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Festschrift for Janneke Kalsbeek

Genis, R.; de Haard, E.; Lučić, R.

Publication date

2017

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Genis, R., de Haard, E., & Lučić, R. (Eds.) (2017). *Definitely Perfect: Festschrift for Janneke Kalsbeek*. (Pegasus Oost-Europese Studies; Vol. 29). Uitgeverij Pegasus.

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Definitely
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Festschrift
for
Janneke Kalsbeek

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Festschrift for Janneke Kalsbeek

Edited by:

René Genis

Eric de Haard

Radovan Lučić

Pegasus Oost-Europese Studies 29
Uitgeverij Pegasus, Amsterdam 2017

PEGASUS OOST-EUROPESE STUDIES is een serie studies op het gebied van de Oost-Europese taalkunde, letterkunde, cultuurkunde en geschiedenis onder redactie van:
prof. dr. Ben Dhooge (Universiteit Gent)
prof. dr. Wim Honselaar (Universiteit van Amsterdam)
prof. dr. Thomas Langerak (Universiteit Gent)
prof. dr. Willem Weststeijn (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

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Postbus 11470
1001 GL Amsterdam
Nederland
E-mail POES@pegasusboek.nl

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www.pegasusboek.nl

ISBN 978 90 6143 4 36 8 / NUR 630
ISSN 1572-0683
Bandontwerp en vormgeving LevievanderMeer
Druk en afwerking Ipskamp printing

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Ondanks alle aan de samenstelling van de tekst bestede zorg, kan noch de redactie noch de uitgever aansprakelijkheid aanvaarden voor eventuele schade, die zou kunnen voortvloeien uit enige fout, die in deze uitgave zou kunnen voorkomen.

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PREFACE

Janneke's decision to take early retirement came, in the end, as rather a surprise to her close colleagues. True, it had been up in the air, but the definitive decision – to become effective as per the first of September 2017 – was announced during one of the staff meetings of the Slavic unit at the University of Amsterdam only on the 14th of February of 2017, coincidentally the Feast of “our” Slavic saints Cyril and Methodius (Roman Calendar) as well as St. Valentine's Day. As will also become clear from reading the biographical and personal contributions to the present volume, her “Love for Slavic Linguistics” is so well-known and evident, that our astonishment nevertheless outweighed the sympathy we had and have for the dissatisfaction about certain developments at UvA and so, not many of us were immediately able to accept the reality of Janneke's early retirement.

The minutes for that meeting include: “Janneke: zij kondigt haar vertrek per september aan. Zij wil als gastonderzoeker verder en belooft zich te laten gelden in die rol” [‘Janneke: she announces her departure as per September. She wants to continue as guest-researcher and promises to leave her mark as such’]. This addition makes it a little easier to accept, especially also for those of us who are fortunate enough to be members of the research and other groups that she has been a member of and will continue to be part of. It is good to know we will still be able to count on her presence and sharp scientific eye, as well as her equally sharp and constructive input.

Coming to this volume, well, we are sure it is in spite of its title definitely not perfect. There was so little time between the announcement of her retirement and the date it had to be ready and delivered to the publisher that to achieve that would certainly be impossible, but: we did our best. Having said that, even if it were perfect in the eyes of most, Janneke would (will!) still be able to point out its failings and probably within a few minutes of first perusing it. That illustrates why

PREFACE

Janneke's work and drive throughout her scholarly career has to be classified as Definitely Perfect and... why the title of this book must merely be taken as wishful thinking on the part of its editors.

That very sharp eye for small detail and her keen and meticulous research have gained Janneke the respect of many. This is for a very large part due to her fine dissertation *The Čakavian Dialect of Orbančići near Žminj in Istria* – the most cited book in this collection – for which she received the award “Best Book in Slavic Linguistics 1999” from the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages. Her other scholarly work and her editing – for many years now she has been on the editorial team of the important series *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* – is of equally high standard.

The esteem all of this gained her must be one of the reasons why so many authors eagerly contributed to this volume even though the terms and especially the amount of time we could offer for submission was dreadfully short. We, the editors, are grateful to all of the contributors for their efforts and to the Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication and the UvA Slavic unit for funding this publication. We are especially indebted to Marc L. Greenberg (University of Kansas) for his great help in approaching many more colleagues than actually were able to take part.

The bad news is of course, that we shall have to miss Janneke's teaching at UvA although maybe not entirely at first. Janneke's scholarly drive extends very evidently to her teaching and her involvement with and care for her students. Nobody was able to count the exact amount of student theses that came about under her guidance but we are all sure there were a lot. Again, her drive for meticulousness was inspiring for many and this produced some very fine scholars.

Please accept, then, dear colleague, this humble and imperfect offering to send you off into the first part of your retirement. Here's wishing you many wonderful and fruitful years with more love for Slavic linguistics, definitely!

The editors,
René, Lutz, Eric

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Biographic and personal contributions

FOR THE LOVE OF SLAVISTICS: DIVING DEEP INTO ISTRIAN DIALECTS

Chris Buijink

Why did Janneke Kalsbeek go for Slavic Languages? She gave the answer to Dirk van Delft in an interview in 1998: “It was a choice out of scientific interest. I had had inspiring teachers in Latin and Greek at my grammar school, who, contrary to those of Dutch, had spoken a lot about linguistic matters. Latin grammar was awe-inspiring for a twelve-year-old” (Delft 1998: 191). A lifelong love for linguistics had been born.

In 1970, at the young age of 17 years, she moved from her birthplace and home town of Laren to Amsterdam to study Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Amsterdam.

Initially Janneke had been drawn to Slavistics by an interest in Polish, but she settled for Russian as “first language” and Serbocroatian as a secondary subject.

When she started to do research under the leadership of professor Carl Ebeling, she focused already early on on the dialects in Istria, the peninsula in the North West of then Yugoslavia, now shared by Croatia and Slovenia.

Istria is borderland, where through the ages cultures have met, where Slavic meets Roman, a cross-roads of migrations. This makes it an especially interesting terrain for dialectologists. Several Dutch scholars, such as Willem Vermeer and Peter Houtzagers, were working on dialects in Istria and the nearby Kvarner Islands.

Janneke made her first visit to the heart of Istria in 1974. Willem Vermeer introduced her to a school teacher in the small town of Žminj, Vilma Zohil. This was the start of a life of work on Istrian dialects and of a lifelong friendship with Vilma.

It was the first of many a summer in Istria. As her boyfriend and from 1978 as her husband I have been privileged to share quite a number of these trips.

Our home base was Motel Lovac in central Istria's main town of Pazin. The best thing about the motel, then and now is its scenic position high above the impressive Pazinska Jama with panoramic views on the old town, the 16th century castle, the rolling hills of Istria and Mount Učka on the horizon.

In 1978 Janneke graduated but continued work as a faculty member at the then Slavic Seminary of the University of Amsterdam. During her study she had already worked as a "candidate assistant". Altogether her career at the University of Amsterdam spans more than 40 years.

Janneke maintained close ties with colleagues at Zagreb University: as a student during the Summer school of Zagreb University in Dubrovnik and Zagreb, and also over the years through her contacts with the Institute for the Croatian Language of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and with guest professors from Zagreb University to Amsterdam, such as Ivan Slamnig, Krunoslav Pranjić and Branko Vuletić, who became dear friends of the family.

After her initial work in Žminj and some research in the small hilltop town of Beram to the west of Pazin, Janneke focused on the dialect of the hamlet of Orbanići just outside Žminj for her dissertation. Through Vilma, Janneke met Nevenka Orbanić-Erman who was living in Žminj, but originally came from Orbanići, where her family were still living and working the fields. It was also through Vilma that Janneke was introduced to another Istrian hilltop town, Roč.

Over the years the recorders became smaller and lighter and the relationship with her informants and their families deepened. In Žminj with Vilma and Nevenka, and in Roč with Vlasta, Berta and Melita, who also became close friends.

Completing her PhD thesis took Janneke some 20 years. Initially Carl Ebeling acted as promotor. When Ebeling retired in 1985, Frits Kortlandt from Leiden University took over.

In 1998 she looked back in the interview with Dirk van Delft on the many years it took: less time for research than she had hoped for; an overload of

teaching; having been blessed with two children and raising them (with me gone every day persuing a career in the ministry of Economic Affairs in The Hague and travelling a lot); and yes also, not always being very efficient in the approach to the project (Delft 1998: 197) and I should add the loss of three of our four parents during those years. But she never doubted that she would finish the book.

And she did. In 1998 she successfully defended her PhD thesis: *The Čakavian Dialect of Orbanići near Žminj in Istria* at Leiden University. With Vilma from Žminj at her side.

A complete grammar of the dialect, a lexicon and a collection of texts of great linguistic interest, but also offering insights into the life and culture in the heart of Istria.

The study was granted the Award of Best Book in Slavic Languages by the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages in 1999.

In the same year Janneke was named an Honorary Citizen of Žminj by its municipality in recognition of her services to the communities of Žminj and Orbanići.

Nearly 20 years later, she's now retiring from the university, but not from research, nor from her love of linguistics. University life brought her ups and downs. The ups: working with students, her research and colleagues (I need to mention especially the meetings of the "Friday Afternoon Circle", who always continue their sessions with drinks and dinner in Café Scheltema). The downs: the recurrent budget cuts, reorganizations and reorientations in directions she disapproves of.

But overall, looking back, it was a good time. To me, her partner, and to our children Arthur and Vera, Janneke demonstrated the importance of dedication to one's work and scholarly pursuits and the strength of persevering and achieving. And she opened the door to us of Žminj, Istria and Croatia, the Zohil and Orbanić-Erman families and her friends in Roč and Zagreb. That makes us respect and love her even more.

CHRIS BUIJINK

Chris Buijink has been Janneke Kalsbeek's partner for more than 40 years and her husband since 1978.

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PISMO ZA JANNEKE

Nevenka Erman

Draga naša Janneke,

ne moren veruvat da je pasalo već od kvarnar liet kad smo se prvi put sretile. Se domišljaš onega nedieljnega popuolneva pred žminjsken cimitaron? Va biele bluzice, kotule na ruožičice, liepa i mlada kako kaplja čakulala si z prof. Vilmon Zohil- Unukić. Kad nas je predstavila mi se je na hip zaparalo kako da si mi poznata, da si odvajk naša.

Drugi dan si prišla na Palado me pitat ku bih tela bit tvoja informantica za naš govor. Z velen veseljen san rekla da ću i tako je počela naša liepa štuorija ot žminjsko-orbanićskega zajika. Šćien si me počela spićievat besedo po besedo mi se je paralo da razgrćen teplo prhavico ka je čupela spot popela i samo čekala da se rasplamika.

Svako besedo smo raskusale na sve fuozi, rasplele va sve gramatičke fuormi, ubrnule va sva vremena a za kakovo besedo dopovedat bih se spensievala primjeri svakakoveh štuorij za kejste smo se od gušta smejale. Ti si tela i va živo doživet naš govor pak si s nami provala svako užanco i delo, žet, plievet praloh, kopat, grabit sieno, zdievat luomnice, brat kumpiri itd.

Provala si z diebla s nami jes skominaste jabuki smokvi, potrnjki i ivanjsko gruojeze šćocat kako i drugo ča je zorelo va štajuone kad si bila s nami. Liepo nan je bilo i šiećat po Štrpadure kad si brala oni blavi tovarlji bodljikavac za si ziet doma. Za pravo reć mane je s Tobon bilo vajk i svagdere liepo.

Svi naši pomeni si snimala i spravljala va oni teški magnetofuon kega si vajk branala na ramene. Vajk pensan kako si mogla zapoštat tolike besedi i juš naglasak keh si čula na koriere ali negdere s puoten magari i do drugega leta.

Nikat Ti nieću moć zadosti zahvalit za sve one liepe uri ke smo skupa pasale i koliko si me svega navadila. Zaradi Tebe san orbanićsko čakavščino va vierši splela,

NEVENKA ERMAN

drage besedi va libri zapisala, neka buode dota mojien mlajen i svien ki ih buodo teli štet.

Veselo smo Te čakali va sveh prigodah kat si nan prihajala, sama, z muožen (kega smo svi zaštimali) svojuon dicon, sestruon, Tvojiemi prieteli z dela a fidamo se da će tako bit i za napret , da ćeš neštentat prit i svojuon nučicon. Mi ćemo Van se svien vajk veselit a kapus, fuži, njoki, rafijuoli, štrunjci ali makaruni po Vaše želje te Vas čekat. Kumpiri spot čerepnji i tepal kruh va Ugradice te dušet kat prideš da storimo likuf Tvojemu delu i za srećan počietak penžijuona. . .

Veli pozdrav od Nevenke s famejon

KAKO DALJE?

Radovan Lučić

Ove godine koja je obilježena odlaskom naše cijenjene kolegice u mirovinu, amsterdamska slavistika počinje s novim programom preddiplomskog studija. Taj je program sastavljen da bi privukao veći broj studenata i ponudio više mogućnosti za odabir užeg područja studiranja. Činjenica je, naime, da se posljednjih godina studiji malih jezika konstantno gase, svugdje u svijetu.¹ Oni koji ostaju moraju se pokušati održati s osiromašenim kurikulumom, često u fuziji s regionalnim i drugim multidisciplinarnim studijima. Tako nekadašnji studij slavenskih jezika i književnosti, potom studij slavenskih jezika i kultura, od ove studijske godine djeluje pod nazivom 'Ruski i slavenski studiji' ili na engleskom 'Russian and Slavic Studies' (kao što je slučaj na sveučilištima u Montrealu, New Yorku i Tusconu). Izostavljanje jezika u nazivu studija zapravo je i opravdano: još od uvođenja bolonjskog procesa, dakle strukture preddiplomskog i diplomskog studija, dosljedno se smanjuje broj sati jezične nastave, a ove je godine ta nastava svedena praktički na tri semestra. Studij slavistike tako je, slijedeći američke 'široke' modele, od jezičnoga postao zapravo interdisciplinarni kulturološki studij.

Unatoč takvom zaokretu, ovaj će odsjek odlaskom dr. Janneke Kalsbeek pretrpjeti velik gubitak: Janneke nije bila samo pokretačka snaga studija hrvatskoga i srpskoga jezika, već je kao vrsna jezikoslovka neprekidno davala značajan doprinos poučavanju slavenske i opće lingvistike na našem fakultetu. Sudjelovala je u fakultetskim istraživačkim projektima i dugi niz godina organizirala slavistički lingvistički krug, a u svom pedagoškom radu imala je izrazito motivirajući odnos prema studentima koji se isticao individualnom brigom i susretljivošću. Bez stručnjaka takva kalibra kvaliteta i razina nastave teško će se moći održati. Nažalost, teško bi se održala i da je Janneke ostala.

Naime, prije dvije godine Amsterdamsko sveučilište (UvA) proživljavalo je krizu izazvanu studentskim prosvjedima protiv uvođenja novoga nastavnog plana i reorganizacije studija u humanističkim i društvenim znanostima, posebice na području nastave tzv. malih jezika. Prema novom programu u sklopu mjera štednje trebalo se ukinuti desetak smjerova koji bi se djelomično uklopili u različite regionalne i međunarodne studije, a neki mali jezici održali bi se eventualno samo na razini lektorata (Folia 2016). Prosvjedima su se pridružili mnogi nastavnici i istraživači, a među njima i Janneke koja se mjesecima poslije posebno zalagala u raznim povjerenstvima i radnim grupama tražeći i predlažući rješenja za očuvanje slavistike i samostalnog studija hrvatskoga i srpskoga jezika.

Nažalost, prosvjedi nisu posve urodili plodom – fokus se, između ostaloga i zbog držanja i postupaka uprave, s malih jezika prebacio na funkcioniranje sveučilišta, njegovu hijerarhijsku strukturu, demokratizaciju uprave i transparentno financiranje – no ipak se uspjelo spriječiti, odnosno odgoditi ukidanje određenih studija te iznijeti u javnost neke suvremene trendove u odnosu društva prema studiju malih stranih jezika i ostalih ‘neprofitabilnih’ predmeta, pri čemu se pokazalo da se ti trendovi uklapaju u svjetske ekonomsko-političke trendove. Proizvod se mora prilagoditi potrošaču, što znači da se kurikulum treba prilagoditi potencijalnom studentu. Istraživanje tržišta pokazalo je da student želi nastavu na engleskom jeziku, da nazivi predmeta moraju biti poticajni, da ponuda mora biti dovoljno široka – pogotovo u prvoj godini, kako bi studentima omogućila odgovarajući izbor – te da studenti u načelu teže multidisciplinarnim studijima. Uz to, menadžerska kultura i pretvorba akademskih u poduzetničke organizacije promijenile su i odnos prema znanstvenom radu. Prosječni znanstvenik umjesto da se ponajprije bavi znanošću, mora se snalaziti u moru administrativnih poslova, trošiti vrijeme na ispunjavanje formulara, na evaluacije i testove, mora se strogo držati pravila različitih procedura, paziti na brojeve i rezultate, na količinu publikacija i izlaganja, a uvijek je podložan šablonskom vrednovanju.

Doista, kako dalje?

KAKO DALJE?

Od uvođenja bolonjskoga sustava jezična se ponuda (jezične vježbe, prevođenje, gramatika i lingvistika) na Slavističkom odsjeku Amsterdamskoga sveučilišta dvostruko smanjila. S druge strane, proširila se ponuda općih predmeta: ove godine uvedeni su predmeti pod nazivom 'Čovjekov svijet', 'Svijet u dijelovima' te opći kolegiji na engleskom jeziku 'Memory, Nostalgia, East-West Thinking' i 'Language Thinking from the East'. Broj nastavnih sati za ovladavanje hrvatskim jezikom (zajedno sa srpskim) na Amsterdamskom sveučilištu novim je programom smanjen na 252 sata raspodijeljena u 42 tjedna tijekom dvije godine; ako tome pribrojimo intenzivni četverotjedni (ili nešto manje intenzivni šestotjedni) tečaj u Hrvatskoj u trajanju od sto nastavnih sati, studij hrvatskog jezika na Amsterdamskom sveučilištu sastojat će se od otprilike 350 sati nastave. Po većini procjena to je minimum sati za postizanje razine B1,² što nikako nije dovoljno za ovladavanje jezikom na akademskoj razini.

Postavlja se pitanje kako postići maksimalne ishode i kako što bolje pripremiti studente za tečaj u Hrvatskoj s obzirom na nastavu od ukupno 252 sata. Pritom se svakako treba uzeti u obzir intenzitet učenja (četiri puta po sedam tjedana u prvoj godini te po sedam tjedana krajem oba semestra u drugoj godini), istražiti kojim bi se kompetencijama/vještinama trebala dati prednost (pasivnima pred aktivnima), koje bi se metode poučavanja trebale primijeniti (konzultacije, ciljni tečajevi, video-predavanja, on-line ponude predmeta, 'blended learning'...) i kojim bismo se materijalima morali koristiti.

Nesumnjivo je jedan od važnih faktora i odnos studenata prema studiju koji se posljednjih godina naočigled mijenja. Student je postao klijent koji za svoj novac očekuje da dobije ono što želi, a u novim, 'širokim' modelima često su to bodovi, a ne znanje. Usto je razina opće obrazovanosti sve niža; studenti se upisuju bez prijemnog ispita sa završenim srednjim školama u kojima nisu dobili dovoljno znanja za nastavak školovanja; ne znaju se, na primjer, služiti rječnikom i ne poznaju temeljno gramatičko nazivlje.

Sve to zahtijeva velik zaokret u održavanju nastave, napuštanje metoda koje se godinama primjenjuju i ulaganje velike količine energije i vremena u izradu novih

programa. Ako tome pridodamo menadžersku kulturu koja je već potpuno ovladala sveučilištem i uklanjanje većine kolegija lingvistike iz studijskog programa, ne možemo se oteti dojmu da je Janneke svoju odluku o prijevremenom umirovljenju donijela u pravom trenutku. Lako je moguće da su smjernice visokoškolskog obrazovanja kao i novi, smanjeni i rascjepkani nastavni program donekle utjecali na tu odluku.

Kako god bilo, na odsjeku će nam nedostajati Jannekina posvećenost studentima i njezin osjećaj za pravdu zbog kojega je tako uporno sudjelovala u radu fakultetskog povjerenstva za razvoj studija. Nedostajat će nam njezini uvijek britki i duhoviti odgovori kako u formalnim, tako i u neformalnim raspravama, njezina kolegijalnost, njezina druželjubivost i blagolagoljivost, njezin smijeh uz čašu bijelog vina.

Nedostajat će nam Janneke.

Bilješke

1 Tako npr. i na njujorškom sveučilištu Cornell: 'With the decision to terminate the Swedish and Dutch language programs by the summer of 2010, Cornell's pledge may be under siege by a worldwide recession and a daunting budget shortfall on campus.'

<http://cornellsun.com/2009/04/09/budget-strikes-again-cu-fells-dutch-swedish/> (posjećeno 06.09.2017.)

2 Vidi npr. <https://support.cambridgeenglish.org/hc/en-gb/articles/202838506-Guided-learning-hours> (posjećeno 06.09.2017.)

Izvori

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JEDNA BIVŠA *FUREŠTA*¹ U ŽMINJU I ISTRI

Vilma Zohil-Unukić

Tako je za sebe zapisala gospođa Janneke Kalsebeek još davne 1990. u Istarskoj danici kad smo je pitale za dojmove o Istri.

Sretna sam jer sam imala priliku i čast upoznati i pratiti prof. dr. Janneke Kalsbeek u prvim danima i snalaženjima u Istri, posebno u Žminju. Došla je Janneke u Žminj tiho, nenametljivo i oprezno jednoga toploga kolovoškog dana 1974. Mlada, lijepa i ambiciozna studentica iz velikog Amsterdama u moj mali Žminj. Znala sam da će doći, najavio ju je njen kolega i tada mlad znanstvenik Willem Vermeer koji je istraživao govore otoka Krka. Tada sam i doznala da će studentica hrvatskoga jezika sa Sveučilišta u Amsterdamu prikupljati jezičnu građu za svoj seminarski rad na fakultetu.

Bilo mi je drago, zapravo, bila sam oduševljena spoznajom da mladu studenticu zanima *muoj zajik*.² Sretala sam u Žminju nekoliko godina ranije zagrebačke dijalektologe po istom poslu. Prof. dr. Mate Hraste i prof. dr. Petar Šimunović su po nekoliko dana boravili u Žminju, razgovarali s ljudima, snimali, bilježili *naše besedi*,³ a kasnije su to objavili i poslali nam separate o žminjskom istraživanju.

Mislila sam, tako će biti i s Janneke Kalsbeek. Nisam ni slutila da je kolovoz 1974. godine bio početak višegodišnjeg temeljitog, sustavnog i napornog istraživanja, snimanja, bilježenja, ali i početak jednog lijepog, toplog druženja, izuzetnog prijateljstva s Janneke i njenom obitelji. Dočekala sam Janneke s mnogo neizrečenih pitanja, ali me ona zaskočila i iznenadila svojim poznavanjem Istre, znanjem hrvatskoga jezika, osobito čakavskoga govora žminjskoga kraja. Tako je već tada *liepo i mehko*⁴ izgovarala naše diftonge i naglaske, uočavala akute i dužine. Osvojila me je i zadivila, no moram priznati da sam uz osjećaj velikog poštovanja osjećala i strah. Taj čudan osjećaj je ubrzo nestao zahvaljujući upravo Janneke, jer se preselila u moju kuću i stalno boravila u Žminju. Preselivši se iz Pazina u Žminj,

Janneke je, opet, tiho i jednostavno ulazila u moj svijet i svijet mojih ljudi i mog podneblja. Za nju i za mene veliko iskustvo.

Za malu sredinu Žminja tipično je da se svi znamo i pozdravljamo te Janneke nije mogla ostati nezapažena, i to ne samo zbog osjećaja puke radoznalosti, već prije svega zbog neke neizrečene i prikrivene radosti i poštovanja, jer je gospođa *huorila po naše*⁵ i došla iz velegrada u Žminj, a bilaje tako jednostavna. Znam da su je upitni pogledi na početku smetali, ali kad je shvatila da je *tako puli nas*,⁶ i ja sam shvaćala da je sve manje *furešta*, a sve više i pomalo naša, jer nas razumije. A to smo jako željele i ja i Nevenka Erman, njena sretno odabrana informantica iz sela Orbanići. Skupa smo tražile nove informante i prilike da Janneke bude s njima i *na kampanje i na njive i va braj dah kade so trgali*,⁷ jer je ona sve promatrala panoramski i uvijek željela upoznati i kontekst.

Mnogo sam naučila od prof. Janneke Kalsebeek u svakom smislu i na svim razinama, od stručne do ljudske, i na tome sam joj jako zahvalna.

Već u prvim susretima s ljudima, Janneke je pokazala svu veličinu svoje jednostavnosti i osobnosti, a to su svi primjećivali, jer je pažljivo, empatično i s poštovanjem slušala, snimala, bilježila i bila zahvalna.

Ima jedna lijepa priča: u Belcima kraj Berma Janneke je snimala *tetu Juditu i tetu Ninu*. Prekrasno su i slikovito govorile o *Krvariji*, Muci Isusovoj. *Krvarija* se kaže zato, objasnila je *teta Judita*, što je *naš Gospodin Isus Kris tamo proli sojo krf*.⁸ U topla ljetna predvečerja znale smo prošetati do žminjske Kalvarije i tamo, promatrajući zalazak sunca, raspravljati o *našim besedama*, a najzanimljivija je bila riječ *krvarija*⁹ koja je teti Juditi pokrivala čitav niz slika Muke Isusove. Otkrile smo da su i stari Žminjci također govorili *krvarija* iz istih razloga kao i stari Beramci.

A i mi smo imale svoju malu kalvariju. Na terenu smo postale sumnjive zbog velikog, teškog i lako uočljivog magnetofona na Jannekinom ramenu. Milicija nas je pozvala na razgovor u Pazin; srećom, ja sam imala pismo. U pismu me Zavod za jezik iz Zagreba moli da pratim Janneke na terenskim jezičnim istraživanjima i snimanjima u znanstvene svrhe. To je bila neka vrsta jamstva.

Janneke je u Žminj dovela i svoju obitelj. Znam da su Jannekini roditelji išli na tečaj talijanskog jezika kako bismo se lakše sporazumjeli i znam da su u Žminj došli s puno bilježaka i znanja o našim spomenicima, i oni i obitelj njezine sestre Hannemieke. Sjećam se tog susreta po radosti Jannekina oca, gosp. Kalsbeeka, kad je iza kuće ugledao vrt prepun bujnog povrća. Brzo smo izmislili zeleni obrok koji je imao prednost pred ponuđenim pršutom, specijalitetom našeg podneblja.

Jannekin boravak u Žminju sretno se poklapao s mojim ljetnim školskim praznicima te smo tako u Jannekino slobodno vrijeme mogle uživati u dugim šetnjama, branju poljskog cvijeća, u pojavi *velike mesečine*¹⁰ i zvjezdanog neba, posebno 12. kolovoza, na dan sv. Lovre, kad zvijezde padaju kao suze. Uvijek smo dugo razgovarale o svemu i svačemu, ali na kraju je bio obavezan razgovor o jeziku. Dolazila bi Janneke u Žminj na Čakavski sabor, na Bartulju, na naše znanstvene skupove i uvijek mi je donosila knjige, čak mi je mnoga stara i rijetka izdanja fotokopirala, poput doktorske disertacije dr. Josipa Ribarića o jeziku Vodica. Te knjige čuvam kao veliku dragocjenost. I ja sam uživala skupljajući knjige, posebno zbirke čakavskih pjesama kao uzdarja za Janneke, a svaki bih put dodala stručak *mažurane, arbaluvije, arbaruože i bašelka*¹¹ vjerujući da će i mirisi istarske zemlje Janneke domišljati *da jo vajk čekamo kako našo i da je tu vajk doma*.¹²

– *Ča ni to leto prišla vaša Olandieška?*¹³ – znaju me mnogi pitati.

– *Če prit*¹⁴ – odgovaram.

– *Znan da će i da će dopeljat i sojo nučico kako ča je peljala Arthura, Vero, Chrisa, sojo famejo i prieteli.*¹⁵

– *I va Roče jo čekajo, Vlasta i Melita i skupa čo puoč va Nuglo i Hum aš je i tamo kako doma. Skupa čo gledat freske i čitat glagoljico.*¹⁶

– *Liepo ča ne?*¹⁷

– *I da bimo i kletu!*¹⁸

Čakavski sabor

VILMA ZOHIL-UNUKIĆ



Studentica Janneke Kalsbeek i Chris Buijink sa svojim žminjskim
domaćinima, srpanj 1976.



Pred Vilminom kućom u Žminju, srpanj 1978.

JEDNA BIVŠA *FUREŠTA* U ŽMINJU I ISTRU



Janneke i Vilma u Amsterdamu, 10.10.1998.

Bilješke

- 1 strankinja
- 2 moj jezik
- 3 riječi
- 4 lijepo i mekano
- 5 govorila kao i mi
- 6 da je kod nas tako
- 7 u polju na njivi i u vinogradu gdje su brali grožđe
- 8 naš Gospodin Isus Krist tamo je prolio svoju krv
- 9 kalvarija
- 10 punog mjeseca
- 11 mirišljive trave
- 12 da je uvijek čekamo kao našu i da je tu uvijek kod kuće
- 13 Zar nije ove godine došla vaša Nizozemka?
- 14 Doći će
- 15 Znam da hoće i da će dovesti svoju unučicu kao i Arthura, Veru, Chrisa, svoju obitelj i prijatelje.
- 16 I u Roču ju čekaju Vlasta i Melita, i zajedno će krenuti u Nuglu i Hum jer i tamo je kao doma. Gledat će freske i čitati glagoljicu.
- 17 Lijepo, zar ne?
- 18 I da bismo i dogodine!

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Research contributions

НЕКОТОРЫЕ НАБЛЮДЕНИЯ О НИДЕР- ЛАНДСКОМ И АНГЛИЙСКОМ СОЮЗАХ *SINDS/SINCE* И ИХ СООТВЕТСТВИЯХ В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ СЛАВЯНСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

Адриан Барентсен

1 Вводные замечания

При описании функционирования видовременных форм необходимо обращать внимание не только на абсолютную ориентацию обозначаемых ими действий (т.е. на отношение к моменту речи), но и на выражение расположения действий по отношению друг к другу. Эти «таксисные» отношения играют важную роль в функционировании языка и поэтому система средств их выражения в петербургской типологической школе рассматривается как отдельная функционально-семантическая категория «Таксис»¹. Выделяются такие основные типы отношений как ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАНИЕ, ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ и СЛЕДОВАНИЕ, но и более специфические разновидности, напр. ПОЛНАЯ и ЧАСТИЧНАЯ ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ и ПРЕРЫВАЮЩЕЕ СЛЕДОВАНИЕ.

В европейских языках таксисные отношения наиболее четко и детально выражаются в сложноподчиненных предложениях со специфическими, таксисными союзами. К ним относятся, например, русские союзы *когда*, *после того как*, *в то время как*, *пока (не)* и *прежде чем*. Изучение их функционирования показывает, что фактически у каждого союза есть свои особенности в плане взаимодействия с видовременными формами глагола в главной (ГЧ) и зависимой (ЗЧ) частях предложения.

Как я пытался показать в ряде работ², особое место среди таксисных союзов занимают союзы типа русского *пока (не)*, семантика которых содержит

компонент «ограничение»: их значение коротко можно охарактеризовать как указание на «прерывающийся фон». Этим самым у них представлена комбинация признаков длительности (фон) и точности/событийности (прекращение фона). Именно у этого типа союзов весьма сильно проявляется взаимодействие с «окружающими» их глагольными формами. Выбор вида в ЗЧ заметно влияет на подчеркивание компонента «фон» или, наоборот, компонента «конечная граница фона». В свою очередь союз влияет на интерпретацию видовых форм в обеих частях предложения. Наличием в ГЧ предложения с таким союзом может подчеркиваться значимость процессной фазы действия глагола СВ или, наоборот, его результативной фазы. Обилие сложных деталей проявления этого взаимодействия объясняет, пожалуй, почему в научной литературе продолжают появляться работы, посвященные описанию употребления союза *пока (не)*³.

В связи с этим мне кажется интересным рассмотреть также функционирование других союзов, в семантике которых можно увидеть компонент «ограничение». К ним я отношу союзы типа русского *с тех пор как*. В наиболее сжатом виде их значение можно охарактеризовать как указание на «возникающий фон», т.е. они как бы представляют собой зеркальное отображение того, что указано союзами типа *пока (не)*. Насколько мне известно, в научной литературе союзам, обозначающим возникающий фон, уделено пока значительно меньше внимания⁴.

Идея обратиться к теме функционирования таких союзов в сопоставительном плане возникла в рамках деятельности нидерландской исследовательской группы по сопоставительному изучению славянского вида. В ней сотрудничают лингвисты кафедры славистики Амстердамского и Лейденского университетов. В работе группы активное участие принимает Яннеке Калсбеек, которой посвящен настоящий сборник статей.

В данной статье я привожу некоторые исходные сведения и соображения, которые можно было бы учитывать при более подробном, специализированном анализе употребления этих союзов в разных славянских языках, с особым учетом взаимодействия союзов с видовременными формами.

2 Характерные признаки союзов типа *с тех пор как*

Основные признаки русских союзов *с тех пор как* и *с той поры как*⁵ характерны также для союзов подобного типа в ряде других языков. В разделах 3 и 4 это показано на материале двух славянских (русского и хорватского) и двух германских (нидерландского и английского) языков⁶. В разделе 5 коротко рассматривается ситуация в других славянских языках.

Прежде всего рассматриваются следующие союзы: русские *с тех пор как* / *с той поры как*, хорватские *otkako/otkad*, нидерландский *sinds* и английский *since* (в его временном значении)⁷. Предлагаю следующую формулировку их общего значения:

Действие ГЧ локализуется в рамках временного интервала И и определенным образом «заполняет» весь этот интервал.

Начало интервала И определяется действием ЗЧ, которое также характеризует всю дальнейшую часть интервала И.

Интервал И начинается в прошлом и не кончается до точки отсчета (т.е. включает ее).

Здесь необходимы следующие уточнения:

а) Прототипической точкой отсчета является МОМЕНТ РЕЧИ (позиция говорящего). Это та основная временная точка отсчета, которая также играет центральную роль в определениях значения временных форм глагола. Наличие этого ДЕЙКТИЧЕСКОГО компонента значения является важным признаком союзов типа *с тех пор как*, отсутствующим у большинства других таксисных союзов⁸.

б) Кроме случаев «первичного дейксиса», где точкой отсчета выступает момент речи, возможен «вторичный дейксис», где точка отсчета перемещена. При союзах типа *с тех пор как* перемещение возможно только в прошлое⁹. (Сходное перемещение мы видим при плюсквамперфекте, который также требует наличия позиции наблюдателя в прошлом, по отношению к которой определяется предшествование обозначенной глаголом ситуации.)

в) Так как точкой отсчета является либо ситуация в момент речи, либо определенная ситуация в прошлом, действие в ЗЧ не может быть расположено целиком в будущем, и данная пара действий в ЗЧ и ГЧ не может повторяться¹⁰.

Сказанное проиллюстрировано ниже рядом примеров из параллельных текстов¹¹. Эти примеры содержат наиболее типичные функциональные варианты употребления данных союзов указанных языков: английского (А), нидерландского (Н), русского (Р) и хорватского (Х). Основой для классификации примеров служит соотношение видовременных форм в русском варианте.

3 Обзор основных типов употребления, часть 1. Примеры с ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАНИЕМ действия ЗЧ

3.1 Тип А: В ЗЧ прошедшее время СВ; в ГЧ настоящее время НСВ

В типе А наиболее ярко проявляется значение рассматриваемых союзов: ЗЧ обозначает некое событие в прошлом, а ГЧ – некую длящуюся ситуацию, возникшую в результате (в широком смысле) действия ЗЧ и продолжающую существовать в момент речи:

- (1) J.K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*¹²
- (Р) **С тех пор, как** ты упомянул:*PST.PFV* имя Николаса Флэмела, мы пытаемся:*PRS.IPFV* узнать, кто он такой.
- (Х) **Otkad** si ti spomenuo:*PRF.PFV* onog Nicolasa Flamela, nastojimo:*PRS.IPFV* doznati tko je to bio.
- (А) Ever **since** you mentioned:*PST* Nicolas Flamel we've been trying:*PRS.PRF.CONT* to find out who he is¹³.
- (Н) Maar **sinds** jij de naam Nicolaas Flamel hebt laten vallen:*PRS.PRF*, proberen:*PRS* wij erachter te komen wie dat is.

В данном типе таксисное отношение между действием ЗЧ и действием ГЧ можно отнести к предшествованию. Поскольку прототипически ситуация ГЧ возникает при завершении действия ЗЧ, здесь можно говорить и о разновидности НЕПОСРЕДСТВЕННОЕ ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАНИЕ¹⁴.

Бросается в глаза интересное различие между английским и другими вариантами. В то время как в русском, хорватском и нидерландском переводах в ГЧ употребляется форма настоящего времени, в английском оригинале используется ПЕРФЕКТ. Это связано с очень характерной чертой английского перфекта, а именно с наличием специфического варианта употребления, т.н. КОНТИНУАТИВНОГО ПЕРФЕКТА, для обозначения делящейся ситуации, возникшей в прошлом и продолжающейся в момент речи¹⁵. Этот вариант перфекта представлен у глаголов с неопределенным значением. Особенно ярко он проявляется в форме ПРОГРЕССИВНОГО ПЕРФЕКТА (Present Perfect Progressive), как в приведенном примере¹⁶.

Для нидерландского перфекта такое употребление не свойственно. В подобных случаях стандартно употребляется форма настоящего времени, как в русском и хорватском языках (см. пример 1).

Как показывает следующий пример 2, в ГЧ встречается также другой вариант употребления английского перфекта, а именно РЕЗУЛЬТАТИВНЫЙ ПЕРФЕКТ. В данном английском переводе, в отличие от русского оригинала, ситуацией, локализованной в интервале И, является не просто само отсутствие указанной деятельности субъекта, но эксплицитно выраженное ПРЕКРАЩЕНИЕ данной деятельности (плюс вытекающее из этого отсутствие деятельности ‘он больше не приходит’). Именно это результативное состояние продолжает быть релевантным во всем интервале И (включая момент речи).

- (2) Николай Островский *Как закалялась сталь*
 (P) **С тех пор как** Дмитрия *послали*:PST.PFV секретарем Печорского райкома, он *не приходит*:PRS.IPFV больше вечерами на учебу.
 (X) **Otkako su** Dimitrija *poslali*:PRF.PFV za sekretara [...], on *više ne dolazi*:PRS.IPFV na učenje.
 (A) Ever **since** Dmitri *was made*:PST.PASS secretary [...] he *has stopped*:PRS.PRF coming to lessons.
 (H) **Sinds** Dmitri *secretaris* [...] *geworden is*:PRS.PRF, *komt*:PRS hij 's avonds *niet meer op de cursus*.

Для английского языка выбор формы перфекта (или плюсквамперфекта, см. пример 8) в ГЧ предложений с союзом *since* является фактически обязательным (см. также пример 4 в разделе 4.1), но приведенные примеры показывают, что это мотивируется разными семантическими вариантами этой формы, что, в свою очередь, связано с различиями в лексической аспектуальности глаголов и с другими факторами (напр. с негацией).

Различие между значениями временных форм в нидерландском и английском языках проявляется также в том, что в предложениях данного типа весьма часто различается также выбор формы в ЗЧ. В то время как в английском языке в ЗЧ обычно употребляется форма простого прошедшего времени, в нидерландском языке, как правило, употребляется форма перфекта. Это различие также представлено в примерах 1 и 2.

По моему мнению, такие факты показывают, что сопоставительное изучение употребления видовременных форм в предложениях с союзами типа *с тех пор как* могло бы играть важную роль при более точном описании семантики этих форм. Такие предложения можно рассматривать как своего рода «лабораторию» для выявления значимых различий между глагольными формами в ГЧ и ЗЧ. Однако задача более подробного анализа таких различий выходит далеко за рамки настоящей статьи, в которой внимание направлено в первую очередь на наиболее характерные семантические признаки рассматриваемых союзов и на вопрос, встречаются ли союзы со сравнимым значением также в других славянских языках.

Но прежде чем обратиться к последнему вопросу, вернемся к рассмотрению нескольких других вариантов употребления союзов типа *с тех пор как*, которые, как мне представляется, также соответствуют общему определению, данному в разделе 2, и раскрывают другие характерные свойства рассматриваемых союзов.

В приведенных примерах 1 и 2 характер действий в ЗЧ и ГЧ совершенно естественно соответствует требованиям, вытекающим из данного выше определения: можно ожидать, что для обозначения начальной границы интервала И больше всего подходит форма прошедшего времени глагола, выражающего

действие с точечным характером (СОБЫТИЕ). В русском языке это наиболее естественно выражается формой прошедшего времени глагола СВ. А ситуация, «заполняющая» интервал И, имеющий обязательно характер заметной длительности, наиболее естественно выражается в ГЧ формой глагола НСВ, прототипически обозначающего развивающийся процесс или состояние (включая и повторяющиеся процессы или события)¹⁷. Далее, тот факт, что интервал И прототипически включает момент речи (т.е. основную точку отсчета), самым естественным образом ведет к выбору в ГЧ формы настоящего времени (в большинстве рассматриваемых языков) или перфекта английского типа (в континуативном варианте).

Однако кроме этого наиболее «естественного» типа, представленного в примерах 1 и 2, встречается немало примеров, где выбор видовременных форм, на первый взгляд, может показаться несколько неожиданным. В следующих параграфах показаны наиболее значимые типы.

3.2 Тип Б: В ЗЧ и ГЧ прошедшее время СВ. Действие в ГЧ квантифицируется¹⁸

- (3) J.R.R. Tolkien *The Hobbit or There and Back Again*
 (P) **С той поры, как** мы спустились:*PST.PFV* с гор, вы с Бертом полторы деревни умяли:*PST.PFV*, не меньше. Где их еще взять?
 (X) **Otkako smo sišli:***PRF.PFV* s planine, vas ste dvojica izjeli:*PRF.PFV* selo i pol. Kol'ko bi još čeli?
 (A) You've et a village and a half between yer, **since** we come down from the mountains. How much more d'yer want?¹⁹
 (H) Jullie hebben samen anderhalf dorp opgevreten:*PRS.PRF* **sinds** we uit de bergen zijn gekomen:*PRS.PRF*. Hoeveel moet je nog meer hebben?

Квантификация здесь выражена эксплицитно обстоятельствами типа *a village and a half* 'полторы деревни'. Несмотря на то, что глагол СВ в ГЧ передает событие, все же и здесь заполняется весь интервал И, поскольку в момент речи подводится итог данной деятельности. Это предполагает, что эта деятельность (процессная фаза действия) имеет определенную длительность.

И в этом примере таксисное отношение между действием ЗЧ и действием ГЧ относится к ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАНИЮ. Однако в отличие от типа А, здесь, скорее всего, отсутствует дополнительный признак непосредственного контакта между этими действиями.

4 Обзор основных типов употребления, часть 2. Примеры с ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬЮ действий ЗЧ и ГЧ

Хотя в большинстве случаев употребления союзов типа *с тех пор как* присутствует значение предшествования действия ЗЧ, особенность этих союзов заключается как раз в том, что имеются также случаи, где явно представлена ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ.

4.1 Тип В: В ЗЧ и ГЧ настоящее время НСВ. ЗЧ обозначает состояние. Выражается ПОЛНАЯ ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ

- (4) Milan Kundera *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí*²⁰
- (P) **С тех пор как** человек на своем теле *может:PRS.IPFV* всему дать название, оно *тревожит:PRS.IPFV* его куда меньше.
- (X) **Otkako** svemu *možemo:PRS.IPFV* dati ime, naše nas tijelo manje *uznemirava:PRS.PFV* (пер. Радована Лучича (Radovan Lučić))²¹.
- (Ч) **Od té doby, co** na něm *umí:PRS.IPFV* všechno pojmenovat, tělo *znepokojuje:PRS.IPFV* člověka méně.
- (A) Ever **since** man *has learned:PRS.PFV* to give each part of the body a name, the body *has given:PRS.PFV* him less trouble.
- (H) **Sinds** we alles *kunnen:PRS* benoemen, *verontrust:PRS* het lichaam ons minder.

В этом примере снова проявляется отмеченная выше особенность английского языка. Однако в типе В употребление перфекта вместо формы настоящего времени характерно не только для ГЧ, как в примерах 1 и 2, но и для ЗЧ. Интересно отметить, что в нашем материале имеется 170 примеров с темпоральным *since*, но ни один из них не содержит форму настоящего времени²².

Отметим также, что данный тип в славянских языках представлен достаточно редко. Более подробные исследования должны выявить, имеются ли между ними в этом отношении существенные различия. В русском языке такой тип употребления союза (с формой настоящего времени в ЗЧ и ГЧ) представлен не только в переводах, как в приведенном примере, но и в оригинальных русских текстах:

- (5) Откуда берутся деньги, чтобы отдавать долги? Оказывается, он уже больше года – **с тех пор как** *участвует:PRS.IPFV* в качестве гитариста в битл-группе «Титаны» – *зарабатывает:PRS.IPFV* деньги [...] за выступления на школьных балах, вечеринках и свадьбах (Юрий Трифонов *Предварительные итоги*).

НСВ в ЗЧ типа В эксплицитно обозначает не (точечное) событие, но длящееся состояние. Необходимое представление о начале интервала И дается здесь не эксплицитно, но имплицитно. Оно «выводится» из данной длящейся ситуации ЗЧ и заключается в представлении о ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИИ этой ситуации²³.

Но поскольку эксплицитно выражается только сама ситуация ЗЧ, существующая во время всего интервала И, в этом типе представлено таксисное отношение (ПОЛНОЙ) ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТИ.

Можно предположить, что редкость типа В в славянских текстах объясняется тем, что в них, особенно в русском языке, широко употребляются глаголы СВ с начинательным значением (включая начинательные конструкции с глаголами СВ типа *стать* или *начать*). Многие состояния можно также хорошо передать с помощью более специфических глаголов СВ, лексическое значение которых состоит в выражении события, которое легко воспринимается как ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ или СОЗДАНИЕ данного состояния. См. альтернативный вариант хорватского перевода в примере⁴²⁴:

- (6) **Otkad** je *naučio:PRF.PFV* šta je šta u njegovom tijelu, tijelo manje *uznemirava:PRS.PFV* čovjeka (пер. Николы Кршича (Nikola Kršić)).

Здесь использован глагол СВ со значением ‘научиться’, имплицитно выражающий возникновение состояния УМЕНИЯ, которое в чешском оригинале выражено эксплицитно. В предложениях с союзом типа *s teh por* как такая конструкция примера 6, относящаяся к типу А, имеет то преимущество, что глагол СВ совершенно эксплицитно выражает событие, представляющее собой начало интервала И. Именно таким образом, стандартно трактуется данное соотношение действий и в английском языке (см. пример 4). Однако, как отмечено выше, в типе А выражается таксисное отношение (контактного) предшествования, в то время как в примере 4 представлен тип В, выражающий одновременность.

По моему мнению, именно в том факте, что в определенных случаях можно свободно выбирать между данными типами употребления союза типа *s teh por* как практически без искажения смысла высказывания, заключается одно из самых характерных признаков этих союзов²⁵.

4.2 Тип Г: В ЗЧ настоящее время НСВ; в ГЧ прошедшее время СВ.

Отношение ЧАСТИЧНОЙ ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТИ

В предложениях этого типа соотношение видовременных форм в ЗЧ и ГЧ является совершенно противоположным тому, что было представлено в типе А:

- (7) George Orwell 1984
- (P) Знаете, что **с тех пор, как** вы Ø:СОР.РРС.ІРFV в наших руках, вы *потеряли:РСТ.РFV* двадцать пять килограммов?²⁶
- (X) Znaš da si izgubio:РRФ.РFV dvadeset i pet kilograma **otkako** si:РRС.ІРFV u našim rukama?
- (A) Do you know that you *have lost:РRС.РRФ* twenty-five kilograms **since** you *have been:РRС.РRФ* in our hands?²⁷
- (H) Weet je dat je vijftwintig kilo *bent afgevallen:РRС.РRФ* **sinds** je in onze handen *bent:РRС*?

В этом типе соединяются особенности типа Б – действие ГЧ квантифицировано, и типа В – представление о начале интервала И дается только имплицитно. Как и в типе В, в переводах примеров типа Г на славянские языки нередко проявляется тенденция к эксплицитному выражению возникновения ситуации ГЧ. См. оригинальный вариант русского перевода, приведенного в сноске 26.

В отличие от типа В, в типе Г не выражается, что существование или развитие самого действия ГЧ продолжается в момент речи. (Ясно только то, что в момент речи существует РЕЗУЛЬТАТИВНАЯ ФАЗА действия ГЧ.) Далее, как и в типе Б, осуществление самого действия ГЧ начинается не обязательно непосредственно с самого начала интервала И. Поэтому этот тип следует отнести к примеру ЧАСТИЧНОЙ ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТИ.

4.3 Перемещение точки отсчета в прошлое

Во всех приведенных выше примерах интервал И включает момент речи. В завершение обзора ниже приведен пример 8, с перемещением точки отсчета в прошлое. Следует отметить, что в большинстве славянских языков это перемещение выражается обычно менее четко, чем в западных языках, что показывает следующий пример 8. В славянских вариантах он не отличается по отношению к выбору временных форм от вышеприведенного примера 3: в обеих частях употреблена форма прошедшего времени.

Таксисные отношения в примере 8 сравнимы с отношениями в примерах 1 и 2 типа А. В русских переводах перемещение в прошлое выражено только переменной формы в ГЧ: вместо настоящего времени, как в примерах 1 и 2, употребляется прошедшее время глагола НСВ. В английском варианте при этом появляется форма ПЛЮСКВАМПЕРФЕКТА, с таким же континуативным значением как в примере 1. Но кроме этого подвергаются замене и формы ЗЧ. Здесь плюсквамперфект использован не только в английском, но и в нидерландском варианте:

- (8) Douglas Adams *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*
- (P) Единственным человеком, равнодушным к этому дому, был Артур Дент, да и то лишь потому, что он в нем жил. Он *жил:PST.IPFV* в нем уже около трех лет, **с тех пор, как переехал:PST.PFV** из Лондона, который его нервировал и раздражал.
- (X) Jedina osoba za koju je ta kuća bila nešto posebno bio je Arthur Dent, a i to samo zato što je slučajno živio u njoj. *Živio je:PRF.PFV* u njoj već tri godine, još **otkad se odselio:PRF.PFV** iz Londona zato što se tamo neprestano osjećao nervozno i razdražljivo.
- (A) The only person for whom the house was in any way special was Arthur Dent, and that was only because it happened to be the one he lived in. He *had lived:PST.PFV* in it for about three years, ever **since** he *had moved:PST.PFV* out of London because it made him nervous and irritable.
- (H) De enige voor wie het huis iets betekende, was Arthur Dent, en dat was alleen omdat hij er toevallig woonde. Hij *woonde:PST* er nu bijna drie jaar, **sinds** hij uit Londen *was vertrokken:PST.PFV* omdat hij er zenuwachtig en prikkelbaar werd.

4.4 Итоги раздела

Приведенные выше примеры показывают, что все четыре рассматриваемых языка располагают союзами, выражающими основные варианты «общего значения», которое было сформулировано в разделе 2. Однако это не значит, что в них все 4 типа (А–Г) различаются одинаково отчетливо.

В английских примерах отсутствуют формы настоящего времени, что связано с особенностями функционирования английского перфекта. В связи с этим типы В и Г, со значением одновременности, выделяются в английском менее четко, чем другие типы.

Не входя в подробности, отмечу только, что в английском языке все же существует определенный тип предложений с союзом *since*, в которых употребление настоящего времени совсем нормально. Речь идет о предложениях, в которых выражается временное расстояние между точкой отсчета и событием ЗЧ. Как показывает следующий пример из работы (Heinämäki

1978: 87–88), в таких случаях ГЧ можно оформлять разными способами, без изменения общего смысла:

(9)а *It has been:PRS.PRF ten years / Ten years have passed:PRS.PRF / since Kennedy was assassinated:PST.PASS.*

‘Прошло:*PST.PFV* десять лет **с тех пор, как убили:*PST.PFV*** Кеннеди.’

(9)б *It is:PRS ten years since Kennedy was assassinated:PST.PASS.*

‘Уже \emptyset :*COP.PRS.IPFV* десять лет, **как убили:*PST.PFV*** Кеннеди’²⁸.

Подобная вариативность есть и в других языках. Детальный анализ таких примеров может быть темой для другой работы.

Формирование разных типов обуславливается взаимодействием союза с видоременными формами в ЗЧ и ГЧ, иногда с учетом лексического значения глаголов. Таким образом, эти типы представляют собой частные значения союза. Наличием таких частных значений объясняется, почему по таксисной классификации эти союзы могут участвовать в разных таксисных категориях: они могут выражать ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАНИЕ – типы А и Б (притом тип А – особую разновидность КОНТАКТНОГО ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАНИЯ), а также ПОЛНУЮ ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ – тип В, и ЧАСТИЧНУЮ ОДНОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ – тип Г. Однако, по моему мнению, своеобразие этих союзов состоит как раз в том, что при них всегда присутствует специфическая КОМБИНАЦИЯ указанных таксисных значений: в разных типах «главенствует» какое-то одно значение, либо предшествование, либо одновременность, но не исчезает второе. Например, в типе А на первом плане стоит тот факт, что само действие ЗЧ предшествует действию ГЧ, но имеет значение также то, что действие ЗЧ специфическим образом определяет «фон», на котором происходит действие ГЧ (т.е. компонент одновременности).

Кроме рассмотренных вариантов, безусловно, можно различать еще и другие²⁹. Однако это уже задача детального анализа каждого конкретного языка.

Все приведенные выше примеры соответствуют сформулированному в разделе 2 требованию, чтобы обозначаемые действия были ориентированы на момент речи или на точку отсчета, перенесенную в прошлое. Данные союзы рассматриваемых четырех языков не могут употребляться в высказываниях с «вневременным» характером (т.е. выражающих общие правила и закономерности), или в высказываниях о будущих действиях. Как было отмечено в сноске 10, в таких случаях сходное значение (указание начальной границы действия ГЧ, но без особой связи с точкой отсчета) выражается другими средствами. Как правило, это союзные сочетания с совершенно прозрачной структурой, состоящие из существительного, обозначающего отрезок времени, предлога с «аблативным» значением (типа английского *from* или русского *с*), и союзного слова с определительным значением. См. следующий пример, относящийся к вневременному типу:

(10) J.K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*

(P) [Кровь единорога спасет вашу жизнь, даже если вы на волосок от смерти, но вы дорого заплатите за это. Если вы убьете такое прекрасное и незащищенное существо ради собственного спасения, то] **с того момента, как** его (= единорога) кровь *коснется:FUT.PFV* ваших губ, вы *будете:СОР.FUT.IPFV* прокляты:*PPP*.

(X) [...] *ostaje:PRS.IPFV* ti samo poluživot, proklet život, **od trenutka kad** usnama *dotakneš:PRS.PFV* tu krv.

(A) [The blood of a unicorn will keep you alive, even if you are an inch from death, but at a terrible price. You have slain something pure and defenseless to save yourself,] and you *will have:FUT* but a half-life, a cursed life, **from the moment** the blood *touches:PRS* your lips³⁰.

(H) [...] daarom *leid:PRS* je **vanaf het moment dat** dat bloed je lippen *raakt:PRS* nog maar een half leven, een vervloekt leven.

Однако эта же конструкция, как правило, может употребляться также в тех же условиях, что и союзы типа *с тех пор как*, например, при обозначении действий в прошлом (ср. пример 8):

- (11) J.K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*
 (P) Этот шепот Гарри *слышал:PST.IPFV* со всех сторон **с того самого момента, как** на следующее утро *вышел:PST.PFV* из спальни³¹.
 (X) Ovakvo je šarutanje *pratilo:PRF.IPFV* Harryja **od trenutka kad** je sutradan *izašao:PRF.PFV* iz spavaonice.
 (A) Whispers *followed:PST* Harry **from the moment** he *left:PST* his dormitory the next day.
 (H) **Vanaf het moment dat** Harry's ochtends de slaapzaal *verliet:PST*, *werd* hij *achtervolgd:PST.PASS* door gefluister.

В таких случаях различия между данными конструкциями и конструкциями с союзом типа *c tex por как* достаточно трудно уловимы³².

В типологическом отношении важно установить, во всех ли языках существует указанное различие между конструкцией с обязательным дейктическим компонентом (как у союза *c tex por как*) и другими конструкциями, в которых необходимо лишь наличие обозначения начальной границы (как в примерах 10 и 11). Поскольку примеры типа 10 встречаются редко, установить, как обстоит дело во всех славянских языках пока трудно.

5. Соответствия союзу *c tex por как* в других славянских языках

В настоящем разделе приведены примеры сравнимых конструкций в других славянских языках. Они найдены в текстах Амстердамского параллельного корпуса³³.

В разделе 5.1 дается информация об использованном материале. В разделе 5.2 даются некоторые сведения о различиях в форме обсуждаемых союзных средств и о проблемах вариативности. В разделе 5.3 приводятся другие славянские варианты рассмотренных выше примеров, с коротким комментарием.

5.1 Использованный корпусный материал

Для целей настоящего исследования (а возможно, и будущих) на материале Амстердамского параллельного корпуса был создан специальный «Субкорпус», состоящий из 18 текстов 17 авторов. Данные тексты представлены в вариантах почти на всех основных славянских литературных языках. Русская часть этого субкорпуса содержит 1147 тысяч словоформ. Это соответствует примерно 4000 страниц книгопечатного текста³⁴.

Кроме рассмотренных выше русского и хорватского языков, в этом субкорпусе полностью представлены польский, чешский, словенский, македонский и болгарский языки.

