hay harvest' <*ukosýty*(2); *ukól* 'prick' <*ukolóty*(1); *vývyx* 'dislocation' <*vývyxnuty*(1); *zápax* 'smell, odor' <*zapáxnuty*(1); *záblud* 'confusion, losing one's way; error' <*zabludýtysja*(2) and a few more. Almost all of them are abstract and denote completed action or its result; only a few of them, namely, *nápys, nárys, pokís, poríz, pórub* are hypostasized, that is, have concrete meaning.

The group of nouns under c) is the largest, comprising about 190 members. Examples include: *vpys* 'entry' *vpýsuvaty, vpysáty; vstup* 'proem' *vstupáty, vstupýty; výzysk* 'exploitation' < *vyzýskuvaty, výzyskaty; násyp* 'bank' < *nasypáty, nasýpaty; pókaz* 'show' < *pokázuvaty, pokazáty; pídpys* 'signature' < *pidpýsuvaty, pidpysáty*, etc. The motivating impf aspect verbs with the thematic suffixes *-a-*, *-uva-* belong to the first conjugation and their pf partners have thematic suffixes *-y-*, *-nu-*. As for the nouns of this group there is a tendency to use them more often in the durative aspectual meaning, a fact which reflects the prevail-

ing influence of the impf aspect verbs. However, a secondary meaning, referring to the result of the action or its hypostasization, is characteristic of many of these nouns. Cf. (*Engelhardt*) *za výkup Ševčenka zaprávyv 2500 karbóvanciv* (P. Myrnyj), and *Engelhardtu dalý bážanyj výkup*. In the first sentence *výkup* 'redemption' is used as abstract noun with durative aspectual meaning; in the second sentence *výkup* is a hypostasized noun meaning 'ransom' (i.e., amount of 2500 karb.).

Some nouns of this group tend to denote instantaneous action, e.g., *výbux* 'explosion', *póklyk* 'call, shout', *výdyx* 'expiration', *pókryk* 'call, cry'. Cf. *Z desjatkiv hruděj výxopyvs' rádisnyj pókryk* (M. Kocjubyns'kyj). The meaning of durative or instantaneous action with these nouns often depends on the greater frequency of use of the aspectual verbs; for example, we understand more often the foregoing nouns as expressions of instantaneous action but the noun *óbih* 'circulation' as referring to durative imperfective action. This group also contains hypostasized nouns, e.g., *výriz* 'notch; low neck (of dress)'. The important factor in determining the above lexical meanings of these nouns is the context in which they occur.

Second largest group of the nouns discussed are those of type d). Their total number is about 180. Some examples include *vhyn* 'fold' < *vhynáty, uhnúty; vjizd* 'entry, drive' < *vjizdýty, vjíxaty*. The following prefixes are contained in the verbs motivating the suffixless nouns with the root *-jizd-: do-, na-, ob-, pere-, pid-, pry-, pro-, roz-, v-, vid-, vy-, za-, z-*.

The overwhelming majority of the deriving verbs of these nouns belong to the first conjugation and have the thematic vowel *-a-*; a small number with the thematic vowel-*y-* (e.g., *vjizd-ý-ty*) belong to the second conjugation. Nouns of this group have a tendency to be used in the meaning of durative action or its result, the latter being particularly characteristic of nouns derived from verbs with prefixes *na-, nad-,* and *vy-* (cf. *nakáz, nadríz, výtysk* etc.). The total number of nouns of group e) found in the *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy* is about 120. Examples include: *vývar* 'decoction' < *vývaryty; dóslid* 'experiment' < *doslidýty; zahýn* 'death, destruction' < *zahýnuty; óbslid* 'inspection' < *obslidýty; perepál* 'overburning; slag, scoria' < *perepalýty; rózlad* 'dissonance, discord' < *rozládyty; umolót* 'yield of grain' < *umolotýty* and others.

Some deriving verbs belong to the first conjugation, and some to the second. Some nouns are used in abstract meaning only (*óbslid, zahýn, rózlad* etc.) while in some also a secondary meaning of concrete object has developed (*vývar, perepál, vmísi* etc.).

If the motivating verbs of these nouns are transitive and the object on which the action passes over is concrete and inanimate, the primary tendency of these nouns is to express the action; a secondary tendency is to denote the concrete object one has in mind. If the motivating verb is intransitive, the corresponding noun has an abstract meaning of action or state (e.g., *zahýn*).

The last group of deverbal suffixless masculine nouns formed from prefixed verbs, nouns differing morphonemiccaly from both bases, impf and pf aspect verbs, numbers around 150. A few examples would be: *vviz* 'import' < *vvózyty, vveztý; výbij* 'pot-hole' < *vybyváty, výbyty, výbju; vxid* 'entrance; portal' < *vxódyty, vvijtý; výbir* 'choice, selection' < *vybyráty, výbraty; výhin* 'common pasture' < *vyhónyty* and *vyhanjáty, výhnaty; pórux* 'movement' < *porúšuvaty, porúšyty* and others. Deriving verbs belong to the first or second conjugation. Nouns of this group tend to be used primarily as abstract denominals; many of them have developed by hypostasized meaning. Cf. *Pry vxódi v rik novýj pohljánʼmo vzad, na té, ščo my probúly* (I. Franko), the noun *vxid* denotes action, and *Sámyj ménšyj, molódšyj sydýtʼkólo vxódu u pečéru* (M. Vovčok), where *vxid* refers to place.

5. *Morphonemic alternations between derivational stems and derivative nouns.*

5.1. {o} in an open syllable of the root of an unprefixed deriving verb changes to {i} in the closed syllable of the root of the corresponding suffixless noun.[25] This alternation, characteristic of the Ukrainian lan-

[25] "Etymological *o* and *e* in closed syllables in South Western Ukrainian changed into *u* > *ü* > *i* in syllables after which a jer was lost, in North Ukrainian into diphthongs." This occurred "by assimilation of *o, e* to *ŭ, ĭ* in the next syllable, an assimilation which resulted in the narrowing" of the vowels (Kurylo); see G. Y. Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic*, p. 447. The *o* then through a series of monophthongal or diphthongal stages developed into *i*. There are other views on the development of such *i* from *o* in different dialects. An extensive treatment of this question is given by P. Kovaliv in his book *Osnovy formuvannja ukrajinsʼkoji movy* (New York, 1958), pp. 59-73. The etymological *e*, when followed by a syllable with ь, first changed to *ě* the latter giving the reflex *i*. The reflex *i* of the

guage and comprising one of the features differentiating it from all other Slavic languages, occurs in the following verb-noun correlatives: *brodýty* > *brid* 'ford', *honýty(sja)* > *hin* 'drive', *hohotáty* > *hóhit* 'cackle, loud laughter', *homoníty* > *hómin* 'sound of voices', *hovorýty* > *hóvir* 'rumour', *huhotíty* > *húhit* 'rumble, boom', *dzvonýty* > *dzvin* 'ringing; bell', *klekotíty* > *klékit* 'gurgle, bubbling; scream', *klopotáty* > *klópit* 'trouble, worry', *loskotáty* > *lóskit* 'tickling', *krójity* > *krij* 'cut; shape', *rostý* > *rist* 'height, growth', *skrehotáty* > *skréhit* 'gritting of teeth', *stuhoníty* > *stúhin* 'rumble, buzz', *xyxotíty* > *xýxit* 'giggling', *rehotíty* > *réhit* 'hearty laugh, hee-haw', *spóryty(sja)* > *spir* 'dispute; wrangle'.

The above alternation also occurs between the following prefixed deriving verbs and derived suffixless nouns:[26] *dohovorýty(sja)* > *dóhovír* 'agreement', *dozvólyty* > *dózvil* 'permission', *dokorýty* > *dókír* 'reproach; twit; blame', *doxódyty* > *doxíd*,[27] 'income', *napojíty* > *napíj* 'beverage', *narostáty* > *nárist* 'excrescence', *nastrójity* > *nástrij* 'mood', *nedosolýty* > *nedosíl* 'insufficient salting', *obhónyty* > *obhín* 'outdistancing, outstrip', *obkosýty* > *obkís* 'mowing round', *obvódyty* > *óbvid* 'circuit, circumference', *obxódyty* > *obxíd* 'going round, round about way', *perebródyty* > *perebríd* 'wading through, ford', *perevódyty* > *perevíd* 'transfer', *perevózyty* > *perevíz* 'ferriage; transport' *perehónyty* > *perehín* 'outrunning; overdriving', *perekosýty(sja)* > *perekís* 'bending', *perekópuvaty* > *perekíp* 'cross-ditch, canal', *perekrójuvaty* > *perekríj* 'cutting out again', *peresolýty* > *peresíl* 'excess of salt', *perestójuvaty(sja)* > *perestíj* 'standing too long', *pererostáty* > *pererísl* 'outgrowing', *prokosýty* > *prokís* 'mowing', *perezolýty* > *perezíl* 'exceeding wash in lye', *perexódyty* > *perexíd* 'passage; crossing', *pidvózyty* > *pidvíz* 'supply by transport', *pidhónyty* > *pidhín* 'motive, impulse', *pidxódyty* > *pidxíd*

discussed *o* and *e* began to appear in Ukrainian written monuments in sixteenth century and in some dialects even earlier. This phonetic process connected with the fall of weak jers was applied by analogy to many other nouns in which *o* and *e* were not followed by a syllable with ъ or ь. Thus many new nouns were built by analogy.

[26] If the alternating root vowel *o* is contained in both aspectual forms of the infinitive with no consonant morphonemic alternation exhibited between these forms, only the impf infinitive is given; otherwise only one of the verb forms containing root vowel *o* is given.

[27] Figurative meaning: "income."

'approach', *pokrójity* > *pokríj* 'cut; style', *porostáty* > *pórist* 'verdure', *postójaty postíj* 'quartering, billeting', *pryvózyty* > *pryvíz* 'bringing, import', *pryhónyty* > *pryhín* 'bringing/driving (of the cattle)', *pryrostáty* > *prýrist* 'growth, increase', *prystrójuvaty* > *prýstrij* 'device; attachment', *pryxódyty* > *pryxíd* 'coming, arrival', *provódyty* > *próvid* 'leadership', *pryhovorýty* > *pryhovír* 'saying, proverb', *pryzvódyty* > *prýzvid* 'guidance', *prorostáty* > *prórist* 'sprouting', *proxódyty* > *proxíd* 'passage', *rozvózyty* > *rózviz* 'transport', *rozvódyty* > *rózvid* 'divorce', *rozhónytysja* > *rozhín* 'running start', *rozdójuvaty* > *rozdíj* 'milking', *rozporóty* > *rózpir* 'thrust', *rozplódyty* > *rózplid* 'stock-breeding', *rozrostátysja* > *rózrist* 'growth, increase', *rozxódytysja* > *rózxid* 'going asunder; expenditure', *skonáty* > *skin* 'death', *sxódyty* > *sxid* 'rise, rising', *suprovódyty* > *súprovid* 'concomitance', *udójuvaty* > *udíj* 'milk yield', *ukosýty* > *ukís* 'swath', *uklonýtysja* > *uklín* 'bow, greeting', *ustrójity* > *ústrij* 'regime, order', *utvorýty* > *útvir* 'creation, product', *vynaxódyty* > *výnaxid* 'invention', *vvózyty* > *vviz* 'import', *vvódyty* > *vvid* 'input, inlet', *vxódyty* > *vxid* 'entrance', *vyvódyty* > *vývid* 'leading off; (electr.) bushing', *vyvózyty* > *vývíz* 'exportation', *vyhónyty* > *výhin* 'common pasture', *výzvolyty* > *výzvil* 'liberation', *výpotity* > *výpit* 'perspiration', *výplodyty* > *výplid* 'fruit', *výslovyty(sja)* > *výsliv* 'expression', *výtvoryty* > *výtvir* 'creation, product', *vyxódyty* > *výxid* 'exit', *výškolyty* > *výškil* 'formation, education', *vidhónyty* > *vidhín* 'driving away (of cattle)', *vidxódyty* > *vidxíd* 'setting off', *zavózyty* > *zavíz* 'delivery', *zakrójuvaty* > *zakríj* 'cut', *zarostáty* > *zárist* 'vegetation', *zastójuvatysja* > *zastíj* 'standstill, deadlock', *zaxódyty* > *zaxíd* 'stopping (at a place)', *zhónyty* > *zhin* 'driving together (cattle)', *zrostáty* > *zrist* 'stature, size'.

5.2. The above root vowel alternation {o~i} does not extend to all deverbal masculine nouns. Some retain *o* of the deriving verbal stem, whether unprefixed or prefixed. Among unprefixed nouns are: *kop* 'digging', *lov* 'catching, catch', *kovz* 'gliding', *lom* 'breaking; ache', *korč* 'crampt', *losk* 'clap, rumbling', *trosk* 'flogging', *skok* 'jump', *xov* 'breeding'.

Among masculine nouns derived from prefixed verbs the following retain *o* in their root: a) Those whose deriving verb contains combination *-olo-* in the root. Here belong: *spólox* 'alarm' < *spolóxaty, perepo-*

lóx 'alarm, jumble' < *perepolóxaty, nadkól* 'slight split' < *nadkolóty, rozkól* 'split' < *rozkolóty, prokól* 'hole, puncture' < *prokolóty, ukól* 'prick; injection' < *ukolóty, výholos* 'enunciation' < *výholosyty, rózholos* 'spreading the news' < *rozholosýty, namolót* 'grain output' < *namolotýty, obmolót* 'trashing' < *obmolotýty, umolót* 'yield of grain' < *umolotýty, výmolot* 'trashed corn' < *výmolotyty, zákolot* 'rebellion' < *zakolotýty*. b) Other nouns retaining *o* of the prefixed derivational verb stems are: *donós* 'denunciation', *nanós* 'alluvium', *perenós*[28] 'transfer', *pidnós* 'tray', *prynós*[28] 'offering', *roznós*[28] 'bearing about', *výnos* 'bearing out', *znos* 'wear', *dótork* 'touch', *prýtork* 'touch', *dozór*[28] supervision, *náskok*[28] 'raid, inroad', *pídskok* and *pídskik* 'leap, jump', *doxíd*[28] 'income', *pryxód*[28] 'credit', *perelóm*[28] 'break', *prolóm*[28] 'gap', *rozlóm* (and *rozlám*)[28] 'break', *zalóm*[28] 'fold', *výlom*[28] 'break in/out', *upór*[28] 'rest; lug', *pereór* 'ploughing again', *rozkóp* 'digging out', *pohróm* 'massacre', *rozhróm* 'utter defeat', *pózov* 'law suit', *prýzov* 'levy', *potóp* 'flood', *póštovx* 'push', *pryjóm* 'reception', *prykóv* 'chain', *prysmókt* 'sticking to', *sxov* 'keeping, storing', *výtop* 'melting out', *výtorh* 'gains; receipts', *zášmorh* 'loop', *zákot* 'top (of boots etc.)', *zarók* and *zarík*[28] 'vow, pledge'.

The lack of the change of *o* of the verbal unprefixed and prefixed derivational bass to *i* in the derived suffixless nouns as a rule is not conditioned by the phonological environment of these vowels (or at least the phonological conditioning has never been demonstrated).

In certain rare cases the root vowel alternation *i*~*o* affects the lexical meaning of two deverbal masculine suffixless nouns, e.g., *drib* 'small shot' and *drob* 'roll of drum', *nabír* 'assemblage' and *nabór* 'composition (in printing)', *uklín* 'bow' and *uklón* 'declivity'.

5.3. Some noun stems formed from verbal nonsyllabic present or future tense stems with the root morphoneme {#} vocalize {#} to full vowel {i} before zero ending, e.g., *bý-ty, z-vý-ty: b#j-u, bıj-#-#* 'battle',

[28] In *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* by Kuzelja and Rudnyc'kyj: *perenís, prynís* and *prynós, roznís, dozír, náskik* and *náskok, doxíd, pryxíd* 'credit' and 'arrival'; *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*, AN URSR: *pryxíd* 'arrival' (only); Kuzelja and Rudnyc'kyj: *perelím, prolím* and *prolóm, rozlím* and *rozlám, výlim* and *výlom, upír;* in Kuzelja-Rudnyc'kyj and in Holoskevyč dictionaries: *zalím* and *zarík* (only).

zivj-ú zvij-#-# 'winding, bend'. Other nouns of this group are those formed from prefixed verbs containing the prefixes: *na-, pid-, pro-, pry-, pere-, roz-, vid-, za-,* and the root *-bij-;* and the prefixes *za-, z-, roz-* in combination with the root *-vij-*.

Verbal root morphonemes {y, e, #} alternate with {i} in the root of the derived noun. {y} occurs in the impf infinitive, {e} in the future tense, and {#} in the pf infinitive. The examples include nouns derived from prefixed verbs only, containing prefixes *do-, na-, nedo-, pere-, pid-, u-, vid-, za-, z-* plus the root *-bir-*, e.g., *dóbir-#-#* 'choice' < *dobyráty, dobráty, doberú.* In two examples {y} occurs in the impf infinitive, {#} in the future tense stem, and {e} in the pf infinitive: *napír* 'pressure', *rózpir* 'thrust'.

5.4. *Other morphophonemic changes in roots.* Vowel {#} of the root of the verb is vocalized to full vowel {e} in the root of the noun: *dómysel-#-#* 'conjecture' < *domýs#lytysja, nedómysel* 'thoughtlessness' < *ne domýs#lytysja, pómysel* 'idea', *rózmysel* 'meditation'. {#} of the root of the verb is vocalized to full vowel {o} in the root of the noun and affects the loss of the preceding vowel {i}: *pidjóm-#-#* 'lift' < *pidij#máty, pryjóm* 'reception', *pidnajóm* 'sublease'. {y, #} of the root of the verb alternate with {o} in the root of the noun: *posól* 'ambassador' < *posyláty, pos#l-áty, prýzov* 'levy' < *pryzyváty, pryz#v-áty, pózov* 'lawsuit' < *pozyváty, poz#v-áty.*

Vowel alternations in the roots of the nouns carry no grammatical meaning because such meaning is expressed by the desinences. These alternations only strengthen the opposition between the nominative/accusative singular and the rest of the cases in the singular and plural.

There are no changes in the boundary of the prefixes and roots of the derivational verbal stems reflected in the derivative nouns.

5.5. *Consonantal changes.* The final root consonants /l'/ /n'/ /š/ /r'/ /bl'/ /ml'/ /pl'/ /vl'/ of the impf verbs before suffixes *-uva-* and *-a-* alternate with /l/ /n/ /x/ /r/ /b/ /m/ /p/ /v/ before the suffix *-y-* of the pf verbs and before the zero ending of the corresponding deverbal suffixless nouns, e.g., /výhul'jaty, vyhúl'uvaty/ vs. /výhul/. The final root consonant /č/ of the verb before suffixes *-uva-, -y-* alternates with /k/ of the noun before the zero ending, e.g., /perel'ičuvaty, perel'ičýty/

vs. /perél'ik/, /skóčyty/ vs. /skok/.[29]

6. *Productivity.* A word is productive when it serves as a model for building new words. The concept of productivity can refer to the whole of the word formative structure of the word or to any of its components. There are two kinds of productivity in word-building: systemic and empiric. Systemic productivity involves phonological, morphological and lexical-semantic limitations connected with the internal laws of the development of the language. Empiric productivity involves, so to speak, external factors; a new word is formed according to the existing model. Systemic productivity is prerequisite of empiric productivity, i.e., systemic limitations directly affect empiric productivity.

As for the formation of deverbal suffixless masculine nouns in contemporary Ukrainian, there are some structural and semantic limitations. Unprefixed verb stems are not active at all in the formation of such nouns. Among prefixed verbs, on the whole, stems with thematic vowels *-a-* and *-y-* serve as deriving bases. The other structural types of verbs are not active in the formation of this type of noun. Also inactive are verbs existing only in one aspect—impf or pf. Also inactive are prefixed verbs of the type *poxódyty, pobíhaty, povozýty* etc. 'to walk for a while', 'to run for awhile', 'to drive (to cart, to draw) for some time'. Nonfunctional are stems of the verbs containing more than one prefix, e.g., *pererozpodiljáty, pererozpodilýty* 'to redistribute'. Nouns are not formed at all from verbs in which the prefixes *po-, na-* are attached to already existing prefixal stems, e.g., *popryšyváty* 'to sew on', *naskladáty* 'to pile'.

Linguists distinguish five determinations of the productivity of a word: very productive, medially productive, slightly productive, unproductive and dead. Between these two poles—very productive and dead—as we can see, lie three determinative positions, and the boundaries between them are not fixed. Therefore one's opinion regarding the degree of productivity of a word can be rather subjective and vacillating.

[29] In the above AN URSU dictionary: *skok, naskók, pidskik* and *pidskók, vídskik;* in the above Kuzelja Rudnyc'kyj dictionary: *skík* and *skok, náskik* and *náskok, pídskik* and *pidskók;* in Podvez'ko's dictionary: *pidskók, vidskók.*

The type of nouns discussed in this article seems to be only slightly productive in contemporary Ukrainian. The stock of already existing nouns is used frequently in the colloquial and artistic languages, but new nouns are seldom built. New formations represent rare occurences, characteristic of writers and speakers (*zmah, povstrým, vhad, zljak, výtrym, vdij, vriz* and others).[30]

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[30] These and some other nouns occur predominantly in the language of the people of Western Ukraine.

The Musical Terminology of Mikolaj Dilecki: Some Observations

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With the publication in 1970 of the 1723 St. Petersburg manuscript of Mikolaj Dilecki's[1] "Musical grammar"[2] a second version of the treatise became available to add to the 1681 Moscow version published in 1910 by the Society of Friends of Ancient Literature,[3] the two together presenting rich materials for the history of musical terminology in the East Slavonic languages. No doubt the importance of these sources will eventually be realised and their vocabulary taken into account by lexicographers. At the moment it is disappointing to find that the editors of the Soviet Academy's dictionary of Russian from the eleventh to the seventeenth century,[4] while including Dilecki's work among sources surveyed, have no settled policy. Of the three voices with initials covered by the first five volumes *al't* and *bas* appear, quoted incidentally from different sources;[5] *diskant* does not, although the treble voice is referred to at least as frequently as the two others. Another example of inconsis-

[1] Such is the autograph spelling of the name in ms. 173 (fundamental'nyj)/107 of the Lenin Library, Moscow, henceforth *Idea*; it appears on p. 233, written in Latin letters, accompanied by the word "Tvorec" in Cyrillic.

[2] Mykola Dylec'kyj, *Hramatyka muzykal'na. Fotokopija rukopysu 1723 roku*, edited with commentary by O.S. Calaj-Jakymenko (Kiev, 1970). (Henceforth *HM*; numbers refer to the pages of the manuscript; the transcription used in this article differs from the Ukrainian editor's in retaining *ě* (= ѣ) and *i* (и, і) and not bringing these into line with modern Ukrainian orthography; Cyrillic г is transcribed as *h*; for the plosive *g* Dilecki uses the Latin letter. Supralinear letters are not indicated.)

[3] St. Smolenskij, ed., *Musikijskaja gramatika Nikolaja Dileckogo* (St. Petersburg, 1910).

[4] *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.* (Moscow: AN SSR, 1975-). (Henceforth *Slovar'*)

[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 33 (1679) and p. 76 (1681). The former is a citation from materials collected by A.A. Kotljarevskij, published in *Drevnosti*, vol. I (Moscow, 1865); his source was *Idea*.

tency is the inclusion of *dijezis* 'sharp' against the omission of *bemol'* 'flat'. The adjective derived from *dijezis* is included as a separate headword: *dijezisovyj; al'tovyj* and *basovyj* do not appear. This delinquency, probably the result of conflicting interpretations of their brief by the collaborators, casts on to others' shoulders the responsibility for presenting Dilecki's musical terminology to the wide readership it deserves, particularly among those interested in the history of European music and the development of the vocabulary of the East Slavonic languages.

The linguistic interest of the various versions of the treatise is not confined to its lexicological aspect, although this is paramount. There is the question of Belorussian vestiges in copies of the Smolensk version;[6] the influence of the scribe Vasilej Rezanec on the language of the Moscow version written for and dedicated to Grigorij Dmitrijevič Stroganov;[7] the Ukrainian of the St. Petersburg version and its possible reflection of the personal idiom of Mikołaj Dilecki, "žitel' grada Kijeva".[8] Other matters awaiting clarification are the biographical details of Dilecki's life, starting with his dates of birth and death; the content of "Toga złota", his only known printed work, the sole copy of which registered by the Polish bibliographer, Karol Estreicher,[9] was lost by fire in the Second World War; Dilecki's relations with the Jesuits, his teachers, and the Franciscans, his publishers, during his days in Vil'no; the earlier models for his work. These tasks should be deferred no longer, for Dilecki's treatise on the composition and performance of choral music in the Western polyphonic style marks, perhaps more clearly than any other work, the cultural reorientation of Muscovy in the second half of the seventeenth century, while the successive locations of the various versions, Vil'no (1675-76?), Smolensk (1677), Moscow (1681), St. Petersburg (1723), are significant milestones in the rising tide of Western influence, reaching the old capital during the reign of Fedor Aleksejevič, when interest in Polish culture was at its highest, and the new capital in the reign of his mighty successor.

[6] For example in ms. 210/5 of the Lenin Library, Moscow; henceforth *O*; numbers refer to folia.

[7] *Idea*, 233.

[8] Smolenskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53; N. Findejzen, *Očerki po istorii muzyki v Rossii*, vol. I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), p. 293.

[9] *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 15 (Cracow, 1872-1951), p. 207.

The traditional East Slavonic musical terminology was quite inadequate to answer the needs of Dilecki as teacher of part-song when he embarked on his mission. Elements of the Western terminology which could not be omitted, replaced or even translated were the pitch names of the notes, the names of the clefs, the syllables of the sol-fa system, the names of the vocal ranges, especially when these served to denote a particular clef, and also certain key words from the vocabulary of rhythm and mensuration. His most essential tool, linear notation on the five-line stave, left the neumes and quilismas of the *znamennoje pěnije* with their quaint nomenclature stranded and redundant. Although efforts had been made to achieve greater precision in that system,[10] the advantages of the five-line stave over the traditional hieroglyphics required no special pleading, especially when written parallel.[11] However, with the new system the student had to learn a new vocabulary. Some words of Common Slavonic stock continued to express basic concepts, while the Church Slavonic thesaurus could be drawn on to provide ad hoc renderings of translatable foreign technical terms.

Comparison of the most essential and elemental terminology of the art with that of literacy reveals some interesting parellels.[12] Just as the activities of reading and writing are denoted in Common Slavonic by words which were earlier used of non-literary or pre-literary skills such as counting (**čьtǫ, *čisti*) and painting or decoration (**pišǫ, *pьsati),* so here dance, song and instrumental playing are catered for by existing words (**plęšǫ, *plęsati; *pojǫ, *pěti; *igrajǫ, *igrati*). The parallels are not too close, however, in view of the murky etymology of these roots, the emergence by the seventeenth century of prefixed derivatives (*spěvati*) and regional deviations (*hrati*), and the competition of foreign synonyms (*tancevati*).

Common Slavonic also supplied a number of onomatopoeic roots which were exploited in the nomenclature of musical instruments: **bǫ-* in the duplicated **bǫbьnъ,* ES *buben; *gǫd-* in *gusli; *du-* in *dudy;*

[10] A. Mezenec, *Azbuka znamennago pěnija*, ed. St. Smolenskij (Kazan', 1888).

[11] *Pervoje učenije musikijskix soglasij*, no. 6 of the publications of the *Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti* (St. Petersburg, 1877), f. 20 onwards. (Henceforth *PU*)

[12] For some observations on the topic see: H. Leeming, "Origins of Slavonic literacy: the lexical evidence," *Slavonic and East European Review* (SEER), vol. 49 (London), pp. 327-338.

**pisk-* in *piščal', piščalka.* The last mentioned, an extension of an imitative root **pi-*, rendering the high pitch of bird song or the notes of a pipe (cf. Romance **pīpa*), suggests a possible onomatopoeic origin for the root of **pěti*, although Trubačev's interpretation of this word as a causative to **piti*[13] is so *ben trovato* that one hesitates to challenge it.

In the extensive use of borrowed items in a newly imported graphic system we note a further parallel to the terminology of literacy. Of two loanwords from Latin via Polish the first, *noty*, is primarily and closely associated with the musical context, denoting 'notes written on a stave'; its singular, *nota,* also defines a particular length: 'semibreve' (English); 'whole note' (American). The second word, *litery*, whose primary reference was to an alphabetical system, was readily adapted to the musical context. The transplant was painless and easy in view of the use of Latin letters as pitch names of the notes: A, B (B flat), C, D, E, F, G (with H, in origin a graphic variant of B,[14] used to denote B natural); *bukvy* has not been noted in this sense and this is not unexpected, for the discrepant alphabetical sequence of the Cyrillic letters would inhibit their simple substitution. The notation of the *znamennoje pěnije* was called *znamja* by Aleksandr Mezenec;[15] a fourteenth-century source quoted by Sreznevskij uses the plural of *znamenije: znamenija,*[16] a semantic equivalent to the Latin *notae*, and an apt illustration of the fact that innovations in vocabulary are frequently reincarnations of the familiar in a new guise.[17] Dilecki does not use the older names when writing about the new system; in a reference to the old chant he uses the word *kulizmy* 'quilismas'.[18]

In order to learn a scale the choristers would memorise the component notes not only by pitch but also by function in the lower and upper

[13] M. Fasmer [Vasmer], *Ètimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, translated from the German with additions by O.N. Trubačev (Moscow, 1964-1973), vol. 3, p. 350, s.v. "pojú".

[14] The natural sign ♮ has the same origin, as its names in French (*bécarre)* and Italian (*bequadro*) indicate.

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 2, 7, etc.

[16] "A se imena znamenije(m)", I.I. Sneznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka* (St. Petersburg, 1893-1912), vol. 1, col. 1322, s.v. "križь".

[17] On the discreet *salep* against the explicit *vulpis testiculi*, see H. Leeming, "A seventeenth-century Polish cookery book and its Russian manuscript translation," *SEER*, vol. 42, 1974, pp. 500-515.

[18] *HM*, 19; also *kuližmi, ibidem,* 63.

hexachords which spanned the scale. The names defining position in a hexachord were the syllables still familiar today in the sol-fa system with two important provisos: the original name *ut* was used instead of *doh*, and *ti*, the name of the seventh rung, had not yet been introduced to complete the scale as we know it today. In fact Dilecki's choristers were learning scales in an apparently systematic but most complicated way, in each case starting on A or one of its inflections and finishing on G. Thus the scale of C major ran as follows: A la re, H mi, C fa ut, D sol re, E la mi, F fa, G sol ut; and the key of F major as: A la mi; B fa, C sol ut, D la re, E mi, F fa sol ut, C sol re la. The solmising syllables refer in the first case to the hexachords of C and G: in the second case to the hexachords of C and F. The singers learnt the various scales by constant repetition of these sequences in which the first component of each step was one of the first seven letters of the Latin alphabet, with H as an ingenious gatecrasher. Where inflections of the basic notes intervened these were indicated by the addition to the letter of *-is* for sharps and *-es* after consonants, *-s* after vowels, for flats; thus the first steps in the keys of B major and A flat major were: Ais la mi, and As fa ut, respectively. In view of the leading role of the Latin letters it is not surprising that the primer or section thereof dealing with scales was called an A.B.C. There were already a number of terms available for the purpose: *azbuka* (from the sixteenth century);[19] *alfavit* (from the fifteenth);[20] *bukvar'* (1664 in Moscow; earlier in Belorussia and Ukraine).[21] For the job in hand a custom-built synonym from Polish was introduced. This was *abecadło,* a word which cunningly combines the names of the first three letters of the Latin and Polish alphabet with a Slavonic suffix of *nomina instrumenti*, which in its West Slavonic form begins with the fourth letter: *-dło*. On East Slavonic ground this could undergo two modifications. Firstly, the native form of the well-known suffix could be substituted, giving *-lo* instead of *-dło*. Secondly, in areas where unstressed *o* was reduced to *a*, namely South Russia and Belorussia where Dilecki began his teaching career, the initial unstressed *a* of

[19] *Slovar'*, vol. 1, p. 24.
[20] *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 32.
[21] I.U. Budovnic, *Slovar' russkoj, ukrainskoj, belorusskoj pis'mennosti i literatury* (Moscow, 1962), p. 32.

the Polish original could be 'corrected' to *o*. Thereby the first syllable could be rationalised as the Slavonic prefix *ob-*, and bilingual speakers with a knowledge of Polish could relate the whole of the remade *obecalo* to the Polish verb *obiecać* 'to promise', although what they made of the semantics of this relationship one can only surmise. With this specific label for a particular graphic system we may compare another seventeenth-century example: *azvědi*, used with pedantic precision to denote either the Greek alphabet, or the Cyrillic letters functioning as numerals.[22] Apart from the Polish loanword, *azbuka* and *bukvar'* are also met, but apparently in the more general sense of 'musical primer': *azbuka notnogo čtenija* (Moscow, 1688);[23] *bukvar' grammatika pěnija musikijskago*.[24] Yet another variant, *bukvica,* occurs in the undated, but undoubtedly seventeenth-century primer published in facsimile by the Society of Friends of Ancient Literature, which explicity recommends the prior learning of the Latin alphabet: "xotjaj že učitisja per'voje da izučit bukvicu rimskimi litery: sedm' liter, kotoryje na sedmi linejnyx soglasijax stanovjatsja",—let him who wishes to learn (music) first master the A.B.C. with Roman letters: the seven letters which are set on the seven linear accords (?—usage of *soglasije* here not clear).[25]

The letters C, F and G had yet another function: to mark on the stave the position of one of these notes. In modern vocal or instrumental scores the G, or treble clef is permanently anchored to the second line up; the F, or bass clef to the second line down. The C clef continues to be used for voices or instruments whose range straddles the G and F clefs. The chosen position of the clef enables the stave to span the core of a vocal or instrumental range and reduce the use of the so-called leger lines, short additional lines written as required above or below the stave. Allowing the use of one upper and one lower leger line and the spaces above and below these, the modern G, or treble clef covers two octaves upwards from B below middle C, a reasonable soprano or treble range. Dilecki's system enjoyed great freedom in the location of the clef to suit a particular range. Not only *diškant* 'descant or treble', *al't* 'alto',

[22] *Slovar'*, vol. 1, p. 24.
[23] Budovnic, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[24] *O*, f. 25: "Bukvar' grammatika pěnija musikijskago".
[25] *PU*, f. 12.

tenor and *bas* are met, but also *altembas* (Italian *altobasso*), *bas ekscelent, bas geref,* and so on. The singers were expected to know all the clef positions associated with particular voices. This had its practical advantages, since by making the appropriate mental adjustment or substitution in clef or clef position the singers were enabled to read the music as if it were in the key of C major, untrammelled by bothersome flats or sharps. Thus for example a passage in B flat major on the tenor clef could be read as C major on the treble clef. As with the pitch names of the notes the Latin letters are retained for clef marks. The Latin noun *clavis*, channeled through Polish *klawisz* serves as technical term for clef: *kljaviš*. The Slavonic synonym *ključ* is used in the sense of 'key': *bemoljarnyj / dural'nyj / dijezisovyj ključ* 'flat / natural / sharp key'. However, the functional distinction is not as clear-cut as between *clef* (of French origin) and *key* (its native counterpart) in English.

While the nomenclature of voices by range is of Italian origin and Polish transmission, voice itself in the general sense is represented by a word of Common Slavonic stock and probable onomatopoeic root: **golsъ*. Choice between the East Slavonic *golosъ* and Church Slavonic *glasъ* may be dictated by context rather than semantic distinction: "ne vědaješ jakij holos, či tenor, či bas" (*HM* 7) 'you do not know what the voice (is), tenor or bass'; "hrubim holosom zavije" (*Hm* 46) 'will burst out howling in a coarse voice'; "me derzat' na umislě, to je(st)['] na rozumě, fa—na jazyku, v hlasě" (*HM*5) 'to have mi in mind or understanding, but fa on your tongue, in your voice'. The same root was used in adjectives denoting 3-part, 4-part or other choral music: "tretioholosnij ... četveroholosnij ... pjatoholosnij [koncert]" (*HM* 14). The Latin plural *partes* supplied the root of an adjective: *partesnoje (pěnije)* 'partsong', an expression in use before Dilecki's day.[26]

Slavonic adjectives are used to characterise major and minor: *veselaja muzyka, smutnaja muzyka.*[27] The same adjectives denote chords: *veselyj ton (ut - mi - sol'), smutnyj ton (re - fa - lja).*[28] The Slavonic adjective

[26] First noted in 1656; H. Leeming, *Rola języka polskiego w rozwoju leksyki rosyjskiej do roku 1696. Wyrazy romańskiego i łacińskiego pochodzenia* (Prace komisji słowianoznawstwa, no. 44) (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk, 1976), p. 86. (Henceforth *Rola*)

[27] *HM*, 3.

[28] *HM*, 4.

prostyj appears as an equivalent for *dural'nyj* but the names of the flat and sharp keys defy translation.[29] The intervals are named by Latin ordinals: *sekunda, tercija, kvinta, kvarta, seksta, septima, oktava.* These give rise to adjectives in the compound suffix *-al'nyj*, which combines Latin *-al(is)* with Slavonic *-(ь)nyj*, and is of frequent occurence in Dilecki's work: *sekundal'nyj*, etc. Variants also occur with Slavonic roots: *vtoral'nyj, trojal'nyj, četveral'nyj, pjatal'nyj, šestal'nyj, semal'nyj, osmal'nyj*[30] The names of the notes by length are, like their modern American and German equivalents, logically descriptive of time-values: *takt* 'whole-note; Ganze Taktnote'; *poltakta* 'half-note; Halbenote'; *čvertka* 'quarter-note; Viertel'; these correspond to English semibreve, minim and crotchet. For 'eight-note and sixteenth-note', English quaver and semiquaver, *čvertka* is qualified by *vjazanaja* and *dva razy vjazanaja*; here the principle has changed, coming more into line with the French descriptive type: 'croche, double-croche, triple-croche', although the latter refer to hooks and not to binding lines. The generic term for 'rest' is *palza,*[31] which presents an unusual graphic representation of the asyllabic *u* in Polish *pauza*, from Greek *pausis* 'stop' via Latin *pausa.* For the shorter rests yet another Latin letter name was pressed into service: *es*, presumably as the initial of *suspirium* 'breath', equivalent to a crotchet; and *polesok,* equivalent to a quaver.[32] In the Smolensk version Dilecki made use of Polish numerals for the longer rests: *jedna, druga, tretca, čvarta, pionta* and *šusta,*[33] Pol. *jedna, druga, trzecia, czwarta, piąta, szósta.*

While we cannot be sure that Dilecki with his Polish cultural background had anything more than an elementary knowledge of Church Slavonic, it is obvious that he soon encountered it as language of learning and instruction in Belorussia and Muscovy. In his hands it seems to serve as a medium of explanation, not a means of embellishing his text with the venerable trappings of a high literary style, such as we meet in the musical treatise of Mezenec, the polyphilosyllabic champion of the

[29] *PU*, f. 16 v.)
[30] *Idea*, 92-98.
[31] *O*, f. 6 v., *HM* 72; Idea, 193 has *pavza.*
[32] *O*, f. 7 and 72.
[33] *Ibidem*, f. 7.

znamennoje pěnije. Here is an extract from his criticism of those who wish to modernise the old chant: "mnjat sije staroslavenorossijskoje v tajno-sokrovennoličnom znameni pěnije prevoditi vo organnoglasovnoje, glasonotnoje pěnije"—'(Ignorant and presumptuous people) are thinking of converting this Palaeo-Slavono-Russian chant with its arcanomystical symbols into organovocal, vocalo-linear music'.[34] Nor does Dilecki indulge in such unnecessary inventions or displays of etymological erudition as *sladkopěnije* for *melodia*, which occurs in the section on music in chapters 99 and 100 of the early nighteenth-century Russian version of Comenius' *Orbis pictus.*[35] This word, which arose by erroneous association of the first syllable with Latin *mel* 'honey', instead of Greek *melos* 'song', is given in Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj's Latin lexicon as the equivalent of *melodia.*

The following examples of Dilecki's calques refer mostly to the theory and rules of composition; a few concern notation and performance. They are based on Latin, Italian or Greek models. Some are perhaps to be regarded as translations or explanations, rather than calques; a number are adaptations to the musical context of existing words. Two examples (*canon, scala*) are qualified as 'hidden' because they do not have an explicit model in Dilecki's text.

allegro (It.)	"alegro po vlosku, po našemu skoro, albo veselo" (*HM*, 7); two interpretations, referring either to speed or mood, are offered.
amplificare (Lat.)	"ampléfěkovat', to jest razširat' fantazěju" (*HM*, 59); the verb is registered by Sreznevskij, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, cols. 99 and 112, in more concrete senses, including middle-age spread.
amplificatio (Lat.)	"de amplifykacione [in Latin script], si jest' o razširennju fantazii" (*HM*, 59).

[34] Mezenec, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[35] H. Klueting, ed., *Das Leidener russich-deutsche Gesprächswörterbuch von ca. 1730 ("Christian Gottlieb Wolf-Lexicon"). Bibliotheca academiae Lugduno-Batavae Msc. LTK 584* (Amsterdam, 1978), p. 143, line 10. for the correct identification of this important monument see my review in *SEER*. vol. 58, 1980, pp. 272-274.

ascensio (Lat.) "vozšestvije" (*O*, f. 58 v.; *Idea*, 49; 54); "vosxoždenije" (*HM*, 16). Both words were already in use in other contexts.

atextalis (Lat.) "pravilo bezrěčnoje—regula atextalis" (*Idea*, 77); "tuju regulu nazivaju, čto bez tekstu komponuješ, fantazějeju atekstalěs" (*HM*, 33); a mode of composition whereby the musical theme is constructed before a suitable text is found for it.

basis (Gk.) "basis ... osnovanije" (*Idea*, 181); also replaced by *fundament* from Latin and Polish.

cadentia (Lat.) *cadenza* (It.) "bassovaja padež ... kogda bass tvorit kadenciju" (*Idea*, 38); adaptation of an existing word.

cadentialis (Lat.) "pravilo imenujemoje latinski kadencialnoje, slavjanski zě padežnoje" (*Idea*, 70).

canon (Gk-Lat.) Since the first four of Dilecki's rules are concerned with canon or imitation, there is a suspicion that *regula* or *pravilo* may here be a 'hidden' calque of Gk. *kanon*. (*HM*, 16-27)

clavis (Lat.) "kljavis latinski, slavenskiže ključ'" (*Idea*, 26); "kljaviš po lacěně, po polsku ključ" (*HM*,7).

componere (Lat.) *slagati* occurs frequently in the sense of combining one note with another or others; it has not been noted in the sense of artistic creation.

concertare (Lat.) This is frequently met in the Slavicised form *koncertovati* or reflexive *koncertovati sja*. The Slavonic prefix *s-* may replace Latin *con-*: "kogda bas z basom zcertujutsja" (*HM*, 26); in the same passage a form without prefix occurs: "diškanti ... z svoim basom certujut". This could be a borrowing of the Latin *certare*, with the same meaning as the prefixed verb—'to contend'. This may also be translated by an East Slavonic form: *borot'sja*.

concerto (It.) Apart from the loanword *koncer* , with adjective *koncertovyj*, which occurs frequently in the sense of 'passage of polyphonic music, where the voices

contend; specifically, not a passage of parallel motion', we find a rendering of the meaning in Church Slavonic: "koncerta, siréč' glasa so glasom borenije" (*Idea*, 44).

concordantia (Lat.) *concordanza* (It.) "o konkordancijax, siréč', o soglasujuščixsja notax" (*Idea*, 33); an explanation rather than a calque.

descensio (Lat.) "snisxoždenije" (*HM*, 21); "nizšestvije pervoje imenujemoje latinski descensio" (*Idea*, 55); "nizšestvije" (*O*, f. 55). The loanword is also used (misspelt with *dis-* in *HM*, 20, etc.), together with verb *discendovati* (*HM*, 22).

dispositio (Lat.) "o dispozicii ... razloženii pěnija" (*Idea*, 108).

contrapunctum (Lat.) "o protivotočii" (*O*, f. 76); an ingenious and genuine calque; the loanword is much more frequent, together with derived adjective and verb: *kontrapunkt, kontrapunktovyj, kontrapunktovat'*, e.g. "pročii že glasy kontrapunktujut sekundami" (*Idea*, 120).

contraria (Lat.) "pravilo protivnoje, iže imenujetsja latinski regulja kontrarija" (*Idea*, 76).

elegantia (Lat.) "eleganciju latinski, slavenskiže krasotu" (*Idea*, 205).

finalis (Lat.) "o padežax finalnyx, siréč', konečnyx" (*Idea*, 72).

fuga (Lat.) "běganije, kogda glasy svjazannymi notami jedin po drugim ili vkupě běgajut" (*Idea*, 80)—'a run, when the voices run in bound notes (i.e. quavers) either one after another or together'. The word has not been noted in the sense of 'composition in fugal style'. Elsewhere the verb is met: "vjazanimi razi dva albo tri i dalej holosi ... fugujutsja" (*HM*, 34)—'the voices are running in twice, thrice, etc. bound notes (i.e. semiquavers, demisemiquavers, etc.)'.

liga (Lt.) "liga latinski, slavenskiže sojuz" (*Idea*, 122); "liga

po lacině, po polsku svionzek" (i.e. Pol. *związek; HM*, 51).

linea (Lat.) "vo mnogix linějex, sirčč' čerticax" (*Idea*, 133); an explanation of the stave is given elsewhere: "linii sut' lěstvicy so stepenjami" (*Idea*, 146)—'the lines are ladders with rungs'. Here may be a 'hidden' calque of Lat. *scala*.

muzyczny (Pol.) "služit do skripic i inix roznix instrumentov hralnix" (*HM*, 33); a neologim, rather than a calque. Late sixteenth-century Polish had not only *instrument muzyczny* (Mączyński, etc.) but also *gędziebne naczynienie* (Mączyński) and *naczynie gędzieckie* (Crescentius); S. Reczek, *Podręczny słownik dawnej polszczyzny*, Wroclaw—Warsaw-Cracow, 1968, p. 108.

naturalis (Lat.) "pravilo jest jestvennoje, latinski imenujemoje naturalnoje" (*Idea*, 66).

punctum (Lat.) "punkt, siréč' točka" (*Idea*, 125); the loanword is more frequent, also occurring in a diminutive form: "punktik" (*HM*, 53).

reguła (Lat.) The rules of composition given by Dilecki are referred to either as *reguly* or *pravila*, e.g. "pravilo xoralnoje" (*Idea*, 65) against "regula xoralěs" (*HM*, 26).

scala (Lat.) see *linea* above.

semitonium (Lat.) "semitonium ... polnoty" (*Idea*, 21); "dijezis po grecku a po lacine semitoněum, polnoti do hori" (*HM*, 5).

sumphonia (Gk.) The earlier calque *soglasije*, already in use in the sense of 'agreement, accord', becomes a musical term in both Mezenec and Dilecki's writings. "Movilem o sohlasii" (*HM*, 42)—'I have spoken about agreement'; this refers to information on the composition of chords given at *HM*, 10-11, where the general heading is: "o konkordanceì".

taktus (Lat.) The word *takt* is used, as in Polish musical terminology, with two senses: 1. beat; 2. semibreve. In the former sense it is explained by Slavonic equivalents: "takt: latinski taktus, slavenski že měra ili vaha" (*Idea*, 26; *O*, f. 11 v.); "takt něčoho inšoho ne jest tylko měra: jako šalě nějakije" (*HM*, 7)—'the beat is nothing else, only the measure, a sort of scales as it were'. (The reading ščablě, offered by the Ukrainian editors, is erroneous; Dilecki's script does not clearly distinguish between Cyrillic ш and щ.)

transposition (Lat.) "transpoziciju ... preloženije ključev" (*Idea*, 150). In the instructions for transposition simpler phraseology is used: "alta měješ pět' tenorom duralnim" (*HM*, 7)—'you are to read (the key of B flat on) the alto (clef) as C major on the tenor (clef)'. The verb *prevratit'* is also used in this sense.

The above examples may help to correct the impression given by Unbegaun's pioneering article on comparative Slavonic loan-translation that seventeenth-century Russian did not favour the practice.[36] One imagines that such a connoisseur of the language would have come to a rather different conclusion if Dilecki's musical treatise had been accessible.[37] Certain principles are suggested by the material. Derivatives seem to be more amenable to the treatment than simple words: adjective referring to musical intervals, *secundalis*, etc., may be calqued but *secunda*, etc. are not. The more abstract or figurative the meaning, the more liable the expression to calquing, even when this produces such a paradox as "bas vo vlasnix svoix kadencějax spadajet do hori na kvartax" (*HM*, 31)—'in its proper cadences the bass voice drops upwards a fourth', where *spadajet* renders an underlying Latin *cadit*.

[36] B.O. Unbegaun, "Le calque dans les langues slaves littéraires," *Revue des études slaves*, vol. 12 (Paris, 1932), pp. 19-48; reprinted in B.C. Unbegaun, *Selected papers on Russian and Slavonic philology* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 27-57: "Les calques du russe ne remontent pas au delà du XVIIIe siecle." (p. 47)

[37] *Rola*, pp. 111-115, gives an appendix of 98 calques from prepetrine sources.

I close with a note on the unexpected elevation of the name of a primitive folksy instrument, usually associated with incompetence or stupidity, to the status of epithet qualifying a rule of composition, where it not only wins the distinction of a modish suffix—"pravilo dudalnoje", but is even transmuted into a classical form: "regula dudalĕs" (*HM*, 29). Ex pauperrimo dives—there is hope for us all!

* * *

Since preparing this article for publication I have realized that I overlooked the existence of a Polish form *obiecadło,* already current in the 15th century, with the then typical substitution of Polish *o* for Latin initial *a*. The poet Norwid seems to have exploited for his own purposes the accidental (or analogical?) connection with *obiecać,* see I. Fik, *Uwagi nad językiem Cypriana Norwida* (= Prace historyczno-literackie, no. 34), Cracow, 1930, p. 71.

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Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Phonem *Jat* und den Nasalvokalen in der Entwicklung des slavischen Vokalismus

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Der Jubilar gehört zu den führenden Forschern auf dem Gebiet der vergleichenden slavischen Sprachwissenschaft. So, zum Beispiel, stellt sein Werk *A Prehistory of Slavic* einen der Gipfel der vergleichenden slavischen Phonologie unserer Zeit dar. Es ist meines Erachtens *dignum et iustum,* daß in der vorliegenden Festschrift auch ein bescheidener Aufsatz aus diesem Zweig seines vielfältigen Opus erscheine.

1. Die urslavischen Lautgesetze (Entlabialisierung der idg. Vokale in Verbindung mit dem darauf folgenden Gesetz der offenen Silben, Reduktion der Jerlaute)[1] haben zu einem überreichen Vokalsystem im Späturslavischen, bzw. im Frühslavischen geführt. Die ganze Weiterentwicklung ist durch die Tendenz zur Vereinfachung im Sinne des "klassischen Vokaldreiecks" gekennzeichnet; die Hauptlinie dieser Evolution ist grundsätzlich durch die Struktur der Archiphonemfelder bedingt[2].—In diesem Aufsatz wollen wir auf einen Zusammenhang näher eingehen, der, u. E., bisher nicht klar genug untersucht wurde.

2. Es ist wohl bekannt, daß das ursl. Phonem *Jät,* d.h. /ä/ oder /ě/ (in der Folge schreiben wir *ě*), in den Einzelslavinen eine maximale Skala von Reflexen aufweist—vom tiefen *a* (z. B. poln. *lato* < **lětă*

[1] Vgl., z. B.: G. Y. SHEVELOV, *A Prehistory of Slavic—The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic,* Heidelberg 1964, 150-163, 264-293, 311-337, 376-390, 422-465 (§§ 10, 18-20, 22, 26, 28-29); F. V. MAREŠ, *Diachronische Phonologie des Ur- und Frühslavischen,* München 1969, 32-40, 93-97 (§§ 20-26, 60-62).

[2] Vgl. Ф. В МАРЕШ, *Историскиот развој на македонскиот вокален систем,* Македонски јазик 34 (1983) 5-21.

'aestas') über das mittlere und erhöhte *e* (z. B., *e:* skr. ekavisch *leto; #e:* sln. *lẹto*) über die *ie-* und *ei*-artigen Diphthonge (z. B., skr. jekavisch *ljeto* < *lj̨eto,* slk. *biely* 'albus', sln. dial. *leiṭo*) bis zum tieferen (offenen) und hohen *i* (z. B., phonetisch *ƀi:* oso./nso. *lěto; i:* skr. ikavisch *lito,* ukr. *лимо*)[3].

2.1. Außer Acht lassen wir, selbstverständlich, das Jat nach palatalen Konsonanten und Sonanten: In dieser schon im Ursl. neutralisierten Position ist es überall mit /a/ zusammengeflossen; dies betrifft den Typus *časъ* < **čěsъ* < idg. **q°ēs-o-* 'tempus', *čajati* < **čějěti* 'exspectare', hierher gehören auch die Fälle mit einer alten *j*-Prothesis, wie skr. dial. *jazditi* 'equitare', mit *gn* > *gń,* wie *gnjazdo* < *gńězdo* 'nidus'[4] usw. Relevant ist die Entwicklung des Jat in derjenigen Stellung, wo es keine Neutralisierung gab, d. h., nach den Alveolaren und Labialen. Es entfallen auch die Beispiele, wo *ě (ä)* auf morphonologischem Wege zu *a* geworden ist (*rǫcě* Lsg. 'manus' vs. *ovьc'a* 'ovis')[5].

3. Das ursl. *ě* gehörte zum Archiphonem *A,* seine konkrete Realisierung schwebte zwischen *#ä* (= *#a* vorderen Timbres) und *ƀe*[6].

3.1. In sechs Slavinen sind klare Spuren dieses ursprünglichen Status erkennbar, dort nämlich, wo *ě* teilweise *a*-artige Reflexe aufweist: (1) Im Bg. ergibt das betonte Jat vor ursprünglich harten Konsonanten und

[3] Die Bezeichnung der erhöhten ("engen") Vokale mit dem musikalischen Zeichen # und der gesenkten ("offenen") mit ƀ halte ich für vorteilhaft: So, z. B., klingen die Laute *#e* und *ƀi* phonetisch nicht ganz gleich (ähnlich wie *fis* und *ges* im natürlichen Stimmsystem) und dabei können sie in phonologischer Sicht als enharmonisch (=praktisch identisch) gewertet werden, etwa wie *fis=ges* im temperierten System; zugleich ist es klar, welchem Archiphonemfeld sie angehören.—Über das skr. *#e* < *ě* vgl. П. ИВИЋ, *Дијалектологија српскохрватског језика,* Нови Сад 1956, 209-212 (§§ 220-226), Literatur dazu: 212-215 (§§ 227-229); in diesem Buch ist auch eine gute Übersicht des Zustandes in allen skr. Dialekten.— Über die monophonematischen (einsilbigen) skr. Jat-Reflexe vgl. D. BROZOVIĆ, *Refleksi starohrvatskoga drugog jata u standardnoj novoštokavštini i problem njihova fonološkog statusa,* Прилози-Contributions (МАНУ) III/1: Словенскиот вокализам и вокалните системи (Реферати од петтото заседание на Меѓународната комисија за фонетика и фонологија на словенските јазици), Скопје 1978, 7-20;—E. BARIĆ-M. LONČARIĆ-D. MALIĆ-S. PAVESIĆ-M. PETI-V. ZEČEVIĆ-M. ZNIKA, *Priručna gramatika hrvatskoga književnog jezika,* Zagreb 1979, 472-474 (§§ 1404-1409).