К сожалению, пока не хватает некоторых переводов на белорусский, украинский, сербский и словацкий языки. Чтобы получить соответствующие данные и для этих языков, материал был дополнен до сравнимого объема другими текстами.

Список использованных текстов приводится в конце статьи.

К сожалению, верхне- и нижне-лужицкий и молиско-славянский языки в Амстердамском корпусе почти не представлены, а кашубский вообще отсутствует. Поэтому положение союзов типа *с тех пор как* в этих языках пока остается вне рассмотрения³⁵.

В примерах, приведенных в разделе 5.3, непрототипические союзы и союзные сочетания или глагольные формы подчеркнуты. При установлении непрототипичности союзных средств учитывались соображения, изложенные в следующем разделе.

5.2 Заметки о формальной структуре и вариативности союзных средств

В большинстве славянских языков проявляется некоторая вариативность при выборе союзных средств обсуждаемого типа. Это можно увидеть уже в разделах 3 и 4, где в русских примерах наряду с союзом *с тех пор как* встречается также *с той поры как* (пример 3), а в хорватских переводах использованы варианты: *otkad* (примеры 1 и 6) и *otkako* (остальные примеры).

Большинство славянских языков отличается от русского тем, что основные союзные средства, явно соответствующие по значению русскому *с тех пор как*, имеют другую формальную структуру. Они не содержат существительного с темпоральным значением типа *пора, время, момент*; предлог *от* (вместо *с*) сочетается непосредственно с союзным словом типа *когда* или *как*.

Чаще всего эти компоненты пишутся слитно, например в украинском *відколи*, болгарском *откакто* или *откак*, словенском *odkar*, польском *odkąd* и словацком *odkedy*. Но в ряде языков существуют варианты как со слитным, так и с раздельным написанием: в хорватском и сербском *otkako, otkad(a)* и *od kad(a)*, в македонском *откако, откога* и *од кога*. См. также варианты в польском языке *odkąd* и *od kiedy*. Приведенные варианты пока трактуются мной как функциональные синонимы, но это, конечно, подлежит проверке при более детальном их изучении³⁶.

Во всех этих языках встречаются также союзные сочетания с темпоральным существительным типа *od trenutka kad* в хорватском варианте примера 10. При обсуждении этого примера было отмечено, что в нем отсутствует дейктический компонент значения, характерного для прототипических союзов типа *since, sinds* и *с тех пор как*. Но пока не совсем ясно, относится ли это ко всем союзным сочетаниям типа *od trenutka kad* в данных языках.

В русском, белорусском и чешском языках употребляются только формальные структуры, содержащие темпоральное существительное: *с тех пор как / с той поры как; з таго часу як / з тае пары як* и *od té doby co / od chvíle kdy*.

Как и в языках первой группы, в этих языках встречаются также союзные сочетания с другими темпоральными существительными и/или другим союзным словом, типа *с (того) момента как/когда*. Провести четкую границу между последним типом и «настоящими» союзами в этих языках, пожалуй, еще труднее, чем в языках первой группы (хорватский и другие).

Как показывает работа Магды ван Дейкерен-Грабовой, в настоящем сборнике, чешский язык отличается большим количеством союзных сочетаний наряду с приведенными выше. Они заметно различаются частотностью, но

выявить возможные семантические различия между ними является сложной задачей.

Предполагаю, что здесь некоторую роль может играть выбор последнего компонента. В русском языке обычным средством для соединения определительного придаточного предложения с темпоральным существительным является союзное слово *когда*, как в следующем примере:

- (12) Как же хочется вернуть *те времена, когда* для счастья достаточно было одного мороженого (Интернет).

С другой стороны, в разных очевидных таксисных союзах последним элементом стандартно является слово *как* (*после того как, до того как, перед тем как*). Поэтому не исключено, что выбор последнего слова играет сравнимую роль также в сочетаниях типа *с той поры когда* и *с той поры как*. Это как бы подтверждается тем, что в известных мне примерах с «вневременным» значением, содержащих словосочетание *с той поры*, союзным словом выбрано именно *когда*, например:

- (13) *С той поры, когда* человек начинает ходить, он уже жизнеиспытатель, землепроходец, меряющий землю двумя стопами, а не четырьмя, как скот какой (Алексей Черкасов *Хмель. Сказания о людях тайги*).

Поэтому мне кажется не случайным, что единственные чешские примеры такого типа (20 и 21), приведенные в работе (Duijkeren-Hrabová 2017), содержат именно вариант со словом *kdy* ‘когда’³⁷.

В нашем материале самое большое обилие вариантов представлено в белорусском языке. Но по частотности сильно выделяется сочетание *з таго часу як*. Поэтому ниже именно этот вариант рассматривается как прототипическое соответствие русскому *с тех пор как*.

Приведенные здесь заметки о вариативности и об отличии сложных союзов от более свободных сочетаний являются только предварительными. Этот вопрос подлежит проверке на более обширном материале и с помощью опроса информантов.

5.3 Примеры

Примеры даны в той же последовательности, что и в разделах 3 и 4, с соответствующей нумерацией. В начале примера приводится русский вариант из предыдущих разделов. За ним следуют другие языки: белорусский (БР), украинский (Ук), болгарский (Бг), македонский (Мк), сербский (Сб), словенский (Сн), чешский (Чш), словацкий (Ск) и польский (По).

Тип А:

- (1) J.K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*
- (Р) **С тех пор, как** ты упомянул:*PST.PFV* имя Николаса Флэмела, мы пытаемся:*PRS.IPFV* узнать, кто он такой.
- (БР) Проста, з **таго часу, як** ты прагаварыўся:*PST.PFV* пра Нікаласа Фламеля, мы жадаем:*PRS.IPFV* даведацца, хто гэта такі.
- (Ук) Просто **відколи** ви згадали:*PST.PFV* Ніколаса Фламеля, ми все хочемо:*PRS.IPFV* з'ясувати, хто це.
- (Бг) **Откакто** ти спомена:*AOR.PFV* Николас Флаemel, се опитваме:*PRS.IPFV* да открием кой е той.
- (Мк) **Откако** ни го спомна:*AOR.PFV* Николас Флаemel, се обидуваме:*PRS.IPFV* да откриеме кој е тој.
- (Сб) **Од када** си поменуо:*PST.PFV* Николаса Фламеля, покушавамо:*PRS.IPFV* да откријемо ко је он.
- (Сн) **Odkar** si omenil:*PRF.PFV* Nicolasa Flamela, poskušamo:*PRS.IPFV* ugotoviti, kdo je.
- (Чш) **Od té doby, co** ses zmínil:*PST.PFV* o Nicolasovi Flamelovi, se snažíme:*PRS.IPFV* zjistit, kdo je.
- (Ск) *Snažíte sa:**PRS.IPFV* len zistiť, kto je to ten Nicolas Flamel, *vrta:**PRS.IPFV* nám to v hlave, **odkedy** si ho spomenul:*PST.PFV*³⁸.
- (По) **Od kiedy** wspominaeś:*PST.PFV* o Nicolasie Flamelu, *próbujemy się:**PRS.IPFV* dowiedzieć, kim on jest.

- (2)' Николай Островский *Как закалялась сталь*³⁹
- (Р) **С тех пор как** Дмитрия *послали: PST.PFV* секретарем Печорского райкома, он *не приходит: PRS.IPFV* больше вечерами на учебу.
- (БР) **З той пары, калі** Дзмітрыя *паслаі: PST.PFV* сакратаром [...], ён *не прыходзіць: PRS.IPFV* больш вечарамі на вучобу.
- (Ук) **Відколи** Дмитра *послали: PST.PFV* секретарем [...], він *не приходить: PRS.IPFV* більше вечорами на навчання.
- (Бг) **Откак** го *изпратиха: AOR.PFV* секретар [...], Дмитрий *не идва: PRS.IPFV* вече на вечерните занимания.
- (Мк) **Откако** Дмитриј го *испратија: AOR.PFV* за секретар [...], тој повеќе *не доаѓа: PRS.IPFV* на вечерните курсеви.
- (Сб) **Откако** су Димитрија *послали: PRF.PFV* за секретара [...] он више *недолази: PRS.IPFV* на учење.
- (Сн) **Odkar** *so poslali: PST.PFV* Dmitrija za tajnika [...], *ne pribaja: PRS.IPFV* več zvečer k pouku.
- (Чш) **Od té doby, co** *byl: COP.PST.IPFV* Dmitrij *ustanoven: PPP.PFV* sekretářem [...], *nepřichází: PRS.IPFV* večer do vyučování.
- (Ск) **Odkedy** *dali: PST.PFV* Dmitrija za tajomníka [...], *nechodí: PRS.IPFV* sa už večer učiť.
- (По) **Odkąd** Dmitrija *postano: PRED-no.PFV* jako sekretarza [...], *nie przychodzi: PRS.IPFV* więcej wieczorami na szkolenie⁴⁰.

Как мне представляется, все эти варианты одинаково хорошо и ясно выражают значение типа А. Распределение видовременных форм в этих дополнительных примерах можно считать стандартным также для данных языков. В болгарском и македонском языках в ЗЧ подобных примеров, как правило, употребляется аорист, а в сербском и хорватском – перфект.

Тип Б:

- (3)' J.R.R. Tolkien *The Hobbit or There and Back Again*
- (Р) **С той поры, как** мы *спустились: PST.PFV* с гор, вы с Бертом полторы деревни *умяли: PST.PFV*, не меньше.

- (БР) Ужо паўтары вёскі *злапали:PST.PFV* **пасля таго, як** з гор *спусціліся:PST.PFV*.
- (Ук) **Відколи** ми *спустилися:PST.PFV* з гір, ви вдвох уже півтора села *згнали:PST.PFV*.
- (Бг) **Откакто** *сме слезли:PRF.PFV* от планините, двамата с него *сте изплюскали:PRF.PFV* вече село и полови.
- (Мк) Двајцата *изедовте:AOR.PFV* село и половина **откако** *сме:COP.PRS*. *IPFV симнати:PPP.PFV* од планините⁴¹.
- (Сб) *Pojeli ste:PRF.PFV* selo i po **odkat** *smo šišli:PRF.PFV* sa planine.
- (Сн) **Кар** *smo pršli:PST.PFV* s hribov, *sta* jih oba skupi *požrla:PST.PFV* za poldrugo vas.
- (Чш) *Spořadali ste:PST.PFV* spolu půl druhý vesnice **vod ty doby, co smě sešli:PST.PFV** z hor.
- (Ск) **Odkedy** *сме одишли:PST.PFV* z hôr, *zožrali ste:PST.PFV* pol druhej dediny.
- (По) **Odkąd** *zeszliśmy:PST.PFV* z gór, we dwóch *pożarliście:PST.PFV* już półto-rej wsi.

В сербском и чешском переводах правописание союзов *otkad* и *od té doby co* нарушено из соображений передачи ненормативной речи персонажей.

В белорусском и словенском переводах использованы другие союзы, типа русского *после того как* и *когда*. Иногда, а именно в типе Б (с глаголами СВ в обеих частях предложения), различия в значении между этими тремя союзами могут быть минимальны. Однако, как показывает следующий пример, и в белорусском, и в словенском языках при той же конфигурации видов (СВ в обеих частях) вполне могут употребляться и союзы типа *с тех пор как*:

- (14) Михаил Булгаков *Мастер и Маргарита*
- (Р) [– А вот, например, кентурион Марк, его прозвали Крысобоем, – он добрый? – Да, – ответил арестант, – он, правда, несчастливый человек.] **С тех пор как** добрые люди *изуродовали:PST.PFV* его, он *стал:PST.PFV* жесток и черств.
- (БР) [...] **З тае пары, як** добрыя людзі *скалечылі:PST.PFV* яго, ён *зrabіўся:PST.PFV* жорсткі і чэрствы.

(Сн) [...] **Odkar** so ga dobri ljudje *iznakazili:PST.PFV*, je postal:PST.PFV grozovit in neusmiljen.

Но все же мне кажется, что подобные примеры в словенском языке найти труднее, чем в русском и ряде других языков. Не исключено, что словенский союз *odkar* по значению несколько отличается от русского *с тех пор как* и поэтому не употребляется в тех случаях, где легко можно было бы использовать союз с менее сложным значением, типа *после того как* (в словенском, как правило *potem ko*)⁴².

Тип В:

(4)' Milan Kundera *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí*

(Р) **С тех пор как** человек на своем теле *может:PRS.IPFV* всему дать название, оно *тревожит:PRS.IPFV* его куда меньше.

(БР) *Перевод отсутствует*

(Ук) **Відтоді, як** людина все *може:PRS.IPFV* назвати на своєму тілі, воно *непокоїть:PRS.IPFV* її значно менше.

(Бг) **От мига, в който** човек *е станал:PRF.PFV способен* да назове всяка част от тялото си, то го *притеснява:PRS.IPFV* по-малко.

(Мк) **Откако** човекот *научил:PRF.PFV* што има на своето тело, тоа веќе не го *вознемирувало:PRF.IPFV*.

(Сб) *Перевод отсутствует*

(Сн) **Odkar** *zna:PRS.IPFV* človek poimenovati vse dele svojega telesa, ga to telo mnogo manj *vznemirja:PRS.IPFV*.

(Чш) **Od té doby, co** na něm *umí:PRS.IPFV* všechno pojmenovat, tělo *znepokojuje:PRS.IPFV* člověka méně.

(Ск) **Od tej doby, čo** na ňom *vie:PRS.IPFV* všetko pomenovať, telo *znepokojuje:PRS.IPFV* človeka menej.

(По) **Od czasu kiedy** *umiemy:PRS.IPFV* wszystko w nim nazwać, ciało mniej nas *niepokoi:PRS.IPFV*.

Как было отмечено выше, в славянских языках этот тип представлен меньше всех, поскольку обычно возникшую ситуацию ЗЧ можно более эксплицитно и отчетливо выразить глаголом СВ, как в типе А.

В данном примере такая стратегия перевода выбрана болгарским, македонским и хорватским переводчиками⁴³. Однако пример 4 показывает, что в хорватском языке возможен также вариант с глаголом НСВ.

В белорусских текстах Амстердамского корпуса не удалось найти убедительного примера варианта В. Пока неясно, нужно ли это считать особенностью белорусского языка. (На принципиальную возможность употребления формы настоящего времени глагола НСВ в ЗЧ указывает белорусский вариант нижеприведенного примера 7'.)

Следующий пример показывает, что тип В представлен в болгарском языке, хотя таких примеров в моем материале мало. Интересно, что чешский оригинал следующего примера (как и его русский перевод) относится как раз к типу А, а не к типу В⁴⁴:

(15) Milan Kundera *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí*

(Р) **С тех пор как** Франц узнал:*PST.PFV* Сабину, он *живет:PRS. IPFV* во лжи.

(Бг) **Откакто** *познава:PRS.IPFV* Сабина, Франц *живее:PRS.IPFV* в лъжа.

(Чш) **Od té doby, co** *poznal:PST.PFV* Sabinu, Franz *žije:PRS.IPFV* ve lži.

На возможность употребления настоящего времени глагола *знать* в подобных предложениях на русском языке указывает следующий пример:

(16) Роберт Музиль *Душевные смуты воспитанника Терлеса* (пер. С. Апта).

(Р) **С тех пор как** она *знает:PRS.IPFV* мою фамилию, она *утверждает:PRS.IPFV*, что служила у моей тетки и знала мою мать.

Отсутствует сербский перевод книги Кундеры, из которой взят пример 4. Но на существование типа В в сербском языке указывает пример 17⁴⁵. Македонский вариант этого же примера подтверждает это для македонского языка:

(17) Anne Frank *Het achterhuis*⁴⁶

- (Сб) Tata *je:PRS.IPFV* u poslednje vreme mnogo kod kuće, **otkako** više *ne može:PRS.IPFV* da ide na posao [...].
- (Мк) Татко ми во последно време *e:PRS.IPFV* повеќе дома, **откако** повеќе *не може:PRS.IPFV* да оди на работа [...]⁴⁷.
 ‘Папа последнее время часто \emptyset :*COP.PRS.IPFV* дома, **с тех пор как он не может:PRS.IPFV** ходить на работу’.

Можно сделать вывод, что тип В встречается редко, но, скорее всего, возможен во всех славянских языках.

Тип Г:

- (7)’ George Orwell 1984
- (Р) Знаете, что **с тех пор, как** вы \emptyset :*COP.PRS.IPFV* в наших руках, вы *потеряли:PST.PFV* двадцать пять килограммов?
- (БР) Ці ведаеце вы, што вы *страцілі:PST.PFV* дваццаць пяць кілаграмаў **з таго часу, як** вы \emptyset :*COP.PRS.IPFV* ў нашых руках?
- (Ук) Чи ти знаеш, що ти *втратив:PST.PFV* двадцять п’ять кілограмів **відтоді як** ти *потрапив:PST.PFV* до наших рук?
- (Бг) Знаеш ли, че **откакто** *си:PRS.IPFV* в наши ръце, *си отслабнал:PRF.PFV* с двацет и пет килограма?
- (Мк) Знаеш ли дека *изгуби:AOR.PFV* двасет и пет килограми **откако** ни *падна:AOR.PFV* во раце?
- (Сб) Znaš li da *si izgubio:PRF.PFV* dvadeset pet kilograma **otkako** *si* nam *пао:PRF.PFV* u ruke?
- (Сн) Ali veš, da *si izgubil:PST.PFV* petindvajset kilogramov, **odkar** *si:PRS.IPFV* v naših rokah?
- (Чш) Víš, že **od té doby, co** *jsi:PRS.IPFV* v našich rukou, *jsi zhubl:PST.PFV* o pětadvacet kilo?
- (Ск) Vieš, že **odvtedy, čo** *si:PRS.IPFV* v našich rukách, *si stratil:PST.PFV* dvadsaťpäť kilogramov?
- (По) Czy wiesz, że **odkąd** *jesteś:PRS.IPFV* w naszych rękach, *schudłeś:PST.PFV* dwadzieścia pięć kilo?

Приведенные здесь варианты показывают, что и этот тип, возможно, не во всех славянских языках представлен одинаково хорошо: украинский, македонский и сербский варианты примера 7^г относятся не к типу Г, а к типу Б. Здесь снова проявляется тенденция в славянских языках использовать в ЗЧ форму прошедшего времени СВ вместо формы настоящего времени НСВ.

Несмотря на редкость примеров типа Г в указанных языках, удалось найти единичные примеры этого типа.

Пример на украинском языке:

- (18) J.K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*
 (P) [...] но Гарри едва мог поверить, что *прошло:PST.PFV* уже два месяца **как** он \emptyset :*COP.PRS.IPFV* в Хогвартсе («Народный перевод») ⁴⁸.
 (Ук) [...] Гарри не міг повірити, що вже *минуло:PST.PFV* два місяці, **вІДКОЛИ** він \emptyset :*COP.PRS.IPFV* у Гогвортсі.
 (A) [Perhaps it was because he was now so busy, what with Quidditch practice three evenings a week on top of all his homework, but] Harry could hardly believe it when he realized that he'd already *been:PST.PRF* at Hogwarts two months.

Пример на македонском и сербском языках:

- (19) J.R.R. Tolkien *The Fellowship of the Ring, being the first part of The Lord of the Rings*
 (P) И лишь трижды вы *надевали:PST.IPFV* на палец Кольцо **с тех пор, как** *узнали:PST.PFV* о его власти.
 (Мк) Само трипати *си* го *ставил:PRF.PFV* Прстенот **откако знаеш:PRS.IPFV** што поседуваш.
 (Сб) Samo tri puta *si stavio:PRF.PFV* Prsten na prst *otkad znaš:PRS.IPFV* šta poseduješ.
 (A) Only thrice *have* you *set:PRS.PRF* the Ring upon your finger since you *knew:PST* what you possessed.

В будущих, более детальных исследованиях типы Б и Г заслуживают особого внимания, поскольку необходимо выявить, какие факторы позволяют глаголу СВ выражать длительность, необходимую для «заполнения» фона ЗЧ.

В завершение этого раздела привожу остальные славянские переводы примера 10, с «вневременным» характером:

- (10)' J.K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*
- (Р) [...] **с того момента, как** его (= единорога) кровь *коснется:FUT.PFV* ваших губ, вы *будете:COP.FUT.IPFV* прокляты:PPP.
- (БР) [...] **з таго моменту, як** яго кроў *дакранецца:PRS.PFV* тваіх вуснаў, жыццё тваё *будзе:FUT.IPFV* жыццём толькі напалову, гэта будзе жыццё праклятай істоты.
- (Ук) [...] той *матиме:FUT.IPFV* прокляте життя **з тієї миті, як** його губи *торкнуться:PRS.PFV* крові единорога!
- (Бг) [...] **от момента, когато** кръвта *се докосне:PRS.PFV* до устните ти, *ще имаш:FUT.IPFV* само половин живот... прокълнат живот.
- (Мк) [...] понатаму *можеш:PRS.IPFV* да имаш само полуживот, проколнат живот, **од моментот кога** таа крв *ќе ти ги допре:FUT.PFV* усните.
- (Сб) Живот ти *је:COP.PRS.IPFV* проклет:PPP.PFV **од тренутка када** та крв *дотакне:PRS.PFV* твоје усне.
- (Сн) [...] *od trenutka, ko so se tvoje ustnice dotaknile:PST.PFV* krvi, *čaka:PRS.IPFV* le polovično življenje, prekleto življenje.
- (Чш) [...] **od chvíle, kdy se** jeho krev *dotkne:PRS.PFV* tvých rtů, *budeš žít:FUT.IPFV* jenom napůl a v ztracení.
- (Ск) [...] **od chvíle, čo** sa tvoje pery *dotknú:PRS.PFV* krvi, *budeš žiť:FUT.IPFV* polovičatý, prekliaty život.
- (По) **Od momentu gdy** krew jednorożca *dotknie:PRS.PFV* jego ust, [...] *zostanie:PRS.PFV* na zawsze *przeklęty:PPP.PFV* i będzie wiódł nędzne życie, a właściwie pół-życie.

5.4 Коротко о македонских союзах *откако*, *откога* и *од кога*

Во всех примерах с македонским вариантом в настоящем разделе использован союз *откако*. Из этого, тем не менее, нельзя сделать вывод, что его можно считать полным соответствием русскому союзу *с тех пор как*. При ближайшем рассмотрении оказывается, что семантика этого союза значительно менее специфична, чем союзов типа *с тех пор как*. На это указывает тот факт, что в материале Субкорпуса союз *откако* встречается несравненно чаще, чем союзы, ясно выражающие прототипическое значение, описанное в разделе 2. Во время как русские союзы *с тех пор как* и *с той поры как* встречаются в этом материале вместе 71 раз, македонский *откако* встречается 795 раз, т.е. более чем в 10 раз чаще. Скорее всего, этот македонский союз сам по себе выражает лишь значение предшествования в самом общем смысле, в то время как более специфические значения, к примеру, союзов типа *с тех пор как*, выражаются в основном конфигурацией видовременных форм в предложении⁴⁹. Этим македонский отличается от других славянских языков: в его инвентаре таксисных союзов отсутствует различие между союзами типа *с тех пор как* и типа *после того как*.

Не входя в подробности, отмечу, что в переводах с русского, союз *откако* является стандартным средством при переводе русского деепричастия СВ:

(20) Михаил Булгаков *Мастер и Маргарита*

(Р) *Подумав:СVB.PFV* так, Иван Николаевич *начал:PST.PFV* исправлять написанное.

(Мк) *Откако* вака *поразмисли:АOR.PFV*, Иван Николаевич *почна:АOR.PFV* да го поправа напишаното.

Весьма значимо то, что этот союз употребляется также в предложениях с вторяющимися действиями, что невозможно при союзах типа *с тех пор как* из-за их дейктического характера. Такой случай употребления союза *откако* представлен в следующем примере, где он сочетается с формой имперфекта СВ плюс проспективная частица *ќе*. Употребление этой формы для выраже-

ния повторяемости имеет большое сходство с употреблением формы сослагательного наклонения (потенциала/кондиционала) в сербском и хорватском языках⁵⁰. Поэтому в примере 21 дается и хорватский вариант перевода:

(21) Михаил Булгаков *Мастер и Маргарита*

(Р) Он *умолкал:PST.IPFV*, *поникал:PST.IPFV* головой, потом, *напившись:CVB.PFV* из деревянной фляги теплой воды, *оживал:PST.IPFV* вновь и *хватался:PST.IPFV* за нож [...]

(X) *Zašutio bi:COND.PFV*, *poniknuo:COND.PFV* glavom, zatim *popio:COND.PFV* tople vode iz drvene čuturice, ponovno *živnuo:COND.PFV* i *hvatao:PRF.IPFV* nož skriven pod talitom na grudima [...]

(Мк) Тој *замолчуваше:IPRF.IPFV*, ја *наведнуваше:IPRF.IPFV* главата, а потоа, *откако ќе се напиеше:IPRF.PFV* топла вода од дрвеног шише, пак *живнуваше:IPRF.IPFV*, го *згранчуваше:IPRF.IPFV* [...]

6 Заключение

Приведенный в статье материал показывает, что в ряде языков можно выделить союзы со специфическим ограничительным значением «возникающего фона», типа русского союза *с тех пор как*. При этом важное и интересное различие с другими ограничительными союзами, со значением «прерывающегося фона», типа русского *пока (не)*, состоит в том, что при типе *с тех пор как* семантика содержит дейктический компонент (см. раздел 2). В этом отношении в этих языках существует различие с другими союзными средствами, типа *с (того) момента как/когда*, которые выражают также начальную границу проявления действия ГЧ, но сами по себе не выражают отношение к точке отсчета.

Сказанное относится к рассматриваемым двум германским языкам и к большинству славянских языков. Важным исключением является македонский язык, в котором специализированные союзы типа *с тех пор как* отсутствуют, так что в нем данные таксисные и временные значения выражаются менее четко и лишь на основе конфигурации видовременных форм в предложении.

Приведенные в статье примеры показывают, что и при союзах типа *c tex nor как* важную роль играет конфигурация видовременных форм в ЗЧ и ГЧ. На этой основе выделяются различные типы употребления данных союзов. В моем представлении все эти типы объединяются определенным общим значением, которое я пытался сформулировать в разделе 2.

Факты македонского языка показывают, что при определении сути *tex* или иных союзов в разных языках важно выявить не только случаи, в которых проявляются соответствия, но и случаи, где возможности их употребления расходятся.

Для этой цели важно использовать материал параллельных корпусов. К сожалению, этот материал пока еще достаточно ограничен. Его необходимо расширить. Однако и этот ограниченный материал может послужить некой основой для более детального исследования отдельных языков на материале больших монолингвальных национальных корпусов, которые созданы уже для большинства славянских языков⁵¹.

Я надеюсь, что настоящая статья послужит стимулом для проведения подобных исследований. Прежде всего, в них нужен более детальный анализ функционирования видовременных форм в предложениях данного типа. Далее нужно больше внимания уделить различиям между предложениями с союзами типа *c tex nor как* и предложениями с союзными сочетаниями типа *c (того) момента как/когда*. Крайне необходимо также обратить внимание и на различия с «соседними» союзами типа *после того как* и *теперь/сейчас как*. Можно ожидать, что границы употребления этих трех типов в разных языках проходят не совсем одинаково⁵². Полученные данные помогли бы сформулировать более точное общее значение для каждого отдельного языка (или группы языков).

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Глоссирование

В примерах центральные глагольные формы в ГЧ и ЗЧ глоссируются по принципам, применяемым в готовящемся к изданию сборнике *Таксис в славянских языках*.

Использованные в статье глоссы:

COP	глагол-связка (также при причастных формах пассива)
CVB	(converb) деепричастие
Ø	нулевая форма настоящего времени глагола-связки <i>быть</i>
PRED-по	польское причастие в конструкции с неопределенно-личным значением, см. <i>postano</i> в примере 2'

ВИД:

PFV	совершенный вид
IPFV	несовершенный вид

ВРЕМЯ:

PST	прошедшее время
PRS	настоящее время
FUT	будущее время

В тех языках, где отсутствует отдельная форма будущего времени СВ, форма презенса СВ глоссируется как FUT.PFV.

Ср. (Р) *напишет:FUT.PFV* – (X) *напише:PRS.PFV*, *će napisati:FUT.PFV*.

В славянских языках с большим количеством форм прошедшего времени вместо глоссы PST употребляются следующие:

PRF	перфект
PQP	плюсквамперфект
IPRF	имперфект
AOR	аорист

Для западных языков употребляются сочетания типа PRS.PRF (present perfect) и PST.PRF (past perfect). В английском языке к ним может быть прибавлен:

PROG	прогрессив (напр. <i>had been trying:PST.PRF.PROG</i>)
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НАКЛОНЕНИЕ:

COND	сослагательное наклонение (кондиционал/потенциал)
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ЗАЛОГ:

PASS	пассив
PPP	(passive past participle) пассивное причастие прошедшего времени

В славянских языках пассивная форма с страдательным причастием глоссируется следующим образом: указывается время и вид вспомогательного глагола (COP) и у причастия (PPP) указывается вид. Например: (Р) *Дмитрий был:COP.PST.IPFV назначен:PPP.PFV*, *Дмитрий Ø:COP.PRS.IPFV назначен:PPP.PFV*.

Сноски

- 1 «Таксис» понимается здесь в смысле, предложенном В.С. Храковским. Наиболее полно этот подход изложен во вступительной главе редактированной им коллективной монографии *Типология таксисных конструкций* (Храковский (ред.) 2009) или английский перевод этой работы (Храkovskij (ed.) 2016).
- 2 См. работу (Барентсен 2014) и приведенные в ней ссылки на предыдущие статьи.
- 3 См. полемику в работах (Iordanskaja, Mel'čuk 2009), (Барентсен 2014) и (Падучева 2014).

- 4 Но см. детальный анализ английского союза *since* в работе (Heinämäki 1978: 89–95) и сербских союзов *откад(а)*, *од кад(а)* и *откако* и украинских союзов *відколи*, *відтоді як* и *з тих пір як* в работе (Поповић 2012: 48–54; 80–82; 220–229; 253–255).
- 5 Если союз состоит из нескольких слов, как данные союзы русского языка, по правилам пунктуации большинства языков перед последним словом ставится запятая. Для удобства при описании этих союзов в настоящей работе запятая опускается. О формальных вариантах союзов см. раздел 5.2.
- 6 Хорватский язык выбран, поскольку он является специальностью коллеги Яннеке Калсбеек.
- 7 Английский союз *since* также широко употребляется для выражения значения причины, как в следующем примере: *He was rowing steadily and it was no effort for him since [...] the surface of the ocean was flat [...]* (Hemingway) ‘Он мерно греб, не напрягая сил, **потому что** поверхность океана была гладкой [...]’
- 8 О дейктивности нидерландских союзов *toen* ‘когда’ и *nu* ‘теперь, когда’ см.: (Барентсен 2009: 306 и 317–319) или (Varentsen 2016: 232 и 240–242).
- 9 Дейктический компонент значения, с возможным перемещением точки отсчета, представлен также у наречия *давно*. Однако, как указывает Е.В. Падучева, у этого слова возможно также перемещение в будущее (Падучева 2004: 517).
- 10 В указанных случаях сходный смысл соотношения между действиями ЗЧ и ГЧ в русском языке выражается другими союзными средствами, а именно сочетаниями типа *с (того) момента, как/когда*. См. пример 10 в разделе 4.4 и 10¹ в разделе 5.3.
- 11 См. раздел 5.1.
- 12 Жирным шрифтом при указании языка отмечен язык оригинала. Список глосс находится в конце статьи (перед сносками).
- 13 Здесь, как и во многих других примерах с союзом *since*, непосредственно перед союзом находится наречие *ever*, подчеркивающее длительность ситуации ГЧ.
- 14 Следует, однако, иметь в виду, что в наиболее прототипических примерах непосредственного предшествования, в предложениях с союзами типа *как только*, в обеих частях выражается событие, в то время как при союзе *с тех пор как* ГЧ выражает процесс или состояние.
- 15 Это представлено также в шведском языке, как показывает шведский перевод этого примера: *Ända sen du nämnde:PST Nicolas Flamel har vi försökt:PRS.PRF ta reda på vem det är*. Союз *sen* является вариантом союза *sedan*, употребление которого описывается в работах (Зорихина-Нильссон 2009: 385–387) или (Zorikhina-Nilsson 2016: 290–292).
- 16 Ср. пример 8, где значение континуативности выражается формой перфекта, не осложненной компонентом прогрессивности.
- 17 В неславянских языках это различие в формах глагола выражается менее четко. В них важную роль играет лексическая аспектуальность.
- 18 Последняя формулировка относится лишь к одной из разновидностей типа с данной конфигурацией видов. Некоторые другие случаи, в которых длительность в ГЧ выражается глаголом СВ, рассматриваются в работе (Зорихина-Нильссон 2011). См. также анализ подобных примеров в сербском и украинском языках в работе (Поповић 2012: 51–52; 223–225).
- 19 Передается ненормативная речь диких троллей. В литературном языке глагольные формы были бы *have eaten:PRS.PFV* и *came:PST*.
- 20 В нашем материале из славянских источников этот тип наиболее ясно представлен в примере из этого чешского текста. Поэтому здесь к рассматриваемым языкам добавлен и чешский язык. Другие примеры из чешского языка, как и из других славянских языков, приведены в разделе 5.3.

- 21 Благодарю коллегу Радована Лучича за предоставленные им альтернативные варианты переводов примеров.
- 22 Фактическая обязательность выбора формы перфекта (или плюсквамперфекта) проявляется только в ГЧ. В престижной грамматике (Quirk et al. 1985: 1015–1017) приведены некоторые исключения из этого правила. Отмечается также, что форма презенса более свойственна непринужденному стилю, как в американском варианте, так все чаще и в английском варианте (Там же: 1015).
- 23 Выбор начала, а не конца ситуации имеет, пожалуй, параллель в том, что в языках с формами аористного типа, эта форма при глаголах с неопределенным значением (типа 'знать'), как правило, выражает именно ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ данной ситуации.
- 24 Интересно отметить, что в этом переводе выбрана та же стратегия, как и в приведенном выше английском переводе.
- 25 Однако из-за отмеченных особенностей употребления временных форм в английском языке этот признак нельзя считать характерным для английского союза *since*.
- 26 Благодарю Валентину Барентсен-Орлянскую за альтернативный перевод. В печатном издании представлен перевод В. Гольшева, в котором эксплицитно выражается событие, определяющее НАЧАЛО интервала И (тип Б): *Знаете, что с тех пор, как вы попали: PST.PFV к нам в руки, вы потеряли: PST.PFV двадцать пять килограммов?* О возможности замены вида в ЗЧ при выборе другого глагола см. сказанное в конце раздела 4.1.
- 27 В этом примере, как и в примере 4, две формы перфекта. Однако в отличие от примера 4, где перфект в ГЧ имеет континуативное значение, в примере 7 перфект в ГЧ имеет результативное значение.
- 28 Обратите внимание на то, что в русском варианте этого типа, как правило, употребляется не сложный союз *с тех пор как*, а простой союз *как*.
- 29 Особого внимания, например, требует тип с выражением отношения предшествования при глаголе НСВ в ЗЧ. См.: *Но мир сильно изменился: PST.PFV с тех пор, как я последний раз проезжал: PST.IPFV по дорогам запада* (Толкин *Хранители – Властелин колец I*). Английский оригинал: *The world has changed: PRS.PFV much since I last was: PST on the westward roads*.
- 30 В английском языке употребляется и более полное сочетание *from the moment that*, но *that* обычно опускается.
- 31 Как показывает этот пример, перед существительным можно вставить местоимение *самый*. В таком случае подчеркивается контактность предшествования действия ЗЧ. В одном из альтернативных переводов употребляется вариант *с того момента как*.
- 32 См. интересную дискуссию на сайте Gramota.ru о вариантах: *Прошло уже полгода с того момента, когда / с тех пор, как мы выпустили первый номер нашего журнала* (<http://gramota.ru/forum/redaktor/103935/>).
- 33 Общую информацию об этом корпусе см. по адресу: <http://www.uva.nl/profiel/b/a/a.a.barentsen/a.a.barentsen.html>
- 34 Если исходить из нормы 290 словоформ на странице.
- 35 Единственный пример с верхне-лужицким союзом *z toho časa zo* см. в сноске 39.
- 36 В работе (Поповић 2012: 224) указывается возможное различие между сербскими вариантами *откад* и *откако*.
- 37 Однако несколько удивляет, что именно «дейктические» союзы выбирают слово *co* 'что'. В нидерландском языке соответствием этому слову является *dat*, которое употребляется как раз в недейктических образованиях типа *с момента когда*, по-нидерландски *vanaf het moment dat* (см. пример 10).
- 38 В словацком примере прибавленное в ГЧ *víta: PRS.IPFV nám to v hlave* 'это вертится у нас в голове' не меняет суть, поскольку и здесь употреблена форма настоящего времени.

- 39 Поскольку в Амстердамском корпусе представлен перевод этого произведения на верхне-лужицкий язык, привожу здесь и его вариант: **Z toho časa, zo su** Dmitrija *powołali*:PRF.PFV za sekretara [...], hižo k nam na wječornu kručku *njehodži*:PRS.IPFV.
- 40 В польском языке формы страдательного причастия среднего рода типа *posłano* широко употребляются как сказуемое в неопределенно-личных предложениях.
- 41 В македонском языке представленная здесь причастная конструкция, с пассивным причастием непереходного глагола, функционирует как один из вариантов перфекта.
- 42 Интересно отметить, что вопрос о границах в употреблении таких союзов существует и в шведском языке. Но в нем союз *sedan* имеет как раз более широкое употребление. Он соответствует не только русскому *с тех пор как*, но и союзу *после того как* (как правило – *efter det att*) (Зорихина-Нильссон 2009: 379–380; Zorikhina-Nilsson 2016: 285–286).
- 43 Для хорватского языка см. пример 6.
- 44 Однако, согласно коллеге Магде ван Дейкерен-Грабовой, здесь возможно также настоящее время: **Od té doby, co** zná:PRS.IPFV *Sabinu* ...
- 45 См. также примеры 175–181 в работе (Поповић 2012: 81–82).
- 46 В нидерландском оригинале отсутствует ЗЧ с союзом *sinds*. Используется идиоматическое выражение: **Vader is**:PRS de laatste tijd veel thuis, op de zaak **beeft**:PRS hij niets meer te zoeken ‘Папа в последнее время много бывает дома, в конторе ему больше нечего делать’ (пер. С. Белокриницкой и М. Новиковой).
- 47 Благодарю Яапа Кампхейса (Jaap Kamphuis) и Снежану Кампхейс (Snežana Kamphuis) за их подробный комментарий на македонские варианты примеров 17 и 19.
- 48 О замене союза *с тех пор как* союзом *как* см. сноску 28. В книжном переводе И.В. Оранского представлен тип Б: [...] *он был жутко удивлен, когда он понял, что* прошло:PST.PFV *уже целых два месяца с тех пор, как он приехал*:PST.PFV *в Хогвартс*.
- 49 В том же духе функционирование союзов *откако* и *откога* описывается в работе (Шокларова-Льоровска 1990: 13; 75–78; 160–163; 169–170). При этом приводятся разные польские союзы, которые могут им соответствовать. Кроме союзов из сферы *с тех пор как* (*odkąd, od kiedy* и *od czasu jak*) названы: *kiedy, gdy* и *jak*. Удивляет только, почему не указаны сочетания *po tym jak, po tym kiedy* и *po tym gdy*, которые можно считать специализированными союзами предшествования польского языка.
- 50 Об употреблении формы потенциала при выражении повторяющихся действий, даже с глаголами СВ, см. работу (Kalsbeek, Lučić 2008). Другие примеры соответствия этих форм хорватского и македонского языков приводятся в работе (Барентсен 2008).
- 51 Примером исследования такого типа является работа (Duijkeren-Hrabová 2017), в которой широко используется прекрасный материал Чешского национального корпуса.
- 52 Ср. анализ союзов следования в ряде языков в работе (Barentsen 2012).

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НАБЛЮДЕНИЯ О СОЮЗАХ ТИПА *SINDS/SINCE*

Состав субкорпуса

Указаны авторы и название оригинала, с годом первой публикации. После этого указан объем русского варианта. Для счета употребляется единица Тс (тысяча словоформ). Язык, в котором отсутствует данный текст, в конце указан сокращением, употребляемым при подаче примеров.

Adams, Douglas	<i>The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy</i> (1979)	39	БР
Brown, Dan	<i>The Da Vinci Code</i> (2003)	154	БР
Булгаков, Михаил	<i>Мастер и Маргарита</i> (1940 / 1973)	117	
Carroll, Lewis	<i>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</i> (1865)	21	
Collodi, Carlo	<i>Le avventure di Pinocchio</i> (1906)	34	БР, Ск
De Saint-Exupéry, Antoine	<i>Le petit prince</i> (1943)	12	
Frank, Anne	<i>Het achterhuis</i> (1947). Расшир. изд. (1991)	76	БР
Hemingway, Ernest	<i>The Old Man and the Sea</i>	23	
Kundera, Milan	<i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí</i> (1984)	72	БР, Ск, Сб
Lem, Stanislaw	<i>Solaris</i> (1961)	50	
Milne, Alan Alexander	<i>Winnie-The-Pooh</i> (1926)	19	
Orwell, George	<i>1984</i> (1949)	76	
Островский, Николай	<i>Как закалялась сталь</i> (1932)	100	
Poe, Edgar Allan	<i>The Murders in the Rue Morgue</i> (1841)	10	Ск
Rowling, J.K.	<i>Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone</i> (1997)	89	
Süskind, Patrick	<i>Das Parfum. Die Geschichte eines Mörders</i> (1981)	66	
Tolkien, J.R.R.	<i>The Hobbit or There and Back Again</i> (1937)	70	
Tolkien, J.R.R.	<i>The Fellowship of the Ring, being the first part of The Lord of the Rings</i> (1954, 1966)	146	БР
Итого		1174	

Дополнения для белорусского языка:

Andrić, Ivo	<i>Na Drini ćuprija</i> (1945)	106	
Camus, Albert	<i>L'Étranger</i> (1942)	38	
Kafka, Franz	<i>Die Verwandlung</i> (1915)	16	
Kipling, Rudyard	<i>The Jungle Book. Mowgli stories</i> (1894)	20	
Lindgren, Astrid	<i>Lillebror och Karlsson på taket</i> (1955)	24	
Orwell, George	<i>Animal Farm</i> (1945)	24	
Poe, Edgar Alan	<i>The Pit and the Pendulum</i> (1842)	4	
Poe, Edgar Alan	<i>The Black Cat</i> (1843)	3	
Simenon, George	<i>La Première Enquête de Maigret, 1913</i> (1949)	5	
Steinbeck, John	<i>The Grapes Of Wrath</i> (1939)	155	
Wells, Herbert	<i>The Invisible Man</i> (1897)	24	
Wells, Herbert	<i>The War of the Worlds</i> (1898)	45	
Итого		464	

АДРИАН БАРЕНТСЕН

Дополнения для словацкого языка:

Fielding, Hellen	<i>Bridget Jones's Diary a novel</i> (1996)	65
Kipling, Rudyard	<i>The Second Jungle Book</i> (1895)	53
Итого		118

Дополнения для сербского языка:

Kipling, Rudyard	<i>The Second Jungle Book. Mowgli stories</i> (1895)	34
Wells, Herbert	<i>The War of the Worlds</i> (1898)	45
Итого		79

SOME THOUGHTS ON RHYTHM – AND THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE

Lucas van Buuren

REITERANT SPEECH is a linguistic technique used for research into speech (see e.g. Fletcher 2010; Liberman & Prince 1977). The (present) on-line *Utrecht Lexicon of Linguistics* explains it as follows.

“For the study of the prosody of an utterance (...) the use of reiterant speech *makes it possible* [my emphasis -LvB] to abstract away from (co-) intrinsic characteristics. Instead of uttering a sentence like ‘John gave Mary a book’, the speaker replaces each syllable by the syllable ‘ma’, yielding ‘MA ma MAma ma MA”.

This approach to ‘extracting’ or ‘tracing’ the prosody of a sentence strikes me as linguistically naive. The status of word division and the MA/ma distinction appear to be taken for granted. It takes no note of traditional theories of rhythm and intonation, nor even of age-old (and more enlightening) prosodic enactments such as DUM teeDUMtee teeDUM and/or tapping these out with one or both hands. Its oddly pretentious term ‘reiterant’ only adds to these impressions. By assuming or suggesting, moreover, that there is only one rhythmic-intonational structure for the old *John gave Mary a book*, this approach completely ignores the numerous meaningful options even for the simplest five-word example like this. Denying speaker freedom in this way, indeed discarding meaning altogether, presumably stems from the curious belief in some linguistic circles that prosody can be automatically ‘computed’ from (written) surface structure inputs. However, as already pointed out by Henry Sweet (1900: 1) “The first thing in the study of language is to realize clearly this duality of form and meaning”.

I am therefore most grateful to Janneke Kalsbeek and the Amsterdam Slavicist Friday Club for encouraging me (as an anglicist) over many years in a Form ↔ Meaning approach to prosody in English (and Dutch, etc.). Some of

this being evidently of a universal nature may perhaps be of interest to students of other languages as well.

1. Getting to grips with vocal rhythm

1.1. Enacting three likely scansions

For a start, the reader may wish to experiment with some possible and less likely ‘teedle-ee-dum’ enactments for the *john-gave-mary-a-book-example*, always with the same number of syllables. At least three likely rhythmic scansions taking about 170 centiseconds each (leaving aside as yet 1-second citation forms as just adduced) suggest themselves for this five-word six-syllable sequence. These may be conveniently symbolised (\Rightarrow) with B, T, D, F, P, M, to be read out, respectively, as yamBOS, TROchee, DACTylus, amPHIbrach [*əmfaɪbər*], anaPÆST [*ənəpiɪst*] and MONE. One may then loop back (\approx) each ‘reading out’, or rather performance or enactment (preferably on a monotone, to keep out intonation) to the original wording to see if and how it fits. These three ‘circular’ exercises should give the reader a basic idea of the form and function of rhythm while at the same time also familiarising her/him with the six terms for classical prosodic groupings or BYTES (to avoid the now much-abused term ‘feet’) and our symbols for them.

- (1) a DUM teeDUMtee teeDUM \Rightarrow MFB \approx john gave mary a book/ a kiss
 (1) b DUM DUM DUMtee teeDUM \Rightarrow MMTB \approx john gave mary a chance
 (1) c teeDUM DUMtee teeDUM \Rightarrow BTB \approx john gave mary a whack

The difference between scansions (1a) MONE amFYba yamBOS and (1b) MONE MONE TROchee yamBOS is clearly a matter of regarding *gave* as a ‘given’ referent within the larger grouping ‘*gave mary*’ or as a separate referent/information-point vocally ‘pointed at’ or ‘specified’ by an S(trong) stress. The referent of *gave* is indeed more likely to be pointed at if John gave Mary a chance or a wallop rather than a book. It already transpires that rhythmic options have semantic causes or functions over and above purely syntactic ones.

The acceptability (or not) of scansion (1c) yamBOS Trochee yamBOS actually calls out for much more observation. I could refer to my friend *John Smith* with the two bytes/thoughts MM or by a single byte B. Similarly, a speaker points

(inevitably also with eye movements, etc.) at the referent of *he* in *he can* by pacing it in time as MM. Again, by patterning it as B she says that the same referent is already specified, i.e. ‘given’. By leaving *john* minimally stressed in (1c) it seems to acquire, unusually, the value of a pronoun. This is more likely to happen if the word is *people*. Other full words often rhythmically suppressed are the initial ones in *good old days, very nice, just now, big city, little girls, number one, keep going...* One neglected area of linguistic research is perhaps: which words can be rhythmically suppressed, and why.

1.2 Some impossible or nonsensical scansionings

A good newsreader has perfect rhythmic awareness. If rhythm did not have meaningful functions our good old written example could presumably be given any rhythmic structure, such as those in (2) hereunder. The reader is invited to loop these back as well into *john gave mary a book* to see what semantic/syntactic effects this has, if any.

(2) (a) MMMMMM, (b) MMDM, (c) MBP, (d) BBB, (e) FF.

Apart from scansion (2a), which would do for a (c. 250 csec) insistent dictation on the phone, all these rhythms seem to yield utter nonsense, raising at best silly questions like (2b) gave marier book?, (2c) gave mare rearbook? (2d) gave marie a book? (2e) gave mur reA book? Rather than concluding however that rhythm is determined by syntax (or surface structure), it seems better to say that it is restricted by it, albeit only in so far as syntactic structures themselves rest on rhythmic distinctions.

1.3 Rhythm and pitch

In linguistics, the term *prosody* is mostly used to mean *stress* and *intonation*. Paul Frawse’s (1974) ground-breaking *Psychologie du rythme* is completely ignored in the literature. More often than not *rhythm* is not even mentioned – and rarely to be found in indexes. To add to the confusion, the term *stress* refers more frequently to melodic, intonational than to rhythmic ‘prominence’.

This article is specifically about rhythm (which includes stress or ‘ictus’ besides *grouping* and other matters). Rhythm and intonation are indeed intimately connected, but are best kept strictly apart. Like any music teacher I want to make a clear distinction between rhythm and pitch: one can have rhythm without melody, but not melody without rhythm. Rhythm comes before intonation. To show both the differences and the connections, however, a brief outline of intonation seems a necessity.

1.4 Intonation in a nutshell

Essentially this follows Armstrong & Ward (1926) and Keijsper (1985). Any S(trongly stressed) syllable/word/byte may be made T(onic) by giving it a +, – or = tone. If the meaning of S is specification, i.e. pointing at the referent, that of T is ‘new’ in the sense of pointing *plus* dismissing or excluding any alternative referents as well. Whereas a not-given-not-new S referent generally attracts subtle pointing with eyes, face, head, hands... (just try talking for a while without any such movement!), T referents tend to require larger bodily movements also of the arms and the shoulders. If the reader makes *mary* the only new word/byte in our example(s), it may take a downward slash of hand(s)-plus-head for a +tone, a head-nod plus open-handed offering gesture for a –tone and an upward ‘shrug’ of shoulders and hands for an =tone (cf. Van Buuren 2012). The vocal (part of the) gesture for a plus-tone ◡ is upjump-then-fall meaning *committed* choice of referent. That for a minus-tone ◣ is downjump, meaning *obvious* or *accepted* choice. The pitch movement for an equal tone ◥ is upward jump only, meaning uncommitted/equivalent choice of referent. Our mark for (non-tonic) S, by the way, is ◦ after preceding high syllable and ◡ after a low one. Note that the function of tone, commitment, is clearly on the (inter-)personal plane. All other prosodic functions are on the (con-)textual or deictic plane of language. None, it seems, are on the ideational or representative plane, except indirectly, e.g. in *fruit flies like bananas and the light house keeper flew in a plane*, where the syntactic/ideational structure rests largely on rhythmic choices.

F(alling) tunes may be indicated by a final downturn ◣ or ◡ at the end of a ‘tonegroup’ or PIECE, meaning ‘finality’ or rather: *no alternative ideas* activated in

the speaker's brain. R(ising) tunes shown by a ditto upturn \smile or \frown simply mean: *not-F*. Cf. *˚whats your name_˘, sit ˘down_˘* versus *˚whats your name_˘, sit ˘down_˘*.

1.5 Rhythm plus intonation

So rhythmic patterns like in (1), MONE amFYba yamBOS, MONE MONE TROchee yamBOS and yamBOS TROchee yamBOS, can be endlessly combined with intonational choices again not foreseen or accounted for in the usual grammars of written (rather than spoken) language. For example:

- (3)
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| $\frown M \uparrow F \downarrow B \smile \#$ | $\downarrow M \uparrow F \downarrow B \smile \#$ | $\downarrow M \downarrow F \downarrow B \smile \#$ |
| $\smile \downarrow \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ | $\smile \downarrow \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ | $\smile \downarrow \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ |
| $\frown M \uparrow M \downarrow T \downarrow B \smile \#$ | $\frown M \downarrow M \uparrow T \uparrow B \smile \#$ | $\downarrow B \downarrow T \downarrow B \smile \#$ |
| $\smile \downarrow \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ | $\smile \downarrow \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ | $\smile \downarrow \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ |

Any student of spoken language should find it instructive to enact, i.e. ‘perform’ these patterns, loop them back into *john/who/they gave mary a book/ a what/ a look/ a shock/ a whack/ the sack/ a fright/ the creeps*, etcetera, and carefully consider the distinctions in meaning (poor Mary!) thereby achieved.

Having started with some simple rhythmic patterns we discover more and more prosodic complexity and freedom. A further step multiplying the possibilities is to take single-piece LOCUTIONS # such as in (3) and divide them up into two or more pieces //, thus:

- (4)
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| $\frown M \smile // \uparrow F \smile // \downarrow B \smile \#$ | $\frown M \smile // \downarrow M \downarrow T \downarrow B \smile \#$ | $\downarrow B \smile // \downarrow T \smile // \downarrow B \smile \#$ |
| $\smile // \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile // \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ | $\smile // \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile // \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ | $\smile // \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile // \cdot \cdot \cdot \smile \#$ |

1.6 Prosodic-phonological hierarchy

The last examples reveal a phonological-prosodic hierarchy: words < bytes < pieces < locution (Van Buuren 1975), a process (combining into) in time. Some would prefer to read it from right to left, i.e. as a product (consisting of) in space. There is much room for argument here. But in any case, a Form ↔ Meaning approach demands that something be said about the functions or meanings of these forms.

A good practical principle to achieve generality is to ‘postulate-until-falsified’ single meanings only. Thus the meaning of a close juncture unit or phonological word may be said to be CONCEPT, that of a word-constellation or byte a THOUGHT, that of a byte constellation or piece an IDEA, and that of a piece constellation or locution a judgment or SENTENTIA.

1.7 Written and spoken language

For the sake of convenience and simplicity, I have concentrated so far on different ways of ‘reading out’ a written text. Public announcers, lecturers, newsreaders, even actors, could perhaps benefit from such practical knowledge. But language was never written until about 5,000 years ago and most people since then, including all young children, were, and are, illiterate. A scientific linguistics therefore must first and foremost study (unscripted!) spoken language. But this is impossible without a reasonable rhythmic theory, and the ability to trace and enact prosodic patterns.

2. Towards a technique for prosodic enactment

2.1 How many degrees of stress?

The first question to ask, I feel, when studying rhythm in language, is ‘how many degrees of stress?’ Since the days of Henry Sweet and (IPA founder) Paul Passy there is wide agreement on what is now known as a Principle of Rhythmic Alternation (Selkirk 1986) but this is ill-understood and constantly flouted because the more basic question has not been addressed. That leads on to a host of other questions, and some answers as well. My rather long introduction before asking this question was because both the words ‘rhythm’ and ‘stress’ first needed some clarification as well.

It is quite amazing to see how little consensus has been reached or attention paid to this basic question in linguistic work on English (or any other language). What are we to tell our students? That linguistics is only concerned with written language? That it is built on quicksand? No real science would tolerate such uncertainty. The question requires serious investigation.

My answer, for what it is worth, is: four degrees of stress, no more and no less. And I would venture to add that this is probably a linguistic universal going back to the (synchronised, isochronous) chanting and dancing of prelinguistic human evolution.

2.2 The Abercrombie/Halliday approach

In two 1964 articles, my then teacher and mentor, the Edinburgh phonetician David Abercrombie allowed for only two ‘embodied’ degrees of stress in speech, an abdominal pulse or ICTUS and a chest-pulse or REMISS, with the ictus always at the beginning of a FOOT. In my present terms this yields M, T, D, even D+... feet/groupings but excludes B, F and P. However, focussing on bodily processes including ‘isochronicity’ between ictuses, professor Abercrombie did not consider Sweet’s (1900: 1) form \leftrightarrow meaning relationship I now regard as indispensable.

At the time his system was – innovatively! – incorporated into ‘grammar’ by his Edinburgh colleague Michael Halliday, and it is still employed unchanged (!) in the latest edition (2004) of the latter’s *Introduction to Functional Grammar*.

2.3 Metrical phonology

At the other extreme, *Metrical Phonology* (Lieberman & Prince 1977), likewise still around after several decades, assumes an *indeterminate* number of degrees of stress, far above what human bodies are capable of. This appears a consequence of repeated automatic applications of a ‘Nuclear Stress Rule’ to syntactic outputs. One practitioner indeed complains that these “stress levels become ‘bleached out’ in a complex wash of pitch, duration and rhythm” (Hayes 1995: 22). Note that this approach, although disembodied, nevertheless also assumes isochrony (rather than isochronicity) between ictuses. Perhaps this is because it is based on metrics, the abstract, musical yardstick in time. As seems clear from Cooper & Meyer’s (1960: 6) *The Rhythmic Structure of Music*, however, individual performance is generally heterochronous. Also, it still does not consider rhythmic options and the functions or reasons for them. Apart from agreeing on the wrong things, then, the two schools appear quite incompatible.

2.4 Stress marking in dictionaries and textbooks

Turning to the numerous English (and other) pronouncing dictionaries we find that each of them recognises just three degrees of stress: primary/strong/main, secondary or medium and tertiary/weak/zero/unstressed. The last two terms are actually misnomers as one cannot pronounce syllables with no stress at all. The usual marks are ' for strong, ˌ for medium and 'unmarked' for weakest. In our combined rhythm-cum-intonation notations we use ˘ or ˙ instead for S(trong) and ˚ or ˛ for M(edium) stress.

Curiously again, not one of the dictionary writers seems to have noticed a fourth degree of stress. The only reference to it I can think of is in the now much maligned Trager & Smith (1957: 37), who perceptively observe that the last syllable of *animal* (said in isolation), is less 'unstressed' than the middle one. However, since they regard its distribution as predictable they do not postulate another stress 'phoneme', but merely regard this one as an 'allophone' of their weakest stress. But how about *the animal kingdom* then? Or consider ˌ*eduˈcatio.nal*, ˌ*eduˈcatio.nal.ly*, **eduˈcatio.nally*. In the absence of distributional 'rules' there is no way a foreign speaker can tell that the starred form is wrong and the one before it correct. Clearly therefore, u(nderdone)-stress must be subdivided into w(eak) and z(ed) – using the opportunity as well to get rid of the misleading terms 'u(nstressed)' and 'z(ero)' at the same time.

Allowing a sequence of three u-syllables in ˌ*eduˈcatio.nally* is also flouting the widely accepted 'alternation of force' principle in Sweet (1875/1913: 11) and Passy (1887/1929: 44) referred to above. This says that one can have no more than two minimally stressed syllables between stronger ones, or after/before pause. The same principle is also often expressed by saying that all rhythmic groupings are into twos and threes (and ones, we should add, – and compare also +F+ below). This principle is also constantly flouted in the literature by allowing sequences of more than two (unmarked) u-syllables. Even a coursebook on phonology (Hogg & McCully 1987: 2) regales the reader with examples like (5), containing four such sequences. Example (6) was made up by me to 'prove' that in the eight so-called unstressed ə-syllables after *com* at least two w's (marked with dots) are required in between the z-stresses.

- (5) the 'goal of the des'criptive 'study of a 'language is the con'struction of a 'grammar
- (6) .how un'comforta.ble that there .was an adminis'tration ,charge

Note that here, too, we need four degrees of stress (and therefore a three-tier rhythmic hierarchy as we shall see), no more and no less. This is not to deny that it could sometimes be convenient to treat M and w stresses as equal, but such 'simplification' at this stage would be premature and unfounded. To perceive all four degrees of rhythmic stress in (6) it is best read out with the last Tonic on *com*, and the rest on a monotone.

2.5 Counting time in music teaching

One can hardly escape the conclusion that 150 years after Sweet and Passy stress-marking is still in a dire mess in the sciences of linguistics and phonetics.

This seems even more incredible in view of a well-established elementary teaching tradition in music allowing rhythmic hierarchies with up to about five degrees of accent or stress, as shown in Figure 1. I had to perform this kind of 'counting time' decades ago as an eight-year-old in my first piano lessons. Which I readily did, in my recollection, happily and effortlessly.

Figure 1. Counting time

- | | |
|---|--|
| a | ONE TWO ... repeat. Cf. saying <i>tata...</i> while tapping with both hands.
Two half-notes ♩ per bar/byte, 1 tier, two degrees of stress. |
| b | ONE TWO THREE FOUR ...repeat. Cf. <i>tatatata...</i> and tapping.
Four quarter ♪ notes per bar/byte, 2-tier hierarchy, 3 degrees of stress. |
| c | ONE an TWO an THREEan FOUR an ... Cf. <i>tatatata...</i> and tapping.
Eight $\frac{1}{8}$ ♪ notes, 3-tier hierarchy, 4 degrees of stress. |
| d | ONE y an y TWOy any THREEy any FOURy any ... Cf. <i>tatatata...</i> and tapping.
Sixteen $\frac{1}{16}$ ♪ notes, 4-tier hierarchy, 5 degrees of stress. |
| e | ONE ONE ONE ...
One whole note ♩ per bar/byte, no hierarchy?, one degree of stress. |

This indicates that from an early age humans are capable of handling a four-tier hierarchy with 5 degrees of stress or accent. Some professional drummers and dancers may perhaps achieve 7 or 8 degrees (not to mention cross rhythms) but for most of us, five seems about the limit, indeed one more than anything found in language. I shall leave (e) out of further consideration as its hierarchical status is still not clear to me.

The slightly unusual ‘serial’ or ‘process’ notation in Fig. 1 is more like musical notation than the non-serial bracketed or tree ‘product’ notations common in linguistics. It seems simpler to follow, at least for an 8-year old pianist, than alternative tree notations as in Figure 2. In music notation, likewise, bytes (i.e. ‘bars’) are separated by unbroken vertical lines. Secondary bar-dividers (e.g. before or after the third beat in ‘five-to-the-bar’) can be shown by dotted lines. Extending this device in Fig. 1, I have used one-part, two-part, three-part and four-part (| | | |) dividers for primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary byte divisions respectively. As noted by Sweet (1913: 12) a similar system is actually used also in the (then extremely popular) tonic sol-fa notation.

My *ad hoc* use of five letter-shapes also seemed more self-explanatory than using four different stress-marks instead.

2.6 A versificationist’s approach to counting time in music

As shown in Figure 2, the time-countings in Fig. 1 can also be seen and performed as primary to quaternary TROchees, i. e. T, T, t and t. But if these were all pronounced ʔrɔki, the supportive ‘counting’ distinctions of Fig. 1 would be almost completely lost and one would soon give up in despair. To get round this problem, a mnemonic trick suggests itself, as shown, i.e. to ‘weaken’ TROchee to ‘trechi, trøchi, tricki’, etc.

Although for a 4/4 metre as in (b) only trochaic readings are expected from beginning pianists like yours truly, there is nothing to stop one from doing an iambic reading instead. The reader is invited to try this out, again weakening the BOS vowel to ε, ø (or ə, if preferred) and ʔ respectively. For our purposes, by the way, the term yambOS seemed preferable to English iAMB. This exercise could be further expanded by D, F or P (± T’s) readings for 3/4 metres (as in Strauss’s *Blue*

Danube). For a five-to-the-bar metre (as in Desmond/Brubeck’s *Take Five*) one indeed *has to* decide between DT and TD, and for a six-to-the-bar (as in *Greensleeves*) one choice to be made is between TTT or DD. And so on, ad infinitum. The article ‘Aksak’ on Wikipedia indeed lists Bulgarian folk-dances with up to 25 beats to the bar, organised in the most complex ways. I intend to take some lessons.

There seems abundant material here for a practice-makes-perfect introduction to rhythm in speech, one might say the ‘missing chapter’ in Ian Catford’s (2001) introspective, embodied *Practical Introduction to Phonetics*. I hope to publish one soon on my website www.linguavox.nl.

Figure 2. Naming the groupings

a	troki ...	T	T	T	T
			/ \	/ \	/ \
b	troki treki ...	T T	T T	T T	
			/ \ / \	/ \ / \	
c	troki trøki treki trøki ...	T	t T t	T t	T t
			/ \ / \ / \ / \		
d	troki triki trøki triki treki triki trøki triki ...	T	t t	t T	t t

2.7 Not a principle but an axiom

As a corrective to the present stress-marking free-for-all I may suggest elevating the Sweet-Passy alternation principle to a Rhythmic Alternation Axiom or RAX, i.e. a *sine qua non* never to be ignored, thus:

RAX: no more than two remisses between Ictuses (and no more than one after/before pause).

RAX will obviously not apply to the very fast movements of ‘riffs’ or tongue-trills that are not individually controlled, nor to movements more than about two seconds apart (Fraisse, o.c.). But within these limits, if adhered to, it should rule out all (or most?) impossible rhythmic patterns henceforth, and indeed force 4 degrees of stress and therefore a 3-tier rhythmic hierarchy, as in (6). Which, in

turn forces byte, sub-byte, and subsub-byte divisions as shown in Figures 1 and 2. And all vice versa! Which evokes the question of their functions or meanings, and *vice versa* again. And so on, and so forth, ultimately yielding a network of linguistic phenomena with rhythm – bodily coordination in time – at its centre.

The question still remaining to be answered here is where precisely to draw the primary, secondary and tertiary byte-boundaries (| | |) yielded. The answer is: at the openest juncture or *ritardando* available. According to Fraisse (1974: 100), the function of these is precisely to ‘assurer l’unité perceptive des groupes’. They are therefore easily perceived in one’s own speech but naturally become more and more difficult to determine in unfamiliar accents and languages. Postulating, however, as we do, a mutual Form \leftrightarrow Meaning relationship between ((sub)sub)bytes and ((sub)sub)thoughts the openest juncture is also determined by meaning, in other words the highest semantic/syntactic boundary. Some of this is illustrated below in some lines taken from my 2015 study of President Obama’s speech.

2.8 Grecian terms

It appears that RAX has some more interesting consequences and entailments.

The major logical entailment is that it yields exactly nine groupings, thus: (r)(r)I(r)(r). And lo and behold, these groupings are almost or largely the same as those postulated by the ancient Greeks for verse, singing, dancing, music, even speech, and also by Cooper & Meyer (1960: 6) for music.

Dr. Arie Hoekstra (1912-1995) my teacher of Greek, also in a distant past, at the Haarlem (Holland) Lorentz Lyceum, had a wonderful way of making us imbibe these difficult Grecian terms by enacting them, thus: yambOS $\cup -$, TROchee $- \cup$, DACtylus $- \cup \cup$, (an)amPHIbrach(an) $(\cup)\cup - \cup(\cup)$, anaPÆST $\cup \cup -$, MONE $-$. The reader may have noticed that his mnemonic trickery certainly did the job in my case. I never looked back. And not only is it still an integral part of my own teaching, I even pursue it further by ‘weakening’ the Ictus vowel in each of them to ϵ for secondary and \emptyset (or \emptyset), for their tertiary forms. This yields the system of terms and symbols in Figure 3.

Figure 3. System of terms and symbols

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary
B	yamBOS	<i>B</i>	yamBES	<i>b</i>	yambøs
T	TROchee	<i>T</i>	TREchee	<i>t</i>	trøchee
D	DACtylus	<i>D</i>	DECTylus	<i>d</i>	døctylus
F	amFYber	<i>F</i>	amFEber	<i>f</i>	amføber
P	anaPÆST	<i>P</i>	anaPES	<i>p</i>	anapøs
M	MO(NE)	<i>M</i>	MEN	<i>m</i>	møn

Actually, the MONE (or MO, for English speakers wishing to avoid too much ‘moaning’) was added by myself later on. Rather strangely, it was, and is, never mentioned, in spite of its frequent (marginal) occurrence in verses like *baa baa black sheep, have you any wool* - MMMM TTM, or in Abercrombie’s prose example *four great big fat black cats* - MMMMMM. But verses are never in MONES only (except perhaps in Buddhist incantations?), and as already suggested, the rhythmic status of (e) in Fig. 1 therefore seems to me somewhat doubtful as well. But there are plenty of M’s in (9).

The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the three ‘an’ expansions in (an)amPHIbrach(an). An ⁺F⁺ (pronounce ənəmfaɪbərən) turns up in line 16 of the Obama audio: *that had been 'building up for....* An ⁺F may be seen in line 7d of the following excerpt from the transcript.

2.9 Some unscripted spontaneous speech

The following extract from my 2015 study of prosody in Barack Obama’s *spontaneous* speech may serve as an illustration of the theory and technique discussed so far. In it reduced letter-size means ‘not clear’ and _^ stands for ‘thinking pause’. Leaving (7a) till the last, the reader should *enact* the rhythmic notations over each line and compare that with the text. For more detail and the audio recording I may refer to the original article. Before undertaking such studies on other speakers, linguists should first practise on their own recorded (and unrecorded) spontaneous speech.

(7)

- a $m \mid M \mid B \mid m \mid T \mid \tau \mid F \mid m \parallel B \mid T \mid B \parallel$
 a .həʔ|_and|_Λ you.knəʊ|_Λ fɔː|_Λ ɪndɪ|_β vɪdʒl| a ˈmɛrɪ|_ɪ kəns ˈwʰo ˌɑː|_Λ ˈstrʌɡlɪŋ|_ɪ rɪt|_nəʊ ˌnəʊ ˌnəʊ ˌnəʊ //
- b $M \mid M \mid D \mid T \mid b \mid F \parallel$
 b ˈθeɪ|_həv| ˈevrɪ|_riːz|_ɪ n tɔː ˈbiː|_ɪ ɪm|_pəʃ|_ɪ ɪnt|_eɪ|_ɪ nt ˌnə ˌnə ˌnə //
- c $M \mid B \mid M \mid B \mid M \mid F \parallel$
 c ˈθeɪ|_shəʊ|_ɪ d ˈwɑːnt|_Λ ˈɔːl|_ðɪz|_θɪŋz|_sɒlvd|_ɪ tɔː ˌmɔːr|_ɒ|_rəʊ ˌnə ˌnə //
- d $F \mid T \mid M \mid M \mid M \mid ˈF \mid T \mid M \parallel$
 d ə ˈɪ ˌɪ ɪt ˈdɔːsnt|_mæt|_ə ˈhəʊ|_gʊd|_mi ˌiːk|_ɒ|_nɒ|_mɪk|_ˈθiː|_əriːz|_ɑː ˌnə ˌnə //
- e $m \mid B \mid P \mid w \mid M \parallel$
 e ɪf ˌju ˈdɒn|_həv|_ə ˈdʒ|_ɒb|_ˈrɪt|_nəʊ ˌnə ˌnə //
- f $F \mid ɜː \mid T \mid ɜː \mid m \mid B \mid B \mid M \parallel F \parallel$
 f ðə ˈɒn|_li ˌiːk|_ɒ|_nɒ|_mɪk|_pə|_lɪː|_sɪ ˌju ˈwɑːnt|_tɔː ˌhɪə ˌɪs ˌi ˌm ˈhɪəd ˌnə ˌnə //
- g $B \mid B \parallel w \mid B \mid B \parallel m \mid B \mid T \mid F \parallel$
 g ɪ ˈgɒt|_ə ˌdʒ|_ɒb ˌɪ ˌkən ˈpeɪ|_mi ˌbɪl|_s ˌɪ ˌkən ˈlʊk|_ˈɑːft|_ə ˌmi ˈfæ|_mli ˌnə ˌnə //

3. Concluding remarks

The aim of this article was to find some way of describing the rhythm of speech, i.e. spoken prose, rather like we scansion poems, or rather spoken verse. To begin with, the relationship was not very obvious, partly because our whole idea of rhythm is somewhat foggy. But after some performing and enacting different rhythmic patterns on the same string of five words, it seemed that some ‘groupings’ into trochees, iambs, etc., were acceptable and others were not.

This showed that rhythm, the alternation of ictuses (better known as ‘stresses’) and remisses, is linguistically/semantically of crucial importance. One obvious point to establish then was how many degrees of ictus we need, the more so in view of the varying numbers of stresses recognised by linguists. On the basis of some counting time exercises it was felt that three (rather than four) degrees of ictus, and thereby a three-tier rhythmic *hierarchy*, would be within young children’s ability. Together with a minimal stress for remisses, that suggests four degrees of stress in speech. Some English examples indicated that no less than four degrees are in fact needed, and apparently no more than four either.

To put a brake on any free-for-all in stress-marking a rhythmic alternation *axiom* (RAX) was introduced, allowing nine different groupings, thus: (r)(r)I(r)(r), all of which except I (mone), rrIr, rIrr and rrIrr regularly used since Grecian times in writing, performing, enacting and scansioning verse.

The absence in traditional prosody of amphibrach with preceding and/or following ‘an’ is understandable. Repeating any of these three in a line of verse would result in more than two r’s in a row. This conflicts with RAX, so one of them would be stronger, i.e. a secondary I, thereby forcing a two-tier hierarchy. But all verse is (with rare exceptions) traditionally single-tiered. So there. A similar argument applies to the absence of mones.

So, we are now beginning to see the differences and the *similarities* between old-fashioned verse scansioning and the new prose scansioning. The main difference is that verse requires repetition of a single foot or byte, and prose does not. By allowing any sequence of RAX groupings, it will be multi-tiered by definition. And thereby also non-isochronous presumably, although that may be beside the point. Apart from these slight differences, prose scansioning seems exactly the same as verse scansioning.

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GEOLINGVISTIČKI POGLED NA REFLEKSE SLOGOTVORNOGA */ U GOVORIMA HRVATSKOGA JEZIKA¹

Anita Celinić & Mira Menac-Mihalić

0 Uvod

Cilj je našega istraživanja i ovoga rada kartografski prikazati odraze slogotvornoga */u govorima hrvatskoga jezika. U ovom radu ograničile smo se samo na govore unutar Hrvatske.

O refleksima slogotvornoga */u hrvatskoj je dijalektologiji dosta pisano, ali uglavnom u okviru opisa fonologije pojedinih govora, grupa govora, dijalekata i narječja. Dosad nije izrađena karta koja bi pokazala raznolikost i točan raspored različitih refleksa na terenu. Zbog nepotpune terenske istraženosti hrvatskih govora karta koju smo izradile za ovaj rad ne može se smatrati završenom – ona će se moći nadopunjavati građom iz novih terenskih istraživanja.

1 Izvori građe

Ovaj rad i pripadajuća jezična karta nastali su na temelju triju tipova izvora građe:

1. Temeljni je izvor građa za jezične atlase, i to upitnici za Hrvatski jezični atlas (HJA)² i za Općeslavenski lingvistički atlas (OLA). Njezina je iznimna vrijednost u mogućnosti sumjerljivog praćenja, što druga građa uglavnom ne omogućuje.³
2. Tu smo građu dopunile građom iz literature.⁴
3. Građu iz upitnika nadogradile smo podacima prikupljenim vlastitim terenskim istraživanjima u dijelu do sad neistraženih punktova.

U tekstu rada uz punktove za koje smo građu našle u objavljenim radovima, navodimo podatak o izvoru; o punktovima uz koje ne navodimo izvor, podatke smo našle u rukopisnoj građi. Popis te građe donosimo uz literaturu.

2 Kartografski postupci

Reflektse smo na karti prikazale simbolima. Simboli su kartografirani u dvjema veličinama. Jedini reflekt u pojedinom punktu kartografirani je većim znakom. U punktovima, u kojima je potvrđeno više reflektasa, česti su kartografirani većim znakom, a rjeđi manjim. Nastojale smo da simboli budu ucrtani lijevo od kratice naselja, no u slučajevima u kojima to, zbog rasporeda punktova, nije bilo moguće provesti, simboli su ucrtani na najbližim dostupnim mjestima. Osnovna mreža punktova na karti predstavlja mrežu predviđenih punktova za Hrvatski jezični atlas. Tamo gdje su refleksi raznoliki – a to je na zapadu hrvatskoga jezika – osnovnu mrežu dopunile većim brojem punktova da bi karta bila preciznija, što je rezultiralo neujednačenom gustoćom mreže.

U radu i na karti prikazujemo reflektse kao vokale određene kvalitete. Pri tome, osim tamo gdje se ona izrijekom spominje (u odjeljku o raspodjeli), njihovu kvantitetu ne smatramo inherentnom i ne razmatramo je. Refleksi prikazani na karti mogu biti i dugi i kratki.

3 Predmet kartografiranja

Kao slogotvorno **l* u ovom se radu kartografiraju:

- a. psl. sljedovi **vl* i **zl* (koji se redovito nalaze u međusuglasničkom položaju);
- b. psl. međusuglasnički sljedovi **lb* i **l̥b* (početni i završni **lb* i **l̥b* ostaju izvan razmatranja).

Refleksi **l* pod a. sustavno su kartografirani u OLA (1994), no kako je u mreži OLA malo hrvatskih punktova, karte u tom svesku ne pokazuju svu složenost stanja na terenu. Za razliku od većine ostalih slavenskih jezika, u južnoslavenskim, pa tako i u hrvatskome, jednako su se reflektirali, imaju isti reflekt, i **zl*, **vl* i međusuglasnički **lb*, **l̥b*. Zbog toga smo, izrađujući kartu, jednako razmatrale obje skupine pa su se u našem fokusu, među ostalima, zajedno našle ove riječi:

- a. ‘pun’ (**pvl̥n̥b*), ‘vuk’ (**vvl̥k̥b*), ‘žuć’ (**žvl̥č̥b* || *zvl̥č̥b*), ‘žut’ (**žvl̥t̥b*); ‘dube’ (prez. 3sg) (**d̥vl̥bet̥b* || **d̥vl̥bit̥b*), ‘mučati’ (**m̥vl̥č̥ēti*), ‘stup’ (**st̥vl̥p̥b* || **st̥vl̥b̥b*), ‘tust’ (**t̥vl̥st̥b*)

- b. ‘buha’ (**bl̥cha*), ‘suza’ (**sl̥za* || **sl̥za*), ‘kunem (prez. 1sg)’ (**kl̥no*), ‘kuk’ (**kl̥k̥o*).

Kartografirani su dugi i kratki naglašeni i dugi nenaglašeni refleksi. Kratki nenaglašeni refleksi, ionako iznimno rijetki, nisu kartografirani. Nismo kartografirale primjere tipa ‘vličem/vlečem’, ‘obličem/oblečem’, gdje smatramo da je riječ o analogiji. Izvan razmatranja ostala je i riječ ‘sunce’ (**sol̥nce*) zbog toga što je *ǰ u njoj u mnogim zapadnim hrvatskim govorima imalo specifičan razvoj, zbog čega bi se za tu riječ trebala napraviti i zasebna karta.

Ova karta ne pokazuje razvojne odnose *ǰ prema drugim psl. vokalima, prvenstveno stražnjega niza (**ɔ*, **o*, **u*), ni prema **a*, koji svojom raznolikošću karakteriziraju hrvatski jezik i važni su u njegovu članjenju. Ipak, karta nudi osnovu da se – izrade li se na sličan način u budućnosti i karte spomenutih psl. vokala – ti odnosi tada zorno prikažu. Također, prikazujući suvremeno sinkronijsko stanje, karta ne pokazuje razvojne faze koje su dovele do pojedinih današnjih refleksa. Za njihovu je rekonstrukciju potrebna dijakronijska analiza vokalskih odnosa u svakom punktu, odnosno na pojedinim područjima.

4. Karta

Na karti su prikazani refleksi slogotvornoga *ǰ u preko 300 mjesnih govora hrvatskoga jezika u Hrvatskoj. Kartografirana su 23 tipa refleksa:






Refleksivi slogotvornoga *ʃ/ u hrvatskim govorima u Hrvatskoj









1. Vokali:

a. monoftonzi


- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| □ | u | (npr. Veliko Trgovišće <i>bùxa, bùxe, bûx, pûš, žûti, žûtq, žûtę</i>) |
| ▤ | y | (Brčevac <i>pûš, žûč, žût</i>) |
| ▨ | ü ü | (npr. Podravske Sesvete <i>büva, büve, büv, pûš, žût, žüta, žüto</i>) |
| ⊖ | o | (npr. Virje <i>bôxa, bôx, pôš, žôt, žôta, žôto</i>) |
| ○ | o | (npr. Lastovo <i>bàxa boxă, sôza, spôž, žôt</i>) |

	<i>o</i>	(Tuhovec samo dubletno <i>bōxę</i>)
	<i>a</i>	(Rijeka Voćanska <i>māčāti</i> , imp. <i>māči</i>)
	<i>e</i>	(Omišalj <i>pēž</i> , <i>žēta</i>)




b. diftonzi

	<i>ou</i> <i>ou̯</i>	(npr. Bednja Npl <i>bōuxa</i> , <i>sōunce</i> , <i>žōut</i> ; Čabar <i>bōuxa</i> , <i>bōuxę</i> , <i>bōux</i> , <i>pōuš</i> , <i>sōuza</i> , <i>žōut</i> , <i>žōuta</i> , <i>žōutu</i>)
	<i>ou</i> <i>ou̯</i>	(npr. Plemenščina Gornja <i>bōuxa</i> , <i>bōuxę</i> , <i>bōux</i> , <i>pōuš</i> , <i>žōut</i> , <i>žōuti</i> <i>žōuti</i>); Vivodina dubletno uz <i>o</i> : <i>žō^uta</i> , <i>žō^utu</i>)
	<i>uu</i> <i>uu̯</i>	(Macelj Gornji <i>pūuš</i> , Gpl <i>būux</i>)
	<i>eu</i> <i>eu̯</i>	(npr. Desinić dubletno uz <i>ou</i> : <i>p'euš</i> , <i>ž'euata</i>)
	<i>uo</i> <i>uo̯</i>	(Sveta Marija <i>b'uoxa</i>)
	<i>uq</i> <i>uq̯</i>	(npr. Rijeka Voćanska <i>pūqš</i> , <i>būq̯x</i> , <i>žūq̯ti</i>)
	<i>ua</i> <i>ua̯</i>	(Vratno Gornje <i>kuāk</i> , <i>vūāk</i> , <i>pūāš</i> , <i>tūāsty</i> , <i>žūāta</i> , prez. 3sg <i>kūānēa</i> 'kune', <i>žūāč</i>)
	<i>uə</i> <i>uə̯</i>	(npr. Sv. Martin na Muri <i>viək</i> , <i>diəga</i> , <i>diəgo</i> , <i>pūəš</i> , <i>žūəty</i>)


2. Slogotvorni sonant *l̥*:

	<i>l̥</i>	(npr. Risika <i>p̥ln</i> , <i>v̥lna</i> , <i>d̥lg</i> , <i>d̥lžen</i> , <i>l̥kel</i> , <i>ob̥kel</i> , <i>v̥k</i> (Milčetić 1895); Baška <i>d̥lgo</i> , <i>d̥lga</i>)
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3. Slijed vokal + *l̥*:

	<i>el</i>	(npr. Vrbnik <i>pēlž</i> , <i>mēlčāt</i> , <i>melčē</i> , <i>melčāli</i> , <i>mēlč!</i> , <i>kēlk</i> , <i>pēlnica</i> , <i>pomēlžena</i>)
	<i>al</i>	(npr. Beli <i>malčāt</i> , <i>malčē/malčiju</i> , <i>pomālžena</i> , <i>pālž</i>)
	<i>al</i>	(Susak <i>žālt</i>)

4. Slijed vokal + *v*:

	<i>ov</i>	(Klana dubletno uz <i>ou̯</i> : <i>vovna</i> , <i>sovza</i> , <i>bovha</i>) (Lukežić 1998: 156-158) ⁵
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5. Slijed *l* + vokal

	<i>lou</i> <i>lou̯</i>	(Macelj Gornji, samo u <i>slōuzā</i>)
	<i>lu</i>	(Cavtat, samo u prez. 3sg <i>pluze</i> 'puže') (Lisac 2003: 100) ⁶

5 Raspodjela refleksa

A. U punktovima s dvama ravnopravno zastupljenim refleksima ili više njih (na karti označenima većim znakovima), na kvalitetu, odnosno raspodjelu refleksa mogu utjecati različiti čimbenici. Za određenje uvjeta raspodjele u svakom od takvih punktova potrebno je detaljnije poznavati njegov fonološki sustav.

1. U punktovima s pravilnom distribucijom refleksa – distribucijom za koju se mogu odrediti zakonitosti – zabilježeni su sljedeći tipovi raspodjele:

a. Na kvalitetu refleksa utječu kvantitetski odnosi – jedan se refleks javlja u dugim, potencijalno i u naknadno produženim, a drugi u kratkim slogovima. Tako je u znatnom broju punktova.

Primjeri: Sveti Martin na Muri – dugo *uə* ~ kratko *u*: *pùəš*, *žùaty*, *dùəga* ~ *sùza*, *bùxa*, *pùn*; Tuhovec – dugo *“ə* ~ kratko *ə*: *ž“ùč*, *m“ùčati* ~ *bòxə*, komp. *dòkša*; Sv. Đurđ – dugo *ə* ~ kratko *o*: *kòk*, *čòn*, *kòne* ~ *bòxa*, komp. *dòkša*; Hlebine – dugo *ə* ~ kratko *o*: *sòza*, *pòš*, *žòta* ~ *pòn*, *bòxe*; Delnice – dugo *ou* ~ kratko *u*: *pòuš*, *stòučèn*, *kòunə* ~ *sùza*, *bùxa*

Potvrđen je i podtip u kojem refleks ovisi o kronologiji duljenja pa se jedan refleks javlja u polazno dugim, a drugi u naknadno produljenim slogovima. Tako je u punktu Susak – polazno dugo *əl* ~ naknadno produljeno *al*:

žəlt ~ *poməlzena*.

b. Na kvalitetu utječu intonacijski odnosi – uzlazno intonirani dugi slogovi imaju jedan refleks, silazno intonirani dugi slogovi drugi. Ovaj je tip zabilježen u kajkavskom punktu Bednja. U tom punktu dugi naglašeni uzlazno intonirani slogovi i kratki naglašeni slogovi⁷ imaju refleks *u*, a dugi naglašeni silazno intonirani slogovi i dugi nenaglašeni (koji su redovito silazno intonirani, a porijeklom mogu biti polazno dugi ili naknadno produženi) *ou* (*žòut*, *mòučòti*, *stòučèn*, *kòuk*, *žòunò* ‘žuna’, Npl *pòuži*, *bòuxò*, Npl *bòuxa*, prez. *dòubà*, *čòunèc* ~ *žùto* ‘žuta’, *dùpsti*, *čùń*, *pùž*, *stùći*, Gpl *bùx*; *pùn*, *dùg*).

c. Na kvalitetu refleksa utječe glasovno okruženje – uz neke glasove javlja se drukčiji refleks nego u neutralnoj poziciji. Ovaj je tip, u kombinaciji s tipom a., zabilježen u kajkavskom punktu Rijeka Voćanska, gdje se kao obilježeni položaj

javlja položaj uz nazale: uz nazale *ʃ* (neovisno o kvantiteti) ~ dugo uz ne-nazale *uʃ* ~ kratko uz ne-nazale *ʃ* (*māčati* ‘mučati’, imp. *māči*, *žāna* ‘žuna’, prez. *kānē* ‘kune’, *pān* ‘pun’ ~ *kūōk*, *gūōt* ‘vrat’, prez. *dūōbē* ~ *bōxa*, *pōx*, komp. *dōkšī*).

2. Za dio punktova čini se da se ne mogu odrediti fonološki utemeljena pravila raspodjele. Ona se u takvim punktovima danas čini leksički uvjetovanom – jedne riječi imaju jedan refleks, druge drugi. Procesi koji su utjecali na takvo današnje stanje uglavnom se ne mogu sa sigurnošću rekonstruirati.

Primjer: U punktu Klana (Lukežić 1998: 156-158)⁸ leksički su raspodijeljeni refleksi *u*, *o* i *ou*, a *ou* slobodno varira s *ov* (kombinacija s točkom 3) (*vuk*, *žuč*, *pun*, *puzit*, *must*; *dost* ‘dupsti’, *zoba*; *vovna* || *vovna*, *sova* || *sova*, *bova* || *bova*).

3. U dijelu punktova distribucija je slobodna – različiti refleksi slobodno variraju u istim riječima. Pri tom se u nekim punktovima može pretpostaviti da je jedan refleks stariji, a drugi mlađi.

Primjeri: U punktu Zajezda u istim se riječima slobodno zamjenjuju *ʃ* i *u* (*žōč* || *žūč*, *bōxa* || *būxa*, *žōti* || *žūti*), u punktu Jagnjedovec na isti način refleksi *o* i *ʃ* (*sōza* || *sōza*, *dōpsti* || *dōpsti*, *stōčēna* || *stōčēna*). U punktu Sveta Nedjelja refleks *u* je češći, a refleks *ʃ* gotovo redovito je u slobodnim dubletama s *u* (*pūš*, *būvā*, *žūč* || *žōč*, *žūt* || *žōt*, *žōtā*). Kao kombinacija točaka 2. i 3. može se spomenuti i punkt Trebarjevo Desno – u dijelu leksema zabilježeno je samo *ʃ*, u dijelu samo *u* ili *ū*, a u dijelu u istim leksemima i jedno i drugo (*sōza*, *pōš*, *mōčal*, *sprētōčen*; *būva*, *kūnē*, *kūk*, *žūjna*; *žōt* || *žūt*, *vōk* || *vūk*, *pōn* || *p'ūn*, *dōg* || *d'ūg*).

B. U punktovima u kojima su zabilježeni rijetki ili iznimni refleksi (na karti označeni manjim znakom), ti odrizi mogu ukazivati na dvostruke, međusobno i suprotne uzroke (kao i u prethodnoj točki). U dijelu punktova takvi su refleksi relikti, okamine starijega stanja koje se više ne može iščitati iz onoga što se u takvim sustavima danas može rekonstruirati kao redovit razvoj. U drugim punktovima ti refleksi mogu ukazivati na smjer budućega razvoja; kad je riječ o vokalu *u*, može se raditi i o utjecaju standardnoga jezika. U trećima se može reći kako je *ʃ/ u nekim izdvojenim riječima, iz razloga koji je teško odrediti, imalo drukčiji razvoj.

Primjeri: U čakavskom punktu Baška redovit je razvoj *u*, ali je zabilježeno *pomalžena, dl̩ga*. U kajkavskom punktu Čabar redovit je razvoj *ou*, ali je zabilježeno *st̩p, d̩byt*. U kajkavskom punktu Gerovo redovit je razvoj *ou*, ali je zabilježeno *būxy, č̩n, prez. kūņę*. U čakavskom punktu Brdce redovit je razvoj *u*, ali je zabilježeno *boha, vouna* (Vranić 2005, 196).⁹ U kajkavskom punktu Sveta Marija redovit je razvoj *o*, ali je zabilježeno *buōxa, vūna*. U kajkavskom punktu Putjane redovit je razvoj *u*, ali je zabilježeno *bōxe, st̩čen*. U čakavskom punktu Nugla redovit je razvoj *u*, ali je zabilježeno Npl *sōzi, bōxi* (usp. i Kalsbeek 1984/85: 316). U kajkavskom punktu Macelj Gornji redovit je razvoj *ou* || *ou, u*, ali je zabilježeno *p̩ūš, Gpl b̩ūx, te sl̩ouza*. U štokavskom punktu Cavtat redovit je razvoj *u*, ali je zabilježeno prez. *pluze* ‘puže’ (Lisac 2003: 100). U obama navedenim reliktnim primjerima u Maclju Gornjem i u Cavtatu riječ je vjerojatno o ranoj metatezi: vokal + *l* > *l* + vokal, prije nego što se *l* u refleksu vokal + *l* vokaliziralo ili izgubilo.

Osim spomenutih tipova raspodjele, u mnogim punktovima postoje i njihove različite kombinacije.

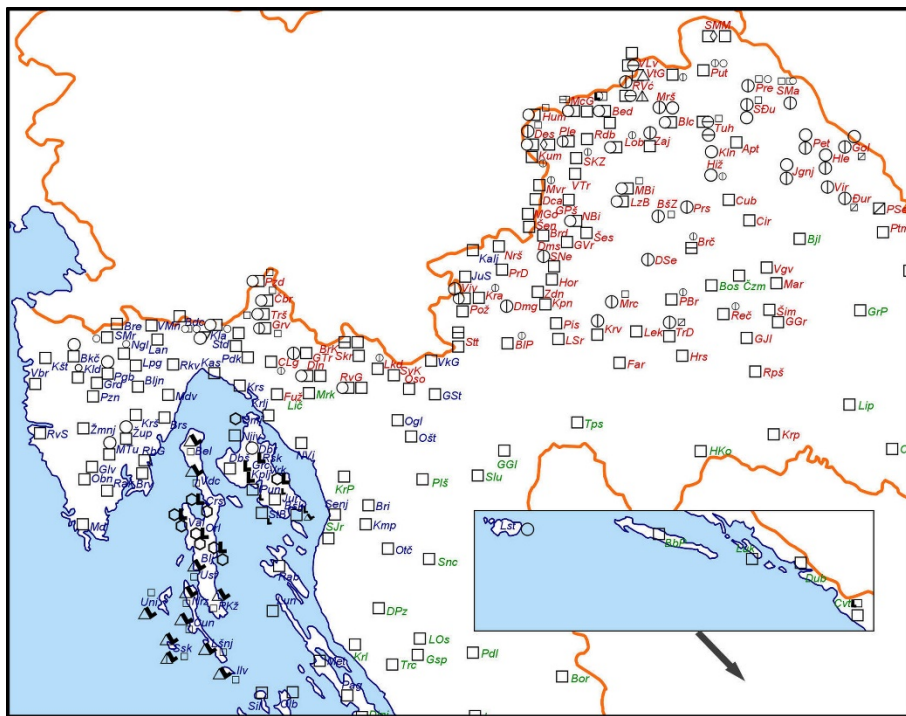
6 Rasprostriranje

Kako pokazuje karta, prema refleksima */ hrvatski se jezik unutar Hrvatske može razmatrati u dvije osnovne cjeline: prvo je veće, unificirano područje s refleksom *u* na istočnom dijelu, s oazom Lastova, gdje je refleks *o*, i s Cavtatom, gdje je potvrđeno reliktno *lu*; drugo je manje, diferencirano područje na zapadnom dijelu Hrvatske.

1. Veće, istočno, unificirano područje obuhvaća Slavoniju, Baranju, zapadni Srijem, dio Moslavine, zatim Dalmaciju, Hrvatsko primorje, Liku, dio Gorskoga kotara, Kordun, Banovinu – dakle, gotovo sve štokavske govore, veći dio čakavskih (južnočakavske i najveći dio srednjočakavskih) te manji, istočni i jugoistočni dio kajkavskih. U tom se dijelu kao oaza izdvaja čakavski govor jednoga od najudaljenijih naseljenih hrvatskih otoka – Lastova, s refleksom *o*, te štokavski Cavtat s reliktnim *lu* u jednoj riječi. Ta se cjelina u istočnom dijelu Gorskoga kotara proteže sve do Kupe (istočnogoranski kajkavski govori Severin

GEOLINGVISTIČKI POGLED NA REFLEKSE SLOGOTVORNOGA *Ź

na Kupi, Skrad; čakavska Vukova Gorica i dr.), dijeleći drugo, zapadno, diferencirano područje na dva dijela.



Isječak karte s uvećanim diferenciranim zapadnim područjem Hrvatske te s izdvojenim punktovima Lastovo i Cavtat

2. Manje, zapadno područje prema refleksima *Ź diferencirano je. Ono obuhvaća zapad Hrvatske na potezu od Podravine i Međimurja do Kvarnera i Istre, odnosno veći dio kajkavskih i manji dio čakavskih govora (sjevernočakavske i manji dio srednjočakavskih). Tu se uz *u* javlja još dvadesetak drugih refleksa. U tom dijelu znatno su zastupljeni različiti refleksi tipa *o*, ali i tu je, u različitim uvjetima (v. odjeljak o raspodjeli) čest i refleks *u*. Štoviše, unutar toga područja ima manjih dijelova s refleksom “samo *u*”.

U okviru toga drugoga, zapadnoga, diferenciranoga prostora izdvojiti se mogu neke manje cjeline:

- Najarhaičniji su govori – s refleksima koji imaju očuvan sonant *l* – na kvarnerskim otocima Krku, Cresu, Lošinj, Susku, Unijama, Iloviku, među kojima se posebno ističu govori u kojima je refleks upravo slogotvorno *ʃ* (Garica, Risika, Kampelje na Krku, u rijetkim primjerima i u Puntu, Jurandvoru i Staroj Baški) (Milčetić 1895: 105-107; Lukežić i Turk 1998: 39, 59-60).¹⁰
- Diftonški su refleksi mjestimice zastupljeni duž cijeloga zapada toga zapadnoga područja – od kajkavskih Svete Marije i Svetoga Martina na Muri na sjeveru do čakavskih Klane i Brdca na jugozapadu.
- U Istri su refleksi tipa *o* zastupljeni u sjevernom dijelu (čakavski govori na području Buzeta, Kaldira) (Lukežić 1998: 158) te u središnjem dijelu u zaleđu Labina (Županići, Mali Turini i dr.) (Vranić 2005: 195-197).
- Labijalizirani refleksi tipa *u* (*ü, ú*) zastupljeni su na kajkavskom sjeveroistoku u Podravini te u jednom punktu u Posavini.
- Otvoreniji vokalski refleksi tipa *o* (*o, uo*) te refleksi *o, ua*, zastupljeni su u kajkavskim govorima na sjevernom, varaždinskom dijelu Hrvatskoga zagorja.
- Područje “samo *u*” koje nije u dodiru s velikim, istočnim dijelom, čine kajkavski govori na zapadu Hrvatskoga zagorja (Kumrovec, Radoboj, Veliko Trgovišće, Pušća i dr.), na koje se prema jugu nastavljaju tzv. kajkavci ikavci (Marija Gorica, Šenkovec, Noršić-Selo i dr.) te doseljeni žumberački čakavci (Kalje, Jurkovo Selo).
- Refleks *l* + vokal (*lou*) zabilježen je reliktno, u jednom primjeru, u kajkavskom punktu Macelj Gornji na sjeveru Hrvatskoga zagorja, čime se taj punkt podudara sa štokavskim punktom Cavtat u Konavlima, gdje je također reliktno potvrđen taj tip refleksa (*lu*). Tip refleksa *l* + vokal, dakle, reliktno je potvrđen u dvama dijametralno suprotnim perifernim područjima hrvatskoga jezičnog prostora.

7 Zaključak

Na jezičnoj karti prikazani su refleksi slogotvornoga **ʃ* u preko 300 mjesnih govora hrvatskoga jezika u Hrvatskoj. Kartografska obrada napravljena je integrativno za cijelo područje hrvatskoga jezika, bez njegova dijeljenja na narječja.

Kako pokazuje karta, prema refleksima slogotvornoga */ hrvatski se jezik u osnovi dijeli na veće istočno područje, s unificiranim refleksom (*u*), u kojemu se izdvajaju samo dva punkta s drukčijim refleksom (Lastovo, Cavtat), te na manje zapadno područje, koje je s obzirom na promatranu pojavu izrazito diferencirano – na njemu je zabilježeno dvadesetak refleksa. Unificirano istočno područje obuhvaća gotovo sve štokavske, velik dio čakavskih te malen dio kajkavskih govora. Diferencirano zapadno područje obuhvaća velik dio kajkavskih i manji dio čakavskih govora.

Refleksi se tipološki mogu podijeliti na vokalske monoftonške, vokalske diftonške te na sljedove vokal + *l/v* i *l* + vokal. Mnoge mjesne govore karakterizira postojanje dvaju ili više refleksa, pri čemu neki od njih pokazuju starije stanje, a neki smjer budućega razvoja. Kao najarhaičniji ističu se govori s refleksima koji sadržavaju sonant *l*. Kompaktnije područje s takvim refleksima čine kvarnerski otoci: Krk, Cres, Lošinj, Susak, Unije, Ilovik. No u nekim govorima s toga područja arhaični su refleksi u povlačenju, ili su gotovo reliktni, uz refleks *u*, koji se, kao i drugdje, potencijalno nameće i iz standardnoga jezika. S obzirom na razmatranu pojavu, u općem pogledu na hrvatski jezik ističu se i pojedinačni periferni punktovi u kojima je – redovito ili reliktno u pokojoj riječi – očuvano starije stanje. Tako se ističe čakavski govor otoka Lastova, na samome rubu čakavskoga narječja, s refleksom *o*, dok je u ostalim čakavskim i štokavskim govorima u širem okruženju refleks *u*. S druge strane, na sličan su način povezana dva periferna, međusobno potpuno suprotno smještena punkta – jedan štokavski (Cavtat) i jedan kajkavski (Macelj Gornji) – i to u tipu refleksa *l* + vokal, koji je zabilježen u po jednome reliktnom primjeru u svakome od tih dvaju punktova. To je još jedna potvrda u dijalektologiji poznate činjenice kako se u perifernim govorima mogu naći tragovi starijih faza jezičnoga razvoja.

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Bilješke

1 Rad je napisan u okviru projekta “Općeslavenski lingvistički atlas (OLA) i Europski lingvistički atlas (ALE)” (br. 8706), koji financira Hrvatska zaklada za znanost.

- 2 U mjeri u kojoj su nam bili dostupni.
- 3 Rad na Hrvatskome jezičnom atlasu posljednjih je godina gotovo prekinut, što konstatiramo sa žaljenjem i pitamo se hoće li ga hrvatska dijalektologija i filologija uspjeti nastaviti.
- 4 Uzimala smo u obzir onu literaturu koja je, uz zaključke o **ʃ*, donosila građu. Građa je bilježena tradicionalnom hrvatskom dijalektološkom transkripcijom. Transkripciju građe iz upitnika za HJA djelomično smo međusobno ujednačile.
- 5 Naglasci u citiranoj knjizi nisu zabilježeni.
- 6 V. prethodnu bilješku.
- 7 I kratki nenaglašeni, no u ovom se radu općenito kratka nenaglašena pozicija ne razmatra.
- 8 Naglasci u citiranoj knjizi nisu zabilježeni.
- 9 V. prethodnu bilješku.
- 10 To se može povezati s refleksom u karaševskim govorima, gdje je **ʃ* > *ʃ*, s više ili manje izraženim popratnim vokalom *a*.

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Rukopisna građa:

- UpHJA – Uпитник за Hrvatski jezični atlas
 UpOLA – Uпитник за Općeslavenski lingvistički atlas
 UpGHZ – Uпитник за istraživanje govora Hrvatskoga zagorja
- Bednja – UpHJA J. Jedvaj
 Brest – UpHJA P. Šimunović
 BrodnaKupi – UpHJA B. Finka, V. Barac
 Čabar – UpHJA B. Finka
 Delnice – UpHJA B. Finka, V. Barac
 Desinić – rukopisna građa A. Celinić
 Domagović – UpOLA V. Zečević
 Dubravica – UpHJA I. Kurtović Budja
 Gerovo – UpHJA B. Finka
 HumnaSutli – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Jarušje – UpHJA A. Celinić
 JurkovoSelo – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Kalje – UpHJA S. Težak
 Krašić – UpHJA S. Kekez
 Lukovdol – UpHJA (bez naznake autora, vjerojatno V. Barac-Grum)
 Macelj Gornji i Donji – UpGHZ A. Celinić
 Marija Gorica – UpHJA A. Šojat
 Maruševac – UpHJA (bez naznake autora, vjerojatno V. Barac-Grum)
 Močile – UpOLA V. Barac-Grum
 Movrač – UpGHZ A. Celinić
 Mrkopalj – UpHJA (bez naznake autora, vjerojatno B. Finka i V. Barac-Grum)
 Novaki Bistranski – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Nugla – UpHJA P. Šimunović
 Plemenščina Gornja – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Podkilavac – UpHJA S. Bogović (Zubčić)
 Požun – UpHJA S. Težak
 Prelog – UpHJA Đ. Blažeka
 Pušća Gornja – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Radoboj – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Ravna Gora – UpHJA V. Barac-Grum
 Rijeka Voćanska – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Studena – UpHJA I. Drpić (Miloš)
 Sveta Marija – rukopisna građa A. Frančić
 Sveti Đurd – UpHJA J. Horvat

Sveti Križ Začretje – UpOLA i UpHJA A. Šojat
 Sveti Martin – UpHJA P. Šimunović
 Sveti Martin na Muri – UpHJA A. Frančić i I. Virč
 Šenkovec – UpHJA M. Lončarić
 Tršće – UpHJA M. Malnar
 Veliki Lovrečan – UpGHZ A. Celinić
 Veliko Trgovišće – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Vivodina – UpHJA A. Celinić
 Vratno Gornje – UpGHZ A. Celinić
 Vukova Gorica – UpHJA B. Finka, V. Barac

Kratice punktova:

Adm = Adamovec; Aljm = Aljmaš; Apj = Apatija; Apt = Apatovec; Arž = Aržano; Banj = Banj;
 BbG = Babina Greda; BbP = Babino Polje (Mljet); Bbr = Bebrina; Bdc = Brdce; Bdnj = Badanj
 (Drniš); Bed = Bednja; Bel = Beli; Bjl = Bjelovar; Bkč = Brkač (Istra); Blc = Beletinec; Blj = Belej;
 BlP = Blatnica Pokupska; Blt = Blato (Korčula); Bljn = Boljun; BMn = Beli Manastir; Bol = Bol;
 Bor = Boričevac; Bos = Bosiljevo (Čazma); Brč = Brčevac (Vrbovec); Brd = Brdovec; Bre = Brest;
 Bri = Brinje; Brj = Brijesta (Pelješac); BrK = Brod na Kupi; Brs = Brseč; Bru = Brusje; Brv =
 Brovinje; Bsk = Biskupija (Knin); BSt = Brodski Stupnik; Bšk = Baška; BšZ = Biškupec Zelinski;
 Btn = Batina; Btr = Batrina–Nova Kapela; But = Butori; Bzv = Bizovac; Bžv = Božava; Cir =
 Cirkvena; CLg = Crni Lug; Cnk = Cernik; Crk = Crikvenica; Crn = Cerna; Crs = Cres; Cub =
 Cubinec; Cvt = Cavtat; Čbr = Čabar; Čvg = Čavoglave; Čzm = Čazma; Čun = Čunski (Lošinj);
 Dbč = Dobrinče; Dbnj = Dobranje; Dbr = Dobrinj; Dbš = Dubašnica; Dca = Dubravica; DDb =
 Donja Dubrava; Des = Desinić; Dinj = Dinjiška (Pag); Dln = Delnice; Dmg = Domagović; Dms =
 Domaslovec; Dob = Dobretići; DPz = Donje Pazarište (Lika); Drd = Darda; DSe = Dugo Selo;
 Dub = Dubrovnik; Dvr = Davor; DvV = Drvenik Veli; Đlk = Đelekovec; Đur = Đurđevac; Far =
 Farkašić (Stari); Frd = Ferdinandovec; Fuž = Fužine; Gar = Garčin; GBi = Gornja Bistra; Gdc =
 Gradac; GGI = Gornja Glina; GGr = Gornja Garešnica; GJI = Gornja Jelenska; Glv = Glavani; Gmr =
 Gomirje (Ogulin); Gol = Gola; GPš = Gornja Pušća; Gra = Gradišće; Grb = Grobnik; Grc =
 Garica (Krk); Grč = Gračac; Grd = Grdoselo; Gre = Grebaštica; Grh = Grohote; GrP = Grubišno
 Polje; Gru = Grude; Grv = Gerovo; Gsp = Gospić; GSt = Generalski Stol; GTr = Gornji Turni;
 Gunj = Gunja; GVr = Gornje Vrapče; Hdš = Hedešin; Hiž = Hižanovec; HKo = Hrvatska
 Kostajnica; Hle = Hlebine; Hor = Horvati; Hrs = Hrastelnica; Hum = Hum na Sutli; Hvr = Hvar;
 Ilk = Ilok; Ilv = Ilovik; Ist = Ist; IvN = Ivankovo; Jbk = Jabuka; Jgnj = Jagnjedovec; Jst =
 Jastrebarsko; Jur = Jurandvor; JuS = Jurkovo Selo; Kal = Kali; Kalj = Kalje; Kas = Kastav; Kčš =
 Kučište; Kjv = Kijevo; Kklj = Kukljica; Kla = Klana; Kld = Kaldir; Kln = Kalnik; Klnj = Klanjec;
 KIP = Kloštar Podravski; Kmp = Kompolje; Kmz = Komazini; Kmž = Komiza; Kor = Korenica;
 Kot = Kotoriba; Kplj = Kampelje (Krk); Kpn = Kupinec; Kra = Krašić; Krč = Korčula; KrJ = Krilo
 Jesenice; Krl = Karlobag; Krlj = Kraljevica; Krn = Karin; Krp = Krapje; KrP = Krivi Put; Krs =
 Krasica; Krš = Kršan; Krv = Kravarsko; Krž = Križevci; Kst = Kistanje; KšK = Kaštel Kambelovac;
 Kš = Kaštelir; Ktj = Kutjevo; Ktz = Kotezi; Kum = Kumrovec; Lan = Lanišće (Istra); Lek =
 Lekenik; Lip = Lipik; Lkd = Lukovdol; Lmb = Lumbarda; Lob = Lobar; LOs = Lički Osik; Lpg =
 Lupoglav; LSr = Lijevo Sredičko; Lst = Lastovo; Lšnj = Mali Lošinj; Luk = Luka (Šipan); Lun =
 Lun; Lvn = Lovinac; Lvr = Lovreć; LzB = Laz Bistrički; Lžnj = Ližnjan; Lžš = Ložišća; Mar =
 Martinec (kraj Čazme); MBi = Marija Bistrica; McG = Macelj Gornji; Mdl = Medulin; Mdv =
 Medveja; Met = Metajna; MgM = Magić Mala; MGo = Marija Gorica; Mkr = Makarska; Mln =
 Milna (Brač); Mrc = Mraclin; Mrk = Mrkopalj; Mrš = Maruševac; MTu = Mali Turini (Istra); Mur =
 Murter; Mvr = Movrač; Ngl = Nugla; Nrš = Noršić Selo; Nrz = Nerezine; Nrš = Nerežišća;

GEOLINGVISTIČKI POGLED NA REFLEKSE SLOGOTVORNOGA *!

NVi = Novi Vinodolski; Njiv = Njivice; Obn = Orbanići; Ogl = Ogulin; Okč = Okučani; Olb = Olib; Omi = Omišalj; Omš = Omiš; Opz = Opuzen; Orb = Orubica; Orh = Orahovica; Orl = Orlec; Oso = Osojnik; Ošt = Oštarije; Otč = Otočac; Ork = Otok; Oto = Otok (Sinja); Pag = Pag; PBr = Posavski Bregi; Pčš = Pučišća; Pdk = Podkilavac; Pdl = Podlapača; PDI = Primorski Dolac; Pet = Peteranec; Pis = Pisarovina; PKž = Punta Križa; Plš = Plaški; Ple = Plemenščina Gornja; PMs = Podravska Moslavina; Polj = Poljice (Udbina); Pot = Potomje; Pož = Požun (Ozalj); PPD = Podravski Podgajci; PrD = Prodin Dol; Pre = Prelog; Prk = Perković; Prm = Primošten; Prs = Preseka (kod Komina); Prž = Praznica; PSe = Podravske Sesvete; Ptc = Petrijevci; Ptm = Pitomača; Ptr = Petrcane; Ptv = Pitve; Pun = Punat (Krk); Put = Putjane (Čakovec); Pvlj = Povljana; Pzd = Prezid; Pzn = Pazin; Rab = Rab; Rak = Rakalj; Rav = Ravnik; RbG = Rabac Gornji; Rčš = Račišće (Korčula); Rdb = Radoboj; Reč = Rečica (Križ); Rež = Režanci; Rkv = Rukavac; Rnv = Runović; Rpš = Repušnica; Rsk = Risika (Krk); Ršć = Raščane; RvG = Ravna Gora; RvS = Rovinjsko Selo; Ržn = Ražanac; Sal = Sali; Sbš = Sebišina (Imotski); Sčr = Sućuraj; Sdc = Studenci; SĐu = Sveti Đurđ; Senj = Senj; SFJ = Sv. Filip i Jakov; SgD = Seget Donji; SGr = Stari Grad; Sič = Siće; Sil = Silba; Sinj = Sinj; Siv = Sutivan; SJr = Sveti Juraj (Senj); Skr = Skrad; Skš = Sukošan; SKZ = Sveti Križ Začretje; Slb = Slobodnica; Slc = Selca (Brač); Slu = Slunj; SMA = Sveta Marija; SMk = Stari Mikanovci; SMM = Sveti Martin na Muri; SMr = Sveti Martin (Istra); Smr = Sumartin; Snc = Sinac; SNe = Sveta Nedjelja; Spj = Sopje (Podravina); Spl = Split; Spt = Supetar; Ssk = Susak; Sta = Stanovi; StB = Stara Baška; Std = Studena; Stm = Stomorska; Stn = Ston; Stt = Stative; SvK = Severin na Kupi; Svl = Svilaj; Szv = Strizivojna; Šbn = Šibenik; Šes = Šestine; Šim = Šimljanik; Šen = Šenkovec (Sutla); Špt = Šaptinovci; Štr = Štrigova; Štt = Štitar; Tkn = Tkon; Tps = Topusko; Trb = Tribunj; Trc = Trnovac; TrD = Trebarjevo Desno; Trg = Trogir; Trn = Trnava (Đakovo); Trš = Tršće; Tuh = Tuhovec; Uglj = Ugljan; Uni = Unije; Ust = Ustrine; Val = Valun; Vbr = Vabriga; Vdc = Vodice (Cres); Vgv = Vagovina; Vid = Vid (Opuzen); Vir = Virje; Vis = Vis; Viv = Vivodina; VIž = Veli Iž; Vkg = Vukova Gorica; VKp = Velika Kapela; Vkv = Vukovar; VLk = Vela Luka; Vlp = Valpovo; VLv = Veliki Lovrečan; VMn = Vele Mune; Voj = Vojnić; Vrb = Vrbanj; Vrc = Vrbovec; Vrg = Gornja Vrba; Vrg = Vrgada; Vrk = Vrbnik; Vrnj = Vrbanja; Vrs = Vrboska (Hvar); VRš = Veliki Raščani; Vrv = Virovitica; Všk = Vaška; VtG = Vratno Gornje; VTr = Veliko Trgovišće; Zaj = Zajezda; Zbk = Zabok; Zdn = Zdenčina (Donja); Zlr = Zlarin; Zst = Zaostrog; Žmnj = Žminj; Žup = Županići (Labin)

DIALECTOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE TRIPOINT AREA: THE ERC-ARRS PROJECT TRIPSAIT

Rada Cossutta

1 Introduction

The Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Science and Research Centre Koper has been focussing for several years largely on the study of Istrian and Kras vernaculars at various linguistic levels. Within the framework of dialectological studies, researchers of the institute devote particular attention to dialects in contact and on the linguistic mixing of the Littoral and Kras vernaculars which, despite being spoken in a geographically small area, bear the legacy of several cultures and languages. At the same time, researchers aim to preserve the unique linguistic-cultural heritage of the upper Adriatic area, which over the last decades has slowly but consistently been sinking into oblivion.

The long-standing detailed research of Istrian and Kras vernaculars is reflected in the publication of important regional dialectal atlases of Slovene Istrian and Kras vernaculars, as well as of Croatian, Romanian, Istriotic and Italian vernaculars in the aforementioned area and neighbouring provinces.