[4] Über *gn* > *gń* vgl. FVM, *Diachron. Phonol.* (s. Anm. 1), 78 (§ 51B).—Čakavische Belege: B. JURIŠIĆ, *Rječnik govora otoka Vrgade,* Zagreb 1973, s.v. *gńīzdȍ*

[5] Vgl. *ibid.,* 101 (§ 65).

[6] SHEVELOV, *o. c.,* 164-180, 388-389, 585-586 (§§ 11, 26.11, 34.4)—Shevelov bietet da auch eine vollständige und anschauliche Darstellung der Lage auf dem ganzen slavischen Sprachgebiet.

Sonanten ein *'a*, z. B., *лямо* (aber *лéмен* und *лемá* Pl.); in den Dialekten ist der *a*-Reflex des alten *ě* noch mehr (in etlichen wieder weniger) verbreitet.—(2) In den mak. Dialekten der Dörfer Suho, Visoka, Zarovo und Boboščica (die ersten drei Ortschaften liegen auf griechischem, die letzte auf albanischem Staatsgebiet) reflektiert sich Jat in betonten Silben als *ä*[7]: *лämo*. —(3) Im Polnischen geht *ě* vor harten Alveolaren in /a/ über[8]: *lato, las* 'silva'.—(4) Ähnliches gilt für die beiden pomoranischen Restsprachen, d.h., für Kaschubisch und Slowinzisch[9] *(lato)* und ebenso für (5) das Polabische[10]: *l'otü* (< *lato* < *lěto*).—(6) Nach J. R i g l e r existiert im slavischen Sprachraum noch ein weiteres Gebiet, wo *ě* lange tief war, nämlich in den nordwestlichen slowenischen Dialekten[11].

3.2. Dieselbe Entwicklung des *ě*-Vokals ist in den jetzt ausgestorbenen östlichen Dialekten des Niedersorbischen belegt: im Sorauer (Žorawa) und Gubener (Gubin) Dialekt. Des ersten der beiden Dialekte bediente sich M. Jukubica (1548), der zweite spiegelt sich im *Thesaurus polyglottus* H. Megisers (1603)

[7] Zum Bulgarischen vgl.: W. VONDRÁK, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik*, 2. Aufl., Göttingen 1924, 89-90 (§ 53);—К. МИРЧЕВ, *Историческа граматика на българския език*, 3-то изд., София 1978, 118-122.—Zu den makedonischen Dialekten vgl.: Б. ВИДОЕСКИ im Sammelband *Fonološki opisi srpskohrvatskih/hrvatskosrpskih, slovenačkih i makedonskih govora obuhvaćenih Opšteslovenskim lingvističkim atlasom*, gl. red. P. IVIĆ, Sarajevo 1981, 753, 754 (§ 2.16), 801, 803 (§ 2.14);—ders., *Die Entwicklungsstufen der mundarlichen Differenzierung im Mazedonischen*, Die Welt der Slaven 21/1 (1976) 165-172;—ders., *Основни дијалектни групи во Македонија*, Македонски јазик 11-12/1-2 (1960-1961) 13-31, besonders S. 23 (цѣ > ца in den ostmakedonischen Dialekten im allgemeinen);—ders., *Македонските дијалекти во светлината на лингвистичката географија*, ibid. 13-14/1-2 (1962-1963) 87-107 (bes. 95);—ders., *Дијалектната диференцијација на македонскиот јазик*, Приспапни предавања, прилози и библиографија на новите членови на МАНУ, Скопје 1970, 27-39;—Б. КОНЕСКИ, *Историја на македонскиот јазик*, Скопје 1965, 43-45 (§§ 50-51).

[8] SHEVELOV, *o.c.*, 586 (§ 34.4);— T. BENNI-J. ŁOŚ-K. NITSCH-J. ROZWADOWSKI-H. UŁASZYN, *Gramatyka języka polskiego*, Kraków 1923, 143-144 (§ 53);—Z. KLEMENSIEWICZ-T. LEHR-SPŁAWIŃSKI-S. URBAŃCZYK, *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*, Warszawa 1955, 81-83 (§ 22).

[9] F. LORENTZ, *Gramatyka pomorska, I/1: Fonetyka*, Wrocław 1958, 77 (§ 7.2).

[10] T. LEHR-SPŁAWIŃKI, *Gramatyka połabska*, Lwów, 1929, 34-36 (§§ 25-26).

[11] J. RIGLER, *Rozwój ě w języku słoweńskim*, Rocznik Slawistyczny 24/1 (1965) 79-92 (bes. 80-82). Diese gründliche Studie bringt eine genaue Übersicht der Lage auch in anderen slavischen Dialekten (besonders im skr. Sprachraum). Dort findet man auch eine reiche Bibliographie zum ganzen Problem der Entwicklung des Phonems /ě/.—Vgl. auch ders., *Pregled osnovnih razvojnih etap v slovenskem vokalizmu*, Slavistična revija 14 (1963) 25-78 (bes. 29-30, 42-43, 65-70). Auf diesen wichtigen Aufsatz hat mich mein Kollege und Freund F. Sławski aufmerksam gemacht, wofür ich ihm herzlich danke.

wieder. Diese Erscheinung ist eindeutig als eine Isoglossenüberlappung aus dem polnischen Sprachgebiet zu verstehen[12].

4. Der Nasalvokal *ǫ* gehörte im Späturslavischen zu den Vokalen mittlerer Höhe (vgl. auch das glagolitische Graphem dafür, eine Ligatur *o* + *N*)[13], z. B.: *rǫka* 'manus'.

4.1.1. In derselben Höhenlage entwickelte sich dieses Phonem im Bulgarischen *(ръка)* und im Makedonischen, wo es allerdings auf einem Teil des Sprachgebiets (die Schriftsprache inbegriffen) nachträglich zu /a/ gesunken ist (*рака*), und ebenso im Polnischen. Die altpolnischen Nasalvokale sind in einem einzigen Phonem zusammengeflossen (d. h., im Allophonpaar "*ę* hinteren Timbres vs. *ę* vorderen Timbres"); bekanntterweise kam es nachträglich zur Labialisierung der langen Nasalvokale zu *ǫ* (*ręka,* aber Gpl. *rąk, dąb* 'quercus', wobei das Graphem *ą* — wie bekannt — nasales *o* und seine weiteren Reflexe bezeichnet); historisch und dialektal kommt auch *ą* (=nasales *a*), *ą̊* und *ą̈* vor[14]. Auch in den nordwestlichen slowenischen Dialekten, wo sich die Nasale lange hielten und in einer Mundart noch immer bestehen, war (ist) ebenso ein mittleres *ǫ* vorhanden[15].

4.1.2. Die Entwicklung *ǫ* > #*ǫ,* event. bis zu *ъу*, ist ein verhältnismäßig spätes Phänomenon (XV.-XVI. Jahruhundert) und hängt mit der polnischen Vokalverengung *(pochylenie)* zusammen[16].

4.1.3. Auch im Kaschubischen und Slowinzischen reflektiert sich *ǫ*

[12] K. E. MUCKE, *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der niedersorbischen (niederlausitzisch-wendischen) Sprache,* Leipzig 1891 (Nachdruck: Leipzig 1965), 63-64 (§ 32/II);-VONDRÁK, *o. c.* (s. Anm.7), 29, 97 (§§ 16, 60).—Den weißrussischen Reflex (*ě* >) *'a/a* in Vortonsilben lassen wir außer Acht, denn das ist eine verhältnismäßig späte Erscheinung des weißrussischen Akanie; Beispiele: *лес* 'silva' - *лясы́* im Plural, *рэ́чка* 'amniculus'-*рака́* 'fluvius'.

[13] SHEVELOV, *o. c.*. 311-331, 336-337, 584 (§§ 22.1-11, 34.2) - eine vollständige Übersicht der Geschichte der beiden Nasalvokale auf dem ganzen slavischen Sprachgebiet.—Vgl. auch FVM, *Diachron. Phonol.* (s. Anm. 1), 105-106 (§ 68); in Details habe ich die dort geäußerten Ansichten über die Weiterentwicklung dieses Phonems geändert, vgl. *o. c.* (s. Anm. 2), §§ 5.2.2.2 und 5.2.3.

[14] SHEVELOV, *ibid.;*—ROZWADOWSKI in der "Fünf-Autoren-Grammatik" (s. Anm. 8), 130-135 (§§ 45-47);—KLEMENSIEWICZ—LEHR-SPŁAWIŃSKI—URBAŃCZYK, *o.c.* (s. Anm. 8), 102-111 (§ 31); — VONDRAK, *o. c.* (Anm. 7), 154-156 (§ 96).

[15] RIGLER, *Pregled* ... (s. Anm. 11), bes. 66 (nachträgliche Hebung:), 67.

[16] K. DEJNA, *Dialekty polskie,* Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975, 188-192 (§§ 62-63); —S. URBAŃCZYK, *Zarys dialektologii polskiej,* 2 wyd., Warszawa 1962, 26-29 (§ 19).

als ein Nasal mittlerer Höhe; wo es zur Erhöhung kam *(#ǫ, ų)*, ist es wieder eine allgemeine und spätere Evolution der mittelhohen Vokale[17].

4.1.4. Im Polabischen ist *ǫ* im allgemeinen geblieben, nach palatalen (Kon)Sonanten ist es zu *ą* geworden: *rǫka, zarą* < **zьrjǫ* 'video'[18]. In Anlehnung an die Schreibart der Quellen *(un)* setzt L e h r - S p ł a - w i ń s k i die phonetische Realisierung *#ǫ* an; dieser Laut hat jedoch nie den Wert eines Phonems gehabt und seine Verengung läßt sich von den allgemeinen Entwicklungsprozessen der polabischen mittelhohen Vokale nicht trennen[19].

4.2. In allen übrigen Slavinen sind die Reflexe des Nasalvokals *ǫ* höher als die "normale" horizontale mittlere Vokalreihe.

4.2.1. Im Slowenischen ergab dieser Nasalvokal in betonten (=langen) Silben ein *#ō: róka.* Der graphische Usus der Freisinger Denkmäler (X.-XI. Jahrhundert) bezeugt, daß die Erhöhung uralt ist: wir finden dort nebeneinander *poronſo* || *poruſo (< porǫčǫ)* 'commendo', *bodi* und *bodo (< bǫd-)* || *ſunt (< sǫtь)* formae verbi 'esse', *muſenicom (< mǫče-nikomь)* 'martyribus'[20]. In den nordčakavischen Dialekten kommt in langen Silben *uo* vor *(ruokà)*[21]. —Über die Nordwest-Dialekte s. oben § 4.1.1.

4.2. In den nordmakedonischen Dialekten, im Skr., Tsch., Slk., Oso., Nso., Ukr., Wr. und Russ. ist der hohe Vokal *u* das allgemeine Ergebnis der Entwicklung des Nasals *ǫ: ruka - рука.*

5. Beim Vergleich der beiden dargestellten Entwicklungsprozesse, d.h., der Evolution des ursl. *ě* und des Nasalvokals *ǫ* läßt sich eine auffallende Parallelität feststellen: In allen Systemen, wo *ǫ* in der Entwicklung ü b e r die Linie der "normal"mittleren Vokale gehoben wurde *(ǫ*

[17] LORENTZ, *o. c.* (s. Anm. 9), 164-165, 336-383 (§§ 188, 555-680), über die Verengung des oralen *o* s. S. 284-296 (§§ 456-482).

[18] K. POLAŃSKI-J. A. SEHNERT, *Polabian-English Dictionary*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 24 (Einführungskapitel: "II. Polabian phonology").

[19] LEHR-SPŁAWIŃSKI, *Gram. połab.* (s. Anm. 10), 36-38 (§§ 27-28), über die Entwicklung des oralen *o* s. S. 40-44 (§§ 32-35; die phonologische Irrelevanz des Nasals *#ǫ* erwähnt Lehr-Spławiński nicht, vgl. jedoch POLAŃSKI, *l. c.*).

[20] Vgl. V. VONDRÁK, *Frisinské památky, jich vznik a význam v slovanském písemnictví*, Praha 1896, 33.

[21] VONDRÁK, *Vgl. slav. Gramm.* (s. Anm. 7), 153 (§ 93); über den kajkavischen Reflex *(ǫ >) #o* vgl., z. B., BARIĆ et coauct., *l. c.* (s. Anm. 3).

> *#o,* oder - auf dem großten Gebiet - *ǫ* > *u),* ist das Jat wenigstens in gewissen Positionen *a*-artig, d.h., u n t e r dieser horizontalen Linie geblieben *("ě > a").* Dies gilt auch *vice versa:* Wo *ǫ* nicht gestiegen ist, dort wurde *ě* überall und restlos mindestens in die Reihe der mittelhohen Vokale erhoben. Diese Konstatierung gilt ausnahmslos (über die einzige scheinbare Abweichung s. § 3.2).—Übrigens ist diese Feststellung schon vor mehr als fünfzig Jahren von T. L e h r - S p ł a w i ń s k i kurz formuliert worden[22].

Diese parallele Koinzidenz der Entwicklung zweier Phoneme kann kaum als Zufall gewertet werden; umso weniger, weil da geographisch getrennte, ja weit voneinander entfernte Gebiete übereinstimmen: (1) Bulgarisch-Makedonisch, (2) Polnisch -Kaschubisch-Slowinzisch-Polabisch, (3) nordwestslowenische Dialekte. Deswegen halten wir das Vergleichsergebnis für zuverlässig: Zwischen der Entwicklung der Phoneme /ě/ und /ǫ/ besteht eine kausale systembedingte Verbindung.

6. Eine konkrete Erklärung dieser Parallelentwicklung bleibt einstweilen noch im Rahmen einer wahrscheinlichen Hypothese: Der Lautwandel des Jat war nicht direkt von der Verschiebung des Nasals *ǫ* beeinflußt, sondern indirekt—durch die Verschiebung des Nasalvokals *ę*; die Entwicklung der beiden Nasale hängt unmittelbar zusammen. Solange die Nasalvokale als "kurzer Vokal + *N*" aufgefaßt wurden (vgl., z. B., die Struktur der glagolitischen Grapheme für die Nasalvokale: *o* + *N, e* + *N*), standen sie in einfacher asymmetrischer Korrelation mit den kurzen *o* und *e* (Vokal *o*/*e* + nasales Element *N*), also mit den Vokalen mittlerer Höhe. Sobald sie jedoch "phonologisch monophthongiert" waren[23], mußten sie sich einem l a n g e n Vokal phonologisch anschließen und mit diesem in eine einfache asymmetrische Korrelation eintreten: *ǫ* ergab *ṷ* und hat sich dem langen (hohen) *u* angeschlossen (*ṷ* = *ū* + nasales Merkmal); *ę* ist dagegen durch die zum Mittelpunkt des Vokaldreiecks symmetrische Rotation zum langen *ā̧* gesunken (*ā̧* = *ā* + nasales Merkmal)[24]. Dadurch wurde das Archiphonem *A* überlastet und

[22] T. LEHR-SPŁAWIŃSKI, *O dialektach prasłowiańskich,* Sborník prací I. sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze, Praha 1929, 577-585 (diesbezüglich: 583-584);—vgl. auch RIGLER, *Rozwój...* (s. Anm 11), 81.

[23] Vgl. Anm. 13 (FVM).

[24] Den Terminus "Rotation" hat J. HAMM eingeführt *(viva voce).*

ě wurde nach oben zum Archiphonem *E* gedrängt, welches durch den Untergang des Phonems ь und durch die eben erwähnte Verschiebung des Phonems *ę* entlastet worden war[25].

Die Entwicklung der beiden Nasalvokale in entgegengesetzter Höhenrichtung und den kausalen Zusammenhang zwischen den Reflexen der Phoneme /ě/ und /ę/ hat vor einem halben Jahrhundert R. Jakobson festgestellt[26]. (Zu einer endgültigen Lösung des Problems wird es, m. E., notwendig sein, die komplizierten Verhältnisse zwischen den Phonemen /ě/ und /ę/ in diachroner Sicht genau zu erschließen, besonders die Chronologie des eventuellen Zusammenflusses der beiden Laute, z. B., im Skr. und Nso.)

7. Abschließend fassen wir zusammen: Bei der allmählichen (aber konsequenten) Vereinfachung des späturslavischen und frühslavischen Vokalsystems in der Richtung zum "klassischen Vokaldreieck", das im System der Archiphoneme seit dem Späturslavischen vorhanden war, ist *ě* wenigstens teilweise (in gewissen Positionen) im Bereich des Archiphonems *A* überall dort (aber auch nur dort) geblieben, wo der Nasalvokal *ǫ* über die mittelhohe Vokalreihe gestiegen ist. Wo *ǫ* nicht nach oben verschoben wurde, dort ist *ě* aus dem Bereich der tiefen Vokale emporgestiegen—zum Archiphonem *E*, bzw. bis zum Archiphonem *I*. Diese Feststellung gilt eindeutig. Eine Erklärungshypothese: Wo *ǫ* gestiegen ist, dort ist *ę* gesunken; dadurch wurde das Archiphonem *A* überlastet, eines seiner Phoneme, namlich *ě*, ist in der Richtung nach oben ausgewichen.

Im Sinne der wissenschaftlichen Redlichkeit sei bemerkt, daß auf diese Fakten und auf die vorgeschlagene Erklärungsmöglichkeit schon von T. Lehr-Spławiński und von R. Jakobson kurz hingewiesen wurde; vgl. Anm. 22 und 26.

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[25] Es ist kaum ein bloßer Zufall, daß eben die Sprachen, welche die Nasalvokale nicht beseitigt haben oder in denen die Entnasalisierung verhältnismäßig spät eingetreten ist, keine Verschiebung des Typus *ǫ* > *u* aufweisen; die Nasale blieben dort lange Zeit als phonologische Verbindungen "kurzes *o*/*e* + *N*".

[26] R. JAKOBSON, *Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe comparée à celle des autres langues slaves*, Prague 1929 (= "Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague"; Nachdruck: Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1968), 36-37.

The Numeral as an Inflectional Word Class in Modern Ukrainian

JIŘÍ MARVAN

0. INTRODUCTION

It would be hard to imagine modern linguistic theory ignoring the basic stratification of language, comprising such levels as inflection, word-formation, syntax and semantics. Yet, one of the corner-stones of grammar, the theory of word classes (parts of speech, *partes orationis*, Ukr *častyny movy*) applies an approach which goes back to the time when the rigidity and clarity of such stratification were not established. We observe, e.g., that the representative description of Ukrainian grammar, *Sučasna ukrajins'ka literaturna mova* (henceforth, SULM);[1] claims to apply the morphological (inflectional) treatment complemented by syntactic and lexical-semantic criteria (p. 24), but modifies the term "parts of speech" used up to this point (cf. p. 23) to read lexical-grammatical classes (*leksyko-hramatyčni klasy*, p. 24) in which "grammatical" means both inflectional and syntactic.

The class of numerals is a particularly useful criterion for establishing the theoretical framework applied in word classification. Here, the temptation of an exceptionally clear-cut semantic definition brings together words which, by criteria applied in other classes, are nouns, adjectives, indeclinable adverbs and even syntactic structures. It is to the credit of SULM that it largely resists this temptation: e.g., it ignores the ordinals as a traditional category of numerals and interprets them to be ordinal (!) or referential adjectives.[2] Unfortunately, disappointment with this approach is not far off: fractions (*odna pjata, dvi pjati* 'one fifth,

[1] V. M. Rusanivs'kyj, ed., Vol. 2 (Kiev, 1969).

[2] Cf. p. 250. This solution seems to be reinforced by the observation that the numeral does not dispose of the standard declensional categories of gender and number, p. 246.

two fifths'), though patently violating the rule of no number opposition singular : plural, are included here—apparently, though not explicitly, for the same reason, namely their syntactic function, the ordinals are excluded.

It is easy to see that traditional word classification is not, in terms of modern theory, a linguistic term at all, as it does not—for historical reasons—observe elementary linguistic stratification. It is equally easy to see that a correct, modern definition can be achieved only by respecting this stratification: the overall word classification can be attempted only as a follow-up synthesis of the word classifications within the relevant levels, i.e. inflection, syntax and semantics. Clearly the inflectional approach, distinguished from others by the patently finite character of the corpus of data at its disposal, must be the initial and single most important step in this attempt.

In one of his recent articles,[3] G.Y. Shevelov brought to our attention the origin of the segment *-o-* in numeral forms such as *dv-o-x, tr-qo-x, bahat-qo-x* 'two, three, many in G/L'[4]. However, latent and, as Shevelov shows, difficult to grasp in its origin, it will be projected to the modern language and demonstrated to be one of the most manifest exponents of the inflectional class of numerals in Ukrainian.

1. NOMINAL CLASSES

Any linguistic entity comprises a *message* and its formal *representation* (French *signifié* and *signifiant* respectively). On the level of inflection the message corresponds to the traditional concept of (inflectional) categories which are formally represented by a flecteme[5]. In declension,

[3] George Y. Shevelov, "Why in Ukrainian *sl'ozy* 'Tears' but *zelenyj* 'Green', while in Russian *sljozy* and *zeljonyj*?" (in:) *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 57, No. 1—January, 1979, pp. 1-15, specially pp. 6 and 8, cf. also his *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 649 ff.

[4] In the romanized transcription, we use symbol *q* to represent *soft sign* instead of traditional diacritic (') which, though suitable phonologically, does not lend itself for adequate morphological segmentation.

[5] The term flecteme corresponds to the traditional ending, but encompasses all the cases of inflectional exponentiation within the limits of one word. Thus, e.g., in the word *zv+a-tymemosja* 'we will be called' the second component is a flecteme containing two "endings" (*-ty-*, cf. *nes-ty* 'to carry' and *-mo-*, cf. *hovory-mo* 'we speak') neither of which appears here at the end of the word.

the flecteme represents the categories of case, number and gender, of which only the first one is shared by all declensional paradigms.

If the category appears in all forms of the paradigm, it is an inflectional *constant*; if it changes, i.e., if it distinguishes some forms of the paradigm from others, it is an inflectional *variable*. Thus case is the variable of all nominal (declinable) classes while gender is a variable in adjectives (cf. *nov-yj, nov-e, nov-a* 'new' masc., nev., fem.) and a constant in nouns (cf. *stil* masc., *mor-e* neu., *vod-a* fem. 'table, sea, water'). Using this definition of categories, the four traditional declensional classes[6] are distributed as follows:

	Case	Number	Gender	
(i) Nouns	+	+	=	+ variable
(ii) Adjectives/pronouns	+	+	+	= constant
(iii) Numerals	+	=	—	— category not used

Table 1

2. STRUCTURE OF DECLENSIONAL FLECTEMES

If we consider Lpl flectemes in forms *stol+a-x, nov+y-x, t+y-x, dv+o-x* 'tables, new, those, two' we observe that they consist of two components: the final segment, shared by all four flectemes, is the exponent of Lpl while the penultimate segment, distinguishing three flectemes, is the exponent of the declensional class (CE) which, following table 1, yields

	CE	Lpl
(i) Noun	*-a-*	*-x*
(ii) Adjective/pronoun	*-y-*	*-x*
(iii) Numeral	*-o-*	*-x*

Table 2

[6] Personal pronouns (five units) are not considered.

Each of CE has a "soft" variant ("alloexponent") CE′:

	CE′	Lpl	Examples
(i) Noun	*-ja-*	*-x*	*kon+ja-x* 'horses'
(ii) Adjective/) (a)	*-i-*	*-x*	*syn+i-x, vs+i-x* 'blue, all'
pronoun) (b)	*-ji-*	*-x*	*mo+ji-x* my' [7]
(ii) Numeral	*-qo-*	*-x*	*tr+qo-x* 'three'

Table 2′

3. INFLECTIONAL NUMERALS

Inflectional numerals can be defined by table 1 (categories) as a word class marked by the variable of case, the constant of number and no category of gender, and by tables 2, 2′ as possessing the penultimate exponent CE/CE′ = *o/qo*. No word without this exponent can be classified as an inflectional numeral. Following this:

(a) Unit *odyn* 'one' and all ordinals are class (ii) Adjectives/pronouns (cf. SULM 246-7). The same applies to fractions such as *odna pjat+a, dvi pjat+y-x* 'one fifth, two fifths'.

(b) Units *nul+q, st+o, tysjač+a, milqjon* etc. '0, 100, 1000, 1,000,000' as well as *polovyn+a, čvert+q, par+a, djužyn+a* etc. 'half quarter, couple, dozen' are nouns (cf. SULM 247-9).

(c) Words such as *piv, pivtora, malo, dvijko,* 'half, one and half, few, couple' do not possess the category of case and are consequently indeclinables.

(d) On the other hand, two units *skilqk+y, stilqk+y* 'how many, so many' traditionally considered pronouns (SULM 271, 273) are inflectionally regular numerals, *skilqk+/stilqk+ + o-x* G/L, + o-*m* D, + *o-ma* I.

[7] Rare cases, for adjectives cf. *tonkošy*-ji-x 'thin-necked'.

4. MAIN FEATURES OF INFLECTIONAL NUMERALS

While the final segment in tables, 2, 2′ represents the integrity of all declensional paradigms, the penultimate segment refers to their distinctiveness. Both properties of numerals can be summarized as follows:

A. (i) The *integrity* of the final segment enhances the plural character of numeral constant as the segment is shared by the plural variable in nouns and adjectives/pronouns.

(ii) The lack of gender in plural adjectives indicates the reason for the same feature in numerals (—in Table 1); here the plural is a constant, hence inherent, implying the inherent lack of gender.

(iii) The inflectional plural in Ukrainian as an inherent feature, though consistent with plural variable, is in the Slavic context quite rare and, outside units two/both, three, four, shared by Slovak and Slovenian only,[8] cf.

	Ukrainian	*Slovak*	*Slovenian*
N(/A)	*pjat+q*	*päť*	*pet*
G/L	*pjat+qo-x*	*piat+i-ch*	*pet+i-h*
D	*pjat+qo-m*	*piat+i-m*	*pet+i-m*
I	*pjat+qo-ma*	*piat+i-mi*	*pet+i-mi*

B. The *distinctiveness,* though yielded by the integrity, is more extensive and more prominent, as we see from the following features:

(i) a) The penultimate segment, according to tables 2/2, has two variants CE/CE′. While in other classes CE′ is clearly a positional variant of CE, the relation in numerals is reversed: CE′= *qo* is a basic (independent) variant ("archimorpheme"), while CE = *o* is the positional alternation ("allomorph"); it appears after labials *v, b, m* (*dv+ox, ob+ox, sim+ox* 'two, both, seven') or the velar *k* (*kilqk+ox* 'few'), as phonemically these sounds do not have fronted ("soft") counterparts in Ukrainian. The priority of the variant CE′ = *qo* is obvious in the pair *bahat+o : bahat+qo-x* in which *o* / *qo* appear in the same position; this means that the distinction cannot be positional, hence must be inflectionally relevant.

[8] Cf., e.g., Russian and Belorussian in which numbers 5-20, 30, 50-80 are inflectionally nouns, paradigm FE II (type *kostq* 'bone'). In Serbo-Croatian, these numbers are not declined at all.

b) The final morpheme of In *-ma* is for all numerals universal and obligatory; this is opposed to the almost universal morpheme *-my* in other classes; note that this distinction applies even if the pre-final segment fails to display CE, cf. *pjat+q-ma.*

(ii) a) Each class has two or more paradigms; we establish two paradigms in numerals as follows:

	paradigm (1)	paradigm (2)	
		(2a)	(2b)
N(/A)	*bahat+o*	*pjat+q*	
G/L	*bahat+qo-x*	*pjat+qo-x*	*pjat+y*
D	*bahat+qo-m*	*pjat+qo-m*	*pjat+y*
I	*bahat+q-ma*	*pjat+qo-ma*	*pjat+q-ma*
Corpus:	*dva, obydva* 'two, both' *tr+y, čotyr+y* 'three, four' *(de-)kilqk-a* 'few' *skilqk-y, stilqk-y* 'how/ so much' *(ne)bahat-o* '(not) many'	*pjat+q* 'five' etc. (5-10) *odynadcat+q* 'eleven' etc. (11-19) *dvadcat+q, trydcat+q* 'twenty, thirty' *pjatdesjat* 'fifty' etc. (50-80)	

Table 4a

b) In contrast to other classes, two different declensions are not distinguished by two different set of forms; it is the paradigm (2) comprising both sets in opposition to the paradigm (1) with only one set of the forms.

c) The corpus as presented here is almost complete,[9] hence unlike other classes, the class of numerals is a closed set comprising about 30 units.

(iii): a) This class displays the constant plural, however all definite

[9] There are additional rare derivatives which belong to the paradigm (2) such as *kilqka-nadcjat+q* 'few over ten, teen', *kilqkadesjat* 'few tens', *stonadcjat+q* 'many'; for *pjatero* 'five (of a kind)' and other collective numerals see (iii): a) and table 4b.

numerals can be quantified yielding the collective counterparts: *dva* : *dvoje, pjatq* : *pjatero* 'two, five (of a kind)' cf. SULM 239. The formation and use of the collective numerals (quantification) is an inflectional (not word-formational) process; this follows from the fact that it uses the same flectemes as other numerals but only within the limits of paradigms (1) and (2a)

b) Although the flectemes of paradigms (1), (2a) are universal, the first component of the compound numerals 500-900 displays in G/L and D only the paradigm (2b):

Considering a), b) we receive the following alternatives of the paradigm (2) (= indicates the boundary in compounds: *pjatq* = *sot* '500, No')

	paradigm (2a)	2(b)	paradigm (2a)	paradigm (2b)
N(A)	*pjat+q*		*pjat+ero*	*pjat+q* = *sot*
G L	*pjat+o-x*	*pjat+y*	*pjat+qo-x*	*pjat+y* = *sot* = *sta-x*
D	*pjat+qo-m*		*pjat+qo-m*	= *sta-m*
I	*pjat+qo-ma*	*pjat+q-ma*	*pjat+qo-ma* or *pjat+q-ma*	*pjat+q-ma* or *pjat+qo-ma* = *sta-my*
Corpus:	table 4a		collective numerals	500 - 900

Table 4b

(iv) The oppositions *šist+q, sim* 'six, seven', (2a) *šist+qox, sim+ox* : (2b) *šest+y, sem+y* indicate that the paradigm (2a) has shallower morphonological relations than the paradigm (2b), involving complex rules to reach the surface. This, in a diachronic perspective, implies that the former paradigm is newer, in synchronic terms, more relevant for our discussion; i.e. the former ("shallower") paradigm is agglutinative, while

the later ("deeper") paradigm is synthetic. The agglutinativity of the paradigm (2a) is the most important constitutive feature of the word class of Ukrainian numerals.

5. TOWARDS SYNTHESIS IN WORD CLASSIFICATION

(i) The inflectional status of numerals, outlined in this paper, suggests some basic elements for constructing an overall word classification (see introduction). The numerals as defined in tables 4a, 4b are treated by tradition as a complement (a subordinate) in the nominal phrase (NP). Thus in the following two kernel structures

(1) x books are exciting

(2) buy x books

the kernel nominal phrase, with x = 0 can be expanded by applying the complement x = *the, these, other, all, old, Czech, secondhand*, as well as *three, five,* etc.

The extension of this formula to numerals in Slavic faces serious difficulties. It is possible to claim that Russian *tri knigi*, Serbo-Croatian *tri knjige*, Slovak *tri knihy* are proper counterparts of English *three books* (German *drei Bücher,* Swedish *tre böcker*, and for (1) Latin *tres libri*, Lith *trys knygos*, etc.). However, this correspondence is rather superficial, as it imposes syntactic and semantic criteria on facts which in a proper inflectional context have quite a different meaning.

First, if x = *five* (or more), the result yields, e.g., Russian *pjatq knig*, Serbo-Croatian *pet knjiga*, Slovak *päť knih* with the noun in Gpl. The substitution of the noun component with units as *sestra, atom* 'sister, atom' would yield for x = *three*, Russian *tri sestrý, tri atoma*, with the noun component in Gsg. The same results will be obtained in Serbo-Croatian.

Clearly, the NP relation numeral + substantive (henceforth N+S) in both languages is that of subordination in which the noun is governed by the numeral and the government is manifested by the form (genitive) of the subordinate component. The government is transformed into an agreement in oblique cases (i.e., outside the subject/object area) which might suggest that the subordination is reversed (cf. SULM 251 with a reference), see (iii).

(ii) Ukrainian, with the exception of some marginal cases (SULM 252, fn. 18), does not use sg form in the pair N+S. It is true that the N+S construction as *p"jatq sester, atomiv* 'five sisters, atoms' (for numerals five and above) use Gpl forms as their Russian (and other Slavic) counterparts *pjatq sestër, atomov*. But in contrast to Russian, the relation is not that of government but of agreement as follows from the following examination.

First, the pair N+S with numerals *two, both, three, four* yields almost consistently only the Npl form, cf. *try atom-y* 'three atoms' as opposed to Russian *try atom-a*.

Secondly, the plural flecteme is complemented with a non-flecteme exponent of singularity which is expressed as follows:

(a) by the suprasegment, i.e. by the stress, the position of which s always shared by the singular paradigm (cf. also SULM 127f, 252; e.g. *brat, knyžka* 'brother, book'):

	Singular		Plural		N+S		
N	*brat*	*knýžk-a*	*brat-ý*	*knyžk-ý*	*try*	*brát-y*	*knýžk-y*
G	*brát-a*	*knýžk-y*	*brat-ív*	*knyžók*	*trqox*	*brát-iv*	*knýžok*
D	*brát-ovi*	*knýžc-i*	*brat-ám*	*knyžk-ám*	*trqom*	*brát-am*	*knýžk-am*

Table 5a

(b) by the sg stem which is not otherwise used in pl (cf. SULM 67, 252; e.g. *perlyna, divčyna* 'pearl, girl'):

	Singular		Plural		N+S		
N	*perlyn-a*	*divčyn-a*	*perl-y*	*divčat-a*	*try*	*perlyn-y*	*divčyn-y*
G	*perlyn-y*	*divčyn-y*			*trqox*	*perlyn*	*divčyn*
D	*perlyn-i*	*divčyn-i*			*trqom*	*perlyn-am*	*divčyn-am*

Table 5b

(c) rarely by both exponents (*kurka* 'chicken'):

	Singular	Plural standard	Plural rare	N+S	
N	*kúrk-a*	*kúr-y*	*kurk-ý*	*try*	*kúrk-y*
G	*kúrk-y*	*kur-éj*	*kurók*	*trqox*	*kúrok*
D	*kúrc-i*	*kúr-jam*	*kurk-ám*	*trqom*	*kúrk-am*
In	*kúrk-oju*	*kur-mý*	*kurk-ámy*	*trqoma*	*kúrk-amy*

Table 5c

The basic inflectional and syntactic feature of pair N+S is the distinction of the noun form from its standard pl form. This is contrasted by other Slavic languages which display the distinction only in direct cases (subject/object area).

However, syntactically more important is the nature of the relation N+S. Clearly, the numeral requires not the G form, but the pl flecteme in the noun; moreover, the forms *bráty, knýžky, perlyny, kúrky* (see tables 5a, 5b, 5c, column N+S) do not exist independently, i.e. their use in the pair N+S is motivated (hence preceded) by the corresponding numeral.

Here we deal with agreement in which the noun is the subordinate. The character of the subordination and its inflectional exponentiation is the same as in the NP pair Adjective + Substantive wherein the subordination is expressed through gender; this must be inflectionally a variable in the subordinate (adjective) to accomodate the fixed gender, i.e. the constant of its controlling counterpart (substantive).

In the same way, in the pair N+S, the number variable of the substantive accomodates the fixed number of the numeral; it is consequently subordinate while the numeral occupies the position of the kernel nominal phrase.

(iii) This argument also applies in other Slavic languages; here the subordination in the pair N+S is not reversed in oblique cases (cf. the

conclusion in (i) but merely shifted from the government to agreement in case *and* number.[10]

* * *

The treatment suggested in this paper yields an essential distinction between non-Slavic and Slavic, Slavic and Ukrainian syntactic structures which within the framework of a traditional, semantically oriented interpretation seemed to be in principle identical (cf. (i) English *three books* + Russian *tri knigi*; Russian *tri sestrý, pjatq sestër* = Ukrainian *try sestrý, pjatq sestér*). The traditional interpretation, using extralinguistic (semantic) treatment, is not unuseful as it is based on the universality of the objective world (cf., SULM 251). It can be, however, hardly more relevant than an approach using purely linguistic entities (inflection) to treat syntactic relations which, after all, are linguistic reality as well.

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[10]The agreement in number in the pair N+S is not universal; apart from the languages which do not have this category (e.g. Chinese) there are languages with the inflectional opposition sg : pl using sg with the numeral, cf. Hungarian *könyv* sg, *könyvek* pl 'book' but *három könyv* literally 'tree book'.

A Thirteenth-Century Ukrainian Church Slavonic Text in Latin Letters

ROBERT MATHIESEN

Early Slavic texts written in Latin letters are of great interest to Slavic historical phonologists, because they may provide evidence for phonological facts which are orthographically obscured in the large mass of Cyrillic and Glagolitic texts. The text which is published here for the first time is of more than usual interest, for it is a 35-letter Cyrillic abecedarium in which the pronunciation and the Church Slavonic names of the Cyrillic letters have been rendered by means of the Latin alphabet, and the time and place of its writing can be determined with considerable precision.

This abecedarium is one of four which have been written in columns on two facing pages, originally blank, of a manuscript now in the Bamberg City Library. The other three abecedaria are Hebrew, Greek and "Chaldean"—the last actually a Runic alphabet. This Runic alphabet was examined by R. Derolez, who determined that it had been taken from the anonymous Carolingian treatise *De inventione litterarum* (usually, but wrongly, ascribed to Rabanus Maurus), and more precisely that it derives from the form of the treatise which circulated in Germany rather than the form which circulated in France. Following F. Leitschuh, Derolez dates the abecedaria to the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1]

There is good reason to believe that the four abecedaria are not quite

[1] F. Leitschuh & H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der k. Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, 1:1 (Bamberg, 1895-1906), 514-518. R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Rijks-universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 118; Bruges, 1954), 326-329, also 275-278, 345 ff. P.E.D. Riant, *Haymari Monachi De Expugnata Accone Liber Tetrastichus, seu Rithmus de Expeditione Ierosolimitana* (Lyons, 1866), xi-xv.

as old as the rest of the manuscript, and were added to it in S. Michelsberg Monastery near Bamberg, where the manuscript remained for centuries afterward. This conclusion rests on certain facts which pertain to the ways in which the manuscript has been bound during its history, taken in connection with the places where the Monastery's ownership inscriptions (*Liber Sancti Michahelis in monte Babenbergensi*) are found in the volumes and the place where the abecedaria were added to the manuscript.

At present the manuscript is bound in two volumes (Ms. patr. 130/1 and 130/2, formerly B. IV. 28 and B. IV. 29). The first volume contains 159 leaves, sewn in 20 quires numbered I-XX; leaf 159 is a later addition, attached to the last leaf of quire XX. The second volume contains 165 leaves, sewn in 16 quires numbered XXI-XXVIII and I—VIII; leaves 1-2 are a later addition, sewn in front of quire XXI. The first volume contains four works by the theologian Richard of St. Victor († 1173). The last of them, *De interiore hominis statu*, now ends on leaf 159v, which is a later addition; in the absence of that leaf it would have been interrupted about a page and a half before its end. The original last leaf of *De interiore hominis statu*, from which the added leaf 159 of volume I was copied, is still extant: it is leaf 3 in volume II, and it is followed by two further works by Richard of St. Victor and some brief anonymous texts of related content, ending on leaf 104r (the verso was originally blank). These leaves (3-104) of the second volume are the quires numbered XXI-XXVIII. The remaining 61 leaves (105-165) of volume II are the quires numbered I-VIII, which contain miscellaneous writings of various authors from St. Augustine down to the monk Haymarus, who flourished at the end of the twelfth century. The first two leaves of volume II were originally blank, but now bear the text of an epistle by Pope Gregory I and (in another hand) a copy of a letter written in 1193.

Although the present binding of the manuscript can hardly be much older than the fifteenth century, this arrangement of the leaves in two volumes of nearly equal size is much older, for the present first leaf of each volume bears the ownership inscription of the S. Michelsberg Monastery written in a hand which can hardly be younger than ca. 1250. However, the manuscript clearly was divided at first into two

volumes in another way: the original first volume, with 260 leaves sewn in 28 gatherings numbered I-XXVIII, contained writings by Richard of St. Victor; and the original second volume, with 61 leaves sewn in 8 gatherings numbered I-VIII, contained writings by other authors. This can be seen not only from the textual and codicological data already given, but also from the fact that a third ownership inscription of the S. Michelsberg Monastery, written in the same hand as the other two, is found on the original last page of the first volume, now leaf 104v in volume II.

From this we may conclude that the manuscript, written no earlier than the late twelfth century, came into the posession of the S. Michelsberg Monastery while it was still in its original form, viz. two volumes of 260 and 61 leaves, respectively. Shortly thereafter it was rebound into two volumes of nearly equal size, and the same monk who had inscribed the name of the Monastery at the beginning and end of the original first volume, now inscribed it at the beginning of the new second volume.

One consequence of the rebinding of the manuscript was that the last page of the original first volume and the first page of the original second volume, both still blank, came to face one another inside the present second volume (leaves 104v-105r). These two pages are the very pages on which the four abecedaria were later written; thus the four abecedaria must have been written after the manuscript was rebound, and consequently while it was the property of S. Michelsberg Monastery near Bamberg.

This chain of events, which cannot have started much before the end of the twelfth century, must have been completed by the middle of the thirteenth century, and probably several decades earlier, because *all* of the hands found in the manuscript—original text, added leaves at the end of volume I and the beginning of volume II, ownership inscriptions, and abecedaria—belong to a type of Latin script which was hardly employed much after ca. 1250, and had begun to give ground to Gothic types of script perhaps as early as ca. 1200. This type of Latin script, sometimes termed Proto-Gothic or Romanesque, is a relatively short-lived transitional form between Carolingian minuscule and Gothic scripts; it is most characteristic of the twelfth century, and were it not for its contents, the Bamberg manuscript (and the abecedaria in it)

might have been assigned more readily to the twelfth century than to the thirteenth by many a paleographer.

Thus we may confidently state that the four abecedaria were written in S. Michelsberg Monastery near Bamberg not much after the year 1200.

* * *

Having established this much, we can now examine the Cyrillic abecedarium more closely. As can be seen on the plate, it is headed *Alfabetum Ruthenicum* (with *f* for *ph* in the first word). There are 35 Cyrillic letters in a vertical column, each with its Church Slavonic letter name in another column to the right. (Two of these letter names are followed by further notes in Latin). The pronunciation of most of the Cyrillic letters (25 out of 35) is indicated by Latin letters placed in another column to their left.

We observe immediately that the Cyrillic letters are, on the whole, very well written. None of the other three alphabets is nearly as accurate in this respect, although "considering the late date of the manuscript, the runes are remarkably well made" (Derolez). Only a few details in a few of the Cyrillic letters, such as ϰ and ꙋ betray the fact that the scribe was more accustomed to write Latin letters than Cyrillic ones. Moreover, his Cyrillic letters have not been influenced in any way by the forms of the corresponding letters in his Greek abecedarium. We may conclude that the scribe was not aware of the historical relationship between the Greek and Cyrillic alphabets.

A certain number of genuine blunders suggest that the scribe of the abecedarium was not literate in Cyrillic, and that he did no more than make a careful copy in vertical columns of an earlier Cyrillic abecedarium written in horizontal lines. (Derolez reached the same conclusion, arguing from the same kind of facts, about the Runic abecedarium.) Thus, the sequence of Cyrillic letters ꙗ ѣ ѥ occurs in that unusual order, while their Church Slavonic names occur in the usual order, *ior iori iær*, so that the last two letters and names do not correspond to one another. Similarly, the Cyrillic letter ꙁ (*zelo*) is given the pronunciation *z*, while the next letter ʒ (*zemle*) is not given any pronunciation, but only the note *ista littera ponitur in numero* "this letter is put for a

number," just the reverse is what one might expect. Finally, the note against the Cyrillic letter і (*i*) is obscure: *ista* followed by an unrecognizable letter (neither *j* nor *y*). The intended meaning is surely "this letter is ...," and perhaps the original which the scribe copied had the Cyrillic numeral і҃ (=10). One might also have expected the scribe, if he were literate in Cyrillic and were composing a Cyrillic abecedarium, to have given a table of the numerical use of the Cyrillic letters, since he gives very full information concerning the numerical use of Greek letters.

The accompanying Table gives the Bamberg Cyrillic abecedarium together with several other Cyrillic and Glagolitic abecedaria for comparison. A considerable number of early Slavic abecedaria are still extant, and may be classified into five classes, as follows.

Class I. Here belong five acrostics, the partial alphabets in the earliest two redactions of Monk Xrabr's treatise *On Letters*, and probably also two graffiti from Preslav and the Glagolitic alphabets which serve to link text and commentary in the Cyrillic *Codex Christinopolitanus*; their evidence is confirmed by the attested portions of the Glagolitic numerarium, which follows the order of the abecedarium. The common testimony of these sources allows one to reconstruct an abecedarium of 36 Glagolitic letters, which in all likelihood represents the form which that alphabet took when it was invented by Constantine-Cyril. The other four classes of abecedaria all derive from this form, and provide further evidence for it.

Class II. Here belong the younger Glagolitic abecedaria and numeraria, from the fourteenth century and later. The Glagolitic abecedarium from Roč (ca. 1200) represents a transitional form between classes I and II. The abecedaria in class II have 33 letters: letters 26 and 33 of the original abecedarium have been lost, letter 30 has been moved to place 26, and letters 34 and 35 have merged into one letter with the name of the former, but the shape of the latter.

Class III. Here belong only five abecedaria, all somehow connected with the Bogumil religion. Four of the five are copies by non-Bogumils, and show some confusion; the fifth is a cipher alphabet, and must be decrypted before its evidence can be used. The abecedaria in question are the Glagolitic *Abecenarium Bulgaricum*, the Cyrillic and Glagolitic

double abecedarium in a Latin manuscript at Munich, the mixed Cyrillic/Glagolitic abecedaria copied by Abbot Diviš and by Paul of Krbava, and the cipher alphabet of Radosav. Radosav's abecedarium and the *Abecenarium Bulgaricum* have lost the letters which occupied places 30 and 33 in the original abecedarium. The *Abecenarium Bulgaricum* and the Münich Abecedarium are both extremely old, and thus have been elevated to the rank of principal witnesses to the original Glagolitic abecedarium by the majority of researchers; but this is warranted neither by their structure nor by their evident imperfections, which are easily seen when they are compared with abecedaria of class I.

Class IV. Here belong a number of South Slavic Cyrillic abecedaria (from the fourteenth century and later). These abecedaria generally have 36 letters, having lost the letters which occupied places 12, 31 and 33 in the original abedecarium, having merged into one letter the letters which occupied places 34 and 35, and usually having two consecutive forms of the letters in places 23, 24, 25 and 32. The letter formerly in place 26 has been replaced by Cyrillic ѱ, and Cyrillic ѯ is usually appended at the end of the abecedarium.

Class V. Here belong a great number of East Slavic abecedaria (including the Bamberg Abecedarium) from the twelfth century on. These abecedaria usually have 35 or 36 letters, having lost the letters which originally occupied places 12, 26 and sometimes 33, and having split the letter in place 31 into three letters. In later forms, another half-dozen or so Cyrillic letters are appended at the end of the abecedarium, including ꙗ ѡ ѯ ѱ ѿ ѵ.

In the accompanying Table, class I is represented by my reconstruction, classes II and IV by generalized alphabets, each supported in detail by the bulk of the sources, class III by Radosav's abecedarium (decrypted), and class V by four of the oldest sources, as follows: (A) Novgorod Birchbark Document no. 460, (B) the Novgorod wooden alphabet tablet, (C) Novgorod Birchbark Document no. 201 (cf. nos. 199, 205), and (D) the abecedarium (letter names only) in the anonymous Greek treatise on the baptism of Rus', usually referred to as Banduri's Anonymous Treatise.[2] It is clear that the Bamberg Abecedarium falls

[2] I plan to treat this mass of material more fully elsewhere, and consequently omit its bibliography here, except for W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St. Petersburg,

	Bamberg Abecedarium			Classes of Abecedaria I		II	III	IV	V A	B	C	D
1.	a	а	az	a	azъ	a	a	а	а	а	а	ἄς
2.	b	б	buki	b	buky bukъvi	b	b	б	б	б	б	μπούκη
3.	w	в	wedé	v	vědě	v	v	в	в	в	в	βέτδ
4.	h	г	hlahol	g	glagolь glagolę	g	g	г	г	г	г	γλαώγ
5.	d	д	dobro	d	dobro	d	d	д	д	д	д	δοπρῶ
6.	e	є	iezth	e	jestъ	e	e	є	є	є	є	γέεστι
7.	s	ж	siwéte	ž	živěte	ž	ž	ж	ж	ж	ж	ζηβήτ
8.	z	ѕ	zelo	ʒ	zělo	ʒ	ʒ	ѕ	ѕ	ѕ	ѕ	ζελῶ
9.		з	zemle *	z	zemla	z	z	з	з	з	з	ζεμπλέα
10.	i	и	ise	i_1	iže	i_1	i_1	і	и	и	и	ηζε
11.	i	і	i **	i_2	i	i_2	i_2	и	і	і	і	η̄
12.				j	je	j	j					
13.	k	к	kaco	k	kako	k	k	к	к	к	к	κάκω
14.	l	л	lŷdie	l	lŭdьje	l	l	л	л	л	л	λούδια
15.	m	м	mizléte	m	myslite	m	m	м	м	м	м	μῆ
16.	n	н	nas	n	našь	n	n	н	н	н	н	νᾶς
17.	o	о	on	o_1	onъ	o_1	o_1	о	о	о	о	ων
18.	p	п	pokoj	p	pokojь	p	p	п	п	п	п	ποκόη
19.	r	р	irci	r	rьci	r	r	р	р	р	р	ῥιτζίη
20.	s	с	zlowo	s	slovo	s	s	с	с	с	с	σθλόβω
21.	t	т	tverdo	t	tvrьdo tvrьdo	t	t	т	т	т	т	ντβέρδω
22.	y	ѵ	ik	$ü_2$	ükъ	u	u	ȣ	ѵо	ѵ	ѵ	ῆκ
23.	f	ф	fert	f_2	frьtъ	f_2	f_2	ѿ, ф	ѿ	ѿ	ѿ	φέρωτ
24.	che	х	cher	x_1	xěrъ	x_1	x_1	х, ь	х	х	х	χέρ
25.	w	ѡ	oth	o_2	otъ	o_2	o_2	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ	ѡ	ѡ	ὤτ
26.		'		f_1	fě?	č	f_2	ѱ				
27.	c	ц	ci	c	ci	c	c	ц	ц	ц	ц	τζῆ
28.		ч	sheriv	č	črьvь črьvi	č	č	ч	ч	ч	ч	τζέρβη
29.		ш	sche	š	ša	š	š	ш	ш	ш	ш	σάα
30.		щ	istse	ć	ća			щ	щ	щ	щ	οὐία
31.		ъ ь ѣ ѣ	ior iori iær ieth	ъ/ь	jerъ jerь	ʔ	ъ		ъ ъ	ъ ѣ ь	ъ ь	γέορ γερῆ γέρ
32.				ě	jatь jětь	ě	ě	ѣ, ꙗ	ѣ	ѣ	ѣ	γέατ
33.				x_2	xlъmъ?					ȣ	ȣ	
34.	v	ю	iv	ö	jǫsъ	$ü_1$	$ü_1$	ю	ѫ ю	ю	ю	γίῳ
35.		ѫ	ivz	$ü_1$	jü				ѭ	ѫ	ѫ	γέους
36.		ѧ	ia	N	ję	(ę)	e	ѥ	ѧ	ѧ	ѧ	γέα

* ista litt'a point' ī num'o

** ista ·ī·

into Class V, and thus is most likely to be of East Slavic origin—as, indeed, its title (*Alphabetum Ruthenicum*) indicates.

The term *Ruthenus*, it should be noted, is first used to refer to a Slavic people toward the end of the eleventh century, and becomes common in the course of the twelfth century; its derivatives *Ruthenia* and *Ruthenicus* seem to be attested from the twelfth century on. In this period it refers to all kinds of East Slavs; only during the sixteenth century does its reference become restricted to Ukrainians (and Belorussians).[3]

* * *

It is the Church Slavonic letter names in the Bamberg Abecedarium which are of the greatest interest to the historical phonologist. They are given in the Table, and may be compared with the somewhat younger set of letter names rendered by Greek letters in Banduri's text, as well as with the earlier forms of the same names reconstructed for the abecedarium of class I. The letter names in the Bamberg Abecedarium clearly reflect a Ukrainian pronunciation of Church Slavonic, whereas those in Banduri's text (first composed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, according to Regel) reflect a Russian pronunciation of Church Slavonic.

The phonetic interpretation of the Latin letters is in most instances obvious, but a few points ought to be clarified. The orthography does not record any contrast between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants, nor between voiced and voiceless dental and post-dental fricatives. The letter *z* renders both [s] and [z], and the letter *s*, whether round or long, renders both [š] and [ž].[4] The sound [š] is also once

1891), 44-51, also xix-xxxii, who gives the best edition of Banduri's Anonymous Treatise. Glagolitic abecedaria are given in transliteration, following the system of N. Trubetzkoy, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik* (Graz, ²1968), 22; minor deviations from his system ought not to perplex anyone who has attentively read his reconstruction of the original abecedarium, pp. 13-42. My reconstruction differs from his only in a few trivial points and on one major issue: careful consideration of the evidence leads to the unexpected conclusion that the original Glagolitic alphabet possessed just one *jer*, not two (as the 31st of its 36 letters), and that the distinction of back and front *jer* found in the extant early Glagolitic manuscripts, though surely very old (and probably made before Constantine's death), is the result of a modification made after the alphabet's invention.

[3] B.O. Unbegaun, "L'origine du nom des Ruthènes," his *Selected Papers on Russian and Slavonic Philology* (Oxford, 1969), 128-135.

[4] This fact, in its turn, supports the observations on Middle High German *s* and *z* made by M. Joos, "The Medieval Sibilants," *Language*, 28(1952), 222-231.

written *sch*. The isolated cases of [č], [c] and [x] are written *sh, c* (always before *i*) and *ch*, respectively. There seems to be no phonetic contrast corresponding to the spelling pairs *k* and *c* (not before *i* or *e*), *t* and *th*, *w* and the *v* in *tverdo*, and the other cases of *v* and *u*. (The form *sheriv* will be discussed below.) The Latin letters *a, e, i/j, o, u/v* have to suffice for a much greater number of vowels and glides. The significance of *æ* in the letter name *iær* is unclear. All in all, the abecedarium employs the orthographic conventions current by the end of the twelfth century for German texts written in Latin letters.