Although the research done so far is of invaluable importance for the territory under research and although we also intend to carry out work in this field in the future, the Institute for Linguistic Studies has identified the need for new insight into the multi-faceted nature of dialect studies. To date research on dialects has primarily focused on the vocabulary covered by individual semantic fields (SDLA-Ts, SDLA-SI I in II, NASIK) and the etymological analysis thereof. My last publication, the monograph *Ribiška jezikovna in kulturna dediščina v Tržaškem zalivu in slovenski Istri* (Cossutta 2015) as the result of the concluded ERC Advanced Grant-ARRS project FISHCUHE – *Fishing Cultural Heritage and Linguistic Diversity in the European Area* (leader R. Cossutta) – presents Slovene

dialectal fishing terminology of the Gulf of Trieste and Slovene Istria. Now, with the new ERC Advanced Grant-ARRS project TRIPSAIT – *Tripoint over Time: the Case of Linguistic Intertwining in the Slovene, Austrian and Italian Borderland* (duration of the project: 1 Sept. 2015 – 31 Aug. 2018; leader R. Cossutta) – it is our aim to expand our research to the field of cultural heritage and the preservation of cultural traditions of the Tripoint area lying at the juncture of the Slavic, Romance and Germanic worlds, since it is only in this way that we will be able to enrich strictly linguistic scientific research and look at dialects in contact from a broader perspective. This, in turn, will enable us to acquire a multi-layered and thus more comprehensive understanding of phenomena formulated in the rich mixing of cultures and languages.

The specific geographical position of the area under examination in this project as well as the specific historical circumstances that placed inhabitants of various nationalities under various masters and rules, make research on its specific features all the more interesting and important. It is interesting to note that these also linguistically different autochthonous inhabitants of the area were able to coexist peacefully, in spite of the political pressure exerted from distant centres of power and authority. The inhabitants were bound together by friendship, common fate, mutual understanding, as well as everyday chores that satisfied personal and common needs.

The Tripoint, where former borders of Slovenia, Italy and Austria intersect, has always been an excitingly interesting research area because of its geographical position, colourful historic and social turnovers and also geodesic shifts. It has attracted anthropologists, geographers and historians, but remained fairly unexplored from the linguistic, especially the lexical point of view, despite the fact that it is a unique example of the coexistence of different languages and dialects, which as such make it an ideal laboratory for dialectologists.

2 The Tripoint area from the linguistic point of view

The Tripoint area is linguistically divided into two Slovene dialect groups: the Primorska dialect group (Slov. *primorska narečna skupina*) with the Upper Soča dialect (Slov. *zgornjesoško narečje*), in Log pod Mangartom in Slovenia, and the

Carinthian dialect group (Slov. *koroska narečna skupina*) with the Gailtal dialect, in areas of three neighbouring countries: in the Valcanale Valley in Italy (in Ugovizza), in the Gailtal Valley in Austria (in Ahomitz and Feistritz), and in the Zgornjesavska dolina Valley in Slovenia (in Rateče). The Upper Soča dialect of Log pod Mangartom was analysed by Tine Logar (1963), who highlighted its rich vocal system, which is superficially identical to the Torre Valley dialect (Slov. *tersko narečje*) and Natisone Valley dialect (Slov. *nadiško narečje*), but in reality completely different from the two with regards to the frequency and distribution of vocals. The Slovene vernaculars of the Valcanale Valley were researched already by Fran Ramovš (1935) who came to the conclusion that these vernaculars belong to the Gailtal dialect with some local specifics, for example *akanje*, a characteristic case of vowel reduction-via-lowering pattern (/o, ɔ/ > [a]). Logar (1971) postulated the Ugovizza vernacular as the representative vernacular of all Slovenes in the Valcanale Valley as there are only minor differences between the villages, whose mixed populations are the result of immigrations of Resians, Friulians and Italians. For this reason he conducted a field research of the Ugovizza vernacular for the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas* (2011; hence: *SLA*). The vernaculars of the Zgornjesavska dolina Valley (Rateče) were also described by Logar in the study *Narečna podoba Zgornjesavske doline (The Dialect Image of the Zgornjesavska dolina Valley)* (1945). He concluded that this Slovene area, which was populated later than the Gorenjska region and which ends at Jesenice, is a linguistically exquisitely interesting part of Slovene lands because typical Gailtal vernaculars are connected to a series of phenomena related to the Carinthian dialect base which simultaneously separates them from the area of the Gorenjska dialect. This, as well as the fact that some older innovations in the Gorenjska dialect cannot be seen in the Rateče vernacular, proves that Rateče was inhabited from Carinthia and that throughout centuries it was transitionally and culturally oriented towards Gailtal and Carinthia. Slovene Gailtal dialects were thoroughly described and when dealing with its vocalism Logar (1973) highlighted the Gailtal tonemic contrasts in long and short accented syllables that are, as Neweklowsky (1973) also points out, based on a phonologically relevant relatively high tonic pitch of the accented syllables. A detailed description of the Gailtal dialect, based on the examples from

Feistritz an der Gail and Hohenthurn was also presented by Neweklowsky (2013) and in a more recent contribution (2014) he studied the German borrowings that were morphologically adapted to Slovene (with the exception of a few adjectives). The Tripoint area with four research points (Log pod Mangartom, Ugovizza, Rateče, Feistritz an der Gail) is included into the first volume of the *SLA*.

The data of the studies mentioned here show that the Slovene vernaculars of the Tripoint have, with the exception of the material in the *SLA* and the most recent study by Neweklowsky (2014), until now been treated predominantly from the phonological point of view; exclusively lexical and lexical-comparative studies have not yet been conducted, with the exception of the experimental study *Leksikalna razslojenost v govorih Tromeje: slovanske, romanske in germanske prvine / The Lexical Stratification in the Tripoint vernaculars: Slavic, Romance, and Germanic elements* published by the project leader, R. Cossutta, in 2007 on the basis of material collected during fieldwork in 1997 (Summer school, Bovec (Slovenia)). My current project *Tripoint over time* will continue and deepen the research into the Tripoint Slovene vernaculars in this direction, based especially on the lexical stratification and constant interference which are an essential characteristic of the area. In my previous study of the Tripoint vernaculars (Cossutta 2007) I etymologically analysed terminology regarding the house and pertaining objects in four research points (Log pod Mangartom, Rateče, Achomitz and Ugovizza) in order to point out the following phenomena linked to interference:

- a) frequent matching of single lexical items from the Slavic fund in all four or at least three of the research points. In the fourth point usually an isolated Germanism is found;
- b) frequent usage of German borrowings in all four or at least three of the research points;
- c) coexistence of two or more Germanisms, occasionally in the same point;
- d) matching of a Romanism in all points is extremely rare. Romanisms are generally restricted to one single point (Log pod Mangartom) or maximally two points, while in other points there are Germanisms;

- e) frequent matching of the same term, explained by either Romance or Germanic origin, almost everywhere in the area.

These etymological findings confirm the fact that the Tripoint vernaculars are genuinely Slovene, as they are connected by the same Slavic lexical fund that was subjected to various phonetical and morphological changes. The presence and vitality of numerous Germanisms and Romanisms are a concrete case of long-term interference in the area and express the lexical richness and diversity. Language is a living organism and linguistic influences may cross any border made by humans.

3 The documentary film *Tripoint Speaks*

I documented the informants' testimonies of my first dialectological field research of the area in 1997 in the amateur film *Tripoint Speaks* (*Tromeja žabari*) that was produced in cooperation with the University of Klagenfurt in the same year, but has since then been gathering dust due to the lack of financial resources. The film, recorded in five research points (Log pod Mangartom in Posočje, Ugovizza in the Valcanale Valley, Rateče in the Zgornjesavska dolina Valley, Ahomitz and Feistriz in the Gailtal Valley), is a precious document of the vernaculars of these villages, of which two (Log pod Mangartom and Ugovizza) were completely transformed by natural disasters that hit the villages after the film was shot. It is obvious that the already existing dialectological material and the documentary film form the basis of our current project. However, the project does not only strive to deepen the comprehension of the available data and to remake the film, it aims towards capturing a firm representation of the past and present situation of the vernaculars of the area, which has been subjected to constant linguistic interference due to radical lifestyle changes and overall globalisation effects, especially after the fall of the state borders that intersected at the Tripoint and the inclusion of the area into the EU.

Based on the gathered vocabulary, the project research tries to reconstruct the story of people who have in the last decades in the hope to survive pursued careers in various economic sectors that are today sinking into oblivion or have already

entirely died out, as they were replaced by gradual industrialisation or because the local population has migrated away in hope of a better life abroad.

The last mining cart at Log pod Mangartom flashes us back to mining tunnels that connected the village with a mine in Cave del Predil on the Italian side of the Julian Alps. Nowadays, tourism is awakening in the village, attempting to reanimate old customs and culinary specialities, which shed light on rich culinary vocabulary that the project will evaluate by a detailed linguistic analysis of borrowings. At the Ugovizza and Rateče mountain pastures, herdsmanhip and with it domestic dairying evolved, which presents another field of linguistic interference that will need to be pointed out in the gathered material. In the Zgornjesavska dolina Valley women used to weave, make yarn and knit, in the Gailtal Valley in Carinthia flax processing, horse breeding and transportation with horses evolved. All these activities are discussed in the film by the informants who use a series of expressions which need to be phonetically transcribed and linguistically analysed.

The project will contribute to the protection and preservation of cultural heritage, a great challenge in modern European and the Slovene national community. The issue of cultural heritage is in our time of great civilisational changes and global trends more than ever treated in wide-set projects in various fields of research. The merging of relations into a global network causes the symbols of personal identity, personal history and personal roots, to function as boosters of self-confirmation. Every group has the right to be placed within personal historic, social and cultural environment and heritage plays a crucial part in the process. Furthermore, evaluating cultural heritage is becoming a socially connecting element in local communities and regions as it guarantees the feeling of personal identity and promotes tolerance and respect of others in a multicultural environment. For the processes of evaluation and preservation of cultural heritage, researches of the field are very important, as they encourage sustainable development, cultural tourism, protection of environment, development of the countryside and cultural development of specific areas, especially when such areas lie on the juncture of three countries and three nationalities as is the case with the Tripint. The modern understanding of

cultural heritage transcends protection of individual buildings and strives towards connecting and unifying different scientific disciplines (e.g. History, Archaeology, Ethnology, Linguistics, Art History, etc.). In this respect, the phenomenon of non-material cultural heritage, i.e. living cultural heritage, which the project brings into perspective, is gaining weight.

The first Slovene linguist to focus on the research of living cultural heritage was Herta Lausegger from the Institute for Slovene Language of the University of Klagenfurt where the dialectological and ethnological film project *Documentary Records of Past Folk Culture in Dialect* that documents dialects of multilingual speakers in Southern Carinthia was produced. Lausegger's documentary films focus on audio-visual dialectology that uses the method of observational recording to present not only the dialect itself but also visual information on people, environment and lifestyle. Dialectological research, as the author claims, is not only the transcription and documentation of vernacular, but also an understanding of the corresponding material world and of speech positions in different circumstances, which the author recognizes as the social and cultural function of speech. The medium of film, that we also use, offers the possibility to record group conversations and individual narrations, testified memories of rural everyday life before mechanisation and experience with various chores, thus enabling spontaneous speech in a simulated natural speech position, meaning that agrarian and craftsmen chores with their terminology are documented in their original environment. The principal goal of the documentation process, as well as the purpose of our project, is the synchronous and authentic transcription of ethnographic content and dialectal text. Lausegger's films graphically connect the words used with the material world of recent history that gives testimony of the Slovene cultural environment in Carinthia and that can only be understood through the vocabulary of Slovene Carinthian dialects. The projections of Lausegger's films in Carinthia reanimated the locals' interest in their vernacular and in its vocabulary while the projections in other parts of Austria brought Slovene dialects closer to the German-speaking public.

The project *Tripoint over Time* aims to realise, on the basis of the already recorded film *Tripoint Speaks (Tromeja žabari)* and parallel current recordings, a

visual documentation of Slovene vernaculars of the Tripoint, together with realisations of ethnological themes, which is a genuine innovation in the research of linguistic phenomena in the Slovene – Italian – German language intersection. The description of vernaculars from various aspects and the complete representation of the Tripoint's sociostructural environment will enable a holistic look into the language situation of this specific place, location and time. We think that such an approach has not been attempted until now and we have encountered a lack of systematic linguistic research of the area. The ethnological theme, especially of the rural environment and that of craftspeople, is best suited for the documentation of a basic image of the vernaculars in the multilingual area of the Tripoint as they are subject to interference on a daily basis and their endangerment is aggravated by modern sociostructural developments. Therefore, the recent visual documentation we have produced focuses on the representation of old farming tools and objects as well as various farming chores. The content of the films is thematically divided into shorter and longer chapters and includes videos from all seasons and thematically coordinated musical inserts, brief information on the informants and co-workers, and voice-over narration in three standard languages (Italian for the documentation of the Valcanale, German for the documentation of the Gailtal and Slovene for the documentation of the Zgornjesavska dolina and Posočje). Special textual appendices will contain detailed information on the making of the films and on the informants, as well as phonetic transcriptions of the film texts with the Slovene phonetic alphabet and their translation into standard Slovene, Italian and German. Here is an example.

Tončka:	Ja. A z'naš še 'dielat bə'γanco, ti?	Yes. Do you still know how to make potica (typical Slovene festive rolled cake)?
Mirka:	?	?
Tončka:	Z'naš še 'dielat bəγanco?	Do you still know how to make potica?
Mirka:	Ja, še.	Yes, still.
Tončka:	Še? 'Ku se 'diela?	Still? How do you do it?
Mirka:	Ja, pus'tavəš tə'pərvə 'muəko.	Well, first you set the flower.

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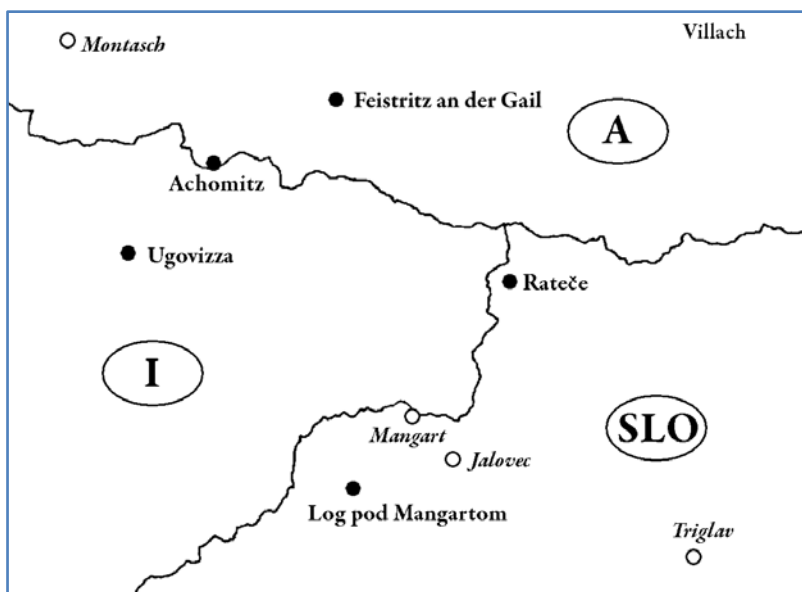
Tončka:	Ja.	Yes.
Mirka:	'Dienəš 'malo təs'ta.	You give a bit of dough.
Tončka:	'Fejco.	Yeast.
Mirka:	Z'miešəš.	Give it a stir.
Tončka:	Ja, še ...	Yes, and ...
Mirka:	Še 'pustəš də s'χaja.	Let it rise.
Tončka:	Ja.	Yes.
Mirka:	S't'ribləš. 'Dienəš 'nutrə u'rieχe, c'vejbe, ka'kaw.	Knead. Put in walnuts, raisins and cocoa powder.
Tončka:	'Malo 'cukra.	A bit of sugar.
Tonči:	'Buło na'redəš.	You make the stuffing for potica.
Tončka:	'Buło, p'row'bu'lo na'redəš. Na'redəš 'wolə al 'putər?	Stuffing for potica, you make the stuffing for potica. Do you do it with oil or butter?
Mirka:	A, 'pow ən 'pow.	Oh, later, later.
Tončka:	A, 'pow ən 'pow, nar'bulš, jə 'buće 'raχlo.	Oh, yes, best do it later, it's softer.
Mirka:	Ja, sam p'ride z'mierəm 'dobra.	Yeah, but in the end it's always good.
Tončka:	'Fina.	Delicious.
Mirka:	Več 'dienəš 'nutrə, 'bulš je.	The more you stuff in, the better it is.
Tončka:	Ja, ta vi, ja ja, pol je ...	Yes, that's it, yeah then it's ...
Mirka:	'Malo 'ruma, je.	A bit of rum, yeah.
Tonči:	Pol 'deš še dva 'deci z'ra vən, ne?	Then you add two decilitres, right?
Tončka:	Ja, ja 'malo 'ruma.	Yes, yes a bit of rum.
Tonči:	En 'firtəlc 'vina.	A glass of wine.
Tončka:	Pa še ən kos bə'γance, 'malo pər'šuta də'mačγa.	And one more slice of potica, some homemade prosciutto.
Tonči:	Ja ja, pər'šut 'more bit.	Yeah, yeah. There has to be prosciutto.
Tončka:	Zə'to kə je ni bres pər'šuta bə'γance, prow 'paše z'ra vən.	Because there's no potica without prosciutto, it really fits together.

As Lausagger points out, field work with a video camera is much more demanding than working with a tape recorder as it calls for a more detailed preparation and organisation. Filming, namely, includes a cameraman, an interviewer and informants and takes place in a natural environment, where informants use their everyday speech. Teamwork and mutual respect for the wishes and positions of the cameraman and interviewer is the key to success. Furthermore, the interviewer's speech behaviour must fit the sociolinguistic situation and his or her individual speech position. The project leader should already possess valuable experience in the field and should know the villages in question and thus should be able to conduct and conclude the demanding work. The documentary films will capture all generations of the mono- and multilingual inhabitants of the Tripoint who master one of the local vernaculars. The statements of elderly informants will form the core of the project, while younger informants are predominantly included in the interactional activity. Thus, the visual documentation includes speech, terminology and situational context, as well as an ethnological documentation of the material, the spiritual and social culture close to extinction and in this way we hope to protect it from oblivion.

The documentary film material of the rich mosaic of Slovene vernaculars of the Tripoint is designed to suit a wide range of users: culturologists (slavists, dialectologists and linguists), scientific and research institutions, secondary and tertiary levels of bilingual educators in Austrian Carinthia, Porabje and Italy, as well as the Slovene school system and the tourists visiting these villages interested in their cultural heritage. Furthermore, the voice-over of the film in standard Slovene, Italian and German will address speakers of these languages and raise their awareness of the rich cultural heritage of the Tripoint. The demonstration of the past and present state of the region will give us an insight into its transformations due to changed living conditions and lifestyles while protecting its colourful cultural heritage from falling into oblivion. The scientific research, available also on-line, will give insight into the Alpine Adriatic border area and widen the acquaintance of its cultural and linguistic heritage. Although the nature of our project is regional, its purpose is to transcend regional boundaries and serve as an example of good practice for similar situations of numerous tripoints in Europe.

4 The research points of the project *Tripoint over Time*

Four out of five research points (Log pod Mangartom, Ugovizza, Rateče and Feistritz an der Gail) match the selected research points of the first volume of the *SLA* (on the human: body, illness and family) and will form the basis of the linguistic research of the Tripoint area.



The research points of the project *Tripoint over Time*

5 Methodology of the project

In order to save this outstanding cultural heritage from oblivion and to make it accessible not only to scholars, but also to a wider circle of users, the project has been divided into several phases. The methodology of the project presupposed in its first stage the collection of existing material on the basis of the aforementioned bibliographic units. Project members focused primarily on the treatment of the linguistic diversity of Slovene dialectal terminology, but also extended to explore the entire cultural heritage related to it. Based on the already gathered data, the conditions for field work were defined in the first year of the project with the

determination of the five mentioned research points in the Tripoint area, homogeneously covering the entire territory.

The selection of informants was very thorough and precise: the sample included informants belonging to different social and age groups; the latter was included to enable comparison of the linguistic layers of younger and older generations and to observe changes in specialist terminology. Particular attention was paid to autochthonous speakers, especially the older generation, who are still familiar with old dialectal terminology, which has been sinking into oblivion. Fieldwork research involved the use of the traditional lexical questionnaire of the Friulian Atlas ASLEF, which the leader of the project also used for gathering data for her dialectological atlases SDLA-Ts, SDLA-SI I and II. The part of the questionnaire ASLEF, selected for the preparation of the trial volume of the *Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of the Tripoint* SDLA-TRIP I, was divided into the following sections: (1) the house and pertaining objects; (2) jobs and house chores; (3) stockbreeding and dairying; (4) forestry and wood processing; (5) hunting; (6) domestic animals, sheep farming, apiculture.

On the basis of the questionnaire, the examiners are currently (i.e. in the second year of this research project: 1st September 2016 through 31st August 2017) surveying the informants and recording their responses in Slovene phonetic transcription. Parallel to this, a technician is recording the informants' spontaneous narratives, in order to arrange them into a video presentation at a later time. The gathered field material will be the foundation of the trial volume of the *Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of the Tripoint* SDLA-TRIP I.

In its third and last year – 1st September 2017 through 31st August 2018 – the project will focus on the linguistic treatment of the compiled dialect material. Each term will be investigated on the basis of the following criteria: indication of source; grammatical classification; explanation of meaning; etymological analysis with indication of source; determination of category (Slovene terms belonging to

the general Slavic lexical fund; Slovene loanwords of Germanic origin; Slovene loanwords of Latin or Romance origin; Slovene loanwords of other origin).

351. Footstool; Slov. *pručka*; Ital. *panchettino*, *sgabellino*; Q. ASLEF 256: In Log pod Mangartom and Achomitz Slov. dim. of the word *stōl* is used: cf. *s'tolič* (Log pod Mangartom), *s'tuolič* (Achomitz). In Rateče, two Germanisms are used: *š'tokərle*, cf. Ger. *Stock* 'stick', and in *p'ručca*, cf. Slov. dim. *pručica* / *pručka* 'bench, footstool', from *pruka* 'pew', from Mhger. Bav. *prucke*, Mhger. *brucke* 'bridge' (ESSJ III 132; Striedter-Temps 202). Also '*šamərle*' (Ugovizza) has a Germanic origin: cf. Bav. *Schemerle*, Ger. *Schemel* with the same meaning.

An example of a loanword (Cossutta 2007)

6 Project results and relevance

Now, in order to present the results of the research to a wider audience and to exploit them in tourism and for other research purposes, we are remaking the already existing film *Tripoint speaks* adding new visual documentation containing local elements and audio input. A handbook, including the text of the video, written in Slovene phonetic transcription, a translation in Slovene, Italian and German and a linguistic treatment of the borrowed terminology with references, will be published. The handbook will also include visual and illustrative material. The first video presentation of the documentary film realised in Rateče will be presented at the dialectological symposium *Slovene dialects in contact 6* (Koper, 18-19 September 2017).

The project's results will be of great value to Slavic, Germanic and Romance language studies, in particular to dialectology and linguistic geography, as the revival of interest in dialectological material will open new views on the researched border area, important from historic, political and cultural aspects. They will serve as starting points for researchers from different countries, providing them the opportunity to enhance their research and to use them in international linguistic circles when discussing dialect terminology and in particular the phenomenon of Slavic-Romance-Germanic interference. The project's results will also be of vital importance to cultural development as they will stress the importance of linguistic intertwining in such cultural areas of Europe, but also the prolonged coexistence of languages and dialects, which will

provide a unique opportunity to evaluate and preserve the Slovene cultural heritage of the Tripoint area.

Institute for Linguistic Studies, Science and Research Centre Koper

Abbreviations

ARRS = Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (Slovenian Research Agency);
 ASLEF = Atlante Storico Linguistico Etnografico Friulano;
 ERC = European Research Council;
 FISHCUHE = Fishing Cultural Heritage and Linguistic Diversity in the European Area;
 NASIK = Narečni atlas slovenske Istre in Krasa (not yet published);
 SDLA-SI I in II = Slovenski dialektološki leksikalni atlas slovenske Istre I, II;
 SDLA-TRIP I = Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of the Tripoint (trial volume, not yet published as the last result at the end of the project TRIPSAIT);
 SDLA-Ts = Slovenski dialektološki leksikalni atlas Tržaške pokrajine;
 SLA = *Slovenski lingvistični atlas*. See bibliography: Škofic, J., et al. (ed.) 2011;
 TRIPSAIT = Tripoint over Time: the Case of Linguistic Intertwining in the Slovene, Austrian and Italian Borderland;

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HET PROBLEEM VAN DE VARIATIE BIJ TSJECHISCHE VOEGWOORDEN MET DE BETEKENIS ‘SINDS’

Magda van Duijkeren-Hrabová

1 Inleiding

In de typologische bundel *Taksis v slavjanskix jazykax* (red. V.S. Xrakovskij)¹ wordt bij de bespreking van het uitdrukken van voortijdigheid in het Tsjechisch opgemerkt, dat men in het Tsjechisch verschillende samengestelde voegwoorden kan gebruiken (o.a. *od té doby co/od té doby kdy* ‘sinds’, lett. ‘vanaf die tijd, dat/wanneer’, *od doby kdy* ‘sinds’, lett. ‘vanaf de tijd wanneer’, *od chvíle kdy* ‘sinds’, lett. ‘vanaf het moment wanneer’, *od okamžiku kdy* ‘sinds’, lett. ‘vanaf het ogenblik, wanneer’) die allemaal equivalent lijken te zijn aan het Russische *s tex por kak* ‘sinds’.² Verder wordt er gesteld dat deze voegwoorden niet alleen bij voortijdigheid kunnen worden gebruikt, d.w.z. indien de handeling in de bijzin in zijn geheel vooraf gaat aan de handeling van de hoofdzin zoals in zin 1, maar ook bij gelijktijdigheid. In dat laatste geval wordt in de bijzin (en vaak ook in de hoofdzin) een imperfectief werkwoord gebruikt: bijvoorbeeld 2. Deze interpretatie is verder afhankelijk van de betekenis van het werkwoord en van de gehele situatie.³

- (1) [...] politický úspěch Angely Merkelové. „Od té doby, co v roce 2005 získala (PFV.PRET) většinu, vzrostla (PFV.PRET) hodnota indexu DAX o 50 procent.”
‘[...] het politieke succes van Angela Merkel. “Sinds zij in het jaar 2005 de meerderheid won, is de waarde van het DAX-index met 50 procent gegroeid.”’
- (2) Motořesty pomalu mizejí (IPFV.PRES) od doby, co jim konkurují (IPFV.PRES) benzinky.

‘Wegrestaurants verdwijnen langzaam sinds ze door winkels in pompstations worden weggeconcurrerd.’

Dit artikel vormt een onderdeel van een onderzoek waarin antwoorden op de volgende vragen gezocht worden:

- a. Zijn er in het moderne Tsjechisch merkbare verschillen in frequentie van gebruik van de verschillende varianten en, zo ja, is dat in de loop van de tijd wellicht veranderd?
- b. Zijn de Tsjechische samengestelde voegwoorden synoniem en dus zonder beperkingen uitwisselbaar?
- c. Indien b. niet het geval is: zijn er factoren te vinden die een rol spelen bij de keuze van de varianten?

Voordat ik echter naar de varianten ga kijken, wil ik kort wijzen op enkele onduidelijkheden in de bestaande grammatica's omtrent het functioneren van deze voegwoorden.

1.1 Onduidelijkheden bij de betekenisbeschrijving

Tsjechische 'grammatica's bespreken deze voegwoorden ofwel bij het behandelen van voortijdigheid waarin "de ondergeschikte zin de grens aangeeft vanaf welke de handeling van de hoofdzin verliep of verloopt" (Daneš et al. 1987: 478), of bij temporele zinnen met delimiterende werking (Bauer & Karlík 1989: 406). Bauer & Karlík, en ook in iets andere bewoording Bauer & Grepl (1970: 308), bespreken ook de functie van het aspect van het werkwoord in de bijzin: "Sloveso je v nich dokonavé nebo nedokonavé podle toho, je-li začátek hlavního děje vázán na uskutečnění nebo jen započetí (a další trvání) vedlejšího děje." ['Het werkwoord daarin is perfectief of imperfectief naargelang het begin van de handeling in de hoofdzin gekoppeld is aan de verwezenlijking van de handeling in de bijzin, of slechts aan het begin (en het daarop volgende verloop) daarvan'] (Bauer & Karlík 1989: 406). Met het "verdere verloop" bedoelen ze dan waarschijnlijk de gelijktijdigheid zoals die in zin 2 wordt uitgedrukt, maar deze uitspraak is in feite tegenstrijdig met hun opmerking over de functie van het aspect in de voorgaande alinea:

Začátek děje věty hlavní se vyjadřuje uvedením děje, po jehož uskutečnění může teprve děj hlavní věty nastat nebo platit: děj věty vedlejší je tedy vzhledem k ději věty hlavní předčasný.

(Het begin van de gebeurtenis van de hoofdzin wordt uitgedrukt door het noemen van de bijzin-gebeurtenis; en [eerst] na de realisering van deze bijzin-gebeurtenis vindt de hoofdzin-gebeurtenis plaats of geldt deze: de gebeurtenis van de bijzin vindt derhalve plaats voorafgaand aan die van de hoofdzin.)

Aan de betekenis van gelijktijdigheid in *od (té) doby/chvíle* etc. zinnen wordt in deze (en andere) grammatica's eigenlijk geen aandacht geschonken. Onder de voorbeeldzinnen worden weliswaar een of twee zinnen met een verleden tijd van een imperfectief werkwoord in de bijzin gegeven, maar men suggereert dat die de aanvang of intrede van de handeling aangeeft, zie de toevoeging tussen de haakjes in zin 3 (Bauer & Grepl 1970: 308).

- (3) Od té doby, co v továrně pracoval (t.j. začal pracovat), načichl svatým fatalismem obou podruhů.
'Sinds hij in de fabriek werkte (dwz. was begonnen met werken), raakte hij besmet met het heilige fatalisme van beide knechten.'

Men kan zeker niet ontkennen dat juist het voegwoord ons in zulke zinnen dwingt om aan het intreden van de handeling te denken. Het feit blijft echter, dat er toch ook een duidelijke component van gelijktijdigheid aanwezig is in de algemene formulering van de betekenis van het voegwoord die door de grammatica's wordt gegeven, die niet tot zijn recht komt. Verder is over het hoofd gezien dat er ook zinnen voorkomen waarbij een imperfectief werkwoord in de bijzin juist duidelijk wèl een voorafgaande handeling aangeeft:

- (4) Od doby, kdy jste začínali (IPFV.PRET), se hudební průmysl hodně změnil (PFV.PRET).
'Sinds de tijd dat jullie begonnen [/sinds jullie beginfase], is de muziekindustrie behoorlijk veranderd.'

Bij de verleden tijd van een imperfectief werkwoord kunnen dus in principe verschillende tijdsverhoudingen voorkomen. Dat kan leiden tot dubbelzinnigheid. Vgl. de volgende zinnen:

- (5) Bylo to od té chvíle, co jeptiška začala (PFV.PRET) mluvit s tím mladíkem?
‘Was dat [zo] sinds de non met de jonge man was begonnen te spreken?’
- (5) a) Bylo to od té chvíle, co jeptiška mluvíla (IPFV.PRET) s tím mladíkem?⁴
a) ‘Was dat [zo] sinds de non met de jonge man sprak?’
b) ‘Was dat [zo] sinds de non met de jonge man had gesproken?’

De beschrijving in *Taksis v slavjanskix jazykax* geeft een beter beeld van de verschillende gevallen en de rol van het aspect daarbij. Maar ongetwijfeld zal een speciaal onderzoek nog verdere bijzonderheden aan het licht kunnen brengen. Dat valt echter buiten het kader van dit artikel, dat zich op de formele variaties van de voegwoorden concentreert.

1.2 Varianten

Als middel om de ‘sinds’-relatie uit te drukken, voeren alle genoemde grammatica’s op de eerste plaats het voegwoord *co* op met als voorbeeld o.a. de zin

- (6) Nevedlo se jí dobře, co česká parta odsud zmizela.
‘Het ging niet goed met haar sinds de Tsjechische ploeg hiervandaan is weggegaan.’

Maar vervolgens stelt men vast dat er vaker andere vormen worden gebruikt, n.l. de al genoemde combinaties van de woorden *doba* ‘tijd’, *chvíle* ‘moment’, *okamžik* ‘ogenblik’ met het voorzetsel *od* en de als bepalend voegwoord gebruikte woorden *co* ‘wat’ of *kdy* ‘wanneer’. Over de criteria voor de keuze van de individuele tijdaanduidende substantieven in zulke samengestelde voegwoorden, van het type *od té doby co*, wordt niet gesproken. *Kdy* en *co* worden als varianten gepresenteerd. Bauer & Grepl (1970: 308) zeggen dat men meestal het voegwoord *co* gebruikt na *od té doby* ‘vanaf die tijd’ en dat na *od té doby* en *od té chvíle* ‘vanaf dat moment’ e.d. ook het voegwoord *kdy* ‘wanneer’ kan staan. In Grepl & Karlík (1987: 406) worden de voegwoorden opgesomd met twee mogelijkheden: *od té doby, co /*

kdy ..., *od té chvíle, co / kdy ...*, *od toho okamžiku, co / kdy ...*. Daneš et al. (1987: 478) geeft *od té doby, od té chvíle, co ...* e.d. op. Volgens Šmilauer (1969: 276) kunnen er in de hoofdzin verwijzende uitdrukkingen als *doba, chvíle* e.d. staan, met in de bijzin *co* ‘wat’, *kdy* ‘wanneer’ en *jak* ‘hoe’.⁵ Svoboda (1972: 178) behandelt *co* als een apart voegwoord van tijd en zegt dat er vaak *od té doby, co* wordt gebruikt omdat *co* op zich geen tijd of tijdrelatie signaleert.

1.3 Verschillende observaties

De bovengenoemde Tsjechische grammatica’s noemen juist de samengestelde voegwoorden die het aanwijzend voornaamwoord *ten* bevatten (verbogen naar naamval en geslacht). Er wordt niets gezegd over een eventueel verschil tussen de combinaties van verschillende samengestelde voegwoorden met en/of zonder dat voornaamwoord. In *Taksis v slavjanskix jazykax* daarentegen, worden zinnen besproken die in eentalige én tweetalige corpora zijn gevonden, waaronder ook combinaties zonder dit voornaamwoord. Het verschil kan misschien liggen aan het feit dat de grammatica’s uit het pre-digitale tijdperk stammen, toen nog met een beperkt, handmatig samengesteld corpus werd gewerkt of toen vooral het eigen taalgevoel van de auteurs ingezet werd.

2 Corpusonderzoek

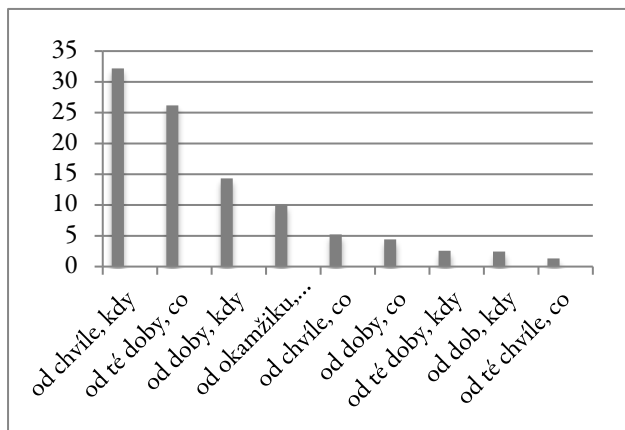
2.1 Statistische vergelijking van varianten

Om een beeld te krijgen van de verhoudingen in werkelijk gebruik van de genoemde voegwoorden (met de verschillende substantieven, de voornaamwoorden *kdy* en *co* en met en zonder het voornaamwoord *ten*), heb ik materiaal verzameld met gebruikmaking van het *Český národní korpus* (‘Tsjechische Nationale Corpus’) (hieronder: *ČNK*).⁶

Een statistische vergelijking van gegevens kan gemaakt worden met behulp van de applicatie *SyD Korpusový výzkum variant* (‘SyD op corpus-gebaseerd onderzoek van varianten’).⁷ *SyD* verwerkt voor synchroon onderzoek gegevens van *SYN2010* en de representatieve corpora van gesproken teksten *ORAL2006*, *ORAL2008*, en *ORAL2013*.⁸ Voor diachroon onderzoek vormt het corpus *Diakorp* het voornaamste bestanddeel.⁹

In *SyD* kan van maximaal twaalf items de synchrone en diachrone vertegenwoordiging in het corpus vergeleken worden. Voor mijn onderzoek betekende dat dat ik niet alle mogelijke combinaties tegelijkertijd kon invullen. Maar omdat zoals bleek uit een steekproef de combinaties *od toho okamžiku kdy*, *od toho okamžiku co*, *od těch dob kdy* en *od těch dob co* zeer minimaal vertegenwoordigd zijn, heb ik deze verder weggelaten.¹⁰

De vergelijking leverde de volgende resultaten op (zie tabel 1): het meest gebruikte voegwoord in geschreven bronnen is *od chvíle kdy* op 32,18%, gevolgd door *od té doby co* met 26,17%, *od doby kdy* met 14,33% en *od okamžiku kdy* met 10,04%. Aanzienlijk lager scoorden *od chvíle co* (5,22%), *od doby co* (4,42%), *od té doby kdy* (2,57%), *od dob kdy* (2,45%) en *od té chvíle co* (1,32%).¹¹ Een minimale vertegenwoordiging in *SYN2010* en de *ORAL*-corpora (lager dan één procent) hebben *od té chvíle kdy*, *od dob co* en *od okamžiku co*. Omdat de overige corpora van de *SYN*-reeks ook representatief zijn en op een zelfde manier zijn samengesteld als *SYN2010*, kan verwacht worden dat daar de relatie ongeveer hetzelfde is.



Tabel 1.

Alle exacte getallen die op basis van het statistisch onderzoek genoemd worden, moeten bij benadering genomen worden en wel, omdat er ook zinnen worden meegeteld waar de betreffende woordgroepen in een ander soort

verhouding staan. Het kunnen bijvoorbeeld zinnen zijn waar *od té doby* een bijwoordelijke bepaling is (‘sinds’) en *co* een vraagwoord dat een objectszin inluit (‘wat’):

- (7) [...] věděla jsem od té doby, co je to cítit něčí tělo.
 ‘[...] ik wist vanaf die tijd, wat het is [om] iemands lichaam te voelen.’

Deze komen echter niet vaak voor. Bij het genereren van de zinnen voor mijn onderzoek heb ik waar het mogelijk was om nog handmatig de niet-relevante zinnen te deselecteren, geprobeerd dat zo veel mogelijk te doen. Zinnen als 7 zijn gemakkelijk herkenbaar. Maar er zijn ook zinnen die moeilijker zijn te onderscheiden van de gezochte “sinds-zinnen”. In deze zinnen staan meestal de woordcombinaties *od doby*, *od té doby*, *od dob ... kdy*, die qua vorm gelijk zijn aan de voegwoorden. Ook in zulke zinnen beschrijft de bijzin handelingen die voorafgingen aan de handelingen in de hoofdzin maar de nadruk ligt niet op het aanduiden van ‘de grens vanaf welke de handeling van de hoofdzin verliep’, maar op het geven van een nadere bepaling van de door het substantief *doba* etc. uitgedrukte periode. *Kdy* is dan een bijwoord met betrekkelijke werking. Het verschil komt tot uitdrukking bij de volgende zinnen. (Zin 8 komt uit het corpus *SYNV3*, de voorbeelden 8a en b heb ik aangepast om het verschil te laten zien.)¹² In de praktijk is het uiterst moeilijk om een scherpe grens te trekken tussen de gevallen waar het gaat om een substantief met tijdsbetekenis plus een bepalende bijzin, of om een samengesteld voegwoord van tijd, vgl. 8a en 8b. Op deze kwestie zal ik bij een vervolgonderzoek nader proberen in te gaan.

- (8) Od poválečné doby, kdy se Kafka začal (PFV.PRET) ve světě znovu vydávat, je považován za autora, který [...]
 ‘Sinds de na-oorlogse tijd, toen men Kafka weer in het buitenland begon uit te geven, wordt hij gezien als een auteur die [...]’
- (8) a Od doby, kdy se Kafka začal (PFV.PRET) ve světě znovu vydávat, je považován za autora, který [...]

‘Vanaf/sinds de tijd dat men Kafka weer in het buitenland begon uit te geven, wordt hij gezien als een auteur die [...] / Sinds men Kafka weer in het buitenland begon uit te geven [...]

- (8) b Od doby, kdy se Kafka ve světě zase vydává (IPFV.PRES), je považován za autora, který [...]
 ‘Sinds men Kafka weer in het buitenland uitgeeft, wordt hij gezien als een auteur, die [...]

In de vergelijking van de varianten van de voegwoorden voor Tabel 1, kon het voegwoord *co* (dus zonder de andere elementen) niet meegenomen worden, omdat dit woord in zowel schrijftaal als spreektaal ontelbaar veel vaker andere betekenissen en functies heeft, bijvoorbeeld *co* i.p.v. *který* ‘welke/ die’ in de spreektaal.

2.2 Het diachrone corpus

Voor een chronologisch overzicht van het gebruik van de voegwoorden in kwestie verwerkt de applicatie *SyD* gegevens van het corpus *Diakon*, een niet-representatief werkcopus samengesteld uit geselecteerde teksten uit alle *SYN*-corpora én het *Diakorp*, een diachroon corpus met teksten vanaf de 14e eeuw. Teksten uit deze eeuw hebben in de laatste versie van dit corpus een aandeel van 18% van de tokens. Het best vertegenwoordigd is de 19e eeuw met 48% van de tokens, het minst de 17e eeuw met 3% van de tokens (Cvrček et al. 2015).

De vroegste verschijning van de onderzochte voegwoorden in dit corpus komen uit het eind van de 17e eeuw; het gaat om de twee varianten *od té doby co* en *od té chvíle co*, maar het zijn maar een paar zinnen. De grafiek die *SyD* genereert, geeft de eerste attestatie in 1660, maar in het materiaal van *Diakorp* stamt de eerste tekst met *od té doby co* pas uit 1702; zie voorbeeld 9. Dit verschil kan ik niet verklaren, omdat ook de *SYN*-corpora,¹³ waaruit wordt geput voor de diachrone analyse van *SyD*, geen teksten uit die tijd bevatten.

- (9) [...] užívají ho vařeného v vodě, jako já, praví Matthiolus, nyní činím, od té doby, co horší zuby míti sem počal .

‘[...] ze gebruiken hem gekookt in water, zoals ik, zegt Matthiolus, nu doe, vanaf de tijd, dat / sinds ik slechtere tanden begon te hebben.’

Deze late verschijning van deze constructie loopt waarschijnlijk parallel aan de ontwikkeling van het gebruik van *co* met een temporele betekenis. De *Historická mluvnice češtiny* ‘Historische grammatica van het Tsjechisch’ (Lamprecht et al. 1986: 389) constateert dat het pronomen *co* ‘wat’ heel laat, n.l. pas in de 16e eeuw, deze temporele functie kreeg. Deze stelling is echter niet duidelijk, omdat ze geïllustreerd wordt met een zin uit de *Kronika trojanská* (‘Kroniek van Troje’), een vertaling van *Historia Troiana* van Quidon de Column waarover in de lijst van de gebruikte bronnen gezegd wordt dat die uit het einde van de 14e eeuw stamt en een eventuele latere redactie wordt hier niet genoemd.

Door vergelijking van bijbelvertalingen in het Nederlands en Tsjechisch kan vastgesteld worden dat daar waar in de *Statenvertaling* (de versie uit 1657) ‘sinds’ als voegwoord wordt gebruikt, zoals in 10, in de *Bible kralická* ‘Kralice-bijbel’ uit 1613 steeds *jakž* voorkomt; zie 10a. Dit voegwoord *jakž* vinden we ook in de *Bible olomoucká* ‘Olomouc-bijbel’ uit 1410. *Jak(ž)/jakož* drukte in het Oud-Tsjechisch meestal een handeling uit die onmiddellijk voorafgaat aan de handeling van de hoofdzin (Lamprecht et al. 1986: 389). In moderne Tsjechische vertalingen, bijvoorbeeld de oecumenische vertaling (*ČEP*) wordt dan een samengesteld voegwoord gebruikt; zie 10b met *od chvíle kdy*.

- (10) Ook verheugen zich de dennen over u, en de ceders van Libanon, zeggende: Sinds dat gij daar nederligt, komt niemand tegen ons op, die ons afhouwe. (Jes 14: 8) [*Statenvertaling* 1657]
- (10) a I jedloví veselí se nad tebou, [i] cedroví Libánské, [řkouce:] Jakž jsi klesl, nepovstal, kdo by nás podtínal. [*Bible kralická* 1613]
- (10) b I cypřiše se radují nad tebou i libanónské cedry od chvíle, kdy jsi padl: „Už nevstane ten, kdo nás kácel!“ [*ČEP*]

De *Bible česká* ‘Tsjechische bijbel’, ook bekend als de *Svatováclavská bible* (De heilige Wenceslas-bijbel) uit 1677-1715 illustreert een overgangperiode: zowel

het gebruik van *jakž* als *jakž* waarvoor *od té doby* staat, zie 10c, maar soms ook van *od té doby co*, zie 11a.¹⁴

- (10) c Jedloví také veselilo se nad tebou a cedrové Libanští, od té doby, jakž si vsnul nevstoupí kdožby podřal nás. [*Svatováclavská bible* [1712]]
- (11) Want sinds dat Ik tegen hem gesproken heb, denk Ik nog ernstiglijk aan hem; (Jer 31: 20) [*Statenvertaling* 1657]
- (11) a [...] poněvadž od té doby co sem o něm mluvil ještě na něj pamatovat budu. [*Svatováclavská bible* [1712]]

Ik constateer hiermee dat voor het verkrijgen van een beter beeld van de historische ontwikkeling vóór de 19e eeuw, onderzoek van een omvangrijker corpus nodig is.

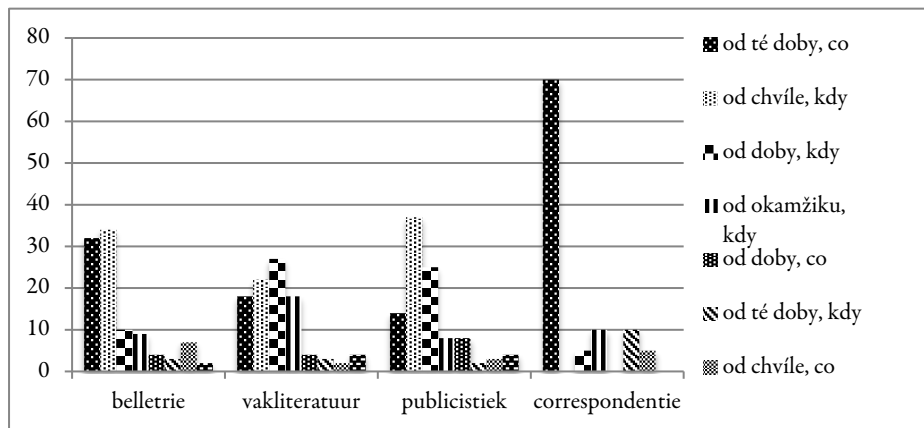
In het *Diakorp* corpus worden pas in de teksten van rond 1850 ook andere vormen sporadisch aangetroffen. In de twintigste eeuw komt *od chvíle kdy* steeds meer voor om vanaf de jaren veertig frequenter te worden dan *od té doby co* en *od té chvíle co*. De laatstgenoemde blijkt vanaf die tijd een heel marginale rol te spelen. In de jaren zestig van de twintigste eeuw is er in het materiaal een dominante piek van de vorm *od doby kdy*. Die is niet veroorzaakt door een of andere normatieve maatregel in het toen communistisch Tjecho-Slowakije maar heeft te maken met het materiaal dat gebruikt is bij de opbouw van het corpus voor die jaren.¹⁵ Het gebruik van de verschillende voegwoorden vanaf de jaren negentig – waarvoor veel digitale bronnen bestaan – toont al een verdeling die ongeveer gelijk is aan die van de synchrone vergelijking (vgl. Tabel 1). Er is verder een duidelijke stijging van *od chvíle kdy* in het eerste decennium van deze eeuw te zien.

2.3 Verschillen in registers

Met behulp van de *SyD* analyse van het synchrone materiaal komen we ook iets te weten over de verdeling van deze voegwoorden naar registers/soorten tekst (tabel 2). In belletrie komt *od chvíle kdy* (34%) het meest voor, onmiddellijk gevolgd door *od té doby co* (32%).¹⁶ Vakliteratuur gebruikt het vaakst *od doby kdy* (27%), wat bijna gelijk is aan de rubriek publicistiek, terwijl bij belletrie dit voegwoord slechts een aandeel heeft van 10%. In publicistische teksten daarentegen komt *od*

VARIATIE BIJ TSJECHISCHE VOEGWOORDEN MET DE BETEKENIS ‘SINDS’

chvíle kdy weer het vaakst voor (37%) en *od doby kdy* komt daar met 25% op de tweede plaats. Interessant is, dat in vakliteratuur *od okamžiku kdy* twee keer zo vaak voorkomt als in de andere twee tekstsoorten. Misschien is dit verklaarbaar door het feit dat het een exacte indruk wekt: een kort, precies moment in de tijd.



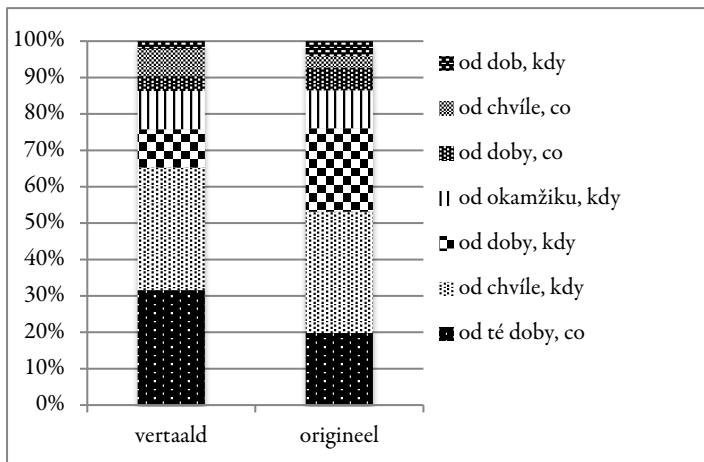
Tabel 2

Om deze verdeling te vergelijken met teksten die niet voor publicatie waren bedoeld, gebruikt *SyD* het corpus van brieven *KSK-Dopisy* (ontstaan tussen 1990 en 2004; 942.573 tokens), hier als “correspondentie” aangeduid. Daar is het type *od té doby co* met 70% duidelijk het meest dominant en op de tweede plaats komen *od té doby kdy* en *od okamžiku kdy*, beide slechts met 10%. *Od chvíle kdy* en *od doby co* worden niet gebruikt (of zo minimaal gebruikt dat ze in de percentages niet zichtbaar zijn). Dezelfde voorkeuren vertoont ook het corpus van gesproken taal *Oral2013* (omvang 2.785.189 tokens zonder interpunctie) waar ook *od té/tý doby co* met stip de hoogste frequentie heeft, terwijl *od (té/tý) chvíle co/kdy* en *od doby co/kdy* daar niet voorkomen. Wel is er één voorkomen van *od okamžiku kdy*, met duidelijk een functie van betrekkelijke bepalende bijzin.

Al met al komt er dus een tamelijk scherp verschil naar voren tussen “ongedwongen taal” (spreektaal en correspondentie) met een hogere frequentie van *od té doby co*, en meer formele taal, met *od chvíle kdy*.

2.4 Vergelijking van origineel Tsjechische en vertaalde teksten

SyD biedt ook de mogelijkheid om een vergelijking te maken van teksten van *SYN2010* die origineel in het Tsjechisch geschreven zijn en vertalingen naar het Tsjechisch; vgl. tabel 3. Daaruit blijkt dat *od té doby co* in vertalingen vaker voorkomt dan in origineel Tsjechische teksten (resp. 30% en 19%), maar dat *od chvíle kdy* in gelijke mate gebruikt wordt (beide 32%). Origineel Tsjechisch blijkt verder een vrij hoog percentage aan *od doby kdy* te hebben (22%).

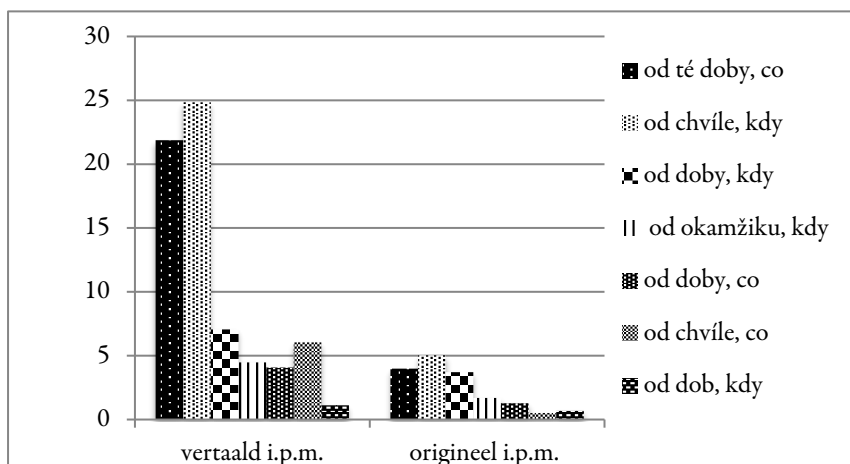


Tabel 3

De vertaalde teksten blijken bij nader inzien voor meer dan 80% belletrie te betreffen, tegenover minder dan 20% van de oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten.¹⁷ Dat zou het hogere gebruik van *od doby kdy* in de Tsjechische teksten kunnen verklaren omdat die vorm ook hoog scoort in publicistische teksten en vakliteratuur, vgl. tabel 2.

Dit *SyD*-schema van geeft niet de verhouding weer tussen het gebruik van zulke voegwoorden in vertaalde en originele teksten. De percentages gelden alleen voor de verdeling van de varianten *binnen* elk van de groepen (vertaalde en niet-vertaalde teksten).

Een vergelijking van het gebruik van deze voegwoorden tussen de vertaalde en oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten in *SYN2015* (dat ik verder voor dit onderzoek zal gebruiken) wijst uit dat in het oorspronkelijk Tsjechische deel deze voegwoorden verhoudingsgewijs veel minder vaak voorkomen dan in de vertalingen.¹⁸ *SYN2015* bevat 120.748.715¹⁹ tokens en het daarvan door mij afgeleide subcorpus ‘Oorspronkelijk Tsjechisch’ bevat 79.682.861 tokens. Het subcorpus ‘vertalingen’ dus slechts 41.065.854 tokens. Dat levert een verhouding “origineel : vertaling” op van ongeveer 2 : 1. Deze verhouding vinden we helemaal niet terug als we de frequentie van de voegwoorden vergelijken: zo komt bijvoorbeeld *od té doby co* in de originele Tsjechische teksten 317 keer voor, maar in de vertalingen maar liefst 893 keer, dat is een verhouding van bijna 1 : 3!²⁰

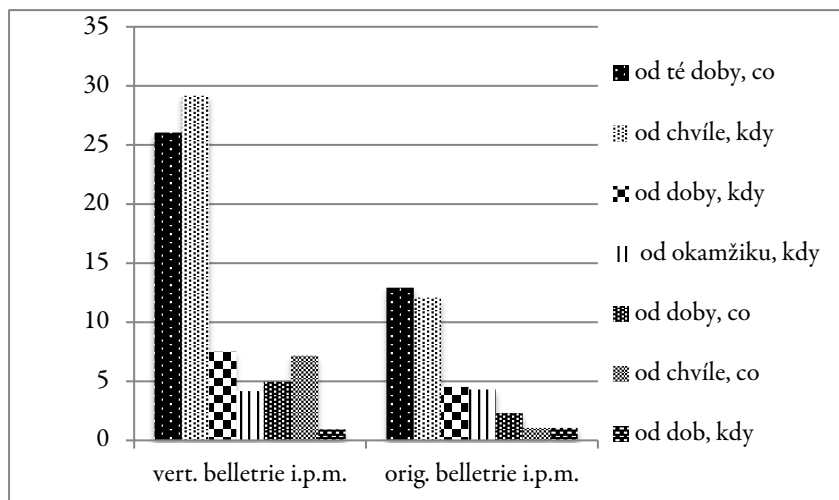


Tabel 4

Datzelfde geldt ook voor de andere voegwoorden. Tabel 4 geeft de voegwoorden in de verhouding tot de grootte van het subcorpus weer (gevonden aantallen van voegwoorden uitgedrukt in i.p.m. – instanties per miljoen tokens). Zo is de relatieve verdeling van individuele voegwoorden zichtbaar zonder de vertekening door het verschil in de grootte van de subcorpora. Dit geeft duidelijk aan dat de voegwoorden in de originele teksten, zoals eerder gezegd, aanzienlijk minder vaak

worden gebruikt, maar ook dat zij gelijkmatiger verdeeld zijn dan in de vertaalde teksten. Daar zijn *od chvíle kdy* en *od té doby co* heel dominant. In vergelijking met de originele teksten scoort *od chvíle co* verder relatief hoger, maar *od doby kdy* juist relatief lager.

Ook hier speelt bij de verdeling van de voegwoorden zeker mee dat de vertaalde teksten voornamelijk vertalingen van belletrise zijn. In de originele teksten komen 12% uit de belletrise, in de vertaalde 78%.²¹ Tabel 5 laat de verhouding zien tussen de vertaalde *belletrise* en originele *belletrise* berekend per miljoen tokens van het betreffende subcorpus, n.l. *SYN2015*: vertaalde belletrise en *SYN2015*: Tsjechische belletrise. In deze tabel is de spreiding bij Tsjechische originelen veel minder egaal dan in tabel 4, hier domineren duidelijk *od té doby co*



Tabel 5

en *od chvíle kdy*, maar deze keer is *od té doby co* licht in de meerderheid. Terwijl bij vertaalde belletrise *od chvíle kdy* het meest gebruikt wordt. Ook hier is een verschil bij *od chvíle co* dat bij de vertaalde teksten relatief hoog scoort.

Dat er verschillen bestaan tussen de spreiding en de hoeveelheid van varianten in de originele teksten en vertalingen uit vreemde talen is uit eerdere onderzoeken bekend, bijvoorbeeld Barentsen (1999). Voor de vertaalde teksten die in de

SYN-corpora zijn opgenomen is het haast onmogelijk vast te stellen waar het aan ligt. Ze komen uit verschillende talen en de bronteksten zijn niet voorhanden. Een van de redenen zal, zoals Barentsen (1999: 243) oppert, interferentie zijn: onder invloed van de constructie in de brontaal gebruikt de vertaler een zin met een bepaald voegwoord, terwijl in de doeltaal andere mogelijkheden gangbaarder zijn. Voor zinnen die voortijdigheid uitdrukken dienen zich in een taal met een aspect-systeem als het Tsjechische, bovendien meerdere mogelijkheden aan dan uitsluitend voegwoordconstructies.

3 Bevindingen

3.1 Verschillen tussen *kdy* en *co*

Voor het eigenlijke onderzoek naar de varianten van de voegwoorden en vooral naar de keuze tussen *kdy* en *co*, heb ik besloten te werken met het subcorpus van uitsluitend oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten van *SYN2015*. Dat materiaal is het meest authentiek en het is ook overzichtelijker wat aantallen betreft. Waar het nodig was om extra zinnen te genereren, maak ik gebruik van het subcorpus van *SYNv3* met uitsluitend originele Tsjechische teksten.

Zoals al bekend van tabel 4, zijn ook in de originele teksten de frequenties van de verschillende varianten uiteenlopend. Drie varianten zijn sterk vertegenwoordigd, de rest aanzienlijk minder. In tabel 6 zijn de voegwoorden met *co* en *kdy* onder elkaar gezet. De onderlinge verschillen in aantallen zijn nu goed zichtbaar. Er is een duidelijke top drie: *od chvíle kdy*, *od té doby co* en *od doby kdy*. Als enige nadert *od doby co* met zijn 103 treffers enigszins de 296 gevallen van *od doby kdy*.

	<i>od chvíle</i>	<i>od té doby</i>	<i>od doby</i>	<i>od okamžiku</i>	<i>od dob</i>	<i>od té chvíle</i>	<i>od těch dob</i>
<i>Co</i>	41	317	103	4	4	7	6
<i>kdy</i>	401	31	296	135	54	2	2

Tabel 6

Er is een algemene tendens te zien: bij constructies met een aanwijzend voornaamwoord is de vorm met *co* dominant, zonder het voornaamwoord treffen we het

vaakst *kdy* aan. Een deel van de varianten met *kdy* komt voor in zinnen waar het waarschijnlijk om gewone bepalende bijzinnen gaat (zoals hierboven in 8 en 8a). De andere zijn zeker van het type “temporeel delimiterende” bijzin (de “sinds”-zinnen). Hier valt ook op dat in tegenstelling tot wat de eerder genoemde grammatica’s zeggen, de meest voorkomende samengestelde voegwoorden niet het aanwijzend voornaamwoord *té* of *toho* bevatten.

Het antwoord op de vraag welke rol het voornaamwoord *té* speelt en welke status *od té doby co* heeft in vergelijking met o.a. *od doby co* en *od doby kdy* in het moderne Tsjechisch, vereist een uitgebreid onderzoek, waarbij ook moet worden gekeken naar de verschillende gebruikstypes die (deels) afhankelijk zullen zijn van tempus en aspect. Daarbij is ook het werken met informanten noodzakelijk, zodat met enquêtes een dergelijke kan worden nagegaan of en hoe dergelijke factoren de keuze van de varianten beïnvloeden. Dat onderzoek is nog in ontwikkeling en er kunnen hier dus nog geen resultaten worden gepresenteerd.

Naast het centrale probleem van de distributie en respectievelijke functies van *co* en *kdy* in de samengestelde voegwoorden, roept ook de hoeveelheid verschillende substantieven van tijd (vgl. *od doby*, *od chvíle*, *od okamžiku*, *od dob*) vragen op over hun wederzijdse uitwisselbaarheid. Daarop ga ik in het volgende in.

3.2 De uitwisselbaarheid van substantieven van tijd

In de samengestelde voegwoorden bewaren de substantieven deels hun betekenis en zij zijn daarom niet in alle contexten uitwisselbaar. In zin 12 is *chvíle* niet geschikt omdat het om een te kort tijdbestek gaat voor de duratieve handeling van het imperfectieve werkwoord *žít* ‘wonen, leven’.

- (12) A po mnoha a mnoha létech se vydal do Prahy. Hlavní královské město se od doby, co v něm žil, neuvěřitelně proměnilo.
 ‘Maar na vele vele jaren reisde hij naar Praag. De koninklijke hoofdstad was sinds hij daar gewoond had, ongelooflijk veranderd.’

Relatief het meest beperkt lijken *od dob*, *od těch dob* ‘sinds’, lett. ‘vanaf d(i)e tijden’. Ze verwijzen gewoonlijk naar lang vervlogen tijden of naar een historische

periode of tijdperk. In zin 13 wordt die betekenis ondersteund door het gebruik van ‘jonge jongen’ en het iteratieve werkwoord *chodíval* ‘placht te gaan’, hier: ‘placht te bezoeken’.

- (13) Druhá liga se určitě hodně zlepšila (PFV.PRET) od dob, co jsem na ni chodíval (IPFV.PRET) jako kluk ve Vsetíně.
 ‘De eerste divisie is aanzienlijk beter geworden sinds (de tijden dat) ik als (jonge) jongen in Vsetín de wedstrijden placht te bezoeken.’

Od dob zou hier vooral door *od doby* of *od té doby* vervangen kunnen worden. Het gebruik van *chvíle* of *okamžik* in zin 13 is niet voor de hand liggend, omdat het om een vaak herhaalde handeling gaat, hetgeen niet goed verenigbaar is met de betekenis van *chvíle* of *okamžik*. Maar zoals zinnen 14 en 15 laten zien, zijn in een gelijksoortige context, echter met een perfectief werkwoord in de bijzin, ook *okamžik* en *chvíle* mogelijk. In feite zijn alle varianten hier even bruikbaar. De afgerondheid of eenmaligheid maakt dat een verwijzing naar een kort tijdsbestek niet onnatuurlijk klinkt. Wel verliest de zin dan de emotionele bijkleur van de lang vervlogen tijden of impliciete verwijzing naar een historische periode.

- (14) Jsem (IPFV.PRES) Bohemák od dob (od doby/od té doby/od chvíle/od okamžiku), kdy jsem začal (PFV.PRET) v necelých deseti letech vnímat fotbal v televizi a viděl Antonína Panenku [...]
 ‘Ik ben een aanhanger van Bohemia sinds (/vanaf/ de tijden/de tijd/het moment dat) ik me, toen ik nog geen tien jaar oud was, van voetballen op de tv bewust werd en Antonín Panenka zag [...].’
- (15) Od dob (od (té) doby/od chvíle/od okamžiku), kdy bylo otrokářství postaveno (PFV.PRET.PASS) mimo zákon, nelze (IPFV.PRES) otroka přesně definovat.
 ‘Sinds (/vanaf/ de tijden/de tijd/het moment dat) de slavernij buiten de wet werd gesteld, is de slaaf moeilijk exact te definiëren.’

Zinnen 16 en 17 laten zien, dat de inzetbaarheid van *od dob* en *od těch dob* bepaald wordt door de combinatie van aspect en, vooral, context. Het werkwoord van de bijzin in 16 is net als in de zinnen 14 en 15 perfectief, maar de context staat een

verwijzing naar een langere periode niet toe. Het imperfectieve werkwoord van zin 17 is een imperfectivum tantum.

- (16) Od chvíle (od okamžiku/od (té) doby), co dostal (PFV.PRET) povolání k deportaci, nosil (IPFV.PRET) vysoké šněrovací boty. Připravil se na cestu. ‘Sinds (/vanaf/de tijd/het moment dat) hij de oproep tot deportatie had gekregen, droeg hij hoge veterschoenen. Hij maakte zich klaar voor de reis.’
- (17) Od chvíle (od okamžiku), kdy předchozí papež rezignoval (IPFV.PRET), tak nastal (PFV.PRET) nekonečný maraton telefonátů a e-mailů mezi redaktorkou Pátku Magdalenou Sodomkovou a slavným zlatníkem. ‘Sinds (/vanaf/de tijd/het moment dat) de vorige paus afgetreden is, kwam er dus een eindeloze marathon van telefoongesprekken en emails op gang tussen de redacteur van *Pátek* Magdalena Sodomková en de beroemde goudsmid.’

Ook de tegenpool – *okamžik* – is beperkter in zijn inzet dan de overige voegwoorden; zo behoort het in 18²² niet tot de mogelijkheden.

- (18) Kdyby to strejda četl, tak se bude smát, ale já se od té doby (od těch dob/od doby), co mě neviděl (IPFV.PRET), fakt zlepšil (PFV.PRET). A že mě neviděl dlouho [...]
- ‘Als mijn oom het zou lezen, dan zou hij lachen, maar ik ben sinds (de tijd(en) dat) hij me niet gezien heeft, werkelijk beter geworden. En hij heeft me heel lang niet gezien [...].’

Het woord *okamžik* slaat n.l. op een heel kort moment, en daarom moet de context daar niet tegenin gaan. Soms zit er ook een beetje urgentie in, groter dan bij *chvíle*. In het volgende voorbeeld valt ook op dat *sinds* in de Nederlands vertaling onwaarschijnlijk is.

- (19) Od okamžiku (od chvíle), co napnula (PFV.PRET) ukazovák na spoušti, všechny okolní zvuky a hluky naráz zmizely (PFV.PRET).
- ‘Vanaf het moment dat ze haar vinger aan de trekker had, verdwenen alle geluiden en het lawaai in de omgeving in één klap.’

Maar meestal kunnen zonder noemenswaardig verschil alle substantieven van tijd, soms zelfs *od dob* i.p.v. *od okamžiku* gebruikt worden. In de volgende zinnen is *sinds* in het Nederlands zelfs uitgesloten.

- (20) Brankář musí (IPFV.PRES) výhoz od branky provést do 4 sec od okamžiku (od chvíle/od doby kdy/od té doby co), kdy má (IPFV.PRES) míč pod kontrolou a ...
 ‘De keeper moet de bal binnen 4 seconden vanaf het moment dat hij de bal onder controle heeft, het speelveld ingooien.’
- (21) Ale prokazatelná je (IPFV.PRES) výroba teprve od okamžiku (od dob/od doby/ od chvíle/od té doby), kdy hominin sáhl (PFV.PRET) [...] po štěpném kameni
 ‘Maar de productie is pas bewijsbaar vanaf het moment dat een hominini naar [...] een splitsbare steen greep.’

De bovenstaande uitspraken over de uitwisselbaarheid van de substantieven van tijd zijn gebaseerd op mijn taalgevoel als native-speaker van het Tsjechisch. Daar zit natuurlijk ook een zwak punt in: het wekt meteen vragen op over de geldigheid van zulke observaties. Ze zouden verder onderbouwd moeten worden. Aan de ene kant door uitspraken van andere native-speakers, aan de andere kant door een diepere analyse van allerlei soorten zinnen met deze voegwoorden.

Het feit dat de voegwoorden in zinnen 20 en 21 niet met *sinds* in het Nederlands vertaald kunnen worden, omdat deze zinnen niet in het verleden verankerd zijn maar een soort uitspraak met een algemene geldigheid zijn (vgl. Barentsen 2009: 334 en zijn artikel in de huidige bundel), zou bijvoorbeeld kunnen helpen bij het afbakenen van het gebruik van voegwoorden met *kdy* en *co* of de varianten met of zonder voornaamwoord. Maar dat wordt behandeld in het vervolgonderzoek.

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Afkortingen

IPFV = imperfectief aspect; PFV = perfectief aspect; PRES = presens; PRET = preteritum.

Noten

- 1 Deze bundel is nog niet gepubliceerd, voor deze studie heb ik gebruik kunnen maken van een voorlopige versie van het hoofdstuk over het Tsjechisch, van de hand van J. Panevová, met A. A. Barentsen als co-auteur.
- 2 De Tsjechische orthografie vereist dat voor het element *kdy* of *co* een komma wordt geplaatst, maar deze is hier ter wille van de overzichtelijkheid weggelaten.
- 3 Tenzij anders aangegeven, komen alle voorbeelden in dit stuk uit het door mij gevormde subcorpus van *SYN2015*: (Křen et al. 2015); dit subcorpus bestaat uit alle onvertaalde (oorspronkelijk) Tsjechische teksten van *SYN2015*.
- 4 Zin 5 komt uit *SYN2015*; zin 5a is door mij bewerkt.
- 5 *Jak* 'hoe, als, zoals, zodra' speelt een zeer marginale rol in dit type bijzin in modern Tsjechisch. Ik heb slechts een paar zinnen gevonden met de combinatie *od (té) doby, chvíle, jak*. Zinnen die op deze manier gevormd zijn, lijken min of meer op contaminaties met andere types. De zin *Ale od té doby, jak se mi změnil metabolismus, jsem na dietě vlastně pořád* 'Maar sinds (lett.: vanaf die tijd hoe) mijn metabolisme is veranderd, ben ik eigenlijk bijna altijd op dieet' lijkt bijvoorbeeld onder invloed te staan van bijzinnen met *jak* die een reden of oorzaak uitdrukken (zie SŠJČ 1989: II, 202). En in *Vskutku jsem nebyl při sobě hněd od chvíle, jak jsem dostal ten dopis*. 'Ik was uit het lood geslagen meteen vanaf het moment dat (lett.: hoe) ik de brief heb gekregen.' (beide zinnen uit *SYNv3*, de laatste komt uit een vertaling), lijkt het om een contaminatie te gaan van *hněd jak* 'meteen toen', 'zodra' en *od chvíle, kdy* 'sinds'.
- 6 Het *ČNK* bevat meerdere omvangrijke, representatieve en geannoteerde corpora van het moderne Tsjechisch: *SYN2000*, *SYN2005*, *SYN2010* en *SYN2015* – elk met een omvang van honderd miljoen tokens, interpunctie niet meegeteld. Met "representatief" wordt hier bedoeld dat het materiaal zorgvuldig uitgekozen is om alle mogelijke taalvariëteiten te bevatten, en wel in een verhouding die als zodanig het geheel van de Tsjechische taal vertegenwoordigt.⁷ De getallen slaan op de publicatiejaren van de respectievelijke corpora. Er is is geen overlap van teksten tussen de corpora. Het zwaartepunt wordt gevormd door de teksten die uit 1990 tot 2014 stammen. Daarnaast bevat het *ČNK* aparte corpora van kranten – *SYN2006PUB*, *SYN2009PUB*, *SYN2013PUB* (van 300 tot 900 miljoen posities exclusief de interpunctie) en verschillende corpora van gesproken taal, historische taal alsmede het multilinguale parallele corpus *InterCorp*, met meer dan 30 talen, etc. Vgl. <https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/cnk:uvod> en <https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/pojmy:reprezentativnost>
- 7 Vgl. <https://SyD.korpus.cz/>, <http://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/manualy:SyD>
- 8 Vgl. <http://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/cnk:oral2013> (Benešová et al. 2013)
- 9 Vgl. <http://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/cnk:diakorp>, 3.450.142 tokens zonder interpunctie, (Cvrček et al. 2015)
- 10 Voor alle voor dit onderzoek gebruikte zoekopdrachten geldt dat ze niet hoofdlettergevoelig zijn, dwz. dat ook de varianten met de hoofdletter O aan het begin van de zin, werden meegenomen in de zoekopdracht.
- 11 Om een beeld te geven van de verhouding tot de rest van het corpus geef ik in deze noot ook de absolute frequentie en het aantal woorden (tokens) per miljoen tokens van het corpus: 1289/10,59, 1048/8,91, 547/4,72, 402/3,3, 209/1,72, 177/1,45, 103/0,85, 98/0,81, 53/0,44, 37/0,3, 9/0,07 en 6/0,05
- 12 Dit *SYNv3* corpus is samengesteld uit *SYN2000*, *2005*, *2010* en de aparte corpora van kranten *SYN2006PUB*, *SYN2009PUB*, *SYN2013PUB*, is niet representatief, omdat er heel veel bronnen uit kranten opgenomen zijn. Het daarvan afgeleide subcorpus van oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten bevat 2.593.333.216 tokens. <http://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/cnk:syn:verze3> (Křen. M. et al. 2014)

VARIATIE BIJ TSJECHISCHE VOEGWOORDEN MET DE BETEKENIS ‘SINDS’

- 13 De zoekopdracht werd uitgevoerd in SYNv5: 4.599.643.984 tokens, <http://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/cnk:syn:verze5>, (Křen, M. et al. 2017)
- 14 Deze *Bible česká*, ofwel *Svatováclavská*, is uitgegeven door de Jezuïeten, Het nieuwe testament kwam in 1677 uit. Het oude testament kwam in twee delen uit, in 1712 en 1715.
- 15 Teksten uit Rudé právo 1952, notulen van het parlement tussen 1964–68, 1976, 1978, in 1981 vergaderingen van Česká národní rada, RP 1969, 1977 (2 maanden) en pas in de jaren tachtig een aantal literaire werken.
- 16 Volgens de gegevens gegenereerd op 12-7-2017, eerdere opgaves gaven (om voor mij onbekende redenen) licht afwijkende resultaten bij de hoogste percentages.
- 17 Van 39.712.384 tokens in het subcorpus van SYN2010 met vertaalde teksten komen er 33.101.984 uit belletrie. In het subcorpus van SYN2010 met oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten is de verhouding 81.955.029 tegen 16.636.027.
- 18 Vgl. <https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/cnk:SYN2015>
- 19 Zonder de interpunctie mee te tellen is het 100.838.568, maar omdat het subcorpus van oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten deze informatie niet opgeeft, vergelijk ik de tokens zoals in de tekst gegeven.
- 20 Nogmaals: alle exacte getallen moeten bij benadering genomen worden, want af en toe worden deze voegwoorden ook in een ander soort bijzin gebruikt (zie voorbeeld 7 in paragraaf 2.1.)
- 21 Van de 41.065.854 tokens van het subcorpus SYN2015: vertaalde teksten stammen er 32.097.925 uit de belletrie, terwijl van 79.682.861 tokens van het subcorpus van oorspronkelijk Tsjechische teksten er slechts 9.521.662 uit de belletrie komen.
- 22 zin 18 komt uit SYN v3

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Hieronder resorteren;

SYN-corpora: synchroon, het getal geeft het publicatiejaar weer:

SYN2000, SYN2005, SYN2010, SYN2015 (de zgn. representatieve corpora);

SYN2006PUB, SYN2009PUB, SYN2013PUB (corpora van krantenteksten).

Samengevoegde corpora van de SYN reeks:

SYNv3: *SYN2000, SYN2005, SYN2010, SYN2006PUB, SYN2009PUB, SYN2013PUB*;

SYNv5: *SYN2000, SYN2005, SYN2010, SYN2015, SYN2006PUB, SYN2009PUB*;

SYN2013PUB, en andere publicistiek uit jaren 2010-2015.

Diakorp: diachroon, geschreven bronnen, 14^e tot 20^e eeuw

KSK-Dopisy: privé correspondentie uit 1990-2004

Oral-corpora: transcriptie van opnamen van informele gesprekken, 2002-2011:

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SOME QUESTIONS REGARDING THE RUSSIAN SUFFIX –*ščina*¹

Egbert Fortuin

1 Introduction

The Russian suffix *-ščina* (or variant *-čina*) (cyrillic *-щина* (*-чина*)) is specialized in forming words that express, what Sorokin (Сорокин 1965: 226) calls, a ‘societal-polemical’ meaning. In many cases these words express “характеристические общественно-бытовые явления, идейные течения с отрицательной окраской” (Виноградов 1947: 139). Well-known examples are words such as *oblomovščina* (‘oblomovism’), *pugačevščina* (‘pugačevism’) or *arackčeevščina* (‘arackčeevism’). It might perhaps seem strange, odd or even inappropriate to devote an article on *-ščina* to a very highly valued and dear colleague, but as will be clear from my discussion, the suffix *-ščina* is very interesting from a linguistic point of view because of its complex semantics, which almost seems to resist semantic analysis, and which requires both a diachronic and synchronic approach, something that Janneke Kalsbeek has been doing in her own research.

Even though various authors provide definitions of this suffix (e.g. Mazon 1920: 34, Селищев 2003 [1928]: 177, Виноградов 1947: 139, Townsend 1975:169, Лопатин 1980), none of these definitions seems to fully capture all of its uses. There seem to be two reasons for this. First of all, even though *-ščina*-words are specialized in expressing societal-polemical meanings, it can be used for very different types of referents, ranging from individuals (e.g. *derevenščina* ‘country bumpkin’), to ideological movements (e.g. *tolstovščina* ‘tolstoyism’), but also particular practices (e.g. *dedovščina* ‘bullying of subordinates in the military’) or things or properties of things (e.g. *kitajščina*, which can mean besides ‘Chinese mannerisms’, ‘chinoiserie’ and ‘products made in China’). It is quite difficult, if not impossible to capture all these uses under one definition. Second, even though by using the suffix the speaker seems to signal to the addressee that (s)he evaluates

the referent of the *-ščina*-word negatively, this negative attitude is not the same in all instances, and is even absent in the case of some *-ščina*-words. As such it is not entirely clear how we should interpret this negative semantics.

Important questions with respect to the analysis of this suffix are:

- a. How are words with the suffix *-ščina* /š':ina/ formed and derived? And in what way does the suffix change the meaning of the word it is added to?
- b. What is the semantics of the suffix *-ščina*?:
 - Is it possible to provide one unified meaning, or should we distinguish different interrelated meanings?
 - What is the negative evaluation that is part of its semantics?
 - Should we take into account in the semantic analysis to what type of referents the *-ščina*-word can refer?
- c. Should we analyze the meaning of the suffix purely from a synchronic point of view, or is it necessary to take into account diachronics?

In this article, I will not answer these questions, but just make a few observations, which may be useful for further research.

2 How are *-ščina*-words derived?

An important question is whether all *-ščina*-words are derived from adjectives, as is the standard view in the Russian linguistic tradition, or whether it is possible to say that they can be derived from various parts of speech. Townsend (Townsend 1975:169), argues for example that the suffix *-ščina* is an enlarged version of *-in-a*, which is “joined to relational adjectives in *-sk-* to form nouns designating a system, a collectivity of customs and habits, a culture or, sometimes, the people involved, often with a negative connotation”. This definition clearly states that the suffix is attached to relational adjectives in *-sk-*. Vinogradov (Виноградов 1964: 119; fn 146) remarks that the suffix *-ščina* is usually attached to a nominal root, that is identical to an adjectival root with an ending on *-skij*. Let us have a look at some examples. Take the word *piarščina* (related to PR ‘PR’). Is this word directly or indirectly derived from *piarskij* or is it derived from the noun PR without any relation to a corresponding adjective? One could also argue that if the semantics

of the *-ščina*-word suggests for example a verbal origin, it must be derived from a verb. To give an example, it is semantically easier to derive *dedovščina*, which expresses a particular practice, namely bullying in the military, from the verb *dedovat*’ rather than from the noun *ded* or the adjective *dedskij*.² As such, one may argue that according to a rule of the ‘smallest step’, the base form is a verb. However, there is evidence which points in a different direction. Data from the НКРЯ show that in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century *dedovščina* was used to refer to the land of the forefathers, without any negative evaluation, and without any verbal-like semantics. The form *dedovščina* referring to its current meaning of bullying in the military was used for the first time in the beginning of the seventies (СОЛНЫШКОВ 2004), which is also underlined by the НКРЯ where the earliest example is from 1975. Whether or not the presence of the form *dedovščina* (meaning ‘land of forefathers’) played a part, or whether this new use was directly based on *ded*, it seems that the verb *dedovat*’, which is in fact not found in the НКРЯ, is a later development, which is based on the semantics of *dedovščina* meaning ‘bullying in the military’. Note furthermore that we also find the similar term *ustavščina* in novel uses:

- (1) Надо полагать, скоро наряду с **ДЕДОВЩИНОЙ** и **УСТАВЩИНОЙ** появится новый термин “**ПРОФЕССОРЩИНА**”. Угнетают бедных мальчиков. Бедные мальчики вынуждены интегралы всю ночь считать, вместо того чтобы гуманитарно пить пивасик.
(<http://nsvk.wordpress.com/2012/09/12/комитет-школьных-матерей/> - retr. ca. June 2014.)

Even though we do find the verb *professorstvovat*’ (‘work as a professor’, from *professorstvo* ‘professorship’), in the case of *ustavščina* there is no verb available on which this word could be based. It seems that these terms are constructed by analogy with *dedovščina*, rather than derived from a corresponding verb or adjective, for that matter. So even though we may perhaps provide diachronic evidence for a particular base form, from a synchronic perspective it is not always possible to say from which base form the *-ščina*-word is derived, and in some cases we can only point to a number of possible candidates that share a particular stem.

In many cases a *-ščina*-word may in fact be derived from another *-ščina*-word. The inherent relationship with adjectives might very well be a diachronic matter, since it were possibly only the first instances of the suffix that were related to an adjective. Whether there is some special relation with adjectives in modern Russian therefore remains to be seen.

3 What do *-ščina*-words mean?

What about the semantics of the suffix? Most semantic definitions of the suffix *-ščina* given in the literature are rather general. In the introduction I provided such a general definition by Vinogradov, who argues that the suffix expresses “характеристические общественно-бытовые явления, идейные течения с отрицательной окраской” (Виноградов 1947: 139). In addition, he also remarks that the suffix is encountered in names for regions (*oblast'*) in Ukraine (Виноградов 1947: 140).

As I noted before, Townsend (1975: 169) relates the suffix *-ščina* to the suffix *-ina*. It remains, however, unclear what the semantic relation is between *-ščina* and the (augmentative) suffix *-ina*. With respect to the semantics, Townsend's definition given above is a bit more specific than the definition given by Vinogradov, since it points to the possibility that the suffix refers to people or their habits.

A somewhat similar definition is given by Seliščev (Селищев 2003: 177, 179), who discusses the language of the beginning of the twentieth century:³ “*щина*: (1) Названия явлений отрицательного свойства, или (реже) коллектива лиц, к которым выражается отрицательное отношение. Этот суффикс весьма продуктивен. (...) (2) В литературный, общественно-политический и газетный язык России вошли географические названия украинских областей на *-щина*.”

One of the main issues with the description given by Seliščev, or for that matter that of Vinogradov or Townsend given earlier, is that it is not clear to what type of referents the *-ščina*-words can refer: what are phenomena (*'явление'*) with a negative property or negatively evaluated groups of persons? Note that the *-ščina* word can have different types of referents, which can be more or less abstract. To

give an example, the type of referent of the word *nelegal'ščina* referring to illegal texts, which are concrete things, is very different from that of *stalinščina*, which refers to the ideology and regime of Stalin. As such, the description does not provide us with enough information about what type of referents the word can refer to. Also note that Seliščev speaks about the possibility for the word to refer to a group of persons, but some *-ščina*-words can also refer to an individual (e.g. *derevenščina* 'country bumpkin'). Furthermore, even though *-ščina*-words typically have a negative connotation, the nature of this negative meaning is not entirely clear, and seems to depend very much on the type of referent. To illustrate this, the negative evaluation of *stalinščina*, which refers to the very negative sides of the regime and ideology of Stalin, is clearly of a very different kind than that of *gollandščina*, which can refer to cliché-like Dutch things, for example photos with typical Dutch scenes.

To my knowledge, Lopatin, the author of parts of the Academy Grammar (1980) that deal with morphology, gives the most extensive analysis of the suffix. In the Academy Grammar, there are three sections in which the suffix is discussed, and which are treated as three non-related uses of the suffix.

First, Lopatin (Лопатин 1980: 154) mentions the use with the ending *-l'ščin(a)*, which expresses "явление, характеризующееся совершившимся действием". The only example that is provided is *byval'ščina*, which refers to a type of oral story, which is not based on actual facts. According to Lopatin *byval'ščina* is derived from the verb *byvat'*. It is not clear, though, why *-l'ščin(a)* should be seen as a separate model of suffixation. Instead it seems better to say that *byval'ščina* must be seen as a regular but archaic instance of the suffix *-ščina*, which is derived from the adjective *byvalyj*, and which lacks the typical contemporary negative meaning.

Second, Lopatin (Лопатин 1980: 173) discusses the use of the suffix with place names, referring to regions (not just in Ukraine, as mentioned by Seliščev (Селищев 2003) and Vinogradov (Виноградов 1947) but more broadly, such as *Tambovščina* 'Tambov region (oblast)').

Third, Lopatin (Лопатин 1980: 177) discusses the typical negative uses of the suffix. He provides the following general definition that is reminiscent of the

general definitions by the other authors mentioned above: “Существительные с суф. щин(а)/чин(а) (...) имеют значение ‘признак, названный мотивирующим прилагательным, как бытовое или общественное явление, идейное или политическое течение’, обычно с оттенком неодобрения”. Besides this general description he also mentions that there are particular usage types, which he classifies in terms of the base forms of the *-ščina*-words, which ‘motivate’ the *-ščina*-words: (1) words motivated by adjectives (e.g. *ugolovnyj – ugovolščina*); (2) compounds motivated by adjectives (*podennaja rabota – podenščina*), (3) words motivated by nouns, but indirectly by adjectives belonging to these nouns. This latter class is composed of the following groups: (a) names for inanimate objects and phenomena: *kanceljarščina, literaturščina, balaganščina, teatralščina, gruppovščina*; (b) names of persons: *lakejščina, popovščina, ljubitelščina, obyvatelščina*; (c) names for people and countries: *aziatščina, turetščina*; (d) names for organizations: *rappovščina* (from the abbreviation (given here in the original Cyrillic alphabet) РАПП — Российская Ассоциация Пролетарских Писателей); (e) names of historical figures and literary figures: *arakčeevščina, bironovščina, oblomovščina, manilovščina*. Lopatin also mentions that in this latter class we also find words that have a secondary collective meaning (‘вторичное собирательное значение’) expressing groups of objects or persons, that are characterized by a feature or relation expressed by the adjectival base: *voenščina, policejščina, poxabščina, inostranščina*. In rare cases, he mentions, we also find the meaning of ‘person’, carrier of the feature (*derevenščina*) or ‘country’ or ‘state’ (*nemetščina, turetščina*).

Because Lopatin discusses the different types of uses of the suffix more systematically than the other authors, he provides us with much more relevant information about the meaning of the suffix. Even though the analysis given by Lopatin therefore is an excellent starting point for any analysis on this suffix, it still leaves questions unanswered. It is not clear, for example, why he bases his classification on the relation between the *-ščina*-word and an adjective. It is not immediately clear why a word like *gruppovščina* should be described in terms of the indirect motivational relation with the corresponding adjective (*gruppovoj*).⁴ Furthermore, the analysis or classification in terms of the category of the base

word does not in all cases correctly describe the specific referential categories the *-ščina*-words can have. Note for example that even though *aziatščina* can be used to refer to people and countries, as is stated by Lopatin, it can also refer to typical Asiatic things, customs or practices. More generally, Lopatin is not explicit enough with respect to the question to what referents a *-ščina*-word can refer. Furthermore, Lopatin remarks that *-ščina*-words express “бытовое или общественное явление, идейное или политическое течение”, often with a negative connotation (‘отенок неодобрения’), but it is not exactly clear what the term ‘phenomenon’ (‘явление’) means. To give an example, does *aziatščina*, when it refers to typical Asiatic things, customs or practices, refer to a phenomenon?

It should be noted that Vinogradov, Lopatin and Seliščev all point out that words with the suffix *-ščina* express negatively evaluated phenomena (in Russian *javlenija*). The term ‘phenomenon’ itself is not defined by these authors, but the reason why this term is used in definitions of the suffix is probably that by adding *-ščina* to a word, it often turns a more concrete concept into a more abstract and complex concept, for which there is no word yet in the language, but which needs a word because it is somehow remarkable or typical. In many cases these concepts also have a societal dimension, that is, they are about important cultural, political or sociological events, activities or behavior. This can be illustrated with the following examples:

- *bez-popov* (‘without priest(s)’) → *bezpopovščina* (‘religious movement in eighteenth century Russia that does not acknowledge priests’)
- *gruppa* (‘group’) → *gruppovščina* (‘The dominance of a single closed group in some areas of public life’) (*and not*: ‘negatively evaluated group’)
- *rozanov* (‘rozanov, i.e. specific person, writer’) → *rozanovščina* (‘the typical, and negatively evaluated, style and content of the writing of Rozanov’) (*and not*: ‘rozanov, negatively evaluated by the speaker’).

This type of use of the suffix is reminiscent of English *-ism*, which can be added to base forms to create the idea of an ideology (e.g. Stalinism) or similar meanings. In some cases where both the base form and the *-ščina*-word refer to a concrete

entity, the *-ščina*-word has a more complex meaning due to the evaluative component:

- *stolovaja* ('canteen') → *stolovščina* ('typical canteen food, or other negative things associated with a canteen')

Nevertheless, such instances, but more generally instances where the *-ščina*-word refers to a thing, activity, collective, or person are difficult to classify as a phenomenon, or the classification of the referent as a phenomenon is rather underspecified.

It should be noted that *-ščina*-words do not form one coherent class. There is a group of non-productive, and often archaic, *-ščina*-words in which the suffix does not have its prototypical negative meaning that we find today (see for example Виноградов 1964: 119). Instances are: *mostovščina* (hist. 'bridge money'); *bratčina/bratščina* (hist. 'feast where the men bring their own food'), *skladčina* (hist. 'meeting where people bring their own food or things/the bringing of this food/things', today also: 'clubbing together'); *soldatčina, rekrutčina* (hist. 'military service')⁵; *podensščina* ('day-labor'), *sdelščina* ('piece-work'); *godovščina* ('anniversary'); *barščina, panščina*, (hist. 'socage'). In addition we also find the non-obsolete forms *ženščina* ('woman'), *mužčina* ('man').

In all these cases the suffix is 'dead' to varying degrees in the sense that modern-day speakers of Russian have these words stored as units in their mind, and the *-ščina*-word has no clear compositional structure. Speakers may, however, also perceive a semantic link between the *-ščina*-word and the base form, for example in the case of *mostovščina*, where the link with *most* ('bridge') is quite evident. Even though these words miss the specific (negative) semantics that is an inherent part of the contemporary uses, they may also share some properties with these uses, as in the case of *ženščina*, which refers to a person, just like *derevenščina*, which has the typical negative semantics associated with the modern-day use of the suffix.

The type of use I will focus on in the remainder of this paper are (i) the uses that have no negative semantics but are productive (the uses based on place names), and (ii) the productive uses that have the typical negative semantics. The

productivity of the suffix seems to be a gradual and/or local phenomenon. To give an example, even though the usage type that refers to persons such as *derevenščina* seems very limited and not productive, we do find words like *gorodščina*, which are marked and have a playful character. Even though they may be seen as mere creative uses for some, for other speakers they seem to be used without being stylistically marked. Another example is the use of *-ščina*-words derived from ethnonyms. Even though this use is relatively productive, some speakers do not accept some instances of this use, probably because they have not encountered them before. In such cases language users may also not be sure about what the correct form is when they derive a novel use, as can be illustrated with example 2, where the person asking the question incorrectly builds the *-ščina*-word on the basis of the name of the country (*Francija*) instead of the corresponding adjectival stem (*francuz-*). Why the terms *francuzščina* and *anglijščina* are less conventionalized may have to do with such morphological properties, or perhaps with their meanings, which could be less applicable than some other *ščina*-words based on ethnonyms:

- (2) *Question on a forum*: широко используются слова типа “корейщина”, “китайщина”, “японщина”. вполне могу воспринимать прочие производные, будь то “испанщина”, “ирландщина” ... но мозг ломается, когда я пытаюсь образовать подобные слова от “Франции” и “Англии”. “францийщина” и “английщина” звучат как-то бредово. или оно и есть правильно?

Answer by someone on the forum: Если посмотреть в гугле, слова “английщина” и “французщина” активно употребляются в разговорной речи. В словарях они не зафиксированы.

(<http://kruzhok.diary.ru/p151178585.htm#form> - retr. ca. June 2014.)

Turning back to the issue of semantics, it seems very unlikely that it is possible to provide an abstract definition of the semantics of *-ščina*, which can be seen as a necessary and sufficient condition for all uses of the suffix. Rather one has to speak of a complex of interrelated meanings or uses. One possible way to classify the different uses would be to take into account both the referent of the word (e.g.

person, class of persons, property of person(s), thing, etc.) and the base form of the word (proper name, ethnonym, noun, verb, etc.). Such a classification would mirror as much as possible the semantic status of the different uses as distinguishable *usage types*. The following usage types could be distinguished:

1. Region, country (no negative semantics)
2. Person (e.g. *derevenščina*, *bezotcovščina*)
3. Collective of persons (e.g. *oficerščina*, *masterovščina*)
4. [Isolated instance: Property of person or groups of persons (*bezotcovščina*)]
5. Properties of things or groups of things (*only uses based on ethnonyms*, e.g. *kitajščina*)
6. Behavior and character trait of person or group of persons (e.g. *dekadentščina*, *gruppovščina*, *oblomovščina*, *kitajščina*)
7. Different referents associated with societal figure: political ideology, regime, societal movement, etc. (e.g. *stalinščina*, *tolstovščina*)
8. Different referents associated with writer: style of writing, ideas, etc. (e.g. *rozanovščina*)
9. State, property of situation (e.g. *raznobojarščina*)
10. Event (e.g. *pugačevščina*)
11. Activity/Activities (e.g. *ponožovščina*, *dedovščina*, *nelegalščina*)
12. Abstract thing (e.g. *bytovščina*)
13. Thing(s) (e.g. *banalščina*, *kitajščina*, *nelegalščina*)

It should be noted that some categories could also be classified under one of the other categories since the boundaries of the categories are fuzzy. Furthermore, the order in which the categories are presented is to a large extent arbitrary.

It is possible to make a further classification of the different uses as illustrated in Figure 1.

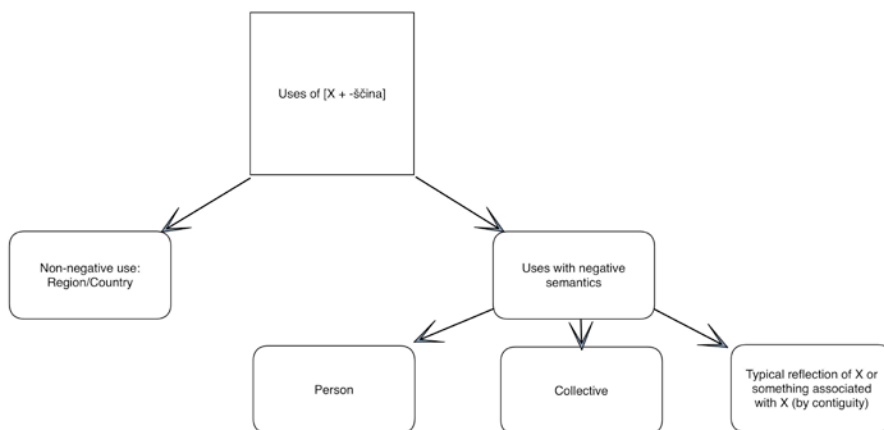


Fig. 1

As is illustrated in Fig. 1, there are two main usage types: ‘region/country’ versus uses with a negative semantics. Within the latter group there are three main usage types of which the ‘rest’ type is by far the largest (in terms of different types) and also the most productive one. If we take the construction $[X + \textit{ščina}]$, where X is the base form, we can say that in the ‘rest’ usage type the construction expresses a typical reflection of something expressed by X, or something that is associated with X by contiguity (and which is evaluated negatively, even though the specific negative semantics differs from type to type). A typical reflection of X may be a property of a person or thing, particular behavior, an ideology or societal movement, an event, state, activity or thing. It should be noted already here that many *-ščina*-words can fall under various of the 14 categories listed above. A good example is *-ščina*-words based on ethnonyms, such as *kitajščina* which can refer to (i) the property of a thing (a particular style), (ii) particular mannerisms or behavior, (iii) things.

How are these categories related to one another and how common are they? The category ‘region’ (and ‘country’) stands on its own both in terms of its referential status and in terms of the absence of the negative meaning component.

This use does not seem productive and there is some token-overlap with other categories (e.g. *peterburgščina* referring to typical (cliché) images of St Petersburg).

The referential category ‘person’ also stands on its own. For one instance (*bezotcovščina*) one can argue that the meaning ‘person’ is the primary meaning, and the meaning ‘property of person’ is a secondary (derived) meaning:

- (3) Люди на меня оглядывались и думали, что я **безотцовщина**. (Иван Охлобыстин. Подражание Панюшкину (1997)) (‘person who is fatherless’)
- (4) Да и **безотцовщины** тогда было — две трети на каждый класс. (Дина Рубина. *Белая голубка Кордовы* (2008-2009)) (‘state of fatherlessness of a group of people’)

It is also a class which is hardly productive, even though we do find neologisms. Note for example that for most speakers of Russian there is no word *gorodščina*, expressing a typical representative from the city, or *bezmaterščina*, referring to a person without mother. The following examples can be seen as instances of play-with-words:

- (5) Лично мне нравится **деревенщина**. Ну по крайней мере, она имеет такое же право на существование, что и **городщина** (<http://echo.msk.ru/blog/echomsk/770920-echo/> - retr. ca. June 2014.)
- (6) Они разводиться решили, а я, значит, буду **безотцовщина** и **безматерщина**. Спасибо большое. — Ты что несешь-то, — обиженно сказала Тамара, ошеломленная выговором Наташки. Ни вопросов тебе никаких, ни сочувствия, ни переживаний.
— Какая **безотцовщина**? И эта... как ее... **безматерщина**? (http://loveread.ws/read_book.php?id=12614&p=51 - retr. ca. June 2014.)

The word *beskul'turščina* was not found in the НКРЯ at all, even though several instances can be found on the Internet. In some cases we also found playful variations on this word like *beznavstvenščina*:

- (7) Да, я **бескультурщина** страшная и **безнравственщина** еще :)
(<http://panic-attack.ru/index.php?topic=400.525> - retr. ca. June 2014.)

It probably is no coincidence that semantically *beskul'turščina* shows similarities to *derevensščina*, and morphologically to *bezotcovščina*. As such, this use (and derived uses) may be motivated by these more conventionalized *-ščina*-words.

In colloquial Russian we also find instances where the *-ščina*-word can be interpreted as referring to an individual and where there is no conventionalized *-ščina*-word of the category 'person' that serves as a model. Examples are *činovščina* (related to *činovnik*), *lesbijanščina* (related to *lesbijanka*):

- (8) Я зарекся обращать внимание на то, что всякая **чиновщина** говорит.
(<http://lenta.ru/columns/2012/01/12/popovkin/> - retr. ca. June 2014.)
- (9) На ком это ты женилась, **лесбиянщина**? — Я не **лесбиянщина**. :D На Жорке я женилась.
(http://kumpumsiwhoo.vv.si/cad7c3/60be/9ba876_scenarii_provedeniya_dnya_rozheniya_11_let_3cf2.php - retr. ca. June 2014.)

In these two cases it is more common to use these forms to refer to practices or to a collective, even though these latter uses are also relatively infrequent in standard written Russian (no examples were found in the НКРЯ).

What about the category 'collective'? The collective meaning is not a very central meaning of the suffix, and hardly productive. To give an example, a noun like *advokat(š)ščina*, which could hypothetically speaking mean 'the bar' (collective of lawyers) is not used to refer to the bar, but to negatively evaluated behavior or practices of the bar. Also note that in contemporary Russian an ethnonym like *aziatščina* cannot be used to refer to the group of Asians.⁷ This type is, however, to some extent productive, and we do find new instances. A famous example is Solženicyн's term *obrazovanščina*, derived from the adjective *obrazovannyj*, but construed in analogy with existing *intelligencija*:

- (10) Так, никогда не получив чёткого определения интеллигенции, мы как будто и перестали нуждаться в нём. Под этим словом понимается в нашей стране теперь весь образованный слой, все, кто получил

образование выше семи классов школы. По словарю Даля, образовать в отличие от просвещать означает: придать лишь наружный лоск. Хотя и этот лоск у нас довольно третьего качества, в духе русского языка и верно по смыслу будет: сей образованный слой, всё то, что самозванно или опрометчиво зовётся сейчас «**интеллигенцией**», называть **образованщиной**.

(http://www.solzhenitsyn.ru/proizvedeniya/publizistika/stati_i_rechi/v_sovetskom_soyuze/obrazovanshina.pdf - retr. ca. June 2014.)

We also find other isolated cases like the following with *studentščina* (based on *student*), referring to a group of students rather than to one individual. This use may possibly be due to Ukrainian influence:

- (11) На Донбассе бунтуют сорокалетние мужики. На Майдане стояла бунящая западенская **студентщина**. (http://vk.com/wall-39439883_646942?reply=647576 retr. ca. June 2014.)

There is perhaps some token-overlap between the class ‘collective’ and the subclass ‘behavior’ (e.g. *intelligentščina*):

- (12) — Ах, вот беда с **интеллигентщиной**-то, вот беда! (Е. С. Гинзбург. *Крутой маршрут*: Часть 2 (1975-1977)) (the class of intelligentsia)
- (13) «Нет-нет, — сказала она, — это все **интеллигентщина**, игра слов. (Ю. И. Визбор. *Завтрак с видом на Эльбрус* (1983)) (‘behavior and properties of the intelligentsia’)

In some cases it is difficult to say whether the form refers to a particular group, or just to their behavior or their ideology:

- (14) Разве в нахальной дерзости манер и ответов вы не ясно видите дерзость николаевской **офицерщины**, (...) (А. И. Герцен. *Былое и думы*. Часть седьмая. Вольная русская типография и «Колокол» (1866))

Note that this semantic relation is also underlined by the suffix *-stvo*. This suffix can be combined with adjectives that express properties of people to make a quality noun (*bogatstvo* from *bogat-yj*) (AG 1980: 179). The same suffix can, however, both be used to create abstract nouns of the type *tolstovstvo*, referring to societal movements and their ideology, and at the same time to create collective nouns such as *intelligentstvo*. This suggests that there is a close semantic relationship between these two different types of meanings.

Within the ‘rest’-category (typical reflection of X, or something associated with X by contiguity), we find different types of referents that are all intimately related, and which can therefore be put in the same category. Behavior or properties of people that display tendencies in society can be linked to ideas or ideologies of people. A good example is the word *dekadentsščina*, in the category ‘behavior’, which, at least for the Soviet regime, was quite similar to a term like *severjanščina*, which refers to the ideas of Severjanin, and his style of writing. It is also easy to make the step from an ideology to a societal movement, which adheres to that ideology or from an ideology of a person to a regime of that same person on which the ideology is based. Similarly, the step from particular behavior to a particular event that is based on particular behavior is not very big. The category ‘behavior’ shows some semantic overlap with the category ‘collective’, and, with the category ‘thing’.

It is also possible to link activities such as *nelegal’ščina* (‘illegal activities’) or *forumščina* (‘forum business’) to the category ‘behavior’ since in both cases the word refers to things that people do, and the difference between them is not absolute. The main difference is that whereas the category ‘behavior’ concerns properties of people or sometimes behavioral tendencies in society at large, the category ‘activity’ concerns concrete actions that people can engage in. There is a token-overlap of the subcategory ‘activity’ with the category ‘things’. A good example is *nelegal’ščina*, which can refer both to illegal texts and to illegal activities or to an illegal situation. If we look at the first attestations of this word in the НКРЯ (in the first decennium of the twentieth century) we can see that this word is used both to refer to illegal texts, and to illegal activities or illegal situations, which suggests that the two meanings are closely related. In this case there is of

course a metonymical relation between the activity and the product of the illegal activity. Similarly, in the case of *forumščina* there is a relation between the activity and the place where the activity takes place.

If we focus on the category things, there are two ways in which the category ‘thing’ can be linked to the other categories. First, in some cases instances of this category are related to the category ‘behavior’ by contiguity: a thing that reflects a particular behavior (e.g. *Mumi-Trollevščina* referring to the lyrics of a pop-song that reminds of the lyrics of the rock-band Mumi-Troll). A similar relationship can be found between the subcategory ‘activity’ and the category ‘thing’ in the case of words like *nelegalščina*. Second, in some cases there is a close semantic relation between the category ‘thing’ and the category ‘behavior’. This can be illustrated with *literaturščina*, which can express a thing (negative type of literature), but at the same time also a property of literature (e.g. ‘lack of taste’ or ‘literary pretentiousness’) or the behavior of a writer reflected in the property of the thing.⁸ In some cases, however, it is difficult if not impossible to relate the use within the category ‘thing’ to another category (e.g. *der’movščina*, *stolovščina*, *dizajnsščina*). It is probably no coincidence that such uses are not accepted by all speakers of Russian and often have the character of novel uses. We have also shown that ethnonyms can form the base of *-ščina*-words referring to things. Such uses seem to occupy a special place within the structure since they are not semantically or pragmatically marked in any way, and also lack the specific negative semantics (but instead portray the thing as cliché, for example *kitajščina* referring to chinoiserie or cliché-like Chinese things).

4 Some diachronic observations

This discussion has shown that most *-ščina*-words have a negative meaning component; the only exception is formed by words that refer to regions or countries. This means that by adding *-ščina* to a word the speaker selects properties that are typically perceived as negative in order to signal these to the addressee. The character of these properties depends, however, very much on the referent of the *-ščina*-word. In the case of an ideology such as *tolstovščina* the speaker may signal to the addressee that the ideology of Tolstoj must be evaluated

as negative, perhaps even dangerous, whereas in the case of *mitingovščina* the speaker wants to highlight that the meeting was pointless or endless. Words that are based on ethnonyms behave somewhat idiosyncratically. If the word refers to a thing, the speaker may express that he finds the object cliché, or perhaps kitsch, though not necessarily something negative. Furthermore, in colloquial language, especially in the case of youth-slang, the speaker may use the suffix not to signal a negative attitude, but instead to highlight a particular ‘cool’ attitude in speaking about things. Finally, it should be noticed that the negative semantics of the suffix has also changed over time. Filin (Филин 1981: 194195) remarks that in the nineteenth century a word like *voenščina*, referring to a collective, was used without negative semantics and only obtained its present day negative semantics in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Filin’s discussion suggests that this had to do with the genre in which these *-ščina*-words were used at the end of the nineteenth century, such as political texts, which strengthened its present-day semantics. Similarly, Vinogradov (Виноградов 1964: 120) argues that in the second half of the twentieth century, words that first had no ‘emotional-attitudinal’ meaning gained such a meaning (e.g. *samodel’ščina*). According to him, there are only rare instances where a *-ščina*-word has no negative semantics in this period, and provides the following example:

- (15) Эта мелодия есть в меланхолиях северных пейзажей у Грига, в песнях средневековых трубадуров и романтизме нашей родной русской **тургеневщины**. (Борисов-Мусатов 1906; cited by Виноградов 1964: 120)

In this case the suffix is perhaps associated with the evaluation of something as ‘typical’ or cliché, which we also find with uses based on ethnonyms.

In order to describe the relation between the different uses of the suffix it would also be interesting, and I think even necessary, to take into account the diachronic dimension. I will make a few observations.

In the *drevnerusskij korpus* of the НКРЯ we find some instances of words with the suffix *-(š)ščina*, namely *tatar’ščina* (*Volynskaja letopis’*) (‘tax that has to be paid to the Tatars’) and *brat’ščina* (*Kievskaja letopis’*) (‘meal that is paid by the different

men').⁹ In the larger Old-Russian corpus of the НКРЯ (*starorusskij korpus*), where the oldest texts are from the fourteenth century, we find several instances of words with the suffix *-(š)čina*. In the fifteenth century we find words like *al'tynovščina* (from *al'tyn*; '3 kop. coin'), *mostovščina* (from *most*; 'bridge money'), and *bratčina* (from *brat*; 'meal that is paid by the different men'), and in the sixteenth century we find *ženščina* (from *žena*; 'woman') and *mužčina*. Most of these words have survived in modern Russian, even though they lack the specific negative semantics of the present-day use of the suffix:

- (16) Акоторая **женьщина** или дѣвка рукодѣльна, и той дѣла указати: рубашка дѣлати или убрусъ брати, или ткати, или золотное или шелковое пляичное дѣло, и которая чему учена—того всего досмотрити и дозрети. (Домострой (1500-1560))
- (17) И не надобе им моа дань, ни тамга, ни осмьничее, ни мыт, ни костки, и
- (18) и гостиное, ни явка, ни весчее, ни писчая белка, ни поголовная, ни подвода, ни **алтыновщина**, ни посошное, ни к городу не тянут, ни иная никоторая пошлина. (Жалованная грамота, тарханно-несудимая, в кн. Ивана Васильевича митрополиту Геронтию на владения Благовещенского монастыря, в Галичском у. (1477.01.20))
- (19) ..., а съ тѣхъ подъѣздовъ оброки не даютъ, на пирги и на **братчины** къ нимъ въ слободу не ѣздать никто, а кто поѣдетъ на пиръ и на **братчину** не званъ, ... (князь Андрей Васильевич Угличский. Жалованная грамота князя Андрея Васильевича Угличского в Покровский Паисиевский монастырь на села и деревни и вотчинные права (1416))¹⁰

What the exact semantics of this suffix were, is not entirely clear from the instances that we found, even though it seems to create nouns with a more complex or abstract meaning than the base form, and in many cases there is a relation of contiguity between the base form and the derived word containing the suffix. We also find instances of the suffix where the suffix seems to indicate a region (oblast') that belongs to a city as in modern Russian:

- (20) И под Изборскомъ был и дрался со псковскими ратными, и под Островом, и под Опочкой, и стал на Вороноче, и воевал **Псковщину**, а Литвы и Немец 2000 с ним. (Псковская 3-я летопись: Архивский 2-й список (1400-1650))
- (21) И Литва за нашими ходили, за пять верстъ не доходили до Вороноча; и оттуду воротятся воевали много земли псковской, **Красногородщину** и **Велеищину** по Сине и **Островщину**; и вышли из земли ко Оулеху, а воевали полторы недели, полону много вывели, и помѣщиковы (Псковская 3-я летопись: Строевский список (1400-1568))

Further research should determine (i) when and how the negative semantics became associated with the suffix, (ii) what the semantic relation is between the modern meanings of the suffix and the older meanings. Interestingly, in some cases we see an overlap, as was already illustrated with *ženščina* (category person, not negative) and *derevenščina* (category person, negative).¹¹

Based on data from the НКРЯ we can conclude that the typical negative use of the suffix was at least present in the eighteenth century, where we find *derevenščina*, *čertovščina*, *materščina* and *d'javolščina*, which all have a negative semantics. The word *d'javolščina* can already be found in the seventeenth century, which suggests that the specific negative meaning became part of the suffix at least in this era:

- (22) Да приходил к нам митрополит Митрофан, а говарил так: «Видите де вы сами, что они не крестьяня, творят **дьявольщину**». (Статейный список Федота Елчина (Грузия) (1639-1640))

In the eighteenth century we also find the use of words that refer to societal groups, especially *bezpopovščina* and uses that are possibly formed by analogy. It is not fully clear to what extent all these words have a negative semantics, even though examples like 23 seem to suggest a negative evaluation:

- (23) Из сего раздору разныя произошли толки: как на пример, **поповщина, безпоповщина, онуфриевщина, софонтиевщина**,

христовщина, кадильники, перекрещиванцы и прочия многочисленныя. (архиепископ Платон. Увещание к раскольникам (1766))

- (24) Такожде бо, мняще быти себя мудрых, объюродеша, ибо, от высокомнения своего, от правыя древние веры отпадоша и, от мнимого своего правоверия, в разные и многоразличные пути поидоша: овья во **лжехристовщину**, овья же во **лжемоиссеевщину**, инии же во олазивую **поповщину**, а инии во всеконечную **безпоповщину** и во иные многоразличные вер названия разыдошася. (И. Т. Посошков. Завещание отеческое к сыну своему... (1718-1725))

Interestingly, I have also found one example where the word is based on a proper name, which has a clear negative connotation:

- (25) Есть некоторые негладкости, **тредьяковщины** и переносы, несвойственные языку, кои, однако, скорость твоя извиняет, их ты позволишь поправить, когда я Гаврилу найтить предуспею, этому уже пятый день, как я его не сыщу. (Н. А. Львов. В. В. Капнисту (1789-1797))

Note that we also find *tarabarščina* ‘something which one cannot understand’, which shows similarities to this use:

- (26) Там она научилась болтать по-французски, а я этой **тарабарщины** не люблю. (П.А. Плавильщиков. *Сговор Кутейкина* (1789))

In sum: by the eighteenth century, and possibly in the seventeenth century, we find all the relevant ingredients for the modern-day use of the suffix, including its negative semantics, even though this negative sense is not present to the same extent in all uses. After this period, there seem to be two waves of extension of the suffix, which build on the meaning of the suffix that is already present, and which strengthen the position of the suffix in the language structure.