Word-final weak *jer* is everywhere omitted, as expected for such a text written after ca. 1150. There is no indication of any change in the vowel of any syllable preceding a lost weak *jer*. Strong front *jer* has been rendered *e* in *tverdo, fert* and the first syllable of *sheriv*, again as expected. The spelling *sheriv* at first glance reminds one of Cyrillic spellings such as ѵєрьвь, which are the subject of some controversy; but it is also possible that the form is a miscopied *shervi*, parallel to the same letter name in Banduri's text, τζέρβη, which may represent ѵєрвн. If so, it has no bearing on any question of the "second pleophony."[5]

The Bamberg Abecedarium serves to document the change [g] > [h], reflected in *hlahol*, as well as the change of word-initial [je] > [jo] in *ior* and *iori* (i.e. before an original non-front vowel of the following syllable), but not in *iær* (i.e. before an original front vowel of the following syllable).[6] Both of these changes have to be assigned to the twelfth century or earlier (at least, in the dialect which the Bamberg Abecedarium represents). The prothetic vowel in the form *irci* < **rьci* is equally old.[7]

The one truly surprising feature of the Bamberg Abecedarium is that it consistently shows a change of [a] > [e] after post-dentals: *zemle* < **zeml'a, sche* < **ša,* and *istse* <**šča.*[8] This change apparently does not

[5] G.Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Historical Phonology of the Slavic Languages, IV; Heidelberg, 1979), sec. 18.3.

[6] *Op. cit.*, chs. 9 and 25.

[7] *Op. cit.*, sec. 27.2, dating such forms from the *late* thirteenth century on.

[8] The form *istse*, rather than *stse*, has probably resulted from confusion of the letter name *šče* with the adverb *išče*, but the possibility of a prothetic vowel cannot entirely be ruled out. *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

take place after [j], to judge by the form *ia* < **ja* < **ję*; the form *ieth* need not derive from **jatь*, but may go back to **jětь*. It appears that this change had taken place by ca. 1200, and that the few early cases of ѥ for ѧ after these consonants in Cyrillic manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries need not be explained as mere scribal blunders, but may have been phonetically motivated.[9]

This last change permits us to say something about the Ukrainian dialect represented in the Bamberg Abecedarium, viz. that it is a South-Western Ukrainian dialect of a type found even now chiefly within the boundaries of the former Appanage Principality of Galicia, as it existed during the twelfth century. Undoubtedly the Bamberg Abecedarium is a source for a Galician pronunciation of Church Slavonic in the late twelfth century or the very early thirteenth.

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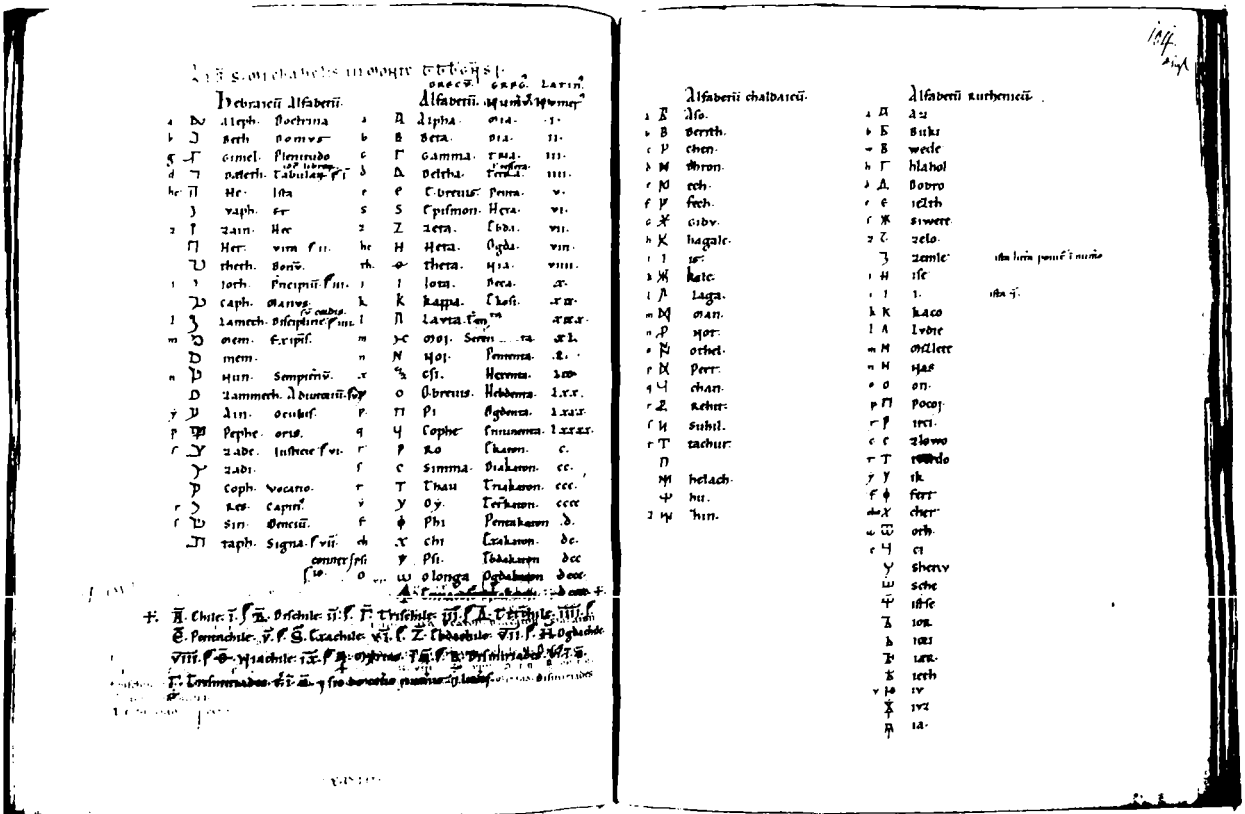
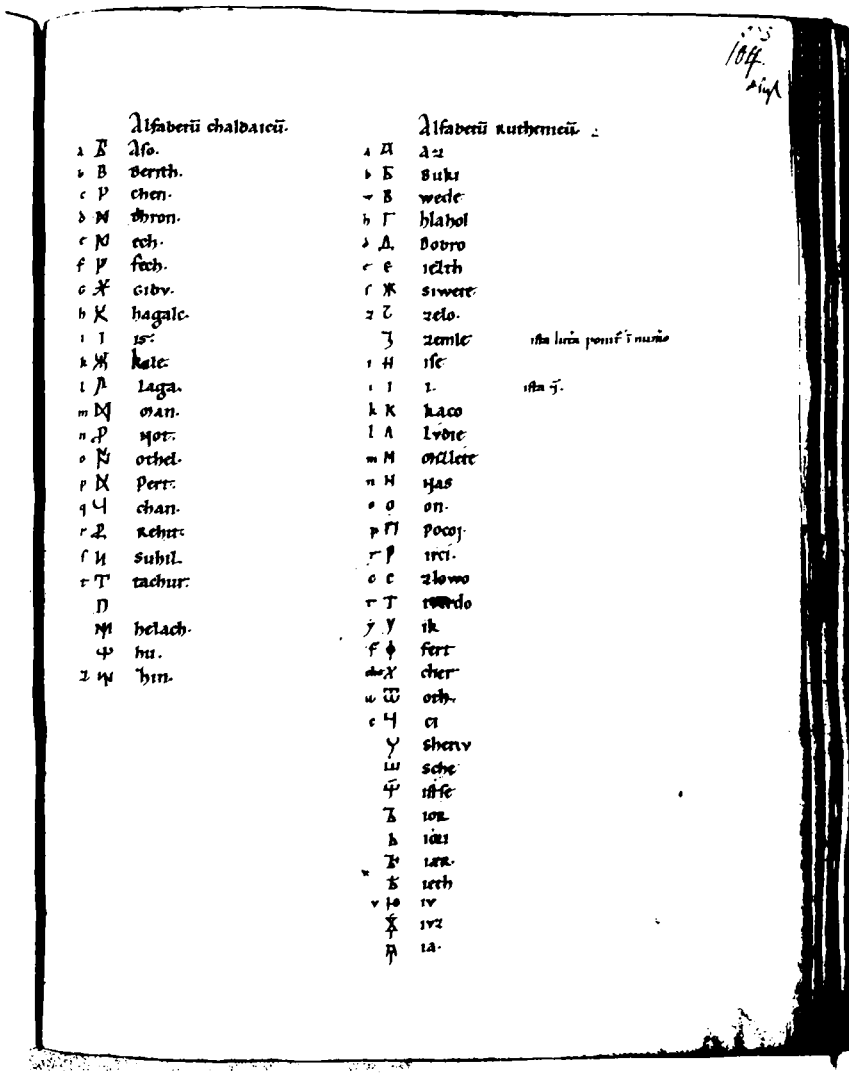
It is a pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy and liberality with which the Staatsbibliothek at Bamberg acceded to my request for photographs to publish with this article.

[9] *Op. cit.*, sec. 41.3, tentatively dating the beginning of the change to the late fourteenth century.



Staatsbibliotek Bamberg, Ms. ptr. 130/2, ff. 104v-105r.



Alfaberii chaldaicii.

a ℵ Aso.
b B berith.
c ג chen.
d ד thron.
e ה ech.
f ו fech.
g ז gibv.
h ח hagalc.
i ט is.
k י kalc.
l ל laga.
m מ man.
n נ not.
o ס othel.
p פ pert.
q ק chan.
r ר rehut.
s ש suhil.
t ת tachur.
ן
ם helach.
ף hu.
ץ him.

Alfaberii ruthenicii.

a A az
b Б buki
v В wede
h Г hlahol
d Д dobro
e Є iełth
ſ Ж siwere
z З zelo.
ʒ zemle ista linea ponit ſ numio
i И iſe
i І i. ista ī.
k К kaco
l Л ludie
m М ołłiere
n Н nas
o О on.
p П poco
r Р rci.
s С slowo
t Т tvardo
y У ik
f Ф fert
ch Х cher
ts Ц oth.
c Ч ci
ſ Ш sheriv
ſ Щ sche
ſ Ъ iſſe
ſ Ь ior
ſ Ы iori
ſ Ѣ ier.
ſ Ѣ ieth
v Ю iv
ſ Ѧ iv2
ſ Ꙗ ia.

Staatsbibliotek Bamberg, Ms. ptr. 130/2, f. 105r.

На Україні: A Prepositional Phrase

PETRO ODARCHENKO

The locative form of the geographical name *Ukrajina* in the literary language of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is found with either the preposition *na* (*na Ukrajini*; phonetic variants *na Vkrajini, na Ukrajni*) or the preposition *v* (*v Ukrajini*; phonetic variants *v Ukrajni*). The construction *na Ukrajini* appears in the vast majority of cases.

1. In the writings of Taras Ševčenko the construction *na Ukrajini* with its phonetic variants was used 46 times, that with the preposition *v*, 25 times. The exhaustive data are the following[1]:

na Ukrajini: I, 48, 37; I, 65, 26; I, 68, 10; I, 227, 48; I, 306, 24; II, 9, 21; II, 24, 28; II, 25, 34; II, 25, 51; II, 40, 4; II, 68, 10; II, 132, 37; II, 132, 51; II, 159, 68; II, 205, 24; II, 236, 46; II, 237, 75; II, 255, 25; II, 268, 25; II, 269, 67; II, 272, 197; II, 277, 384; II, 278, 405; II, 281, 86; II, 343, 650; II, 481, 28; VI, 13, 20; VI, 19, 17; VI, 23, 21; VI, 30, 11; VI, 31, 4; VI, 34, 13; VI, 62, 22; VI, 265, 12 (34 times);

na Ukrajni: I, 142, 34; II, 37, 11; II, 40, 15; II, 43, 86; II, 132, 47; II, 281, 85; II, 472, 11 (7 times);

na Vkrajini: I, 158, 18; I, 354, 4; I, 267, 1; I, 272, 182; I, 462, 33 (5 times). The sum total, as stated above is 46 times.

v Ukrajini: I, 19, 69; I, 64, 89; I, 65, 1; I, 65, 21; I, 90, 724; I, 105, 1183; I, 141, 2532; I, 141, 2555; I, 257, 15; I, 299, 296; I, 300, 317; II, 9, 2; II, 30, 257; II, 45, 152; II, 146, 8; II, 173, 12; II, 183, 76; II, 184, 21; II, 236, 63 (19 times);

v Ukrajni: I, 8, 45; I, 328, 163; I, 329 (the title); II, 16, 12; II, 16, 13; II, 132, 63 (6 times). The sum total as stated above is 25 times.

[1] The data have been excerpted from Taras Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v šesty tomax* (Kiev: AN URSR 1963-1964). (Ševčenko's works written in Ukrainian appear in volumes I, II, and VI). In references, the first figure shows volume, the second one, the page, the third one, the line.

From this it follows that Metropolitan Ilarion in counting Ševčenko's use of the prepositional phrases *na* vs. *v Ukrajini* (33 cases of *na* constructions vs. 42 cases of *v* constructions) committed, clearly, an error.[2] It may be added that in his letters and his introduction to the poem *Hajdamaky* the poet exclusively used the construction with *na*.

Most cases of the use of the *v* constructions in the poetic works of Ševčenko may be explained by considerations of style, meter, euphony, orchestration and syntactic symmetry (e.g., in some anaphoric constructions).

In his typical 14-syllable verse Ševčenko uses the *na* constructions when a five-syllable sequence is required and the *v* phrase when he needs a four syllable sequence, e.g.:

Було колись добре жити
На тій Україні
(I, 65, 26)
Бо нема в мене роду
На всій Україні
(IL 236, 46)

vs.

Було колись в Україні
Ревіли гармати
(I, 65, 1)
Посіяли гайдамаки
В Україні жито
(I, 141, 2532)

The impact of sound organization (poetic euphony) may be illustrated by such examples as:

Не заревуть в Україні
Вольнії гармати
(I, 257, 15)

[2] Mytropolyt Ilarion, *Naša literaturna mova* (Winnipeg: "Naša kul'tura," 1959), p. 123. In his *Hramatyčno-stylistyčnyj slovnyk Ševčenkovoji movy* (Winnipeg: "Volyn'," 1961), p. 233 the corresponding numbers are resp., 33 and 41.

with its labials and labialized sounds: *v - u - v - u - v* vs.:

Давно колись те діялось
У нас на Вкраїні
(I, 158, 18)

with its five *a* vowels. The impact of euphonic considerations probably contributed to the replacement of *na Vkrajini* to *v Ukrajini* in the verses:

Лютує голод в Україні,
Лютує в княжому селі
(II, 30, 257)

which, after the change, contains six *u* vowels.

A more complex configuration of vowels characterizes many verses in Ševčenko's poetry, e.g.:

Серед степу широкого
На Вкраїні милій
(I, 354, 4)

in which schematically, *e -e/y -e- e/y* are followed by *o - o - o*, followed by *a - a* and completed by *i - i - i*.

The part played by sound organization, melodiousness and musicality in Ševčenko's poetry is a well-established fact. It has been discussed many times[3], and there is no need to dwell on it here.

The form *Ukrajni* was usually motivated by the necessity of a stress shift, sometimes in conjunction with the sound organization of the verse. This is the case in:

Єй же Богу, лучче жити,
Ніж нам на Украйні
(I, 43, 86)

[3] Some random examples: S. Ljudkevyč, "Pro osnovy i značennja spivnosty v poeziji Ševčenka," *Moloda Ukrajina* (Lviv, 1902), 4, p. 125 (Quoted from H. Sydorenko, *Rytmika Ševčenka* (Kiev: Kiev University, 1967), p. 9); M. Ryl's'kyj, "Poetyka Ševčenka," *Naukovi zapysky* (AN URSR, Instytut movy i literatury), 2 (Kiev, 1946), p. 25; I Semen Šaxovs'kyj, *Ohon' v odeži slova* (Kiev: DVXL, 1964), p. 153; V. Borodin, "Tvorčyj proces," in the book: *Tvorčyj metod i poetyka Ševčenka* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1980), p. 448f.

Further reduction, to a trisyllabic sequence, is provided by the syntactic group *v Ukrajni*:

Нехай душі козацькії
В Украйні витають
(I, 48, 45)

Finally, here is an example in which the anaphoric organization of the text may have influenced the choice of a prepositional construction:

На нашій славній Україні,
На нашій — не своїй землі
(II, 9, 11)

with its emphasis on the sounds *a* and *n*.

In addition, in his prose Ševčenko's exclusive use of the prepositional phrase *na Ukrajini* shows that this was his preferred construction, which has also been seen from the statistic prevalence of that construction in his poetry. The construction *v Ukrajini* (as well as other variants) occurred as a rule where there were specific motivations for such a choice.

2. An exhaustive treatment of the language of writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is impossible within the framework of this article. Some of them used the *na* construction exclusively, others predominantly. The following random examples show that this construction was most typical of them. P. Kuliš always used the *na* construction in his poetic work ("Одні на Вкраїні" 311, "На далекій Україні" 321, "На вольній Україні" 341, "Тільки правда на Вкраїні" 344)[4] and in his historical studies: "... чувати на славній Україні" (29), "... татарських порядків на Вкраїні" (53), "... між козацькими городами на всій Україні" (55), "Безоднє джерело прибутку знаходили осадники на чорноземній Україні" (151)[5]. Kuliš also used the *na* construction in his fictional prose, especially in the novel *Čorna rada*,

[4] Pantelejmon Kuliš, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1969). After each quotation a reference to the page follows.

[5] Pantelejmon Kuliš, *Tvory* (Lviv: "Prosvita," 1910), vol. 6. The *na* constructions are found in this volume also on pp. 28, 52, 55, 76, 151, 154, 162, 165, 198, 211, 233, 260, 263, 265, 269, 271, 310, 333, 384, 388, 394, 431 a.o.

e.g.: "на сій Україні" (56), "Да тілько козацькою одвагою і держиться на Вкраїні" (72), "... єсть на Вкраїні добра людина" (75), "... рідко який шляхтич зачепивсь на Вкраїні" (118), "... розлито на Вкраїні крови" (176), "... бо в нас на Вкраїні" (246).[6]

The above observations also hold true for many other writers: M. Kostomarov ("Зосталась на Вкраїні одна церква")[7], Marko Vovčok ("Хто бував на Україні")[8], D. Mordovec' ("І тут на Україні")[9], L. Hlibov ("Там на Україні")[10], M. Staryc'kyj ("Алеж на Вкраїні")[11], Olena Pčilka ("Є на Україні серед милої Полтавщини... чудовий краєвид")[12], N. Kobryns'ka ("...щоб бути на Україні"[13], I. Manžura ("Ночі, ночі на Вкраїні")[14], Uljana Kravčenko ("Щоби побачили ми ся на Україні")[15], I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj ("А вже мої стежки там, на Україні, позаростали")[16], Panas Myrnyj ("... а на Вкраїні вірші його приймали, як благовісне пророче слово")[17], B. Hrinčenko ("Ой, тепер я на Вкраїні...", "... щоб устала на Україні")[18], V. Samijlenko ("Як то весело жить на Вкраїні", "О зірочко, найкраща на Вкраїні")[19].

The *na* constructions also characterize works by I. Franko, M. Kocjubyns'kyj and Lesja Ukrajinka. They are especially typical of Franko's scholarly work. A few samples follow. In Franko: "Ох, не сходи ти, сонце, на Вкраїні", "Для таких поглядів тоді ані на Україні, ані в Галичині не було розуміння", "У 80-х роках і на Україні, і в

[6] *Vybrani tvory*.

[7] M. Kostomarov, *Tvory*, vol. I (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1967), p. 249.

[8] Marko Vovčok, *Tvory v semy tomax*, vol. I (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1964), p. 419.

[9] Danylo Mordovec', *Tvory*, vol. I (Kiev: DVXL, 1957), p. 187. See also pp. 148, 187, 189, 193, 214, 215, 553 a.o.

[10] L. I. Hlibov, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: DVXL, 1957), p. 255.

[11] Myxajlo Staryc'kyj, *Tvory v vos'my tomax*, vol. I (Kiev: DVXL, 1963), p. 209.

[12] O. Pčilka, "Spohady pro Myxajla Drahomanova," *Ukrajina* (Kiev, 1926), 2 - 3, p. 39. See also her *Dvi pjesy dlja dytjačoho teatru* (Poltava, 1919), p. 29 and *Tvory* (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1971), p. 399 a.o.

[13] N. Kobryns'ka, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: DVXL, 1958), p. 364.

[14] I. Manžura, *Tvory* (Kiev: DVXL, 1961), p. 123.

[15] U. Kravčenko, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: DVXL, 1958), p. 439.

[16] I. S. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, *Zibrannja tvoriv u desjaty tomax*, vol. IX (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1968), p. 194. In his short novel "Jarema Vyšnevec'kyj" the *na* construction is found in VII, 17, 21, 26, 72, 73, 130, 131, 133, 161 a.o.

[17] P. Myrnyj, *Zibrannja tvoriv u semy tomax*, (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1968-1971), 275.

[18] B. Hrinčenko, *Tvory v dvox tomax*, (Kiev: AN URSR, 1963), I, 54. See also II, 559.

[19] V. Samijlenko, *Tvory v dvox tomax* (Kiev: DVXL, 1958). I, 54; II, 91. See also I, 131, 155 a.o.; II, 386 a.o.

Галичині виступає цілий ряд жінок", "Літературний і просвітній рух на Україні"[20].

Kocjubyns'kyj's adherence to the same pattern can be seen from the following examples: "По деяких місцях на Україні", "Він надзвичайно цікавився рухом на Україні", "На щастя, на здоров'я, на Новий рік, щоб було на Україні краще," "... побут дрібненької шляхти на Україні," "... були надруковані... на Україні і в Галичині."[21]

In her poetry, dramatic works, letters, and articles Lesja Ukrajinka systematically used the *na* construction. Some examples: "Та збудила твоя пісня Думки на Вкраїні," "А як же можу я на Україні здійняти зброю...", "То на Україні либонь зігнули б...", "... змагання велося за життя там на Вкраїні," "У нас на Україні...", "Прихильників у неї дуже мало на Україні," "На Україні так не говорять."[22]

The practice of other writers of that period does not differ in this respect. In the poetry of Mykola Černjavs'kyj one reads: "Гриміла та слава колись на Вкраїні," "Будуть люди І у нас на Україні," in his articles: "Це відповідало б тому великому значенню, яке має Шевченко на Україні," "... на Україні досі ніхто серйозно не приступав до вивчення його життя й діяльности."[23]

The traditional prepositional phrase is also used by Vasyl' Stefanyk: "З цеї нашої могили будемо диситися на велику могилу на Україні," "... що дес був довго на Україні," "... читачів на Україні."[24]

Some random examples from other authors are: "... не скоро заговорить на Україні хто інший";[25] "... славний не тільки на Україні," "Неспокійні часи на Україні";[26] "... промисел на Україні," "всі три

[20] Ivan Franko, *Vybir iz tvoriv* (New York-Paris: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Sevčenka, 1956), pp. 59, 349, 363, 380 pass.

[21] M. Kocjubyns'kyj, *Tvory v semy tomax* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1973-1975), IV, 31; IV, 35; V, 18, 50; VI, 49.

[22] L. Ukrajinka, *Tvory* (Kiev: "Knyhospilka," 1927), I, 38; VIII, 116, 132, 151; *Tvory v desjaty tomax,* (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1965). VIII, 182; O. Kosač-Kryvynjuk, *Lesja Ukrajinka.* Xronolohija žyttja i tvorčosty (New York: UVAN u SŠA, 1970), pp. 162, 487. Cf. also pp. 123, 126, 181, 294, 300, 487 a.o.

[23] M. Černjavs'kyj, *Tvory v dvox tomax,* (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1966), I, 87, 320; II, 517, 526.

[24] V. Stefanyk, *Tvory.* Ed. by Ju. Hamorak (Regensburg: "Ukrajins'ke slovo," 1948), pp. 240, 315. Cf. also his *Tvory* (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1964), pp. 197, 274, 467.

[25] H. Xotkevyč, *Tvory v dvox tomax,* (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1966), II, 452. See also p. 544.

[26] S. Vasyl'čenko, *Tvory v čotyr'ox tomax* (Kiev: AN URSR, 1960), III, 278; IV, 94.

на Україні," "... на Україні таке гаряче, пориваюче життя," "На Україні я вже давно не була"; [27] "... поширення Христової віри на Україні," "...народній мові на Галицькій Україні," "...на Наддніпрянській Україні," "...побував на Великій Україні."[28] The *na* constructions were the only ones used by A. Kryms'kyj: "чудеса появляються на нашій Україні," "...«Народ» має на Україні і цілковитих прихильників," "штунда на Україні," "... простий народ на Україні," "... міцно закріплено у нас на Україні в системі правопису," "У школах на Україні учили," "... історія правопису на Україні."[29]

3. Literary historians and critics, and outstanding publicists did not differ in their choice of the *na* construction from poets and fictional prose writers. Again a few examples will suffice:" ...був на Україні," "...ім'я його славнозвісне на Україні," "... благодатної волі на Україні," "... жив він на Україні," "... школа на Україні," "... обставини інші на Україні";[30] "... культура на Україні," "... народолюбці на Україні," "... на Україні складалися основи," "... оригінальній ґрунт народного життя на Україні," "... і на Україні, і в Галичині," "Народні школи на Україні," "Шевченко не міг виступити на Україні в 1859 р.," "на нашій Україні," "... на лівобічній Україні," "... на самій Україні."[31]

Serhij Jefremov, one of the two editors-in-chief of the Academy Russian-Ukrainian dictionary, who was considered one of the greatest authorities on the standards of the literary Ukrainian language employs only the *na* constructions, e.g.: "Погром над українством, темними

[27] O. Kobyljans'ka, *Tvory v pjaty tomax,* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1963), V, 183, 575, 625, 659.

[28] B. Lepkyj, *Struny. Antolohija ukrajins'koji poeziji* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 9, 85, 116, 54, 208.

[29] A. Ju. Kryms'kyj, *Tvory v pjaty tomax* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1972-1973), II, 478, 641, 652; III, 274, 287, 291, 301. See also pp. 261, 273, 276, 289, 300, 379, 458.

[30] O. Ohonovs'kyj, *Istorija literatury ruskoji,* part 2, divisions 1 and 2 (Lviv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Ševčenka, 1891-1893), pp. 130, 187, 208, 346, 1171, 1256. See also pp. 3, 4, 12, 27, 80, 92, 107, 132, 135, 145, 180, 187, 207, 212, 222, 230, 262, 268, 346, 354, 400, 425, 567, 608, 612, 661, 715, 956, 1108, 1120, 1228, 1258, 1263.

[31] M. Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci u dvox tomax* (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1970), I, 108, 109, 145, 157, 178; II, 163, 89, 92, 151; I, 288. See also I, 131, 148, 155, 163, 164, 166, 168, 184, 199, 215, 262, 266, 269, 281, 429, 431, 432, 439; II, 11, 13, 25 and many more. The construction with the preposition *v* occurs twice, both instances with an adjective: "v rosijs'kij Ukrajini" (I, 482; II, 431).

силами заподіяний на початку війни і на Україні, і в Галичині," "... освіта на Україні," "... центром освіти на Україні зробився Київ," "... на лівобічній Україні," "... на правобічній Україні," "... на Галицькій Україні поставлено питання руба," "на закордонній Україні," "... на пореформенній Україні," "на російській Україні."[32]

The *na* construction was the only one used by the leader of the neo-classicist trend, Mykola Zerov (e.g., "він не розуміє культурного діяча на Україні без знання мов," "З усім тим на Україні деякі особи ... зосталися осторонь," "... відгуки і на Україні," "Шевченко..., не живши п'ятнадцять років на Україні..."[33]) and by another literary historian, M. Plevako (e.g., "... публіку на Україні," "... життя громадського на Україні," "... лишилися на Україні самі його заповіти"[34]).

4. The situation does not change in the writings of those authors who were active mostly or only in the postrevolutionary years. A few excerpts from Maksym Ryl's'kyj and Pavlo Tyčyna easily demonstrate this. From Ryl's'kyj: "... мережать книжку захалявну, довіку на Вкраїні славну," "Цей крок дав привід польським панам на Україні писати... доноси," "Заповіт її — Похоронити прах на Україні," "... літній день на Україні," "... суспільні відносини на Україні."[35] (The preposition *v* occurs if an adjective enters the phrase: "в сучасній йому Західній Україні..."[36]). From Tyčyna: "Ну, так як на Україні," "не тільки в нас на Україні," "На Україні, там на Україні народ невільний стогне у ярмі," "На великій Україні грім повстань проти кріпацтва," ".. стан музичної етнографії на Україні," "Вересай не

[32] S. Jefremov, *Istorija ukrajins'koho pys'menstva,* 4th ed., (Wetzlar, 1924 [vol. I], 1919 [vol. II], I, 46, 129, 196, 271, 384; II, 107, 116, 166, 282. See also I, 55, 128, 163, 173, 174, 180, 182, 251, 254, 255, 261, 263, 268, 269, 218, 244, 245, 247, 250, 272 a.o.; II, 9, 29, 102, 103, 146, 148, 149, 195, 237, 240, 242, 243, 245, 276, 284, 288, 318, 344, 360, 419 and many more.

[33] M. Zerov, *Do džerel* (Cracow-Lviv: "Ukrajins'ke vydavnyctvo", 1943), p. 254; *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo* (Munich: Instytutut literatury, 1960), p. 15; *Lekciji z istoriji ukrajins'koji literatury* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1977), pp. 72, 140.

[34] M. Plevako, *Statti, rozvidky j bio-bibliohrafični materijaly* (New York-Paris: UVAN u SŠA, 1961), pp, 58, 196, 213. See also pp. 170, 171, 202, 211, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 294, 295 and many more, also with an adjective (e.g. "... na pravoberežnij i livoberežnij Ukrajini"—p. 295), but once: "... v Halyc'kij Ukrajini" (p. 217).

[35] M. Ryl's'kyj, *Poeziji v tr'ox tomax,* (Kiev: DVXL, 1946), II, 43; *Tvory v tr'ox tomax,* (Kiev: DVXL, 1955), I, 2, 365; *Statti pro literaturu* (Kiev, 1980), pp. 125, 252.

[36] Ryl's'kyj, *Statti,* p. 318.

міг бути останнім кобзарем на Україні," "Пушкін, перебуваючи на Україні...", "З такими маштабами виробництва металу на Україні...", "... що працюють на Україні," "на Великій Україні," "на скривавленій Україні," "на окупованій Україні," "встановлення на Україні свята пісні." The only case in which Tyčyna used the v construction is "Шевченко свої думи посилав... не безплотно в хмарах гуляти, а діяти, і саме діяти в Україні, в тій Україні, яку царизм не визнавав,"[37] possibly because of the subordinate clause introduced by *v tij ... jaku.*

The *na* construction was used by scores of poets, fiction writers, critics, historians and linguists, including those living outside of the Ukraine.[38]

[37] P. Tyčyna, *Vybrani poeziji* (Moscow, 1945), pp. 17, 37, 47, 263; *Vybrani tvory,* (Kiev: DVXL, 1957, III, 156, 347, 490, 490, 167, 187, 195, 318, 122.

[38] The following books and articles have been examined:

V. Sosjura, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1957); I, 208, 241, 270, 310, 440, III (1958), 64 a.o.;

Je. Plužnyk, *Try zbirky* (Munich, 1979), pp. 83, 98 a.o.;

A. Malyško, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1962-1963), I, 223, 289; II, 139; III, 150; V, 93, 234 a.o.;

V. Symonenko, *Bereh čekan'* ([Munich]: "Sučasnist'," 1973), p. 265;

L. Kostenko, *Marusja Čuraj* (Kiev, 1979), p. 127;

V. Vynnyčenko, *Ščodennyk,* I (Edmonton—New York, 1980), pp. 330, 331, 351, 362 ("na dyrektorijans'kij Ukrajini"), 375, 441 a.o.;

B. Antonenko-Davydovyč, *Zemleju ukrajins'koju* (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 87, 148; *V literaturi* (Kiev, 1964), pp. 55, 74, 107; *Jak my hovorymo* (Kiev, 1970), pp. 13, 22, 53 a.o.

M. Kuliš, *Tvory* (New York, 1955), pp. 178, 218, 341, a.o.;

Ju. Janovs'kyj, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1958), I, 318; V, 156, 175, 197, 202, 302 a.o.;

V. Ševčuk, *Predteča,* romany (Kiev, 1982), pp. 388, 399 a.o.;

O. Kundzič, *Tvorči problemy perekladu* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 10, 11, 18, 32, 34, 86, 87, 103, 125 a.o.;

I. Dzjuba, *Internacionalizm čy rusyfikacija?* ([Munich]: "Sučasnist'," 1968), pp. 24, 80, 138, 142, 158, 161, 176, 181, 193, 203, 238, 239, 240 a.o.;

Je. Sverstjuk, *Sobor u ryštovanni* (Paris, 1970), pp. 41, 78, 113;

O. Doroškevyč, *Etjudy z Ševčenkoznavstva* (Kharkiv-Kiev, 1930), pp. 108, 118, 161 a.o.;

M. Draj-Xmara, *Lesja Ukrajinka* (Kiev, 1926), p. 41; "«Bojarnyja» Lesi Ukrajinky," in Lesja Ukrajinka, *Tvory,* (Kiev, 1927), VIII, 95 a.o.;

P. Fylypovyč, *Literatura* (Melbourne, 1971), pp. 150, 493, 496, 523 a.o.;

O. I. Hončar, *Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko* (Kiev, 1969), pp. 79, 91, 113, a.o.;

O. I. Bilec'kyj, *Vid davnyny do sučasnosty* (Kiev, 1960), I, 61, 85, 91, 92, 129, 130, 151, 152, 161, 162, 201, 232; II, 94, 125, 134, 164, 187, 189 a.o.;

Je. P. Kyryljuk, *T. H. Ševčenko* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 86, 88, 91, 119, 130, 131, 233 a.o.;

M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* (Kiev, 1923), I, 307 a.o.; articles in the periodical *Boritesja-poborete* (1920), 5, pp. 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 a.o.;

O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba* (New York, 1960), pp. 15, 19, 23, 32, 91, 137 a.o.;

V. O. Holobuc'kyj, *Zaporiz'ka Sič v ostanni časy svoho isnuvannja 1734-1775* (Kiev,

5. Among the latter was I. Ohijenko, later Metropolitan Ilarion.[39] Yet later on he, contrary to, and in defiance of the general and his own practice advanced the view that the *na* construction in this case would imply a provincial status for the Ukraine, that names of nations should

1961), pp. 10, 11, 16, 20, 21, 22, 31, 32, 42, 48, 62, 64, 66 a.o.;

M. Brajčevs'kyj, "Pryjednannja čy vozzjednannja," in *Šyroke more Ukrajiny,* (Baltimore-Toronto: "Smoloskyp," 1972), pp. 242, 257, 259, 266, 277, 280, 284, 292 a.o.;

O. Kurylo, *Uvahy do sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (Kiev, 1925), p. 3;

O. Synjavs'kyj, *Normy ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (Cracow-Lviv, 1941), pp. 113, 188;

M. Myronenko, *Narysy z ukrajins'koji movy* (Kharkiv, 1929), pp. 12, 24, 25, 31, 39, 54, 70 a.o.;

Je. Malanjuk, "Burjane polittja," *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk* (1927), 4, pp. 324, 334, 335;

V. Barka, *Bilyj svit* (Munich, 1947), pp. 102, 132; *Zemlja sadivnyčyx,* ([Munich]: "Sučasnist'," 1977), pp. 39, 51, 95, 163, 166; exceptionally once the construction with *v* is used: "za stolittja svoho hospodarjuvannja v Ukrajini" (101);

L. Poltava, *Za muramy Berlinu* ([Regensburg], 1945), pp. 9, 32;

T. Os'mačka, *Iz-pid svitu* (New York, 1954), pp. 38, 86; *Poet* ([Regensburg], 1946), p. 64; *Staršyj bojaryn* ([Regensburg], 1946), p. 49; *Plan do dvoru* (Toronto, 1951), pp. 7, 10, 41 a.o.;

D. Doncov, "Olena Pčilka," *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk* (1931), 5, 444, 445; "Zhoda v simejstvi," *Visnyk* (1936), 7-8, 590.

D. Humenna, *Dity Čumac'koho šljaxu,* 4 (New York, 1951), p. 199; *Xreščatyj Jar* (New York, 1956): "na Velykij Ukrajini" (78) vs. (with two adjectives) "u vil'nij nezaležnij Ukrajini" (79); *Vnuky stolitn'oho zaporožcja* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 19, 91, 99, 143 a.o. (*na* constructions only).

O. Izars'kyj, *Kyjiv* ([Munich]: "Sučasnist'," 1971), pp. 61, 193, 236, 245, 247, 261, 284, 322 a.o.; *Poltava* ([Munich]: "Sučasnist'," 1977), pp. 61, 152, 177, 227, 425 a.o.;

H. Kostjuk, *Okajanni roky* (Toronto, 1978), p. 24; *Volodymyr Vynnyčenko ta joho doba* (New York, 1980), pp. 68, 69 a.o.:

M. Orest, "Pisljamova," in Mykola Zerov, *Sonnetarium* (Berchtesgaden, 1948), p. 174.

V. Pors'kyj [=Mijakovs'kyj], "Lebedynyj spiv," *Kyjiv* (Philadelphia, 1951), 1, 28;

M. Hlobenko [=Ohloblyn], "Istoryko-literaturni statti," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka,* 167 (New York-Paris-Munich, 1958), pp. 35, 46, 61, 108, 123, 127, 129, 137 a.o.;

Ju. Bojko, *Vybrane,* I (Munich, 1971), 117, 118, 120, 128, 189; III (Munich, 1981), 204, 205, 342, a.o.;

S. Hordyns'kyj, "Poezija Ju. Lobodovs'koho," *Kyjiv* (1951), 1, 23, 24.

I. Kačurovs'kyj, *Strofika* (Munich, 1967), p. 308.

I. Košelivec', *Narys z teoriji literatury* (Munich, 1964), p. 33; *Panorama najnovišoji ukrajins'koji literatury v URSR* (Munich, 1974), pp. 15, 16, 17 a.o.;

B. Kravciv, *60 poetiv 60-x rokiv* (New York, 1967), pp. viii, xx.

Ju. Lavrinenko, *Rozstriljane vidrodžennja* (Paris, 1959), pp. 123, 137, 144, 222, 609, 787 a.o.;

P. Petrenko, "Ukrajins'ki vaganty," *Literaturno-naukovyj zbirnyk,* 2 (Hannover, 1947), pp. 31, 45, 46, 52, 58;

P. Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (Paris-New York-Munich, 1955), pp. 17, 101, 125, 126, 127, 128, 134, 159; 194 a.o.;

be used with the preposition *v* and, therefore, the only proper construction would be *v Ukrajini*.[40] This view found some followers among style editors in emigre publications.

Ohijenko's view provoked several objections in the general press, but, so far, not in scholarly discussion. The following can be briefly mentioned:

Čaplenko, with some examples, tried to show that the prepositional phrase *na Ukrajini* meets the standards of the Ukrainian literary language.[41]

Romanenčuk pointed to the fact that, with the word *Malorossija,* only the *v* construction is used although this term clearly implies a provincial, not a national status.[42]

Jurij Šerech (the pen name of George Y. Shevelov as a literary critic) appealed to the generally used prepositional phrase *v Halyčyni,* the use of which in no case implies the idea that the inhabitants of Galicia constitute a separate nation. He also emphasized that languages have various grammatical categories but these are not political notions.[43]

Kyslycja likewise objected to attempts to transfer patriotic feelings into the realm of syntax.[44]

D. Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1956), pp. 7, 14, 34, 128, 197, 215, 223, 226 a.o.;

S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj, "Pravopysna sprava," *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk,* (1926), 7-8, 315.

P. Kovaliv, *Ukrajins'ka mova* (New York, 1966), pp. 13, 16 a.o.;

V. Čaplenko, *Istorija novoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (New York, 1970), pp. 21, 40, 62, 83, 122, 306 a.o.;

Ju. Šerech [=Shevelov], *Narys sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (Munich, 1951), pp. 57, 76, 148, 395 a.o.; *Druha čerha* ([Munich]: "Sučasnist'," 1978), pp. 6, 9, 20, 35, 42, 45, 88, 95, 97, 99, 276, 324 a.o.

[39] E.g. I. Ohijenko, "Kyjivs'ka metrpolytans'ka drukarnja," *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk* (1924), vii-ix ("... duxovnoho dostojnyka na Ukrajini" 312); *Svjato ukrajins'koji kul'tury* (Warsaw, 1924) ("... drukarstvo na Ukrajini" 33); *Ukrajins'kyj stylistyčnyj slovnyk* (Winnipeg, 1976) ("... na Vkrajini Velykij" 2; "... na Velykij Ukrajini" 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; "... na Ukrajini" 204; see also pp. 208, 167, 431). Many more examples are scattered in his other publications until 1951.

[40] Mytropolyt Ilarion (I. Ohijenko), *Ukrajins'ka literaturna mova,* (Saskatoon: The Gospel Press, 1951), I, 147, 256 f.

[41] V. Čaplenko, *"V Ukrajini* čy *na Ukrajini," Ukrajins'ki visti* (Neu-Ulm, 1949), No. 53; *"Na Ukrajini—v Ukrajini," Porohy* (Buenos Aires, 1954), No. 52/53, pp. 26-27.

[42] B. Romanenčuk, *"Na Ukrajini* i *v Ukrajini," Svoboda* (Jersey City), February 17, 1968.

[43] Ju. Šerech, *Ne dlja ditej* (*Munich:* "Proloh," 1964), pp. 31[illegible].

[44] D. Kyslycja, *"Na Ukrajini," Novi dni* (Toronto, 1971), No. 256, 32.

Kovaliv referred to the predominant practice of using the *na* construction in literary texts beginning with the sixteenth century. He also advanced the view that the preposition *v* prevails if an adjective stands between the preposition and the name *Ukrajina* ("v samostijnij Ukrajini").[45]

In summary, a long lasting tradition bespeaks the prepositional phrase *na Ukrajini;* there are no nation/state vs. non-nation/non-state connotations in this construction. The *v* construction appears in poetry with special stylistic, metric, rhytmic, etc. motivation. Further collection of data and their semantic analysis in all likelihood would corroborate this view.

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[45] P. Kovaliv, "*Na Ukrajini* čy *v Ukrajini,*" *Novi dni* (Toronto, 1972), No. 269, 13-19.

On Basic Color Terms in Early Slavic and Ukrainian

TOM M.S. PRIESTLY

Research into problems of meaning in language in the last decade and a half has relied quite heavily upon, and seems to have made some progress in, the ways in which languages denote colors: the relative ease with which the denotational meaning of a word such as *red* or *červonyj* can be investigated, using spectrographically-displayed charts, makes this kind of analysis reliable and profitable. The cornerstone of this kind of research has been the concept of 'basic color term', following the pioneering work of Berlin and Kay; these scholars' conclusions, although subsequently made more precise and in part revised, appear to demonstrate a universal evolutionary schema with physiological correlations.[1] The aim of the present paper is to show that this evolutionary schema (which has not, apparently, been investigated in its application to Slavic) has interesting parallels both in the early history of Slavic and in a modern Slavic language such as Ukrainian.

The proposed evolutionary hierarchy can be summarized as follows.[2]

[1] See B. Berlin and P. Kay, *Basic Color Terms. Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.) The most critical and useful of the reviews are those by N.B. McNeill, in *Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 8 (1972), pp. 21-34, and by H. Conklin, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 75 (1973), pp. 931-942; even allowing many of these and other reviewers' criticisms, however, the overall schema seems to hold, cf. later studies, in particular P. Kay, "Synchronic variability and diachronic change in basic color terms," *Language in Society*, Vol. 4 (1975), pp. 257-270; D. Michaels, "Linguistic relativity and color terminology," *Language and Speech*, Vol. 20 (1977), pp. 333-343; P. Kay and C.K. McDaniel, "The linguistic significance of the meaning of basic color terms," *Language*, Vol. 54 (1978), pp. 610-646; and C.B. Mervis and E.M. Roth, "The internal structure of basic and non-basic color categories," *Language*, Vol. 57 (1981), pp. 384-405.

[2] See Kay and McDaniel, "The linguistic significance of the meaning of basic color terms." Labels for color terms (basic and non-basic) are given arbitrary identifications in English, and are put in capitals, e.g. RED, ORANGE, PUCE. The arbitrariness of these labels must be emphasized: the 'meanings', i.e. denominata, will vary from person to person

No language has fewer than two 'basic color terms' (one for "light and warm", the other for "cool and dark"). As the evolutionary scale is pursued, one extra 'basic color term' is added at each stage; jumping to Stage IV, we find WHITE, RED, YELLOW, GREEN-BLUE and BLACK as the meanings of the five terms. Stage V sees a separation of the terms for GREEN and BLUE. To the six terms of this stage, the next, Stage VI, adds BROWN. The following four stages add, severally and randomly, terms for PINK, PURPLE, ORANGE and GREY.

Both the investigators who have developed this theory, and their critics, have mentioned the color terminology of the Slavic languages only in passing. The two Russian terms for BLUE have been cited, with a few speculations as to whether only one, or both, are 'basic' terms.[3] The co-existence on Yugoslav territory of a single term (*plav*) with two referents (YELLOW and BLUE) has been quoted as evidence against the evolutionary theory.[4] And the work by Herne, who argued with reference to Slavic (and fifteen years before Berlin and Kay's work) that "eine Sprache gilt als völlig entwickelt, wenn sie für die sechs Hauptfarben allgemeine Bezeichnungen hat", has apparently gone unnoticed.[5]

(within certain limits), and (with fewer limitations) from language to language; and a language at a relatively primitive stage will denote a different range of real colors by its term for e.g. RED than will a comparatively more advanced language by its term for RED.

[3] Berlin and Kay, *Basic Color Terms*, pp. 35-36.

[4] The actual referent cited in this argument is the berry (*Isatis tinctoria*) from which both yellow and blue dyes can be derived (the blue dye being the "woad" of early Europe). Serbo-Croatian *plav* 'blond' derives from Indo-European **polu̯-*, whose reflexes outside Slavic all mean 'pale yellow', 'white', 'grey' and so on, e.g. Latin *pallidus*, German *fahl*, and whose reflexes outside Serbo-Croatian and Slovene also always denote 'pale yellow' and similar colors, and never 'blue', e.g. Ukrainian *polovyj*, Polish *płovy*, Czech *plavý*. The connection with Indo-European **bhleu̯-*, from which German *blau* derives, is at best very tenous. This latter word, which was borrowed into Romance languages such as French and Italian, is surely also the origin not only of Slovene *plav* 'blue' (cf. F. von Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* (Vienna, 1886), p. 256) but also of Serbo-Croatian *plav* 'blue' (although P. Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Zagreb, 1974), allows for Germanic provenance only for the Cres dialectal word *blaviten*). None of the native speakers of Slovene or Serbo-Croatian interviewed by the present author use *plav* to mean, simultaneously, 'blue' and 'yellow'; either they have *plav* for 'blue' and a second word, e.g. *rumen* or *žut*, for 'yellow'; or they have *plav* for 'blond (hair)' and a second word, usually *modar*, for 'blue'. The possibility that at some (unattested?) stage there were some South-Western Slavs with a single word *plav* meaning both 'blue' and 'yellow', which does not appear at all likely *a priori*, remains to be proved.

[5] G. Herne, *Die slavischen Farbenbenennungen: eine semasiologisch-etymologische Untersuchung* (Uppsala, 1954), cites the work of the scholar Thurnwald from 1922 to

Fundamental to the evolutionary hypothesis, and to every investigation involved, of course, is the definition of the term 'basic'. Nobody will dispute the view, surely, that some color terms are more 'basic' than others: it hardly needs to be demonstrated that *green* is more 'basic' than *lime* in English, or that Ukrainian *červonyj* is more 'basic' than *burjakovyj*. Whether a sharp line can be drawn, for any one language, between 'basic' and 'non-basic' color terms is, however, a much more difficult problem. On which side of the line, for example, are we to put *purpurovyj? blakytnyj? bežovyj? syvyj?* It is far from likely that general agreement will be reached in instances such as these.

A number of criteria have been suggested:[6] 'basic color terms' should (1) be monolexemic, i.e., not predictable from their components; (2) not be included in the meanings of other terms (thus *malynovyj*, which can be considered a variety of *červonyj*, is excluded); (3) not be restricted to specific objects (thus *syvyj*, which can apply to hair or to doves but hardly to dogs or to tablecloths, is not considered 'basic'); (4) share the derivational potential of indubitably 'basic' terms (and hence, in English, *lime* is excluded since one can not normally say **limish* as one can say *reddish, yellowish* and *greenish*); (5) should not derive from the name of a physical object (thus excluding such words as *zolotyj* and *buzkovyj*); (6) should not be a 'recent foreign loanword' (e.g., English *beige, khaki*); (7) should be 'stable across informants', i.e., should not vary phonologically; and so on. Among criteria that are not specifically linguistic is a psychological one; (8) 'basic' color terms should be 'salient', in that all speakers of a language will tend to think of the same 'basic' terms first.

A quick perusal of these criteria will show that they are not all equally easy to apply; and that while they may be valid for a language like English, many will be inapplicable or invalid for other languages. For example, we need only look at the 'derivational' criterion (the fourth on the above list): this will be quite beside the point in languages of the isolating type; and even in a language such as Ukrainian, which

support a proposed evolutionary system, namely: WHITE, BLACK, RED, YELLOW, GREEN, BLUE—note the exact fit with Stage V described above! Herne, also, characterizes both Slovene and Serbo-Croatian *plav* as Germanic loanwords. The present author aknowledges his debt to Herne with respect to his conclusions concerning Proto-Slavic.

[6] See the references in note 1.

has well-developed derivational processes, we will not find total agreement when we come to apply this criterion. The *-uvatyj* suffix, for example, which was considered perfectly acceptable by my informants in *červonuvatyj, žovtuvatyj, syvuvatyj* and *blakytnuvatyj*, and at least unobjectionable, according to most of the informants, in e.g. *rumjanuvatyj*, was not readily accepted in *fioletuvatyj* and *bežuvatyj*; but there was disagreement about the status of the four last-listed words and they should not be totally rejected as 'inadmissable'.

For this paper, it is enough to accept that the concept 'basic color term' does have a certain validity, in that some color terms are indisputably 'basic' and others are indisputably 'not basic'. Further, just as the suggested criteria are clearly not all equally applicable (and indeed may lead to contradictory decisions), it is accepted that some color terms may be difficult to categorize in this way.

EARLY SLAVIC

When we reconstruct a set of lexical items with their meanings in a proto-language such as Common Slavic, we rely on a number of fundamental criteria for our reconstructions: first, the regularity of the phonological correspondences involved; second, the closeness and acceptability of the semantic correspondences; third, the number and geographic distribution of the 'daughter' languages with attested reflexes (the 'rule of thumb' for Slavic, which must be applied with great caution, being that the East/West/South trichotomy should be represented); and fourth, if the proto-language has known 'relatives', the number and reliability of the correspondences in these 'relatives' (for Slavic, then, we consider the other Indo-European parallels).

In the context of this paper, we must add a fifth criterion: that the color term which we reconstruct should, in theory, have been 'basic'. Here we deal in conjecture, of course; this makes the exercise more difficult, but not less interesting.

If we consider the reconstructible Proto-Slavic color terms, we find six that satisfy the four fundamental criteria. Of these, five can be accepted as having been 'basic': **běl-, *čĭrn-, *rud-/ rŭd-, *zelen-* and **zĭlt-*. (The sixth reliably-reconstructed Proto-Slavic color term, **polv-*,

is very restricted in its use in many of the modern languages, being limited to collocation with words for hair, and for various animals.[7] If we can reconstruct a similar semantic limitation for Proto-Slavic, we can exclude this term from our 'basic' list; if not, this term may be considered as counter-evidence to the evolutionary hypothesis outlined above).

A fifth Proto-Slavic word, **sinj-*, must be considered as denoting a 'basic color', but satisfies only three of our fundamental reconstructive criteria, since its non-Slavic Into-European parallels are hard to trace.

Two more words, **gněd-* and **směd-*, not only have no easily-discerned Indo-European parallels, but also show semantic restrictions in their modern usage, being limited to collocations with words for parts of the body and animals.

We arrive, then, at a hierarchy of Proto-Slavic color terms:

(A) the terms for WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN and YELLOW, which appear to be indisputably Proto-Slavic, with definite Indo-European ancestry;

(B) the term for BLUE, which is clearly Proto-Slavic, but has no clear Indo-European ancestry;

(C) two terms for BROWN, which are also clearly Proto-Slavic, and also have no obvious Indo-European lineage; these, however, can not be reconstructed with certainty as being 'basic' in Proto-Slavic.

What is interesting, from this tentative reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic semantic field 'basic colors', is that (A) on this hierarchy is the exact correlate of Stage IV on the evolutionary schema described above; (B) here represents Stage V; and (C)—to the extent that is valid—correlates with Stage VI. What is suggested by this approach, then, is that contributions to the hypothesis of an evolutionary schema for 'basic color terms' may be found in the results of the application of comparative reconstruction within Indo-European. The Slavic evidence suggests that a stage prior to Proto-Slavic may represent evolutionary Stage IV, and Proto-Slavic itself evolved to Stage V. The 'non-basic' character of the words for BROWN fits in with this suggestion. The existence of a possible 'non-basic' word for STRAW COLORED, **polv-*, does not invalidate the suggestion, but does emphasize the need

[7] Cf. note 4.

for extensive further research in this area.[8]

MODERN UKRAINIAN

As a *point de départ* for the investigation of 'basic color terms' in Ukrainian, the *psychological* criterion was used. Twelve speakers of Ukrainian, all resident in North America (and thus also fluent in English; see footnote 10), were requested to "list ten or twelve basic words for colors". Omitting terms for WHITE, BLACK and GREY (which were sometimes not included by the informants, being 'colorless'), a tabulation of the frequency with which each color term was listed in the 'top ten' is as follows:

červonyj	12
zelenyj	12
synij	12
žovtyj	11
bronzovyj	9
ORANGE	8
VIOLET	7
roževyj	6
blakytnyj	5

Terms for ORANGE and VIOLET had very noticeable variant forms; the former was *pomaranževyj, pomarančevyj, maranževyj,* and (once) *oranževyj*; the latter, *fioletovyj* and *fioletnyj* (and, in one instance, *fijalkovyj*; this was excluded from the above tabulation). No other color term was listed by more than three of the twelve informants: *holubyj* was mentioned by three, *zolotyj, bežovyj, burjakovyj, koryčnevyj,* and *brunatnyj* by two, and eight other terms were mentioned once each (*purpurovyj, rumjanyj, malynovyj, liliovyj, fijalkovyj, buzkovyj, sribnyj, voronyj*).