The first wave is in the nineteenth century, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century (Виноградов 1947: 140; Виноградов 1964: 119-121;

Сорокин 1965: 224). As is pointed out by Vinogradov (Виноградов 1964: 120) already by the beginning of the nineteenth century a new use of the suffix becomes popular, namely its uses with proper names. As we have shown (example 25, this use is in fact even a bit older, but it is undeniably true that in the nineteenth century this use becomes more widespread. Vinogradov (Виноградов 1964: 120) provides some examples from the very beginning of the nineteenth century, where the base forms refer to a writer (Sumarokov) and a politician (Хвостов):

- (27) Стихи пахнут **сумароковщиной**. (1807)
 (28) **Хвостовщина** объявила явную войну врагам своим. (1805)

In the third decennium of the nineteenth century we also find the use based on Pugačev, a use which is still part of contemporary Russian:

- (29) Я подолее вас живу на белом свете; в **пугачевщину** я был уж парень матерой. (М. Н. Загоскин. *Рославлев, или Русские в 1812 году* (1830))

An important new and innovative usage type is based on the proper name of a fictive character. The first examples are probably *manilovščina* and *čičikovščina* from Gogol's characters of *Dead Souls* as created by the writer and critic Majkov in the second half of the forties (Сорокин 1965: 226). In the following fragment, Majkov discusses in a comical way as a kind of folk linguistic theory why a particular person is not important enough to get his own *-ščina*-word, this in contrast to Čičikov and Manilov:

- (30) “С Петром Ивановичем Шляпкиным, как с личностью, вы, конечно, никогда не познакомитесь: это не то что какой-нибудь господин Голядкин-старший, который так же выразителен и вместе с тем так же общ, как какой-нибудь Чичиков или Манилов. Голядкиными называете вы большую часть ваших знакомых, а подчас и себя; от фамилии Голядкин вы не могли не произвести прилагательного голядкинский; наконец, теперь вам досадно, зачем так нескладно выходит существительное, в котором у вас есть насущная потребность и которое соответствовало бы существительным **чичиковщина**,

маниловщина. Фамилия Шляпкин не делается нарицательным именем. Это так; но обстоятельства этого человека так близки каждому, так умно и верно очеркнуты г. Бутковым, что, за неимением личности, господин Шляпкин не может не возбуждать участия, как жертва слишком общих человечеству зол.” (В. Н. Майков. Петербургские вершины, описанные Я. Бутковым (1846))

It is very well possible that this use was in fact picked up by Gončarov, who lets his character Štol'c create the word *oblomovščina* in his novel *Oblomov* and even makes Zahar use this word:

- (31) “— Да, им хорошо говорить: у них пятеро людей, — заметил Захар, поворачиваясь к двери. — Куда ты? Возьми да смети: здесь сесть нельзя, ни облокотиться... Ведь это гадость, это... **обломовщина!**” Захар надулся и стороной посмотрел на барина. “Вона! — подумал он, — еще выдумал какое-то жалкое слово!” И. А. Гончаров. *Обломов* (1859: part two, chapter VII)

This use seems to have the character of a kind of ‘running gag’, all the more because from the perspective of Zahar, Oblomov is not a literary figure, but an actual person. In the first edition of his *Русский синтаксис в научном освещении* the famous linguist Peškovskij (Пешковский 1914: 23-24) comments on this specific example and remarks the following: “Гончаров мог создать слово «обломовщина» только потому, что суффикс «щин» был одним из живейших и употребительнейших суффиксов уже в его время. Но своей «обломовщиной» он еще более содействовал его процветанию, которое выражается теперь в целом ряде новообразований («нелегалщина», «азефщина», «декадентщина», и т.д.)”¹² Whether or not Gončarov was inspired by Majkov, his term may indeed have played an important part in the further spread of the suffix with other words. In addition to that, the term *oblomovščina* itself was reused by others to refer to societal phenomena in general. To give an example, a couple of years after the publication of *Oblomov* the philosopher and critic Nikolaj Dobroljubov wrote the article ‘Čto takoe

oblomovščina?’ about the situation of Russian society, using the term *oblomovščina* to refer to the state of being of the higher classes.¹³ In addition to that, as is remarked by Sorokin (1965: 226; fn 118), in the nineteenth century the new ‘social-polemical’ meaning was transferred to uses that before had another meaning. He provides an example with *tatarsščina*, with the meaning ‘Asiatic custom’. It may very well be the case that such uses based on ethnonyms like *kitajščina* or *aziatščina* may have been strengthened or perhaps inspired by the French suffix *-erie* as it occurs in French words like *chinoiserie*. Interestingly, the first example of this use found in the НКРЯ is 32, where the referents are objects of art, and as such typical instances of the French use of the suffix (also cf. Mazon 1920: 34), who observes that both the collective meaning of the suffix and the ‘phenomenon’-meaning has a counterpart in French *-erie*):

- (32) Прибыли только Григорович с Михайловым и брат, — ни Гаевский, ни Каменский не пришли, Григорович надоед нам, рассказывая о фарфоре, **китайщине**, **японщине** и **саксонщине**. (А. В. Дружинин. *Дневник* (1845)) (‘Objects in the Chinese style’)

It is possible that recent uses of the suffix referring to things (e.g. *repščina* ‘rap music’) must be seen as innovations that are built in analogy to this use. The second wave takes place during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when the suffix becomes increasingly popular, especially in Soviet times to express a negative attitude towards various phenomena that they see as harmful or bad (see for example Селищев 2003: 177-179, Филин 1981: 192-197 and Зеленин 2007 for an overview). The suffix *-ščina* seems to be the perfect candidate to present behavior of individuals or individual events as dangerous or harmful larger societal phenomena.

The general use of the suffix continued into the twentieth century, until the present day. Today, the suffix is commonly used, and especially popular in particular genres such as literary criticism or journalism. As is remarked by Kazak (Казак 2013: 258) “Частотны в языке СМИ существительные с негативнооценочным суффиксом *-щин(а)*, именующие общественно-политические явления, идейные течения и т.п.: беспредельщина,

демократчина, преобразованщина, жириновщина.” In more informal style it is also used in play with words, in examples like the following, with *dedovščina* and uses that are created in analogy to this word:¹⁴

- (33) *АЛЕКС Просветленный (37150)* а тут у Вас **дедовщина** есть? У кого баллов больше тому отвечать можно или только вопросы задавать?
Змеика N Оракул (53451) И **дедовщина**, и **бабовщина**, и **глуповщина** и **юморщина** с **глуповщиной!** :)
 (Internet forum; retr. ca. June 2014.)

The modern-day use with its specific negative semantics seems to serve a function, and as long as it does, will probably last for a while.

5 Conclusion

Most linguistic descriptions of the suffix *-ščina* state that this suffix can be attached to forms to create words that express societal-political phenomena that are negatively evaluated. This analysis has shown that even though this is indeed a central use of the suffix, this description is not fully adequate or not complete, and does not capture all the uses of the suffix. It is probably impossible to provide one general (abstract) definition for the meaning, but instead, several interrelated meanings (uses) should be distinguished. If we take referential categories combined with the grammatical (semantic) category of the base form as a starting point, it is possible to provide a systematic categorization of different uses. Some of these uses can be related to each other semantically (because of semantic properties they share, or because of relations of contiguity), whereas other uses seem to have a more isolated status. The variety of the different uses is partly due to diachronic changes, and partly due to semantic specialization of particular ‘exemplars’. This semantic analysis is also able to explain why some referential categories are (largely) absent, whereas other are very prevalent and productive. A striking feature of the semantics of the suffix is that it, at least in most contexts, expresses a negative evaluation of the referent on the part of the speaker. This negative rhetorical meaning varies from type to type and is closely connected to

the referent of the *-ščina*-word. Perhaps this small study can serve as a starting point for further analysis.

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Notes

1 This research is partly based on earlier work with Andries van Helden, and inspired by the BA-thesis by Lizz-Bedö. I benefitted greatly from discussions with both of them. All remaining errors are of course mine. The examples are taken from the НКРЯ, unless otherwise indicated.

2 In the НКРЯ no examples of *dedovat'* were found. I did, however, find examples on the Internet.

3 Discussions of the semantics of the suffix can also be found on the Internet, often on websites for learners of Russian. A rather extensive analysis is given on <http://russianmentor.net/gram/mailbag/topics/shchina.htm>

4 In fact, in this case it is impossible to determine objectively whether the base form is a noun or an adjective, since the stem of these forms is identical.

5 Whether or not it is a coincidence that these words have a base form that ends in /-T/, and consequently have the ending *-čina* instead of *-ščina* is a topic that deserves a separate analysis.

6 *Bezotcovščina* can also refer to the state of fatherlessness, in which case it falls into the category 'property of person(s)' (see 5.4).

7 At least until the beginning of the nineteenth century some ethnonyms could be used to refer to groups of people, as is evidenced by the following example: "*Угры, ляхи, литва, татарщина, молдаванщина в областях ваших, а если и бродят там кое-где кочевья русские, то не походят они на русских*" (Н.А. Полевой. *Клятва при гробе Господнем* (1832).

8 I did, however, not provide an explanation for the occurrence of *bytovščina* and *obydensčina*. The first example in the НКРЯ is the following from the second half of the nineteenth century:

"*Выбравшись вечером из города снова в поле, на возвратный путь, и лежа в мужицкой телеге, я соображал о виденном и чувствовал себя крайне душно; эти почти бессильные потуги ощущать что-либо, не похожее на тягостную обыденщину...*" (Г.И. Успенский. *Наблюдения одного лентяя (Очерки провинциальной жизни)* / Из цикла «Разоренье» (1871)). This use is probably formed in analogy with uses that express particular negatively evaluated behavior. Note that the meaning 'literary movement' of *bytovščina* seems to be a later development (the first example in the НКРЯ is from the sixties of the twentieth century).

9 The oldest texts in this corpus are from the eleventh century, whereas the newest texts are from the sixteenth century.

10 In the corpus of Novgorod birchbark texts we also find some examples with the suffix *-(š)čina*, namely *Rudavščina* (from *rudavj*) ('ткань буро-красного цвета'), and *bezatščina* (*bezadščina*) ('выморочное имение'), i.e. a legacy for which there are no heirs, which is probably related to Old Russian *zadnica* ('will'). Again the modern meaning of the suffix is absent.

In the Old Russian Corpus of the НКРЯ a frequently attested instance with *-čina* is *отъчина*, but this seems to be an instance of *-ina*, where the /c/ is palatalized and turned into /č/. Note that in the birchbark corpus we find examples of this word both with and without palatalization: *щитина*, *щинь*. It is possible, that these two suffixes are related to each other, and that *-(š)čina* is in fact derived from instances with *-ina*, with a palatalized last consonant. This opinion is in fact expressed by Townsend (1975) for modern Russian, who argues that *-(š)čina* is a variant of *-ina*.

11 As is remarked by Sorokin (1965: 226; fn 118), in the nineteenth century the new ‘social-polemical’ meaning was transferred to uses that before had another meaning. The term *tatarščina* is a case in point. Based on the data from the НКРЯ, this term could refer in the nineteenth century to (i) collective of Tatar people, (ii) the reign of the Tatars in Russia, (iii) particular style or taste that is associated with Tatars:

- (34) Угры, ляхи, литва, **татарщина**, молдаванщина в областях ваших, а если и бродят там кое-где кочевья русские, то не походят они на русских. (Н.А. Полевой. Клятва при гробе Господнем (1832))
- (35) По сие время еще в **татарщине** находимся! (П.Д. Боборыкин. Китай-город (1882))
- (36) Эта безвкусная роскошь, оскорбляющая высокое чувство и приличия, роскошь, пахнущая **татарщиной**, была тогда в моде между чиновниками и купцами. (Ф. В. Булгарин. Воспоминания (1846-1849))

Interestingly, according to Efremova (Ефремова 2000) it can also mean ‘Дань, платившаяся татарским ханам в этот период.’ This latter use is typical of some of the older uses (e.g. *mostovščina*, *altynščina*).

12 In the НКРЯ, the first data of these words are *nelegal’ščina* (1906), *azejščina* (1909) and *dekadentsščina* (1906).

13 Sorokin (1965: 226) points out that *oblomovščina* referring to a more general state of mind, and not to Oblomov in particular, already seems to be introduced by Gončarov himself (i.e. before Dobroľjubov) in the finale of *Oblomov*:

- Обломов: я тебе много раз про него говорил.
 — Да, помню имя: это твой товарищ и друг. Что с ним случилось?
 — Погиб, пропал ни за что.
 Штольц вздохнул и задумался.
 — А был не глупее других, душа чиста и ясна, как стекло; благороден, нежен, и — пропал!
 — Отчего же? Какая причина?
 — Причина... какая причина! Обломовщина! — сказал Штольц.
 — **Обломовщина!** — с недоумением повторил литератор. — Что это такое?

14 In this fragment the use of the *-ščina*-words is clearly a play of words, even if other attestations of these words can be found on the Internet (e.g. *glupovščina*, *žumorščina*).

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ON COUNTING MEN IN POLISH: A CASE OF AGREE OR GOVERN?

René M. Genis

1 Introduction

In this paper – a mere squib on a rather fundamental but seemingly unresolved issue – I will share some thoughts on Polish NPs in subject position containing a numeral for counting M nouns classed as so-called *męsko-osobowe* ‘male-personal’, also often called *virile*, whose designat is a male person and so they are semantically marked. From this point onward, I will refer to this class simply as M.PERS and oppose it – as is usual – to M nouns that do not refer to ‘male persons’: M.NPERS.¹ The opposition M.PERS : M.NPERS presents a dichotomy that is fundamental to Polish morphosyntax, although restricted to plural number.

To set the scene, here are two examples with (simple) numerals and glosses that represent the more usual syntactic analysis.²

- (1) a *Dwóch mił-ych mnich-ów by-t-o zt-ych.*
Two.GEN nice_monk-M.PERS.GEN.PL are-PRET-N.SG angry-M.PERS.GEN.PL
‘Two nice monks were angry.’
- (1) b *Pięci-u mił-ych mnich-ów by-t-o zt-ych.*
Five.GEN nice_monk-M.PERS.GEN.PL³ are-PRET-N.SG angry-M.PERS.GEN.PL
‘Five nice monks were angry.’⁴

NPs such as under scrutiny here are made up of a numeral, i.e. a “counter”, and a “counted” constituent, here “nice monks”. From this point onward I will refer to the constituents of such NPs in subject position as follows:

- NP_{SUB}[num] the counting constituent = the “counter” = the numeral
NP_{SUB}[c] the counted constituent = the “counted” = noun, adj. etc.

The grammatical case of the numeral in NP_{SUB} is the contentious issue and here the “traditional” – or at least usual – genitive (GEN) is glossed. In short we may formulate 1ab as follows:

NP_{SUB}[num]-GEN[c.M.PERS]-GEN.PL

Again as per traditional Polish grammar, we have case-agreement between the constituents [num] and [c] of the NP_{SUB}. Also, we have to note that the adjective of the nominal predicate agrees with NP_{SUB}[c]- M.PERS.GEN.PL and so we have NP_{PRED}-M.PERS.GEN.PL. The form of the finite verb is most peculiar and I will return to that, after I will have listed all the examples, necessary for a discussion.

As far as I am concerned the “traditional” analysis may be questioned, and part of the reason for this lies in the (other) structures we encounter in Polish NP[num][c], first and foremost in subject position, and so: NP_{SUB}[num][c], to which I shall limit myself in this paper. The “models” containing the other genders – F, N and M.NPERS – but also other constructions with M.PERS usually receive a deviant analysis, and I will try to argue that structures like that in 1ab might be presented differently, more in accordance with those “other” constructions, and so we might discard one of the “syntactic formula’s” that students of Polish have to contend with, as superfluous to requirements.

In the following sections I will first present the other models in two “series”, following the usual way of presenting syntactic models involving numerals (higher than ‘1’):

- a. The 2-3-4-series – includes: ‘2’, ‘3’, ‘4’ and all numerals ending in ‘2’, ‘3’ and ‘4’ except ‘12’, ‘13’, ‘14’ – so, also e.g. ‘22’, ‘173’ and ‘1094’;⁵
- b. The 5-and-higher-series – includes: ‘5’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘8’, ‘9’, ‘12’, ‘13’, ‘14’ and all numerals ending in ‘0’, ‘1’, ‘5’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘8’, ‘9’, ‘12’, ‘13’, ‘14’.⁶

In the “series”-sections (2 and 3) I will discuss the various component parts encountered and mention other relevant issues in passing. In section 4 I will summarize and propose a new model, the possible repercussions of which are discussed in sections 5 – on the paradigms of numerals, 6 – on the finite verb form and 7 – on predicational adjectives. I will wrap up in section 8.⁷

2 Constructions with the 2-3-4-series of numerals

The first types we need to mention concern M.PERS. First, here are two examples that illustrate that for the numerals for ‘two’, ‘three’ and ‘four’, a possibly older, alternative sentence format is still used, although it is in decline.

- (2) a *Dwaj* *mil-i mnisi* *by-l-i*
 Two.M.PERS.NOM nice_monk-M.PERS.NOM.PL be-PRET-M.PERS.PL
żł-i.
 angry-M.PERS.NOM.PL
 ‘Two nice monks were angry.’

Please note that the NOM.PL-ending for M.PERS-nouns differs for hard stem nouns as opposed to soft stems. This illustrates the fact that M.PERS concerns a semantic category appertaining to nouns with that particular designate class ‘male person’. Hard stem M.PERS-nouns such as *mnich* in 2a take NOM.PL-ending *-i*, which causes so-called softening (palatalization) of the preceding hard consonant that results in the morphological alternation *mnich – mnisi*. Hard stems may also take other specialized endings such as *-owie*, which does not cause softening. Soft and so-called historically soft⁸ stem M-nouns though, generally take NOM.PL-ending *-e*, regardless whether they are M.PERS or M.NPERS. For the sake of completeness, here is an example with a soft stem noun:

- (2) b *Trzej* *mil-i lekarz-e* *by-l-i*
 Three.M.PERS.NOM nice_doctor-M.PERS.NOM.PL be-PRET-M.PERS.PL
żł-i.
 angry-M.PERS.NOM.PL
 ‘Three nice doctors were angry.’

The fact that the numeral as well as the attributive adjective still take their highly marked M.PERS-endings *-(e)j* resp. *-i* demonstrates the strong syntactic relevance of M.PERS as a meaning class for agreement.⁹ In 3ab we see how the NOM.PL-ending for adjectives describing M.NPERS-nouns is *-e* (and this is irrespective of the stem class of the noun, in 3a a soft stem, in 3b a hard one, which shows then, that soft M.PERS nouns and soft M.NPERS nouns cannot be distinguished by their

respective NOM.PL-ending but they are marked by the forms of their attributive adjectives and indeed, also the numerals):

- (3) a *Dwa* *mił-e nietoperz-e* *by-ł-y*
 Two.M.NPERS.NOM nice_bat-M.NPERS.NOM.PL are-PRET-M.NPERS.PL
zł-e.
 angry-M.NPERS.NOM.PL
 ‘Two nice bats were angry.’
- (3) b *Dwa* *mił-e kot-y* *by-ł-y*
 Two.M.NPERS.NOM nice_cat-M.NPERS.NOM.PL are-PRET-M.NPERS.PL
zł-e.
 angry-M.NPERS.NOM.PL
 ‘Two nice cats were angry.’¹⁰

Beyond providing explicit marking, the agreement by attributive adjectives (and pronouns) is syntactically of no consequence for the present discussion.¹¹ What is important though, is the fact that for M.NPERS.NOM.PL the numeral forms are *dwa* ‘2’, *trzy* ‘3’, *cztery* ‘4’ as opposed to *dwaj* ‘2’, *trzej* ‘3’, *czterej* ‘4’ for M.NPERS.NOM.PL. Completing the 2-3-4-series with examples involving N and F nouns will demonstrate that gender+case-agreement may indeed be recognized.

- (4) a *Dwa* *mił-e mieszkani-a* *by-ł-y* *zł-e.*
 Two.N.NOM nice_apartment-N.NOM.PL are-PRET-N.PL bad-N.NOM.PL
 ‘Two nice apartments were bad.’¹²
- (4) b *Dwie* *mił-e żon-y* *by-ł-y* *zł-e.*
 Two.F.NOM kind_wife-F.NOM.PL are-PRET-F.PL angry-F.NOM.PL
 ‘Two kind wives were angry.’

Example 4a has *dwa* which just like *trzy* and *cztery* serve both M.NPERS and N NP_{SUB}[c]s. 4b has *dwie* for F, but note that special F-forms are lacking for *trzy* and *cztery*.

Constructions with numerals of this series may be summarized as follows:

NP_{SUB}[num]-NOM.M.NPERS/N/F[c. M.NPERS/N/F]-NOM.PL

As with the structure of 1ab there is case-agreement between the parts of the NP_{SUB}[num] and NP_{SUB}[c] albeit NOM rather than GEN, and we may here also note the gender-agreement.

Characteristic for this series are furthermore the forms of the finite verb and predicate-adjective, which unlike 1ab, here agree in gender and number with the NP_{SUB}.

3 Constructions with the 5-and-higher-series of numerals

The first examples appertaining to this section is, in fact, 1b and it concerns M.PERS. (1a is, as we have already seen, restricted to M.PERS and syntactically identical even though the numerals are for ‘2’, ‘3’ and ‘4’ and as such belong to the other series.) The following are examples of nouns of the other genders with numerals of the 5-and-higher-series.

- (5) a *Pięć-Ø* *mił-ych kot-ów* *by-t-o*
 five.M.NPERS.NOM nice_cat-M.NPERS.GEN.PL are-PRET-N.SG
zł-ych.
 angry-M.NPERS.GEN.PL
 ‘Five nice cats were angry.’
- (5) b *Pięć-Ø* *mił-ych mieszkań-Ø* *by-t-o* *zł-ych.*
 five.N.NOM nice_apartment-N.GEN.PL are-PRET-N.PL bad-N.PL
 ‘Five nice apartments were bad.’
- (5) c *Pięć-Ø* *mił-ych żon-Ø* *by-t-o* *zł-ych.*
 five.F.NOM nice_wife-F.GEN.PL are-PRET-N.PL angry-F.GEN.PL
 ‘Five nice wives were angry.’

Let’s sum up for the NP_{SUB}:

NP_{SUB}[num]-NOM.M.NPERS/N/F[c. M.NPERS/N/F]-GEN.PL

These structures display gender-agreement although that may not be directly obvious on account of the heavy degree of syncretism. More importantly though, there is no case-agreement between NP_{SUB}[num] and NP_{SUB}[c]! The remainder of

the syntactic structure – finite verb, predicate – can be seen to follow what we already saw in 1ab and I will return to those later in sections 6 and 7 but first, I will take stock of the structures, now that the collection for our present purposes is complete.

4 Summary of NP_{SUB} structures and possible alternative interpretation

This is perhaps a good moment to provide a slightly more palatable summary of the interpretation of these types than that provided by the inline glosses. I would suggest the following.

Str. nr.	NUM-series	gender	NP _{SUB} [num] : NP _{SUB} [c]		examples
[1]	2-3-4	M.PERS	NOM	NOM	2ab
		M.NPERS, N, F	NOM	NOM	3ab, 4ab
[3]	5-and-higher	M.PERS	GEN	GEN	1a
		M.PERS	GEN	GEN	1b
[2]	5-and-higher	M.NPERS, N, F	NOM	GEN	5abc

I take issue with the interpretation so far, as it leads to having to recognize structure number [3], which I think could be argued to be surplus to requirements by (re)interpreting the GEN of the numeral in examples like 1ab as M.PERS.NOM, viz.:

- (1) a' *Dwóch mił-ych mnich-ów by-ł-o*
 Two.M.PERS.NOM nice_monk-M.PERS.GEN.PL are-PRET-N.SG
zł-ych.
 angry-M.PERS.GEN.PL
 'Two nice monks were angry.'
- (1) b' *Pięci-u mił-ych mnich-ów by-ł-o*
 Five.M.PERS.NOM nice_monk-M.PERS.GEN.PL are-PRET-N.SG
zł-ych.
 angry-M.PERS.GEN.PL
 'Five nice monks were angry.'

Thus far, I have not been able to detect that this simple step would lead to any mishaps of the kind that are covered by the traditional analysis, but not by this. Further research and reflection is, surely, warranted but also worthwhile as there is, I think, a great advantage in approaching this matter in this way: the amount of syntactical models we need to address for subject-numeral constructions may be drastically reduced and simplified, as is demonstrated by the following table.

Str. nr.	NUM-series	gender	NP _{SUB} [num] : NP _{SUB} [c]		examples
[1]	2-3-4	all	NOM	NOM	2ab, 3ab, 4ab
[2]		M.PERS	NOM	GEN	1a
	5-and-higher	all	NOM	GEN	1b, 5abc

Also, this approach would allow us to make two sweeping statements:

- a. As head of the NP_{SUB}, the [num] is always in the NOM – anyway the most obvious case for SUB!
- b. Structure [1] is strongly associated with the 2-3-4-series of numerals and has [c] in the NOM, whereas [2] is primarily the domain of the 5-and-higher-series and has [c] in the GEN.

Furthermore, we might present the intermediate structure for 2-3-4 with M.PERS as just that: intermediate, which is of course what it already is in the traditional presentation, but it seems easier as there are less structures in total.

Also easier than before is to maintain, that, whether in structure [1] or [2], the NUM always takes a special form when in adposition to a M.PERS noun, which won't surprise as M.PERS-nouns always require that from their adposited elements. New is then, that we never have to consider GEN anymore in this position.

More tentatively, I propose the following: in structure [1] NP_{SUB}[num] is in adposition to NP_{SUB}[c] with which it therefore agrees. In structure [2] this is reversed, with NP_{SUB}[c] taking the most usual adpositional case, the GEN.

All in all, this approach will add a lot of simplicity and regularity to the matter.

Although at first glance not unattractive – not least as this would suggest being able to do away completely with the idea of having this kind of NP_{SUB} entirely in the GEN! – I think we should perhaps fight urges to immediately accept this

model before we have considered some of the possible consequences, and especially the feasibility of the necessary adjustments to collateral issues. Insofar as I have been able to fathom the extent of the consequences of my proposal to date, a few of these issues will be touched upon in the following sections, which are, as yet, merely intended as food for thought.

5 Adjustment 1: numeral paradigms

In order to fully appreciate what I am suggesting, I present the case-paradigms for two numerals: one representing the 2-3-4-series, the other the five-and-higher-series.

‘Two’¹³ – the 2-3-4-series¹⁴

	M.PERS	M.NPERS	N	F
NOM ¹⁵	<i>dwaj / <u>dwóch</u></i>	<i>dwa</i>		<i>dwie</i>
GEN	<i>dwóch/dwu</i>			
DAT	<i>dwom/dwóm/dwu</i>			
ACC	<i>dwóch</i>	<i>dwa</i>		<i>dwie</i>
INS	<i>dwoma/dwu</i>			<i>dwiema/dwoma</i>
LOC	<i>dwóch/dwu</i>			

What I propose urges us to add *dwóch* as NOM-form for M.PERS next to *dwaj* and this in turn necessitates us to explicitly mention that as main component of the NP_{SUB}, “counter” *dwóch* itself is in NOM with a special form for M.PERS.

‘Five’ – the 5-and-higher-series

	M.PERS	M.NPERS	N	F
NOM	<i><u>pięciu</u></i>	<i>pięć</i>		
GEN	<i>pięciu</i>			
DAT	<i>pięciu</i>			
ACC	<i>pięciu</i>	<i>pięć</i>		
INS	<i>pięciu / pięcioma</i>			
LOC	<i>pięciu</i>			

The underlined numerals are the ones I introduced as per my re-interpretation of the sentence structure. In these tables the positions mark the case of the numerals themselves and so this makes clear my position: *dwóch* and *pięciu* (and the respective series they represent) as NP_{SUB} [num] with [c].M.PERS are themselves in NOM case and “govern” the GEN for their adposited [c]. Seeing the traditional paradigm, it is easy to think why *pięciu* in the SUB-structures under scrutiny was interpreted as GEN and the high degree of syncretism must have paved the way in conjunction with the GEN of the NP_{SUB}[c]: it is easy to think of case-agreement, rather than of gender-agreement + case government. If one realises the limited amount of forms available and thinks of the growing necessity to syntactically mark M.PERS as this semantic category arose in the NOM, it is not hard to imagine that the (almost) only other form readily available and anyway weakly distinctive except for in this position, was selected for this function. But this is of course conjecture.

6 Adjustment 2: explaining the finite verb form

If we maintain that in structure [1] the NP_{SUB}[c] is the main component and everything else agrees, the verb form, nor for that matter the predicational adjective, pose a problem, which they anyway did not in the traditional approach.

The N.SG verb form of structure [2] was traditionally explained as the result of the [c] being in the GEN. I propose, however, to hold to the premise that [c] in structure [2] is in adposition to [num], and so the necessity arises to reconsider the gender of the verb form. I think we should consider this to be a case of simple gender+number-agreement with the numeral – which anyway lacks a plural form –, which in structure [2] is the main component (other than in structure [1]). That numerals could be considered to be N.SG is probably not as shocking as it might first seem when one considers examples such as the following. Some would probably class (6) as substandard but similar examples abound on the internet.

- (6) [...] *pierwsze* *sześć* *lat-Ø* *był-o* *trudn-ych*, [...] ¹⁶
 ... first-N.NOM.SG? six.N.SG year-G.PL are.-PRET-N.SG difficult-G.PL ... ¹⁷
 ‘... the first six years were difficult, ...’

This at least shows how Polish on occasion solves these rather complex issues and perhaps similar things are at play motivating the N.SG in structure [2].¹⁸

7 Adjustment 3: the predicational adjective?

The form of the predicational adjective is no less or in fact more surprising in my proposal than it was in the traditional formula. The examples 1 through 5 all show a strong agreement between NP_{SUB}[c] and NP_{PRED}[adj]. In fact, example 6 also does so quite dramatically. There is, then, perhaps no need to adjust anything in this respect.

8 Final remarks

The model presented in this paper has been used for several years to explain the syntax of NPs with numerals in subject position to students of Polish at the University of Amsterdam – successfully I might add in all humility. As already mentioned earlier, it has not led to any great accident or other mishap but rather, it has made my task as an instructor quite easy compared with the work involved with dealing with the more established, traditional model. Nevertheless, as is part and parcel of the humble phenomenon squib, my proposals here must be considered as just that: proposals. Further research into the possible negative / disadvantageous consequences of the model are still needed.

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Abbreviations

ACC – accusative; [c] – “counted” constituent within a NP; DAT – dative; F – feminine; GEN – genitive; INS – instrumental; LOC – locative; M – masculine; M.NPERS – masculine non-personal; M.PERS – masculine personal (sometimes “virile”); N – neuter; NOM – nominative; NP – noun phrase; NUM – numeral; [num] – numeral = “counter” constituent within a NP; PL – plural; PRED – predicate; PRET – preterite; SG – singular; SUB – subject.

Notes

- 1 Restrictions of space and time prevent me from going into the matter of the makeup of the classes of M.PERS resp. M.NPERS nouns. Cf. also note 9.
- 2 The most explicit presentation of the principles under discussion I found is in Damerau (1967: 67) which presents the crux of the “traditional” explanation thus: “In Verbindung mit männlichen Personen zeigen die Kardinalzahlen eine Sonderentwicklung. Von 2 an wird der Nom. [...] der

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Kardinalzahl *durch den Genitiv ersetzt* [my emphasis – rg]. Das abhängige Nomen steht im Gen. Pl., das Verb in der 3. Pers. Sg. [...] in der Form des Neutrums.” Swan (2002: 193) speaks of “[...] a construction that is identical to the Genitive-Accusative. The ending [of the numeral – rg] is always -u.” All the Polish texts I could gather on this subject hold to the same, albeit sometimes reasoned differently, with the exception of Nagórko (1998: 149-150), who actually goes into this matter much as I propose, only rather too briefly to my taste, leaving quite a few of the matters I try to discuss here quite unresolved. Saloni & Świdziński (1998) seem to leave the actual interpretation of these syntactic groups open to interpretation (esp. 1998: 206 a.f.) although many things are left open to interpretation. Saloni (1977) is, in my view, probably the most important publication to date on issues related to those under scrutiny here; he too doesn’t go quite as far as I propose.

3 Here as elsewhere in this contribution, the space restrictions imposed by the format of the series stylesheet urged me to cut some corners and the annotation for noun and attributive adjective – in full agreement – has been shortened; it should of course read thus in 1ab:

<i>mił-ych</i>	<i>mnich-ów</i>
nice-M.PERS.GEN.PL	monk-M.PERS.GEN.PL

I apologize for any inconvenience this may cause, although I am quite sure no vital information has in fact been obscured by the shortened representation.

4 The morphological opposition 1a and 1b offer is one of NUM.G as opposed to NUM-G. As far as I am aware that difference is of no consequence to this discussion.

5 Some divergence may occur, e.g. on account of a reversed word order:

<i>Lat-Ø</i>	<i>dwadzieścia dwa</i>	<i>minę-t-o ...</i>
Year-N.GEN.PL	twenty_two.N.NOM	pass.PRET.N.SG

‘Twenty two years passed.’

(<http://www.wsowlzegrze.republika.pl/jerzy/reminiscencje.htm> – retrieved 2 Sept. 2017.).

In a more normal order this would be rendered:

<i>Dwadzieścia dwa</i>	<i>lat-a</i>	<i>minę-t-y ...</i>
twenty_two.N.NOM	Year-N.NOM.PL	pass.PRET.N.PL

6 Two further things need to be noted: 1) usually indefinite numerals such as *kilka* ‘several’, *wiele* ‘many’ etc. behave as this class as well, but they are left out of the present discussion; 2) I will also leave aside structures with high numbers *tysiąc* ‘thousand’, *milion* ‘million’ etc. as these are – strictly grammatically speaking – not numerals, but nouns. A full discussion of these structures is beyond the scope and possibilities of this squib but in my estimation will also not substantially add to the discussion.

7 I had hoped to be able to go into these matters also from the diachronic perspective – especially as Janneke Kalsbeek takes a keen interest in matters historical – but limitations of time and space (in this Festschrift!) prevented me from doing so. I will have to postpone that to a later date.

8 A class of phonetically hard sibilants that developed from soft consonants, which morpho(no)logically, however, still function as soft consonants: *c* /*c*/, *cz* /*č*/, *sz* /*š*/, *ź* /*ž*/, *ż* /*ž*/, *rz* /*ř*/, *dz* /*ʒ*/, *c*/, *dź* /*ʒ*/, *ł*/.

9 Mieczkowska (1995: 19) as well as Mindak (1990: 18) and a few others they refer to, discuss the functioning (syntactic and otherwise) of M.PERS nouns primarily as a *rodzaj semantyczny* ‘semantic gender’ rather than as *rodzaj formalnogramatyczny* ‘formal-grammatical’ gender class. As such the class is marked to a very high degree as in the NOM.PL adjectives, pronouns and indeed numerals only have two possible endings: one strictly limited for use with M.PERS and the other for all the other genders M.NPERS, N and F.

10 Although in singular number the opposition animate : inanimate is important, in modern Polish it does not concern numeral constructions in the plural and so it was deemed unnecessary to provide an example with an inanimate M-noun.

11 In fact, in terms of morphology more could be said about the various paradigms and stem classes etc., but as that is not relevant for the present discussion, I shall leave that for what it is.

12 The adjective *zły* may be translated as ‘bad’, ‘wrong’ but also as ‘angry’, ‘cross’ etc. I have adjusted the translation to fit the noun without paying any special attention, as it is not important for this discussion.

13 Of the three numbers of this series, ‘two’ has the most extensive paradigm and ‘three’ and ‘four’ have further syncretism as F.NOM, F.ACC and F.INS share forms with M.NPERS and N.

14 In this table the supposedly preferred form when there are more than one is mentioned first.

15 The vocative case has no separate form in plural in Polish and so it is omitted in these tables.

16 <http://portalkatowicki.pl/kultura/muzyka-klasyczna/2673-robie-to-co-kocham-rozmowa-z-grzegorzem-niemczukiem?showall=&start=2> – Retrieved 2 Sept. 2017.

17 The interpretation that *pierwsze* is in the N.SG rather than a non-M.PERS nominative may be disputed with examples like the following, which also abound on the internet:

- (7) *Pierwsze* *sześć lat-Ø* *by-ł-y [...]* *traumatyczn-e.*
 ‘first-N.NOM.PL six.?’ year-G.PL are.PRET.N.PL traumatic-N.NOM.PL.
 ‘The first six years were [...] traumatic.’

Please note that all instances of N could also be read F or M.NPERS. One thing may be clear: there is no real consistency in this matter.

18 Swan (2002: 196) comments that “[...] *wszystkie dziesięć filmów* ‘all ten movies’ will be preferred over possible *wszystkich dziesięć filmów*”, which latter is, however, often explained away as the correct construction.

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SLAVS AS MIGRANTS. MAPPING PREHISTORIC LANGUAGE VARIATION

Marc L. Greenberg

Progress and Problems in the Reconstruction of Common Slavic

My dissertation mentor, Henrik Birnbaum (1925–2002), used to produce book-length annotated bibliographies of progress and problems in the reconstruction of Common Slavic (Birnbaum 1979; Birnbaum and Merrill 1983).^{*} Had he lived longer (he would have been 91 this year) he would have followed with great interest new interdisciplinary debates not only on the reconstruction of Common Slavic, but on new ways of asking the question of its meaning and relationship to other frames of reference – history, archaeology, ethnicity – as well as new approaches and discovery methodologies. He was a voracious reader and assimilator of ideas who could find merit in multiple, even conflicting, viewpoints at once.

Among the last times Henrik and I met and talked at length was when he visited me during my fieldwork in Yugoslavia in 1989. It was the summer before the momentous autumn of that year. I don't remember much about what we discussed, but we surely touched on the politics of the day: the rise of Milošević and the tensions between the Yugoslav republics. We must have remarked on hyperinflation, which allowed me to extend my modest Fulbright stipend, denominated in US dollars, from one year to two.

I reminisce briefly for a few reasons. First, we have recently passed the quarter-century mark of the collapse of Yugoslavia, the USSR, and the Eastern Bloc, a time that coincided with my first job in the field. This stretch of time has been tumultuous not just for this part of the world, but also for the field of Slavic linguistics, which has struggled to find its place and purpose, especially for those of us working outside of the Slavic-speaking countries. Second, there is a broad connection between the socio-political Zeitgeist and the concerns of fields of

study, to which Slavic linguistics is not immune. Twenty-five years gives us some perspective on the changes both in the field of Slavic linguistics and in the world at large. I am writing (I wrote) these words sitting in Slovenia just a few miles away from halfway houses with Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian, and Afghani migrants, waiting for permission to settle in Europe. Slovenes, like other Europeans and Westerners, are not eager to accept these newcomers among them and much is being done to keep the migrants out of sight and out of mind. Just as pressures in the past (think: Huns) and opportunities (think: Rome) created conditions ripe for migration, now, too, conflict and opportunity have set in motion similar east-to-west patterns of resettlement.

Figure 0.

Graffiti along the Kamniška bistrica, NC Slovenia, summer 2016

[The figure contains two photographs, taken by the author, showing graffiti on a retaining wall reading (in Slovene): “SMRT ISLAMU! SLOVENIJO SLOVENCEM!” [‘Death to Islam! Slovenia for Slovenes!’]. The second photo shows graffiti written on a wall under a bridge: “musliči, čefurji, politiki → GOLAZEN!!! SPIZDITE!” [‘Muzzies, swarthies, politicians → Scum!!! Get the f*ck out!’] followed by a swastika.]

The last quarter century

In the spirit of my mentor, I would like to mention a few advances in the study of early Slavic over the last twenty-five years. This will be by way of setting the stage for my own views on early Slavic and how it came into being in space and time.

The computational imperative

One branch of interdisciplinary work has applied computational techniques to “solving” the relatedness of Indo-European languages. The approach by Atkinson and Gray (2003) has received vigorous critique by, among others, Pereltsvaig and Lewis (2016). With a Kansas colleague, anthropologist Alan J. Redd, we examined the kind of Bayesian analysis undertaken by Atkinson and Gray (Figure 1), which was run on a semasiological dataset of Indo-European lemmata. We also took Birnbaum’s 1966 stylized isogloss map (Figure 2) and ran a Bayesian tree program on the data, representing it in a multidimensional scaling display, giving the data a pseudo-geography (Figure 3). For good measure, we also took a text-token dataset

of Gospel translations from Mańczak 2004 and ran the same program. The representations all gave similar results. Among general readings of the data:

- (a) The Atkinson and Gray splits in the tree representation fail to match up with the classical comparative reconstruction. One inference is that the Bayesian model is a blunt tool, though one can also question the dataset itself.
- (b) Of the MDS models, the best fit to geography is Birnbaum's, second best is Mańczak's, and third is A & G's.
- (c) The input determines the output: standard language-data in, standard languages out.
- (d) Trees are not an accurate determination of relatedness, whether assembled in the classical manner or computationally. They are an inaccurate stylization, as has long been understood, since languages undergo both divergence and convergence.

Figure 1.

Extract of Slavic results from Atkinson and Gray 2003 (Redd & Greenberg 2010)

[The figure shows an excerpt from the tree model of Indo-European language relations as presented in Atkinson and Gray 2003 with a magnification of the Balto-Slavic branches. Notably, the branching is at odds with generally accepted reconstructions of the genetic branching of Slavic languages.]

In the end, Alan and I decided that this approach yielded mediocre results and in some cases looked wrong. We felt that if we could apply this approach to a relatively well understood set of relations like the Slavic languages and still come out with questionable results, then scaling up to a messier set of data at a greater time depth, such as Indo-European, would only yield less reliable results. In any event, we remain skeptical of the claims by Atkinson and Gray of having presented a final resolution of the Proto-Indo-European family tree, let alone derivative conclusions, such as the Anatolian homeland theory.

Figure 2.

Traditional isogloss map from Birnbaum 1966 (Redd & Greenberg 2010)

[The figure reproduces the schematic isogloss map (*Wellentheorie*) of phonological and morphological isoglosses leading to the dialectization of Proto-Slavic. In Birnbaum's schema, the

principal dialects are A – East Slavic, B – Lekhitic, C – Sorbian, D – Czecho-Slovak, E – Slovene/BCS, F – Macedo-Bulgarian.]

Figure 3.

Multidimensional scaling plots on Bayesian analysis of three data sets (Redd & Greenberg 2010)

[This figure reproduces a slide comparing the results of MDS plots (pseudo-maps) with three different data inputs, first, from Birnbaum 1966; second from Gray and Atkinson 2003; third, from Mańczak 2004. The plots are then compared to a geographical map of Slavic languages. The comparisons show the closest fit in orientation between the pseudo-map with the Birnbaum data, while the other two are similarly skewed approximately 45° to the west and south.]

Mapping language variation

To get beyond the limitations of the comparative method and the tree model we can view the linguistic landscape in situ, using a geolinguistic approach. In 2009 I used the occasion of the Kenneth E. Naylor Memorial Lecture to critique the work of another of my late mentors, Pavle Ivić. His famous isogloss map (Figure 4) of the former Yugoslavia gives a high-Yugoslav interpretation of isoglosses reflecting either gradual transition from dialect to dialect (language to language) or, in a political perspective, a reflection of Brotherhood and Unity. In Figure 5 I modify the map to highlight one isogloss, the change $\dot{z} > r$ (“rhotacism”) (Greenberg 1999). The thing is that this change as a phonological phenomenon was general and South Slavic – there are traces in Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian, and even in Romanian borrowings of Eastern South Slavic source words. However, because of constraints on its realization, the change occurs in a limited set of lexical items of which the most productive are relatives and complementizers (e.g. Slovene *kadar* ‘when(ever)’). As it turns out, there is systematic evidence to show that the change was reversed in the speech of the eastern zone and became more productive in the western zone, nearly isomorphic with the areal of the Roman vs. Hellenic rite. In other words, the distribution of the change and its reversal are a reflection of sociolinguistic reification of religious identity. Here is a good example of ethnicity-marking through style of speech; as such, this analysis gives us a glimpse of the sociolinguistic dynamics of the region in the 11–14th cc.

Figure 4.

Isogloss map from Ivić 1956/1985

[The figure reproduces Ivić's famous representation of key phonological isoglosses throughout the Yugoslav + Bulgarian territory, demonstrating both the gradual and nearly equidistant isoglosses with a SW-NE bias in Yugoslavia, the "Macedonian fan" pattern, bundling slightly at the NE corner of the meeting point of BCS || Mac-Bg.]

Ivić's map treats the isogloss as just one of many, but Lisac's newer, post-Yugoslav map sees this isogloss explicitly as the dividing line between proto-Croatian (W Štokavian) and proto-Serbian (E Štokavian) dialects. I think this is basically right insofar as the isogloss marks a sociolinguistic boundary between two styles of linguistic expression.

Figure 5.

Ivić isogloss map modified for Greenberg 2009 (i.e., rhotacism isogloss highlighted), based on discussion in Greenberg 1999.

[The figure reproduces the same map as in the previous figure, but with a red line highlighting the isogloss for the change $\acute{z} > r$ "rhotacism."]

Figure 6.

Pre-migration Croatian dialects [yellow, blue, green] (Lisac 2003)

[The figure reproduces the map in Lisac 2003 showing "pre-migration" (Croatian) dialects of Croatian in yellow, blue, and green contrasting with red (Serbian), where the green-red border closely matches the rhotacism isogloss in Figure 5.]

How did Slavic spread?

The post-1989 era has also been marked by a dialogue among historical linguists, historians, and archaeologists. This has been especially useful in the discussion of the alleged status of Common Slavic as the lingua franca in the Avar qaganate first presented by Horace Lunt in the Festschrift for Pavle and Milka Ivić, where he posits a "dialectless" koiné (Lunt 1984–1985: 421). Lunt later says:

"Early Common Slavic [...] was a broad spectrum of dialects spoken in a restricted zone somewhere in what is now the western USSR, probably in the fourth and fifth centuries. Caught up by Huns and Avars, the Slavs accompanied the all-conquering hordes in occupying all of central Europe and

the Balkan Peninsula. Somehow they found themselves in a position to multiply so voluminously and spread so rapidly as to astonish European observers. In the turbulence of continual movement and regrouping of Slavic families and tribes, the regional dialects, whose details are now irretrievable, were leveled out into a lingua franca that may well have been adopted by non-Slavs and further homogenized. The result is the apparently unified single linguistic system of the eighth century, Middle Common Slavic (MCoS). Between 800 and 1100 the Slavs became sedentary and began to organize more or less successful local polities desirous of joining the civilized states of Christendom. The evolving language of this period is Late Common Slavic” (Lunt 1996: 289).

Though Lunt later qualified this view as speculation, saying that it is impossible to carry out a full reconstruction of Slavic prehistory (1997: 49), his work is taken as a point of departure by the archaeologist-turned-historian Florin Curta, who finds evidence that the spread of Slavic is indeed the result of Slavic having become the lingua franca of the Avar qaganate, a language shift that is used to explain the spread of Slavic in explicit contradiction to the migrationist model (2004: 134ff). This view is enjoined also by Štih (2011: 29), who focuses on the characterization of Common Slavic as a homogenized language by way of arguing against the projection of Slavic standard languages forged in the nineteenth century onto medieval identities. I could not agree more on the principle in the second part about projecting present realities onto prehistory. However, as heuristically useful as this may be for avoiding historical inaccuracy from the medieval to the modern, does the lingua franca model explain the spread of Slavic in the early medieval period? (As an aside, I should point out that in my 2002–03 article in *IJSLP* I took exception to Curta’s claim that archaeology is the decisive discipline in the study of “Slavic ethnogenesis,” which in a narrow sense refers to his definition of ethnicity, explained in later works. However, the subordination of linguistic approaches, in his viewpoint, remains beyond my grasp.)

In Snøj and Greenberg 2012 we contributed to the dialogue by rehearsing the linguistic testimony of language differentiation processes in such a way as to make them more accessible to non-specialists in the hope that we could restore nuance to the linguistic argumentation. In this argumentation we discussed both the

heterogeneity of dialects, reflecting heterogeneity of settlement (i.e., migration), as well as the innovations that account for the differentiation of Slavic between the Danube and the Adriatic.

Andersen in his 1996 book, *Reconstructing Prehistorical Dialects*, which works out the distribution of initial vowels in Baltic and Slavic of the type *ozero* || *jezero*, and again in his 1999 article on the distribution of Leskien Type IV verbal allomorphy of the type *sabniti* || *sabnuti*, demonstrates that very old differences in Slavic can be found with quite widespread and scattered distributions. When writing my 2000 book, the *Historical Phonology of the Slovene Language* (2000/2002), I had to confront the attestation of toponyms with the shape *olša* ‘alder tree’ found in a western peripheral dialect against standard *jelša*, or *olito* ‘sausage’, attested in the Carinthian (northern, Alpine) dialect, contrasting with expected *jelito*, found in southerly dialects; and Prekmurje *zginoti* – *zginem* vs. standard *izginiti* – *izginem*. Unless we want to accept the *Sprachgeist* as a motivating factor, we have to seek more complex mechanisms to explain the variation. In these cases I assume that the Slovene territory was settled by speakers of heterogeneous Slavic dialects.

Figure 7.

Slovene dialect maps

[This figure shows two isogloss maps, the first with selected archaisms with matches outside of the Slovene territory (Greenberg 2000/2002) and the second with the main Slovene prosodic isoglosses (Greenberg 2003).]

These distributions cannot be explained without reference to multiple and distal migrations of Slavic dialect speakers. I shall return to this kind of explanation in a moment.

Another recent archaeological approach sees not only new merit in the traditional migrationist view, but also a confluence of archeological, testimonial, and linguistic evidence. Andrej Pleterski examines the archaeological record and the folk testimony of a Slavic *župa* (< PIE **gewpeh₂*; Snoj 2003: s.v.; Curta 2004: 141 prefers to see the word as a Turkic borrowing) ‘a traditional district organized around a tribe’, using the example of Bled as a token of widely

distributed Slavic settlement types that share some, if not all, characteristics (agriculture, burial practice, hearth construction, building technique, pottery, settlement layout, etc.). Pleterski describes the *župa* as the building block of a “fractal society” of independent or loosely connected tribal units (2013: 10). These units are also the units of migration. Of special interest is Pleterski’s relation of a new find by archaeologist Daša Pavlovič (Pleterski 2015: 241) in the excavations carried out during a highway construction in NE Slovenia (Prekmurje). Carbon-14 dating shows Slavic settlement here with an upper limit of 535 CE, a period previously not noted for archaeological assemblage in Prekmurje, Slavic or otherwise. According to Pavlovič (via Pleterski), this find has to be viewed in terms of the Langobards, who typically would not have left such an area unsettled. The obvious explanation is that it was settled by Slavs before the Langobards. This interpretation stands on its head the received “scholarly myth of the connection of the settlement of Slavs with the Avars, who had replaced the Langobards in Pannonia and were subjects of the Gepids” (Pleterski 2015: 241). Further evidence is found in the testimony of St. Martin of Braga (520–580 CE), who was at home in Pannonia in the first third of the 6th c., and lists among the inhabitants Slavs, but not Langobards (Pleterski 2015: 242; despite Curta 2001: 46).

Pleterski notes that this discovery also aligns with an observation in Schallert and Greenberg 2007, where we demonstrated that the dialect feature of the parallel development of the Slavic inherited vocabulary **gōlčēti* – **mōlčēti*, whereby the former goes from a marginal term for noisemaking to the default word for ‘to speak’, is found in distal locations in Prekmurje, NW and C Bulgaria, and central European Russia. Prekmurje has long been recognized as highly divergent from both neighboring Slovene and Croatian dialects. The archeological and lexical evidence point to a distinct founder population that likely predated other Slavic migrational units populating the sub-Alpine and Pannonian regions. I think that the notion of a founder population is one that is not entertained much in discussing Slavic linguistic prehistory. But it probably should be.

Going now to Figure 7 you can see a couple of dialect maps that illustrate the general pattern of isogloss developments. In my view, the interpretation of the

diachrony of the linguistic landscape requires operating with the following conceptual framework. First, following Pleterski, I think we can read his “fractal” settlement as what language ecologists call a “founder population.” I would add that Pleterski in a private communication pointed out that the Slavic populations in the sub-Alpine, Carst, Pannonian, and Dinaric regions would have been depended for survival on learning local knowledge from indigenous, non-Slavic populations. Whatever agricultural techniques they had brought with them from the east would not have applied to the starkly contrasting new ecosystems in which they found themselves so that learning and adapting to the new environment would have been a matter of survival. The founder population would have established initial toponymy and have carried with them as well as developed their own ethnographic style, whether in terms of technology, decoration, or manner of expression.

Second, as the founder population established networks with other settlers, other *župe*, the more familiar dialect-chain phenomena would have led to a broader spread of speech styles, i.e., expanding isoglosses that both continue general Slavic tendencies or propagated local innovations. Analogous to the physics of light, we can observe both particle and wave-form behavior. I’ll return to the wave metaphor in a few moments.

To wrap up the Avar-alliance issue, I am apt not to accept the Slavic-as-lingua-franca theory, not because it may not turn out to be the actual historical case, but because as presented to date it only suggests, but does not explain, the processes involved in the spread of Slavic, rapid or otherwise. Furthermore, left aside is any discussion of what happens in pidginization or creolization processes, which are typically simplifications of grammatical systems. This is hardly the case with regard to the complex and conservative Slavic prosodic system, for example. A parade example is the urban dialect of Zagreb Kajkavian, which has taken all of the pitch-accent and vowel-length contrasts found in surrounding rural dialects and reduced them to a stress-only system, typologically like that of standard Russian.

Figure 8.

gōlčěti ‘speak’ in distal Slavic locations

[The figure shows a map of Europe with three magnified maps showing the areas of detail relevant to the distribution of the early innovation in the etymon *gōlčěti* ‘speak’: 1. the Prekmurje dialect of Slovene, 2. an area in central Russia, and 3. areas in NW and C Bulgaria.]

The remarks I have made above, some of which may seem heretical depending on your point of view, bring me full circle to the mapping of sound change, in its wave-like patterning, represented by isoglosses, which is also the bread and butter of Stammbaum-style comparative linguistics. My thinking about interpreting isogloss patterns goes back to Andersen’s typology of simplex and complex isoglosses, the latter obtaining when overlapping developments affecting the same structural domain result in additional innovative outcomes.

In my first published article in 1988 I attempted to explain the heterogeneous patterns of jer vocalization in Slovak. To grasp the problem, one needs to observe the overall patterning of Slovak dialects, which are classified into three distinct groups: West, Central, and East. The West and East broadly represent a continuum, whereas the Central dialect, on which the standard language has drawn much of its form, forms an intrusive wedge pushing in from the south. Historically, many of the features of the divergent Central dialect have parallels in South Slavic, e.g., the non-distinction of reflexes of initial sequences of *ort/olt (> rat, lat). My argument ran that the Central dialect tended toward South-Slavic-like reflexes, that is, that the mergers were centralized where phonetic length was favored. The length conditions were different than in South Slavic and more similar to other Czecho-Slovak dialects, but the vowel reflexes were pulled towards o/a in such positions, much like what happens in Slovene and BCS dialects.

Figure 9.

Map of Slovak dialects and schematics of jer-vocalization patterns (Greenberg 1988)

[The figure shows a reproduction of the distribution of modern Slovak dialects following the taxonomy used in the 1968 *Atlas slovenského jazyka* compared to schematic illustrations of the pattern of vocalized jer reflexes as analyzed in Greenberg 1988.]

Later I realized that the jer patterns were much more complex, but also coherent, in the South Slavic area, than had previously been realized. A first step relies on grasping the brilliant analysis of the emergence of Kajkavian dialect by Willem Vermeer (1983), where he noticed that jers merged with jat' while it was still a low vowel, and then raised in tandem with it in the core area of Kajkavian, leaving out parts of the Kajkavian periphery. This makes the Kajkavian vowel system subtly different, but, what is crucial, structurally discontinuous with neighboring dialects, be they Slovene or Croatian. Yet the general trend was the same as in the neighboring dialects: after merger of front and back jer, the tendency was to lower the resulting vowel to a central position. In the case of Kajkavian, I assume, the choice of merging with the existing phoneme /a/ was obviated by rounded realization of that phoneme, a characteristic of many dialect areas in the Hungarian contact zone.

When I was working on my dissertation on the Prekmurje dialect in the late 80s, I realized that the same general lines of development held for that dialect as in both N Slovene and in Kajkavian, with the exception that the N Slovene/Prekmurje development "missed the train," so to speak, on merger with jat.

To summarize, I see the right way to do prehistorical dialect reconstruction as many-layered. It involves the following:

- (a) A general Stammbaum comparison to develop a working hypothesis of relationships. Regardless of the approach, the limitations of classical comparative reconstruction have to be kept in mind, even if one applies fancy math to such a reconstruction.
- (b) As nuanced an understanding of the relationship between the social circumstances of the speakers and their language as is possible, using an interdisciplinary approach.
- (c) As wide a view of the larger family-wide context of variation as is possible.
- (d) An understanding of the role that contact may have played in affecting outcomes.
- (e) An analysis that takes into account both particle (fractal founder populations) and wave-like diffusion of innovations.

I therefore remain skeptical of approaches that claim that a single field has all the answers, whether the claimant is an archaeologist, historian, or a biodiversity statistician.

With regard to the Slavic situation in particular, I see the evidence as favoring the traditional migration model until evidence for a different model sufficiently replaces it.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion I would like to take this opportunity to make some meta-observations about the enterprise of reconstructing early Slavic, doing dialectology, and working on issues of prehistory, or any of the other myriad topics that Slavists might engage in. As a graduate student at UCLA I was already aware of the privilege I had in working with great scholars such as Henrik Birnbaum, Pavle Ivić, Alan Timberlake, and Henning Andersen. Over the years I have had the further privilege of learning from many others, as well, notably, Willem Vermeer (Leiden), Marko Snoj, Andrej Pleterški (Ljubljana), as well as our host, Joe Schallert (who, by the way, grew up in the same neighborhood in Southern California as I did, though we didn't know each other until later in life). Much of this collaboration has to do with technological and socio-economic change. My generation and the ones after me have had increasing mobility: twenty-five years ago I could not have imagined so many graduate students able to cross the pond to attend conferences. Second, electronic communication has sped up the process of scholarly communication. When Marko Snoj and I founded the first post-Yugoslav Slovenian linguistics journal, *Slovenski jezik / Slovene Linguistic Studies*, Marko remarked that "it is easier to reach a consensus by email overseas than it is with someone sitting in the same room." Furthermore, increasing open access to scholarly publications means that the possibility of exchange of research results continues to accelerate.