[8] The limitations on the present study will be mostly apparent. Terms for GREY have been excluded; one may note, however, that **sěr-* only appears to have parallels, outside Slavic, in Germanic, and that **siv-* was probably semantically restricted. A second term for RED, **čirm-*, is poorly represented in South Slavic, and a second term for BLUE, **modr-*, is very poorly represented in East Slavic. Moreover, **čirm-*, along with other terms such as **čirvjen-*, **zolt-*, etc., are clearly connected to the names for physical objects.

What is immediately apparent from this brief survey is that the proposed evolutionary hierarchy of 'basic color terms' has a clear correlation in the psychological saliency of these terms in Modern Ukrainian. The first four on the above scale must be considered 'most basic': the one informant who omitted *žovtyj* considered this an oversight. These four, taken with WHITE and BLACK, represent evolutionary Stage V; the next color term on the hierarchy, *bronzovyj*, is the term added in evolutionary Stage VI; and the next three (together with GREY) are, similarly, the terms that are added in the evolutionary hierarchy through Stage X. The second term for BLUE, *blakytnyj*, is lower on the hierarchy, in spite of its cultural connections.

If we now consider each of the suggested linguistic criteria for determining 'basic' color terms, with reference to all the terms suggested by the informants, some interesting considerations emerge.

First, all the words listed are monolexemic. It is hardly surprising that no informant volunteered, as a 'basic' color term, a word such as *temnožovtyj* or *zeleno-synij*.

Second, the terms suggested by only one or two of the twelve speakers are clearly 'included' in the meanings of the more 'basic' terms: *voronyj*, for example, is a sub-category of *čornyj*. Exceptions to this statement are provided by such terms as *koryčnevyj* and *fijalkovyj*, which must be considered as stylistic or local variants of the 'basic' terms listed by the majority of the informants. Furthermore, when the informants were asked to identify "the best examples" of color terms on a standardized Munsell color chart,[9] there were no instances of overlap as far as the first five colors and VIOLET on the tabulated hierarchy were concerned; but a few identifications of ORANGE overlapped with color chips that other speakers had identified as "good examples of" *červonyj*, and there were similar overlaps between *roževyj* and *červonyj*, and between *blakytnyj* and *synij*. By this criterion, and on this evidence, six Ukrainian color terms are 'basic': *červonyj, zelenyj, synij, žovtyj, bronzovyj,* and *fioletovyj/fioletnyj*.

[9] See Berlin & Kay, *Basic Color Terms*, p. 5. All twelve informants were given a simple test for color blindness, using the American Optical Corporation's Pseudo-Isochromatic Plates for Testing Color Perception; none gave incorrect responses to more than four plates.

Third, it appears that only two of all the terms suggested are restricted to use with specific nouns. As a test, speakers were asked to judge the admissibility of the collocation of each term with the noun *skatert'*: and, although e.g. *burjakova skatert'* and *buzkova skatert'* we considered quite acceptable, *rumjana skatert'* and *vorona skatert'* were rejected. These two terms must be considered extremely non-'basic'.

The fourth criterion is very difficult to apply. To the comments already made above, it is enough to add some thoughts on verbal derivatives. The first four color terms on the tabulated hierarchy are all listed in the eleven-volume *Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy* (Kiev, 1970-1980) as forming verbs with *-ity* (*červonity, zelenity, synity, žovtity*) and *-išaty* (*červonišaty, zelenišaty, synišaty, žovtišaty).* All of these also form verbs with *-yty* (*červonyty, zelenyty, synyty, žovtyty*). As we work our way down the hierarchy, we find verbs which speakers of Ukrianian find quite acceptable, indeed useful, but which are not all listed in the *Slovnyk;* thus *bronzovity* is listed, but *bronzovyty* and *bronzovišaty* are not; and, while *blakytnity* and *blakytnišaty* are listed, *blakytnyty* is not; and so on. It may be suggested that, while all three verbal derivatives of all these color terms may indeed be considered 'possible' by Ukrainian speakers, some will be much more readily and much more frequently used than others; and this frequency will parallel positions on the hierarchy set out above.

Fifth, it is clear that (with two exceptions) none of the first nine terms on the scale derive from names of physical objects, while quite a few of the remainder do so derive (*zolotyj, holubyj, buzkovyj, burjakovyj, malynovyj,* etc.) The obvious exceptions to this rule are the first and fifth words on the list. The first derives, historically, from the root **čirv-;* synchronically speaking, however, it is not possible to derive *červonyj* directly from *červjak*, and the argument holds. The fifth word is also derived, but it is interesting to note the Western Ukrainian stress differentiation between *brónzovyj* 'made of bronze' and *bronzóvyj* BROWN.

Sixth, the criterion that 'recent loanwords' should be excluded is difficult to apply to Ukrainian, as (surely) to most European languages, unless the word 'recent' is limited to one or two hundred years: the last five of the nine most 'basic' terms are loanwords that are datable to the

last several centuries, and this criterion, which anthropological linguists can presumably apply more easily to 'primitive' languages, is of little use.

The seventh criterion is however of interest, in that the terms both for ORANGE and for VIOLET are 'unstable across informants'—a fact that can be correlated with the relatively low rank of these terms on the hierarchy.

It can be seen that, without recourse to the 'psychological' criterion, it would be far from easy to arrive at a list of 'Ukrainian basic color terms' (whether this be an undifferentiated list, or a hierarchial ranking). The available criteria, taken all together, would presumably guide the linguist towards a listing that would roughly approximate the hierarchy presented above; but a number of mutually contradictory indications would have to be resolved along the way.

A series of interviews such as those which form the basis of the present study validate the conclusions only to the extent that the sampled interviewees represent a particular linguistic community. Given the background to the use of Ukrainian in North America, with its differing dialectal origins and chronological differences with respect to the interaction with English on this continent and with Polish and Russian in Ukraine, the sample was probably too small and the results are perhaps not fully reliable.[10] The exact corralation of the hierarchy of color terms presented above with the evolutionary hierarchy is however striking.

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[10] Informants represented first-, second- and third-generation immigrants and most of the dialect areas within Ukrainian. All, even the most recent immigrants, speak English well, and many speak Russian and/or Polish also; this means that the color categorizations made by these informants (using the Munsell color chart) may differ from the categorizations that would be made by monolingual Ukrainians (cf. L.A. Caskey-Sirmons and N.P. Hickerson, "Semantic shifts and bilingualism: variation in the color terms of five languages," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 19 (1977), pp. 358-367); but the listing of psychologically 'salient' color terms by monolinguals would not necessarily differ from that given above.

Ukrainian *korýst'* 'benefit'

OMELJAN PRITSAK

1.

The etymology of Ukrainian *korýst'* has long interested Slavicists, especially because its Russian counterpart has, instead of the expected form with *i*, **koríst'*, a form with *y*: *korýst'*.[1]

As the Prague Old Church Slavonic Dictionary informs us, the word is first attested in the Codex Zographensis, which originated at the Zograph monastery on Mount Athos. That codex is a tenth- or eleventh-century copy of a manuscript belonging to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. There the word appears in a form with *i* (presumably influenced by the Bulgarian-Macedonian pronunciation) користь and has the meaning 'booty, trophy' (Greek *τὰ σκῦλα*, Latin *spolia*, pl.).[2] The same form is found in *Izbornik* traditionally attributed to Prince Svjatoslav and dated to 1076 (користь),[3] but there it most likely also was due to a Macedonian-Bulgarian influence.

Forms with *y* (ъі), however, are also quoted in the Prague Dictionary, from the so-called *Paroemiarion Grigorovičianum* which is also of Cyrillo-Methodian origin (but in a Bulgarian copy of the twelfth or thirteenth century): коръістиѧ (= Greek *σκύλων*), and in the *Evangelium* [Pseudo-] *Nicodemi* from the Czech tradition, preserved in a Serbian manuscript of the fifteenth century: отъ коръістн .[4]

The two variants also occur in Izmail Sreznevskij's dictionary of the Old Rus' language: коръість and користь ; *y* is attested in the derived forms: коръістоватисѧ, коръістьнъін.[5] Unfortunately,

[1] See, e.g., Erich Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Heidelberg, 1924), pp. 570f; Aleksander Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* (Cracow, 1927), p. 258.

[2] *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, ed. J. Kurz, 2 (15) (Prague, 1967), p. 53.

[3] *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. S. Kotkov (Moscow, 1965), p. 156.

[4] *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, pp. 2, 53.

[5] I. Sreznevskij, *Materiały dlja slovarja drevne-russkogo jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam*, I (S. Petersburg, 1893), col. 1286f, 1292.

the word is not found in the dictionary of the Old Ukrainian language edited by Lukija Humec'ka.[6]

We may draw the conclusion that the testimony of old texts does not exclude the possibility that *korist'* comes from the older *koryst'*,[7] and that the *i* form arose as the result of a local development.[8]

Slavicists usually assume that the word has a Slavic etymology, but thus far they have not found a satisfactory etymon.[9] Max Vasmer, in his etymological dictionary of the Russian language, summed up the situation as follows: "Sowohl die Verknüpfung mit *koriti (pokorit')* usw. (Mi[klosich] *EW*, 130), als diejenige mit *korá, korýto* (Brückner *KZ*, 45, 35; 48, 208; *EW* 258) bietet Schwierigkeiten (s. Berneker *EW* 1, 571). Die ursprüngliche Bed[eutung] ist wohl 'Beute', r.-ksl. *koristoljubivъ* 'gewinn-, beute-liebend'."[10]

2.

In texts of the Old Turkic language of the eighth to tenth century there is a verb *qazγan-* having the basic meaning 'to gain profit (by trade), to earn'.[11] This word is preserved in the southwest (Turkmen,

[6] *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy XIV—XVst.*, ed. L. Humec'ka, I (Kiev, 1977).

[7] This possibility is accepted by Fr. Sławski in his *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* 2 (10) (Cracow, 1965), p. 514. In a long entry devoted to the word *korzyść*, he demonstrates the intricate situation which arises if the Slavic origin of the word is to be maintained. See also the reference to M. Vasmer below.

[8] On meanings of *koryst'* in Modern Ukrainian, see *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*, 4, Akademija Nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR, eds. A. Burjačok and P. Docenko (Kiev, 1973), pp. 290f.

[9] Besides the dictionaries by Berneker (Note 1), Brückner (Note 1), Sławski (Note 7) and Vasmer (Note 10) see also, e.g., N. Šanskij, V. Ivanov, and T. Šanskaja, *Kratkij ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka* (Moscow, 1971), p. 214; J. Holub, Fr. Kopečný, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého* (Prague, 1952), p. 181.

[10] Max Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, (Heidelberg, 1957), p. 638 (= p. 343 in volume 2 of the Russian translation edited and supplemented by O. Trubačev, Moscow, 1967). The editor of this Festschrift, Professor Jacob P. Hursky kindly reminded me about the etymology of *koryst'* presented by Bojan Čop, "Etyma Balto-Slavica V. 1. Sl. *koristь*," *Slavistična Revija* 13 (Ljubljana, 1961/62), pp. 181-185. Unfortunately I cannot accept the thesis of this prominent scholar.

[11] Detailed data in the following dictionaries: Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 683 (henceforth *EDT*); Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen* (Helsinki, 1969), p. 243. Cf. also (for the ancient languages): *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, ed. V. Nadeljaev (Leningrad, 1969), p. 439; Şinasi Tekin, *Maitrisimit nom bitig* 2 (Berlin, 1980), p. 96; (for modern languages) Wilhelm Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, 2 (S. Petersburg, 1899), col. 369f, 384.

Oghuz) group of Turkic languages: Osmanli,[12] Azarbaijani,[13] and Turkmen,[14] but also Yakut[15] and Kazan Tatar.[16]

Sir Gerard Clauson, in his etymological dictionary of the Turkic languages, explains this word as the reflexive voice in *-in-* from an unattested verb **qazγa-* which is derived from a noun **qaziγ* + plus derivational denominal verbal suffix /A/. Further on, he maintains that **qaziγ* itself admits a morphological analysis: it is a deverbal noun in /-IG/ from the verb **qaz-*.[17]

I entirely concur with Sir Gerard's proposed etymology, because in the Turkic languages (as opposed to the Mongolian ones) there is no verbal suffix /GA/.[18]

Interestingly enough, the suffix /IG/ has both substantival and adjectival meanings, e.g., in Old and Middle Turkic: 1) *ötüg* 'prayer' (from *öt-* 'to pray'); *ayγ-* 'word' (from *ay-* 'speak');[19] 2) *säwig* 'enamored' (*säw-* 'to love'); *ariγ* 'clean' (from *ari-* 'to clean').[20]

The reconstructed word **qaziγ* probably had both meanings, that of

[12] *kazan-* (< *qaz-γan-*) "to win, to gain, to acquire, to earn, to make a profit, to make money"; *kazanç* (< *qazγanč*) "1. gain, profit, earnings, winnings; 2. advantage, benefit"—*New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (Istanbul, 1968), p. 627.

[13] *qazan-* (< *gazγan-*) "zarabatyvat', polučat' pribyl', vygodu, priobretat', naživat'sja"; *qazanč* (< *qazγanč*) "zarabotok, pribyl', baryš"; *qazanïl-* "byt' pri-obretennym, zarabotannym, nažitym"—*Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar'*, ed. G. Gusejnov (Baku, 1939), col. 643.

[14] *gazan-* (< *qazγan-*) "1. zarabatyvat', podrabatyvat'; 2. polučat' doxod, pribyl'; 3. zavoevyvat' čto-libo, dobyvat' čego-libo; 4. priobretat', polučat'"; *gazanč* (< *qazγanč*)" 1. zarabotok; 2. naživa." *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*, eds. N. Baskakov et al. (Moscow, 1968), p. 138.

[15] *xasan-* (< *qazγan-*) "nakopljat' (sobirat' dlja sebja), *zapasat', sberegat'*, delat' sebe zapas, zapasat'sja čem, bereč' (zagotovljat') vprok"; *xasās* (< *qazγanč*) "1. zapas; berežennoe, zapasennoe; 2. kruglaja, sažen' glubinoju, vyložennaja listvenničnoj koroj jama (dlja syma), bočka ili voobšče krupnaja posuda dlja sobiranija vsjakix zapasov...; 3. osobaja forma ėksploatacii dojnogo skota..." Ėduard K. Pekarskij, *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka* 3, I (Leningrad, 1927), col. 3385.

[16] *kazan-* (< *qazγan-*) "1. zasluživat', zaslužit'; dostigat', dostignut'; dobivat'sja, dobit'sja, dobyvat', sniskat'; 2. zavoevyvat', zavoevat', priorbretat', priobresti, obretat', obresti"; *kazaniš* (< *qazγanč*) "1. priobretenie. dostiženie, zavoevanie, uspex, pobeda; 2. peren. zasluga, vklad." *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1966), p. 207.

[17] Clauson, *EDT*, p. 683.

[18] Teréz Mária Szabó, *A Kalmük szóképzés* (Budapest, 1943), pp. 29, 49.

[19] Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 70, 109.

[20] *Ibid.* pp. 76, 137.

a substantive and that of an adjective: 1) 'gain(s)', 'booty' and 2) 'gained'.[21]
3.

The Slavic-speaking ancestors of Ukrainians, chiefly the Polanians, the Derevljanians, and the Sěverjans, according to the testimony of the Primary Chronicle, were subjects of the Khazar state.[22] This situation did not continue far beyond the ninth century. Igor' occupied Khazar Kiev in the 930s.[23] Clearly, the language of the Khazars, who at that time were accomplished traders, could not have not influenced the trade terminology of these Proto-Ukrainians.

But the Khazar state had no Khazar language. The very word Khazar was originally a geographical notion. The Khazar *lingua franca* was the Hunnic-Bulgar language, which was basically similar to the Turkic languages but also had distinctive features. One of the typical differences between it and the Turkic languages was so-called rhotacism,[24] that is, the correspondence of the Turkic *z* to Hunnic-Bulgarian *r*, e.g., Hunnic (the fifth century) *vär* (< **ōr*) 'river' (especially the Dnieper) vs. Turkic *ōz* (the eighth century) 'river'.[25]

On the basis of the above data one can reconstruct the Hunnic-Bulgarian counterpart of Turkic **qaziγ* as **qariγ*, also having the two meanings: 1) 'gain(s), booty' and 2) 'gained'.

Sometime before the seventh-ninth century, Old Hunnic /IG/ developed into /ú/, e.g., Turkic *bālig* ~ *bāläg* 'sign' = Volga Bulgar *belū̄*-'id' (< **bälig*).[26]

This development is attested to in one Danube-Bulgarian proper

[21] On substantival and adjectival use of the suffix /IG/, see Ervand V. Sevortjan, *Affiksy imennogo slovoobrazovanija v azerbajdžanskom jazyke. Opyt sravnitel'nogo issledovanija* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 200-217.

[22] *Povest' vremennyx let*, I, text prepared by D. S. Lixačev, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), pp. 16, 18.

[23] Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, 1982), pp. 60-71.

[24] On the "rhotacism" in the Altaic languages see my article "Der 'Rhotazismus' und 'Lambdazismus'," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 35 (1964), pp. 337-349.

[25] "Ein hunnisches Wort," in O. Pritsak, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History* (London, 1981), pp. 124-135.

[26] András Róna-Tas, "A Volga Bulgarian Inscription from 1307," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 30 (Budapest, 1976), pp. 159-161.

name which was noted in *Miracula S. Demetrii* (a Byzantine text from ca. 675-685).[27]

In this way we arrive at the hypothetic Khazarian ninth-century form **qarū́* with the meanings 1) 'gain(s), booty'; 2) 'gained'.

4.

In Old Ukrainian the Khazar *a* of the word initial syllable was rendered as *o*, e.g., *qazár* > *kozár- (-in,* pl. *-e),* while the older *ū́* yielded *ȳ́*. Accordingly, the loan word **karū́* (< **qarū́*) changed into **korȳ́*. Since the word had on adjectival meaning, a nominal suffix *-ost(ь)* (> Ukr. *-ist'*) was added, which derives abstract substantives from adjectives, e.g., *mǫdrь-ostь* > *mudrostь* > Modern Ukrainian *mudrist'*; *milь-ostь* > *milostь,* Modern Ukrainian *mylist'* 'favor, grace'.

In Slavic adjectives ending in the short vowel *-ь* (< *-ŭ)* this ending was usually dropped before the *o* of the suffix *ost(ь).* But **korȳ́* ended in a long stressed vowel *ȳ́*, and therefore that vowel took the upper hand in the vowel sequence. Thus **korȳ́* + *ostь* yielded the form *korý-stь,* which has been preserved in the Eastern Slavic languages, whereas in the other Slavic languages, involved in the change **ry* > *ri,* it became *koristь.*

It follows from the above that the word *korýst'* is not of Slavic origin; it was borrowed from the Khazars some time in the eighth or ninth century.

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[27] See my study "The Slavs and the Avars" to be published in *XXX Settimana di studio, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1983 [1984]), p. 403.

[28] On the suffix *-ost(ь)*, see A. Seliščev, *Staroslavjanskij jazyk,* 2 (Moscow, 1952), p. 73; on Ukrainian *-ist'*, see *Sučasna ukrajins'ka literaturna mova* 2, *Morfolohija*, ed. V. Rusanivs'kyj (Kiev, 1969), p. 38.

Turkic and Slavic Surnames in *-uk* (*-čuk*)*

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I.

The suffixes *-uk, -juk, čuk* already have an extensive literature in linguistics and onomastics. The results of research on this topic may be summarized as follows:

The Turkish suffix *-çuk* is formally a variant of *çik, -çük, -çık-* suffixes after hard consonants and corresponds to *cik, -cuk, -cık, -cuk* suffixes in other positions. It forms substantives with diminutive meaning, viz.

kedi 'cat'	:	*kedicik* 'little cat'
bahçe 'garden'	:	*bahçecik* 'little garden'
kuş 'bird'	:	*kuşçuk* 'little bird'
orman 'forest'	:	*ormancık* 'little forest'

In cases where the word ends in *-k* this consonant usually disappears, e.g.

köpek 'dog'	:	*köpecik* 'little dog'
yaprak 'leaf'	:	*yapracık* 'little leaf', etc.[1]

In the same or similar function the suffix is found in Turkish surnames, e.g. *Bunçuk, Kuşçuk, Kamçuk, Burunçuk,* etc. As *-uk* it might be also abstracted in such names as *Buzuk, Başibuzuk, Çubuk, Çürük,* etc.

* A revised version of the text of 1981; the author is indebted to Professor Jacob P. Hursky for his comments and additional bibliographical data.

[1] Cf. H. Jansky, *Lehrbuch der türkischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 110; J.P. Hursky, *The Origin of Patronymic Surnames in Ukrainian.* Reprint from *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Inc.,* Vol. VIII (1960), No. 1-2 (25-26), pp. 180-181; P.P. Čučka, "Do poxodžennja i značennja ukrajins'kyx imennykovyx utvoren' iz sufiksamy -uk, čuk," *Tezy dopovidej ta povidomlen' XVII naukovoji konferenciji* (Kviten' 1963). *Serija filolohična* (Užhorod, 1963), pp. 70-71; Larysa Zales'ka-Onyškevyč in J.B. Rudnyc'kyj's *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language,* Vol. II (1982), p. 848.

Contrary to Turkish *-çuk* the Slavic suffix *-čuk* is of a secondary provenance. It is a result of the merging of two original suffixes *-ьсь* and *ько* with *-juk,* the basic formant here being Proto-Slavic *-uk* - suffix denoting primarily small beings, little things, diminutiva in general. V. Vondrák cites the vollowing examples to illustrate this function: Church Slavic *piljukъ* 'Milvus', Serbo-Croatian *duduk* 'pipe', Ukrainian *laznjuk* 'climber', *seljuk* 'villager', *serdžuk* 'angry man', *miščančuk* 'city dweller', *baranču k* 'ram', Russian *detjuk* 'child', *mastjuk* 'master', Polish *maśluk* 'kind of mushroom', etc.[2]

A more detailed classification of the semantic variants of *-uk, -juk, -čuk* suffixes is to be found in special works devoted to Slavic morphology. Thus, for example, Roman Smal'-Stoc'kyj distinguishes here the following functions:[3]

1 a) Formation of words which denote beings characterized by professional or adjectival characteristics in general, e.g. *holodnjúk* 'hungry man' (: *hólod* 'hunger'); *syrotjúk* (: *syrotá* 'orphan'), etc.;

b) flora and fauna, e.g. *morozjúk* 'ice-bird' (: *moróz* 'ice'), *bahnjúk* 'a sort of plant' (: *bahnó* 'marsh'), etc.

2 a) Formation of augmentatives, as e.g. *starúk* 'old man' (: *starýj* 'old'), *molodjúk* 'young man' (*molodýj* 'young'), etc.

b) natural phenomena, e.g. *červonjúk* 'a sort of mushroom' (: *červónýj* 'red'), *krasnjúk* 'ts' (: *krásnyj* 'beautiful'), etc.

3 a) Formation of diminutive words designating young people, sons, helpers, pupils, etc. e.g. *čabančúk* 'herdsman's son' (: *čabán* 'herdsman'), *kuxarčúk* 'young cook' (: *kúxar* 'cook'), etc.;

b) pejoratives, e.g. *pysarčúk* 'bad writer' (: *pýsar* 'writer'), *likarčúk* 'bad doctor' (: *líkar* 'doctor'), etc.

As far as the onomastic formations are concerned, V.V. Nimčuk offers the following typology:[4]

[2] W. Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik,* Band I (Göttingen, 1924), p. 617.

[3] R. Smal-Stockyj, *Abriss der ukrainischen Substantivbildung* (Wien, 1915), pp. 56-58.

[4] Cf. V.V. Nimčuk, "Ukrajins'ki prizvyšča z sufiksamy -(')uk, -čuk ta etymolohično sporidneni utvorennja," *Ukrajins'ka dialektolohija i onomastyka* (Zbirnyk statej), I (Kiev, 1964, pp. 194-210; see also J.P. Hursky's article quoted in footnote 1 as well as his dissertion, *The Patronymic Surnames in Ukrainian* (University of Pennsylvania, 1957) abstracted in *Dissertation Abstracts,* Vol. XVII, No. 4 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1957), p. 1331.

1) Patro- and matronymic formations, as e.g. *Dmytrúk* 'Demetrius' son' (: *Dmytró*), *Katerynjúk* 'Catharine's son' (: *Katerýna*), etc.

2) Names with appellative correspondences, eg. *Het'mančuk* 'Hetman's son' (: *Hét'man*), *Komisarčuk* 'Commissioner's son' (: *Komisár*), etc.

A more refined classification of surnames in *-uk/-čuk* is offered by Ju. K. Red'ko.[5] He distinguishes the following categories of such surnames:

a) surnames derived from one's father's name (male ancestor):

Antonjúk 'son of Anton' (: *Antín* 'Anthony')
Antončúk 'son of Anton' (: *Antín* 'Anthony')
Ivanjúk 'son of Iván' (: *Iván* 'John')
Ivančúk 'son of Iván' (: *Iván* 'John')
Lazarúk 'son of Lázar' (: *Lázar* 'Eleazer')
Lazarčúk 'son of Lázar' (: *Lázar* 'Eleazer')
Nazarúk 'Nazar's son' (: Nazár)
Nazarčúk 'Nazar's son' (: Nazár)
Fedorúk 'Fedor's son' (: *Fédir* 'Theodor')
Fedorčúk 'Fedor's son' (: *Fédir* 'Theodor')
Tarasjúk 'Taras' son' (: *Tarás*)
Taraščúk 'Taras' son' (: *Tarás*)
Jaremčúk 'Jarema's son' (: *Jaréma* 'Jeremiah')
Sydorúk 'Sydor's son' (: *Sýdir* 'Isidor')

b) surnames derived from one's mother's name (grandmother):

Varčúk 'son of Várka' (: *Várka* 'Barbara')
Katerynjúk 'son of Katerýna' (: *Katerýna* 'Catherine')
Kateryncúk 'son of Katerýna' (: *Katerýna* 'Catherine')
Martjúk 'son of Márta' (: *Márta* 'Martha')
Olenjúk 'son of Oléna' (: *Oléna* 'Helen')
Olenčúk 'son of Oléna' (: *Oléna* 'Helen')

[5] Ju.K. Red'ko, *Sučasni ukrajins'ki prizvyšča* (Kiev, 1966) pp. 151-154. In his article, "Surnames of Soviet Russian and other Communist Celebrities," in *Names*, Vol. 8, pp. 220-239, John P. Pauls refers only to three Ukrainian names in *-uk/-čuk*, namely: *Kondratjuk*, *Kornijčuk* and *Palamarčuk*.

Tetjančúk 'son of Tetjána'
Fenčúk 'son of Fénna'
Fesjúk 'son of Fésja' (: *Fesja* 'Theodosia')
Feščúk 'son of Fésja' (: *Fesja* 'Theodosia')
Xavronjúk 'son of Xavróna' (: *Xavróna* 'Fevronia')
Xymčúk 'son of Xýmka' (: *Xýmka* 'Euphemia')
Javdoščúk 'son of Javdóxa' (: *Javdóxa* 'Eudokia')

c) surnames derived from the name of one's father's profession:
Bohomazjúk 'son of *bohomáz'* (: *bohomáz* '/church/ ikon-painter')
Vivčarúk 'son of *vivčár* (: *vivčár* 'shepherd')
Kovaljúk 'son of *kovál"* (: *kovál'* 'blacksmith')
Koval'čúk 'son of *kovál"* (: *kovál'* 'blacksmith')
Kravčúk '*kravéc*'s son' (: *kravéc'* 'tailor')
Kramarčúk '*kramar*'s son' (: *kramár* 'merchant')
Mel'nyčúk '*mel'nyk*'s son' (: *mél'nyk* 'miller')
Rybačúk '*rybák*'s son (: *rybák* 'fisherman')
Šynkarúk 'son of *šynkár*' (: *šynkár* 'bartender')
Šynkarčúk 'son of *šynkár*' (: *šynkár* 'bartender')

d) surnames derived from the name of the service rank or social status of one's father (mother):
Atamanjúk 'ataman's son' (: *otáman* 'ataman')
Atamančúk 'ataman's son' (: *otáman* 'ataman')
Bujmystrúk 'mayor's son' (: dial. *bujmýstr* 'mayor')
Vojtjúk 'reeve's son' (*vijt* 'reeve')
Kapitančúk 'son of a captain' (*kapitán* 'captain')
Kozačúk 'cossack's son' (: *kozák* 'cossack')
Kozačenjúk 'cossack's son' (: *kozák* 'cossack')
Komisarúk 'son of a commissioner' (: *komisár* 'commissioner')
Komisarčúk 'son of a commissioner' (: *komisár* 'commissioner')
Popadjúk 'son of *popadjá*' (: *popadjá* 'priest's wife'), etc.

e) surnames derived from prior family names:
Babyčúk 'son of *Bábyč*'
Babijčúk 'son of *Babíj*'
Bajdjúk 'son of *Bájda*'

Baranjúk 'son of *Barán*'
Belejčúk 'son of *Beléj*'
Hluxanjúk 'son of *Hluxán*'
Šavaljúk 'son of *Šavála*'
Ščerbanjúk 'son of *Ščerbán*'
Beznosjúk 'son of *Beznósyj*'

f) surnames derived from ethnonyms of ancestors:
Vološynjúk 'son of *Volóšyn*' (: *volóšyn* 'Rumanian')
Lytvynjúk 'son of *Lytvýn*' (: *lytvyn* 'Lithuanian')
Lytvynčúk 'son of *Lytvýn*' (: *lytvyn* 'Lithuanian')
Mazurčúk 'son of *Mázur*' (: *mázur* 'Mazovian')
Nimčúk 'son of *Nímec*' (: *nímec'* 'German')
Tatarynjúk 'Tartar's son' (: *tatáryn* 'Tartar')
Tatarynčúk 'Tartar's son' (: *tatáryn* 'Tartar')
Turčúk 'Turk's son' (: *túrok* 'Turk')
Cyhančúk 'son of *Cýhan*' (: *cýhan* 'Gypsy')
Švedjúk 'son of *Šved*' (: *šved* 'Swede')

g) surnames derived from toponyms according to one's provenance:
Volynjúk 'one from *Volynia*' (: *Volýn'* 'Volynia')
Volynčúk 'one from *Volynia*' (: *Volýn'* 'Volynia')
Horodnjúk 'emigré from *Horódno*' (-city)
Dubenčúk 'man from *Dúbno*' (-city)
Zavysljúk 'one who came from beyond the *Výsla'* (: Vistula-river)
Zališčúk 'newcomer from *Zalíssja*'
Kicmanjúk 'man from *Kícman*'' (-city)
Majdanjúk 'one from Majdán' (-city)
Sokal'čúk 'one from *Sokal*'' (-city)
Samborúk 'dweller from *Sámbir*' (-town)
Spasjúk 'one from *Spas*' (-village)
Ternavčúk 'newcomer from *Térnavka*' (-village)
Jasinčúk 'original dweller of *Jasinjá*' (-village)
Podoljúk 'man from *Podíllja*' (-province)
Podoljančúk 'man from *Podíllja*' (-province)
Poliščúk 'one from *Políssja*' (-region), etc.

II.

Two problems, not yet resolved, arise out of the research. One refers to the possibility of interlingual contacts between Slavic and Turkic onomastics and the second concerns the explanation of names which are neither Slavic nor Turkic but have as their main feature the suffix *-uk* (or even *-čuk*).

As far as the first problem is concerned, a theory was recently advanced by P. Čučka that the Slavic (Ukrainian) suffix *-uk* (from *-čuk*) is the result of Turkish influence on the Ukrainian language and that it was evident in both appellative (e.g. *bunčúk, kančúk, sevrúk, mamljúk,* etc.) and onomastic formations (*Bašúk, Čurúk, Bunčúk,* etc.).[6] Reversing the whole morphological process of development, Čučka considers all *-čuk* formations primary and *-uk* words secondary ones. In other words, the oldest surnames in *-čuk* were of Turkish origin in Ukrainian, later they developed into *-uk* through a simplification of the "compound" suffix *-čuk*. This explanation is disallowed, first of all, by the chronological data. The *-uk* formations go as far back as the 15-16th centuries, whereas such words as *bunčuk, kančuk,* and surnames such as *Bušuk, Kančuk* are of 16-17th centuries. Secondly, the geographical distribution (of the Northern Ukraine and Belorussia, where they are mostly diffused) points to the real origin and Proto-Slavic character of the *-uk* -suffix. And thirdly, the frequency of words and names in *-uk* with Slavic roots such as *morozjúk, bahnjúk, starúk, molodjúk,* etc. (see above) and *Koval'čúk, Dovhanjúk* (: *dóvhyj* 'tall'), *Slipčúk* (: *slipýj* 'blind'), etc. contradicts Čučka's hypothesis. It was correctly rejected by Ju. K. Red'ko and others. In our opinion, the Turkish *-uk, -çuk* formations and their Slavic counterparts present a sheer linguistic coincidence, which has tempted scholars to hypothesize as to linguistic interferences and has ultimately led to too far reaching theories. To our knowledge, so far there has been no attempt to explain Turkish formations in *-uk, -çuk.* And justifiably so because in both languages it represents a genuine and organically motivated formant. If there are some words and surnames in *-uk, -çuk* in Slavic of Turkic origin they

[6] Cf. P.P. Čučka, l.c. 71.

have been borrowed as integral lexical formations, not as morphologically decomposed roots and formants.

A new and bold hypothesis in this respect was advanced by Jacob P. Hursky in his study of Ukrainian patronymic surnames.[7] Taking into consideration the geographical distribution of the suffixes *-uk/-čuk* (Northern Ukraine and Byelorussia) he suggests that "this suffix may have come from the Lithuanian suffix *-ukas* (*-iukas*), often used in forming diminutives and endearment forms, and sometimes even patronymics and surnames."[8] In accepting the parallelism of Slavic *-uk* and Baltic *-ukas* formations as a linguistic fact, we are inclined to consider them a common Balto-Slavic phenomenon of a more recent date without a genetic kinship. The matter deserves a further detailed comparative historical study.

III.

Finally, unexplainable names in *-uk, -çuk* should be mentioned. Here such formations as *Pretčuk, Nytepčuk, Sirluck* and similar ones might be named as random examples. Each of them forms a problem in itself. Here research should be conducted in every case individually, taking into consideration all previous records of a given name, the chronology of eventual change, the linguistic milieu in which the change occurred, etc. Both Turkic and Slavic languages alongside other ones (e.g. Baltic) should be taken into consideration. Without the above premises, we are restricted to hypotheses which might only sometimes be persuasive, only sometimes unconvincing, for example, the name *Pretchuk* might be hypothetically derived from **Predčuk,* connected with Ukrainian *predok* 'ancestor'.

A similar situation occurs in the explanation of the name *Sirluck*. It might be considered as an abbreviation of the Slavic name *Sirlucki,* or as a transformed version of *Cyriluk* 'son of Cyril'. Without a thorough examination of the previous forms of the name based on archival

[7] J.P. Hursky, *The origin of Patronymic Surnames in Ukrainian...*, p. 180.
[8] J.P. Hursky, l.c.

research, both etymologies will remain hypothetical. In a similar manner one could suggest *Nytepčúk* (from *netépa* - *netipáxa* 'unfortunate person'?); *Pawchuk* (either from *páwa* 'peacock' or from *pálka* 'stick'); *Kissuk or Kischook* (perhaps from *kýslyj* 'sour'?), etc.

* * *

In summing up our discussion of the distribution and meaning of Turkic and Slavic surnames in *-uk, -juk, -čuk,* the following concluding classification of the material may be presented:

1) Turkic names as e.g. *Buzuk, Çuruk, Kamçuk,*

2) Slavic surnames as e.g. *Sydorúk, Plawjúk, Radčúk,*

3) Mixed, mostly deformed, names and uncertain names as e.g. *Pretchuk, Nytepčuk, Sirluck,* etc.

Further research in this field, utilizing descriptive and historical material, its geographical diffusion and transformational processes is badly needed and highly recommended.

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Zum Problem des anlautenden *ch-* im Slavischen

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Das slavische *ch* ist aus idg. **s* in der Stellung nach *i, u, r, k* phonetisch entstanden und war anfänglich ein Allophon von diesem. Seine Phonematisierung ist jedoch schon früh erfolgt, denn es scheint auch außerhalb dieser Position in flektierten Formen als Kasussuffix auf (z.B. Lok. Pl. *zemljachъ*) und ist in der nominalen und verbalen Derivation als stammbildendes Formans produktiv (*spě-chъ* 'Streben, Eile', *ja-ch-ati* 'fahren' u. dgl.). In allen diesen Fällen bereitet die Erklärung des *ch* weniger Schwierigkeiten, man schreibt seine ausbreitung gewöhnlich der Analogiewirkung zu.

Strittig sind Herkunft und Stellung des *ch* im Anlaut, worüber eine ansehnliche wissenschaftliche Literatur besteht,[1] die der Frage auf verschiedene Weise beizukommen versucht, teils durch Heranziehung phonetischer (*ch* < **kh, *ks, *sk*) oder paraphonetischer Gegebenheiten, wie Expressivität, Affektivität usw., teils durch Erklärung der betreffenden Fälle als Nachbildungen oder Entlehnungen des Slavischen aus anderen Sprachen. So soll der Meinung A. Vaillants (Gram. comp. 1, 85; 4, 260) zufolge z. B. slav. *o-chrъmnǫti* '(hervor)hinken' trotz der beträchtlichen Abweichung der Wortbedeutung got. *us-hramjan* 'kreuzigen' nachgebildet und slav. *chrěnъ* 'Meerrettich' Nachahmung von got. *hrains* 'rein' sein.

Für Z. Gołąb (American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw 1973, 129ff.) sind nahezu alle mit *ch-* anlautenden Wörter des Slavischen Entlehnungen aus dem Iranischen, obgleich sie in mehreren Fällen dort gar nicht direkt zu belegen sind,

[1] Vgl. in Auswahl bei H. Bräuer, Slavische Sprachwissenschaft I, 1961, 184; G.Y. Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, 1964, 138.

sondern nur erschlossen werden können. Außerdem führt manche postulierte Übernahme zu lautlichen Schwierigkeiten in der Erklärung, so etwa, wenn slav. *chlastъ* 'Junggeselle' aus dem Part. Prät. Pass. iran. *haršta-* 'freigegeben, entlassen' erklärt oder slav. *chvala* 'Ruhm, Lob' als Entlehnung von iran. *hvarnah-* 'Glanz, Herrlichkeit' angesehen wird, obgleich die slavischen Bildungen *-l-*, die iranischen *-r-* im Inlaut aufweisen. Dabei übersieht dieser Erklärungsversuch die weiteren, von *chlastъ* etymologisch kaum zu trennenden Bildungen *chlakъ* 'Junggeselle' und *chlapъ* 'Knecht', die nicht Entlehnungen aus dem Iranischen sein können. Man vgl. einzelsprachliche Formen wie russ. *cholit'* 'sauber halten, pflegen, warten', ukr. *cholyty*, dazu in der Bedeutung 'Pflegling': *čech. pa-chole*, slk. *pa-chol'a*, poln. *pa-cholę* 'Knabe', *pa-chołek* 'Bursche, Knecht'. Im übrigen wird man Wörter, die im Slavischen reguläre Ablautstufen zeigen, wie z.B. *chyrъ* 'siech' zu *chvorъ* 'krank', *chvatiti* 'fassen' zu *chъtěti* 'wollen' u.dgl., nicht zu Entlehnungen, gleichgültig aus welcher Sprache, machen dürfen.

Notgedrungene Erklärungen sind Versuche, z.B. slav. *choditi* 'gehen' oder *chromъ* 'lahm' als Bildungen hinzustellen, die von Zusammensetzungen mit auslautenden *-i, -u, -r, -k* herrühren, wie *pri-choditi* 'hingehen', *u-choditi* 'weggehen', *prě-choditi* 'vorübergehen, durchschreiten' oder die einer These zuliebe konstruierte Verbindung *nogu chromъ* 'an den Beinen lahm' u.dgl.m. Ihnen stehen als Einzelfällen so viele Gegenbeispiele gegenüber, wie etwa *pri-sęšti* 'berühren', *u-sěšti* 'abschneiden' usw., und *choditi* selbst kommt ebenso häufig auch mit den Präfixen *na-, za-* und *do-* vor, daß solche Erklärungen den Tatsachen nicht gerecht werden.

Was *ch* als Expressivlaut betrifft, so gibt es zweifellos Wörter, deren expressiver Charakter offensichtlich ist. Diese sind nicht Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung. Man wird aber bei einem Wort wie slav. *chladъ* 'kalt' gegenüber lit. *šáltas* (le. *salˆts*) mit derselben Bedeutung kaum von Expressivität oder Emotionalität des Ausdruckes sprechen können,wie V. Machek (Slavia 16, 195) u.a., dies schon deshalb nicht, weil das zweifellos zugehörige Substantiv slav. *slana* 'Reif' mit lit. *šalnà* (le. *salˆna*) in jeder Hinsicht übereinstimmt und von einem expressiven Anlaut hier nichts zu bemerken ist. Auch das zum selben Wortstamm gestellte slav. *slota* 'Regenwetter' läßt nichts dergleichen erkennen. Der Ausweg,

für slav. *chladъ* eine (im übrigen nicht zu beweisende) phonetische Anlautvariante **kh, *ks* oder **sk* zu postulieren, hat bisher wenige befriedigt, weshalb sie in slav. *chladъ* ein Lehnwort aus got. *kalds* sehen wollen (z.B. A. Vaillant, o.c. 4, 157; u.a.), wieder eine der Not gehorchende, unbeweisbare und aufgrund der Sachlage unwahrscheinliche Erklärung.

Stellen wir die Verhältnisse im Litauischen und im Slavischen zusammen:

Lit. *šalnà* entspricht slav. *slana*, dagegen steht lit. *šáltas* die slavische Form *chladъ* gegenüber (im Slavischen also anlautendes *ch-* und *d-* Erweiterung, letztere dem Verhältnis lit. *tvìrtas* : slav. *tvrъdъ* entsprechend).

Um das *ch* des Slavischen zu verstehen, wird man sich vorher folgende Tatsache vor Augen führen müssen:

Die alte Verteilung idg. **s : *k'* ergab lit. *s : š*, im Slavischen dagegen unterschiedslos *s* ~ *s*. Der Prozeß ist alt, denn das aus **k'* entstandene slav. *s* nimmt, wie jedes *s*, am Wandel *sr* > *str* (*t*-Einschub) teil, daher slav. *ostrъ* 'spitz', *pъstrъ* 'bunt' gegenüber gr. ἄκρος, πικρός. Das Slavische hat demnach Formen wie *stropъ* 'Dach', *(otъ-)stropiti* 'bedecken' gegenüber ags. *hróf* 'Dach', bret. *krao* Stall', ir. *cro* 'Verschlag, Stall' (< **k'ro*), aber im Falle von *(u-)kropъ* 'Frühsuppe' (vgl. ai. *śrapayati* 'kocht, brät') oder *kropiti* 'besprengen', *kroplja* 'Tropfen' (vgl. av. *srask-* 'triefen' <**k'ro-*) hat das Slavische den Wandel **k'r* > *sr* > *str* nicht durchgeführt, um die Bedeutungsunterschiede zu wahren. Deshalb heißt es im Slavischen wohl auch *svekry* 'Schwiegermutter' (vgl. ai. *śvaśrūḥ*), mit Entpalatalisierung des **k'* (> *k*), da *sr* hätte *str* ergeben müssen (**svestry*) und damit die Form von *sestra* 'Schwester' nur mehr schwer auseinanderzuhalten gewesen wäre. Das ist meine Erklärung von slav. *svekry*, und sie kommt mir wirklichkeitsnäher vor, als die über das sog. Dissimilationsgesetz von A. Meillet führende. Aus Gründen der Unterscheidung heißt es wohl auch slav. *črěda* 'Herde' gegenüber av. *sarəδa-*, mit Entpalatalisierung des **k'* (> *k*) im Slavischen, um den Zusammenfall mit slav. *srěda* 'Mitte' zu vermeiden. Ähnlich behielt slav. *skočiti* 'springen' die Anlautgruppe *sk* (< **sk'*) bei (vgl. lit. *šókti*), um sich gegenüber *sočiti* 'anzeigen' (vgl. lit. *sakýti* 'sagen') abzugrenzen.

Mit anderen Worten: *k* kam schon in frühester Zeit des Slavischen

bzw. seiner sprachlichen Vorläufer eine distinktive Funktion zu. Ähnlich liegen die Verhältnisse im Baltischen, wo wir im Litauischen den Wechsel *k/š* bzw. *g/ž* zur Abgrenzung von begrifflich nahestehenden Bedeutungen antreffen:

Vgl. lit.	*akmuõ* 'Stein'	: *ašmuõ* 'Schneide'	
	kleĩvas 'krummbeinig'	: *šleĩvas* 'krumm'	
	kaũkti 'heulen'	: *šaũkti* 'schreien'	
	geĩtas 'gelb'	: *žeĩtas* 'golden'	
slav.	*kava* 'Dohle'	: *sova* 'Eule'	
	kloniti 'neigen'	: *sloniti* 'lehnen'	
	žlьtъ 'gelb'	: *zelenъ* 'grün'	usw.

Kehren wir zum Beispiel lit. *šáltas* : slav. *chladъ* zurück. Beide Formen gehen auf eine Wurzel **k'el-* / **k'ol-* zurück. Nach der regelrechten Lautentwicklung hätte dies im Slavischen *slad-* ergeben, somit Zusammenfall mit dem Wort für 'süß', oder *slat-* (so in aruss. *solotъ* 'Morast', aksl. *slatina* 'Sauerwasser'), somit Zusammenfall mit dem Wort für 'salzig, sauer'.

Lit. *saldùs* 'süß' entspricht slav. *sladъ(kъ)* 'Malz, (süß)' (< **sol-*),
lit. *šalnà* 'Reif' entspricht slav. *slana* (< **k'ol-*),
lit. *šáltas* 'kalt' steht slav. *chladъ* gegenüber.

Für die slavische Form würde man nach dem bisher Gesagten Entpalatalisierung und Beibehaltung des *k* zum Zwecke der Differenzierung erwarten. Wenn es in dieser Eigenschaft hier nicht auftritt, hat dies seinen Grund zweifellos darin, daß es bereits einige mit *k-* anlautende Wortstämme gab, wie *kol-* 'Pflock, Block' (vgl. aksl. *klada,* skr. *klàda,* slov. *kláda*, čech. *kláda*, poln. *kłoda*, russ. ukr. *kolóda*), *klat-* 'stechen, spalten' (aksl. *klati,* skr. *klàti,* slov. *kláti,* čech. *kláti*, russ. *kolót'*, ukr. *kolóty*) u.a., so daß eine Differenzierungsmöglichkeit hiermit nicht gegeben war. Anstelle von *k* finden wir *ch* und somit slav. *chladъ(kъ)* 'kalt' gegenüber *sladъ(kъ)* süß', lautlich und bedeutungsmäßig getrennt.

Slav. *ch-* in distinktiver Funktion findet sich nun in einer ganzen Reihe von Beispielen:

chlapъ 'Diener, Knecht'	: *slapъ* 'Wasserfall'
(vgl. lit. *šeĩpti* 'helfen',	(vgl. slav. *slьpati* 'spritzen',
šalpà 'Hilfe')	Präs. *slěplje-*, lit. *saĩpas*

	*'Bucht', GN. russ. Solpa (< *sl̥p-)*, ohne *p*-Erweiterung lit. *sálti* 'fließen', *salà* 'Bodenerhebung im Wasser, Sandbank', gr. ἅλλομαι 'springe', lat. *salīre*)
chvorъ 'krank' (vgl. ahd. *sweran* 'eitern')	: *svarъ* 'Streit' (vgl. lit. *sveřti, sveriù* 'drücken, wägen', ahd. *swăr(i)* 'drückend')
chyrъ 'siech, krank'	: *syrъ* 'naß, feucht'
chramъ 'Haus'	: *sramъ* 'Schande'
šipъ 'Dorn' (vgl. mhd. *hiefe* 'Hagebutte')	: *sipъ* 'Heiserkeit'
širъ 'breit', *širota* 'Breite'	: *sirъ* 'verwaist', *sirota* 'Waise' (vgl. lit. *šeirỹs* 'Witwer'. *šeirẽ* 'Witwe', av. *sae-* verwaist')
chromъ 'lahm' (vgl. ai. *srăma̯h*)	: *strъmъ* 'steil, abschüssig', abl. russ. *strom* 'Dachsparren, Geländer'. slov. *stròm* 'Dach, Laube'. čech. slk. *strom* 'Baum'
chvojь, chvoja 'Nadelholz'	: Pron. *svojь, svoja*
chvějati sę 'sich bewegen' (von den Zweigen der Bäume) (vgl. lit. *svajóti* 'umherschweifen', *svaĩgti* taumeln, schwanken', fries. *swāien* 'sich schwingend bewegen', engl. *sway*)	: *svojiti sę* 'sich aneignen' (vgl. das mit *chvějati sę* synonyme *svepetati sę*, das seinen Anlaut beibehielt, da eine Bedeutungsverwechslung mit einem anderen Wort nicht bestand)

chovati 'bewahren, schützen' (vgl. lit. *saugùs* 'geschützt, sicher', *saugà* 'Sicherheit')	: *sovati* 'werfen' (vgl. lit. *šáuti, šáuju* *'schieben, schießen')*

Mit Hilfe von *ch* wurden auch aus einer gemeinsamen Grundbedeutung hervorgegangene Begriffe gegeneinander abgegrenzt. Das ist der Fall bei den vom Reflexivpronomen **s(u̯)e-, *s(u̯)o-* gebildeten *t*-Erweiterungen *chъtěti, ch(v)otь, chvatiti, chytiti* gegenüber *svojъ, svatъ, svatiti, sytъ, sytiti, (po-)sětiti* mit der Grundbedeutung 'angeeignet, eigen'. Vgl. dazu weiter av. *xvaētu-* 'angehörig', gr. ἕτης 'Angehöriger', lat. *suētus* 'gewohnt', lit. *svẽčias* 'Gast', slav. **sětъ* 'Gast' in *(po-)sětiti* 'besuchen', *svatъ* 'verschwägerter Angehöriger', *svatiti sę* 'durch Einheirat verwandt werden' und ablautend *sytiti* mit der semantischen Entwicklung 'sich zu eigen machen > sättigen', bedeutungsmäßig abgegrenzt gegenüber *chvatiti/chytiti* 'sich zu eigen machen > greifen, raffen'.[2] Damit würde auch der gegenüber den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen abweichende Wurzelvokalismus der slavischen Form *syt-* 'satt' (vgl. lat. *satis*, got. *saþs*, lit. *sotùs*) seine Erklärung finden. Daß slav. *(na-) sytiti* eine Entlehnung aus got. *ga-soþjan* 'sättigen' sei (A. Vaillant, o.c. 3, 434; G.Y. Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, 155), ist aufgrund der gegebenen Sachlage auszuschließen, ebenso die Ansicht Z. Gołąbs, der *chъtěti, chvatiti, chytiti,* wieder unter Außerachtlassung der regulären Ablautreihe des Slavischen, als Entlehnungen aus dem Iranischen hinstellt.

Ein weiteres strittiges Wort mit *ch-* im Anlaut, das widersprüchliche und teilweise einander ausschließende Erklärungen gefunden hat, ist slav. *chrana* 'Nahrung, Pflege, Schutz'. M. Vasmer (Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde 1, 45) war m.W. der erste, der seinerzeit eine Entlehnung aus iran. *hvarna-* 'Nahrung' (vgl. av. *xvarðna-* 'Speise', *xvaraiti* 'verzehrt') zumindest in Erwägung zog. Dagegen wurden jedoch schon bald, auch von Vasmer selbst, Bedenken lautlicher Art vorgebracht. Man würde im Falle einer Entlehnung eine Form **chvrana* im Slavischen erwarten, da aus der Konsonantengruppe *chv* das *v* im

[2] Vgl. hierzu Chr. Engel, Slav. *syt-* 'Sättigung, satt' und Verwandtes, in AnzslPh 14, 1983, 19f.

Slavischen in der Regel nicht schwindet (vgl. aksl. *chvrastъ* 'Gestrüpp'). Deshalb verband man *chrana* bzw. *chraniti* etymologisch weiterhin mit lat. *servāre*, av. *haraite* 'bewahren' oder man stellte es zu lit. *šérti, šeriù* 'füttern', mit Annahme eines aspirierten **k'h* im Anlaut, das im Slavischen zu *ch* geführt habe, oder einer Entwicklung zu *ch* aus *s* nach auf *-i, -u, -r* auslautenden Präverbien. Alles nicht nur nicht zu beweisende, sondern nach dem bisher Vorgebrachten auch höchst unwahrscheinliche Annahmen.

M.E. geht slav. *chrana*, wie lit. *šérti*, auf idg. **k'er- /*k'or- /*k'r̥-* zurück, das in mehreren Sprachen weitergeführt ist (vgl. lat. *Cerēs* 'Göttin des pflanzlichen Wachstums, gr. *κορέννυμι* 'sättige', *κόρος* 'Sättigung', lit. *šérti, šeriù* 'füttern', *pãšaras* 'Futter, le. *sērt* 'füttern, pflegen', *sę̄rs* 'Futtervorrat'. Nach dem Muster lit. *peřti, periù* : slav. *pьrati,* Präs. *pere-*, oder lit. *piẽšti, piešiù* : slav. *pьsati,* Präs. *pišę-*, entspricht nun dem lit. *šérti* bildungsmäßig mit einem Infinitiv auf *-ā* im Slavischen *sьrati* 'cacāre', Präs. *sere-*, postverbal *sorъ* 'Kehrricht, Exkrement', ein Wort, das in den alten kirchlichen Texten begreiflicherweise nicht vorkommt, in allen slavischen Sprachen aber gut bezeugt ist. Ich möchte mich hier nicht festlegen, aber es ist möglich und denkbar, daß die Wurzel **(s)k'er-* (vor allem in der Bildung mit präformantischem *s-*) anfänglich Nahrungsaufnahme und Verdauungsvorgang sozusagen in einem ausdrückte und begrifflich erst später geteilt wurde, wie mehrere einzelsprachliche Bildungen semantisch nahelegen. Vgl. gr. *κόρος* 'Sättigung', lat. *crē-sco* 'wachse' oder arm. *serm* 'Same, Sprößling'. Als 'Produkt der Ernährung' sind die griechischen Bildungen *κόρος κοῦρος* 'Jüngling', *κόρη, κούρη* 'Mädchen, Jungfrau' oder arm. *sėr* 'Nachkommenschaft, Geschlecht' aufzufassen. Aufschlußreich ist jedenfalls, daß das Baltische die Vorstellung auf die 'Aufnahme der Nahrung' fixiert und die Vorstellung von deren 'Verwertung' bis auf Reste verdrängt hat, so noch lit. *šarvai* 'Ausfluß', le. *sàrńi* 'Schlacke' (vgl. av. *sairya-* 'Mist, Düngerhaufen', gr. *σκῶρ*, Gen. *σκατός* 'Exkrement', ano. *skarn* 'Mist'), während sich das Slavische umgekehrt verhalten hat und den Begriff der 'Nahrungsaufnahme' aus noch verwendbaren Ableitungen der Wurzel neu aufbauen mußte.

Man würde nun, wie in anderen Fällen bereits festgestellt (vgl. *svekry : sestra*), aufgrund der bedeutungsmäßigen Entwicklung Entpalatalisie-

rung und Beibehaltung des *k* (<**k'*) im Slavischen erwarten. Diese trat jedoch nicht ein, weil die hochstufigen **ker-* / **kor-* bereits auf andere Bedeutungen festgelegt, sozusagen ausgelastet waren. Vgl. *kor-* in slav. *kora* 'Rinde', *korenь* 'Wurzel', *(u-)korъ* 'Schmähung' u.a. Es erscheint wieder *ch* in distinktiver Funktion. Von *chor-* (das für *sor-/kor-* steht) ausgehend, wurden im Slavischen neue Formen mit *n*-Formans gebildet, *chra-na, chra-niti*, jedoch von der entpalatalisierten Tiefstufe **k'r̥-*> **kr̥-* bildete das Slavische *krъ-mъ, krъ-ma* 'Futter', mit *m*-Erweiterung, wie in arm. *serm* 'Same, Sprößling', lit. *šeřmens*, apr. *sermen* 'Leichenschmaus', mit *d(h)*-Erweiterung gehört möglicherweise *krъ-dъ* 'Herde' dazu, das keinesfalls, wie meist angenommen wird, Lehnwort aus dem Germanischen ist.

Der Kreis "Nahrungsaufnahme—Verdauung—Nahrungsverwertung' schließt sich in dem Worte *skramъ, skrama* 'Fett, Schmiere' (als Endprodukt des Gesamtvorganges), das aus **sk'er-/*sk'or-* mit Entpalatalisierung des **sk'* (> *sk*) und *m*-Erweiterung gebildet ist. Diesen Formen steht *chramъ* 'Haus' mit distinktivem *ch* gegenüber. Sowohl *krъma* und *skrama* als auch *chrana* sind als Weiterbildungen der Wurzel **(s)k'er-/*(s)k'or-/*(s)k'r-* anzusehen.

Ein weiteres Wort, das recht mannigfaltige Erklärungen gefunden hat, ist slav. *chvala*. Die Palette reicht von Vergleichen mit ai. *svarati* 'tönt, erschallt' über ano. *skvala*, ahd. *swellan* bis zur Metathese aus *slava* mit expressiver Verhauchung des Anlautes, oder Entlehnung aus iran. *hvarnah-*. Alle diese Erklärungen übergehen wieder die reguläre Ablautreihe im Slavischen, denn *chvala, chvaliti* wird man von *chula* 'Lästerung', *chuliti* nicht trennen dürfen und, mit A. Vaillant (Gram. comp. 2, 1, 176; 2, 2, 581), auch nicht von der Form des Komparativs *sulějь* 'besser' (vgl. auch aksl. *sulje byti* 'von Nutzen sein', ksl. *posuliti* 'günstig sein', *suliti (si)* 'schmeicheln') sowie vom zentralen Ausgangswort für die gesamte Bedeutungsentwicklung, slav. *slъ-nъ-ce* 'Sonne'. Die Grundbedeutung war 'glänzend, strahlend', und wie sich av. *xvarənah-* 'Glanz, Herrlichkeit', von *xvarə* 'Sonne' ableitet, muß auch slav. *chvala* (wie schon *sulje, suliti* nahelegen) mit *slъnъce* in einem Zusammenhang stehen und ursprünglich 'Sonnenglanz' bedeutet haben, mit weiterer semantischer Entwicklung zu 'Lob, Ruhm' in positiver und 'Schmeichelei, Lästerung' in negativer Richtung. Dabei ist *chuliti* als Bedeutungs-

variante von *suliti* vom Verbum *chuliti* mit der Bedeutung 'beugen', welches Faktitivum zum Adjektiv *chylъ* 'gebeugt, gekrümmt' ist, reinlich zu trennen. Der in *chuliti* 'beugen', *chylъ* 'gebeugt' vorliegende, etymologisch unklare Wortstamm tritt auch mit *n*-Erweiterung auf, z.B. in ksl. *chyniti* 'täuschen', slov. *hiníti*, bei ragusäischen Schriftstellern des 16. Jahrhunderts *hiniti, hinati, hinjati* usw.

Die von einigen Forschern vertretene Meinung, die Bedeutungen von *chvala* und *chula* ließen sich auf eine Grundvorstelling 'beugen' zurückführen, ist sowohl von der semasiologischen als auch von der formalstrukturellen Seite unhaltbar. Das Verbum *chvaliti* ist kein Denominativum von *chvala*, sondern aufgrund seines mobilen Akzentes (vgl. russ. *chvalít', chvaljú, chváli-*; skr. *hváliti, hvâli-*) ein dehnstufiges Faktitivum mit der Bedeutung 'strahlen lassen' zu einem Thema **ch(v)ol-, *chъl-* 'strahlen', welch letzteres in der Form *sъl-* auch dem Worte für 'Sonne' zugrunde liegt. Wortbildungsmäßig gleicht damit *chvaliti* völlig dem Verbum *chvatiti* 'sich zu eigen machen', das mit seinem mobilen Akzent (vgl. russ. *chvatít', chváti-*) dehnstufiges Faktitivum zu *ch(v)ot-, chъt-* '(bei sich haben) wollen" ist.

Für unsere Erklärung von slav. *chvala, chvaliti* spricht bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch der im ost- und im westslavischen Sprachraum auftretende Personenname *Bogu-chvalъ*, der, wie alle theophoren Anthroponyme des Slavischen, Lehnbildung bzw. Lehnübersetzung aus dem Iranischen ist. Wenn slav. *Boguchvalъ* den Bedeutungsinhalt von iran. *Baga-farna-* 'der vor Gott Glänzende' wiedergibt, muß dem zweiten Bestandteil der slavischen Form dieselbe oder zumindest eine ähnliche Vorstellung wie der iranischen Form zugrunde liegen. Slav. *chvala* ist deshalb aber keine direkte Entlehnung aus dem Iranischen, wie Z. Gołąb (l.c. 145) annimmt, dies ist schon wegen des *-l-* der slavischen Form gegenüber dem *-r-* der iranischen (vgl. av. *xvarəθnah-*) phonetisch nicht möglich, sondern beide Bildungen sind urverwandt und gehen auf idg. **sāul-, *sūl-* zurück. Das anlautende *ch-* der slavischen Form steht auch hier in distinktiver bzw. wortbildender Funktion.[3]

[3] Einen Zusammenhang von *chvala* und *slъnьce* vermutet auch H.D. Pohl (ÖNf, 1979/2, 13f., 17), ohne diesen innersprachlich abzuleiten und zu begründen.

Zwei Wörter, über welche die Forschung sehr unterschiedliche Auffassungen vertritt, sind *sědъ* und *sěrъ* 'weiß- oder grauhaarig', beide mit ursprünglichem *ch-* im Anlaut, welches nach der zweiten Palatalisierung der Velare im Süd- und im Ostslavischen *s* (vgl. slov. *sêd, sêr,* russ. *sedój, séryj,* ukr. *siryj*), im Westslavischen *š* (vgl. čech. slk. *šedý, šerý,* poln. *szady, szary*) ergab. Slav. *sěrъ* kann in Anbetracht des Umstandes, daß es mit *sědъ* von Farbbezeichnungen mit anderer Suffixableitung, wie *sivъ* 'grau', *sinjъ* 'blau' (vgl. lit. *šývas* 'weiß, schimmelfarbig', *šémas* 'aschgrau', ai. *śyāva-, śyāma-* 'dunkelfarbig') etymologisch kaum getrennt werden kann, nicht als Lehnwort aus germ. **haira* hingestellt werden, sondern ist mit got. *skeirs* 'klar, hell', *skeinan* 'leuchten', in eine Reihe zu stellen. Hierher gehört auch slav. *sijati* 'leuchten', postverbal *-sojъ* in skr. *òsoj* 'Schattenseite', *prisoj* 'Sonnenseite', blg. *osój, prisój.* Das *ch-* in *sěrъ* diente ursprünglich zweifellos der formalen oder bedeutungsmäßigen Abgrenzung gegenüber anderen Wortformen, wie etwa *sěra* 'Schwefel' oder *srěnъ* (<**k'er-*) 'weiß, grau' (vgl. lit. *šeřkšnas* 'Reif', *šiřvas* 'blaugrau', le. *sę̄rsna* 'Reif', *sīrks* 'grauhaarig').

Aufgrund der vorliegenden Ausführungen wird man etliche Wörter, welche die bisherige Forschung als Entlehnungen des Slavischen aus anderen Sprachen angesehen hat, zeitlich neu einzuordnen haben. Wenn z.B. *chlastъ* 'Junggeselle' kein Lehnwort aus iran. *haršta-* ist (vgl. Z. Gołąb, l.e. 138), *chlapъ* 'Knecht' kein Lehnwort aus got. *halbs* 'halb' (vgl. H. Pedersen, KZ 38, 373f.) und *chlakъ* kein Lehnwort aus got. *halks* 'bedürftig, arm' (vgl. A. Vaillant, o.c. 4, 536)—im übrigen eine bedenkliche Methode, einen Wortstamm, der mit verschiedenen Formantien erweitert vorkommt, als Entlehnung aus verschiedenen Sprachen hinzustellen—, wenn also *chlastъ, chlapъ* und *chlakъ* keine Lehnwörter sind und das anlautende *ch-* in ihnen als spezifisch slavische Erscheinung erkannt ist, ist das Alter dieser Wörter beträchtlich höher, als man es ihnen bisher zugestanden hat. Die mit *ch-* anlautenden Wörter des Slavischen mit eindeutiger Etymologie sind Erbwörter und reichen als solche in die Frühzeit des Slavischen zurück. Man vergleiche die Tiefstufenform *šьd-* zum Wortstamm *chod-* 'gehen', die zeigt, daß die Entstehung des distinktiven *ch* in die Zeit vor der ersten Palatalisierung der Velare fällt. Dagegen läßt sich das Alter von Wörtern unklarer Herkunft schwer oder gar nicht ermitteln. Ein Wort wie *chrěnъ* 'Meerret-

tich' würde sich von der Sache und der Bedeutung her ohne weiteres zu *srěnъ* 'weiß, grau' stellen lassen, doch wird diese Ansicht weder von der lautlichen Seite noch durch die Wortüberlieferung gedeckt und bestätigt. Nach Theophrast (HP 9, 15, 5) lautet die medizinische Bezeichnung des wilden Rettichs κεράϊν, Plinius d. Ä. (HN 19, 32) führt *cerain* an. In beiden wird man allenthalben die Vorform von slav. *chrěnъ* zu sehen haben, doch sind Herkunft und Zusammenhänge der Formen untereinander nicht einsichtig zu machen. Man spricht teils von einem alteuropäischen Wort, teils von einem Wort aus einer nichtindogermanischen Sprache, das als kulturelles Wanderwort nach Europa gelangte.

Bemerkenswert ist jedenfalls der Umstand, daß die Slaven gleichsam "Krenvermittler" *par excellence* in Europa geworden sind, denn von ihnen drang das Wort nicht nur ins Baltische und ins Deutsche (das Wort ist hier seit mittelhochdeutscher Zeit belegt), sondern über deutsche Vermittlung auch in die romanischen Sprachen und ist im bayerisch-österreichisch- schlesischen Sprachgebiet bis heute die geläufige Bezeichnung für 'Meerrettich' geblieben. Dies alles zeigt Wichtigkeit und Bedeutung des Meerrettichs als Kulturpflanze bei den Slaven, bietet jedoch keinen Anhaltspunkt für das Alter der slavischen Wortform und die Funktion des *ch* in ihr. Eines wird man nach dem Gesagten jedoch mit Sicherheit ausschließen können, nämlich daß slav. *chrěnъ* eine Nachbildung von got. *hrains* 'rein' sei, wie A. Vaillant (Gram. comp. 1, 85; 4, 260) glaubhaft machen wollte.

Ich möchte diese Ausführungen nicht schließen, ohne eine, wenn auch vorläufige Definition des *ch* gegeben zu haben. Dem vorgestellten Beispielmaterial läßt sich entnehmen, daß slav. *ch* die Distinktionsvariante von idg. **s* oder **k'* ist. Man wird in ihm ein Mittel der sprachlichen Selbstregulierung zu sehen haben, durch welches dem Slavischen alte Wortstämme und Wortbedeutungen erhalten blieben, die nach dem lautlichen Zusammenfall von **s* und **k'* sonst verlorengegangen wären. Die Verwendung des *ch* erfolgte differentiatorisch im Hinblick auf gleichlautend gewordene Wortstämme mit verschiedener Bedeutung (*chlapъ* 'Knecht' : *slapъ* 'Wasserfall') und bei bedeutungsverwandten Wortstämmen in gleichzeitig wortbildender Funktion (*chuliti* 'lästern' : *suliti (si)* 'schmeicheln').

Zum "Expressivlaut" wurde *ch* erst, nachdem es sich in distinktiver

Funktion in obenbeschriebener Weise etabliert hatte, da von dieser Zeit an jedes *s* oder *k* durch *ch* austauschbar geworden war, um einen expressiven Ausdruck zu erzielen. Dies zeigen Dublettenbildungen in den slavischen Einzelsprachen. Vgl. russ. *svistat'* 'pfeifen' : russ. dial. *chvistat'*, čech. *chvístati*; russ. *chlopoty* 'Ärger, Widerwärtigkeiten' : ukr. *klopit*, poln. *kłopotać* 'plagen', u.a.

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Ukr. *dbaty* Revisited

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1. Ukr. *dbáty* 'take care, be concerned, endeavor' and its Slavic cognates have long challenged the ingenuity of the etymologist and philologist alike. Without clear Slavic, let alone Indo-European, filiations, its distribution limited to the north-central Slavic area,[1] *dbaty* has been a source of bafflement to Slavic linguistic scholarship. It has elicited no less than seven etymologies and has caused disagreement on such a seemingly straightforward matter as the question of its native or borrowed status in East Slavic. Some scholars, like J.B. Rudnyc'kyj (1978: 13) and O.S. Mel'nyčuk (1975: 48) tend to view *dbaty* as a word inherited by Ukrainian from Common Slavic; others, like O. N. Trubačev (1967: 55-56), Henry Leeming (1968: 294) and A.M. Bulyka (1972: 88 and 1980: 197, 239) consider it an East Slavic Polonism.[2] It is the latter view which is supported by historical evidence. East Slavic *dbati* and its many derivatives (*nedbati, zanedbati, dbalyj, dban'e,* etc.) appear to belong to the first wave of Polonisms which, from the fourteenth century on, spilled from Poland eastward leaving their mark on Ukrainian, Belorussian, Russian, Lithuanian and Rumanian.[3]

[1] In addition to Ukr. *dbatv*, there occur BRuss. *dbac'*, South-West Russ. *dbat'*, Pol. *dbać*, Slk. *dbat'*, Cz. *dbáti* (older *tbáti),* USorb. *kedźbować*, LSorb. *dźbaś* (older dźbać), all of them falling within the general semantic range of 'take care, be concerned, pay attention'. As for Lith. *dbóti* 'pay attention' and its variants which have eliminated the initial consonant cluster, *dabóti* and *(ne)bóti*, there is general agreement that they are borrowings from Polish; see Skardžius 1931; 45, 60, 62, 138.

The abbreviations used are as follows: Av.—Avestan, Blg.—Bulgarian, BRuss.—Belorussian, Cz.—Czech, Lat.—Latin, Lith.—Lithuanian, OCS.—Old Church Slavic, Pol.—Polish, Russ.—Russian, Slk.—Slovak, Sorb.—Sorbian, Ukr.—Ukrainian; O—Old, Mod—Modern; L—Lower, U—Upper. In citing Old Polish sources, I follow the system of abbreviations adopted by Urbańczyk 1953-.

[2] The view of Je. Tymčenko (1932: 671) is unclear: the adverb *dbalě* is marked as a borrowing from Polish, but the other forms (*dbalost', dbalyj, dban'e, dbati*) are not.

[3] The history of *dbati* and its derivatives in East Slavic deserves a special treatment. For the purposes of this article, the opinions of the scholars mentioned must suffice.

2. The recognition of the Polish provenience of East Slavic *dbati* does not, however, answer the question of its ultimate origin: is *dbati* a common West Slavic word or is it one of the "travelling" words[4] which arose in Bohemia, whence it spread to the languages neighboring on Czech including Polish, and from Polish was passed on to the East Slavic languages?[5] There are several considerations which can be adduced in support of the latter hypothesis.

(a) *Chronology*. Cz. *tbáti* (later *dbáti)* predates Pol. *dbać* (in several instances also *tbać*) by about one century. The Czech word is richly represented in the Alexandreis (turn of the XIII c.), whereas the Polish one occurs first in the Gniezno Sermons (turn of the XIV c.).

(b) *Derivational productivity*. The derivational paradigm of OCz. *tbáti* outnumbers that of OPol. *dbać* by the ratio of 5:1. According to the data culled from Havránek 1968- and from the card files of the Archív Staročeského Slovníka,[6] the Old Czech derivatives of *(ne)tbáti* include the non-negated *tbánie, tba, tbavý, tbavě, tbánlivý, tbánlivě, tbánlivost, tbalý, tbale, tbalost*; the negated[7] *netbánie, netbavý, netbavě, netbavost, netbánlivý, netbánlivě, netbánlivost, netbací, netbalý, netbale, netbalost, netbalstvie, netbalivý, netbalivě, netbalivost, netbatedlný;* the prefixed *potbáti, zanetbáti, zanetbavati, zanetbánie, zanetbalý*; and the proper names *Netbajničs* (surname) and *Netbalec* (place-name).

By contrast, the Old Polish materials documented by Urbańczyk 1953- include but *(nie)dbać, dbanie, niedbanie, niedbały, niedbale, niedbałość* and *niedbalca*. It is only in the sixteenth century that such derivatives as *dbały, dbale, dbałość, niedbalewy, niedbaliwie, udbać się, zaniedbać (się), zaniedbawać* and *zaniedbywać* make their appearance in Polish (Mayenowa et al. 1969).

George Y. Shevelov, in his important survey of Ukrainian Polonisms, conjectures that Ukr. *dbaty* could be an example of possible "prehistorical affinities in Czech, Polish, Ukrainian and Belorussian vocabulary" (1975: 463). On the other hand, Trubačev (1967: 56) flatly asserts that "drevnix isključitel'nyx leksičeskix pol'sko-ukrainskix obščnostej inogo roda [kak zaimstvovanija] my voobšče ne znaem."

[4] The term "travelling words" was introduced by W.D. Elcock (1960: 236, 291).

[5] On the patterns of lexical diffusion in Slavic, see Schenker 1983.

[6] The card files of Staročeský Slovník were excerpted for me by Mirjam Stará, a staff member of the Archív. I should like to thank her for her expert and generous assistance.

[7] In Old Czech as in Old Polish the negated forms of *tbáti/dbać* and its derivatives were much more common than the non-negated ones.

(c) *Stylistic markedness.* Of the seventy examples of *dbać* listed by Urbańczyk 1953-, fifty-seven, or better than three-fourths, occur in texts characterized by their openness to Czech lexical penetration. These texts are, as expected, primarily religious in nature, such as Rozm (17 citations), De morte (4), 1471 MPKJ V (4), BZ (4), Fl (3), Puł (3), R XXV (3), Gn (2). Of the juridical texts which lean on Czech models, Sul has eight examples of *dbać*.

(d) *Occurrence in dialects.* The verb *dbać* appears to be poorly represented in the Polish dialects. Karłowicz (1900) cites just four examples: three from Kujawy and one from Derdowski's literary Kashubian. It is characteristic that all of these examples show phonetic or morphological adaptations: *gbać* for *dbać, dbadzą* for *dbają*. As for the derivatives of *dbać*, Karłowicz lists one instance of *dbaliwy* (1900), a clear derivation from Cz. *netbalivý,* and three nominal expressive formations *niedbaluch, niedbała* and *niedbałek* (1903), but no form current in the literary language.

(e) *Migration of borrowings.* Since the great majority of East Slavic and Lithuanian Polonisms can be shown to have been borrowed by Polish from Latin, German or Czech, the fact that Pol. *dbać* spread eastward may also indicate its non-native status in Polish. It is probable, in fact, that *dbać* was part of the powerful cultural current which carried such Polish Bohemianisms as *dowód, mieszczanin, ogromny, potomek,* etc. into Ruthenian and then, as Ruthenianisms, into Russian.[8]

3. Regardless, however, of our views on the ultimate origin of Ukr. *dbaty*, whether it was, as I believe, a Czech innovation, or a common West Slavic dialecticism, or, for those scholars who believe in its indigenousness in East Slavic, a North Common Slavic word, the question of its etymology remains to be resolved.

Let us recall briefly the etymologies offered thus far, those by Miklosich, Brückner, Machek (2x), Sławski, Vaillant and Trubačev.[9] I will classify them by the way in which they deal with the first two phonemes of the reconstructed root, i.e. whether they posit an initial *t* or *d* fol-

[8] On the question of the migration of borrowings from Czech through Polish to East Slavic, see Schenker 1978: 579-580.

[9] A more detailed survey may be found in Mel'nyčuk 1975: 47-48.

lowed by ъ or ь. In other words, from which of the four possible shapes of the root is *dbati* derived: *tъb-*, *tьb-*, *dъb-*, or *dьb-*?

As it turns out, the only scholar who assumes the shape *tъb-* is Gebauer (1894: 324); he does not, however, provide any etymological explanation for it. Brückner (1927: 86) opts for *tьb-* which he hesitantly connects with Pol. *wścibiać się* 'poke, meddle'. Vaillant (1954: 175-176 and 1966: 358) chooses *dьb-* which he derives from the negated verb *dějati* 'do, occupy oneself' whose truncated root followed by the suffix *-ьba* would presumably yield *nedьba* 'lack of concern'. The remaining scholars show preference for *dъb-:* Miklosich (1886: 53) connects it with **dybati* whose many meanings in Slavic may be reduced to the common semantic denominator of a swaying walk or a crouching position;[10] of Machek's two etymologies, the first one (1934: 66-70) connects *dbati* with *doba* '(propitious) time', the second one (1957a: 357-359) with Lat. *dub(it)āre* 'doubt'; Sławski (1952-1956: 142-143) assumes a metathesis of **bъděti* 'keep awake, be vigilant';[11] Trubačev accepted initially (1964: 486) Machek's second etymology but later (1967:56-57 and 1978: 172-173) suggesed that *dbati* was borrowed into Slavic from Iranian citing Av. *dəbaēš-*, *ṯbaēš-*, *dvaēš-* 'be hostile, offend' as possible source forms.

There is no need to restate here the arguments advanced by the authors of each successive attempt against the efforts of their predecessors. Suffice it to say that of the seven solutions preferred, only one may at best be correct. As a general comment one may note that, with the exception of the etymologies by Brückner and Sławski, the semantic developments posited appear strained to the utmost, quite apart from their other shortcomings. Slawski's, solution, however, presupposes two completely unverifiable and unlikely circumstances: (1) that in Common Slavic there existed the unattested noun **bъda* 'watch'[12] and (2) that **bъda* was metathesized to **dьba,* despite the obvious ability of Slavic to support the initial sequence *bd* in various derivatives of **bъděti* (cf. Russ. *bdet'*, Cz. *bdíti,* etc.).

Brückner's derivation of *dbati* from the root *teb-/tьb-* appears to

[10] Miklosich's notions were adopted and developed by Mel'nyčuk 1975: 46-55 and Schuster-Šewc 1978: 145-146; their contribution is discussed in Part 4, below.

[11] Sławski's etymology was accepted by Rudnyc'kyj 1962-.

[12] A metathesis of *bъděti* should have yielded *dьběti* rather than *dьbati.*

satisfy both the formal and semantic requirements. Its chief drawback is the absence of any reflexes of this root in literary Czech.[13] It is nonetheless attractive because it provides a phonetic explanation for the soft dental in LSorb. *dźbaś/dźbać* 'pay attention', USorb. *kedźba* 'attention' and Lach *džbač* 'care'[14] which, otherwise, has to be attributed to expressive palatalization (Schuster-Šewc 1975: 146). It furnishes also a phonetic confirmation of the assumption that Pol. *dbać* is a Bohemianism, since Czech depalatalizes the sequences dental + front jer, whereas Polish and East Slavic preserve the softness (cf. **svatьba* 'wedding' > Cz. *svatba*, OPol. *swadźba*, Russ. *svad'ba*).

There are also good reasons to concur with Brückner's reconstruction of *t* as the initial phoneme of the root. The oldest recorded forms of the verb under consideration occur, as expected, in Old Czech and are usually spelled there with the initial *t*. Thus, in the writings of Jan Hus and Tomaš ze Štitného only *t* occurs. In the Alexandreis two spelling traditions can be observed: the Svatovitský fragment uses mainly *d* but the other fragments (Jindřichohradecký, Vídeňský, Budějovickomusejní) have *t* only. As a matter of fact, *t* spellings were so common in Old Czech that modern dictionaries and glossaries use them in the headwords for the *tbáti/dbáti* entries. Since the assimilation as to voicing (i.e. *tb* > *db*) had certainly become a fact of Old Czech pronunciation by the fourteenth century,[15] the spellings which go against this pronunciation must be attributed to one of four circumstances:

(a) preservation of the uniformity of the stem in inflectional or derivational paradigms, e.g. OCz. *jistba* 'dwelling' because of *jisteb, jistébka*;

(b) the letter representing the voiceless phoneme has no voiced counterpart, e.g. OCz. *kde* 'where', *čbán* 'jug';

(c) a spelling tradition going back to the time prior to the loss of the jers, e.g. OCz. *pzdieti* 'break wind' < **pьzděti*, ModCz. *bzdíti*; OCz. *sdravý* < **sъdorvьjь*, ModCz. *zdravý*;

[13] With a possible exception of Cz. *vtip* 'joke'; cf. also Slk. *stíbat* 'press, drive'; see Machek 1957b: 472 and 577 and cf. Sławski 1952-1956: 158.

[14] Lach *dž (ʒ)* < **d* + front vowel is often recorded by Polish dialectologists as *dź (ʒ)*: see Dejna 1953: 167.

[15] Cf. Jakobson (1925-1926: 813): "V památkách 14. stol. je mnoho případů psaní znělých místo neznělých před znělými. Když se v týchž památkách píší v takových případech neznělé, je to zajisté pravopisná tradice a nikoli kolísání ve výslovnosti."

(d) hypercorrectness due to the writer's desire to counter the fairly recent rules of assimilation as to voicing, e.g. OCz. *Pretbor* instead of the expected *Predbor*.[16]

Of these four explanations, the ones applicable in the case of OCz. *tbáti* are either the spelling tradition or hypercorrectness. To such historians of Czech as Gebauer (1894: 324), Lehr-Spławiński (1957: 95-96), Komárek (1962: 137), Lamprecht et al. (1977: 87) the shape *tbáti* appears to be older than *dbáti* which implies, in turn, that the spelling *tbáti* is, in fact, traditional. I would agree with this judgment and conclude that, since Brückner's etymology is the only one which comes to grips with the shape *tbáti*, it provides at present the only viable solution of the problem. All the laborious efforts of the etymologists to explain the shape *dbáti* appear to have been misdirected.

4. It is possible, however, that future research will prove this view to be erroneous by showing that *dbáti* is the older form and that the *tb* spellings are due to hypercorrectness. In such an eventuality I would agree with Mel'nyčuk (1975: 46-55) and Schuster-Šewc (1978: 145-146) that the root *dъb-* might be explained as the zero grade of IE **dheub(h)-/ *dheup-* 'hollow, deep; to hollow (out)'. This root is present in such formations as Lith. *dùbti* 'become hollow', *duobti* 'to hollow out'; OCS. *dъbrъ* 'ravine', *dъno* (< **dъbno)* 'bottom', *dupina* 'hole, opening'; Blg. *dəbam* 'bite, crunch, nibble'; also, with a secondary softening of the initial dental, Pol. (XVII c.) *dziubać* 'to hollow out'; ModPol. *dzióbać*, Cz. *d'ubati* 'pick, peck', etc.[17] However, the semantic development posited by Mel'nyčuk and Schuster-Ševc is, in my opinion, completely unpersuasive. Mel'nyčuk suggests that the original meaning 'to (make) hollow' evolved towards 'dig (in earth, snow)' and 'look for something underfoot' which then split into (1) 'walk with the aim to find something' which, according to him, is the basic meaning of **dybati*[18] and

[16] Cf. Jakobson (1925-1926: 813): "... nedokonalá znalost [pravopisné] tradice nepodporované živou výslovností, mohla vésti k takovým hyperarchaismům jako je ... *Pretbor*."

[17] For cognates in other IE languages, see Walde-Pokorny 1930: 847-848.

[18] Both Mel'nyčuk and Schuster-Šewc follow Miklosich's notion that *dъbati* is related to *dybati*. Surprisingly, however, Schuster-Šewc makes this connection in discussing the entry *dbać* (1978: 144) but discards it in the entry *dybaś* (1978: 189) explaining the latter verb as onomatopoeic (a similar explanation is offered by Sławski 1952-1956: 184).

(2) 'acquire, collect be concerned, endeavor' which leads to the meaning of **dъbati*. The semantic development envisioned by Schuster-Šewc is no less fanciful: "schlagen, stossen > fein, leicht aufstossen (den Boden berühren) > schleichen, auf etw. lauern > beachten, acht geben (> forschen, ergründen)."

It seems to me that a much more satisfactory approach would be to view **dъbati* together with other Slavic verbs denoting 'picking, pecking, biting, tearing'. These verbs may follow two paths of semantic development. On the one hand, they produce names of sicknesses, witness Russ. *gryža* 'hernia' < **gryz-* 'bite'; Russ. *rvóta* 'nausea', Pol. *rwa* 'sciatica' < **rъv-* 'tear'. On the other hand, they evolve towards the notions 'care, concern', as in the case of Blg. *gríža* 'care' < **gryz-* 'bite'; Russ. *zabóta* 'care' < **zob-* 'eat, peck'. As Vasmer (1953: 437) puts it: "weil *die Sorge frisst, zehrt.*" It is, therefore, significant that the root **dъb-* is present in Common Slavic **dъbna* 'gout, arthritis' known to us from OCS. *dъna*, OCz. *dna*, Ukr. *dna* and a number of other Slavic languages.[19] Thus, a semantic change from **dъba* 'hollowing (out), pecking' to *dba* 'care' would be consistent with observable patterns of development of semantically similar roots.

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[19] See Trubačev (1978: 173-174) for a detailed list. Berneker (1908-1913: 245) explains **dъbna* as a disease of deep, inner organs. In my view, however, it is a disease characterized by sharp, "picking" pain; cf. Cz. *dloubavá* or *bodavá bolest* and English *stabbing, biting*, or *gnawing pain*.

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Relies of Ukrainian-Polish Contact: Four Cases of Epenthetic *-l-*

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I

Certain Polish words in which *-l-* is thought to have replaced *-j-* in the combinations *pj*, *bj*, *mj*, and *vj* have long been the subject of discussion. According to a widely held view, words such as *grobla* 'dam, embankment' (← **grobja*) and *kropla* 'drop' (← **kropja*) embody vestiges of a once widespread West Slavonic epenthetic *-l-*. The argument is complicated, however, by doubts as to whether the words adduced are truly indigenous, for the epenthetic *-l-* in some Polish words may be best explained as the result of borrowing from Ukrainian (or Belorussian), i.e. from neighboring languages in which this feature is systematic. Rozwadowski (1915:403-4) mentioned the possibility of Ukrainian[1] influence, but simultaneously treated it as improbable. Among the words he dealt with are *niemowlę* 'baby', *budowla* 'building', *hodowla* 'feeding, rearing', and *targowla* 'trade'. He suggested that the ending *-lę* in *niemowlę* might have been induced by the same ending as *pisklę* 'chick' ("... na *niemowlę* mogło wpłynąć *pisklę* itd.") and that formations like *budowla* could not be borrowings since *targowla* was recorded in fifteenth-century sources. ("Że twory jak *budowla* nie są wogóle zapożyczeniem z ruskiego, dowodem *targowla*, występująca już w zabytkach XV w.")

These same four words (*niemowlę*, *budowla*, *hodowla*, and *targowla*) have subsequently appeared frequently in the debate as to the authentic-

[1] The word used by Rozwadowski (and other Polish scholars) was *ruski*. In accordance with more recent convention I have here used the term Ukrainian. However, the possibility of Belorussian having played some part in the processes under discussion, though remote, should not be forgotten.

ity of vestigial epenthetic *-l-* in Polish. Trubetzkoj (1930:396-8) supported Rozwadowski's view that the *-lę(t)-* suffix in *niemowlę* was the same as that in *pisklę*, but was in no doubt as to the East Slavonic origin of *budowla*, *hodowla* and *targowla*. He specifically dismissed the argument for regarding the relatively early attestation of *targowla* as evidence of its native origin. A few years later, however, Lehr-Spławiński (1937) reasserted the notion that *targowla*, since it is recorded in the fifteenth century, must be a native formation and that therefore there is no reason why *budowla* should not also be indigenous. This idea stemmed from the once widespread assumption that lexical borrowing from Ukrainian could not precede the sixteenth century, an assumption called into question by Klich (1929) and finally dismissed by Shevelov (1952), since when it has found no support. Things were taken to their logical conclusion by Urbańczyk (1963:438) when he wrote: "indeed, contacts between the Polish and Ukrainian populations have existed uninterrupted since time immemorial." In any case, regardless of the chronology of Ukrainian-Polish contact, it is hard to see why the indigenous origin of one word ending in *-owla* should preclude the possibility of others being borrowings.

Shevelov's article (1952:339) revived the idea that epenthetic *-l-* might be a mark of East Slavonic origin and he included in his list of suspected Ukrainianisms the four words *niemowlę*, *budowla*, *hodowla*, and *targowla*. A critical examination of Shevelov's article made by Strumiński (1961), however, rejected these alleged borrowings apart from *hodowla*. ("Spośród przytoczonych przez niego wyrazów rzeczywistym ukrainizmem jest tylko *hodowla*.") (1961:470). Meanwhile, the first volume of Slawski's etymological dictionary (1952-6:423) had placed the Ukrainian origin of *hodowla* beyond doubt, but had chosen to ignore *budowla*. The volumes which might be expected to contain *niemowlę* and *targowla* had not, and still have not, yet appeared. The object of the present deliberation is to re-examine all four words, including *hodowla*, in an attempt to settle the question whether they are of Ukrainian or indigenous origin.

In the article already mentioned (1952) Shevelov drew attention to the difficulties involved in investigating Ukrainian lexical borrowings in Polish so long as we "have only an imperfect dictionary of the literary language of ancient Rus' (Sreznevskij) and no dictionary at all of Old

Polish" (1952:331). Since that time the lexicographical resources at our disposal have been improved by the appearance of the first eight volumes of the SStp (1953-81) (up to and including the letter S), the first thirteen volumes of SłXVI (1966-81) (up to and including the word *miegotny*), the first nine volumes of SRJ 1975-82) (up to and including the letter M), and SStuM (1977-8) (complete). Full-length monographs on Ukrainian borrowings in Polish have recently been supplemented by Minikowska (1980) and it may be thought significant, particularly in view of the fact that the author had access not only to published volumes of SStp and SłXVI but also to the card-indexes of materials for volumes yet to appear, that this work contains no mention of *niemowlę*, *budowla*, *hodowla*, or *targowla*, nor any reference to epenthetic *-l-* in the list of ten formal features capable of betraying East Slavonic origin (1980:10). (My own research has been restricted to published sources.)

II

NIEMOWLĘ must clearly be separated from words ending in *-owla*. The remarks of several commentators imply the assumption that *niemowlę* has a history in Polish going back to the time (before written records) when epenthetic *-l-* replaced *-j-* after labials. Thus Brückner (1927:360) under *niemowlę* has: "a więc miękkie *w* i u nas nieraz w *wl* się odmieniło, jak to zawsze na Rusi i Bałkanie bywa". Kuraszkiewicz (1963:14) notes: "W polskim języku mamy tylko ślady *l* epentetycznego, np. *kropla*, *grobla*, *niemowlę*." Vasmer too was evidently in no doubt as to the antiquity of *niemowlę*, but pointed out that if (as appeared to be assumed) *niemowlę* was based on a present participle, then the latter would have been **mьlvę* and, lacking *-j-*, would not have provided the requisite conditions to produce epenthetic *-l-*. He explained *niemowlę* as a diminutive formed from a hypothetical **mьlvilъ* (1935).

In fact, however, as we now know from SStp, vol. 5 (1965-9:200) the form *niemowlę* was not recorded before the sixteenth century. SStp, it is true, does note (*loc. cit.*) two instances of a variant (or variants) without *-l-*, viz. *nyemowyǫtkem* (inst. sing.) (translating 'infantulus' in Queen Zofia's Bible) and *nyemowyathko* (translating 'infans'—a Polish gloss in

a Latin-German dictionary, c. 1500). But even in the sixteenth century, it is evident that some writers either did not know or chose to ignore exact Polish equivalents of *infans*. In the Psalter of Puławy (early 16th cent.), for example, corresponding to the Latin *Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem...* ("Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength...") (Psalms 8:3), we find: "Z uſt nyewynnych y ſſączych zwyrzchowaleβ chwalę..." (*Psałterz Puławski...* 1880). The translation of the Psalter by Walenty Wróbel (1539) has: "Z uſt niewynnych dziatek y ieſzcże ſących dokonałes (y potwierdziłes) chwałę ſwą..." The first edition of Leopolita's Bible (1561) has: "Z uſf máłych dziatek y kthore ieſſcże βią przy pierſiách..." Had any of the authors of these three versions known and approved of *niemowiątko*, they would surely have used it.

Our suspicions that *niemowiątko* was as yet not fully absorbed into the lexical system are supported by Mączyński (1564), whose entry for *infans* reads: "Dziécie ktore yeſzcze mowić nie może / niemowiątko od czechów wzięte słowo". The likelihood of its having been borrowed from Czech *nemluvňátko* (and adapted morphologically) is increased (*pace* Basaj and Ṣiatkowski 1971:23) by several only partially adapted forms (*niemowniątko*) recorded in the sixteenth century. The Ukrainian form немовѧтко (Berynda 1627) is a Polish borrowing, but this too has undergone morphological adaptation, for it cannot possibly have been borrowed before Ukr. *ę* → *'a*. A similar form (немовятко) is also recorded for Belorussian (Bulyka 1972:216).

Though missing from the first edition of Leopolita's Bible (1561) *niemowiątko* is used in several other Bible translations, including the Radziwiłł Bible (1563) (Calvinist), Wujek's Bible (1599) (Catholic) and the Gdańsk Bible (1632) (Lutheran), and is recorded in most dictionaries (Volckmar 1605; Cnapius 1621; Dasypodius 1642; Trotz 1744-7). However, in the third edition of Leopolita's Bible (1577) at Psalms 8:3 we find an innovation, viz: "Z uſt niemowiąt..." (I have not had access to the second edition (1575), but it seems likely that the second and third editions are identical.) This is the earliest case I have found of *niemowię* (without an *-l-*) and, since it is a precise loan-translation of Lat. *infans*, I think it likely that it was used here to bring the text closer to the Latin original, in conformity with the general tendency of the second and

third editions (Urbańczyk 1978). Though a masculine form historically, *niemowię* entered the same declension as *dziecię* and became neuter.

Variants containing *-l-* (i.e. *niemowlątko* and *niemowlę*) are found only a few years later, viz. in Kochanowski's Psalter ("Z uſf niemówlątek...") (1586 edition—I have not had access to the first (1579) edition) and Skarga's *Żywoty świętych* (1579) (according to SIXVI, vol. 6:329) ("...dziatkom á niemowlętom Chrześćiáńſkim..."). *Niemowlątko* is given in Szyrwid's dictionary (1642), but it is not until Bandtkie (1806) that we find *niemowlę* in a Polish dictionary.

The foregoing evidence surely precludes the possibility of regarding *-l-* in *niemowlę* and *niemowlątko* as a vestige of Proto-Slavonic epenthetic *-l-*. But there remains the task of explaining how *niemowię* → *niemowlę* and *niemowiątko* → *niemowlątko*, and it would be difficult to find a more likely area for such a development than those parts of the Commonwealth where forms embodying epenthetic *-l-* were constantly juxtaposed with forms lacking it, i.e. where Ukrainian and Polish were in contact.

SStuM, being based only on fourteenth and fifteenth-century texts, contains neither немовля nor немовлятко and the lack of historical dictionaries for the centuries succeeding makes it impossible to tell when they are first attested. Belorussian немовя (without *-l-*) is found in an early seventeenth-century source (Bulyka 1972:216), but I can find no earlier attestations for either Belorussian or Ukrainian forms with *-l-* than Piskunov (1882) (немовлятко) and Želexovskyj (1886) (немовля). There is every reason to believe, however, that they are much older than this.

It seems likely that the forms with *-l-* arose as the result of an automatic conversion formula (cf. Weinreich 1964:2). In bilingual conditions such formulae, regardless of historical considerations, may cause the extension of correspondences existing between words and morphemes (Stone 1975:103-4), such as the correspondence between Ukr. мовлю and Pol. *mówię* 'I speak', Ukr. бавлю and Pol. *bawię* 'I amuse', or Ukr. справляти and Pol. *sprawiać* 'to bring about, cause'. It must be conceded, however, that an unambiguous model for the conversion of *niemowię* to немовля could only be provided by a present active participle. Unfortunately for our theory, the extension of Ukr. epenthetic *-l-* to

participles, whether of the long (e.g. мовлячи) or short (gerund) type (e.g. любля), seems to have occurred no earlier than the mid-seventeenth century (Shevelov 1979:505). Berynda has only мовячи (Didiakin-Leeming 1969:78). On the other hand, the fact that Polish short participles of the type *mowię* are not recorded after 1544 (Klemensiewicz et al. 1955:381) is no reason for thinking they were unknown to learned men, including the inventor of *niemowię*, some thirty years later.

Essential to the case that Ukrainian borrowed these words from Polish (and not *vice versa*) is the argument that they are essentially Polish, being linked to the Western (Roman Catholic) tradition and invented deliberately to translate Latin *infans*. (In the case of *niemowiątko* the translation took place when Czech acquired *nemluvňátko*, the model for which may have been *infantulus* rather than *infans*.) Their artificial, literary nature is corroborated by their non-existence in Polish dialects, attested by their absence from Karłowicz (1900-11).

Support for the idea that *niemowlę* acquired its *-l-* as a result of Ukrainian interference is provided by modern dialectological evidence in the form of Polish loan-words in West Ukrainian which have acquired epenthetic *-l-* after labials: e.g. *pl'uru* (Pol. *pióro* 'pen'), *pl'ontru/pl'atru* (Pol. *piętro* 'loft, attic') (Dzendzelivs'kyj 1973:20), but relations between the two languages were for centuries so close that there was often uncertainty as to what was Polish and what was Ukrainian. The word *ruski* was ambiguous and sometimes referred not only to Ukrainian but also to the Polish spoken in the eastern parts of the Commonwealth (Zwoliński 1952:383). In these circumstances it is not surprising that Polish words sometimes acquired Ukrainian features: e.g. *hołota* 'rabble' (formerly *gołota*), *synogarlica* 'turtle-dove' (formerly *sinogardlica*), *krynica* 'fount, source' (formerly *krzynica*). The acquisition of *-l-* by *niemowlę* and *niemowlątko* is thus not without parallel. Indeed, the mere belief that *niemowię* was of Ukrainian origin (not unreasonable in view of the fact that it had no basis in the vernacular) would have been sufficient to motivate the addition of *-l-*. At least one case has been noted of an East Slavonic borrowing, viz. *dorożka* 'cab', which acquired an East Slavonic feature (pleophony) not present in the original, viz. Russ. дрожки 'id.' Consequently, the case for regarding the *-l-* in *niemowlę* as a product of Ukrainian interference is not

dependent on the assumption that немовля existed before *niemowię* → *niemowlę*.

III

BUDOWLA is one of a group of five Polish words derived from verbal stems ending in *-ow-* by means of the suffix *-j(a)*, viz. *budowla* 'building', *hodowla* 'feeding, rearing', *niemowla* 'silence', *targowla* 'trade', and *zimowla* 'winter quarters'. Their literary, non-vernacular nature is attested by their absence from Karłowicz (1900-11). (The entry under 'budowla' in vol. 1 consists exclusively of examples of *budowie* and *budowia*.) The SStp and SłXVI contain no record of *budowla*, though the verb *budować* is attested since the fourteenth century. *Budowla* is missing from all seventeenth-century dictionaries (Volckmar 1605, Cnapius 1621, Dasypodius 1642, Szyrwid 1642, and Cnapius 1683). The first dictionary to include it is Bandtkie (1806), but it is also to be found in Linde, vol. 1 (1807). Bandtkie and Linde quote instances of its use by eighteenth-century writers, beginning with Wojciech Jakubowski (1712-84).

Though not attested in the SStuM, Ukrainian будовля is shown by Tymčenko (1930-2) to have been recorded twice in the seventeenth century (1625 and 1633). The late appearance of Pol. *budowla* thus precludes the possibility of its being regarded as a Polish relic of Proto-Slavonic epenthetic *-l-* and favours the likelihood of its being a Ukrainian borrowing. (The attempt to explain the Sorbian place-name *Podelwitz* with the aid of a postulated Old Polish and Old Sorbian **budovla* (*pace* Eichler 1964:11) is therefore unsuccessful.)

HODOWLA is recorded in neither the SStp nor the SłXVI, but the latter does note the corresponding verb *hodować*. Nor is *hodowla* attested in any Polish dictionaries up to and including Linde (1807-14). As shown by Doroszewski (1958-69) it is first recorded in the nineteenth century. Ukr. годівля is first recorded (as годоувля) in 1472 (SStuM). The Ukrainian origin of Pol. *hodowla* is thus well established on the basis of both chronological and phonological criteria (*h* for Proto-Sl. *g*). (Cf. Sławski 1952-6:423).

TARGOWLA does not exist in Modern Polish and even in Old Pol-

ish appears to have been recorded only twice (so far as one can tell pending the appearance of the relevant volumes of SStp and SłXVI). The two instances in question are in two sixteenth-century copies of a fifteenth-century Polish translation (which has not survived) of the Magdeburg Laws (*Ortyle magdeburskie*) (Reczek and Twardzik 1970:45 and 112). Both the original translation and the copies containing *targowla* were made in Eastern Galicia (*Ruś Czerwona*). *Targowla* is not recorded in Mączyński (1564) nor in any succeeding dictionary up to and including Doroszewski (1958-69). In Ukrainian торговлѧ (later торгівля) is well attested from 1370 onwards (SStuM). It occurs even earlier in other East Slavonic sources (Sreznevskij 1893-1903). All the evidence at present available indicates that Pol. *targowla* is a Ukrainian borrowing recorded only in Eastern Galicia. It is consequently of no value as evidence of the survival of Proto-Slavonic epenthetic *-l-* in Polish.

IV

The mechanisms of interference involved in the creation of these words are of various kinds: *budowla* and *hodowla* are loan-words proper; *targowla* is a hybrid (part loan-translation, part loan-word); only the *-l-* in *niemowlę* has been borrowed. Finally, it cannot be denied that Polish possesses a few words (*kropla*, *grobla*, etc.) which are indigenous and which preserve original epenthetic *-l-*. Consequently, although the presence in a Polish word of this feature is bound to rouse suspicion, it is not sufficient in itself to prove Ukrainian origin. In the cases discussed above, however, Ukrainian interference can be demonstrated on the basis of other criteria.

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The Name of the Lemkos and of Their Territory

BOHDAN STRUMINSKY

A name similar to *Lemko* appears for the first time in scholarly literature in Jovan Čaplović's description of the Hungarian kingdom of 1829. According to him, Hungarian Ruthenians were divided "dialectologically into *Lissaki* and *Lemáki*, etc."[1] Those names were derived from the words *lyš* and *lem*, 'only' (the latter being a loanword from the East Slovak *l'em*), as was explained somewhat later, in 1846, by the Transcarpathian Ruthenian Andrij Deško: "Among themselves *horjany* (highlanders) are called *lyšaky* and *dolynjany* (lowlanders) are called *lemaky*, after the byword *lyš* or *lem* used by them in their language."[2] Since the Slovak element has spread in Transcarpathia along river valleys for centuries, leaving the mountains to Ruthenians, linking the *lem* with lowlands (i.e., river valleys) in 1846 sounds probable. Some confusion is created by information coming from another Transcarpathian Ruthenian, Ivan Fogorašij, in 1827, that Ruthenians in Berehovo county (Bereg megye) "are called *lyšaky* by others,"[3] because Berehovo county was made up by both lowlands (in the south) and mountains (in the north).

[1] Johann von Csaplovics, *Gemälde von Ungern*, pt. I (Pest, 1829), p. 205.

[2] Andrej N. Deško, "O Karpatskoj Rusi" (written in 1846), *Kievljanin*, book 3 (Moscow, 1850), p. 27. The same thing is repeated in: Mixail Levčenko, "Mesta žitel'stva i mestnye nazvanija rusinov v nastojaščee vremja," *Osnova* (St. Petersburg, 1861), January, p. 265; Borys Hrinčenko, *Slovar' ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1908), II, 354. The derivation of the names *lemak* and *lemko* from *lem* was already known before 1841, *see* Jan Wagilewicz, *Łemki—mieszkańcy zachodniego wzgórza Karpat* (Lviv, 1841), manuscript published in an Ukrainian translation by Ivan Krasovs'kyj, "Lemky-meškanci Zaxidn'oho Prykarpattja," *Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija* (Kiev, 1985), no. 4, 77.

[3] Yvan" Fohorašij (Bereżanyn"), "V" obšče o razlyčiy slavjanskyx" narîčij, sobstvenno že o malo j Karpato yly Uhrorusskyx"," printed in: Ilarion S. Svencickij, *Materialy po istorii vozroždenija Karpatskoj Rusi* (Lviv, 1905), I, 50.

But it is possible that *lem* had not yet conquered the lowlands of Berehovo county at that time. Nowadays the whole former Berehovo county has a *lem*-dialect and so do all mountainous areas west of it, as can be seen on our map which has been compiled on the basis of Josyf Dzendzelivs'kyj's atlas of 1958.[4]

From 1831 on, the Galician variant of the name *lemak*, namely *lemko*, has also been attested to. It appeared in the grammar of the Ruthenian language by Josyf Levyc'kyj (published in Peremyšl'-Przemyśl), in the plural form *lemky*.[5] The change of the suffix from *-ak* to *-ko* can be easily explained by assuming that, in Galicia, this name entered a different binary opposition than in Transcarpathia, namely it became part of the pair of names of two neighboring groups of highlanders, *bojky* and *lemky* (singular *bojko* and *lemko*).

In 1837 Pavel Šafarík proposed the linkage of the name of Lemkos which he had learned from Levyc'kyj's grammar with the Sarmatian tribe residing in eastern Pannonia since the first century A.D., Limigantes: "If the name *Limigantes* represents a compound *Limi-gantes*, which is more likely (cf. *Arcara-gantes*), then I would think that it is related to the name of the Ruthenian Lemkos (*lemky* in Ruthenian) in the Nowy Sącz (Novyj Sanč) district of Galicia."[6] This etymology was supported by some Galician Ruthenian scholars, such as Ivan Vahylevyč (1841) and Isydor Šaranevyč (1870),[7] and there are still some members of the Ukrainian emigré community who opt for this romantic but completely unacceptable etymology.

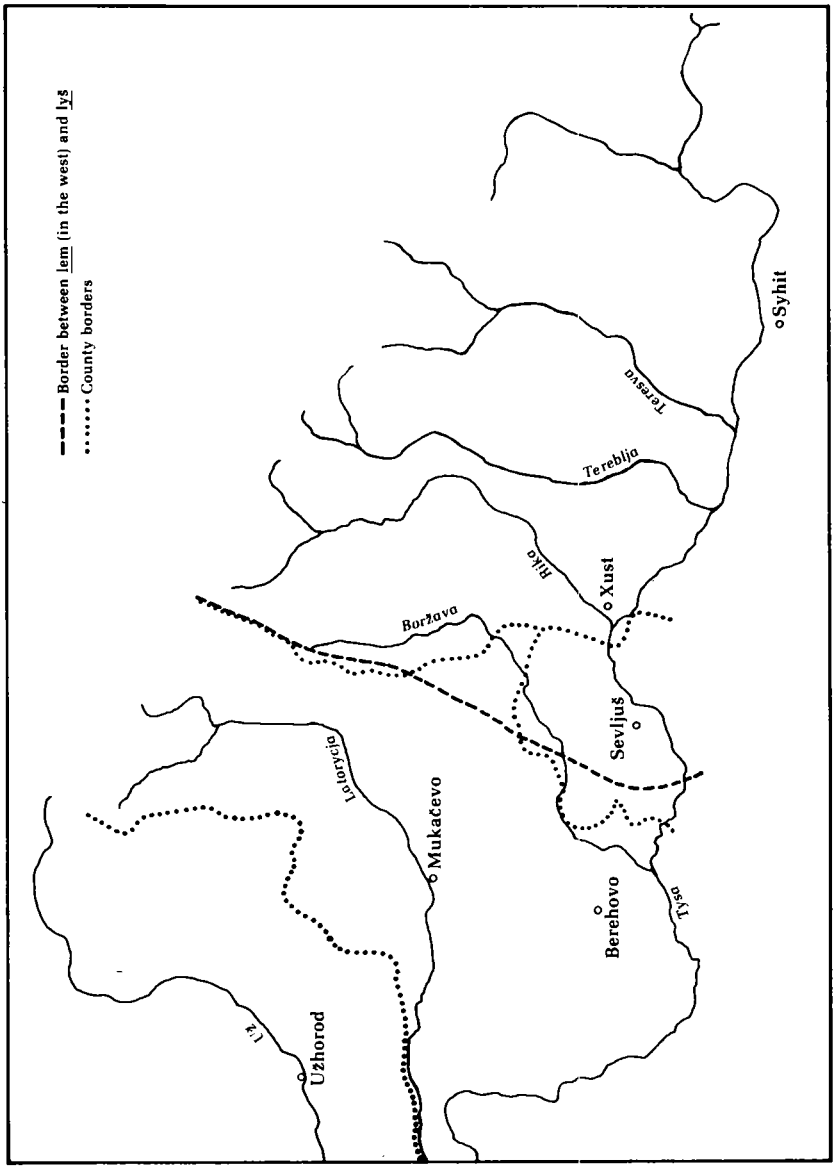
In 1843 Jakiv Holovac'kyj noted that "the names *bojky* and *lemky* are

[4] Josyf Dzendzelivs'kyj, *Lingvistyčnyj atlas ukrajins'kyx narodnyx hovoriv Zakarpats'koji oblasty URSR (Leksyka)*, pt. 1, "Naukovi zapysky" of Užhorod University, vol. 34 (Užhorod, 1958), map -1 and 117. A similar scope of *lem* in Ivan Pan'kevyč, *Ukrajins'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koji Rusy i sumežnyx oblastej*, pt. 1, Knihovna Sboru pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi při Slovenském Ústavu v Praze, no. 9 (Prague, 1938), map 4.

[5] Josef Lewicki, *Grammatik der ruthenischen oder kleinrussischen Sprache in Galizien* (Przemyśl, 1834), foreword from 1831, p. IV-V (quoted after Ivan Zilyns'kyj, "Pytannja pro lemkivs'ko-bojkivs'ku hranycju," *Lud Słowiański*, vol. IV, fascicle 1 (Cracow, 1938), pp. A78-79).