Finally, I would like to return to the ugly pictures of hate speech that I presented at the beginning of this talk. I don't mean to pick on Slovenes, but rather to show that fear and ignorance is present whether in Europe or the US. I think this compels us educators to reflect on our positions and the privileges we

enjoy, in a socio-economic sense, to have such remarkable intellectual encounters that others do not have. The world will not change for the better if we figure out the relationship between Avars and Slavs or how Slavs settled in various territories. But it will change for the better if we can convey to our students the awe-inspiring story of human adaptability, the mutable and transitory nature of ethnic identity, and the sense of continuity with humans past engaged in existential struggle, that are carried by the narratives we construct. It will change for the better if we make our students more aware of their own place in the world, their relationship to others mediated through language and its symbolic acts, and the opportunity to exceed our individual limitations by engaging in the cooperative act of learning from others. In short, I see our field as firmly embedded in the humanities. I hope that as we endeavor to make a space for our field, we continually articulate the central importance of humanities and what Slavic linguistics can contribute to the humanities: both respect to the particular and the universal.

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Note

* This paper is the text of my keynote lecture from the Slavic Linguistics Society meeting in Toronto, Canada, delivered 23 September 2017 at the University of Toronto. Thanks go to Prof. Joseph Schallert, organizer of the meeting, and the members of the Society who attended and engaged in an edifying discussion.

For technical reasons, the figures (photos, maps, etc.) to the paper could not be included in the published edition. However, they are available at the URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/24852> – figures will be described in prose in this publication and the reader is requested to download the file at the URL to reference alongside the text.

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THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE¹

Ben M. Groen

1 The Ukrainian people and their languages

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the emergence of new independent states brought with it a deeply changed attitude towards the Russian language. This was and still is the case particularly for Ukraine and Belarus, where the national languages are most closely related to Russian. In the Soviet period the language situation in Ukraine (we shall leave Belarus outside the scope of this article) could be characterised as a stable but not unproblematic bilingualism. Standard Russian was applied in most official contexts, ignoring the existence of Ukrainian and a typical local variety of spoken Russian.

Towards the end of the 18th century more and more Russian speakers came to Ukraine. With the modernisation and industrialisation of Ukraine during the 19th and 20th centuries there was an influx of Russian civil and military specialists as well as labourers into the cities of Ukraine. This in turn led to a migration of Ukrainian farm labourers to the cities in the hope of a better standard of living. These farmers and their families consequently came into contact with the Russian-speaking immigrants. Ukrainian farmers “were often ashamed of speaking Ukrainian and, in conversations with persons of the upper classes, inserted as many Russian words as they could” (Bilaniuk 2004), within the realms of their grasp of the language. The intermingling of Russian and Ukrainian for many centuries and the deliberate politics of russianisation - which was also prolonged during Stalin’s reign in the context of the battle against “bourgeois nationalism” - gave rise to mixed language forms which cannot be classified as dialect or pidgin. For this purpose the very expressive metaphor *Surżyk* was created.

In 1989 the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine ratified a law entitled “О языках в УССР”. Since then Ukrainian has been the only official language of the

independent state of Ukraine - and this was not to everyone's liking (Bilaniuk 2004).² In 1996 this position was reinforced by the acceptance of the (very controversial) Revised Constitution. Today, the position held by Russian has not diminished despite the fact that it is hardly supported by any law.

On 21 December 2011 the population of Ukraine was 45,655,000 according to official statistics. 77.8% of the population declared that they were Ukrainian, but only 67.5%, over 10% or 5 million less, admitted to speaking Ukrainian as its mother tongue. In addition, 17.3% declared themselves to be Russian, whereas those with Russian as their mother tongue were 29.6%, which is over 12% more.³ Not only Ukrainians admit to speaking Russian as their native tongue but also members of some other minorities, such as Belarusians, Bulgarians and others of whom the majority declared that Russian is their native tongue. Only the Polish living in Ukraine form the exception: remarkably, 71% of them indicated that Ukrainian was their native tongue (cf. Masenko 2004: 3).⁴

Since 1989 the total population has shrunk markedly. This seems to be a result of emigration by Russians, although the Ukrainian population also dropped after 2001:

	1989		2001		2011	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Ukrainians	37,419,000	72.7	37,452,000	77.5	35,520,000	77.8
Russians	11,356,000	22.1	8,334,000	17.2	7,900,000	17.3
Others	...	5.2	...	5.3	...	4.9
Total population	51,452,000	100	48,416,000	100	45,655,000	100

In Czarist Russia Ukrainian, known then as the “Little-Russian Dialect of the Russian Language”, was forbidden in written form.⁵ In the Soviet period the language was given greater recognition but in practice it was rated lower than Russian. Knowledge of Ukrainian was not encouraged. The language question is still a very sensitive political issue in this strongly russianised country. The presence of about 13.5 million Russian speakers naturally plays an important role.

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Older Ukrainians particularly often speak better Russian than Ukrainian because, since 1938, they were taught Russian as a first language at school. On the other hand, although Russian has maintained its aura of cultural superiority, well-spoken (cultivated?) Ukrainian has, since independence in 1991, been increasingly regarded as prestigious and used more and more in formal settings.

The position of Ukrainian has also become stronger in education. The percentage of students at Ukrainian-speaking schools has grown from 50% in 1991 to 70% in 2001. Already in many schools Russian is not taught but is offered here and there as a voluntary subject (Bilianuk 2004: 16).

Russian is spoken as a mother tongue especially in eastern Ukraine, in districts such as Kharkov, Donetsk and Luhansk (Donbass) as well as in the Crimea and Odessa regions. But Russian no longer has a national legal status. Since 8 August 2012 it can acquire legal recognition as a regional language.⁶ In the west, there are minorities speaking Hungarian, Polish, Romanian/ Moldovan, Belarusian, Bulgarian, Gagauz, Ruthenian and a few other languages with small groups of speakers. Ruthenian, also known as Rusyn, belongs to the Eastern-Slavonic group. Since the collapse of Communism in a number of countries, such as Slovakia, it has been recognised as a normative, codified language and can be taught in schools. In Ukraine it is still regarded as a Ukrainian dialect. The total number of speakers in Ukraine is estimated to be half a million. In Crimea a minority (approx. 12%) speaks Crimean-Tatar.

The range of languages in Ukraine is sketched in the following table.⁷

Number of speakers					
Indo-European / (Indo-Iranian)	Altaic / Turkic	(North-)Caucasian	Fimno-Ugric		
Ukrainian	Crimean-Tatar	Georgian	Hungarian	176,000	
Russian	Urum	Lezgian	Erzya	19,000	
Polish	Tatar	Abchaz			
Yiddish (eastern)	Gagauz	Dargwa			
Rusyn/Ruthenian	Uzbek	Lak			
Belarusian	Kazakh				
Romanian/Moldovan	Turkish				
Bulgarian	Bashkir				
Armenian					
German					
Czech					
Greek					
Albanian Tosk					
Serbian					
Ossetan					
Latvian					
Tadzhik					
*Romany					
Slovak					

*Romany with its variants, like Carpathian, Balkan, Baltic, Vlach.

The range of languages in Ukraine

2 Russian versus Ukrainian

In 1989 sociological research took place to define the position of ethnicity and social status of Russian as opposed to Ukrainian (Vaxtin et al.). It revealed the following data:

Social differentiation in use of language (in percentages of the total population):

(Nationality: **Uk**: Ukrainian or **Ru**: Russian)

(mother tongue: **U**: Ukrainian or **R**: Russian)

Ethnicity and mother tongue	Uk+U			Uk+R			Ru+R
	U	R	U+R	U	R	U+R	R
speaking with							
parents	70	20	10	6	93	1	100
colleagues	12	71	17	3	97	0	100
management	14	74	12	3	97	0	100
public transport	18	72	10	1	96	3	100
GP/doctor	14	85	1	1	96	3	100

The table shows clearly the much stronger position of the Russian language in practice, even amongst Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians. The researchers found that bilingualism is widely spread socially as well as geographically, R has a stronger position in the cities whereas U is stronger in the country. In Kyiv too, where the intellectual elite consciously chooses to speak U, but still more than 52.5% of the city's residents speak mostly R.⁸

Command of the Ukrainian language (in percentages):

Ethnicity and mother tongue		Uk+U	Uk+R	Ru+R
understand U well	blue collar	99	73	60
	white collar	93	82	78
speak U fluently	blue collar	88	43	36
	white collar	85	43	28

Social status and use of language by Russians and Ukrainians (in percentages)

Ethnicity + mother tongue		Uk+U			Uk+R			Ru+R	
and language used		U	R	U+R	U	R	U+R	R	U+R
speaking	blue collar	29	70	1	0	99	1	100	0
	white collar	15	75	10	2	97	1	100	0
reading/ listening	blue collar	32	26	41	0	70	30	93	7
	white collar	22	39	39	0	81	19	86	14

The research does not mention anything about the background of the enduring dominance of Russian. But it seems to be the case that “a supercilious attitude toward the Ukrainian language, as well as the corresponding culture, [...] was closely associated with rural lifestyle or narrow-minded nationalism” (Podolyan 2005: 2).

From this research it becomes clear that code-switching is very important in contemporary Ukraine. A newsreader on the radio or television can present one item in R and the following one in U. In an interview, a question can be asked in R and the answer can be given in U, or vice versa. A lecture can be given in U and the resulting questions can be put in R and U and answered in both languages. “Dual language conversations are common, in which one person speaks Ukrainian and the other Russian, without accommodating. I interviewed several married couples who had carried on such dual language regimes in their personal lives for many years” (Bilianuk 2004: 7).

This is separate from the question as to whether various speakers of R and U are fluent. Very few of those interviewed would have been willing to admit that their “proper language proficiency” might be inadequate. Code-switching is often code-mixing in practice (Podolyan 2005: 4). And that comes close to what we could call Suržyk. The use of Suržyk is, however, not investigated in this research.

3 Survey on the position of Russian in Ukraine⁹

The Kyiv International Institute for Sociology (KMIS) did a survey in May 2012 among more than 2000 respondents on the position that Russian should take in

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Ukraine in general and in education in particular. From the results, the problematic position of Russian becomes obvious:

- 26% thought that Russian should be the second official language in entire Ukraine;
- 48% thought that this should only be the case in those areas where the majority wants it to be;
- 19% wished to bar Russian entirely from any official position.

- 36% thought that education should be given entirely in Russian throughout the whole country;
- 45% thought that this should only be the case where the majority wishes it to be so;
- 14% thought that the state should not encourage that at all.

- 50% thought that Russian language and literature should be taught in all schools in Ukraine;
- 42% thought that Russian language and literature should only be offered as a voluntary subject;
- 4% thought that none of this was necessary.

- 35% would like as much time for Russian language teaching as for Ukrainian;
- 37% would like less time for Russian than for Ukrainian but more than for other foreign languages;
- 22% would like as little Russian language teaching as for all other foreign languages or even less.¹⁰

4 Suržyk

4.1 When do we say language is Suržyk?

"Its main linguistic characteristic is that it implies norm-breaking, non-obedience to or nonawareness of the rules of the Ukrainian and Russian standard languages, while its main social characteristic is low status for the language varieties as well as for their carriers. There is no agreement on when linguistic law-breaking becomes surzhyk; for some, like the linguist Svyatoslav Karavans'kyi, surzhyk begins already in pronunciation, when Ukrainian is spoken with Russian phonetic interference (akanie, yekanie), for others the term implies code-mixing on yet other linguistic levels" (Bernsand).

"A wide variety of linguistic forms may be designated by the term surzhyk. During my fieldwork I frequently heard this term used to challenge someone's legitimacy, implying that an accent or non-standard grammar were direct evidence of flawed thinking. The labeling of someone's language as surzhyk was also used to reveal doubts about their ethnic identity or loyalty. But the shibboleth of "standard language" may be judged differently by different ears: what sounds authentic to one may be tainted to another. Among other things, regional background and education both come into play in shaping people's judgements" (Bilianuk 1997: 104).

4.2 The status of Suržyk

"Mixed and nonstandard languages in Ukraine, collectively labeled surzhyk, generally have a low status and lack any institutionalized power" (Bilianuk 1997: 113).

Suržyk (literally: 'a mixture of winter wheat and rye')¹¹ is spoken in Ukraine, Russia¹² and Moldova. It is written, however rarely this occurs, in the Ukrainian variety of the cyrillic alphabet and spoken by several million (see the following).¹³ Suržyk is not called a pidgin because a pidgin is a result of (trade-)relations between two groups of people who speak completely different languages. It is not likely that a pidgin could have come about between two strongly related languages. Moreover, pidgins usually remain in a very elementary stage of development which does not permit full communication. For this reason too,

Suržyk cannot be classed as a creole language because a creole specifically emerges from a more developed pidgin.¹⁴

In the Soviet period scientific research on Suržyk was forbidden (Masenko 2002: 11-13). And the problem of research into Suržyk today is that it has no official status and is often regarded by Ukrainian authorities and linguistic specialists as no more than a Ukrainian ruined by russianisms. “One Ukrainian linguist argues that in a bilingual situation it is the ability to differentiate between the two languages that decides the level of culturedness and education of an individual speaker” (Bernsand).

“Surzhyk in Ukraine is dangerous and damaging because it is a parasite on a language which has been formed over centuries and it threatens to replace that language”.¹⁵

In a Ukrainian encyclopaedia of the year 2000, one can read:

“SURŽYK - (literally: a mixture of rye with wheat, barley with oats, etc. but also flour from these grains) - a language in which artificial elements from various languages are combined without consideration for literary norms. The principal use of Ukrainian peasant language which (as a result of Ukrainian-Russian interference) is stained by unmotivated pollution of elements borrowed from the Russian: самолюот, січас, тормозити, строїти, кидатися в очі, займатися в школі, гостра біль (‘great pain’). S. – that is impoverished language, which goes lacking in national colour, beauty and expression. Widely used in everyday life, and in everyday exchanges from which it has invaded the pages of newspapers, magazines, books and brochures. The fight against S. is one of the main objectives within the sphere of the heightened culture of the Ukraine language. In literature S. is the medium for creating personalities and individualising them whereby comic or ironic effects are produced (e.g. Mrs Karapet in the publication *An Aristocrat from [the little town] Vapnjarka* by O. Čornoguza).” (Lenec’ 2000: 616).

If we look under the entry *Suržyk* in the Ukrainian Wikipedia, we find the following cartoon from TUM – Товариство української мови імені Т.Г. Шевченка [‘the Society for the Ukrainian Language, “T.G. Ševčenko”’]:



“TUM” warns:
Suržyk harms
the mental development
and the mutual understanding.

“double language = double tongue”¹⁶

The message is clear: speaking Suržyk is equated with idiocy and therefore completely condemned.

“Surzhyk is a pejorative- compare hodge-podge- collective label for a wide range of mixed Ukrainian Russian and Russian-Ukrainian language forms that dissolve and intertwine the structures of the two Eastern Slavonic languages.” (Bernsand)¹⁷

The poet, literary critic and political activist Dmytro Vasylyovych Pavlyčko put his point of view in this way: “Our language needs the fire of love, it needs spiritual strength! And one who breathes in Suržyk cannot have spiritual health.”¹⁸

Suržyk is therefore referred to in most publications as a “linguistic anomaly”, “a sickness”, “mutilated language of country people”. Suržyk is described as a “half-language”, “koine”, “jargon”, “a manifestation of national schizophrenia”, “highest level of spiritual proletarianism”. Suržyk-speakers are deprived of a national identity, etc. (Vaxtin et al.).

This condescending attitude to Suržyk (and its speakers) is the main reason for the lack, to date, of detailed analyses on all linguistic levels, lexical, phonetic and grammatical.

4.3 Variations of Suržyk

According to the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KMIS), we can differentiate between three different categories of speakers and the corresponding varieties of Suržyk:¹⁹

(1) Spontaneous use of Suržyk: Ukrainian vernacular (просторечие) or local dialect with frequent russianisms, spoken by people who speak neither Ukrainian nor Russian (as a literary language) sufficiently. For these people, Suržyk is their only means of communication and it does not serve any particular literary aims.

(2) Conscious use of Suržyk: common to those who speak both languages but not sufficiently fluently; they miss the grammatical or stylistic means of the Ukrainian literary language but do not want to slip into Russian because, in that case, Ukrainian vernacular (просторечные слова) would have to be replaced by literary Russian.

(3) The undesirable and involuntary permeation of elements of one language into the other by people who only have a command of one of the two, either Russian or Ukrainian.

Laada Bilaniuk (2004) determines five major categories of Suržyk:²⁰

(1) “urbanized peasant Suržyk”: the archetype, which came into existence in the period of industrialisation and urbanisation in the 19th century. Ukrainian country people came increasingly into contact with Russian-speakers and also tried to speak this more prestigious language;

(2) “village dialect Suržyk”: this arose in the same period through increased contact with Russian-speakers in villages; in this way Russian influenced the village dialect; this took place well before the standardisation of Ukrainian;

(3) “sovietized-Ukrainian Suržyk”: Russian strongly influenced the codification of Ukrainian especially in the Soviet period. Without a doubt, an important factor is that men had to spend their two years of military service in the entirely Russian-speaking army;

(4) “urban bilinguals’ Suržyk”: this refers to a diffuse category of speakers who speak both R and U reasonably, but who have become insensitive to the differences and therefore do not sufficiently respect the boundaries between the two languages;

(5) “post-independence Suržyk”: as a result of the status of Ukrainian as the only national language, many adults tried, despite their rusty knowledge of Ukrainian, to use the national language particularly in official contexts, in both speech and writing. Whenever their knowledge of Ukrainian was inadequate, they brought in Russian. This also occurred/occurs on a phonetic level. This category of Suržyk-speakers generally comprises those from the better socio-economic and political circles. What makes them Suržyk-speakers is that their language is just as “impure” as the speakers in the other categories.

As can be expected, there are no clearly defined borders between these five types.

From the classification it is clear that the researchers embrace very wide interpretations of the phenomenon Suržyk. This explains why Suržyk is used as a hyperonymic for everything that is not “pure” Russian or Ukrainian. A speaker of a dialect may in this way easily be classed as speaker of Suržyk.²¹

According to some authors, Suržyk also has regional and individual variations. There are even those who make a difference between a type of Suržyk based on Russian with Ukrainian influences or Ukrainian with Russian influences. Furthermore, weak and strong forms of Suržyk are differentiated based on deviations from the lexical standard of either Russian or Ukrainian: Suržyk with 10-15% deviations is weak, Suržyk with approximately 25% is strong. The available information is insufficient to make any further assertions.

4.4 The scale and spread of Suržyk

The aforementioned Kyiv Institute of Sociology did a national investigation in 1998. According to this research between 11% and 18% of the total population speak Suržyk (i.e. between 5.1 and 8.2 million of the population in 2011) (cf. Masenko 2008: 25). It is unclear which definition of Suržyk is applied in this

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instance and therefore which criteria have been applied to determine whether or not someone is a Suržyk-speaker. And can we determine which of the above-mentioned types of Suržyk is being referred to here? These questions remain unanswered.

In western Ukraine the percentage of Suržyk speakers is only 2.5%, but it increases significantly to 14.6% in central Ukraine, and even to 21.7% in the districts on the left bank of the Dnepr (Černigov, Poltava, part of Sumy, eastern parts of Kyiv and Čerkasy). In the eastern and southern districts the number of Suržyk-speakers considerably exceeds the number of Ukrainian-speaking people. In the south 12.4% speak Suržyk and 5.2% speak Ukrainian; in the east 9.6% speak Suržyk, but only 3.7% Ukrainian.



Speakers of a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian (Suržyk)
(Research by KMIS, 2003)

Compare the use of Suržyk with the extent of Russian in the country where the eastern and southern districts score more than 80% as opposed to only 3% in the far west.

Use of Russian (survey KMIS, 2003)²²

In the areas where Russian has long had a dominant position, the matching is clearly evident.

But according to Radčuk the majority of the population in Ukraine speaks Suržyk because “standard” Ukrainian is very strongly influenced by Suržyk. The few people who speak “pure” Ukrainian are seen as strange and foreigners in their own country (Radčuk 2002).

4.5 Literary products

“Suržyk or macaroni-language was used to convey humour and satire in works such as those by G. Kvitka-Osnov”janenko, ...” (Wikipedia Ukrainian – *Suržyk*).

Suržyk was first laid down in writing in 1819 with the publication of a play entitled “Natałka-Poltavka” by Ivan Kotljarevs’kyj (Bilaniuk 2005: 107). He wrote spoken Ukrainian and introduced a village elder who tries to speak Russian but who is by no means fluent. From the 1940s to the 1960s the widely-acclaimed music-hall artist, Jurij Troxymovyč Timošenko (pseudonym: Tarapun’ka) used Suržyk in his performances. A few contemporary Ukrainian writers have used

Suržyk for comic effect in their books.²³ Andrej Danilko performs as a Suržyk-speaking artist. In 1939 the first Ukrainian film in colour was released: “The Fair at Soročyncy” based on the eponymous story by N.V. Gogol’, written in Russian with no trace of Suržyk. In the film, however, Suržyk is also spoken.

4.6 Linguistic research

Most linguistic research centres on the lexicon. There is far less to be found on grammar. The research carried out by the European University in St Petersburg forms an exception; a survey was done in 2002-3 to investigate the use of Suržyk. The authors set out to describe the grammatical characteristics of Suržyk against the background of Russian and Ukrainian normative languages. A total of 48 assumed Suržyk-speakers were approached. Both spontaneous conversations and interviews, in which the intention of the survey was not revealed, were all recorded sometimes openly, sometimes secretly. The conversations took place on the work floor, in public transport and in the home environment. The interviewees were from all age categories from 18 to 80, 14 men and 34 women. There were 29 city-dwellers from Kyiv and the eastern Russian-dominated town of Charkov, and 19 villagers from the surroundings of these two towns.

The command of languages of the 48 interviewees is shown in the following table:

		Russian			Ukrainian			Suržyk		
		+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?
Kyiv	town	5	4	5	8	5	1	4	2	8
	village	0	2	5	0	2	5	7	0	0
Charkov	town	13	0	2	0	7	8	8	0	7
	village	7	4	1	1	11	0	12	0	0
Total	48	25	10	13	9	25	14	31	2	15

In this sample the command of Russian and Ukrainian is a mirror image of the other language. Unfortunately about 30% of the interviewees could not be

reported as commanding one or more of the appropriate languages. The meaning of the question marks, sometimes accompanied by a plus or minus, is not explained in the text. Only one person (a woman from a village in the Charkov district) mastered all three languages.

Ukraine is generally described as a country with a bilingual population; everyone seems to speak Ukrainian and Russian. From this relatively small-scale survey it appears that two thirds (32) of the interviewees only spoke one language, and Suržyk is by far the most frequently spoken, 56% which is twice as many as speak Russian.

Commands	one language	32	two languages	15	all three	1
	Rus	9	R+U	3		
	Ukr	5	R+S	12	R+U+S	1
	Suržyk	18	U+S	0		

The question marks are naturally not considered. Taking into account the small size of this survey, it is questionable whether this sample is representative for the linguistic position of Suržyk (and of Russian and Ukrainian) in the country as a whole.

Considering the varieties of Suržyk that some researchers think we should consider (see 3.3) it is unclear what sort of Suržyk was being studied. Did it fit into one or more of the above-mentioned categories? Is there any homogeneity or is the material collected and analysed just a mishmash? It is striking that although the survey was conducted in two towns and the villages around them that the material was not sorted accordingly. The geographical factor does not seem to play a role. In other words, is the Suržyk in the villages around Charkov the same as in the town Charkov or even the city Kyiv?

5 The language issue and Ukraine

Ukraine suffers permanently due to the argument between the two extremes: those in favour of the reinstatement of the national position of Russian and those diametrically opposed who are the nationalist supporters of Ukrainian as the only

national language. These two points of view cannot easily be united. Compromises seem to be out-of-the-question. The proponents of Ukrainian as the only national language discount the position that Russian still holds in daily life whereas those at the other end of the spectrum who uphold Russian as at least the second official language, do not seem to realise that Ukraine has for centuries been crippled by the Russian yoke. The gulf is deep and not to be bridged. An added difficulty is the disregard that many people have for Surżyk which inadvertently functions as a divisive element between 'pure' Ukrainian and 'pure' Russian.

The language issue is a constant threat to the political and social stability of the country. It keeps Ukraine firmly in its grasp. It therefore seems inevitable that the problems should be tackled: the position of Russian must be sufficiently regulated and Surżyk and its speakers must be taken seriously. A country cannot permit itself to discard a large percentage of the population as incoherent mumblers. But before that happens, serious sociological and linguistic research is essential. As are politicians who recognise that their voters are articulate.

Amsterdam, april 2013

6 Linguistic analysis of Surżyk²⁴

In the following we have endeavoured, with the help of very limited material, to describe the linguistic characteristics of S. The argument could be used that what we call S could be described as a Ukrainian dialect, or even a Russian dialect. On the other hand, we can retaliate that much material is very clearly a mixture of both languages: R stems with U- prefixes and suffixes and R- or U-endings, or any other possible combinations. The authors of *Новые языки новых государств* from the European University in St.Petersburg refer to a publication by the American slavist M.S. Flier, who apparently stated that "Surżyk is based on Ukrainian with a touch of Ukrainianised Russian".²⁵ I shall leave it to the reader to come to a similar conclusion.

Spelling

As is well-known, R and U both use the Cyrillic alphabet, but there are systematic differences:

Russian	Ukrainian	Phonetic values
ы	и	[y] following hard consonants
и	і	[i] following soft consonants
--	ї	[ji]
э	е	[ɛ] following hard consonants
е	є	[jɛ] following soft consonants
ё	йо	[jo]
г	г	[g]
--	г	[h]
ъ	'	indicates hardness of preceding consonant

Phonetics

The most important phonetic differences between standard R and standard U are the following:

1. The labials п б ф в м [p b f v m] are always hard in U, whereas they may be soft or hard in R.
2. The sibilants ш ж ч дж щ [ʃ ʒ č dž šč] are always hard in U, but soft when doubled:

узвѣишшя [ʃ':] raised, a raised area

збѣжжя [ʒ':] bread; things, household goods

узбѣччя [č':] side of the road; verge, slope.

In R ш [ʃ] and ж [ʒ] are always hard, whereas ч [č'] and щ [š':] are always soft.

3. In U щ is always pronounced as [šč]; in R щ is slightly lengthened and soft without the occlusive moment: [š':].

4. In U ц can be hard or soft [c] or [c']: цирк [cyrk] and ціна [ciná]; in R ц [c] is always hard: цирк [cyrk].

5. U and R both have the sound [g], in R written as r, in U as r, but U also has [h] r.

6. In U В [v] is spoken (semi-)vocalically before consonants: авто [aǔtó], завтра [záǔtra].

7 Suržyk

The material is presented in the U version of the Cyrillic alphabet.²⁶

1. Unfortunately there are no stress marks included. There are only a few remarks on stress to be found altogether. This is odd because there are many words which are identical in R and U but differ in their stressed syllable.

A few examples:

R: ко́мната, рабо́тник, коро́мысло, ма́ленький, но́вый, оди́ннадцатый;

U: кімна́та, робітні́к, коро́мисло, ма́ленький, но́вий, оди́на́дцятий.

From this material, therefore, we cannot discern the stress in S!

2. The consonant clusters present a considerable problem as they consist of one voiced and one voiceless consonant, such as: *-td-*, *-sd-*, *-ds-*, *-zk-*, *-zč-*, *-vs-*, *-vsch-*, *-vsp-*. Taking the regressive assimilation rules into account, which are implemented in R as well as in U, it is extremely unlikely that Suržyk-speakers pronounce these clusters as they are written. See, among others, *Verbs, spelling of prefixes*.

3. Furthermore it is not always clear what the S pronunciation is of R forms in such words as: двена́дцатого но́ября. Is the ending *-ого* pronounced as in R [-ovo/əvə] or as in U [-ogo]?

7.1 Phonetics

It would seem that the phonetics of S are closer to U than to R.

S has just like U:

1. r [h] / [ɣ]. Even where r [g] is written, it is often pronounced as [h]. S: розга-варю́ют [rozɣavar'ujut], все́гда [vseyda, useɣda], also in loan words such as: гру́нт [grunt]/[hrunt].

2. no reduction of the unstressed vowels, in particular the reduction of [o] to [a] does not occur: до конца, кооперативний, but there are exceptions in S: не нада, розгаварювала.
3. ч and щ are both hard in U: получилась, очень, вообще; but in S -ч- ен -щ- are often soft: ключі, звучить, талончікі, учілище, and if doubled (also in U): обличчя 'face'.
4. words with -ц can be soft in both S and U, whereas in R they are always hard. S: больницу, (U: лікарню), R: больницу.

Under the influence of R:

1. In S the alternation R *o/e* ↔ U *i* (such as R дом ↔ U дім) is often absent:

S: корова/коров	U: корóва/корів
голова/голов	головá/голів
п'ятдесят голов коров	п'ятдесáт голів корів
Миرونвка	Мирóнівка 'town in Ukraine'

2. U [dz]/[dž] turns into S [z]/[ž] (but there are exceptions):

S: звонять, позвонив	U: дзвóнять, подзвонів
(but also дзвонить)	(дзвоніти)
нахожуся	знахóджуся
приїжаю, приїжають	приїджа́ю, приїджа́ють

3. In S the U-alternation к → ц is often absent:

S: жінка → жінке	U: жінка → жінці 'woman'
в восьмирічкі	у восьмирічці 'in the 8-year-olds' school'

In R the Cyrillic -и and -е always follow soft consonants, apart from the sibilants. But in U these vowels always follow hard consonants. This influences the phonetics of words in S:

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S	U	R
in S hard consonants are used in words loaned from R:		
стежляний [stɛkl'anyj] обикновений розказчики [zk/zčʒ?] бутилки інтересує період маленький/маленькі чистий	скляний звичайний оповідачі пляшки Gsg /пляшки Npl цікавить період маленький чистий	стеклянный [st'ɪkl'án:yj] обыкновенный рассказчики бутылки интересует период маленький чистый
But not always; the consonants are soft before -e and -i, as in U:		
первий делають свет архітектор Вера птіче понімаю	пёрший рóблять світло архітéктор Вéра птíче розумію	первый делают свет архитектор Вера птиче понимаю
And often both variants occur (from R and U):		
дівіться/дивиться разни/разні гарни/гарні реклама/реклама пакет/пакет спасібо/спасибо именно/іменно шалфей/шалфей	дивітися різні гáрні 'good, fine' реклáма пакéт спасібі сáме шавлія	дивиться разный гарное (масло) реклама пакет спасибо именно шалфей

7.2 Stress

S	U	R
Stress in words borrowed from R may agree with R just as well as with U:		
as in R: говоря́ть as in U: о́тносились	говóрять вídносились	говоря́т относи́лись

However the stress in S can also deviate completely:

хво́рюють	хворі́ють	хво́рають
по́няла	зрозу́міла	по́няла́ / flat: по́няла

7.3 Lexicon

In S a great deal of R-lexicon is used:

S	U	S	U
Nouns			
родітелі	батькі́	здоровля́	здо́ров'я
дядя́	дядько́	сварщик	зва́рник
тьотя́	тітка́	продавцом [vc?]	продавце́м
сьостри́	се́стри	учіліще́	шко́ла
діти́	діти́	водітель трамвая́	воді́й трамвая́
муж	чоловік	учьотчік	обліко́вець
замуж	за́між	запчасти́	запчасти́ни
язик	мо́ва	предсі́датель [ds?]	голо́ва
больни́ца	ліка́рня	почта́	по́шта
циплята́	курча́та	почта́льон	листоно́ша
предохра́нитель	запо́біжник	міроприе́мство	за́хід, мі́ра
Adverbs			
больше́	бі́льше	ніко́гда / ніка́да	ніко́ли
вообще́	загалом	ну́жно	тре́ба
всегда́	завжди́	в общем	в ціло́му
даже́	на́віть	обыкнове́нно	звичайно́
действі́тельно	ді́йсно	в основном	в основно́му
еле́	ле́две	окро́ми	крі́м то́го
еще́	ще́	особе́нно	особлі́во
зараз-то́	за́раз	потом	по́руч
інтересно́	ціка́во	почті́	ма́йже
конешно́/конечно́	зві́сно	прекрасно́	чудо́во
лучше́	кра́ще	рядом	по́ряд
наверно́	ма́бить	скучно́	нудно́
напри́мер	напри́клад	сразу́	зразу́
не нада́ / не надо́	не потрі́бно	тим бо́лі	тим бі́льше

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тоже не хвататиме хорошо	та́кож не дістава́тиме до́бре, га́рно	чуть-чуть щас/січас	ле́две, трóхи за́раз
Conjunctions			
када вроде/будто [dt?] если ілі	колі R: ко́гда на́че(бто), ні́би якщо́ чи/або́	но так як хоть	але́ тому хоч / хоча́
Prepositions			
между	між/проміж	вместо	за́мість
Interjections			
вот да	ось так	не́ допусті́м	ні́ припусті́мо
Pronouns			
всьо ето оні	все/усе це вони́	ему́ ей	йому́ їй
Verbs			
есть убіди́ть (R обиде́ть)	є́ скривди́ти	разговарю́ю щитаю́ (R считаю́)	розмовля́ю раху́ю
Surżuk-speakers often use the U-verb робі́ти 'to make, to do'. In S it means mostly 'to work': робила, проробила.			
Numerals: phonetically numerals appear to have R characteristics, but U phonetics also occur frequently:			
S		U	
чоти́ре		чоти́ри	
три́нацять		три́нацять	
восьми́нацять		ві́сімна́дцять	
два́дцять ру́блей [dc?]		два́дцять ру́блів	
три́дцять [dc?]		три́дцять	
п'я́тдесят ру́блей		п'я́тдесят ру́блів	
восьми́сят два		ві́сімдеся́т два	
ші́сот		ші́стсот	

восемсот	вісімсџт
девятсот	дев'ятсџт
тисяча	тїсяча
третьому	трѣтьому
четвџрта	четвѣрта
девятый, девятого	дев'ятый, дев'ятого
одїнадцатый [dc?]	одїнадцатый
дванадцатого ноября [ogo/oho?]	дванадцатого листопада
в пядесят третьому/в п'ятдесят [td?]	у п'ятдесят трѣтьому
в шїесят шестом	у шїстдесят шџстому
в семесят четвертому	у сїмдесят четвѣртому
тысячу вџсьмого года [ogo/oho?]	тїсячі вџсьмого рџку
тысяча девятсот сорок вџсьмого	тїсяча дев'ятсџт сџрок вџсьмого
вџсьмїлетня	вџсьмїлїтня
полодїнадцатого [dc?]	пїв на одїнадцату
полпятого	пїв на п'яту
вдвойом	удвџх
The inflection follows the rules of U:	
первый, перва	пѣрший, пѣрша
второй, втора, втору	другий, друга, другу

Many S speakers often use words from both languages:		
S	U	R
кажу / говорю	кажи	говорю
це / его	це	это
є / есть	є	есть
лїкує / лечїт	лїкує	лечит
треба / надо	трѣба	надо
сюди / сюда	сюдї	сюда
телевїзор / телевизор	телевїзор	телевизор
яйця / яйца	яйцї Gsg / яйця Npl	яйца
мова / язык	мџва	язык

7.4 Morphology

7.4.1 Nouns

Prefixes and suffixes

S		U		R	
a mixed prefix in S:					
<i>pod-</i>	(no example found)	<i>pid-</i>	(підкóрм)	<i>pod-</i>	(подкóрм)
<i>pov-</i>	повметру	<i>piv-</i>	півмéтра	<i>pol-</i>	полметра
R suffixes in S:					
<i>-yk</i>	садик	<i>-ok</i>	садóк	<i>-ik</i>	садик
<i>-ok</i>	віршок	<i>-yk</i>	віршик ‘роет’	<i>-ok</i>	стишок

Inflection

S		U	
genitive sg masc. <i>-a</i> , as in R, but <i>-u</i> , as in U, also occurs			
<i>-a</i>	для диктофона із того періода	<i>-u</i>	(на диктофóн) з тогó періоду
<i>/-u</i>	свету		світу
genitive sg after numerals as in R., in U nominative pl:			
<i>-a</i>	два/три/чотири учня	<i>-i</i>	два/три/чоти́ри учні (учень ‘school pupil’)
locative sg masc. in S as in U: <i>-i</i> or <i>-u</i> :			
<i>-i</i>	на Западі	<i>-i</i>	на За́ході
<i>-u</i>	на руском язикау	<i>-u</i>	(росі́йською мо́вою) на буди́нку ‘in the building’
genitive pl after numerals as in R:			
	п’ять місяцев		п’ять місяці́в
	ші́сот сорок грам		ші́стсо́т со́рок гра́мів
	деся́ть раз		деся́ть разі́в/раз
Variations of U and R paradigms may occur in one and the same person:			
	в Кривому Розі / в Кривом Роге		в Криво́му Ро́зі / Криві́й Рі́р ‘town in district Dnipropetrovs’k’
	в Ха́ркові / в Ха́рькове		в Ха́ркові (Nsg Ха́рків)
The first variant of the following two examples is neither U nor R, the second variant is U:			
	на ко́ждому листочкі́ / листочку		на ко́жному листоч́ку (Nsg листоч́ок)
	на суржикі́ / суржику		на суржику

In contrast with U, S does not seem to use a vocative form:	
Катя!	Кáте! Катю!

7.4.2 Adjectives

Suffixes

S	U
suffixes in U: <i>-s'k-</i> and in R <i>-sk-</i> both occur in S:	
русский / руська	рисський / риська
the R-stem from Charkov with U-suffix:	
Харьковська	Хáрківська
the U-stem with R-suffix:	
російській, сибірській	росі́йський, сибі́рський
suffix <i>-en'k-</i> in R after soft consonants, in U after hard ones, both occur in S:	
маленькой, старенькой / маленькі, величенький	малéнької, старéнької / малéнькі, величéнький

Inflection

S	U
For adjectives which are both R and U, or only R, in S the U-inflection is applied:	
sg:	
железнодорожное	залі́зничне
всевозможна	всемóжна
руське, рускої	риське, риської
целу	ці́лу
на селькому	на сільськóму
на рускому	на риському
на любому	на якóму-не́будь
у красній	у красній
pl:	
знакомі	знайóмі
маленькі	малéнькі
but R-inflection also occurs:	
російський	росі́йський
сибірській	сибі́рський

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But in the speech of the same informant variations may occur:		
в Ніколаєвській області		в Ніколаєвській області
/ в Ніколаєвській області		/ в Ніколаєвській області

Degrees of comparison

S	U	R
Comparative (does not occur often in the material available)		
вищого	вищого	
Superlative:		
in S the analytical superlative with the R pronoun <i>samyj</i> , in U the prefix <i>naj-</i> :		
самий чистий	найчистіший	самый чистый
самий первий	найперший	самый первый
самий удачний	найбільш вдалий	самый удачный
саме інтєресно	найцікавіше.	самый интересный
самий головний	найголовніший	самый главный
саме важне	найважливіше	самый важный

7.4.3 Pronouns

S	U	R
S uses U-pronouns with R-suffix <i>-to</i> or prefix <i>koe-</i> for indefiniteness:		
хто-то	хтось	кто-то
шо-то	щось	что-то
як-то	якось	как-то, как-нибудь
які-то / який-то	якісь / якийсь	какой-то, один
чого-то	чогось, чомись	чего-то, почему-то
кой-шо	щось, дещо	кое-что
кой-які	деякий, якісь	некоторый, какой-то
Also some pronominal adverbs:		
кой-коли	інколи	иногда, кое-когда
кое-як	абияк	кое-как
стільки-то	стільки	столько
ніколи	нема́ ко́лі	никогда
ниде	нема́ де	нигде
In declensions of the personal pronouns with R-ending:		
зі мно́й	зі мно́ю	со мно́й
The preceding <i>n-</i> (from R and U) is left out:		
в єї, у їх, до їх	в не́ї, у них, до них	в ней, у них, до них

7.4.4 Verbs

Spelling of prefixes in U and R

Those prefixes which end in a consonant and, depending on the following consonant, are pronounced voiced or unvoiced, are treated orthographically differently in U and R.

U		R	
phonetics	orthography	phonetics	orthography
[vid- vit-]	від- відбіти відписати	[ad- /at-]	от- отбить отписать
[pid- pit-]	під- підбавити підписати	[pad- pat-]	под- подбавить подписать
[roz- ros-]	роз- розбіти розписати	[raz- ras-]	раз- разбить рас- расписать
[z- s-]	з- збити зсадіти с- списати	[z- s-]	с- сбить ссадить списать
[z- s-]	з- збóтувати с- схóдити/зìхóдити	[vz- fs-]	вз- взболтать вс- всходит
[z-] [s-/zi-]	з- зобразити с- схóдити/зìхóдити	[iz- is-]	из- изобразить ис- исходить

The various ways of writing the prefixes in U and R are defined by the rules of orthography. The prefix [raz-/ras-] in R is written as раз- or рас-, depending on the next consonant, whereas in U the prefix [roz-/ros-] is exclusively written as роз-, even for voiceless consonants: розкидати, розклад.

In S three written forms of this prefix occurred in the material under investigation: раз-, роз- and пос-. (no рас-!) The -a- is R, the -o- is U, but because of the assimilation rules - we assume that these are applied in S just as they are in R and U, such forms as розчитався, розказувала, розказати, розказчики are puzzling. It is even more surprising, as forms such as розказував, розказуют are also recorded.

The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, for forms such as отдав, отдали, подходят, підходе, вспомнила, всходить сделать. This spelling in S remains inexplicable.

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Prefixes in S:

S		U		R	
In S, R- and U-prefixes occur:					
prefix		prefix		prefix	
от-	отдав, отдали; отключуть отключив отрабатует	від-	відда́в, віддали́ відключа́ють відключи́в відпрацьо́вує	от-	отдал, отдали отключают отключил отработает
пере- [pɛɐ̯ɛ]	переоділася переехали перестраюється	пере- [pɛɐ̯ɛ]	переодяглі́ся/сь переї́хали перестро́юється	пере- [p'ir'ɪ]	переоделась переехали перестраивается
під-	підкладається підня́ться підхо́де	під-	підклада́ється підня́тись підхо́дить	под-	подкладывается подня́ться подхо́дит
под-	поднялося подходят подвесів	під-	підняло́ся/сь підхо́дять підві́сив	под-	поднялось подходят подвесил
при-	приехала признає	при-	приї́хала (візнає)	при-	приехала признает
роз- /рос-	розгаварювала розгаварюю /розгаварюю розчитався розказувала розказати розказував розказують поросчитувалися	роз-	розмовля́ла розмовля́ю розрахува́вся розка́зувала розказáти розка́зував розка́зують порозхі́тувалися	раз- /рас-	разговаривала разговариваю рассчитался рассказывала рассказать рассказывал рассказывают порасшатывались
раз-	разговарюю разговарює	роз-	розмовля́ю розмовля́є	раз-	разговариваю разговаривает
вс-	всходит вспомнила	с- / з-	схо́дिति згада́ла	вс-	всходит вспомнила
з-	зделав здавав згнить	з-	зроби́в здава́в згни́ти	с-	сделал сдавал сгнить

The following prefixes which occur in S are identical in U and R:					
ob-	обработуєш	об-	обробляєш	об-	обработываешь
po-	позвонив попечатував познакомилась пообещали поросщитувалися /поросчитувалися покрасили	(под) / по-	(подзвоні́в) попечáтав познайóмилася пообі́цяли порозхі́тувалися покрáсили	po-	позвонил попечатал познакомилась пообещали порасшатывались покрасили
про-	продовжалась пробежить	про-	продóвжувалася пробі́гти	про-	продолжалась пробежать
с- (/ з-?) /с-	сталкуюся сливається сделати связуваться схватилося срабатує	з- /зі- /с-	зштóвхуюся /зіштóвхуюся злива́ється зробі́ти зв'язуватися схопі́лося спрацьóвує	с-	сталкиваюсь сливается сделать связываться схватилось срабатывает
у-	увольняться	у-	(звільня́тися)	у-	увольняться
вы-	виплачує виросщувать	ви-	випла́чує виросщувати	вы-	выплачивает выращивать
за-	закончилось заканчував заканчувала закончила заболів задумувалась заплатить заглядуєм	за-	закінчі́лося закінчував закінчувала закінчі́ла заболів задумувалася заплаті́ти загляда́єм(о)	за-	закончилось заканчивал заканчивала закончила заболел задумывалась заплатить заглядываем

Suffixes in S:

S		U		R	
In S, the U-suffix <i>-u-/-ju-</i> instead of R <i>-iva-/-yva-</i> :					
suffix		suffix		suffix	
<i>-u-/-</i>	обработуєш	<i>-ja/</i>	обробляєш	<i>-yva-</i>	обработываешь
<i>-ju-</i>	розгаварюєш		розмовляєш	<i>/-iva-</i>	разговариваешь
	сталкуюся	<i>-u-</i>	зштóвхуюся		сталкиваюсь

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In the past tense in S, the U-suffix <i>-uva-</i> instead of R <i>-iva-/yva-</i> :					
<i>-uva-</i>	заканчувала розказувала (zk)?	<i>-uva-</i>	закінчувала розказувала	<i>-iva-</i> <i>/-yva-</i>	заканчивала рассказывала
In the past tense in S, the U-suffix <i>-y-</i> instead of R <i>-i-</i> :					
<i>-y-</i>	закончила поступила подувився позвонив	<i>-y-</i>	закінчила поступила вийшов подзвонив	<i>-i-</i>	закончила поступила получился позвонил
After soft consonants in S <i>-i-</i> instead of R <i>-e-</i>					
<i>-i-</i>	переоділася не встигла [vs?]	<i>---</i>	переодяглася не встигла	<i>-e-</i>	переоделась не успела

Inflection

S		U		R	
Infinitive such as R <i>-t'</i> , but sometimes also the U-ending <i>-ty</i> (also in R-stems), is also seen in reflexive infinitives <i>-t'-sja</i> and <i>-ty-sja</i> :					
<i>-t'</i> <i>/-ty</i>	послухати подати делати	<i>-ty</i>	послухати подати робити	<i>-t'</i>	послушать подать делать
<i>-t'sja</i> <i>/tysja</i>	зустрітись купатись волнуватись	<i>-tysja</i>	зустрітись купатись хвилюватись	<i>-t'sja</i>	встретиться купаться волноваться
Praesens 3sg has in S the same ending as in U:					
<i>-je</i> <i>-jet'sja</i>	признає срабує получається общається упирається касається	<i>-je</i> <i>-jet-sja</i>	візнає спрацьбує виходить спілкується обпирається торкається	<i>-jet</i> <i>-jet-sja</i>	признает срабатывает получается общается упирается касается
Praesens 1pl as in R: <i>-jem</i> , but in future tense U-ending <i>-jemo</i> :					
<i>-jem</i> <i>-jemo</i>	розмовляєм бігаєм продаєм надиктуємо	<i>-jem(o)</i>	розмовляєм(о) бігаєм(о) продаємо́, продаємо́ надиктуємо(о)	<i>-jem</i>	разговариваем бегаем продаем надиктуем

Praesens 3pl in both conjugations in S both <i>-ut/-at</i> (as in R), and <i>-ut'/-at'</i> (as in U):					
<i>-t</i> <i>/-t'</i>	не разговаруют йдут / ідуть получають работают отключут спят сидят говорять нравляются звонят	<i>-t'</i>	не розмовляють йдуть отримають рóbлять відключають сплять сидять говорять (подóбаються) дзвóнять	<i>-t</i>	не разговаривают идут получают работают отключают спят сидят говорят нравятся звонят
Past tense 1sg masc. the U-suffix <i>-v</i> instead of R <i>-l</i> :					
<i>-v</i>	здавав отдав зделав пойняв женився длівся дівся унаслідовав получав щитав	<i>-v</i>	здавав віддав зробив розумів женився/сь продóвжувався/сь подівся/сь verb успадкував отрїмував вважав / рахував	<i>-l</i>	сдавал отдал сделал понял женился длился делся унаследовал получал считал
Past tense 3pl: ending as in U: <i>-ly</i> :					
<i>-ly</i>	переехали отдали позорились	<i>-ly</i>	переїхали віддали осорóбились	<i>-li</i>	переехали отдали позорились
Past tense reflexive in S particularly, as in U, <i>-s'a</i> :					
<i>-sja</i>	схватилось закончилось осталось		схопїлось/сь закінчїлось/сь зостáлось/сь	<i>-s'</i>	схватилось закончилось осталось
Future tense with R быть:					
<i>byt'</i>	буду говорить буду платить	<i>buty</i> /inf+ fut.	буду говорити / говоритиму буду платити	<i>byt'</i>	буду говорить буду платить

Imperatief 2pl as in U-suffix -it', also in R stems:					
-t'	ідіть обойдіть найдіть	-t'	йдіть обійдіть найдіть	-te	идите обойдите найдите
Formation and use of active participles according to the R model (which is unknown in U):					
-vš-	відробивший зробивший нашумівші прийшовший	∅	(відробіти) (зробіти) (нашуміти) (прийти́)	-vš	отрабовавший сделавший нашумевший пришедший

7.5 Syntax

S	U	R
Constructions which comprise U or U=R lexemes with R syntax:		
по цьому рецепту в залежності від поїхала під Новий год найкращий по урожайності звиняйте мене буде платити кожний місяць в шість часов утра/вечора в півосьмому вечіра говорить на російській мові	за цим рецѣптом / по цьому рецѣпту залѣжно від поїхала проті Нового рѣку по врожаності пробачте мені сплачуватиме щомісячно о шостій годіні ранку/вечора о пів на восьмій вечора говорити російською мóвою	по этому рецепту в зависимости от поехала под Новый год по урожайности простите мне будет платить каждый месяц в шесть часов утра/вечера в полвосьмого вечера говорить на русском языке
Different cases:		
ми не припинимо боротьбу нехтувати чим наслідувати кому	ми не припíнимо боротьбу нехтувати що наслідувати когó	мы не прекратим борьбы пренебрегать что наследовать кого
Constructions which comprise R lexemes with U syntax:		
за Харьков всі новості там узнаюш	про Харкóві всі новíни там дíзнаєшся	о Харькóве все новости там узнаешь

я смотрю по фільмах ми ж не на чистом українськом розговарюєм	я дива́люся/сь по фільмам ми ж не чістою українською розмовляєм(о)	я смотрю по фильмам мы же не на чистом украинском языке разговариваем
Constructions which are neither R nor U: хутбол гуляе гра́є/гуля́є у футбо́л он играет в футбол		
Use of prepositions and declensions as in R : по вулицям вулицями по улицам на російській мові російською мо́вою на русском языке		
Calques from R in U: прийняти участь взя́ти участь принять участие прийняти міри вжи́ти за́ходів принять меры бувший у користуванні бивши у користува́нні будучи в пользовании		

More examples in Surżyk:²⁷

S	U	R
Шо ти щас робиш?	Що ти за́раз роби́ш?	Что ты сейчас делаешь?
Як діла?	Як спра́ви?	Как дела?
Скіки тобі лет? / Скіки тобі год?	Скі́льки тобі ро́ків?	Сколько тебе лет?
Шо ти можеш про це сказать?	Що ти мо́жеш про це сказа́ти?	Что ты можешь про это сказать?
Будем ізучать чи не?	Будемо вивча́ти чи ні?	Будем изучать или нет?
Даже не знаю, шо його робить.	Наві́ть не зна́ю, що він роби́ть.	Даже не знаю, что он делает.
Шось я не пойму! Ти будеш платити ілі як?	Щось я не зрозумію! Ти бидеш платі́ти чи ні	Что-то я не пойму! Ты будешь платить или нет?
Я трошкі опоздаю.	Я тро́шки спізни́юся/сь	Я немного опоздаю.
В семье общаемся на українськом языке, даже на суржику, можно сказать.	В сім'ї спілкуємося українською мо́вою, наві́ть на суржику, мо́жна сказа́ти.	В семье общаемся на украинском языке, даже на суржике, можно сказать.
На руском і на українськом? Як приде́ться.	Росі́йською та украї́нською мо́вами Як доведе́ться. Уже змішаний... Взагалі —	На русском и украинском языках? Как придется.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE

<p>Уже смешаний В общем — смесь получилась і всьо. Немає такого чистого, щоб рускій ілі українській. Одне слово руське, друге — українське...</p>	<p>суміш прийшло та усє. Немає такого чістого, як російська або українська. Одне слóво російською, інше по-українськи.</p>	<p>Уже смешанный... В общем — смесь получилась и всё. Нет такого чистого, как русский или украинский. Одно слово по-русски, другое по-украински.</p>
<p>Він робє сьодні до п'яті Аж зараз ми починаєм просачувать деякі факти.</p>	<p>Він працює сьогóдні до п'яті Навіть зóраз ми починаємо прокачивать дєякі фáкти.</p>	<p>Он работает сегодня до пяти. Даже зараз мы начинаем просачивать некоторые факты.</p>

More syntactical examples, sentences and clauses in Suržyk can be found, among other places, in the following documents:

Гіпертекстовий посібник «Антисуржик».²⁸

Короткий словник Антисуржик: this is a long list (of more than 1000 words) Suržykisms with ukrainian translation;

Мацюк Роман: Суржик для інтелігенції, (a very long anti-Suržyk article).
These articles can be traced through the Ukrainian Wikipedia.

Amsterdam, January, 2014.

Abbreviations

R = Russian; U = Ukrainian; S = Suržyk; Uk = Ukrainian nationality; Ru = Russian nationality

Notes

1 This article was written in april 2013, more than a year before the armed conflict in the east broke out.

2 Ukrainian is also spoken as a minority language in Belarus, Moldova, Russia and in a few other countries where there is a large Ukrainian immigrant population, such as Canada.

3 Deržavna služba statystryky Ukrajinu [Державна служба статистики України]:
<http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua>.

4 Census 2001.

5 From 1804 until the Russian revolution the Ukrainian language was banned from schools in the Russian Empire. In 1876 Czar Alexander II issued the so-called Эмский указ. It banned the use of the Ukrainian language (cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukrainian_language) in print, with the exception of reprinting of old documents. The указ also forbade the import of Ukrainian

publications and the staging of plays or lectures in Ukrainian. (This did not effect western parts of present Ukraine, because they did not belong to the Russian Empire).

6 Wikipedia Russian: ‘Russkij jazyk na Ukraine.’, and OSCE/ODIHR (2012, 41).

7 Most of this information comes from *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 15th edition, 2005, where the amazingly precise numbers can be found. This overview is based on a population of almost 48 million. The population has decreased since then, notably due to emigration.

8 Podolyan (2005: 3): “In the census of 1989 around 88% of all Kyiv residents identified Ukrainian as their mother tongue, although the real number of active speakers of this language was much lower in the capital city at that moment.”

9 See UNIAN [Українське незалежне Інформаційне Агентство Новостей]: <http://www.unian.net/news/512712-65-ukraintsev-za-predostavlenie-russkomu-yazyku-statusa-ofitsialnogo-opros.html>

10 See also the polemic article by Елена Маргвелашвили, “Украина бессовестно манипулирует историческими фактами”, *Новый Регион* — Киев, 15.06.07. (<http://nr2.lt/kyiv/124243.html>.)

11 In the past children from mixed marriages were often called “suržyky”. In their early days such children probably spoke a mixture of these two languages. In the 1970s, those people who had been refused registration as Jews were also called suržyky.

12 Particularly in the districts Belgorod and Voronež which border on Charkov in southern Russia. It is however not called Suržyk but Ukrainian (cf. Wikipedia Russian – *Suržyk*).

13 The related Belarusian has an analogous variety, a mixture of Belarusian and Russian called трасянка, literally: *a mixture of hay and straw; a poor quality hay*.

14 See e.g. Wikipedia Russian – *Suržyk*, Wikipedia Ukrainian – *Suržyk*, Vaxtin et al.; there is more research by the Kyiv International Institute for Sociology.

15 Quoted from О.А. Сербенська, *Антисуржик* in Masenko (2002: 6).

16 The word written here as двоязычье is orthographically a Russian/Ukrainian mixture. Ukrainian has separate words for *language* and *tongue*: мова and язык.

17 This Swedish linguist further remarks in his web article that “[i]n addition to mixes of Ukrainian and Russian there exist in Ukraine mixes of Ukrainian with other languages, phenomena which are sometimes referred to as *surzhyk*. Hence, there is Ukrainian-Polish *surzhyk* in Galicia and Ukrainian-Slovak in Transcarpathia.”

18 “Мова - душа народу” ‘Language is the soul of the people.’

19 Russian Wikipedia – *Suržyk*.

20 See also Flier 2008.

21 In this instance we can mention, for example, the half-a-million Don- and Kuban’-cossacks who speak dialects which are specifically based on Russian and Ukrainian; they can be found in the literature under the collective name балачка. In that Russian Wikipedia article a reference is also made to *Suržyk*.

22 These data are also based on questionnaires, processed in 2003, by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology: KMIS – Kyjiv’s kij Mižnarodnyj Instytut Sociologiji <http://www.vedomosti.ru/glossary/КМИС>

23 Bogdan Zoldak and Les’ Poderv”jans’kij.

24 In this section translations of U and S material are only provided where it deviates from R.

25 “суржик имеет украинскую основу с примесью украинизированного русского языка.” Unfortunately I have not been able to get hold of Flier (2000).

26 This data was sourced primarily from Vaxtin et al., Wikipedia Russian – *Suržyk*, Wikipedia Ukrainian – *Suržyk*, and also from other publications mentioned in the references.