[6] Pavel Josif Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti* (Prague, 1837), p. 210.

[7] Wagilewicz, the Ukrainian translation and I. Krasovs'kyj's commentary, pp. 76-77 (with a reference to the speech by I. Šaranevyč at a teachers' convention in Lviv in 1870, published in 1871 under the title *Slovjanskŷ načatky u sklonôv "Karpat"*).


Border between lem (in the west) and lyš
County borders
Syhit
Teresva
Tereblja
Xust
Hlko
Boržava
Sevljuš
Latorycja
Mukačevo
Berehovo
Tysa
Uh
Užhorod

mere nicknames by which Ruthenians of northern Galicia call their brethren across the Dniester river [i.e., south of it] and in the mountains. ... They do not give themselves those names however."[8]

The Polish ethnographer, Tadeusz Żuliński, found the name *lemko* in 1877 even somewhat east of the easternmost border of Lemkos, namely east of the upper Sjan (San) river, in the area of the so-called Wallachian villages of Litovyšče (Lutowiska), Skorodne, Poljana and Rosoxate in the then Sjanik (Sanok) county. He gave that name with a still not depalatalized *l*, i.e., closer to the Slovak source.[9] (In modern Polish the depalatalized form *Łemko* has been adopted in imitation of the modern Ukrainian pronunciation; cf. *Łemki* already in Vahylevyč's Polish essay of 1841—see note 2).

In 1878 Holovac'kyj transferred the name *lemko* for the first time also to some Ruthenian villages on the Hungarian side of the border: "Their [Lemkos'] farthest settlements in the west are four villages across the Poprad river: Šljaxtova (700 residents), Bila Voda (655), Čorna Voda (363) and Javirky (715), opposite to which there are populous villages of the same people on the southern slope [of the Čarpathians]: Velykyj Lypnyk (1284 residents), Fil'varok (643), Litmanova (1036), Orjabyna (1486), Kam"janka (2337) and other villages." In a footnote to this, Holovac'kyj added as examples some villages of the Šariš (Sáros) and Spiš (Szépes) counties, with the dates of their foundation: Soljana Banja

[8] J. F. Holovacký, "O halické a uherské Rusi," *Časopis Českého Museum*, year 17, fascicle I (Prague, 1843), p. 37. Cf. similar later statements: Aleksij Y. Toron'skij, "Rousyny-Lemky," *Zorja halyckaja jako al'bum" na hod" 1860* (Lviv), p. 398; Ivan Verxrats'kyj, *Pro hovor halyc'kyx lemkiv*, Zbirnyk Filolohičnoji sekciji Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenka, vol. V (Lviv, 1902), p. 1 ; Seweryn Udziela, *Ziemia łemkowska przed półwieczem: Zapiski i wspomnienia z lat 1888-1893*, Prace etnograficzne, no. 1, Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego (Lviv, 1934), p. 8; Volodymyr Bučac'kyj, *Lemky: Ukrajins'ke hirs'ke plemja. Pobutovo-istoryčna monohrafija* (Winnipeg, 1962), p. 17. Torons'kyj added that Lemkos called themselves *Rusnaks* only. This word, older than *lemak* and *lemko*, is already attested to in Transcarpathia in 1701, in *Obrona vîrnomu člku* by Myxajlo Andrella from Orosvyhovo near Mukačevo (*Duxovno-polemičeskie sočinenija iereja Mixaila Orosvigovskogo Andrelly protiv katolicestva i unii*, published by A. Petrov [Prague, 1932], p. 106). Now the word *rusnak* is spread throughout the Ukrainian Cis- and Transcarpathia (S.B. Bernstein et al., *Karpatskij dialektologičeskij atlas* [Moscow, 1967], map 210).

[9] Tadeusz Żuliński, "Kilka słów do etnografii Tucholców i mieszkańców wsi wołoskich w ziemi sanockiej na podgórzu karpackim," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, vol. I (Cracow, 1877), pt. III, p. 110.

(near Prjašiv), Blaživ and Nyžni Repaši (on the upper Torysa), Jakub"jany (south of Stara Ljubovnja), Hel'cmanivci (Hel'cmanova, on the Hnylec' river), Stara Ves' (?), Zdoba (near Sady on the lower Torysa), Kuriv and Mal'civ (on the upper Toplja), Trojčany (south of Bardijiv), Orliv (on the Poprad).[10] Not all of them are still Ruthenian (Ukrainian) today. Thus Holovac'kyj extended the idea of Lemkos to the entire western part of what modern scholarship considers to be the area of the Lemkian dialects south of the Carpathians. He excluded the Makovycja area.

In Jevhenyj Želexovskyj's dictionary of 1884 we see not only the name *lémko* (narrowly defined after Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj, in plural, as 'Ruthenians in the Low Beskyd and in the Spiš county') and the adjective *lémkivskyj* but also the name of the region: *Lémkivščyna*.[11]

Among Galician Lemkos themselves this name started to be accepted from the beginning of the twentieth century under the influence of regional journalists who published the journals *Lemko* (of Russian orientation, in L'viv, Novyj Sanč and Horlyci-Gorlice, 1911-1934), *Naš lemko* (consciously Ukrainian, in Lviv, 1933-1939) and *Łemko* (pro-Polish and in the Polish alphabet, in Krynycja-Krynica, 1934-1939). The same thing occurred in the emigration where such journals were published as *Lemkovščyna* (Russian-oriented, in New York, 1922-1928) and *Lemko* (a continuation of the previous one, 1928-1940). A political manifestation of the adoption of the name *lemky* by those to whom it referred was the proclamation of the ephemeral Lemkian Republic by the Russian-oriented Ruthenian Council at Hladyšiv in Horlyci county in November 1918, after the collapse of Austro-Hungary. The fact that the Lemkian Republic tried to unite with the Prjašiv (Eperjes, Prešov) region as part of Czechoslovakia shows a sense of unity with the southern Lemkos.

The ironic-pejorative shade of the name *lemko* and derivatives from it not only evaporated but a regional pride even appeared in connection

[10] Jakov F. Golovackij, *Narodnye pesni Galickoj i Ugorskoj Rusi*, pt. III, section 2 (Moscow, 1878), p. 727. Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj erroneously understood that Holovac'kyj had limited the idea of Lemkos south of the Carpathians to Spiš alone (Emil Ogonowski, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache* [Lviv, 1880], p. 19).

[11] Jevhenyj Želexovskyj, *Malorusko-nïmeckyj slovar*, vol. I (Lviv, 1884), p. 401.

with this name. For example, the Galician Ukrainian Josyf Šemlej recorded the following statement by an old woman at Biljanka of Horlyci county in 1932: "Vȳ besidujete spil'ska, vaša besida płanna, łem naša *łemkoȗska* jest praȗdivo ruska" (You speak the Polish way, your speech is poor, only our *Lemkian* speech is genuinely Ruthenian).[12]

After the Second World War the name of the region *Lemkovyna* also occurs among Lemkos (e.g., as a title of a poem by Ivan Rusenko from Krasna in Korosno-Krosno county who died in 1960[13]) and the name of its inhabitants may appear in the form *lemkov"jany* (personally heard by this writer from young Lemkos in Poland some time in the 1960s).

The Galician transformation of the Transcarpathian word *lemak* started to be accepted also by the Transcarpathian intelligentsia from the 1880s. In the "Foreword" to his dictionary of 1883 Volodyslav Čopej said: "The mountainous dialect [of the language of Little Rus'] is spoken by Boykos, *Lemkos (Lemaks)* and Hutsuls and the mixture of these three peoples yields the Ruthenian language in the Hungarian borderland."[14]

In the twentieth century the word *lemko* and its derivatives have been spreading also among the rural population south of the Beskyd mountains. For example, Hanna Nakonečna and Jaroslav Rudnyc'kyj recorded (probably in 1939) at Kaminka (Kam"janka) on the Poprad river, in the Spyš region, the following statement: "To sut fšȳtkȳ lemkȗuskȳ sela, de po-*lemkȳȗskȳ* hvarjat" (All these are *Lemkian* villages where the speech is *Lemkian*) but in the very next sentence older, traditional terms were used: "Tu jezd hranyca mendži rusinami j rusnakami i slovakami" (The border between Ruthenians or Rusnaks and Slovaks is here).[15] In light of this the categorical assertion by Georgij Gerovskij in

[12] Józef Szemłej. "Z badań nad gwarą łemkowską," *Lud Słowiański*, vol. III, fasc. 2 (1934), p. A 175.

[13] *Karpatorusskyj kalendar' Lemko-Sojuza: 1965* (Yonkers, N.Y., 1964), p. 108.

[14] Laslov" Čopej, *Rus'ko-madjars'kyj slovar'* (Budapest, 1883), p. XXIII; also the entry *lemko* 'a rutén nép egy faja' ('a tribe of the Ruthenian nation') with etymology (from *lem"* = *csak* 'only').

[15] Hanna Nakonetschna, Jaroslau Rudnyc'kyj, *Ukrainische Mundarten: Südkarpatisch (Lemkisch, Bojkisch und Huzulisch)*, Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Lautforschung an der Universität Berlin, no. 9 (Berlin, 1940), p. 31.

1948—"This name /*lemko*/ does not exist on the sourthern slopes of the Carpathian mountains"[16]—is not very credible.

In 1945, on the wave of the "Ukrainianization" of Ruthenians of the Prjašiv region the new authority found it necessary to express an official dissociation from the name *lemko* along with the older names, *rusyn* and *rusnak* : "The delegates of the Ukrainian districts of the Prjašiv region, at their first convention which took place in Prjašiv on March 1, 1945, stated with complete openness and clarity that the appellation of *Rusnaks, Lemkos* and *Rusyns* as *Ukrainians* was permanently adopted for the future" (all of this "Ukrainianization" statement was formulated in .. Russian).[17] But in 1968, in the period of the "Prague Spring," the Prjasiv poet Ivan Macyns'kyj turned again to the regional name *lemko* in order to emphasize his solidarity with a related population across the border: "I am a *Lemko*, just as you are, grandma from Komanča."[18]

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[16] Georgij Gerovskij, "Narodnaja reč' Prjaševščiny," *Prjaševščina:Istoriko-literaturnyj sbornik* (Prague, 1948), p. 96.

[17] "Na perelome," *Prjaševščina*, published by the Ukrainian People's Council, year I (Prjašiv, 1945), March 18, p. 1. (I am grateful to Dr. Josyf Sirka for drawing my attention to this source).

[18] Ivan Macyns'kyj, *Prystritnyky* (Prjašiv, 1968), p. 134.

Linguistic Innovation and the Living Language in Oles' Hončar's *Sobor*

(Nouns and Adjectives)

VICTOR SWOBODA

Few literary works of the last two decades have produced such repercussions as Oles' Hončar's *Sobor* (The Cathedral). Now that the novel is receding into history, it may be suitable to take a fresh look at it from the perspective of fifteen—or indeed twenty—years.

There are a number of points relating to the novel that have apparently been ignored by critics and scholars in discussing it, which is not surprising given its unusual fate; among them are the date of its writing, the relationship between its different versions, and an evaluation of its language. The present essay will address itself chiefly to the latter question, though this occasion will serve to recapitulate the most important points relating to the novel's history.

First, the date of *Sobor* as given on its last page, "1963-1967," is rather unusual in terms of years it spans. Could its writing have taken all that time? Since one of the characters says in Chapter 19 (that is, not very far from the end of the novel which has 26 chapters in all), "...today, in the year of our Lord [nineteen] sixty-three...,"[1] it is tempting to surmise that the first nineteen chapters were written in 1963, and possibly even also the remaining seven. Did Hončar submit *Sobor* for publication in 1963? If he did, its rejection at that time would have not

[1] Oles' Hončar, *Sobor: Roman* (Series "Romany i povisti"), Kiev, "Dnipro", 1968, reprinted in facsimile by "Smoloskyp", Baltimore & Toronto, 1968, p. 170. All references to the text of *Sobor* by means of a figure alone will indicate pages of the "Dnipro"/"Smoloskyp" edition; references preceded by *V* are to the pages of the journal version, *Vitčyzna*, Kiev, 1968, no. 1.

been unexpected, given Khrushchev's vigorous anti-religious drive which was accompanied by the destruction of many churches, especially since *Sobor*'s main thrust is directed against just such destruction.[2] In 1967, in any case, it was accepted for publication by two publishing houses and a journal; in January 1968 it appeared both in a paperback edition of 100,000 copies published by "Dnipro" and in the journal *Vitčyzna* with a run of 19,000 copies. Some two or three months later the first 25,000 run of a hardback edition was printed by the "Radjans'kyj pys'mennyk" publishing house, the total number of copies for this edition having been announced as being 115,000. These high figures were, in fact, similar to those of the editions of Hončar's previously published novels. This is not surprising, as he had been the First Secretary or Chairman of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine (both being the Union's highest offices at different times) for a decade, and was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A much decorated writer, Hončar received two Orders of Lenin, and four State Prizes. His novels regularly enjoyed official acclaim. In the beginning *Sobor* was no exception, and was greeted with unadulterated praise, both in Kiev and in the provinces, chiefly in the periodicals of the industrial southeast, since the setting of the novel is transparently the Dnipropetrovs'k area.[3] Within less than four months after its publication, Party ideologists realized that the novel was "ideologically faulty": it reverted back to the old Ukrainian, Cossack tradi-

[2] Apart from the main plot, there is a reference to an old Hucul church having been destroyed "recently" (116), as well as to earlier Soviet instances of the destruction of famous ancient churches (84-5, 115, 117).

[3] *Sobor* was reviewed in Kiev periodicals by: Marharyta Malynovs'ka in *Literaturna Ukrajina*, January 19; V. P"janov, *Robitnyča hazeta*, February 22; O. Djačenko, *Druh čytača*, February 27; V. Ivanysenko, *Vitčyzna*, no. 4, pp. 139-148. Reviews in provincial papers: V. Vlasenko and S. Burlakov, *Prapor junosti* (Dnipropetrovs'k), February 13; O. Hanič, *Komsomolec' Zaporižžja*, March 8; in Russian-language papers: I. Belogub, *Luganskaja pravda*, February 14; P. Symonenko, *Industrial'noe Zaporož'e*, February 18. (All 1968.) Among other favourable reviews there was one in the Dnipropetrovs'k paper *Zorja* and another in the local paper of the nearby town of Marhanets', according to "Lyst tvorčoji molodi Dnipropetrovs'koho," *Sučasnist'*, no. 2, 1969, pp. 78-79; for a summary of this document, and some additional information on *Sobor*, see Peter Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972), pp. 291-94, 467-68.

tion, idealized the Zaporožian Sič as "the Christian Cossack Republic" (this was in fact a definition quoted from Marx, which made things somewhat awkward for the same Party ideologists), neglected the "class approach," and employed a cathedral built by Cossacks as a symbol linking the past and the present. This turnabout in the Party line occurred exactly at the time of Hončar's jubilee. A glowing tribute to *Sobor* had appeared in *Literaturna Ukrajina* five days before this event,[4] and on the eve of his fiftieth birthday more than a half of the center spread of the paper's following issue was devoted to him,[5] *Sobor* still being mentioned with approval. The next evening, on April 3, 1968, there was a "festive soirée" in the Grand Hall of the Kiev Conservatory in Hončar's honour at which Leonid Novyčenko read a paper on Hončar's work. It is impossible to conclude from the brief and fragmentary account of the paper included in the published report of the soirée[6] whether *Sobor* was mentioned; but in his speech of thanks (to which the same report devoted only six lines, but whose full text appeared in *samizdat*[7]) Hončar revealed that he had learnt about moves "to pin a label," in the style of Stalin's times, on *Sobor*, and defiantly declared: "I regard this work as being no less patriotic than *Praporonosci*.... Just as all my previous works, *Sobor* was written from Leninist and internationalist perspectives." These words were greeted, according to the *samizdat* transcript, with "a storm of prolonged applause."[8] Meanwhile in the Dnipropetrovs'k daily *Zorja* a lambasting article, complete with a worker's signature, entitled "I See Life Differently," appeared three days after Hončar's birthday,[9] to be followed by several others published in various cities. Because of a certain delay in the announcement of the new Party line on *Sobor* to other provincial editors and censors, a week later another favourable review was published in the city of Luc'k.[10]

[4] O. Lupij, "Sobory duš ljuds'kyx," *Literaturna Ukrajina*, March 29, 1968.

[5] Seven items in *Literaturna Ukrajina*, April 2, 1968, pp. 2-3, and one on p. 4.

[6] M. Šudrja and O. Dmytrenko, "Červonoho žyta kolos," *Literaturna Ukrajina*, April 5, 1968.

[7] Oles' Hončar, "Slovo na večori 3 kvitnja 1968 roku," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, no. 1 (1976), pp. 48-50.

[8] Hončar, "Slovo...", p. 49.

[9] H. Dihtjarenko, "Ja baču žyttja ne takym," *Zorja*, April 6, 1968.

[10] I. Sirak, "Z šyrot žyttja," *Radjans'ka Volyn'*, April 13, 1968.

Subsequent attacks appeared in Kiev and even in Moscow.[11]

As a consequence, the rest of the hardback edition was never printed; but *Sobor*'s popularity among its readers was undiminished. A Russian translation appeared in *samizdat*, and a Polish translation—without commentary or introduction—was printed in Warsaw by the State Publishing Institute in early 1972. (So far, a translation into German remains the one and only complete rendering into a Western language.)[12] The press campaign against *Sobor* died down within ten weeks. But there were other repercussions, notably in Dnipropetrovs'k, where several people who refused to accept the new April Party line and defended *Sobor* paid for this by losing their jobs and being expelled from, or penalized by, the Party or the Communist Youth League. The author of an anonymous *samizdat* document detailing these facts was traced and imprisoned for four and a half years.[13] The book itself was withdrawn from sale and from libraries, and was no longer mentioned in print except in certain bibliographical contexts. But it was criticized at least twice in the same year at Party meetings of Kiev writers: on April 29, when Novyčenko parried the criticism with an admonition that it was "possible to have different attitudes to *Sobor* [viz., also favourable ones]," [14] and on December 16, when Hončar had a chance to reassert that he had written it "with the patriotic feelings of a Soviet writer."[15] In 1971, Hončar lost his chairmanship of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine.

[11] M. Jurčuk and F. Lebedenko, "Pered lycem dijsnosti," *Radjans'ka Ukrajina*, April 26, 1968; M. Šamota, "Realizm i počuttja istoriji," *Radjans'ka Ukrajina*, May 16, 1968; N. Fed', "Dostoinstvo iskusstva," *Izvestija*, June 13, 1968, and A. Ulanov's article in *Sovetskaja kul'tura*, June 4, 1968. Je. Sverstjuk's polemic against *Sobor*'s detractors which circulated in *samizdat* is included in his *Clandestine Essays*, trans. G. S. N. Luckyj (Cambridge, Mass.: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1976).

[12] The Russian *samizdat* translation is by Roman Rozental'; Ołeś Honczar, *Sobór*, trans. K. Truchanowski (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972); Olesj Hontschar, *Der Dom von Satschipljanka: Roman*, trans. Elisabeth Kottmeier and E. G. Kostetzky (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1970). A translation by Marta Olynyk of Chapters 8 and 9 is found in *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, no. 1 (1976), pp. 51-61, and "A Note on Oles Honchar" is *ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

[13] "Lyst tvorčoji ... ," pp. 78-85; Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, pp. 292-94, 467-68.

[14] "Idejna zhurtovanist', bojova nastupal'nist'. Zbory pys'mennykiv-komunistiv m. Kyjeva," *Literaturna Ukrajina*, May 7, 1968.

[15] "Zbory pys'mennykiv-komunistiv m. Kyjeva," *Literaturna Ukrajina*, December 20, 1968; "Na peredovi rubeži sucasnosti! Iz zvitno-vybornyx zboriv pys'mennykiv-komunistiv Kyjeva," *Literaturna Ukrajina*, December 27, 1968.

About a decade after its imposition, the ban on *Sobor* was broken by a literary critic who, while discussing Hončar's mastery in drawing characters in several of his novels, also devoted a good page to three characters from *Sobor*; the editors and/or the censor must have been misled by the subterfuge of not mentioning the title "*Sobor*" in the text of the article.[16] Marharyta Malynovs'ka (cf. footnote 3 above) also succeeded in breaking the ban by having her article published outside the Ukraine, in the Leningrad monthly *Neva* in January 1972, but she was rebuked the following month in an editorial article of the Kiev academic journal *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo* for "consciously ignoring the just criticism to which Hončar's novel *Sobor* was submitted in the Party press." Recently, the ban seems to have been eased somewhat: V. Mel'nyk, while discussing the evolution of characters in Hončar's work in the February 1981 issue of the Kiev monthly *Dnipro*, mentions *Sobor*, though only in passing; and in the December 1982 issue of the same journal Hončar's Russian translator, K. Grigor'ev, mentions *Sobor* in a similar way; and it is referred to twice in an article on Hončar's work in *Pys'mennyky Radjans'koji Ukrajiny,* XI, Kiev, 1984.

Returning to the problem of the different versions of *Sobor*, there are at least two of them (the hardback edition was not available at the time of writing this essay). At first glance it may seem that, since the "Dnipro" edition (= "D") is a page shorter than the *Vitčyzna* version (= *V*) (the passage from *V*163 "*Do toho ž ty rozvidna...*" until *V*164 "*Pid stattju til'ky ne popadajs'...*" is absent in "D": see top of 233), *V* is nearer to Hončar's original, while "D" has suffered censorship cuts. There is, however, a converse case which shows that the situation is rather more complex: the lines

Тільки вчитель Хома Романович кинув у бік поскручуваних:

—Оце ті, що без соборів у душі... А він, як той біблейський юнак, що вигнав сквернителів з храму.[17] (238)

are absent in *V*168. It may be reasoned that Hončar's original text con-

[16] [The reference is withheld.]

[17] Cf. Matthew xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15-18; John ii. 13-16.

tained *both* the page found in *V*163-64 only *and* the three lines present in "D"238 only, and that therefore the original text was cut independently in preparation for the two publications, "D" and *V*. Are these two cuts genuine "censorship" (viz. Glavlit) cuts? Not enough is known about the details of Glavlit procedure, but it would be reasonable to surmise that a work submitted at the same time for multiple publication in the same city would normally be read by the censor only once, and, having made any necessary cuts, he then would return it to each editor. Therefore, where cuts disagree, as in the above case, some, if not all, of them should be attributed to the respective editors rather than to the censor. It would be possible to list further examples of the above type, though usually on a smaller scale, but they would not serve to alter the conclusion just arrived at. The important question for the purposes of studying the writer's language is, which of the published texts is nearer to the author's original text.

It seems useful to compare examples where a word or phrase occurs more than once in one version but corresponds to different words in the other version, such as: *po boku* 62, *V*54, but *poboku* 181, *do bisa V*130; *durac'kyj* 219, *V*155, but *duraky* 150, *durni V*110; *voli-nevoli* 94, *V*75, but *voleju-nevoleju* 220, *xočeš ne xočeš V*155; *bezkonečni* 91, *bezkinečni V*73, but *bezkonečni* 136, 176, *neskinčenni V*101, *V*127; *sxmurjuvav* (*brovenjata*) 101, *V*79, but *sxmuryt'* (*brovy*) 11, *zsupyt' V*22. It may be assumed that the author was consistent in his use of certain Russianisms (cf. Russian *póboku*, *durak*/*duracktj*, *volej-nevolej*) and rare or dialectal words (*bezkonečnyj*, *sxmurjuvaty*), and that the "D" editor left them all unchanged while the *V* editor tried to replace them by Standard Ukrainian vocabulary but failed to do so in every instance. An opposite hypothesis would be rather implausible. There are also several examples of similar changes in words occurring only once, e.g. *sobaky-iščejky* 85, *sobaky-šukači V*69; *vysokomirnyj blysk hetriv* 167, *bundjučnyj blysk krahiv V*121, as well as various other improvements in spelling, style, grammar, etc. In some instances living dialect words are supplanted in *V* by standard spellings, e.g. *zahuskla* 157, *zahusla V*115 (<*zahusnuty*); *divčat'my* 31, *divčatamy V*35. On the other hand, there are also numerous errors in *V* where "D" is correct, e.g. "*Zasvystaly kozačen'ky*" 114, "*Zasvit vstaly kozačen'ky V*87; *visimky* 188, *vis'mirky V*134; *prysikavsja*

224, *prysiksja V*157. It would seem that, by and large, the *V* editor interfered with the author's original text more than the "D" editor, and that the "D" text is thus nearer to the author's text; therefore it will be used as the basic source.

The categories of Hončar's vocabulary which are of greatest interest are, of course, his neologisms, colloquialisms and dialectisms; a general criterion for selecting them is their absence in the largest dictionary of Literary Ukrainian to have been available at the time of Sobor's writing, viz. the six-volume *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk*, Kiev, AN URSR, 1953-63 (= *URS*), as well as in B. Hrinčenko's *Slovar' ukrajins'koji movy*, Kiev, "Kievskaja Starina," 1907-9. (Borrowings from other languages are, on the whole, excluded from these categories.)

Suffixation will be the main means of word formation examined here; given the meaning of the suffix, the meaning of the new word can usually be deduced from that of the suffix and of the root, if the latter comes from a Literary Ukrainian word (*viz.* is found in *URS*). The word from which the neologism or dialectism is derived is given in brackets, preceded by "<"

MASCULINE NOUNS

Nouns designating male persons:

Suffix **-ij** (as in *vodij*): *trusij* 195 'timid man' (< *trus*).

-ak/-jak: *fal'šak* 68 (< *fal'šyvyj*); *blatnjak V*164 (< *blatnyj*).

-yk: *vijs'kovyk* 104 'soldier' (=< *vijs'kovyj*).

-nyk, often forming *nomina agentis*: *baraxol'nyk* 217 (= *baraxol'ščyk URS,* with a Russian suffix); *barykadnyk* 118 'fighter on barricades'; *vidstavnyk* 100, 105 (= *vidstavnyj*); *vohnepal'nyk* 229 'one using or possessing firearms' (< *vohnepal'nyj*); *doškul'nyk* 112 (< *doškul'nyj*); *kazennyk* 195 'pen-pusher' (intended to be archaic) (< *kazennyj*).

-juk: *smahljuk* 41 (< *smahljavyj*).

-anyn (-čanyn): *zavodčanyn* 28, 185 (< *zavod*); also fem. *zavodčanka* 183.

-k(o), pejorative: *bezbrovko* 75 (< *bezbrovyj*); *bezvirko* 52 (< *bezvirnyk*); *xmurko* 101 (< *xmuryty*) in "*sydyt' xmurka xmuryt'*" 'he sits and sulks'.

-enk(o) 'the son of': attached to a Sovietism, *vijs'kkomenko* 102.
-ar: *tyxar* 181 'quiet man' (< *tyxyj*).
-ač, *nomen agentis*, often pejorative (not the first example): *kermač* 165 (=< *kermanyč*); *vymahač* 78 'extortionist' (< *vymahaty*); *pljundrač* 111 (< *pljundruvaty*); *prydbavač* 140 (< *prydbavaty*); *rujnač* 161, 172, 227, 228 (=*rujinnyk*, *rujnivnyk*; < *rujnuvaty*).
-(y)tel', *nomen agentis*: *rujnytel'* 91 (as *rujnač* above); *skvernytel'* 238 (meant to be archaic) (< *skvernyty*).
-ec': *pidtoptanec'* 88 'no longer a young man' (< *pidtoptanyj*).
-an', augmentative/pejorative: *mordan' V*164 (= *mordatyj*; < *morda*); *čuban'* 164 (=*čubatyj*; < *čub*).
Inanimate nouns:
-ok, action or state: *zmyhok* ... *cikavosti* 207 'flicker of interest' (< *zmyhnúty*); *prysmutok* 200, 239 (reduced degree of *smutok*); *rozstanok* 131 (=< *rozstavannja*); *vidščepok* 112 'splinter; (here) renegade' (cf. *vidščepenec'*).
-it (as in *hrjukit*), action: *hrjakit* 16, 74, 178 (= *hrjukit*; < *hrjakaty*); *zdvyhit* 134 (= *dvyhit*).
Suffixless nouns, some derived from verbs: *vyprob* 93, 162 'test' (cf. *výproba*); *pereljask* 57 'echo' (cf. *vyljaskuvaty*); *perexop V*93 (*perexodu* 124 is a misprint) 'overreaching oneself' (< *perexoplennja*); *z prytancem projty* 99 (=< *prytanc'ovuvaty*).
-ok, **-yk**, diminutives: *haji ta pidhajky* 98; *plesa ta zaplesky* 98 (N. Sg. *pidhajok*; *zaplesok*?); *pidobidok* 200 (=< *pidobid*); *pryjmačyk* 195 (< *pryjmač*); *makohonyk* 111 (< *makohin*); *nametyk* 100 (< *namet*).

FEMININE NOUNS

Nouns designating female persons:
-k(a): *bujanka* 124, 143 (< *bujan*); *najivnjačka* 62 (<*najivnyj*, *-na*); *nedotorkanka* 62 (= *nedotorka*; < *nedotorkanyj*, *-na*); *plitkarka* 58 (< *plitka*); *cvikavka* 187 (< *cvikaty*); freely used with names of trades and professions to designate female members of professions or wives of members: *alximička* 55 (< *alximik*); *zootexnička* 37 (< *zootexnik*).
-ux(a), similar to **-k(a)**; **-ex(a)**, augmentative: *koketuxa* 83 (=*koketka URS*); *babexa* 99 (=*babeha*).

-yc(ja): *padalycja* 166 (apparently = *padljuka*); *vincenosycja* 161 (to masc. *vincenosec'*); *odnodumycja* 139 (cf. *odnodumnycja URS*).

Collective nouns designating persons, mostly male, or animals; pejorative:

-v(a), **-n(ja)**: *xulihanva* 9 (< *xulihany*); *komarva* 112 (<*komari*); *šofernja* 35 (< *šofery*); *malyšnja* 214 (cf. *maleča*).

Inanimate nouns:

Nouns in **-a**, designating actions or objects: *benteha* 46, 65, 196 (=*bentežennja*); *vysnaha* 43 (=*vysnažennja*); *zasmuta* 177 (=*zasmučenist'*); *ozloba* 187 (=*ozloblenist*); *oslavu pustyty* 36 'to defame' (=*oslavyty*); *nadsyla* 135 'extreme force' (< *nad*, *syla*); *bajda* 189 'kind of boat' (cf. *bajdak*); *mazuta* 47 (usually *mazut*).

-b(a), **-jav(a)**, **-ač(a)**, abstract nouns: *kajat ba* 84 (< *kajattja*); *šubovsnjava* 206 '(repeated) plunging/diving' (< *šubovsnuty*); *pusteča* 85 (=*porožneča*; < *pustyj*).

-k(a), **-čk(a)**, concrete nouns derived from verbs: *popojižka* 144 (< *popojisty*); *vbuvačka* 22 'footwear' (< *vbuvaty*); *vdjahačka* 111 'clothing' (< *vdjahaty*); *antena-štrykačka* 196 (< *štrykaty*).

-ynk(a), **-ivk(a)**: *prydumynka* 98 'invention' (< *prydumaty*); *asfal'tivka* 94 (=*asfal'tovana doroha*); *nič-kvitnivka* 75 'April night' (< *kviten'*).

-yn(a): *šmahanyna* 110 'prolonged whipping' (< *šmahaty*; *šmahannja*); *namulyna* 223 'silted-up place' (< *namul*).

-jak(a), augmentative and pejorative: *koburjaka* 162 (< *kobura*).

-n(ja), place of work: *zbrojarnja* 160 (=*zbrojivnja*; < *zbrojar*).

∅-suffix with the palatization of the final stem consonant: *bezhomin'* 206 (=*bezhominnja*); *u rozpovni lita* 98, 168 'at the height of the summer' (N. Sg. *rozpoven'*? < *roz-*, *povnyj*).

-ist', abstract nouns from adjectives: *bezdymnist'* 119 (< *bezdymnyj*); *zadymlenist'* 113 (< *zadymlenyj*); *kradlyvist'* 144 'stealthiness' (cf. *krad'koma*); *nezrušnist'* 238 (< *nezrušnyj*); *obluplenist'* 239 (< *obluplenyj*); *polihonnist'* 201 (< *polihonnyj*); *upokorenist'* 142 (=*upokorennja*).

-k(a), **-yc(ja)**, diminutives: *trybunka* 24 (< *trybuna*); *panamka* 99 'hat' (< *panama*); *pyljužynka* 16 'speck of dust' (< *pyljuha*); *iskrycja* 164 (=*iskorka*).

NOUNS OF COMMON GENDER

-jah(a), - **juh(a)**, augmentative of the quality expressed: *skromnjaha* 181 (< *skromnyj*); *česnjuha* 108 (< *česnyj*); *tovsteznyj djadjuha* 189 (the same suffix, but masc. only) (< *djadja*).
-ak(a), **-jak(a)**, pejorative: *hajdurjaka* 6 (also augmentative) 'term of abuse' (presumably < *hajduk*); *prydyraka* 123 'fault-finder' (< *prydyratysja*).
Nouns in **-a**: *varakuty* 6, *rozst'oby* 159 N. Pl. 'terms of abuse'; N. Sg. presumably *varakuta* (< *?*), *rozst'oba* (< *rozst'obuvaty*).

NEUTER NOUNS

-ja/**-ča**, Pl. **-jat(a)**/**-čat(a)**, diminutive, designating young persons of either sex or young animals (examples in Pl.): *remisnyčata* 9 (< *remisnyk*); *školjarčata* 7 (< *školjaryk*, *školjaročka*).
Nouns in -o, **-yv(o)**: *žužmo* 50 'crumpled mass' (< *žužmom*, adverb); *jatryvo* 3 'blaze' (< *jatrytysja* 'to be ablaze').
-stv(o), **-ctv(o)**, abstract nouns: *rujnactvo* 159 (=*rujnuvannja*); *laureatstvo* 97 (< *laureat*, *laureats'kyj*).
-nn(ja), **-tt(ja)** etc., chiefly abstract or collective nouns: *dytjače alalakannja* 21 (< **alala*; **alalakaty*; cf. *uljuljukaty*, *uljuljukannja*); *hijkannja pastuxiv* 129 (cf. *hejkannja*); *zljaskuvannja batohiv* 129 (cf. *ljaskannja*; *poljaskuvaty*); *pozyrkuvannja* 108 (< *pozyrkuvaty*); *pryprošennja* 185 (=*pryprošuvannja*; < *pryprosyty*); *pomukuvannja* 129 (cf. *mukannja*); *nepryvittja* 30 (=*nepryvitnist*); *bezpryjuttja* 114 (< *bez*, *pryjut*); *brudne šmuttja* 165 (cf. *šmattja*); *povnosyllja* 168 (< *povnosylyj*); *pryzavoddja* 178 (< *pry*, *zavod*); *pidnyzzja nebesnoho kupola* 171 (< *pid*, *nyz*); *potojbiččja* 210 'the other bank of the river' (< *potojbičnyj*); *korinjaččja* 210 (< **korinjaka* (augmentative) < *korin'*); *xymer"ja tinej* 5 (< *xymera*); *derev"ja* 98 (cf. *derevnja*, *URS*).
-yšč(e), augmentative: *bahrovyšča zavods'ki* 48 (< *bahrovyj*); *vyryšča* 206, *vyrovyšča* 230 (< *vyr*, *vyruvannja*); *zahravyšča* 230 (< *zahrava*); *kušyryšča* 147 (< *kušyr*). (All examples are in Pl.)

PLURALIA TANTUM

-ošč(i), abstract nouns: *brutal'nošči* 192 (< *brutal'nist'*); *bujnošči* 98, 236 (< *bujnist'*); *intymnošči* 124 (< *intymnist'*); *tajnošči* 175 (< *tajnyj*).
-yn(y), nouns designating rituals (cf. *zaručyny*, *xrestyny*): *zustričyny* 87 (< *zustrič*).
-k(y): *tren'ky-bren'ky* 227 (onomatopoeic; < *bren'kannja*).

COMPOUND NOUNS

Noun as the first element:
juškojid 57, 171 'guzzler of poacher's broth' (cf. (*juškojidy*), *ščo ... svoju brakon jers'ku jušku jidjat'* 57); *čarkoljub* 101 (< *čarka*, *ljubyty*; cf. *knyholjub*); *horškoder* 159 (< *horščok*, Gen. *horška*, *derty* 'to rob'); *zernovoz* 172 'grain-carrying lorry', *student-zernovoz* 175 (< *zerno*, *vozyty*; cf. *parovoz*); *bat'koprodavec'* 56 (cf. *xrystoprodavec'*, *bat'kovbyvec'*); *xmarosjah* 118 (=*xmaročos*, *xmarodrjap*; < *xmara*, *sjahaty*); *skrakohoniv hanjaty* 12 ? (< *skrakli*? *honyty*; cf. *vodohin*, Gen. *vodohonu*); *vitrolamka* 96 'wind-break' (<*viter*, *lamaty*; cf. *kryholam*); "*vplyvolohija*" 169 'influenceology' (< *vplyv*); *kruhovert'* 236, 237 (=*kruhovorot*); *majster rukovyvertannja* 9 (= *sambist*; < *ruka*, *vyvertannja*); *verxohir"ja* 171 (< *verx*, *hora*; cf. *pidhir"ja*).
Adjective as the first element:
fabzajec' 13, 232 (= *fabzavučnyk*; a jocular compound: < *fab(za)-*, *zajec'*); *čoven-starodub* 229 (< *staryj*, *dub*); *dobrožytok* 7 (*dobryj*, *žyty*; cf. *prožytok*); *strunkonohist'* 231 (< *strunkyj*, *noha*; cf. *strunkostannyj*); *bujnolystja* 5 (< *bujnyj*, *lystja*; cf. *bujnočubyj*).
Imperative as the first element:
hrajhomin 194 (< *hraty*, *homin*); *honyviterka* 193 (=*vitrohonka*; < *honyty*, *viter*, *-ka*); *propyjduša* 72 (< *propyty*, *duša*).
Others:
prajednist' 222 (< *pra-* (as in *pramova* etc.), *jednist'*); *lžedružynnyk*, *lževožd'* 78 (< *lže-* (as in *lžeprorok* etc.), *družynnyk*, *vožd'*); *napivsutin'* 107 (< *napiv-*, *sutin'*); *dev"jatyhlav*, *dev"jatyhlavec'* 170 'having nine cupolas' (< *dev"jat'*, *hlava*).

ADJECTIVES

-ov(yj), **-ev(yj)**: *rajonovyj* 232 (=*rajonnyj* 232); *tačankovyj* 156 '*tačanka* driver'; *bahrjancevyj* 237 (< *bahrjanec'*); *vodijevyj* 234 (< *vodij*).

-lyv(yj): *hnitlyvyj* 129, *hnitlyvo* 73 adv. (=*hnitjučyj*, *hnitjuče*); *prycinlyvyj* 206 (< *prycinjatysja*); *sjurkotlyvyj* 7 (< *sjurkotaty*); *kanjučlyvi klopoty* 5 (*kanjučyty*).

-k(yj): *šarka usmiška* 153 (< *šarity* 'to blush'); *čavki polunyci* 40 (< *čavyty*).

-s'k(yj), **-c'k(yj)**: *bdžoljars'kyj* 106 (< *bdžoljar*); *vdovyns'kyj* 148 (=*udovyn*); *selyščans'kyj* 58 (=*selyščnyj*); *fermivs'kyj* 24 (< *ferma*); *šljaxtjans'kyj* 128 (< *šljaxtjanka*); *žalibnyc'kyj* 141 (< *žalibnyk*); *mudrec'kyj* 109 (< *mudrec'*).

-n(yj): *bezvesel'nyj* 229 (=*bez vesel*); *bezzastupnyj* 79 (< *bez*, *zastupnyk* 'defender'); *bezkoketne ... divčys'ko* 175 (< *bez*, *koketnyj*); *bezmajetnyj* 193 (< *bez*, *majetnyj*); *kočivnyj* 88, 92 (=*kočovyj*); *malaxol'nyj* 37 'mad'; *nadzaxidne sonce* 189 (< *nad*, *zaxid*); *pidkupol'nyj* 34 (< *pid*, *kupol*); *rozvidna V*163 (=*rozvedena*); *spidlobnyj* 108 (< *spidloba*, adv.). The following three are used as nouns (they designate 'speciality' restaurants): *šašlyčna* 50, 69 (=*šašlyčnja*: a noun); *čeburečna* 69 (< *čeburek*); *varenyčna* 173 (< *varenyky*).

-(uv)at(yj), **-ovyt(yj)**, indicating the possession of the object or quality designated by the root: *kvitka peljustkata* 45 (< *peljustka*); *komyšuvate ozero* 147 (< *komyš*); *lastuvatyj* 100 (=*lastatyj*); *voljovytyj* 76 (=*voljovyj*); *tjamkovytyj* 89 (=*tjamovytyj*, *tjamkyj*).

-yst(yj), **-jast(yj)**: *barytonystyj* 121 (=*barytonovyj*); *ketjažystyj* 5 (< *ketjah*); *medvjanystyj* 4 (=*medvjanyj*); *tumanystyj* 46 (=*tumannyj*); *krapeljastyj* 175 (=*krapljastyj*); *ramenjastyj* 211 (< *ramena*).

-jač(yj): *janholjačyj* 34 (=*janholynyj*, *janhol's'kyj*).

-uvat(yj) (diminished degree), **-en'k(yj)**, **-isin'k(yj)**, **-jušč(yj)** (augmentative): *dykuvatyj* 95 (< *dykyj*); *ohrjadkuvatyj* 183 (<*ohrjadnyj*); *xyžuvatyj* 185 (< *xyžyj*); *zlydennen'kyj* 144 (< *zlydennyj*); *tverezisin'kyj* 124 (< *tverezyj*); *kremeznjuščyj* 158 (< *kremeznyj*).

-č(yj), **-šč(yj)**, **-l(yj)**, **-t(yj)**, **-n(yj)**, of participial origin: *vereskučyj kryk* 24 (=*veresklyvyj*); *tovkuče misto* 118 (< *tovkty*); *merextjuči suzir"ja*

217 (=*merextlyvi*); *palaxkotjuče oblyččja* 77 (=*palaxkotlyve*); cf. *palaxke žyttja* 75; *šelestjučyj* 82, 169 (=*šelestlyvyj*, *šelestkyj*); *zahuljaščyj* 83, 84 (cf. *zahuljaty*, *huljaščyj*); *propeklyj* 108, *V*164 (=*zapeklyj*); *perepytyj* 125 (< *perepytysja*); *katapul'tovanyj* 172 (< *katapul'ta*); *nakošlani brovy* 39 (< *košlaty*); *nakuškani bazarjany* 30 'well-wrapped (?) marketeers' (< **(na)kuškaty(sja)*); *trudovlaštovanyj* 232 (cf. *trudovlaštuvannja*); *zapyljuženyj* 50 (=*zapylenyj*); *zistarenyj* 141 (< *z(i)staryty*); *zmyršavlenyj* 156 (=*zmyršavilyj*); *nabasurmlenyj* 154 'morose' (cf. *busurman*); *nabovdurenyj* 155 (cf. *bovdur* 'blockhead'); *naxnjuplenyj* 145 (=*poxnjuplenyj*).

COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

Adjective as the first element:
iržavovolosyj 230 (< *iržavyj*, *volos*); *bujnočubyj* 226 (< *bujnyj*, *čub*); *krutov"jazyj* 124 (cf. *v"jazy, až komir triščyt'* 123); *nyz'kov"jazyj* 231 (cf. *kruhla holova nyz'ko vsadžena v pleči* 230); *vysokošyja* 144 (fem.) (cf. *dovhošyjij*); *kistljavolycyj* 159 (< *kistljavyj*, *lyce*); *krutolobi bani* 240 (< *krutyj*, *lob*); *mudročole žyttja* 230 (< *mudryj*, *čolo*); *cupkorukyj* 27 (< *cupkyj* 'tenacious', *ruky*); *rjaboščokyj* 162 (cf. *rjabokrylyj*); *misjac' zelenorohyj* (< *zelenyj*, *rohy*); *červononeba nič* 129 (< *červonyj, nebo*); *nimopromovystyj pohljad* 80 (< *nimyj*, *promovystyj*). The following two are very loose combinations, not compounds proper: *sobor parusno-povnyj* 240, *koni prodano-obraženi* 240.
Other first elements:
kinec'svitnij xaos 15, *kinec'svitn'o* 15 adv. (< *kinec'*, *svit*); *potojberežnyj* 46 (cf. *potojbičnyj*, *bereh*); *vsevlovljujučyj tranzystor* 145 (< *vse*, *vlovljuvaty*); *dozavods'ki časy* 3 (< *do*, *zavods'kyj*).

An area of vocabulary and phraseology which is rather poorly represented in Soviet lexicography is that belonging to certain specific semantic fields, some of them being virtually taboo. Although there are many neologisms in this area, they are mostly not Hončar's own, but he displays here considerable lexical realism.

Some terms refer to recent Soviet history: *kul'tovyk* 108, being a synonym for *stalinist* 108, which is (for the negative character, Loboda Jr)

tema ... kovzkuvata 108 'a delicate subject' (< *kovzkyj*) (cf. *kovzkuvatyj post* 178 'a sensitive position', here that of a beer vendor); *otočenci* 89 'soldiers who had been in an enemy encirclement' (< *otočenyj*); *čornosvytnyky* 136, *pidžaky V*101, ex-POWs, sent into battle again in civilian clothes, 'black jackets', where they were all killed.

Certain contemporary institutions, as a rule unmentionable elsewhere and in dictionaries: *zavod nomernyj*; *poštova skryn'ka* 68 'a factory referred to (only) by number; (an institution known only as) a P.O. Box' (the words can of course be found in dictionaries, but the specific meanings of the phrases are not given); *režymni tabory V*164 '(strict etc.) regime camps', the return from which, more precisely from *kolyms'ki kraji* 231, is described, in underworld slang, as *povernennja zvidty, de djudja* 231. Though *bezpasportnyj* is recorded, the colloquial *bezpačportna* 39, 69 is not (nor do dictionaries hint at its Soviet period application); similarly the associated *dovidka na vid"jizd* 37 (from the collective farm) and the more ominous *pidpyska na nevyjizd* 38. The local militia agent, Špačyxa, is described by Hončar as *kvartal'na* 50, though dictionaries attribute *kvartal'nyj* as a police agent to pre-Revolutionary times only.

References to the shadier areas of the economy produce some unrecorded vocabulary and phraseology. Collective farmers' low earnings are described as *kopijčanyj trudoden'* 27; doing something just "for show" is *pokazuxa* 182; to be off from work with a doctor's certificate (probably malingering) is *bjuletenyty* 61; *antykozjačyj zakon* 43, 51 makes it illegal for workers to keep goats. Hončar finds it necessary to spell out the special meaning of the word "*xaltura*" and gives some examples of the work that may be involved:

"Халтура"—це підробіток такий, приватна, наднормова робота, з якої роботяга десь опівночі повернеться, вичавлений, аж спотикається. (139)

... ходив по "халтурах", парове опалення ставив, дахи крив забудовникам трудно добутим шифером... (10)

(*nadnormovyj* 'overtime'). *Xaltura*; *xalturnyky* 88, on the other hand, seem to be used more in the dictionary meaning, 'hack-work'. Other terms for less legal economic activities: *kalymnyk* 233 who takes bribes for providing services (e.g. TV repairs); *kalym* 123, private enterprise

earnings (here, of gypsies doing coal deliveries); *šabaška* 139-41, something pilfered from one's place of work, e.g. building materials, boards, etc., *nalivo zbuvaty* 140, to dispose of something illegally, in the black market. Unofficial culture gets a mention in "*virmens'ke radio*" 55, 88, 120 (or "*Radio Yerevan*") with a story about maize on the Moon.

A number of vernacular terms relating to sex, which go unrecorded in Soviet lexicography, are found in *Sobor*; they would seem to originate largely in rural speech. One exception is *skurvlena vincenosycja* 161 (viz. Catherine II), used in Professor Javornyc'kyj's reported speech. Another word derived from *kurva* 'whore' is *vykurvok* 36 'offspring of a whore'; near to it is *xvojda* 37 'loose woman' (*URS* knows only the meaning 'slovenly woman'). *Davaty drozda* 83 seems to mean 'to be unfaithful (to one's husband)'. There are three phrases meaning 'to deflower': *rosu zbyty* 37, 39; *zirvaty vinok*; *potoptaty barvinok vesnjanyj* 37; hence derives *potoptanka* 39 'deflowered girl'.

"Naturalistic" references to biological functions fare similarly: *spravyty malu nuždu* 67 'to urinate'; *nužnyk* 5 'latrine'; also some jargon words, like *kumpol* 164 'head' ('nut'); *čekušečka-merzavčyk* 106 (Russ. *merzavčik* 'bottle of vodka, 0.125 l in volume'); *zabihajlivka* 30 'a tavern (suitable for a quick drink)' (< *zabihty* 'to drop in for a short time').

Finally, Hončar uses some abbreviations which do not appear, as abbreviations, in *URS*. The reason for avoiding *socrealizm* 97 ('*socialistyčnyj realizm*') must be that the abbreviation would be considered "disrespectful." Others, though they fit into colloquial usage, failed to get into *URS* probably because of being rather rare in abbreviated form: *deržkontrol'* 106 (*deržavnyj kontrol'*); *rajsud-rajmilicija* 50 (*rajonnyj sud*, *rajonna milicija*); *psyxolikranja* 233 (*psyxiatryčna likarnja*); *rybinspektor* 10 (*inspektor rybnahljadu*); *kompracja* 174 (*komunistyčna pracja*); *kompobut* 203 (*komunistyčnyj pobut*).

* * *

It has now been demonstrated that Hončar uses in *Sobor* a considerable number of words unrecorded in the Ukrainian lexicography of the day, even though material from only two parts of speech has been examined. Of course, he used many more colloquialisms and dialectisms than are mentioned in this essay, since all those found in *URS* have

been excluded; some of these are rare, while others are attested only from the earlier works of Hončar himself.

A good number of striking colloquial and dialectal words have been found, such as *vbuvačka*, *vdjahačka*, *varakuta*, *rozst'oba*, *malaxol'nyj*, *nakuškanyj*; characteristically Ukrainian suffixes impart an emotion-laden raciness to familiar concepts, e.g. *bezbrovko*, *bezvirko* (used by Špačyxa to express her disdain; the standard *bezvirnyk*, on the contrary, may be worn with pride by a convinced atheist), *xulihanva*, *šofernja*, *remisnyčata*, *školjarčata*. Instead of the conventional *rujinnyk/rujnivnyk*, the snappy, whipping *rujnač* is used, or the rhetorical, invective high-style *rujnytel'*. Similarly, *vidščepok*, formed from native elements, hits harder than the distantly polysyllabic *vidščepenec'*. The same may be said of *bezpravstvo*, *rujnactvo* which are more expressive than the conventional *bezpravnist'*, *bezprav"ja*, *rujnuvannja*. Hončar very skillfully uses appropriate living prefixes and suffixes to convey frequency, reduced degree, etc.: *šmahanyna*, *pozyrkuvannja*, *tumanystyj*. The specifically Ukrainian suffix *-ošč(i)* is well used, e.g. *intymnošči*. Especially effective are the augmentative, reduced degree and diminutive suffixes: *koburjaka*, *kremeznjuščyj*, *dykuvatyj*, *xyžuvatyj*, *kovzkuvatyj*, *trybunka*, *zlydennen'kyj*, *tverezisin'kyj*. The use of a number of abstract noun suffixes tends to produce a meditative or contemplative effect, with words of the type of *bezdymnist'*, or even *obluplenist'*. Often a neologism can produce a tongue-in-cheek, ironic effect, as *trudovlaštovanyj*. Most interesting and impressive are Hončar's compound nouns and adjectives, such as *bujnolystja*, *mudročole* (*žyttja*), *kinec'svitnij* (*xaos*), reminiscent of Ševčenko's *lany šyrokopoli*.

It would seem that the language of Hončar's other works, as well as other aspects of his language, may well merit further study.

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Slav. **bystrica* in Appellativa und Namen

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Die Kritik an unserem Vorschlag, die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven an den Nordhang der Karpaten zu legen[1], stützt sich im wesentlichen auf zwei Argumente: einerseits wird der Verdacht geäußert, die Auswahl der Appellativa habe das Ergebnis beeinflußt, andererseits wird darauf hingewiesen, daß Namen, denen Sumpfbezeichnungen zugrunde liegen, gerade im Bergland besonders häufig sein müßten. Beide Argumente lassen sich widerlegen, wie wir mit unserem Beitrag zeigen möchten. O. Kronsteiner[2] hat in der Rezension unserer Arbeit bemerkt: "Es fehlen so elementare Gewässernamen wie die aus *bystr-* ... gebildeten, die überall vorkommen und nachweislich auch sehr alt ... sind". Die Behandlung der hier angesprochenen Namen haben auch E. Dickenmann[3] und S. Rospond[4] vermißt.

Für den oben angesprochenen zweiten Kritikpunkt kann eine Äußerung H. Bräuers[5] angeführt werden: "Im galizischen Gebiet können die relativ wenigen Appellativa mit der Bedeutung 'Moor, Morast, Sumpf' für die Namengebung ausreichen. In dem nordukrainischen (und südweißrussischen) Sumpfgebiet des Pripjat' würden sie aber nicht ausreichen, da man nicht ständig nebeneinander Gewässer mit gleichem Namen bezeichnen würde ...". In ähnliche Richtung zielt O.N. Trubačev: "Delo v tom, čto nominacija v jazyke voobšče i v onomastike ... v častnosti osnovana na markirovannosti (a ne banal'nosti !) oboznačaemo-

[1] J. Udolph, Studien zu slavischen Gewässernamen und Gewässerbezeichnungen. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Urheimat der Slaven, Heidelberg 1979.

[2] Kratylos 25(1980)173.

[3] Onoma 14(1980)280-281 mit der Bemerkung: "Im Polnischen ist *Bystrzyca* geläufig", vgl. jedoch unten.

[4] Rocznik Slawistyczny 42(1981)67 und 68.

[5] Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie 42(1981)207.

go ..."[6]. Wie vertragen sich diese Ansichten jedoch mit O. Kronsteiners Bemerkung "Daß Namen mit *ezero* dort häufig sind, wo es viele Seen gibt, ist wohl selbstverständlich"[7] und mit der Feststellung H. Walthers, daß bei der volkstümlichen Namengebung "das Blickfeld in der Regel lokal begrenzt ist, die Motivation sehr konkret örtlich und situationsbedingt, deshalb stehen diese Namen den Appellativen längere Zeit recht nahe, ehe sie in die lexikalische Isolierung geraten"[8]?

Unser Beitrag verfolgt drei Ziele: einerseits soll anhand eines slavischen Wasserworts, das zu einem Lexem mit der Bedeutung "schnell, klar, rein, Wildbach, Gießbach, reißendes Wasser" (zu Einzelheiten s.u.) gehört, gezeigt werden, daß die Verbreitung der hierzu gebildeten Namen unserem Ansatz der ältesten slavischen Siedlungsgebiete nicht widerspricht. Weiterhin soll gezeigt werden, daß die hierzu gehörenden slavischen Namen vor allem in Gebirgsgegenden auftreten (und damit oben zitierten Meinungen widersprechen, in Hügel- und Berggebieten seien vor allem Namen zu erwarten, die auf Sumpfbezeichnung zurückgehen) und schließlich wird zu erkennen sein, daß es Gebiete in der slavischen Toponymie gibt, wo es geradezu von **Bystrica*-Namen wimmelt, und die Benennung offensichtlich nicht zum Zwecke der Markierung ausgegangen ist, sondern ein Name von einer sprachlichen Gemeinschaft aus dem appellativischen Wortschatz heraus geschaffen wurde, *ohne Rücksicht auf einen in der Umgebung vielleicht schon bestehenden Namen.*

Der Name *Bystrica* ist schon mehrfach behandelt worden, erwähnt werden müssen zwei Beiträge, die auch eine Kartierung enthalten. So hat O. Kronsteiner eine Untersuchung vorgelegt[9], als deren Ergebnis festgehalten wird: "... der Stamm **bystro* in **Bystrica* gehört dem Wortfeld der *Wasserwörter* an. Wer versucht, die *genaue Bedeutung* anzugeben, überschreitet daher die Grenzen der wissenschaftlichen Möglichkeiten..."[10], mit anderen Worten: es läßt sich keine genaue Bedeutung für

[6] Etimologija 1980, Moskva 1982, S. 173.

[7] A.a.O., S. 174.

[8] Namenkundliche Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Saale- und Mittelelbegebietes bis zum Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts (= Deutsch-slawische Forschungen zur Namenkunde und Siedlungsgeschichte, Nr. 26), Berlin 1971, S. 50-51.

[9] Der slawische Flußname *Bystrica* und seine Bedeutung, Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 14(1967/68)83-87.

[10] Ebda., S. 87.

den Zeitpunkt der Namengebung ermitteln. Diese Annahme ist jedoch für die slavische Frühzeit zu relativieren[11], auch können wir die Verbreitungskarte O. Kronsteiners, die auf S. 87 seines Beitrages erscheint, nicht akzeptieren. In ihr fehlen zahlreiche Namen, die für die Beurteilung der Ausbreitung der *Bystrica*-Toponyme und damit der Verbreitung der Namengeber, d.h. der slavischen Sprecher, von großer Bedeutung sind. Zudem ist es O. Kronsteiner entgangen, daß für das südslavische Gebiet eine Zusammenstellung der *Bystrica*-Namen einschließlich Kartierung von I. Duridanov vorliegt[12], die eine Reihe von Namen enthält, die O. Kronsteiner nicht berücksichtigt hat. Leider betrifft die von I. Duridanov vorgenommene Kartierung jedoch nur den Bereich südlich der Karpaten, für die Frage, auf welchen Wegen[13] die späteren Südslaven ihre neuen Wohnsitze auf dem Balkan erreicht haben, ist jedoch auch der Bereich nördlich der Karpaten von Bedeutung.

Unsere eigene Kartierung, die wir als Karte 1 dieser Untersuchung beigeben, enthält folgende Namen:

Bystrica[14] aus dem ostslavischen Sprachgebiet, *Bystryca/Bystrycja* in der Ukraine[15], *Bystrzyca* aus Polen und den angrenzenden Gebieten[16],

[11] Die Etymologie des zugrundeliegenden slavischen Stammes legt es sehr nahe, die Bedeutung 'klar, lauter, rein' für sekundär zu erachten, vgl. unten mit Anmerkung 35.

[12] in: Slavjanska filologija (Materiali za V. Meždunaroden Kongres za Slavistite), Bd. 3, Sofija 1963, S. 208-209 mit Karte.

[13] J. Udolph, op. cit., S. 628-631.

[14] Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen, Bd. 1, Berlin—Wiesbaden 1961, S. 245-246 und Nachtrag, S. 76; Russisches Geographisches Namenbuch, Bd. 1, Wiesbaden 1964, S. 618; A.P. Korepanova, Slovotvorči typy hidronimiv basejnu nyžn'noï Desny, Kyïv 1969, S. 61; G. P. Smolickaja, Gidronimija bassejna Oki, Moskva 1976, S. 101, 164, 225; V.A. Zučkevič, Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar' Belorussii, Minsk 1974, S. 42; Mikratapanimija Belarusi, Minsk 1974, S. 36;

[15] Slovnyk hidronimiv Ukraïny, Kyïv 1979, S. 50; Slovnyk staro-ukraïns'koï movy XIV-XV st., Bd. 1, Kyïv 1977, S. 96-96 und 137.

[16] Hydronimia Wisły, T. 1, Wrocław usw. 1965, S. 57, 59, 128, 135, 159, 208, 279; S. Rospond, Słownik nazw geograficznych Polski zachodniej i północnej, Wrocław—Warszawa 1951, S. 31; S. Rospond, Słownik etymologiczny nazw geograficznych Śląska, Bd. 1, Warszawa—Wrocław 1970, S. 133-134; Słownik Geograficzny. Bd. 1, Warszawa 1880, S. 241, 509-514 und Bd. 15, T. 1, S. 287-288; Szczegółowy podział dorzecza Odry i rzek Przymorza, Warszawa 1949, S. 15 und 32; H. Górnowicz, Onomastica 20(1975)52; K. Rymut, Nazwy miast Polski, Wrocław usw. 1980, S. 47; S. Hrabec, Nazwy geograficzne Huculszczyzny, Kraków 1950, S. 69; A. Orzechowska, Nazwy miejscowe dawnego powiatu pilzneńskiego oraz prawobrzeżnej części dawnych powiatów sandomierskiego i wiślickiego, Wrocław usw. 1975, S. 16; Cz. Kosyl, Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa lubelskiego, Wrocław usw. 1978, S. 59; J. Rieger—E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska, Nazwy rzeczne

dt. *Weistritz*[17], *Bystřice*, ung. *Beszterce*, slovak. *Bystrica*, dt. *Bistritz, Wistritz* u.s.w. in der ČSSR[18], *(Wilde, Rote) Weißeritz* im Elbegebiet[19], *Pesterwitz*[20], zahlreiche *Feistritz/Bistrica* in Österreich und Slovenien[21],

w dorzeczu Warty, Wrocław usw. 1975, S. 28-29; M. Lesiów, Terenowe nazwy własne Lubelszczyzny, Lublin 1972, S. 155; S. Kozierowski, Badania nazw topograficznych starej Wielkopolski, Poznań 1939, S. 158; S. Kozierowski, Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawniej zachodniej i środkowej Wielkopolski, Bd. 1, Poznań 1921, S. 92, S. Kozierowski, Badania nazw topograficznych dzisiejszej archidiecezji poznańskiej, Bd. 2, Poznań .1916, S. 543-544; S. Kozierowski, Badania nazw topograficznych dzisiejszej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej, Poznań 1914, S. 35 und 406; J. Rudnyc'kyj, Heohrafični nazvy Bojkivščyny, Winnipeg [2]1962, S. 40; R. Trautmann, Die Elb- und Ostseeslavischen Namen, Bd. 2, Berlin 1949, S. 35.

[17] K. Weinhold, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Schlesiens 21(1887)272, S. Rospond, Rozprawy Komisji Językowej Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego 2(1959) 45, P. Klemenz, Die Ortsnamen der Grafschaft Glatz, sprachlich und geschichtlich erklärt, Breslau 1933, S. 55; W. Demelt, Schlesischer Flurnamensammler 13/14(1937)103. Verfehlt: F. Albert, Glatzer Heimatblätter 22(1936)108f. und M. Rudnicki, Slavia Occidentalis 7(1928)358 und Onomastica 3(1957)340.

[18] B. Chromec, Místopisný slovník Československé Republiky, Praha [2]1935, S. 62-63; L. Hosák—R. Šrámek, Místní jména na Moravě a ve Slezku, Bd. 1, Praha 1970, S. 138-140; A. Profous, Místní jména v Čechách, Bd. 1, Praha 1947, S. 231-23 und Bd. 5, S. 142; M. Majtán, Názvy obcí na Slovensku za ostatnych dvesto rokov, Bratislava 1972, S. 83-84, 322, 325; R. Kriesch, Die Ortsnamen des politischen Bezirkes Kaaden, Phil. Diss. Prag 1939, S. 96-97; J. Skutil, Onomastica Slavogermanica 7(1973)177 und 9(1974)120; W. Dolak, Die Ortsnamen des politischen Bezirkes Olmütz, Phil. Diss. Prag 1927, S. 89; A. Sedláček, Snůška starých jmen, jak se nazývaly v Čechách řeky, potoky, hory a lesy, Praha 1920, S. 78, 91, 96, 101, 106, 107, 108, 110; I. Lutterer, Vývoj místních jmen a osídlení v povodí Orlic, Choceň 1969, S. 187; E. Richter, Ortsnamen und Besiedlung des politischen Bezirkes Bischofteinitz, Phil. Diss. Prag 1936, S. 144; R. Bielka, Die Orts- und Flurnamen der Mähr. Walachei, Phil. Diss. Prag 1934, S. 31; Soubor (Súbor) turistických map, Praha bzw. Bratislava 1966ff.; E. Hawelka, Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens 2(1898)78; W.v. Unwerth, Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde 9 (1907)105; M. Pohland, Märkische Sprachblätter 11(1935), H. 4, S. 12; V. Šmilauer, Vodopis starého Slovenska, Praha—Bratislava 1932, S. 461; J. Stanislav, Slovenský juh v stredoveku, Bd. 2, Turčianský Sv. Martin 1948, S. 53 und 92; P. Knauth, Die Flußnamen des Erzgebirges, Freiberg 1935, S. 29; E. Schwarz, Zur Namenforschung und Siedlungsgeschichte in den Sudetenländern, Nachdruck Hildesheim 1975, S. 45: E. Schwarz, Die Ortsnamen der Sudetenländer als Geschichtsquelle, München 1961, passim; F. Repp, Kapathenland 12(1941/42)208.

[19] M. Vasmer, Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde, Bd. 2, Berlin—Wiesbaden 1971, S. 549; H. Petzold, Die Gewässernamen des Flußsystems der Elbe in Sachsen von Schönau bis Meißen, Teil 2, Diss. Leipzig 1968, S. 358-359; H. Walther, Beiträge zur Namenforschung 11(1960)56; A. Muka, Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje 78(1925)74; K. Gander, Niederlausitzer Mitteilungen 11(1910)145.

[20] P. Knauth, a.a.O., S. 16.

[21] J. Breu, Geographisches Namenbuch Österreichs, Wien 1975, S. 96-97; O. Kronsteiner, Wörterbuch der Gewässernamen von Österreich, Wien 1971, S. 55-56; P. Lessiak, Carinthia I 112(1922)55, 81, 91; W. Steinhauser, Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederö-

auch *Fistritz*[22], *Feistriz*[23], *Feistritzbach, -pach, -graben*[24], *Wistritz*[25] und *Bistritz*[26]. Auch Bayern kennt einen Flurnamen *Feistritz*[27]. Sehr zahlreich ist das südslavische Sprachgebiet an der Namenverbreitung beteiligt, wie schon die häufigen Namen des slovenisch-österreichischen Gebietes deutlich gemacht haben. Kartiert wurden: *Bistrica*[28], ung. *Besz-*

sterreich, Neue Folge 25(1932)14; J.v. Zahn, Ortsnamenbuch der Steiermark im Mittelalter, Wien 1893, S. 176-178; E. Kranzmayer, Ortsnamenbuch von Kärnten, Bd. 2, Klagenfurt 1958, S. 66; O. Kronsteiner, Slawische Elemente in den Bergnamen der Steiermark, Diss. Wien 1964, S. 26a; A. Unterforcher, Slavische Namenreste aus dem Osten des Pusterthales, Leitmeritz 1889, S. 5; A. Feinig, Die Namen der Bauernhöfe im Bereich der einstigen Grundherrschaft Hollenburg in Kärnten, Phil. Diss. Wien 1958, S. 1; K. Keßler, Ortsnamen in der Westhälfte des obersteirischen Murgebietes, Bd. 2, Phil. Diss. Wien 1957, S. 120-121; J.C. Mitterutzner, Slavisches aus dem östlichen Pusterthale, Brixen 1879, S. XVI; J. Stur, Die slawischen Sprachelemente in den Ortsnamen der deutsch-österreichischen Alpenländer zwischen Donau und Drau, Wien 1914, S. 68 und 81; E. Schwarz, Die Ortsnamen des östlichen Oberösterreich, Reichenberg 1926, S. 58; H. Weigl, Historisches Ortsnamenbuch von Niederösterreich, Bd. 2, Wien 1966, S. 182 und 213.

22 G. Straßberger, Siedlungsgeschichte des nordwestlichen Waldviertels im Lichte seiner Ortsnamen, Wien 1960, S. 58; O. Kronsteiner, Wörterbuch ..., S. 58.

23 H.J. Bidermann, Die Romanen und ihre Verbreitung in Österreich, Graz 1877, S. 203.

24 O.F. Weber, Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark 62(1971)198; J. Staunig, Die Flurnamen des Burgamtes Villach ..., 22. Jahresschrift des Gymnasiums Villach, 1891, S. XXV; K. Keßler, op. cit., Bd. 2, S. 120; O. Kronsteiner, Wörterbuch ..., S. 56.

25 E. Kranzmayer, op. cit., Bd. 2, S. 248.

26 O. Kronsteiner, Wörterbuch ..., S. 36.

27 K. Arneth—E. Eichler, Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung 26(1966)187, F.W. Singer, Die Flurnamen des Gemeindebezirks Arzberg, Arzberg 1958, S. 5.

28 Imenik mesta u Jugoslaviji, Beograd 1973, S. 63; Popis vodenih tokova kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, Sarajevo 1924, S. 219; Imenik ..., S. 253; Č. Kaloper, Prilozi proučavanju jezika 7(1971)230; I. Kalinski, Filologija 7(1973)105; P. Šimunović, Toponimija otoka Brača, Supetar 1972, S. 216; E. Dickenmann, Studien zur Hydronymie des Savesystems, Bd. 1, Heidelberg 1966, S. 52-53; V. Pjanka, Toponomastika na Ochridsko-Prespanskiot bazen, Skopje 1970, S. 324; G.A. Škrivanić, Imenik geografskih naziva srednjovekovne Zete, Titograd 1959, S. 42-43; F. Bezlaj, Slovenska vodna imena, Bd. 1, Ljubljana 1956, S. 62-64; H. Tuma, Imenoslovje Julijskih Alp, Ljubljana 1929, S. 60; Spisŭk na naselenite mesta v Bŭlgarija, Sofija 1911, S. 38, 39, 76, 79; I. Duridanov, Toponimijata na Pŭrvomajska okolija, Sofija 1958, S. 120; M. Moskov, Turist 14(1969), H. 1, S. 12-13; I. Duridanov, Mestnite nazvanija ot Lomsko, Sofija 1952, passim; I. Duridanov, Symbolae philologicae in honorem V. Taszycki, Wrocław usw. 1968, S. 62; I. Duridanov, Die Hydronymie des Vardarsystems als Geschichtsquelle, Köln—Wien 1975, S. 389; Chidrologičen spravočnik na rekite v NR Bŭlgarija, T. 2, Sofija 1958, S. 8, 14, 15; A. Salambaschev, Die Flußnamen im bulgarischen Sprachgebiet, Phil. Diss. München 1943, S. 37-38; K. Mladenov, Bŭlgarski ezik 26(1971), H. 4, S. 83; V. Georgiev, Bŭlgarskata etimologija i onomastika, Sofija 1960, S. 57-58; M. Vasmer, Die Slaven in Griechenland, Nachdruck Leipzig 1970, S. 103, 111; A.M. Seliščev, Slavjanskoe naselenie v Albanii, Sofija 1931, S. 336, 337.

terce/Beszterec[29], rumän, *Bistriţa, Bistricioara*[30].

Der beim Geographen von Ravenna erwähnte Flußname *Bustricius* bleibt mit F. Bezlaj[31] und O. Kronsteiner[32] besser beiseite.

Bevor wir uns das Ergebnis der Kartierung der Namen etwas näher betrachten, wollen wir im folgenden noch eine Zusammenstellung des appellativischen Materials der slavischen Sprachen geben. Wir beschränken uns dabei auf *-ica*-Ableitungen von slav. **bystrъ*, also auf die Grundlage des hier in Rede stehenden Appellativs[33]. Aus Grammatiken, Wörterbüchern und verschiedenen anderen Sammlungen[34] lassen sich folgende slavische Entsprechungen belegen:

russ. dial. *bystrica* 'Stromschnelle, tiefer Teil des Flußbettes, Fahrrinne', auch 'Furt';

ukrain. (dial.) *bystrycja* 'reißender Gebirgsbach, schneller, rauschender Bach, Wildbach', auch 'Pflaumenart';

poln. *bystrzyca* 'schnelle, reißende Strömung im Flüß oder Bach', 'Bergbach, Wildbach';

obersorb. *bystrica* 'Bergbach';

altčech. *bistřicě* 'torrens', čech. *bystřice* 'reißender Gebirgsbach';

[29] T. Ortvay, Magyarország régi vízrajza a XIII-ik század végeig, Bd. 1, Budapest 1882, S. 133; Magyarország helységnévtára 1967, Budapest 1967, S. 149 und 355; L. Kiss. Régi rétköz, Budapest 1961, S. 24; I. Szabó, Ugocsa megye, Budapest 1937, S. 467.

[30] Rumania. Official Standard Names approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names, Washington D.C. 1960, S. 39-40; M. Oros, Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai, Series philologia 15(1970), H. 2, S. 113.

[31] Slovenska vodna imena I, S. 64, derselbe, Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika, Bd. 1, Ljubljana 1977, S. 22, gegen M.J. Brajčevs'kyj, Pytannja toponimiky ta onomastyky, Kyïv 1962, S. 64-65. Unentschieden: S. Pirchegger, Die slavischen Ortsnamen im Mürzgebiet, Leipzig 1927, S. 106 und O.N. Trubačev, Nazvanija rek pravoberežnoj Ukrainy, Moskva 1968, S. 171-172.

[32] Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 12(1965)51-53.

[33] Weitere Ableitungen zu slav. **bystrъ* bleiben hier bewußt außer Betracht.

[34] Slovar' russkich narodnych govorov, Bd. 3, Leningrad 1968, S. 350; Słownik Prasłowiański, Bd. 1, Wrocław usw. 1974, S. 478; Cz. Lapiez, Terminologia geograficzna w ruskich gwarach Białostocczyzny na tle wschodniosłowiańskim, Warszawa usw. 1981, S. 112; Êtimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskich jazykov, Bd. 3, Moskva 1976, S. 151; M. Jurkowski, Ukraińska terminologija hydrograficzna, Wrocław usw. 1971, S. 22; Nitsche, Die geographische Terminologie des Polnischen, Köln—Graz 1964, S. 159; R.N. Mal'ko, Geografičeskaja terminologija češskogo i slovackogo jazykov, Minsk 1974, S. 11; F. Bezlaj, Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika, Bd. 1, Ljubljana 1977, S. 22; J. Schütz, Die geographische Terminologie des Serbokroatischen, Berlin 1957, S. 68; G. Wippel, Die geographischen Appellativa im Serbokroatischen, Diss. Berlin 1957, S. 178; Bŭlgarski etimologičen rečnik, Bd. 1, Sofija 1962, S. 50.

slovak. *bystrica* 'reißender Gebirgsbach';

sloven. *bistrica* 'schnell fließender Bach, Bach mit klarem Wasser, Bergbach, durchsichtiges, klares Wasser, Bach mit klarem, durchsichtigen Wasser, Wildbach, Gießbach';

serbokroat. *bistrica* 'Sturzbach, Gießbach, klares Wasser, Stelle im Fluß, wo das Wasser sauber ist, Reinheit, Durchsichtigkeit', dial. 'durchsichtiger Stoff, Gewebeart', auch 'Pflaumenart', 'Seefenster';

bulg. *bistrica* 'Pflaumen-, Kirschenart';

rumän. *bistriţă* 'Pflaumenart'.

Auf Grund der Verbindung mit außerslavischen Material, so z.B. mit germanischen Appellativen wie *bysia* 'mit großer Gewalt ausströmen' *boysa* 'hervorstürmen', *busa* 'bestürzen, hervorstürzen,*būsen* 'gewaltsam sein, brausen, lärmen, stürmen', *būsterig* 'stürmisch'[35] wird man für slav. **bystra* < **bhūs-ro-* eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung 'schnell fließendes Wasser, reißender Bach, Fluß' annehmen dürfen. Daraus entwickelte sich offenbar als Bedeutungserweiterung 'klar, rein, durchsichtig', worauf nun wiederum die slavischen und die aus dem Slavischen entlehnte rumänische Bezeichnung(en) *bistrica, bistrică* 'Pflaumen und Kirschenart' beruhen dürften. Die rumänischen Orts- und Gewässernamen gehen jedoch, wie I. Iordan mit Nachdruck herausgestellt hat, nicht auf diese Obstbezeichnung zurück, sondern auf slav. *bystrica*, das 'niemals in der rumänischen Sprache bestanden [hat]'[36].

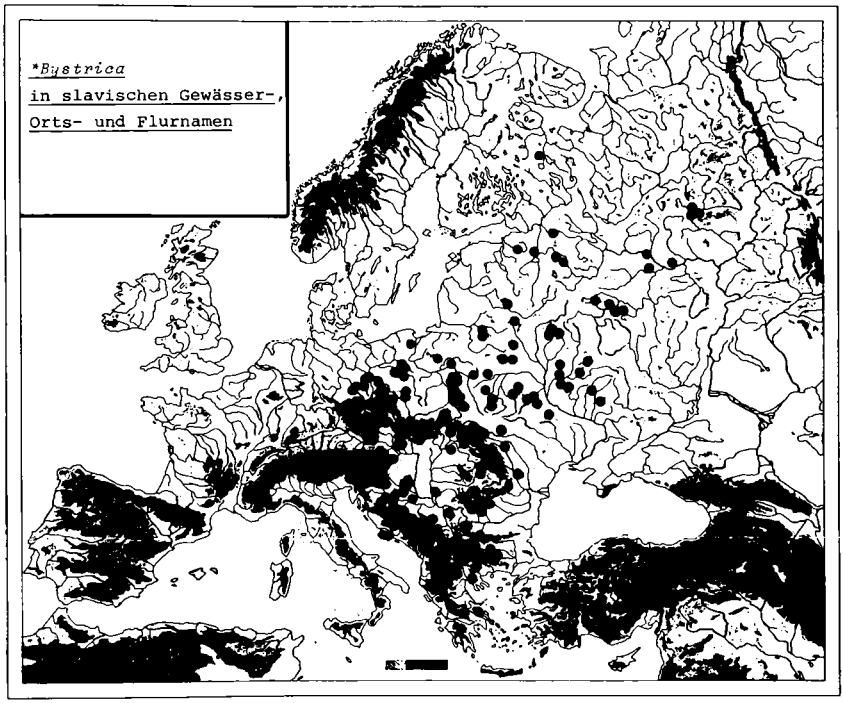
Es gilt jedoch noch, auf eine andere Schwierigkeit hinzuweisen: die oben angeführten geographischen Namen beruhen selbstverständlich nicht nur auf den hier genannten slavischen Appellativen. Sie sind ebensogut als toponymische Bildungen mit einem Suffix *-ic(a)* zu einem Adjektiv **bystra* mit nicht immer sicher bestimmbarer Bedeutung[37] aufzufassen, eine Trennung ist im Einzelfall nur schwer durchführbar.

Wenn wir uns nun das Ergebnis der Kartierung etwas genauer ansehen und dieses mit den anfangs genannten verschiedenen Ansichten

[35] J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bd. 1, Bern—München 1959, S. 101-102; M. Vasmer, Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bd. 1, Heidelberg 1953, S. 159 u.a.m.

[36] in: Contributions onomastiques, publiées à l'occasion du VIe Congrès International des Sciences Onomastiques, Bucarest 1958, S. 10.

[37] Vgl. oben mit Anm. 11.



über die Aussagefähigkeit geographischer Namen für die Vor- und Frühgeschichte konfrontieren, so lassen sich einige wichtige Schlußfolgerungen ziehen:

1.) Die von O. Kronsteiner, E. Dickenmann und S. Rospond vermißte Behandlung der zu slav. *bystr-* gehörenden Namen und ihre Kartierung läßt bei unserem Beispiel (den mit *-ica* gebildeten Namen) erkennen, daß erneut das Gebiet am Nordhang der Karpaten an der Namenverbreitung entscheidenden Anteil hat. Die daneben bestehenden Namenhäufungen in Böhmen, Mähren, Österreich-Slovenien, Kroatien und im makedonisch-westbulgarischem Bereich liegen sämtlich in Gebieten, die von den Slaven erst im Verlaufe ihrer Expansion besiedelt worden sind.

2.) Die ungarische Tiefebene ist (erneut) ausgespart, unsere These[38],

[38] J. Udolph, op. cit., S. 628-631.

daß die späteren Südslaven ihre neuen Wohgebiete auf dem Balkan auf—grob gesprochen—zwei verschiedenen Wegen (einem westlichen über Slovenien und Kroatien und einem östlicheren durch Rumänien entlang den Karpaten) erreicht haben, wird durch die hier vorgelegte Kartierung erneut bestätigt[39].

3.) Die Verbreitung der Namen im ostslavischen Bereich entspricht der an anderer Stelle vorgelegten Untersuchung[40] der mutmaßlichen Expansion der frühen Ostslaven. Das Pripjet'-Gebiet wird von den Namen weitgehend ausgespart.

4.) Zur Frage S. Rosponds, "na jakiej podstawie z dwu konkurujących obszarów (Galicja—centralna Polska) wybrał [Udolph] właśnie Przykarpacie?"[41] habe ich m.E. bereits ausführlich und zusammenfassend Stellung genommen[42]. Die hier vorgenommene Kartierung der *Bystrica*-Namen spricht erneut eher für das Vorkarpatengebiet als für Zentralpolen. Diese Tatsache ist umso wichtiger, als M. Vasmer bei der Behandlung der Urheimat der Slaven darauf Wert legte, daß in diesem Raum (seiner Ansicht nach das am Pripjet' gelegene Territorium) "auf einem verhältnismäßig kleinen Gebiet alle für die später von Slaven besiedelten Gebiete charakteristischen Ortsnamen angetroffen werden können. So erscheint hier mehrmals der Flußname *Bystrica* ('schneller Fluß')"[43].

5.) Entgegen der Ansicht von O.N. Trubačev, "*Bystrica* osobenno často vystupaet na Dnestre i po Pripjati i Goryni i, počti ne perevalivaja na srednedneprovskoe levoberež'e (sr. tol'ko odna *Bystrica*, rukav Vorskly ...)"[44] zeigt unsere Karte nicht wenige Namen auch auf dem linken Ufer des Dnepr.

6.) Zu den anfangs zitierten Ansichten H. Bräuers und O.N. Trubačevs, man dürfe in der Namengebung einerseits in Sumpfgebieten nicht

[39] Dazu passen die Ausführungen von I. Gŭlŭbov, Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 21(1975)61-71 und Opuscula slavica et linguistica (Festschrift für A. Issatschenko), Klagenfurt 1976, S. 169ff.

[40] J. Udolph, Die Landnahme der Ostslaven im Lichte der Namenforschung, Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 29(1981)321-336.

[41] Rocznik Slawistyczny 42(1981)76.

[42] J. Udolph, Studien, S. 619-623.

[43] M. Vasmer, Schriften ..., Bd. 1, S. 53.

[44] Nazvanija rek ..., S. 171.

zu häufig Namen erwarten, die auf einfachen Appellativen beruhen, die 'Sumpf, Morast' bedeuten, und andererseits sei eine stereotype, "banale" Namengebung untypisch, läßt sich bemerken:

Wenn man den ersteren der beiden Einwände ernst nimmt, führt das zu der Behauptung, daß Gewässernamen, denen eine Bedeutung 'schnell fließend' zugrunde liegt, nicht in geographischen Gebieten mit stärkerem Gefälle (also Hügel- und Gebirgsgegenden) gehäuft auftreten dürften, sondern in Bereichen mit geringerem Gefälle, also in Niederungen und im Flachland. Nun zeigt jedoch unsere Karte, daß gerade die Gebiete entlang der von Slaven erreichten Berg- und Hügelketten (Karpaten, Beskiden, Sudeten, Riesengebirge, Erzgebirge, Alpen usw.) einen überdurchschnittlichen Anteil an der Namenverbreitung haben, während typische Niederungsgebiete (Norddeutsche Tiefebene, Nord- und Mittelpolen, Ungarische Tiefebene und Donautiefebene) deutlich Lücken in der Namenverbreitung aufweisen. J. Rieger hat die Häufigkeit von *Bystrica*-Namen in den Karpaten mit den Worten begründet: "Das hängt von dem Charakter der Gebirgsbäche ab, deren Lauf in der Regel schneller als der der Niederungsflüsse ist"[45]. Dieser Ansicht kann man nur zustimmen, denn auch und gerade in dem zweiten relativ hohen Gebirge, das die Slaven im Verlauf ihrer Expansion erreichten, in den Ostalpen, finden wir eine so starke Konzentration von *Bystrica*-Namen, daß O. Kronsteiner sagen konnte: "Die Europa-Karte zeigt, daß dieser Flußname am häufigsten in Slowenien und Südkärnten geprägt wurde"[46]. Und damit kommen wir zu dem letzten Punkt der Kritik, der von O.N. Trubačev eingebracht wurde, der Ansicht, daß die Namengebung (auch in der Onomastik) auf die Markierung des zu Benennenden gerichtet sei und eine "banale", einförmige, stereotype Namengebung von den Namengebern vermieden werde. Wie verträgt es sich dann mit dieser Annahme, daß wir in Kärnten, der Steiermark und in Slovenien (also einem Gebiet mit hohem Anteil an Gebirgsketten) eine derartige Fülle von *Bystrica*-Namen haben, daß auf unsere Karte nur ein Bruch-

[45] Disputationes ad montium vocabula aliorumque nominun significationes pertinentes, Bd. 2, Wien um 1969, S. 492, vgl. auch I. Duridanov, Die Hydronymie des Vardarsystems ..., S. 48: Der ... Name (urslav. **Bystrica*) ... bezeichnet gewöhnlich Bergflüsse, die wegen ihres steilen Flußbetts rasch und ungestüm abwärts fließen".

[46] Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 14(1967/68)86.

teil der dort anzutreffenden Namen verzeichnet werden konnte? Ein Blick in die Sammlung von J.v. Zahn[47] zeigt, wie schwierig in diesem Gebiet die Zuordnung von urkundlichen Belegen zu den einzelnen geographischen Namen ist, mit anderen Worten, es gibt in diesem Bereich so viele *Bystrica*-Namen, daß die Unterscheidung der einzelnen Namen bereits einige Mühe macht. Nun muß man sich die Frage stellen, aus welchem Grund diese stereotype Namengebung erfolgt ist. Die Ansicht, die Namengeber verfolgten bei der Namengebung vor allem die Absicht, ein geographisches Objekt eindeutig zu markieren, kann in diesem Fall nicht überzeugen. Man hätte unter diesen Umständen zumindestens einen Suffixwechsel oder eine Kennzeichnung durch weitere Zusätze (sei es durch Hinzufügung eines Bestimmungswortes[48] oder in anderer Weise) erwarten können, aber dieses ist im Ostalpenraum bei den hier in Rede stehenden Namen nur in wenigen Fällen geschehen. Es bleibt meines Erachtens daher gar keine andere Möglichkeit, als auf die schon am Anfang dieses Beitrags vorgebrachte Ansicht erneut zu verweisen, daß nämlich geographische Namen *zunächst* nur für eine relativ kleine Gruppe von Sprechern Orientierung sind. Daraus folgert weiter, daß (wenn wir bei einer Gebirgsgegend bleiben wollen) für ein Gebirgstal zunächst nur der dort fließende Bach oder Fluß seinen Namen erhält und diese Namengebung völlig unabhängig davon erfolgt, ob das Nachbartal bereits einen identischen Namen für den dort fließenden Bach oder Fluß vergeben hat. Die heute so stereotyp und "banal" aussehende Namenlandschaft, sei es *Bystrica* in den Alpen oder *Potok* und *Rěka* in den Karpaten ist daher das Ergebnis eines Prozesses, und die Namengebung erfolgt, den Gegebenheiten einer kleinen Sprechergruppe entsprechend, aus dem appellativischen Wortschatz heraus. Hinzutretende unterscheidende Merkmale werden erst in dem Augenblick notwendig, wenn sich die Kommunikation ausweitet (*Novhorod-Sivers'kyj—Nižnij Novgorod, Perejaslavl' Rjazanskij—Pereslavl' Zalesskij* usw.), sie sind bei der Namengebung und während der ersten Periode der Namenverwendung nur in wenigen Fällen notwendig.

Aus den geschilderten Gründen möchten wir der Ansicht von O.

[47] Ortsnamenbuch der Steiermark im Mittelalter, Wien 1893.
[48] Vgl. J. Udolph, Studien, S. 52.

Kronsteiner, "daß Namen mit *ezero* dort häufig sind, wo es viele Seen gibt, ist wohl selbstverständlich"[49], zustimmen, diesen Satz abwandeln und meinen, daß Namen mit **bolto* 'Sumpf' dort häufig sind, wo Sümpfe sind (woraus folgt, daß das Fehlen von slavischen Namen, die auf Sumpfbezeichnungen beruhen, im Pripjet'-Gebiet seiner Erklärung bedarf) und weiterhin, daß Gewässernamen, die auf Appellativen beruhen, die auf schnellen Lauf des Wassers hinweisen, dort häufig sind, wo die geographischen Bedingungen eine stärkere Strömung der abfließenden Gewässer ermöglichen, wie es bei dem von uns hier behandelten slavischen Wasserwort *Bystrica* der Fall ist. Zu weiteren, von unseren Kritikern vermißten slavischen Appellativen und ihrem Vorkommen in der Toponymie werden wir an anderem Ort Stellung nehmen.

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[49] Kratylos 25(1980)174.

Les notions de "parème" et de "parémème"

(Contribution à la grammaire des proverbes)

JACQUES VEYRENC

L'étude des proverbes (ou parémiologie) est une discipline ancienne. Et pourtant la définition même de l'unité désignée comme "proverbe", et plus particulièrement la distinction qu'il convient d'établir entre le "proverbe" et le "dicton", continuent de faire problème.

Pour certains auteurs, le proverbe se distingue du dicton par son caractère imagé (*óbraznist'*). Un tel point de vue permet de délimiter, en français par exemple, les "dictons météorologiques", comme "Pluie en février vaut du fumier", "S'il pleut à la Saint Médard, il pleuvra quarante jours plus tard", ou même "Noël au balcon, Pâques aux tisons", que personne apparemment ne songe à classer comme proverbes. Mais on est conduit, d'une manière beaucoup moins satisfaisante et en tout cas contraire au plus large consensus, à reconnaître des dictons, et non plus des proverbes, dans des expressions comme Вік живи́, вік учи́сь "On apprend à tout âge" ou encore Хто спіши́ть той людéй смішйть "Qui se hâte fait rire (à ses dépens)".

C'est pourquoi le plus grand nombre des auteurs utilise un autre critère de différenciation, qui se ramène au caractère d' "énoncé achevé" (*zakínčenist'*). Le proverbe s'oppose alors au dicton en tant qu'il relève de la fonction assertive, propriété syntaxique toujours commode à identifier, et en vertu de laquelle tous les exemples cités précédemment, y compris les dictons météorologiques, devraient être traités comme appartenant à la classe des proverbes. En face du proverbe, qui se définit ainsi comme relevant du paradigme de la phrase achevée, le dicton relève quant à lui du paradigme du mot, ce mot pouvant être soit un verbe (чужи́ми рука́ми жар вигорта́ти " se faire tirer les marrons du feu", перемива́ти кісточки́ кому́ " faire des ragots sur le dos de

quelqu'un"), soit un autre élément capable de recevoir la fonction attributive (десята водá на киселї "cousin à la mode de Bretagne", у чóрта в зубах (у чóрта на болóті) "au diable vauvert"). Il apparaît en somme que le proverbe et le dicton s'opposent en raison de la fonction qu'ils assument au plan de la syntaxe fonctionnelle: le proverbe est investi de la fonction assertive, alors que le dicton n'est virtuellement porteur que de la fonction prédicative. D'où cette conséquence que le dicton, s'il est par hypothèse rapporté à un argument présenté comme constant, acquiert du même coup le statut de proverbe: Лéгко чужи́ми рукáми жар вигортáти "Il est facile de se faire tirer les marrons du feu (par quelqu'un d'autre)".

Autrement dit, le proverbe se caractérise en regard du dicton par sa structure toujours dichotomique: il exprime dans tous les cas une relation entre un terme X (le thème) et un terme Y (le rhème), que l'on peut désigner ici plus précisément comme une relation entre "prémisse" (thème ou X) et "échéance" (rhème ou Y): "Qui sème le vent (=thème ou prémisse) récolte la tempête (rhème ou échéance); Вовкíв боя́тися — в ліс не ходи́ти "Qui a peur des loups ne va pas au bois".

On vient de décrire le schéma fondamental de la structure sémantique propre à tout proverbe, soit:

$$X \rightarrow Y$$

où la relation est donnée comme constante. Il est remarquable que ce schéma premier peut apparaître dans un ordre inversé lorsque la relation entre X et Y est modalisée, d'où:

$$\text{(vouloir)} \quad Y \rightarrow \text{(requiert)} \quad X$$

comme dans "Qui veut voyager loin (Y ou échéance voulue) ménage sa monture (X ou prémisse requise); Лю́биш катáтися — люби́ й саночки́ возйти "Si tu aimes aller en traîneau, aime aussi conduire le traîneau". Ce dernier schéma à composante modale et avec inversion ordinaire des termes X et Y correspond à la définition du proverbe-précepte, tandis que le schéma simple répond au proverbe-axiome. S'il est vrai que ces deux classes s'opposent au niveau de la réalisation formelle, elles sont néanmoins le plus souvent sémantiquement réductibles: "Si tu veux récolter la tempête, sème le vent", et inversement: "Qui ménage sa

monture, celui-là voyage loin". Quant au dicton, à l'opposé du proverbe et de sa structure toujours sémantiquement dichotomique (relation entre X et Y), il se définit dans tous les cas par son caractère de monome (X ou Y), et donc par sa capacité d'intégration à une structure de proverbe.

Provisoirement, on peut être tenté de modifier la présentation syntaxique de l'opposition proverbe / dicton en imposant à la définition du proverbe comme à celle du dicton la condition métaphorique, seule mise en avant dans le premier type de présentation. Les dictons seront alors représentés par l'ensemble des locutions verbales ou attributives de caractère imagé (à l'exclusion par exemple d'une locution comme ні з тóго ні з сьóго "de but en blanc"). Et l'on dira de même qu'une expression non imagée comme Вік живи́, вік учи́сь est un aphorisme et non pas un proverbe, les " dictons météorologiques" cités plus haut entrant alors dans la classe des "aphorismes prévisionnels" (ou "aphorismes météorologiques").

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On sait que depuis longtemps de nombreux recueils de proverbes ont été établis plus ou moins systématiquement pour un grand nombre de langues, et l'on dispose donc d'un abondant matériau capable de servir dès maintenant de point de départ à une étude typologique des proverbes ou parémiologie contrastive. On peut travailler sur des inventaires diffus, en prenant en compte des données recueillies dans toutes les langues du monde. On peut aussi borner momentanément la recherche à des inventaires compacts, en se limitant aux données comparées d'un petit nombre de langues de domaines rapprochés ou contigus, ou de dialectes d'une même langue ou encore de variantes d'un même dialecte ou d' une même langue.

Pour mieux fonder l'étude contrastive ou typologique, il est important de préciser la position spécifique qui revient au proverbe dans une théorie du signe, et de mettre en particulier l'accent sur ce fait notable que, pour un signifiant unique, le proverbe est nécessairement pourvu d'un double signifié: le signifié A relève d'un certain rang métaphorique (monde animal, monde végétal, travaux des champs, artisanat, travaux domestiques, rituel liturgique, croyances religieuses, etc.). Ainsi dans 3

одного́ волá двох шкур не дерýть "Un même boeuf ne peut être écorché deux fois", le signifié A se rapporte directement aux réalités du métier d'équarrisseur. Parlons alors, à propos de ce premier signifié, de "signifié littéral". Quant au second signifié, ou signifié B, il exprime la relation universelle (X → Y) abstraite des rapports littéraux du plan métaphorique (x → y). Parlons alors de "signifié figuré" ou "signifié utile". Le signifié A conduit d'une manière univoque à la représentation du signifié B: on peut parler en ce sens d'une transitivité du signifié A sur le signifié B. Mais cette relation n'est pas réciproque, car pour un même signifié B on peut avoir plusieurs signifiés A. Ainsi, dans l'exemple précédent, à côté de l'expression empruntée à l'opération d'équarrissage, on peut en avoir une autre, d'un rang métaphorique différent, mais pourvue du même sens utile: 3 однієї липи двічі лико не дерýть "Un même tilleul ne peut être écorcé deux fois".

Il serait commode d'établir ici une nouvelle notion, correspondant au niveau du signifié B, et que l'on pourait désigner du terme de "parémème" (selon le rapport: sémiologie / sémème :: parémiologie / parémème). On appelle parémème le contenu sémantique hors métaphore (signifié utile) de la relation qui s'instaure, eu sein d'un proverbe, entre son terme x (prémisse) et son terme y (échéance), soit X → Y.

La sémantique du parémème renvoie ainsi au signifié B, étant entendu que le signifié A exprime la sémantique littérale du proverbe lui-même. Introduisons pour répondre à ce niveau du signifié A (signifié littéral) le terme de "parème" (selon le rapport: sémème / sème :: parémème / parème). On dira que le parème se définit comme le contenu sémantique littéral du proverbe (signifié A, donc en métaphore).

La règle de transitivité indiquée plus haut s'énonce donc maintenant sous la forme suivante: pour un seul parémème on peut avoir plusieurs parèmes, mais non pas inversement plusieurs parémèmes pour un seul parème.

Voici, pour vérifier cette règle, un autre exemple, soit, en regard du russe *Bodlivoj korove Bog rog ne daët,* cinq proverbes ukrainiens littéralement différents, mais tous pourvus du même signifié B, c'est-à-dire cinq parèmes (= p):

p^1 Не дав Біг свинї ріг "Dieu n'a pas donné au cochon de corne"

p[2] Колй б свинї póги,то б білий світ вйколола "Si le cochon avait des cornes, il détruirait le monde entier"

p[3] Якбй свинї крйла, вонá й нéбо б зрйла "Si le cochon avait des ailes, même le ciel serait démantelé"

p[4] Не дав Бог жáбі хвостá, а то б усю травý потолочйла "Dieu n'a pas donné de queue au crapaud, car il aurait écrasé toute l'herbe"

p[5] Якбй на кропивý не морóз, вонá б усїх людéй пожáлила "Si l'ortie n'était pas amortie par le froid, elle piquerait tout le monde"

On a ici cinq parèmes, constituant le paradigme métaphorique du parémème X → Y, où X vaut "instinct de nuisance" et Y "privation de tout moyen de nuire". Ce parémème a partout même référence: croyance en une sagesse providentielle.

Dans certains cas, le paradigme métaphorique peut être complété par un poste neutre, correspondant à l'expression du parémème (= P):

p[1] Старóго горобця́ на полóві не обдýриш "Vieux moineau ne se laisse pas prendre avec de la bale"

p[2] Вовк старйй не лїзе до я́ми "Vieux loup évite la trappe"

p[3] Старóго лйса тя́жко зловйти "Vieux renard est dur à prendre"

p[4] Мýдрий не дáсться за ніс водйти "Le sage ne se laisse pas mener par le nez"

Il est alors indifférent que l'on classe cette expression P parmi les proverbes, en tant que membre non spécifié du paradigme métaphorique, ou qu'on la détache de cette classe pour la traiter comme un aphorisme (cf sup.), sémantiquement comparable au signifié commun du paradigme des parèmes p[1], p[2], p[3],...

Outre la déclinaison métaphorique, qui fait varier pour un même sens utile le contenu imagé du proverbe, il faudrait parler aussi de la déclinaison du modèle syntaxique, qui affecte la construction formelle de la relation entre x et y (ou X et Y), mais non pas le contenu réel de cette relation, lequel demeure dans tous les cas soit X → Y, soit (vouloir) Y → (requiert) X. Les modèles syntaxiques représentés dans la grammaire des proverbes sont en petit nombre. Dans de nombreaux cas, X et Y sont traités respectivement comme la partie subordonnée et la partie principale d'un système complexe: Зав'я́з пазурéць — птáщці кінéць "La griffe est prise—c'en est fait de l'oiseau"; Стя́вши гóлову, за

волóссям не плáчуть "Quand la tête est coupée, on ne pleure pas les cheveux"; Ковáль клéпле, пóки тéпле "Le forgeron bat le fer pendant qu'il est chaud". Ce sont des binômes syntaxiques, dont la structure formelle répond à la dichotomie sémantique fondatrice du proverbe. Mais souvent aussi la construction syntaxique est de type contracté, X et Y se trouvant rapprochés dans le corps d'une seule et même proposition: Стáрість — не рáдість, (а смерть не весілля "La Vieillesse n'est pas joie, (et mort n'est pas gaîté)"; Непрóханий гість гірше од татáрина "Un hôte non invité est pire qu'un Tatare": Не сунь нóса до чужóго прóса "Ne fourre pas ton nez dans le millet d'autrui".

CONCLUSION

Pour un parémème invariant (X → Y), on peut donc observer au niveau des parèmes (x → y) deux types de variation, l'un dans l'ordre de la métaphore, l'autre dans l'ordre du modèle syntaxique. Il est évident par ailleurs que la déclinaison métaphorique peut se combiner avec la déclinaison syntaxique. Les notions de parème et de parémème permettent en outre de caractériser la position de la grammaire des proverbes dans une linguistique de l'énonciation, et de dire en particulier à quel genre de discours il convient de rattacher le discours proverbial. D'une part ce que l'on appelle "parémème" renvoie à la fonction déictique qui est celle du discours en acte. Quant au "parème", qui se définit comme la condensation au point limite d'une fable ou d'un apologue, il renvoie au discours de l'histoire. Ainsi le "système de l'aphorisme" pourrait-il s'interpréter comme résultant de la superposition des deux autres systèmes théoriquement exclusifs l'un de l'autre: celui du discours en acte (→ parémème) et celui du discours *in absentia* ou discours de l'histoire (→ parème).

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Formal and Semantic Parameters of Derived Verbs in Ukrainian

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0. INTRODUCTION

Derived verbs in Ukrianian[1] can be formed in several ways: by combining a (a) verbal, (b) nominal or (c) adjectival stem (root) with up to three VPs, or by combining such a stem with (d) a non-final suffix and/or (e) the postfix *-sja-*—with or without a VP. Examples are (a) *pysaty* 'write' : *dopysaty* 'finish writing', (b) *dolja* 'fate' : *obezdolyty* 'deprive of luck',[2] (c) *kruhlyj* 'round': *zakruhlyty* 'make round', (d) *stukaty* 'knock': *stuknuty* 'knock (momentarily)', (e) *byty* 'beat' : *bytysja* 'fight with'. In the examples above there is a close semantic relationship between the derived verb and the underlying simplex (i.e., verb lacking a VP)—a relationship which often reappears in many verb pairs (e.g. all verbs beginning with *obez-* express the deprivation of the quality expressed by the noun stem); nevertheless, there are numerous cases of semantic unpredictability, e.g. *žyty* 'live' (~ *nažytysja* 'live long, be tired of life', *požyty* 'live [for some time], get along') vs. *užyty* 'use'; *mohty* 'be able' vs. *pomohty* 'help'; *dijaty* 'act, do' vs. *podijaty* 'do (evil by means of witchcraft)'; *visty* (archaic) 'know' vs. *povisty* 'tell' (~ *perepovisty* 'retell, repeat').

There exists a rich literature on U and SI verb derivation, primarily exploring such topics as the historical development of individual affix functions, synchronic affix functions and their description, and the

[1] The following abbreviations are used: Br—Belorussian, Cz—Czech, (I)—imperfective, P—Polish, (P)—perfective, R—Russian, Sl—Slavic, st—standard, U—Ukrainian, VP—verbal prefix.

[2] Historically, *obez-* consists of *o-* and *bez-*. See also the discussion of agglutinated and merged VPs in sections 1 and 5 below.

expression of verbal aspect by means of prefixation and infixation.[3] Some of this literature is comparative—motivated by the realization that (a) derived verbs exist in all languages and (b) U VP functions have been to some extent influenced by contact with other languages. What is lacking in the literature is a succint characterization of the formal and semantic parameters in U verbal derivation. The present paper seeks to fill this lacuna, with special attention to cross-linguistic comparison. Our findings are presented under ten section headings; some comparative remarks are given in section 11.

1. INVENTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE DERIVATIONAL RESOURCES

There are twenty simple VPs in modern U (though some are historically bimorphemic), enjoying varying degrees of productivity: *bez-, do-/ di-, na-, nad(i)-, ne-, o-, ob(i)-, pere-, pid(i)(o)-, po-/ pi-, pred-, proty-, pry-, roz(i)-, s-, u(v)-, vid(i)(o)- /od(i)-, vy-, z(i)-/ iz(i)-, za-*. The VPs in *-d(i)(o)-* are historically compound VPs which now function as simple VPs[4] The simple VPs are all ultimately derived from prepositions, except for *ne-*, which is derived from the negative particle; in the contemporary language three VPs—*pere-, roz(i)-* and *vy-*—do not function as prepositions. In addition, some of the simple VPs may be combined (again, with differing degrees of productivity), but no compound VP is used more frequently than the constituent simple VPs (see also section 5 below), e.g. *dopo-, doz-, napo-/ napi-, nedo-/ nedi-, obez-, perepo-, pidpo-, pona-, poo-, poob(i)-, popere-, popid(i)-, popo-, popry-, poroz(i)-, pov-, povy-, poza-, vidpo-/ vidpi-, zao-, zapo-/ zapi-, zbez-, zne-;*

[3] For U, see Il'jin (1953); Puškar (1957, 1963); Rojzenzon (1959, 1961, 1962, 1966); Rusanivs'kyj (1971). The distinguished recipient of this Festschrift has also written a brief description of U verb derivation (Shevelov 1951:288-292). For comparative Sl discussion, see Erhart (1966); Lekov (1958:11-20); Maslov (1962, 1965); Vaillant (1946). For comparison of Sl and non-Sl verbal systems, see Klimenko (1975); Mel'čuk (1963); Rundgren (1959); Serebrennikov (1974:171ff); Złotnik (1917). For interesting theoretical discussions of VPs in one or more Sl languages (other than U), see Agrell (1918, a pioneer study); Bogusławski (1963); Forsyth (1970); Gallant (1979); Isačenko (1960:209-344); Ivanova (1966); Kantor (1978); Rojzenzon (1970, 1974); Stender-Petersen (1933-4); Trypućko (1950). For Hungarian, see Horvath (1978).

[4] For discussion of VPs in *-d(i)(o)-*, see Dostál (1954:258-60); Kopečný (1973:123, 173, 197); Rojzenzon (1974:34). On agglutinated and merged VPs, see section 5.

ponavy-. Of the compound VPs, only *popid-, popry-* and *poza-* also function as prepositions. Many of the VPs also appear with nouns, adjectives and adverbs, e.g. **kon: zakon* 'law, testament'; *ridnyj* 'native; own, german': *narodnyj* 'national'; *popid(-)* 'downwards; under'; a few prepositions and prefixes lack verbal functions, e.g. *(i)k* 'to', *z-(po)pid* 'from beneath', *(pa)(i)xmur(n)yj* 'gloomy'. It is worth noting that while prepositions tend to express a small number of semantic functions, very often of spatial and temporal character, the meanings of the homophonous VPs are far more complex, e.g. *za* 'behind, after', *pid* 'under' vs. *za-* ingressivity, successivity, etc., *pid(i)(o)-* 'under', 'up', 'by stealth', 'up to', excessive duration (see discussion below, section 11).[5]

Unlike modern English, where productive VPs are all of Romance origin (e.g. *de-, dis-, re-, un-* vs. unproductive native *be-, for-*), or URomany, where all the VPs are of SI origin (e.g. *dava* 'give' : *dodava* 'add to'), the affixal machinery of U is predominantly native; pairs like *orhanizuvaty* 'organize' : *reorhanizuvaty* 'reorganize' with a non-native VP and stem are infrequent, and the combination of foreign VPs with native stems unknown (at least in the standard dictionaries). In contrast to the large number of VPs, only a few non-final suffixes (with no other grammatical functions in the language) are used in U, e.g. *-nu-, -uva-, -yv-*; these tend to have a relatively smaller number of functions than the PVs, e.g. *-nu-* denotes simply a momentary or inchoative action (*kryčaty* 'shout' : *kryknuty* 'cry out', *močyty* 'wet, urinate' : *moknuty* 'get wet').[6]

2. INCONSISTENT UTILIZATION OF THE RESOURCES

There are 4 indices of inconsistent utilization of the affixal machinery. (a) No verb stem can appear with all simple VPs. Few stems enjoy the distribution of native *nosyty* 'carry' (*do-, na-, ob-, pere-, pid-, po-, pry-,*

[5] This finding is in keeping with several studies of the semantic properties of bound and free morphemes (see Greenberg 1966; Zimmer 1964). See also discussion in section 7 below.

[6] Many of the non-final suffixes serve to express the aspect of a compound; see *-uva-* in the chain *čytaty* (I) 'read' : *vyčytaty* (P) : *vyčytuvaty* (I) 'learn from reading'. See also footnote 11 below.

roz-, v-, vy-, za-; popere-, poroz-, poza-) and non-native *maljuvaty, -mal'ovuvaty* 'paint' (*do-, na-, ob-, pere-, pid-, po-, pry-, roz-, vid-, vy-, z-; pona-, poob-, povy-, poza-*). Roots rarely occur with every affix which could yield semantically plausible results, e.g. *bilyj* 'white' : *bility* 'become white' : *bilyty* 'whiten'; *čornyj* 'black' : *čornity* 'become black' : *čornyty* 'blacken, soil' but from *siryj* 'grey', only an inchoative *sirity* 'turn grey' is formed. (b) The same concept may be expressed by a simple or derived verb, e.g. *tlumačyty* = *perekladaty* 'translate',[7] *boronyty* = *zaxyščaty* (I) 'defend' (vs. *zaboronyty* [P] 'forbid; finish harrowing'), or by 1 or 2 VPs (see *z[bez]ljudnity* in section 5 below). (c) There is usually no one-to-one fit between a prefix function and a VP, e.g. *za-* denotes both ingressivity and perfective aspect, e.g. *pyty* 'drink' : *zapyty* 'begin to drink' but *čuduvaty* (I) : *začuduvaty* (P) 'astonish' (*'begin to astonish'). A terminative meaning can be expressed by *do- /di-, pere-, vid(i)(o)-* and *za-*, e.g. *dovaryty* 'finish cooking', *perebolity* 'cease to ail', *vidsijaty* 'finish sowing', *zaboronyty* 'finish harrowing'. The perdurative meaning is expressed by both *pere-* and *pro-*, e.g. *pereždaty* 'to wait till something is over', *probolity* 'undergo an illness' (see *perebolity* above; *prožďaty* 'to wait for some time'). Derived verbs are frequently ambiguous, e.g. *zapyty* 'begin to drink; wash down with a drink', *vidmovyty* 'recite; decline, refuse' and *zaboronyty* above. Occasionally, we find semantic equivalence between a VP and prepositional complement, e.g. *ity* 'go' : *perejty* = *ity čerez* 'go through, across'. (d) There are broad differences in the relative productivity of the VPs and their functions, e.g. *za-* is productive as an ingressive marker (*zapity* 'begin to crow', *zaspivaty* 'begin to sing') but very rare as a successive marker (*zajisty* 'eat after'). VPs which express opposite meanings, inter alia, differ in relative productivity, e.g. *do- /di-* 'to' and *z(i)-(sja)* 'together' have a broader distribution than antonymous *vid(i)(o)-* 'from' and *roz(i)-(-sja)* 'apart'.[8] Among complex VPs, for example, *pona-* is far more productive than *doz-*.

[7] VPs can be added both to *tlumačyty* (<Turkic), e.g. *vy-* ' explain, clarify', *pere-* 'translate, interpret' and to *perekladaty* (I), e.g. *po-* 'translate a lot'. U *perekladaty* is a loan translation of German *übersetzen* (U *pere-* 'across' + *klasty* 'place' = German *über* 'across, over' + *setzen* 'place'). On Sl loan translations involving derived verbs, see Unbegaun (1932).

[8] This characterization is based on the corpus given in Andrusyshen and Krett (1957).

The poor fit between meaning and the means of expression is due to continuous restructuring brought about by internal factors and the impact of foreign languages. Consider the coalescence (partial or total) of 2 VPs, e.g. *pere-* which originally denoted 'movement above an object' and *pro-* 'movement through an object' have become interchangeable in WestU dialects, as in *pročytaty* 'read over, through' ~ *perečytaty* (also means 'read many times'); in other functions, *pere-* and *pro-* are distinct, e.g. only the former expresses 'excess' as in *pererobyty* 'do more than is necessary' (**prorobyty*).[9] Consider also the merger of Common Sl **sъ-* and **jъz-* in a number of Sl languages, including U (Kopečný 1973:245; Lekov 1958:19). The impact of foreign languages is responsible for a certain amount of restructuring in the U VP syste, e.g. U *vyhljadaty* 'appear' < 'out' + 'see' is modeled on G *aussehen*; see also U *perekladaty* above.[10]

3. HETEROGENEOUS FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY THE DERIVATIONAL MACHINERY

The affixes perform a number of heterogeneous grammatical and semantic functions. For example, the postfix *-sja* without an accompanying VP expresses the passive voice, reciprocity (*bytysja* 'fight with; be hit' < *byty* 'beat') and middle voice (*sluxatysja* 'obey' < *sluxaty* 'hear, listen, obey'); with a VP the postfix *-sja* expresses negative excess (*nasluxatysja* 'be tired of listening' < *nasluxaty* 'listen attentively'). Besides ingressivity and successivity (see above, section 2d), *za-* also converts intransitive verbs into transitive verbs (*vojuvaty* 'be at war': *zavojuvaty* 'conquer'; see also *z-*, as in *bezsylity: zbezsylyty* discussed in section 5 below). VPs can also form new verbs from nouns and adjectives (see

[9] See also Shevelov (1951:291-2). Andrusyshen and Krett (1957) translate *perečytaty* and *pročytaty* as 'read over, through' and 'read through, over' respectively! Cf. R *perečitat'* 'read again, through, all, a lot', *pročitat'* 'become familiar through reading, read out, pronounce by heart, fathom'.

[10] The additional meaning of *vyhljadaty*, 'look forward to, await', is free of German influence. For two examples of widespread restructuring in the functions of native VPs in Sorbian and Slavicized Yiddish, see Wexler (1972). The Russification of U derived verbs is a complex topic which deserves a separate study. For some puristically oriented data, see Hladkyj (1930:17); *L'vivs'ki visti* 1943.

examples in section 0 above), and are the paramount means of expressing the opposition of verbal aspect, by converting an unprefixed imperfective verb into a prefixed perfective verb, e.g. *pysaty* (I) : *napysaty* (P) 'write'.[11] Surface ambiguity in derived verbs is rare, e.g. only the compound VP *nedo- /nedi-* overlaps, in speech if not in writing, with the negated simple VP *do- /di-*, e.g. *movyty* 'talk' : *ne domovyty* 'not finish speaking, speak out, stipulate' vs. *nedomovyty* 'not say everything, leave unsaid'.

4. TAUTOLOGOUS AND PERIPHRASTIC EXPRESSION

(a) The meaning of many derived verbs can be expressed periphrastically by a simple verb, e.g. *naplakaty* 'cry a lot', *naplakatysja* 'cry too much, enough' = *plakaty vdostal'*. (b) Simple verbs may be combined with a VP, together with a (often homophonous) prepositional complement, e.g. *(pro)fil'truvaty* 'filter (out)', *(vy)eliminuvaty* 'eliminate', *ity/ vyjty v* 'enter', *(pid)jixaty do* 'go up to', *tikaty* 'run away, make off' : *peretikaty (čerez)* 'leak, run through'. (c) The addition of a VP may be accompanied by a change in the case of a direct object, e.g. *lyty vodu* 'pour water' (accusative) : *nalyty vodu* (accusative)/ *vody* (genitive) 'fill up with water', *čytaty* 'read' (accusative object) : *načytatysja* 'read enough' (genitive object).

5. AGGLUTINATION AND MERGER OF RESOURCES

Simple verbs may appear with two or more affixes, e.g. *dumaty* 'think' : *zadumaty* 'conceive, plan' : **pry- zadumaty : pryzadumatysja* 'become pensive'; *krutyty* 'turn, twist' : *perekrutyty* 'twist again, too much; misinterpret' : *poperekručuvaty* 'twist again, too much; misinterpret, deform altogether'; *hljadity* 'see, watch': *nedohljadity* 'overlook, miss' (vs. [*ne*] *dohljadity* '[not] take care of, watch, tend') (see also the

[11] Most native simple and some compound VPs are capable of changing verbal aspect (see Ivčenko 1965:327-30). Non-native VPs lack this function, e.g. *(za)numeruvaty* 'number' : *prenumeruvaty* (I) : *zaprenumeruvaty* (P) 'subscribe to.' See also footnote 6 above.

discussion of *obez-* above in section 0 and footnote 1). We may note two distinctive features of compound VPs: (a) the number of second VPs which appear with a derived verb is considerably smaller than the number of single VPs permitted with the corresponding simple verb. The reasons for this are the semantic incompatibility of the VPs (e.g. **vvy-)*, the low tolerance for reduplicated prefixation (see also section 1 above) and for component reversibility, e.g. *napo-/ napi-* vs. *pona-, pidpo-,* vs. *popid(i)-* (but as an adverb and preposition, only *popid* 'under, downwards' is possible). Even rarer are the minimal pairs actually distinguished by VP order, e.g. *kazaty* 'say, talk; order' : *pokazuvaty* 'show' : *napokazuvaty* 'show many things' : *nakazuvaty* 'order, talk a great deal' : *ponakazuvaty* 'say many things'.[12] (b) A prefix that serves as the second VP has fewer semantic or grammatical functions than if it were to function as the sole VP, e.g. *po-/pi-* before a VP denotes only 'many', but before a simple verb may denote 'many' (*poareštuvaty* 'arrest [many]'), 'little' (*poaxkaty* 'groan [a little]'), multiple stages (*pokradaty* 'steal a little, time and again'), inchoativity (*pobabity* 'become effeminate, wrinkled'), duration (*pobabyty* 'be a midwife for some time'), completion (*pokuvaty* 'finish cuckooing'). A second VP tends only to modify the meaning of the underlying derived verb, e.g. *morduvaty* : *zamordovuvaty* (I) : *zamorduvaty* (P) 'murder' : *pozamordovuvaty* (P) 'murder (many)'—but see *vidaty* 'know' : *povidaty* 'tell' : *zapovidaty* 'declare, inform, bequeath, command'. However, compound *zbez-* seems to tolerate some degree of formal and/or semantic asymmetry, e.g. *bezumíty* (I) vs. *zbezúmytysja* (P) 'become mad' (**zbezúmyty, *zbezumíty*), *bezsylity* (I) 'become weak' (intransitive) vs. *zbezsylyty* (P) 'weaken' (transitive). (c) There is some tendency for a double VP to function as a single fused compound VP, e.g. *ljudnity* (I) 'fill up with people': **bezljudnity* : *zbezljudnity* : *zljudnity* : *obezljud(n)ity* (P) 'become depopulated' vs. *čestyty* : *čestvuvaty* 'honor' : *bezčestyty* (I) : *zbezčestyty* (P) 'dishonor'.

[12] On multiple prefixation, see Rojzenzon (1970, 1974). See also the discussion of *vidvidaty* 'visit' (VP *vid-* + verb stem *víd-*) in Kurylo (1923:18).

6. DOMAIN OF DERIVATIONAL MACHINERY

Foreign verb stems tend to be restricted in their ability to combine with native VPs, and then mainly to express verbal aspect, e.g. *manevruvaty* (I) : *zmanevruvaty* (P) 'manoeuvre'; *evakujuvaty* (I) 'evacuate' appears with no VPs (at least not in the literary language). An exception is *maljuvaty* 'paint' (see section 2 above). It would be interesting to determine whether (a) spoken and written U differ in the assignment of VPs to foreign stems,[13] and (b) the age or source of the loan is a factor in determining its combinability with VPs.

7. INVERSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC COMPLEXITY

Very often, an increase in morphological complexity results in a decrease in semantic function. Consider the following simple verbs which have (a) a more general and/or (b) more comprehensive meaning than any single related derived verb, e.g. (a) *torhuvaty* 'trade' vs. *natorhuvaty* 'buy at cheaper prices', *pyjačyty* 'carouse, drink excessively' vs. *zapyjačyty* 'begin drinking, give oneself to carousing'; (b) *čuty* 'hear, be told; smell' : *čuvaty* 'hear, be told' (~ P *czuć* 'feel, smell' : *czuwać* 'be on the alert'); *volaty* 'implore, pray (in a loud voice), call, shout for' : *zavolaty* 'call (in); cry out, exclaim'; *navolaty* 'call together, invite (large numbers)', *vidvolaty* 'recall; save, deliver' (unique meaning); *varyty* 'boil, cook, brew, digest' : *povaryty* 'boil, cook a little, many things', *navaryty* 'cook, boil, brew plenty', *zavaryty* 'brew, boil (down)', *zvaryty* 'finish boiling, cooking; solder' (unique meaning). The last two examples show that a derived verb may also express unique meanings not found in the simplex. An example contrary to the generalization of inverse relationship between morphological and semantic complexity is *rodyty* 'give birth to' : *pererodytysja* 'be reborn; degenerate'. Such

[13] The same distribution characterizes R *évakuirovat'*, *manevrirovat'*. In literary Cz, foreign loans usually take *z-* as the marker of perfective aspect, as in *(z)komplikovati* 'complicate', *(z)korigovati* 'correct', though spoken Cz shows a greater tendency to combine different VPs with foreign verbs, e.g. *(na)malovati*, *(vy)likvidovati* 'liquidate', *(za)tancovati* 'hop' (see Vey 1952:102-3; Lebed' 1974).

exceptions should be carefully studied. It should also be determined whether a simplex historically acquires new meanings from derived forms or whether the variety of meanings associated with a simplex was original to it.[14] A factor contributing to the multiplicity of functions in the simplex may be the back formation of morphologically simpler forms, e.g. *šeptatysja* 'exchange whispers' may be a back formation from synonymous *perešeptatysja* < *šeptaty* 'whisper'. Derived verbs with two or more VPs are less prone to ambiguous interpretations than verbs combined with a single VP, e.g. *vidmovljaty* (I) : *vidmovyty* (P) 'refuse; dismiss; pronounce; recite, repeat; dissuade; charm; answer' vs. *povidmovljaty* (P) 'reply (negatively) (to many)', *zaboronj(uv)aty* (I) : *zaboronyty* (P) 'forbid; finish harrowing' vs. *pozaboronjuvaty* (P) 'forbid (many)' (see also the discussion in section 5 above). A number of compound VPs, especially those involving encircling derivation with *po-* / *pi-* and the non-final suffix *-(j)uva-* (I, P), *-ovuva-* (I), can only mark perfective aspect, e.g. *hladyty* (I) 'smoothe, iron' : *rozhladžuvaty* (I) : *rozhladyty* (P) 'smoothe, iron out' : *porozhladžuvaty* (P) 'smoothe, iron out (in many places)'; see also *povidmovljaty* (P) and *pozaboronjuvaty* (P) discussed above.

8. INTERDIALECTAL AND INTER—SL RELATIONSHIPS

U dialects may differ over the distribution and/or functions of a VP. For example, Carpathian U *zarjadytysja* 'manage, conduct one's affairs' vs. stU 'be charged, loaded', Bukovyna U *rozbyratysja* 'separate, go different ways' (= stU *rozxodytysja*) vs. stU 'undress oneself; be taken apart; understand well'.[15] U dictionaries differ widely in the corpus and functions of derived verbs, though this is in part a reflection of differing conceptions of the scope of a dictionary. U also differs broadly from

[14] Latin *populāre* 'spread out in a multitude' appears to have acquired the secondary meaning 'ravage' from *dēpopulāre* (see Vaillant 1946:36). See also Mixajlov (1972). Cz *volati* offers a parallel to U, i.e. 'shout; summon; telephone' : *vyvolati* 'shout' : *povolati* 'summon' : *zavolati* 'telephone'. See also the discussion of markedness in Greenberg (1966).

[15] See Štec' (1969:76) and Prokopenko (1961:97) respectively for the non-standard meanings. See also data in Mukan (1961). On differences between *od-* and *vid-*, see Kurylo (1923:18). See also the discussion of U dialects in Rojzenzon (1974:88).

non-contiguous Sl languages in the distribution and function of common VPs, e.g. U *pysaty* = Cz *psáti* 'write' but U *opysaty* 'describe' vs. Cz *opsati* 'copy, transcribe, circumscribe, paraphrase, describe' ('transcribe, copy' would be *perepysaty* in U). See also the differences between Southern and non-Southern Sl languages in the use of *nad(i)-* (Reiter 1974). In regard to the contiguous Sl languages, U verb derivation frequently forms an isogloss with P and Br to the exclusion of R, e.g. U *vidčuty*, Br *adčuć*, P *odczuć* 'feel, experience, be sensitive to' vs. R *počuvstvovat'* (**otčuvstvovat'*); U *nad"jixaty*, Br *nadysci*, P *nadejść* 'arrive, come upon' vs. R *pod-*, *priexat'*.[16] A systematic comparison of VP isoglosses across U and Sl languages has yet to be carried out.

9. COEXISTENCE OF DIVERSE CHRONOLOGICAL STRATA

The evidence for diverse chronological strata in the VP system of U comes from widespread differences in the use of common derivational machinery between (a) U dialects and (b) U and other Sl languages, from (c) the repeated merging of simple VPs into compound VPs (e.g. older *pid[i] [o]-* vs. newer *zbez-*), (d) differences in the relative productivity of VPs and individual functions, (e) overlapping functions and (f) differences in the extent of semantic divergence between cognate VPs and prepositions. The few diachronic studies available so far suggest that double prefixation dates largely from the 19th century (Rojzenzon 1974:165) and that the use of VPs in U has been steadily on the increase since the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries (Rusanivs'kyj 1971: 79ff, 125ff, 144ff).

10. INTERPRETATION OF DERIVED VERBS

The speaker of U probably utilizes a number of clues to interpret the meaning of any VP or derived verb. These clues have yet to be described systematically. For example, the meanings of a derived verb may often

[16] See a similar isogloss configuration in the expression of multiple prefixation (Rojzenzon 1974:27). On the R and German impact on U VPs, see above, section 2 and footnote 10 above.

depend on its membership in a derivational chain. Thus, if a verb stem occurs both with and without *-sja*, the latter complex will probably be interpreted as a passive verb; a verb appearing with *-sja* only will probably not be interpretable as a passive verb, e.g. *pysaty* 'write' : *pysatysja* 'be written' vs. **bojaty* : *bojatysja* 'fear' (*'be feared').[17] The total inventory of VPs combinable with a verb stem does not appear to provide clues to the interpretation of a derived verb in U (although this is probably true to some extent of derived verbs in Hebrew and Arabic). Often the meanings of the simplex provide clues to the interpretation of the derived verb, e.g. spatial meanings of a VP would be likely to prevail over non-spatial meanings if the verb were a verb of motion, as in *plyvty* 'swim' : *pidplyvty* 'swim over, up to' (*'swim by stealth') vs. *robyty* 'do, make' : *pidrobyty* 'counterfeit; work a little longer' (*'do up to'). Frequently, rule ordering offers clues to the interpretation of a derived verb, e.g. if *-sja* can be added to an existing complex with *pere-* in the meaning of repetition, the resulting compound will denote repetition in the passive voice; if *pere-* and *-sja* are added to a simplex simultaneously, i.e., there is no complex with *pere-* alone, the resulting compound may denote reciprocity, e.g. *pysaty* 'write' : *perepysaty* 'copy' : *perepysatysja* 'be copied', *robyty* 'do, make' : *pererobyty* 'redo': *pererobytysja* 'be redone' vs. *hlypaty* 'cast a glance, wink' : *perehlypuvatysja* 'cast glances at each other'; see also *perešeptatysja* above, section 7. If this analysis is correct, then *peremovytysja* 'dispute, argue with' (dial.) should be regarded as derived directly from *movyty* 'talk', rather than from *peremovyty* 'persuade, entice'; similarly, *perepysuvatysja* in the second meaning of 'correspond with' should be derived directly from *pysaty* 'write' and not from *perepysaty* 'copy'. We may assume that when this "rule" is blocked, as in *rodyty* 'give birth to' : *pererodytysja* 'be reborn; degenerate; change radically' (see this example in section 7 above), *tupcjuvaty* 'walk to and fro' : *peretupcjuvatysja* 'be tired of continual walking', the reason may lie in the semantic features of the simplex itself; hence, the interrelationships of chain membership and the semantic features of the simplex should be studied together. The seman-

[17] In *staraty* 'care, provide for' (cited by Andrusyshen and Krett 1957): *staratysja* 'endeavor, take pains', the two members of the opposition are not entirely synonymous.

tic implications of a derived verb with a single VP becoming the unmarked member of an opposition should also be explored, e.g. *strity* (simplex) : *ustrity* 'meet' : *zustrity* 'meet, receive', **čyty* : *počyvaty* : *vidpočyvaty* 'rest'. On the formal level, it is clear that we have here a domain which encourages the use of compound VPs. See also compound VPs lacking a simple stem, e.g. *naposudyty* 'prepare, fix, put in order', *vidpoliskuvaty* 'wash off, rinse'.

11. CONCLUSIONS

The ten principles outlined above are not unique to derived verbs in U, but are found in other SI languages (as we might expect) and in quite a variety of languages that we examined — Germanic, Romance, Semitic, Hungarian, Chinese, Indic and the Kwa languages — despite the divergent structure of these languages and the heterogeneous origins of their affixal machinery.[18] However, the similarities among these languages in the formal parameters of the derivational morphemes are paralleled by some significant dissimilarities on the semantic plane, e.g. in the types of functions which may coexist in a single affix. Such dissimilarities constitute an interesting field for cross-linguistic investigations. For example, U *pid(i)(o)-* expresses variously the meanings of 'under', 'up,' 'by stealth', 'approach', as well as 'excess, increase, duration' (*pidv"jazaty* 'tie under', *pidvyty* 'turn, tuck up', *pidrobyty* 'counterfeit; work a little longer', *pidsluxaty* 'overhear', *pidplyvty* 'swim over to'). This configuration of functions finds only partial expression in non-SI languages. Consider the eighth derived pattern in Arabic which expresses 'by stealth' together with 'excess', e.g. *ʔiftaʕala* 'counterfeit' (<*faʕa* 'do, make'), *ʔistamaʕa* 'overhear' (<*samiʕa* 'hear'), ʔintaðara 'await'

[18] VPs are productively derived from prepositions (and occasionally adverbs) in all Western Indo-European languages (where they are pre- and postfixes), from prepositions and adverbs in Hungarian, from verbs in Chinese, the Kwa and possibly also the Semitic languages (in the first two groups they are postfixes; in Semitic, prefixes and discontinuous morphemes). In terms of inventory, U with its forty-odd VPs is midway between Hebrew and Arabic with less than ten productive derived verb patterns and Chinese with over a hundred verbal postfixes. For a detailed discussion of Chinese, with some comparison with the other languages, including Slavic, see Wexler ms.

(<*naðara* 'look, consider'), *ʔištadda* 'become harder, more intense, intensify' (<*šadda* 'be firm, strong'); most of the derived verbs have U counterparts: *pidrobyty, pidsluxaty, pidiždaty.*[19] The overlap of 'by stealth' and 'under' is also expressed marginally by French *sous-* (e.g. *soustraire* 'purloin, subtract' <*traire* 'milk' <Latin *trahere* 'draw'; *sous-titrer* 'subtitle' <*titrer* 'title') and by English *under- / over-* (e.g. *underpin, overhear*). On the other hand, Arabic also utilizes the eighth derived pattern to express the middle voice — a feature unknown to the French or English affixes. Consider also the parallels in distribution and meaning between U *pid(i) (o)-* 'under', the English verb particle *up* and the Chinese postfix *-qi(lai)* — all of which express a direction as well as completion within a circumscribed space, of a specified goal, e.g. U *pidšukaty* 'think up, of; find suitable', *pidraxuvaty* 'count up', *pidsumuvaty* 'sum up' ~ Chinese *suānqilai* 'count up', *jiǎqilai* 'add up', *xiǎngqi* 'think up' — but 'close up' and 'lock up' have no U equivalents with *pid(i) (o)-*.

The immediate goal of U linguistics should be to motivate the phenomena catalogued in sections 1-10 above and to trace their historical evolution; the more distant goal — extending beyond the confines of U — should be to determine the types of paths along which semantic notions may develop, and the reasons why the distribution of these notions should be so similar across languages.

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[19] Rundgren was the first to suggest the existence of parallels between R *pod(o)-* and the Arabic pattern (1959:81, 85). Unfortunately, Abdel'-Xadi Allam's unpublished 1973 dissertation was not available to us.

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The Codification of a Nonexistent Phrase: "и вено вотское" in the St. George Gramota

DEAN S. WORTH

The so-called *Jur'eva* or *Mstislavova Hramota* (*MH*) records three princely gifts to the St. George Monastery near Novgorod: the village or territory of Buičě with its appurtenant revenues, an annual twenty-five grivna portion of the autumn tax collection, both from the Kievan Grand Prince Mstislav I Vladimirovič (until 1117 Prince of Novgorod, and perhaps the monastery's founder[1]), and a silver serving dish, thirty grivnas in value, from Mstislav's son Vsevolod, then Prince of Novgorod. *MH* was written between 1128 and 1132, and probably in the summer or autumn of 1130,[2] and is thus the oldest original secular document of Kievan Rus'.[3]

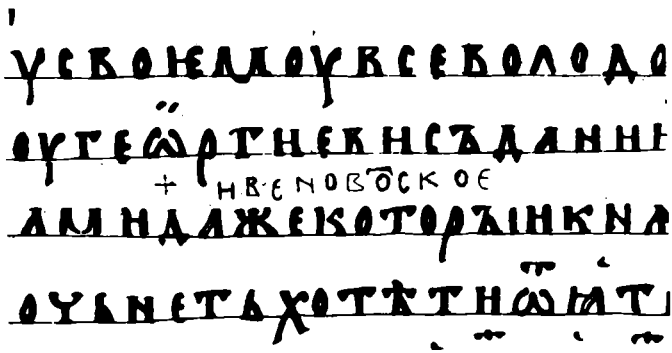
[1] According to tradition at the monastery itself, it had been founded by Mstislav in memory of his great-grandfather Jaroslav (= Georgij; see Sreznevskij 1860: 337). The chronicle tells us only that in 1119 the Abbot Kiriak and Prince Vsevolod Mstislavič laid the foundations for the monastery's stone church (NPL: 10r). This entry has been interpreted by some to mean that the monastery was founded only in this year; however, if this were the case, it is unlikely that Kiriak already be referred to as its Abbot.

[2] The Abbot Isaiah, mentioned in this function in *MH*, succeeded Kiriak at the latter's death in 1128; Mstislav himself died in 1132. In the winter of 1130 Mstislav sent his sons Vsevolod, Izjaslav and Rostislav on what proved to be a very successful expedition against the Čud'. Later that year, Vsevolod is mentioned as being together with his father in Kiev, and that autumn, Archbishop Ioann of Novgorod resigned (отъѣхе), and his successor Nifont was installed the following January first (NPL: 13r). One might assume that the valuable gifts recorded in *MH* were intended both as a token of gratitude for the abbot's having blessed the previous winter's successful raid on the Čud' and, perhaps more importantly, to consolidate good relations between the princely family and the Novgorod clergy in connection with the appointment of a new Archbishop, — just at a time when the civic administration in Novgorod was growing increasingly independent of the Prince (Janin 1962: 63).

[3] There had been three other gift gramoty from Vsevolod to the monastery, but these were removed to Moscow in 1620 (Sreznevskij 1860: 353f., citing "из дел монастыря"); two of them, preserved only in much later copies, are printed *ibidem* and in GVNP 1949: 139-140.

MH first became known in 1808 (Bolxovitinov 1818:313; he does not say, under what circumstances), and, not surprisingly for the oldest preserved civil document, has been published and/or discussed several times since: Karamzin 1816: II,445, Bolxovitinov 1818: 202-203 and 1826: 6-7, Ivanov 1844: 1 and Table I (not available to me, but see GVNP 1949: 140), Sreznevskij 1860: 339 and 1861-1863: 498-499 (reprinted in Sreznevskij 1882[2] and 1898[2]), Makarij 1858: 51-54 and 1861: 8-11, Grot 1868: 76-80 and 93-95, Saxarov 1891: I, No. 1, Vladimirskij-Budanov 1908: 112f., Marks 1914: 4, Karskij 1928: 343, Lixačev 1928: 16 (not available to me, but see GVNP 1949: 140), Vinokur 1946/1962: 68, GVNP 1949: 140; it has also been the subject of specialized studies such as Vinokur 1946/1962 and Isačenko 1960 and 1971.[4]

The phrase of interest to us here was added, in a different hand and different ink,[5] between lines four and five. We reproduce it here, from Saxarov 1891: I, No. 1:



[4] In passing, let us clear up a minor misunderstanding on the vocabulary of the *MH*. Isačenko 1971: 98 accuses Shevelov 1958 (along with Obnorskij-Barxudarov 1952) of confusing изоостати ся with остати ся and therefore translating the former as "to survive, to be left", whereas, as a loan translation of ἐκλείπεσθαι , it really means "to die". In fact, however, as a glance at Liddell and Scott 1968: 512 will show, ἐκλείπεσθαι also means "to remain, be left"; the fact that изоостати ся was probably calqued on ἐκλείπεσθαι in no way invalidates Shevelov's translation.

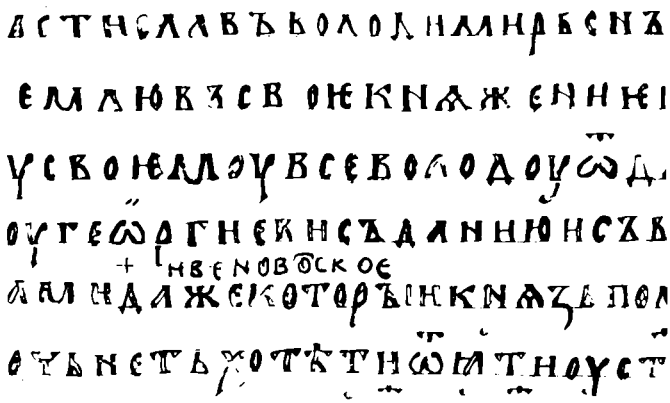
[5] The original was written in gold dust suspended in reddish vegetable glue, the interpolation in green-blue ink covered with gold foil (Sreznevskij 1860: 340). One can note, in addition, the unjotated є of вотскоє, contrasting with the consistently jotated ѥ elsewhere (своѥ 2, своѥмоу 3, моѥмь 5, своѥго 13, даровноѥ 14, своѥго 21).

According to Bolxovitinov 1818: 215, the interpolated phrase was first interpreted as + и вено вотское by A.I. Ermolaev. In fact, as Bolxovitinov's own correspondence with Deržavin makes clear (Grot 1868: 77 ff.), the actual events were somewhat more complex: Bolxovitinov had sent the manuscript to Count Rumjancev, who passed it on to Privy Councillor A.I. Olenin, a man who, in Deržavin's words, "together with his friends, enjoy[ed] investigating antiquities" (Deržavin to Bolxovitinov, 14 March 1813). Olenin, in his own words, with the help of "two true lovers of Russian antiquities, Mssrs. Ermolaev and Frolov" (11 March 1813 report from Olenin to Rumjancev, copied and appended by Bolxovitinov to his 4 April 1813 letter to Deržavin), came up with the interpretation + и вено вотское. On the validity of even this initial interpretation, see below.

This first interpretation, in spite of serious doubts raised by Sreznevskij 1860: 15 and echoed by Marks 1914: 7-8, has become firmly established in both scholarly and pedagogical practise. In his Old Russian dictionary, Sreznevskij 1958: 487 ignores the fact that the phrase was interpolated and reproduces it simply as, "Повелѣлъ ѥсмь сноу своѥмоу Всеволодоу ѿдати Боуицѣ стомоу Гешргиеви съ даниѥо и съ впрами и съ продажами. даже и вено (*sic*; no вотское)". Karskij 1928: 343 provides a typeset imitation + и вено во^{т} ское", with the typical three-legged superscript ^{т}. Obnorskij-Barxudarov 1952: 33 show the phrase as superscript (interpolated), but change the cross to the more decorative, albeit inaccurate Maltese ✠, and insert a raised one-legged т between о and с: "во^{т}ское". Their blurred photocopy (*ibidem*) seems to have been taken from the only slightly less blurred color reproduction in Polevoj 1900: I, 176-177. Lehr-Spławiński-Witkowski 1965: 28-29 adduce an even more blurred photoreproduction (copied from Obnorskij-Barxudarov's copy of Polevoj?) and, in the edited text, restore the properly simple cross but retain the one-legged т, and move the entire "+ и вено во^{т}ское" flush with the left margin, which makes the passage read, "и съ вирами и съ + и вено во^{т}ское продажами", which must complicate things for Polish students of Old Russian. Finally, the new multivolume Old Russian dictionary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Barxudarov-Bogatova 2, 1975: 76) eliminates the cross altogether, lowers the т onto the line, and

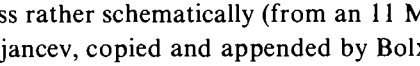
lowers the entire phrase to make it read as a simple continuation of "съ продажами": "съ данию и съ вирами, (*sic*; the original has no punctuation at this point) и съ продажами, (*sic*; *idem*) и вено вотское", followed immediately by the reference, "Гр. кн. Мстислава, 4. 1130 г.", which, aside from the fact their reading is incomprehensible, not only gives an incorrect line reference but also, and worse, creates the impression that "и вено вотское", and esp. the word "вотское", which Barx.-Bog. do not trouble to gloss,[6] are lexical entries solidly attested in the oldest preserved secular document. This creative approach to the vocabulary of Old Russian, unfortunately, has no justification in *MH* itself; there is no such phrase there.

There are three kinds of evidence for the non-existence of "вотское" following "вено" in *MH*. For one thing, the superscript mark so frequently and insouciantly interpreted as ᵀ or т is very unlikely to be this letter. There is no sign, in any of the photographic or lithographic reproductions of *MH*, that this mark (resp. these marks) are really a horizontal bar with three short verticals, i.e. ᵀᵀᵀ, nor does this mark resemble any known variety of т. Compare, for example, the lithograph from Bolxovitinov 1818: addendum, reproduced here by courtesy of the Library of Congress:



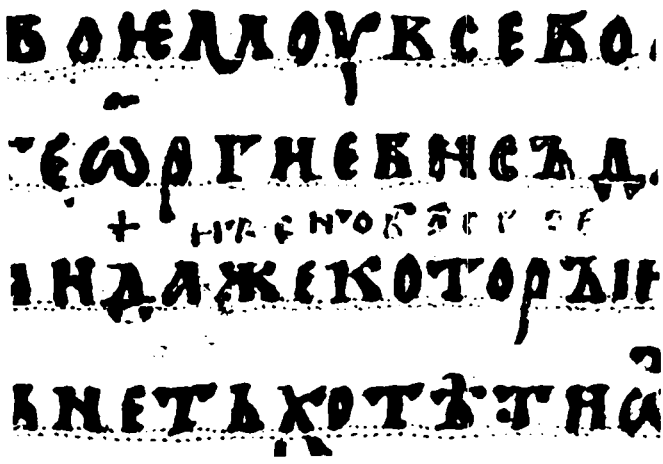
6 This may not be much of a loss, if we are to judge by their gloss for the problematical вено ("Плата, то, что заплачено за что-л."), no great improvement over Sreznevskij's "Плата, что заплачено" (1958: 487). Вено makes very little sense in this context, and is in any case an etymologically difficult word ("трудное слово", Vasmer-Trubačev 1964: 291); it has been commented on in connection with *MH* since Bolxovitinov 1818: 215, referring back to Tatiščev 1773.

with that from Saxarov 1891 above; both seem to show a *titlo* rather than a letter of any kind. Furthermore, one must distinguish the original Olenin — Ermolaev — Frolov *interpretation* of this passage as и вено вотское from their *reading* of the manuscript. Grot 1868: 94 reproduced the latter, doubtless rather schematically (from an 11 March 1813 report of Olenin to Rumjancev, copied and appended by Bolxovitinov to his 4 April 1813 letter to Deržavin) as:



in which, writes Olenin, "the dotted lines represent obliterated and scarcely noticable letters and the solid lines those which can be made out rather easily without a magnifying glass" (*ibid.*). It is obvious that this reading does not lead ineluctably to the interpretation и вено вотское.

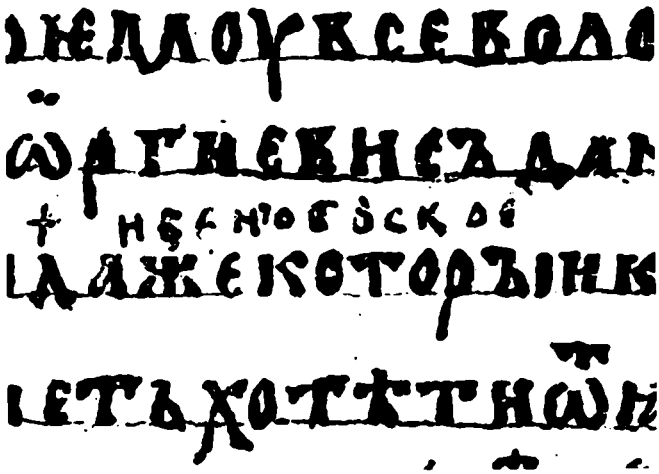
Sreznevskij 1898[2] shows a completely different reading:



Sreznevskij noted that, while вено could be read relatively easily,[7] the interpretation вотское was highly problematical, both because Ermolaev's с could equally well be read as ч or ц, and because the horizontal

[7] At first glance, according to Sreznevskij 1860: 340, the whole interpolation resembles a horizontal smudge, and is legible only under the magnifying glass, on a clear day.

line above the о could be taken for ло as readily as for ѿ; for these reasons, Sreznevskij himself preferred the reading "волоуное", "волоцное". Another tracing, published by St. Petersburg University in 1898,[8] also shows what seems to be a paerok after the н of вено, while the т or ѿ of вотское has turned into a small diagonal slash:



The only actual photograph of *MH*, published by Marks 1914:4, shows only a totally illegible smudge between lines four and five; there are not even any mysterious marks to interpret. All in all, one must conclude that there is no recoverable physical evidence for the reading и вено вотское, or for any other specific reading, of this passage.

A second and still better reason for rejecting the reading "вотское", one that as far as I know has not been mentioned in the literature, is that ѿ is a paleographic impossibility in Old Russian texts: this letter was invariably written with omega, i.e., as ѿ (ѿ, ѿ, ѿ, etc.). In the c. 550 birchbark documents published by Arcixovskij-Tixomirov 1953 et seq. there are over two hundred instances of ѿ, a few dozen more where the ѿ is illegible, but not a single clear-cut instance of ѿ; the closest is ѿ, formed with "о očnoe", in the carelessly written and paleographically idiosyncratic Gramota No. 289 (c. 1350; see Arcixovskij-Borkovskij

[8] *Obrazcy*... 1898 plate 34.

1963: 118). Furthermore, none of the standard handbooks on paleography (Sobolevskij 1908, Ščepkin 1920/1967, Karskij 1928, Čerepnin 1966, Tixomirov-Murav'ev 1966) makes any mention of such a digraph as ѻ̾.

Finally, there is an equally cogent orthographic argument against "вотское": the digraph ѿ (or ѻ̾, if we were to admit this possibility in Old Russian) is used exclusively in anlaut, never within the word.

One must conclude from these three items of evidence that almost any other reading would be preferable to the generally-accepted "вотское". Unfortunately, it is not clear that there *is* a satisfactory alternative reading. Sreznevskij's "волоцкое" (1860: 346) is perhaps the least unconvincing, although for phonological reasons one cannot accept Marks' connection (1914: 8) of this adjective with the toponym Волох. Vladimirskij-Budanov 1908: 112-113 proposed to read "(и) веновское", which ignores the second *о* of the interpolation, and also makes no sense (*что* веновское?). Issatschenko 1980: 115 suggests the novel "und auch die väterliche Mitgift", with вотское derived from **от(ьсь)* and carrying a prothetic *в*, but, in addition to its semantic problems (*whose* father? *what* dowry?), this interpretation is contradicted by the arguments about ѻ̾ already mentioned. One could speculate further. Noting that the *в* of вено has a clear dot in either side, one might take this letter for the numeral "2", with faded *titlo*, and read the phrase as, "и •в• є (i.e., "второе") новоц(гор)ко є", but such a reading has its own semantic problems (second *what*?), and, in addition, would require that one posit an unusual abbreviation of Новгород (Šaxmatov 1885: 236 ff. adduces several abbreviations of this toponym, but without exception they have the full -оро-on the line, not under a *titlo*).

It may well be that the problem of "и вено вотское" will never find a satisfactory solution. It would help, of course, if our Soviet colleagues were to subject the manuscript to modern photographic analysis, which might show us what was really written there and thus put an end to speculation. In the meantime, however, both they and we should admit the uncertainty, and, at the very least, abstain from further propagating such a patently incorrect reading as "и вено вотское".

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The Boundaries of Transformational Translation

OLEH ZUJEWSKYJ

It is quite natural that among cultured circles of readers there exists a legitimate desire to be familiarized constantly with the highest achievements of one's native literature and, under favorable circumstances, with works of one or two other literatures written in accessible languages; but the readers also want to have the opportunity to follow the development of all world literature. And this is when the problem of translation arises. According to such wishes the belief prevails in the principle of "exact" translation, by means of which even the most complicated impediments of language can be removed for any curious reader.

Such a belief also has been asserted at various times by many theoreticians of the problems of translation, though there were, of course, and still are, sharp differences regarding both the very possibility of an exact translation and those criteria which should apply to it. It is clear that the "exact" translation should not be confused with the so-called "literal" translation (as this happens quite frequently!). Mykola Zerov as early as the 1920s in his article "U spravi viršovanoho perekladu" (*Žyttja i revoljucija,* 1928, 9) was aware that "this demand for precision in translation, which is quite relevant and conceivable in business and scientific translations, loses all clarity when the matter comes to poetic translation."[1] In another instance, to express a similar idea, Zerov gives his own formula for the *adequate* translation whose task is not merely the exact recreation of the text. He proposes that the translator delve into the depth of the text, which is conditioned by its epoch and by the tastes and moods of its author. "It is not sufficient to simply comprehend the words themselves," we read his advice, "it is necessary for one

[1] See M. Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo* (Munich, 1960), p. 287. In the quoted article, as well as in our further remarks, examples are given only from the "poetic translation," but this does not mean that the conception analyzed here would not concern translations of literature as a whole.

to have a feel, through them, for the author's viewpoint, to orient oneself to his stylistic goal, to know the circumstances under which this text came into being and to understand its place in the life and development of a given author."[2]

In the course of the last few decades, as a result of important discoveries in linguistics, especially in structural linguistics and, in a still broader sense, in semiotics, the viewpoint of an "adequate" translation, as Zerov understood it, while having attained significant development, on some occasions became realized while in others it became more problematic. Entering the realm of the transformational method of structural linguistics, the principle of adequate translation as well as of various other types of translation — literal, simplified, exact and also free — in the case of belle-lettres assumed its appropriate dominant role, which is most closely and fully in accord with the very idea of transformation. For that reason, in our opinion, it deserves a completely new evaluation and a different treatment.

Such well known semioticians as Cesare Segre and Jurij Lotman have created a concrete basis for this in their bold assertions. Analyzing Roman Jakobson's thesis, phenomenological by its very nature, about the existence of two codes in the process of codification and decodification of a sign, they came to the conclusion that a work of art, functioning as a sign, may through decodification (thus, through a translation into some other language as well) reveal much more information than the author originally intended.[3]

Analysis of various speculations, such as what other theoretical and practical results (e.g., a study of the relationships among various kinds of art) emerge from such a treatment of the matter, does not pertain to the subject at hand. We only want to emphasize that such an approach to translation, which in accordance with its specific nature would be more expedient to call a "transformational" translation (since all other relevant terms, including the "adequate" translation, when it concerns the translation of works of literature, oversimplify the problem),[4] prom-

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[3] See Thomas G. Winner's introductory notes to the monograph by Ju. Lotman *Struktura xudožestvennogo teksta* (Providence, 1971) and a more recent publication (which also includes articles written between 1959 and 1971): Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, 1984).

[4] Here of course also belongs the tendency to contrast the "equivalent" translation with the "adequate" one. See Ju. Žluktenko and O. Dvuxžylov, "Problemy adekvatnosti perekladu," *Teorija i praktyka perekladu*, 6 (Kiev, 1981), 85-91.

ises limitless perspectives. While not appearing as the antithesis of the "adequate" translation, the "transformational" translation at the same time gives considerably broader liberties to the translator so that he may realize the most multifarious ontologically conditioned changes regarding the work being translated. As a result of this it truly becomes a separate domain of literature the significance of which hardly yields to anything in creative work.

Translators, who in practice already since long ago have intentionally been applying the rights and rules of "transformational" translation, never strive to create any ideal or absolute translation because the original, in its ontological reserves, is inexhaustible. Theoretically, there may be an infinite quantity of transformational translations, and every one of them may have its own unique artistic value.

On the other hand, the "exact" translation, as much as it is attainable in general, is in reality a naturalistic translation, intended to create a verbal photograph of a foreign text in another language, and by the same token it eradicates any need for the creation of yet another exact translation. Such a need is normally satisfied by merely increasing the number of copies.

An example of such a superfluous "exact" translation in a sense is Mykola Bažan's translation of R.M. Rilke's 95-line long poem "Orpheus, Eurydike, Hermes" published in the book *Rajner Maria Ril'ke. Poeziji* (Kiev, 1974). (Its only justification may lie in the fact that Bažan's translation appeared in the Soviet Ukraine, where émigré literary life has been completely ignored). Earlier, in the forties, this poem was translated by Bohdan Kravciv, also aiming at extreme accuracy. It was first published in *Arka,* 2 - 3(Munich, 1947) and later in a separate collection of Rilke translations, in the same year (*Reči i obrazy*).

Both translators, Bažan and Kravciv, entered the history of Ukrainian literature as eminent poets and first-rate masters in the art of translation. However, faced with the task of "exact" translation, specifically of the poem "Orpheus, Eurydike, Hermes," they both attained such "objectivity" and so successfully abstracted their attitude to the poem's content, that a reader really questions whether they had the slightest interest in what they were translating, whether they had any understanding of the poem and why Bažan decided to create a second Ukrainian "exact" translation of it.

True, it is easy to notice that there still are some differences between the two translations, that each translator frequently used different

words and, in combining them in sentences, even allowed certain deviations from the original. But these changes are so insignificant that they do not provide the key for a convincing differentiation between them. Without any fear of exaggeration, one perhaps could assume that the 78th line of the original in Bažan's translation (it corresponds to his 81st line, because the entire poem in his version is three lines longer) is a barely noticeable hint at his attempt to reveal in his own words the main idea of the literary work. The original line

und jenes Mannes Eigentum [sie war] nicht mehr[5]

has been translated by Kravciv almost interlinearly:

ані теж власність мужа он того.[6]

Bažan's translation reads:

вона не власність жодного мужчини.[7]

But the hope for imaginative creative ingenuity in Bažan's translation immediately dissipates when we take a closer look at other lines that characterize Eurydice. Especially revealing is a look at the subsequent longer excerpt, in the context of which one easily notices at least two phrases "untranslated" and left without attention. It is the skilful transformation of these phrases which lends itself to the feasibility of a deeper understanding of the work. We present this fragment here, next to Kravciv's version. Rilke's original text reads:

Fern aber, dunkel vor dem klaren Ausgang,
stand irgend jemand, dessen Angesicht
nicht zu erkennen war. Er stand und sah,
wie auf dem Streifen eines Wiesenpfades
mit trauervollem Blick der Gott der Botschaft
sich schweigend wandte, der Gestalt zu folgen,
die schon zurückging dieses selben Weges,
den Schritt beschränkt von langen Leichenbändern,
unsicher, sanft und ohne Ungeduld.[8]

Kravciv's version:

Далеко ж перед виходом яснющим
стояв померкло хтось, чиє обличчя
непізнанням взялось. Стояв, дивився,
як ген на смузі стежки лукової
бог вісти смутен мовчки одвернувся

[5] Rainer Maria Rilke, *Werke in drei Bänden,* Bd. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), p. 301.

[6] Rajner Marija Ril'ke, *Reči i obrazy,* vybrani poeziji v perekladi Bohdana Kravceva (Nuremberg, 1947), p. 55.

[7] Rajner Marija Ril'ke, *Poeziji,* pereklav z nimec'koji Mykola Bažan (Kiev, 1974), p. 121.

[8] Rilke, *op. cit.,* p. 301.

і німо йшов за постаттю тією,
що вже верталася тим самим шляхом,
в'язавши крок в довжінь полотен смертних,
непевна, тиха, терпелива вкрай.[9]

It is clear that in this version the phrases "перед виходом яснющим," "стояв померкло," "Стояв, дививсь" (with the omitted "він") "стежки лукової," "бог вісти смутен," "в'язавши крок в довжінь полотен смертних" already have caused and probably will always continue to cause justifiable and sometimes even not quite justifiable remarks concerning their linguistic non-standard character. However, this does not pertain to our problem, because from the viewpoint of exactness of translation, the phrases do not lack anyting, and they recreate the German original with the same scrupulousness as was accomplished in the corresponding lines by Bažan:

А там здаля, при виході у світло,
стояв хтось темний, що його обличчя
не розпізнати. Він стояв і бачив,
як на стязі дороги польової
печальнозорий бог і посланець
безмовно обернувся, щоб іти
за постаттю, яка назад верталась,
хоч довгий саван заважав іти,
невпевнена, і ніжна, і терпляча.[10]

What especially interests us here are the previously mentioned "untranslated" expressions, which in the last line are the attributes *sanft* and *ohne Ungeduld.* In particular, both translators were unsuccessful in their translation of *ohne Ungeduld,* because neither *терпелива вкрай* nor *терпляча* to any degree suggest Rilke's original interpretation of the renowned myth about Eurydice. Careful reading shows that the expression of the original *ohne Ungeduld* is too far removed in its basic meaning from its Ukrainian renditions. In Rilke's entire text there is no indication of Eurydice's suffering. She does not suffer from anything but only rids herself (perhaps, because of her age) of her live and ardent impatience, which is characteristic of a young girl in love.[11] Thus, espe-

[9] *Reči i obrazy,* p. 55.

[10] *Poeziji,* p. 121.

[11] In connection with this, the poem "Evridika—Orfeju" (1923) by M. Cvetaeva is worthy of attention, a penetrating and extremely interesting commentary of Rilke's relevant poem. See Marina Cvetaeva, *Izbrannye proizvedenija* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1965), pp. 230-231.

cially Bažan, who let us expect a deeper perception of her image in the transformation of the line 78, should have found for *Ungeduld* (close here in meaning to German *Heftigkeit*) such equivalents as *палкість, завзяття, пристрасність* and for *sanft,* which in Eurydice's characterization does not mean ніжна at all, but rather means something closer to Kravciv's *миха,* i.e. *упокорена*: *demütig.* But he did not do this because his attention centered solely on the surface of the work, ignoring its third, deep dimension, accessible only by applying the principle of transformational translation.

Penetration into the third, deep dimension with the aim of overcoming the monosemy of a word as well as of the naturalistically photographed "portrayal" of reality (often connected with bare discoursiveness), the penetration assisted by transformation is of course also characteristic of the original work. In his essay "Alienation and Transformation: Rilke's Poem *Der Schwan,*"[12] Herbert Lehnert summed up the importance of transformation, touching upon the question, which in many respects is synonymous with the problem of transformational translation. Lehnert convincingly illustrates an almost organic fusion at the level of the transformational principles of the two different creative processes, the original and the translation, in analyzing the metamorphosis of Rilke's swan into an artistic piece, into poetry, by coming to a deep understanding of the complaint sent to heaven by Baudelaire's swan (in his poem "Le cygne").[13] Moreover (and here lies the main emphasis of our viewpoint), the same essay by Lehnert indirectly points out the existing boundaries, beyond which the sovereign claims of transformational translation do not reach, since Rilke's poem "Der Schwan," which is analyzed by him, is certainly an original creation, and not a translation of Baudelaire's "Le cygne."

On the other hand, for defining the same boundaries, so to speak, from within, where the broad prerogatives of transformational translation are rightly realized, the analysis of two Ukrainian translations of Horace's ode (i, 23), "Do Xloji" by M. Zerov and "Do ljubky" by P. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj,[14] would suit our purposes here if we compare them with the poem's exact translation by Andrij Sodomora, which even preserves

[12] See *Rilke: The Alchemy of Alienation,* Frank Baron, Ernst S. Dick, and Warren R. Maurer, eds. (Lawrence, Kansas, 1980), pp. 95-112.

[13] *Ibid.,* pp. 102-103.

[14] Zerov characterized the latter as a "transition from travesty to translation." See his *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo,* p. 111.

the meter of the third Asclepiadean verse.[15] Such an analysis, besides being a fuller illustration of my thought and providing rhetorical balance to my exposition, perhaps might be capable of more accurately answering the questions that have existed in literature for a long time, of the following type: 1. Why do Józef Paszkowski's (1813-1861) Polish version of Shakespeare's tragedies, despite the appearance of many new and far more exact translations,[16] still today remain so popular with the Polish readers? 2. For what reason did the *Rubáiyát* by Omar Khayyám in the English translation by Edward Fitzgerald become a masterpiece of English poetry? And, finally, 3. Why does such a talentless Russian travesty of the *Aeneid* by Nikolaj Osipov (1751-1799) not deserve any kind of comparison with the ingenious creation of the same title by Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj? However, a lack of space forces us to conclude these remarks with only a few more literary examples, this time to demonstrate the cases in which various distinct means of transformation clearly overstep the boundaries of transformational translation and thus produce completely different phenomena, let us say, *polemic* translations or outright—original polemic creations, which have nothing in common with translation.

Here belong such transformations as the "translation" of Goethe's "Mignons Lied" ("Kennst du das Land?") with its renowned ending:

Dahin! Dahin!
Geht unser Weg; o Vater lass uns ziehen![17]

which Pantelejmon Kuliš modified in accordance with his sentimental didacticism:

Туди, туди
Не дай мені, мій Боженьку, зайти!
Рятуй мене, татусеньку коханий,
Забудь мій гріх, мій розум окаянний![18]

This unashamedly polemic translation in some way echoes that of H. Kočur, when he travestied Paul Valéry's early poem "La fileuse" ("Пряля") in the manner of "Швачка" by Pavlo Hrabovs'kyj ("Рученьки

[15] Kvint Horacij Flakk, *Tvory,* pereklad, peredmova ta prymitky Andrija Sodomory (Kiev, 1982), p. 34.

[16] I. Franko and other critics often criticized Paszkowski for his inaccuracies and mistakes. See I. Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv u p'jatdesjaty tomax,* vol. 29 (Kiev, 1981), pp. 170-176.

[17] *Goethes Werke,* Bd. 21 (Weimar, 1898), p. 233.

[18] Pantelejmon Kuliš, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev, 1969), p. 384.

терпнуть, злипаються віченьки...”). Instead of Valéry’s picture of an ideal (if not typical as compared to its model—Gustave Courbet’s painting “La fileuse endormie”)[19] young woman, who, having fallen asleep “as though having died” for a moment, remains constantly in touch with the flowering life surrounding her (similar to his “La dormeuse” and “La fausse morte”), from whom one could expect “une nouvelle mort / / Plus precieuse que la vie,”[20]— Kočur portrays a hard-working wretched woman exploited by an unknown sluggard, *ледащиця*. He describes her as follows:

Німіють пальці на руках робучі...[21]

Of course, nothing of that sort is found in Valéry. Moreover, the realist Courbet does not have such motives either. Courbet was one of the greatest masters of the rendering of human hands. The hands in his paintings seem to express a fundamental attitude of his genius, they are always functional and they are *робучі* only where conditioned by appropriate themes, as the stonecutters in his painting of the same title (unfortunately destroyed in 1945). Thus, even with reference to Courbet Kočur did not have any basis to resort in his translation to such a transformation of poetry by the French poet-symbolist. Naturally, he could have been mistaken. In the attribute *oisive* (‘unoccupied’) in the phrase “le jardin de l’oisive,”[22] which refers to the same *fileuse,* he could have erroneously read a recollection about some other woman, *ледащиця,* in whose house worked an unhappy (though as pretty as a rose) *кріпачка*[23]. However, more likely it is his deliberate polemic with Valéry, in which he deviated even further from the original than Kuliš in his translation of “Mignons Lied.” Kočur obviously came close to the same means to which the Czech writer Karel Čapek used to resort to when he reworked various elements of Anton Chekhov’s subjects, to criticize from his own pragmatic positions the hopeless (as it seemed to him) tendencies of consistent impressionism.

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[19] Jean Dubu. “Valéry et Courbet: Origine de ‘La fileuse’,” *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France,* 65 (Paris, 1965), pp. 239-242.

[20] Paul Valéry, *Euvres* (Librairie Gallimard, 1957), p. 138.

[21] Hryhorij Kočur, *Vidlunnja: Vybrani pereklady* (Kiev, 1969), p. 29.

[22] Valéry, p. 75.

[23] Fem. of *кріпак* ‘farm hand.’

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