27 These examples are from Wikipedia Russian – *Suržyk*.

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O PRVOBITNOM JEZIKU U DUBROVNIKU

Jadranka Gvozdanović

0 Uvod

U povijesti hrvatskog jezika Dubrovnik igra centralnu ulogu. Kontinuitet kulturnog identiteta i njege jezika u Dubrovniku stvorio je osnovicu za razvoj kasnije norme hrvatskog jezika. Međutim, ta kasnija norma ne odgovara u potpunosti dubrovačkoj – i to je dovelo do brojnih nesuglasica u tretiranju osobina jezika Dubrovnika i bivše Dubrovačke republike. Ovaj prilog daje kratak osvrt na povijest klasifikacije dubrovačkog govora i prikaz evidentiranih jezičnih osobina iz dubrovačke prošlosti te na kraju predlaže objašnjenje za prvobitne osobine jezika u Dubrovniku.

1 Povijest klasifikacije dubrovačkog dijalekta

Jezik dubrovačke književnosti 17. stoljeća, u prvom redu Gundulićev jezik kao nositelj narodnog kulturnog identiteta (u duhu katoličke protureformacije), bitno je odredio osnovicu norme hrvatskog jezika kada se ona stvarala u ilirskom preporodu u 19. stoljeću. Ta norma je nosila obilježja tradicije narodnih pjesama iz istočne Hercegovine, štokavskoga kraja koji je prošao čitav niz jezičnih inovacija na kraju srednjeg vijeka, između 12. i 14. stoljeća, pa se otada zove novoštokavskim. Najbitnije inovacije bile su povlačenje akcenta za jedan slog prema početku riječi (provedeno u nekoliko faza) i nastanak dvosložnog refleksa dugog jata prema jednosložnom refleksu kratkog jata (ě). Ove osobine preuzete su tijekom formiranja književnog, pa zatim i službenog standardnog jezika u Hrvatskoj (s modifikacijama i u Srbiji, Bosni i Hercegovini i Crnoj Gori). Ostale inovacije istočnohercegovačkoga štokavskog dijalekta (kao jotizacija *tj* > *ć*, *dj* > *đ* ispred refleksa kratkog jata *je* < *ě*) nisu preuzete.

Dubrovački dijalekat ušao je u osnovicu standardnog jezika, iako sam nikada nije potpuno odgovarao toj osnovici.

Najveće razlike zabilježene su u akcentuaciji i to prvenstveno u kontekstu tzv. kanovačkog akcenta - dugouzlaznog umjesto kratkouzlaznog nastalog povlačenjem akcenta s kratkog zadnjeg sloga na kratki prethodni (npr. žena). To je stara pojava, koju možemo rekonstruirati već za vrijeme renesansne poezije. U ostalim slučajevima u kojima bi se očekivao kratkouzlazni akcent nastao u kasnijim fazama povlačenja akcenta, dubrovački dijalekat imao je i ima kratkosilazni akcent. Dakle, u Dubrovniku od najranijih vremena nije zabilježen kratkouzlazni akcent, a ispred kratke ultime došlo je do duljenja povučenog akcenta.

Refleks dugog jata u povijesti dubrovačkog dijalekta ne odgovara osnovici standardnog jezika, jer nije dvosložan, nego jednosložan (diftong /ie/).

Pored ovih prozodijskih i fonoloških razlika postojale su i morfološke razlike (npr. u dativu jednine *dobrom* ne samo za muški i srednji, nego i za ženski rod). Dubrovačko rječničko blago sadrži oblike nepoznate drugim dijalektima, npr. *mir* < *muros* 'zid' (Malić 2005). Sve to nameće pitanje klasifikacije dubrovačkog dijalekta.¹

Diskusije o podrijetlu dubrovačkoga govora vode se još od kraja devetnaestog stoljeća, kada je Marcel Kušar 1890. godine nastojao dokazati da je Dubrovnik nekada pripadao čakavskoj dijalekatskoj zoni, čemu se Rešetar (1900) odlučno protivio, smatrajući Dubrovnik od početka štokavskim. Na tome je inzistirao i izdavši *Libar od mnozijekh razloga* (1926. u izdanju Srpske akademije nauka) ne znajući da je u njemu i jedna čakavska (prvotno glagoljička) pjesma s kraja 14. stoljeća prilagođena dubrovačkom govoru – što pokazuje veze s čakavskom Dalmacijom, ali ne i čakavsko podrijetlo. Rešetarove analize bile su u tim temama vođene više ideologijom nego činjenicama, pa je u opisu štokavskog dijalekta (1907) čakavski smatrao hrvatskim, a štokavski srpskim. Ta teza vodi podrijetlo još od Miklošiča i Karadžića iz sredine 19. stoljeća (usp. Grčević 1998: 83). Rešetar je do kraja, još i pola stoljeća kasnije, tvrdio (1951: 45) da se u Dubrovniku nikada nije govorilo dalmatinski čakavsko-ikavski, nego uvijek isključivo hercegovački štokavsko-jekavski.

Sljedeći Rešetarov opis štokavskog narječja (1907) i njegovo istraživanje povijesnih vjerskih spomenika nastalih na dubrovačkom području, Ivić je u svojoj knjizi o štokavskom dijalektu (1958: 156-159) iznio jasnu tezu o istočnohercegovačkom podrijetlu dubrovačkog govora (nakon prvobitnog romanskog narječja), koji je preko katoličanstva i kulturnih veza s Dalmacijom dobio „malo čakavizama“ u 15. i 16. st.

Ideju o istočnohercegovačkoštokavskoj osnovici kasnijeg dubrovačkog govora nalazimo i kod Lisca (2003: 110), ali 2008. godine on to jasno ispravlja smatrajući dubrovački govor prvobitno zapadnoštokavskim (usp. Lisac 2008: 15): „U prošlosti je dubrovački govor bio samostalan zapadnoštokavski dijalekt, a u novije doba on čuva dio svojih starih značajki, uz neke izoglose s obližnjom čakavštinom.“ Napomenimo da zapadnoštokavski dijalekt, pored ikavskog ili ikavskojekavskog refleksa jata, nema tako izrazite osobine kao istočnohercegovačkoštokavski, koji se odlikuje svojim inovativnim osobinama kao što su dvosložni refleks dugoga jata i novoštokavski povučeni akcenti te novim, sinkretiziranim deklinacijskim nastavcima, osobito u množini. Zapadnoštokavski dijalekt ima ostatke starijih fonoloških, prozodijskih i morfoloških osobina, uz ograničene inovacije uzrokovane međudijalekatskim utjecajem nastalim tijekom migracija na prijelazu iz srednjega u novi vijek.

Iz kojeg doba potječu zapadnoštokavske izoglose s čakavštinom?

Fancev (1934: III) tvrdi da početak čakavizacije treba datirati ranije, u vrijeme slavenizacije gradova, i da je taj proces povezan s (čakavskom) hrvatskom redakcijom crkvenoslavenskog jezika. Van den Berk (1957) je proučavanjem Della Bellina opisa dubrovačkog dijalekta u 18. stoljeću došao do zaključka da je podrijetlo dubrovačkoga govora u biti čakavsko. Međutim, on nije dovoljno poznavao ni povijest dijalekata, ni dubrovačku situaciju, ni Della Bellino (nedovoljno) vladanje dubrovačkim govorom (usp. Hamm 1962).

2 Dubrovački dijalekat

U klasifikaciji dijalekata Lisac (2003) i drugi autori polaze od sljedećih osnovnih parametara diferencijacije:

- prozodijski sustav
- refleks jata
- *što/ča*.

Koje osobine nalazimo u dubrovačkom dijalektu?

akcenat\slog	jedini	prvi	srednji	zadnji
^	+	+	-	-
``	+	+	+	-
´	+	+	+	-

Tabela 1

Ivić (1958: 148) o prozodijskom sustavu u Dubrovniku njegova vremena

Vidimo da kratkosilazni i dugouzlazni akcenat imaju istu distribuciju; kratkosilazni akcenat odgovara starom kratkosilaznom, ali i novom povučenom akcentu na kratkom slogu osim kanovačke penultime. Ovo bi bilo slično novoštokavskoj akcentuaciji da nema jedne bitne razlike: povučeni akcenat sa zadnjega kratkog sloga na kratki prethodni biva u dubrovačkom kraju produžen (*séstra, jézik*). Taj kanovački akcenat specifičan je za Dubrovnik i dubrovački kraj. Kanovački akcenat obilježava početnu fazu povlačenja akcenta. Proces povlačenja akcenta zbio se u istočnoj Hercegovini vjerojatno između 12. i 14. stoljeća; migracije izazvane turskim napadima u 15. stoljeću pronijele su taj akcenat prema zapadu i sjeveru i izazvale miješanje sa starijim sistemima na tim područjima. Dakle, prvu fazu povlačenja akcenta obilježila je u Dubrovniku specifičnost kakve nije bilo drugdje, a sigurno je nije bilo u istočnohercegovačkom dijalektu.

Kada je i kako mogao nastati takav akcenatski sustav u Dubrovniku?

Pitanje o prvobitnom dubrovačkom dijalektu zapravo je krivo postavljeno, jer Dubrovnik nije prvobitno bio slavenski, nego (prije dolaska Slavena ilirski, pa zatim) romanski. Slavenizacija, u biti pohrvaćivanje Dubrovnika, provodi se kasnije od ostalih većih gradova na obali, pa još u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća (1472) vrijedi odredba da se u Senatu osim raguzanskog (romanskog) ne smije govoriti nijednim drugim jezikom.² Iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka, sve do 15. stoljeća,

potječe čitav niz pravnih spisa pisanih latinskim jezikom pošćropljenim raguzanskim (Becker 2016).

Raguzanski je bio dijalektom dalmatskog jezika, a oskudno ga je zabilježio Filipus de Diversis koji je u periodu od 1434. do 1441. predavao na dubrovačkoj školi; de Diversis jasno navodi da je dubrovačka elita govorila raguzanskim jezikom (usp. izdanje Diversisovih zapisa iz 2004. g.). Zabilježio je tek nešto riječi po kojima se vidi da je raguzanski imao apokopu i degeminiranje geminata (npr. *pannu(m)* > *pan* ‘rubac’) te promjenu *a* > *e* ispred konsonanata koji nisu bili udvostručeni (npr. *pen* < *pāne(m)* ‘kruh’, *chexa* < *cāsa(m)* ‘dom’, *teta* < *tata* ‘otac’, *chebre* < *caprae* ‘koze’). Raguzanskog utjecaja ima i u latinskom jeziku pravnih spisa vezanih za pučane sve do kraja 15. stoljeća (Jireček 1903-4), pa to pokazuje da je pored službenoga latinskog jezika raguzanski bio općim službenim jezikom u Dubrovniku.³

Drugim riječima, Dubrovnik nije prvobitno bio ni štokavski ni čakavski. Od 13. stoljeća u grad dolaze Hrvati iz okolice. U to vrijeme gradom vlada Venecija (1205. – 1358.) i venecijanski utjecaj ostaje dominantnim elementom gradske kulture i jezika i poslije oslobođenja Dubrovnika. Hrvatski je u Dubrovnik ušao kao jezik puka i tek krajem petnaestog stoljeća postao jezikom elite. (Humanist Cerva je u latinski pisanom pismu 1499. g. pisao da se samo djedovi i pradjedovi još služe romanskim, t.j. raguzanskim jezikom.)

Za raguzanski dakle znamo da je imao apokopu (t.j. slabljenje pa gubljenje zadnjeg otvorenog sloga). Baš po tom principu slabljenja zadnjeg otvorenog sloga uz jačanje predzadnjeg sloga provedena je prva faza povlačenja akcenta, koja je u Dubrovniku dala kanovački akcenat (tipa *séstra* umjesto *sěstra*). Nastanak tog akcenta ne može se objasniti drugačije nego tako da su govornici sa starim akcentom dolazili u grad gdje su se govornici raguzanskog trudili da izgovaraju hrvatski – i izgovarali ga u skladu sa svojim raguzanskim prozodijskim sustavom.

Prvo hrvatsko stanovništvo u Dubrovniku sigurno nije bilo novoštokavsko, jer se u novoštokavskom akcenat bio povukao već prije početka slavenizacije Dubrovnika.

Kako se u Dubrovniku govorilo krajem 15. stoljeća kada je u biti napušten raguzanski?

U to vrijeme javlja se već renesansno pjesništvo. Ono pokazuje poznavanje čakavsko-ikavske tradicije direktnim jezičnim kontaktom, a ne imitiranjem čakavskog modela iz Dalmacije, jer je npr. Marulićeva *Judita* objavljena 1521. g., kada je Džore Držić, jedan od vodećih pjesnika, već dva desetljeća bio mrtav (usp. Hamm 1962). Istovremeno, poezija npr. Šiška Menčetića pokazuje da su plemići (u koje je on spadao) govorili starijim tipom jezika koji sigurno nije bio novoštokavski. Ta poezija pokazuje svijest o jezičnim varijantama, npr. kada Džore Držić u svojoj bugarštici pod naslovom *Odiljam se* odabire štokavski ijekavski tip jezika, vrlo različit od njegovih drugih pjesama.

Osim toga, vjerski tekstovi iz 14. stoljeća s područja Dubrovačke republike sadrže hiperjekavizme (usp. Gvozdanović 2017) koje nalazimo još u 16. stoljeću (usp. Grčević 2002). Hiperjekavizmi (pojekavljenje riječi bez prvotnog jata, npr. *bietja = bića* u psalmu 68, izd. Fanceva 1934: 169) siguran su znak da pisac nije govorio (i)jekavski, nego se trudio da se prilagodi (i)jekavskoj normi. Dakle, sigurno je da barem dio stanovništva Dubrovnika nije govorio (i)jekavski.

Pored stilskotematskog razlikovanja, dubrovački pjesnici su upotrebljavali ikavske i (i)jekavske oblike u stilsko-pragmatične svrhe: u ikavskom tekstu bi se pojavio (i)jekavski oblik (često i pored ikavskog oblika iste riječi) kao pragmatički markiran, u fokusu, u sintagmi o kojoj je u sljedećem dijelu teksta dana dodatna informacija. (I)jekavski oblici su u pretežno ikavskom tekstu privlačili pažnju, dok ikavski oblici u jekavskom okružju nisu imali takav efekat. To pokazuje svijest renesansnih pisaca o varijetetima kojima su vladali, ali i to da njihov osnovni, neobilježeni jezik nije bio novoštokavski, iako su štokavštinu relativno dobro poznavali.⁴

3 Zaključak

Zaključno možemo reći da se hrvatski govor u Dubrovniku na početku razvijao u kontaktu s raguzanskim. Grad je od početka bio višejezičan, prvo raguzansko-latinski (latinski jezik bio je visoka varijanta, pismeni jezik). Od 13. st. dolazi venecijanski kao visoka varijanta (pored latinskog i raguzanskog) i hrvatski kao

niska varijanta. Od kraja 15. i početka 16. st. jača utjecaj talijanskog jezika kao visoke varijante (pored latinskog), a raguzanski se gubi. Hrvatski starije provenijencije postaje visoka varijanta renesansne poezije, dok vjerski tekstovi čuvaju duktus staroslavenske tradicije (koja u pisanju jedinstvenog znaka za jat nije razlikovala ijekavsku i ikavsku varijantu).

Mnogojezičnost Dubrovnika bila je čak kompleksnija od većine suvremenih urbanih višejezičnih situacija, a pojednostavljena rješenja prijašnjih dijalektoloških razmatranja sigurno je nisu adekvatno predstavljala.

Sveučilište u Heidelbergu

Bilješke:

- 1 Dubrovački govor zovem dijalektom u skladu s Liscem (npr. 2008).
- 2 Consilium Rogatorum (Ragusa 1472): Prima pars est, quod in consilio nostrorum rogatorum nullus arengans possit uti alia lingua, quam ragusea.
- 3 Bartoli (1906) je u dalmatskom zabilježio dosta posuđenica iz hrvatskog jezika, što svjedoči o bilingvizmu..
- 4 *Što i ča* takkoder supostoje u tekstovima, ali je njihova podjela kompleksnija.

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THE ENIGMAS OF PUŠKIN'S 'TALE OF THE GOLDEN COCKEREL'

Eric de Haard

1 Introduction

The present article is devoted to Puškin's 'Skazka o zolotom petuške' ('Tale of the Golden Cockerel'), the last of the six *skazki* Puškin wrote from 1830 to 1834.¹ It was written in September 1834 and published in 1835 in the May issue of the journal *Biblioteka dlja čtenija*. For this tale Puškin chose a four-foot trochee, with coupled rhymes, alternately masculine and feminine, in all 224 verse lines.

While the narrative unfolds in the simple, clear and laconical style typical of Puškin's prose, the tale is enigmatic, complex and ambiguous in several respects. A brief outline of the basic events will reveal the puzzling gaps and indeterminacies in the story.

Tsar Dadon, ruler of a kingdom, belligerent in his younger years, in old age becomes tired of fighting the enemies surrounding him and desires only peace and quiet. He summons a "мудрец" ("wise man") a "звездочет и скопец" ("astrologer and eunuch"; ll. 27-28), who gives the Tsar a golden cockerel, who (or which?), placed on a spire, serves successfully as a watchman and starts crowing whenever dangers from some side threaten the kingdom. One time the cockerel raises extreme alarm: there is "беда" ("trouble, disaster"; l. 71) in the East. Tsar Dadon sends his eldest son with an army, and as nothing is heard of them, then sends his younger son with an army. As there is no sign of them either, Dadon goes to the East himself with an army. In the mountains he finds the armies. All have been killed and he also finds his two sons, who have plunged their swords into each other (ll. 115-121). Then, from a silken tent there appears a maiden, the "Шамаханская царица" ("Šamachan queen"; l. 134). She invites Tsar Dadon, who has been lamenting the death of his two sons, but he immediately forgets about them and is totally enchanted. He spends a week with her ("пировал";

l. 152), enjoying delicious food and a “парчовая кровать” (“brocade bed”; l. 148) and returns with her to his capital in a chariot. Near the gates the astrologer turns up and demands the promised reward for his service: none other than the Šamachan queen. Tsar Dadon refuses: “И зачем тебе девица?” (“What do you want the maiden for?”; l. 186) and when the astrologer insists, gets angry and kills him with his sceptre, to the great amusement of the queen. However, when they enter the gates, the golden cockerel flies from its perch and pecks Tsar Dadon in the head. He dies too. The queen then vanishes into thin air: “Будто вовсе не бывало” (“as though she had never been there”; l. 222).

It may appear that the events are explicit and unambiguous, but there are lacunae in the logic of relations between them: whereas chronological relations are unproblematical, causal relations between events (that would safeguard a clear and coherent plot), are fuzzy and indeterminate. For instance, we must infer that the tsar’s sons have killed each other for the sake of the Šamachan queen, but how are we to explain that their whole armies have perished? If we look for closure, three main characters are dead or have disappeared, but we are left in the dark about the fate of the cockerel. These uncertainties are entirely determined by the ambiguities, not to say, the complete mist surrounding three characters, with respect to their basic identity and their actantial roles: astrologer, cockerel and Šamachan queen, their mutual relations, their goals and desires that might drive the plot.

The mysteries undermining plot coherence are compounded by other indeterminacies. In part these are characteristic of traditional folk- and fairytales:

1) Time: the usual lack of concreteness of time. Historical time remains unspecified. One may infer: some time in the Middle Ages, as military designations and equipment provide some clues (the archaic word “парь” for “army” (l. 16), “swords” and “armour”). However, this does not mean that plot time is unspecified. On the contrary, after the start of events “one-two years” pass, the main events then occur “after 8 days”, once more “after 8 days”, then after “a week” Tsar Dadon returns.²

2) Space: correspondingly, spatial data are partly unspecified. In the opening lines, the geographical anonymity common in Russian fairytales is maintained:

“Негде, в тридевятом-тридесятом царстве” (“Somewhere, in the thrice-ninth kingdom, in the thrice-tenth realm” ll. 1-2) is the folk cliché of Russian fairytales, however, in the course of Puškin’s tale, space becomes more concretized. The kingdom is represented as centre, the periphery is referred to as the surrounding territories inhabited by enemies. These threaten from “the South” and “the East”, while foes might also invade “from the sea” (ll. 19-23), implying a coastal region West or North. Tsar Dadon’s kingdom has a capital as its first and last setting, presumably walled, as in the final stage he enters the “gate”. As the main episode begins, “беда” (“disaster, misfortune, trouble”; l. 71) is located in “The East”, which assumes more concrete features as the region is described as mountainous, and the female protagonist appearing in this particular setting is named “Шамаханская царица” (“Šamachan queen”), which unambiguously refers to the ancient city in Azerbaijan (see also note 12 below).

3) Characters: the plot with its lacunae and ambiguities hinges upon the identity and mode of existence of the characters, their mutual relations and their roles as actants:

a) Tsar Dadon poses no problems as regards his identity, there is no mystery surrounding him, and initially his desire for peace amounts to the avoidance of any plot development. Admittedly, his actantial role as beneficiary is ambiguous, as it is the converse of the astrologer’s dubious role as donor. Otherwise he is an open book, as his actions and reactions are quite “realistic”, even when he is “околдован” (“bewitched”; l. 151) by the Šamachan queen and suffers the consequences.

However, the other main actors are enigmatic with regard to their very identity, their mode of existence, their actantial roles:

b) The astrologer, “wise man” and “eunuch”, is depicted as Oriental, wearing a “сарачинск[ая] шапк[а] бел[ая]” (“white Saracen hat”; l. 165). He is the only character that undergoes a change – in the last scene he is “поседель” (“grown grey”; l. 166) and old, like Tsar Dadon. He possesses and donates a magical and fantastic object, the golden cockerel, while his role as donor turns out to be a mixed blessing. As in the end he expresses his desire for the Šamachan queen,

there may be grounds for suspecting that there is or has been a hidden relation between them as well.

c) The golden cockerel is enigmatic, by its/his simultaneous existence from metal toy to feathered animal, then to being gifted with human speech. Its role is seemingly that of helper/instrument, but switches to avenger/enemy. It raises the question if the “верный сторож” (“true watchman”; l. 56) was not a false helper and a poisoned gift in the first place. In the end the enigma of the golden cockerel is deepened: we are not told what happened to it/him after the killing of the Tsar.

d) The Šamachan queen is defined by her name and then by the direct characteristic “Вся сияя как заря” (“all shining like the dawn”; l. 135), but otherwise she is only defined by her acts: she smiles, takes Tsar Dadon by the hand, regales him and lays him down to rest on the brocaded bed in her tent. The “девиц[а] молод[ая]” (“young maiden”; l. 155) remains silent until she reacts to the killing of the astrologer by Tsar Dadon: “Хи-хи-хи да ха-ха-ха!” (“‘Hee, hee, hee!’ and ‘Ha, ha, ha!’”; l. 207), followed by the comment “Не боится, знать, греха” (“She clearly has no fear of sin”; l. 208). Ultimately her very existence is put into doubt: “А царица вдруг пропала, / Будто вовсе не бывало” (“But the queen suddenly disappeared, as though she had never been there”; ll. 220-221).

All these uncertainties, lacunae and ambiguities have given rise to various analyses and interpretations, which are naturally much concerned with deeper meanings and the symbolic value of the mysterious characters, and Puškin’s *skazka* as a whole. It has been studied in the frameworks of actual and possible sources and influences, of Puškin’s other works, of his biographical and political circumstances, with the application of various methodologies.

2 Secondary Literature

All these above-mentioned aspects have been dealt with in intratextual, contextual, intertextual, and generally interpretative studies, a number of which I will discuss briefly (and necessarily selectively) in chronological order.

In 1933, Anna Achmatova (1977a) disclosed the primary origin of Puškin’s *skazka*, which may have come as a surprise for some and was a courageous thing to do in the political context of the time. Though Puškin was fully canonized as

national genius only in 1937, the centenary of his death, it was embarrassing for some (Soviet) quarters to learn that crucial sections of the plot originated in the 'Tale of the Arabian Astrologer' by the American Romantic writer Washington Irving. Irving's tale was preceded by a brief note, 'The House with the Weathercock'. Both were part of Irving's book *Tales of the Alhambra*, consisting of notes, tales and descriptions, all connected with the history of, and legends about the city of Granada. It was published in 1832 in several places at once: *The Alhambra: a series of tales and sketches of the Moors and Spaniards* was published in May 1832 in the United States by publishers Lea & Carey and concurrently in England by Henry Colburn.³ In the same year a French translation also appeared, which is known to have been part of Puškin's library. This testifies to the immense popularity of Irving worldwide, including Russia. Reviews of the book appeared in Russia in the same year, as well as Russian translations of separate stories (Achmatova 1977: 9-11).

Achmatova (1977) carried out a detailed comparison with Irving's tale, establishing the common core of plot, characters and several motifs. To mention the main points: the Muslim ruler of Granada Aben Habuz "languishes for repose" but is attacked by enemies. The Arabian astrologer/sorcerer Ibrahim arrives at his court and helps the king out by providing him with a bronze horseman, placed on a pivot, armed with a shield and lance, who points his lance in the direction from which dangers are threatening.⁴ This helps the king to repel all his enemies. Then one day the bronze horseman points his lance towards approaching danger in the mountains, but no enemies are to be found there, only a beautiful "Gothic" (Christian) princess. The king falls for her completely and spends Granada's whole treasury on her. Then the astrologer demands the princess as a reward for his services. When the king refuses, the astrologer and the princess disappear in a hole and the earth closes over them. Later King Aben Habuz dies.⁵

Through Achmatova's analysis the differences – Puškin's innovations – come to the fore. These amount mainly to the elimination of a number of episodes and the almost total reduction of Irving's elaborate characterization of both sorcerer/astrologer and the "damsel of surpassing beauty". Among the differences

between Irving's and Puškin's texts Achmatova also notes such significant changes as the fact that the cockerel made of metal is more human: it *speaks* (as opposed to the gestures of Irving's bronze horseman). She discusses the different portraiture of the astrologer, whose previous exploits and role in the present are eliminated by Puškin. However, merely as an aside (at the end of her article and in connection with Puškin's drafts to his *skazka*) she mentions one highly significant addition only in passing (Achmatova 1977a: 38), viz. that Puškin turned the astrologer (a lecher in Irving's original) into a eunuch ("сконеч"; l. 28 and repeated in l. 167), if only to allow for the joke of the eunuch demanding the Šamachan queen as a reward for his services. Possibly this detail was too delicate to discuss in 1933.

Achmatova also noted further differences with the poetics of authentic Russian folk- and fairytales and pointed to the largely colloquial and ironic style of Puškin's tale. She advanced the tale's interpretation as a veiled political satire, inevitably also entailing a strong biographical-personal component: Puškin's precarious relationships with the successive "real" tsars Alexander I and Nicholas I, the first being the embodiment of a "lazy tsar", the second – of an autocratic ruler.⁶

Roman Jakobson (1987) added a significant dimension to the literature on 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel' in his article 'The Statue in Puškin's Poetic Mythology' (first published in Czech in 1937; an English translation revised in 1975), as he placed it firmly within the framework of Puškin's oeuvre, in particular three of his works in which "the title indicates not a living person but a statue, a plastic representation, [...] in each case an epithet defines the material of which the statue is made" (1987: 321): 'The Stone Guest', 'The Bronze Horseman' and 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel', more or less belonging to the same period (1830-1834). All three are "destructive statues", that are made of a specific material, but all three come alive too. They are also the real heroes of their tales, rather than the male characters figuring in them. In fact, the three works share the same "plot kernel". As formulated by Jakobson (1987: 321-325): "1) A man is weary, he settles down, he longs for rest, and this motif is intertwined with desire for a woman". "2) The statue, more precisely the being which is inseparably connected with the statue, has a supernatural, unfathomable power over this

desired woman". "3) After a vain resistance the man perishes through the intervention of the statue, which has miraculously set itself into motion, and the woman vanishes". Jakobson further notes some details that these works have in common: e.g. the events take place in capitals (327) and he points to the important motif of the astrologer being castrated (328).⁷

One may object that 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel' does not completely fit in this scheme: as to 1), Tsar Dadon's life of peace and quiet is not so much intertwined with desire for a woman, as fatally upturned by it. As to 2), from the scant clues Puškin provides us with, we may interpret the Šamachan queen as a fully autonomous female figure. Like Tsar Dadon, the astrologer, "even though" he is castrated, falls victim to her irresistible charm. If the astrologer has a secret bond with, or power over her (all three – astrologer, queen and cockerel – participating in some diabolical pact), then he certainly loses control in the final stages of the story. This takes nothing away from the common core, which implies that, like in Puškin's other two works, there is an inseparable (in fact metonymical (1987: 322 and 525n.)) bond between astrologer and cockerel and that the latter is certainly a "destructive statue" like the Commander (Don Al'var) and The Bronze Horseman (Peter I). Thus Jakobson located 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel' quite firmly in Puškin's personal – sculptural – myth, not ignoring its biographical aspects (1987: 330ff.): Puškin's marital and financial affairs and inevitably, his complicated relations with Tsar and court, his wish to become (court) historian (already dealt with by Achmatova 1977: 28-34).

Andrew Kodjak (Kodžak 1978) carried out an extensive analysis of stylistic registers in Puškin's tale, showing the great variety in the linguistic repertoire of the narrator and the characters. Very much unlike traditional folktales, Puškin exploits vulgar, colloquial, folksy, officialese, bookish, "literary", speech. This does not lead to a mere indiscriminate mixture of these registers, but results in individualized speech, including the narrator's, who adopts and moves between various points of view, as he incorporates stylistic features of the character (mainly Tsar Dadon, but e.g. "the people", as a collective, as well). This finds expression in dialogue (direct discourse) and also in forms of free indirect discourse, which are uncharacteristic of traditional folk- and fairytales. In a separate section Kodjak

examines other linguo-stylistic features of Puškin's tale, such as the use of prepositional constructions and the pervasive occurrence of ternary structuring on the morphological, lexical, syntactic, and narrative levels. In his conclusion Kodjak states that 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel' should be read in a political-historical-philosophical key, rather than as a "simple" satire. Ultimately, the main themes are the exposure of degradation of the ruler and eventual regicide, thus linking the tale not so much to Puškin's other *skazki* as to 'The Bronze Horseman' and *Boris Godunov* (1978: 371-372).

In the wake of perestroika there was room in Russia for other than the stereotyped Soviet views on Puškin's tale. These had usually amounted to stating that Puškin's message was a critique of the tsarist regime (motivated by his personal sufferings) and attempting to read it as a realistic and very serious text. This approach required ignoring essential aspects of the text such as its non-Russian origins, black humour, plot incoherence, absurdity and eroticism. Both Russian and Western scholars now turned increasingly towards these and other features.

In her article from 1992 'K probleme značenija simvola "zolotoj petušok" v skazke Puškina' ('On the Problem of the Meaning of the Symbol "the Golden Cockerel" in Puškin's Tale') Elena Pogosjan focuses on the manifold characteristics and functions of the golden cockerel, as the semantic lacunae in the tale require filling-in, in order to establish its symbolic meaning. Firstly, the cockerel functions as watchman ("сторож"; l. 36), a role fulfilled by a bird of paradise ("райская птица") in poems by Deržavin and Lermontov. Puškin's own earlier works provide clues to the symbolic meanings of the golden cockerel. Passages in 'Ruslan and Ljudmila' and the 'Gavriliada' support its interpretation as an erotic symbol. When the astrologer donates the cockerel to Tsar Dadon this embodies a transfer of potency to the old Tsar. In the finale, it is emphasized that the astrologer has become old as well. In the end, according to Pogosjan, the cockerel also stands as a symbol of (tsarist) power – it has also been regarded as a caricature of the double-headed eagle, the symbol of the Russian state. Finally, the cockerel can be seen as an evil power that is instrumental in destroying Tsar Dadon's capital. Here Pogosjan draws attention to Voltaire's tale 'The Princess of

Babylon', in which a fantastic bird plays a comparable fatal role. Pogosjan emphasizes that these symbolic values of the title character may be all valid but do not fit into a single clear plot. On the contrary, she concludes that "Puškin intentionally destroys any consistent movement of semantics and plot in 'Zolotoj petušok'" (1992: 107).

Departing from Jakobson's statement about the metonymical relationship between astrologer and the cockerel, in his brief note from 1992 "Žezlom po lbu" ("With his Sceptre on the Forehead") Michail Bezrodnyj concretizes this relationship as a synecdoche, more precisely a *pars pro toto*: the cockerel is a (disjointed) part of its owner. Bezrodnyj further adduces the worldwide mythological symbolism of the cock(erel): "vitality, vigilance, perspicacity, bellicosity" (1992: 23), but also "creativity, sex, power, lust". Focusing on the erotic/sexual meanings, he points to the use of "петух" ("cock") as male organ in "children's folklore and wedding rituals" (24).⁸ Bezrodnyj connects this with the whole repertoire of bird comparisons and metaphors that Puškin crams into the limited space of 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel'. Indeed, a whole aviary is represented here. Besides the golden cockerel we find Dadon's sons: "[...] Попались в сети / Оба наши сокола" ("[...] Both our falcons have fallen into snares", ll. 126-127). Immediately afterwards Tsar Dadon himself is likened to a bird: "Как пред солнцем птица ночи / Царь умолк" ("Like a bird of night before the sun the Tsar fell silent"; ll. 137-138). And finally about the astrologer: "Весь как лебедь поседелый / Старый друг его, скопец" ("with his hair all white like a swan, his old friend the eunuch"; ll. 166-167). For further analogies Bezrodnyj points to the occurrence of the "independent" life of sexual organs in Puškin's "unprintable" 'Tsar Nikita and his Forty Daughters' (1992: 25). And in the obscene – equally unprintable – national epic 'Luka Mudiščev' a character is struck on the forehead with a male organ – to which Puškin alludes with Tsar Dadon striking the astrologer "жезлом по лбу" ("with his sceptre on the forehead"; ll. 203-204). The same motif is prominent in one of Puškin's other *skazki* – 'Skazka' o pope i rabotnike ego Balde' ('The Tale of the Priest and His Workman Balda'; see below) where the workman has the right to give the priest "three raps" on the head if he fulfils all the tasks assigned to him. Bezrodnyj's focus

on sexual/erotic meanings leads him to find (feminine) erotic symbolism in the mountains and ravine which provide the setting for the appearance of the Šamachan queen. Thus Bezrodnyj, we might say, gives a maximally erotic/sexual interpretation of ‘The Tale of the Golden Cockerel’.

Bezrodnyj also refers to the article by Igor’ P. Smirnov from 1991, ‘Kastracionnyj kompleks v lirike Puškina (Metodologičeskie zametki)’ (‘The Castration Complex in Puškin’s Lyric Poetry (Methodological Notes)’; expanded version in Smirnov 1994). Here one might expect to find some comments on Puškin’s tale. However, Smirnov distinguishes between direct and oblique reflections of the “castration complex” (1994: 28) and is mainly concerned with its oblique reflections in Puškin’s lyric poetry (in particular his poems about love and creativity; 22), and ultimately, in the whole movement of Romanticism, the defining feature of which is this very castration complex, according to Smirnov.

In his article “Skazka o zolotom petuške” (opyt analiza sjužetnoj semantiki)’ (“The Tale of the Golden Cockerel” (Towards an Analysis of the Semantics of the Plot)) from 1995, V. Ė. Vacuro is concerned with several aspects of the tale that have been treated in the secondary literature. He refers to one simple interpretation: S. Bondi’s statement that the tale’s moral is just to show the devastating effects of female charms in a humourous form (1995: 121). This is also the explanation of the tale’s famous final distich: “Сказка ложь, да в ней намек! / Добрым молодцам урок” (“The tale is not true, but there’s a hint in it, a lesson for fine lads!”; ll. 223-224). One may add here that at least the censor Nikitenko thought much more of it – as having a political dimension – and crossed out these lines in the first publication. Further Vacuro expands Achmatova’s findings of Irving as a source, and discusses some of Irving’s own sources in turn. The author mentions another probable pre-text (discussed by the scholar M. P. Alekseev, actually also treated by A. Mazon in 1939), the Sturm-und-Drang writer Friedrich Maximilian Klingler’s *Geschichte vom Goldenen Hahn* (1784), later revised as *Sabir* (1797).⁹

Vacuro warns against fruitless attempts to look for the individual-psychological principle as the narrative dominant of ‘The Tale of the Golden Cockerel’ (1995: 126), however, he is interested in its moral aspects, rejecting the

view of its “merely facetious” character (133). Not taking the title designation “skazka” for granted, Vacuro measures the tale against the genre specifics of the Russian fairytale in order to evaluate the characters and to establish who is the main hero. This is not Tsar Dadon, though he is the “bearer of the plot”: a tsar cannot be the hero in a fairytale (he only gives tasks to the young hero and rewards), so Dadon is a parody of a fairytale tsar, also because of being old and lazy. The astrologer plays his role (Propp’s function of donor), but his donation has dubious consequences. Vacuro speaks of an “обманный договор” (“fraudulent pact”; 129), and, though he recognises that “it is a tale without positive heroes” (128), he denies that the astrologer is simply a villain (cf. Achmatova’s impression that the narrator speaks of him “с нежностью” (“with tenderness”); Achmatova 1977a: 23). Finally, the Šamachan queen is a parody of the Russian fairytale’s “Царь-девица” (“Tsar-maiden”; Vacuro 1995: 131). She is first introduced as such (according to the cliché of gallant invitation and feeding the “hero”), but sets the final “grotesque” events in motion by evoking “лихорадка любовной страсти” (“the fever of amorous passion”; 133), as Vacuro puts it.

In his article from 2007 “Skazka o zolotom petuške” A. S. Puškina: sjužet o dobyvanii bedy’ (‘A. S. Puškin’s “Tale of The Golden Cockerel”: a Plot about the Acquisition of Misfortune’), O. B. Zaslavskij, like V. Ė. Vacuro, takes the traditional Russian fairytale scheme as a point of departure, and states that in the literature the fact of the astrologer’s castratedness has either been neglected (with the exception of Bezrodnyj 1992) or irrelevantly connected with the *skopcy* sect. Actually, “castration” is, apart from a thematic entity, the whole constructive principle on both macro- and microlevel of the tale. The plot is constructed through “castrating” deformation of the (common) fairytale plot. What takes place is the inversion, defectiveness or absence of the plot principle. The events occurring to Tsar Dadon are inevitable, in fact the inversion of the “normal” plot consists in Dadon seeking, striving towards, “беда” (“misfortune, disaster”). And this “беда” is the key motif in the whole story. This is already hinted at in the lines saying that the cockerel is there to warn against military dangers “[...] *Иль* другой беды незваной” (“or another uncalled-for disaster”; l. 42). Soon the Šamachan

queen turns out to be the personified real disaster (2007: 244). The abstract nature of the “беда-царица” (“misfortune-maiden”) is enhanced by the complete lack of portraiture of the Šamachan queen, and by her disappearance at the end of the tale (245). Thus the paradoxical plot impulse is a “недостача беды” (“deficit of misfortune/disaster”). The road towards “disaster” is indicated by the cockerel, who in turn has been provided by the astrologer/eunuch, whose basic characteristic is precisely a physical “нехватка” (“lack”; 250). If Tsar Dadon would yield the queen to the astrologer, it would mean one other motif of “deprivation”. But not only Tsar Dadon looks for disaster, the astrologer from donor changes also into an “искатель” (“seeker”) of “беда” (250). Zaslavskij concludes that in Puškin’s tale common elements of the Russian fairytale are integrated into a whole, that fundamentally distorts the standard fairytale structure.

More recently M. Paščenko (2009), in the article “Skazka o zolotom petuške”: skazka-lož’ i skazka-pravda’ (“The Tale of the Golden Cockerel”; Fairytale Lie and Fairytale Truth’), provided more background information that might help interpret Puškin’s tale concerning, among other things, the traditional symbolism of the cock(erel) and other birds, and Washington Irving’s oriental sources. The author also connects the figure of the golden cockerel with various creeds and beliefs. Some of these beliefs practice heliolatry and/or developed the concept of the “Evil Sun”. Puškin might have been familiar with these beliefs through his travels (Moldavia, Erzrum) and through his experience as a Freemason. Paščenko also points to Klinger’s novel as a possible pre-text.

Thus, from this multitude of different viewpoints and interpretations a choice between them as the only correct one(s) (in spite of claims to the contrary) appears impossible and unnecessary. Puškin’s tale remains an interpretative enigma, but only conditionally. To my mind, all these viewpoints contain valuable elements. All the structural gaps on the levels of semantic coherence, plot coherence, and characters’ identities, psychology and moral purport – whether regarded as contrary or contradictory – are inherent in the tale and, in spite of considerations of “authorial fallacy”, must fully be attributed to Puškin’s intentions.

While some efforts to read the tale in a sexual/erotic and diabolical key may seem exaggerated, those who ignore or belittle this aspect seem to miss something. Apart from personal misgivings, this can be certainly explained by political difficulties and risks (perhaps in the case of Achmatova), as the Soviet scholarly tradition was determined by both pruderie and ideological requirements. 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel' was to be read as a satire about tsars, one should emphasize the "народность" ("national character") and not pay too much attention to the foreign origin of this and other works of Puškin.

At any rate, the characters make up a set of anti-heroes. The whole tale amounts to a depiction of most, if not all capital vices: sloth, greed, gluttony, lust, wrath and envy. Of course, most of these are punished in the end, but evil ("беда" - disaster) triumphs, even though it was "as if it/she did not exist". Besides, though violence in traditional fairytales is a staple ingredient, the savage killing in the tale is far above the average. All the more surprising is the reception of 'The Tale of the Golden Cockerel' in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when, along with Puškin's other *skazki*, it gradually slipped down into the domain of children's literature. This afterlife of the tale will be further discussed in section 4.

3 V. I. Bel'skij's libretto for Rimskij-Korsakov's Opera *Zolotoj petušok*

One particular important event in the afterlife of Puškin's 'Tale of the Golden Cockerel' is Rimskij-Korsakov's opera *Zolotoj petušok*, also known under the title *Le Coq d'or*. The opera may be regarded as a specific adaptation, and interpretation in the widest sense. As a widely known and prestigious cultural achievement it may have influenced in its turn the image and subsequent interpretations of Puškin's original tale.

The opera was written and composed in 1907-1908, based on the libretto by Vladimir Bel'skij, in a degree of cooperation with the composer. First the opera did not pass censorship, and only after Rimskij-Korsakov's death in 1908 the premiere took place, in 1909.¹⁰ Bel'skij and Rimskij-Korsakov had to turn Puškin's tale into a full-length opera, from 224 verse lines to three acts with a short prologue and epilogue. This required expanding Puškin's nucleus and

adding much new material. With respect to the versification – Puškin’s four-foot trochee with paired alternating masculine and feminine rhymes – Bel’skij quite successfully preserves these formal properties in the new parts he created, with the exception of a number of inserted songs in iambs in order to differentiate these from the more folksy trochee.

Some of Puškin’s lines and larger fragments are retained and integrated in the new text. Sometimes the direct discourse in Puškin’s text is used, other fragments have been adapted, for instance, Puškin’s narrator’s text is assigned to characters with a transposition of third person to first, mostly Dadon’s words. The plot of the libretto is essentially identical, but expansion is achieved by means of repetition and the introduction of new roles and characters.

Tsar Dodon¹¹ is now surrounded by boyars and servants, the people (“народ”) are given voices and they comment on the events. Dadon’s sons have names (Afron and Gvidon) and have been assigned rather comical roles, actually as spoiled idiots, who want to avoid all (military) activity and are more concerned with food, drink and girls. Nevertheless their fate is the same as in Puškin’s tale: they are sent on campaign to the East together, admonished by their father “not to quarrel” and obviously kill each other. Bel’skij also added the figure of the commander of Tsar Dodon’s army, named Polkan, who is a more down-to-earth character and provides comic relief in some scenes.

An important addition is the role of the tsar’s housekeeper Amelfa, who doubles the female presence in the story. On the one hand, she is introduced as a counterpart and contrasted with the Šamachan queen, on the other hand, she is also gifted with supernatural faculties (or she pretends to be). She understands the language of Tsar Dodon’s parrot (another addition to the whole collection of birds, obviously as a comical foil to the golden cockerel). It becomes clear that the tsar is entirely dependent upon Amelfa: she is the real power behind the throne, his partner in lazy slumber, “reads” Dodon’s erotic dream of a beautiful maiden. It can be regarded as a prophetic dream and an anticipation of future events.

As concerns Puškin’s original characters, Tsar Dodon remains essentially the same, but some of his basic features have been enlarged. Thus with the expansion of his speech and behaviour comes stronger autocratic despotism (“По законам?

Что за слово?"; "According to the law? What kind of word is that?"), as he bosses around and intimidates his boyars and courtiers. His sloth and desire of rest and sleep are blown up, as he is resting, slumbering and dreaming on a bed, pampered by Amelfa (anticipating his seduction in the final act). Possibly Bel'skij was inspired here by a nineteenth-century literary character after Puškin's time, Gončarov's Oblomov.

The astrologer is basically the same with respect to his plot function, he donates the golden cockerel to the tsar and in the finale he claims the queen as a reward. But a significant difference is that Puškin's gag of his being castrated is omitted. However, in a dramatic innovation Bel'skij assigns an additional role as speaker in the prologue and epilogue (see below) to the astrologer. In the introduction to the opera, addressed to the public, he speaks of himself as "КОЛДУН" ("sorcerer"), and Puškin's final lines "Сказка ложь, да в ней намек / Добрым молодцам урок" ("The tale is not true, but there's a hint in it, a lesson for fine lads!") are used as a starting point.

Whereas the explicit characteristics of the Šamachan¹² queen in Puškin's tale are limited to an absolute minimum ("девица [...] вся сияя как заря" – "a maiden [...] all shining like the dawn"; ll. 133-135) and her only utterance is "Хи-хи-хи да ха-ха-ха!" ("Hee, hee, hee!" and 'Ha, ha, ha!"; l. 207) in reaction to the killing of the astrologer, in the opera her character is expanded to a full-blown role. The process of her enchanting Tsar Dodon is greatly enlarged into a whole episode, in which she offers food and drink, delivers monologues, sings a number of songs,¹³ dances, and proudly describes her own beauty (which results in a narcissistic verbal striptease), when Tsar Dodon is lost for words to do so. The episode shows her flirtatious play of attracting and repelling the helpless Dodon. However, the eroticism she displays in the scene is counterbalanced by the comical reactions of Dodon and the sobering realistic remarks by his general Polkan. Another addition that broadens the proportions of the opera is the queen's entourage of servants and strange creatures that also accompany her and the tsar on the return to the capital.

The golden cockerel is essentially the same character and plays the same role. Whereas in Puškin's tale it crows "Кири-ку-ку. / Царствуй, лежа на боку"

(“Kiri-ku-ku. Reign lying on your side”; ll. 59-60) a new variant is introduced in the libretto, as it also warns of danger: “Берегись, будь на чеку!” (“Be careful, be alert!”). And in the final scene it announces its deadly attack on the tsar: “В темя клюну старику!” (“I will peck the old man’s pate!”). The last act ends in “complete darkness”, and both the queen and the cockerel (unlike in Puškin’s tale) have vanished, leaving “the people” in disarray and (melo)dramatic lamenting and crying. But the libretto ends with an epilogue, in which the astrologer appears again, with an unexpected turn – in the same vein as Puškin’s original denouement, but in an exact inversion: “Разве я лишь да царица / были здесь живые лица, / остальные – бред, мечта, / призрак бледный, пустота...” (“Only the queen and I / were living persons here, / the rest of them are hallucination, dream, / pale vision, emptiness...”).

This ending, among other things, reflects the symbolist-decadent fashion of the first decade of the twentieth century. This is also strongly felt in the inserted songs and monologues of the Šamachan queen and in the elaborate impressionistic – often far from practical – stage directions. On the whole, Rimskij-Korsakov’s opera, and Bel’skij’s libretto in particular, remain true to Puškin’s original. However, they inevitably had to expand and modify the tale. Most importantly, they reinforce the political-satirical tendency and comical effects, but the erotic-hedonistic component as well.

4 Children’s Literature(?)

Puškin’s tale has led to a whole tradition of illustrations and, later, cartoons, which may be regarded as as many interpretations. New illustrations appear to the present day, which vary from highly sophisticated to childishly silly, but on the whole these tend to mollify the tale’s harsher aspects. This process runs parallel to the gradual expansion of Russian folk- and fairytales into the realm of children’s literature. In Russia children’s literature already existed in Puškin’s time, but his *skazki* were aimed at an adult reading public only.¹⁴

Thus an enigma of a different order than the meanings and purport of Puškin’s tale is posed by its inclusion in the domain of children’s literature. Even more surprising is its place in the school curriculum, from Soviet times¹⁵ to the

present day, and even more so because it is treated in the fourth, even third classes (ten/eleven-year-olds). One explanation is that Puškin's authority and genius are a sufficient guarantee and reason to make all his works obligatory reading. Another, more concrete, explanation could be that Puškin's *skazki* have been adopted by parents and educators as a homogeneous group, on grounds of the genre designation in the titles. To a degree this could be justified by the fact that Puškin did not differentiate them and intended to publish them as one group in a prospective book or book section (cf. Puškin 1977: 434).

Three of Puškin's *skazki* (not in chronological order) are innocuous enough as to deem them suited for children: 'Skazka o medvediche' ('The Tale of the She-Bear'; ca. 1830; unfinished), 'Skazka o rybake i rybke' ('The Tale of the Fisherman and the Little Fish'; 1833) and 'Skazka o mertvoj carevne i o semi bogatyrych' ('The Tale of the Dead Tsarevna and the Seven Heroes'; 1833) – which is not to say that they cannot be appreciated by adult readers and do not require "adult" analysis and interpretation. The fourth, the longest and most popular, 'Skazka o care Saltane' ('The Tale of Tsar Saltan'; 1831), contains some cruelty, but as is generally known, many children will appreciate violence, especially if there is a happy ending and the villains are punished.¹⁶

The fifth tale, the absurd-fantastic 'Skazka o pope i rabotnike ego Balde' ('The Tale of the Priest and his Workman Balda'; 1830), is potentially embarrassing for those familiar with the folktale variants about these two characters that belong to the corpus of obscene Russian folktales (*zavetnye skazki*), in which the priest's wife and his daughter play their role ("Попадья Балдой не нахвалится, / Поповна о Балде лишь и печалится" ("The priest's wife is full of praise for Balda, / The priest's daughter only grieves about Balda"); Puškin 1977: 306; cf. Bezrodnyj 1992). It is worth noting that this is also a story about a very unpleasant reward, promised (admittedly, known in advance) for services rendered. Its rather cruel ending (after fulfilling all his tasks Balda is entitled to give the priest three raps on the head) is followed by an explicit moral: "He гонялся бы ты, поп, за дешевизной" ("Priest, you shouldn't have hunted for a bargain"; Puškin 1977: 308). In Soviet times this ending was seen as a victory of the workers over the clergy and ruling classes.

However, ‘The Tale of the Golden Cockerel’ would seem to present more difficulties as (obligatory) reading for children.¹⁷ As pointed out above, there are no positive heroes, violence is excessive, a field is strewn with corpses and drenched with blood, two tsareviches manage to kill each other. The main characters are killed or killers, or both, the “heroine” is the cause of it all and the only sound she utters is her laughter at the killing of the astrologer. Even if we do not go to such lengths in interpretation as Bezrodnyj (1992), most potentially embarrassing for children and their educators would seem to be the erotic/sexual aspects of the story, in the person of the Šamachan queen, her fatal attraction leading to the mutual fratricide of the tsar’s sons, immediately forgotten by Tsar Dadon, the week spent in her tent, enjoying “all kinds of food” and her “brocaded bed”. Most difficult to grasp or explain would seem the sexual-physiological fact of the astrologer-wise man being castrated and its implications. What is a “скопец” (“eunuch”), a ten-year-old may ask. Even when this is explained, would he or she understand the joke, as the tsar asks what the eunuch needs the queen for?

In order to find some answers I consulted a limited – and perhaps not quite representative – number of reports, model lessons and recommendations for dealing with ‘The Tale of the Golden Cockerel’ in school. In all of these the more precarious motifs are absent. In one report a list of “archaic” (“not understandable for everybody”) words is included: here “скопец” is explained as the equivalent of “старец” (“elder”).¹⁸

In Soviet times, the focus would have been on a political-satirical interpretation and the tale would have been read as Puškin’s criticism of the tsarist autocracy, of Alexander I, Nicholas I and their despicable regime. Puškin’s “народность” (sympathy and understanding of “the common people”) would have been emphasized and perhaps his personal problems with the Tsars. More recent model lessons and reports hardly show a politicized view. On the whole they are almost exclusively concerned with the moral aspects of Tsar Dadon as actor and character. This is made explicit in the many claims that the reading and lesson should be aimed at the “нравственное воспитание” (“moral education”) of the pupils. Thus in one model lesson the pupils are asked to “analyse” the text (or told by the teacher) and list the characteristics of Tsar Dadon. He is

“quarrelsome”, “threatening”, “helpless”, “greedy”, “злой” (interpreted as “evil”, rather than “angry”, cf. l. 22). He is “stupid”, “cruel”, “capricious”, and the children must identify the fragments, in which these qualifications (most of them not occurring in the text) become obvious.¹⁹

Thus the emphasis is all on the moral portraiture of Tsar Dadon. Accordingly, the focus in the finale of the story is on the punishment of the tsar. In one report the pupils are asked: who punished the tsar and why? The answer lies in his faults: “He is careless and cruel, he acts thoughtlessly and he does not really love his country, nor his sons.” Accordingly, the cockerel is seen as a “symbol of good and justice” and it rightly punishes the Tsar, who as a result “утомонился” (“calmed down”), rather an understatement of the Tsar’s killing. Predictably, this moral is supported by Puškin’s final lines “Сказка ложь, да в ней намек! / Добрым молодцам урок” (“The tale is not true, but there’s a hint in it, a lesson for fine lads!”).²⁰

However, to do justice to some model lessons, sometimes more sophisticated aspects are touched upon, perhaps a little prematurely as it is intended for the third class. Suggestions here include paying attention to such aspects of the tale as the time structure, to the similes used in connection with the characters, symbolism, the proportions of the real and the fantastic, the differences between a literary fairytale and an original folktale. However, none of these points are concretized in possible instruction (or e.g. participation in a questionnaire) for the pupils.²¹ And for older children (seventh class) a lesson is devoted to a comparison of ‘The Tale of the Golden Cockerel’ and Irving’s ‘Tale of the Arabian Astrologer’, with fragments from Rimskij-Korsakov’s opera as background material.²²

Thus, in general, the touchier aspects of sex and excessive violence, as well as Puškin’s irony and ambiguities are all neglected, as Puškin’s *skazka* is mostly grossly simplified. It is used for simple moral lessons, such as “one should keep one’s promise” or “one should not give promises thoughtlessly”, or the simplest: “do good, don’t be bad and cruel.” At this early stage it is subordinated to educational purposes²³ and is part of the ongoing Puškin cult. To conclude, here is one specimen of obligatory Puškin glorification, which the children are invited to

sing:²⁴ “Пушкинская страна, / Пушкинская страна, / Это страна волшебных сказок, / Тайн и чудес полна. / Пушкинская страна, / Пушкинская страна, / Там, где всегда светло и ясно, / Где круглый год весна.” (“Puškin land, / Puškin land / It is the land of fairy tales, / Full of mysteries and miracles. / Puškin land, / Puškin land, / Where it’s always bright and clear, / Where it’s springtime all year long”).

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Notes

- 1 References are to Puškin (1977: 358-363), indicated by line numbers. I have used the prose translation by John Fennell (Pushkin 1964: 223-233). For an inventive verse rendition that retains Puškin’s original four-foot trochees with alternating masculine and feminine coupled rhymes, see Babette Deutsch’s translation in Pushkin (n.y.: 322-329). All other translations are my own. The term *skazka* may be translated as “tale”, “folk tale” or “fairy tale”. I will use these terms wherever one is preferable, or leave *skazka* untranslated.
- 2 This is very much reminiscent of the abundant exact time indications in Puškin’s ‘Pikovaja dama’ (‘Queen of Spades’) from a year earlier.
- 3 The full title of Irving’s book was *Alhambra or the New Sketchbook* (ed. Galignani. Paris. 1832), not mentioned by Achmatova.
- 4 It may be noted that in Puškin’s drawing of the golden cockerel (see Cjavlovskaja 1986: 111) he included a shield and a lance. Both do not occur in Puškin’s tale.
- 5 As already mentioned, a weathercock figures in the short note ‘The House with the Weathercock’, which precedes Irving’s ‘Tale of the Arabian Astrologer’, but it also occurs in the tale itself: the astrologer Ibrahim tells Aben Habuz about a construction he has seen in the city of Borsa in Egypt: “A great marvel devised by a pagan priestess of old [...] a figure of a ram, and above it a figure of a cock, both of molten brass, and turning upon a pivot. Whenever the country was threatened with invasion, the ram would turn in the direction of the enemy, and the cock would crow [...]” (Irving 2001: 113).
- 6 In another article, from 1939, Achmatova (1977b) discussed Puškin’s drafts for ‘The Golden Cockerel’ and revealed that motifs from Irving’s tale were used by Puškin in his unfinished poem from 1833 “Car’ uvidel pred soboj...” (“The tsar saw before him...”).
- 7 It has been observed that, somewhat surprisingly, Jakobson did not treat ‘The Queen of Spades’ (1833) under these aspects, since many, if not all, of his criteria apply to Puškin’s prose story (cf. Lotman 1995: 809). It may be objected that a playing card is not a “statue” (or “sculptural” entity), but then neither can the cockerel be called a “statue”. In the ‘Queen of Spades’ the countess is alternately mobile and immobile, winking twice – as a corpse and as a playing card (cf. Lotman: *ibid.*). It may be argued that matters are complicated by Puškin’s deliberate blurring of the exact nature of Germann’s material or sexual desires: Financial independence? Gold as material? Lizaveta Ivanovna? The countess herself as an object, rather than a means to an end?
- 8 Russian “петух” does not have the same common alternative meaning as English “cock”. Cf. the more veiled “cockerel” (“петушок”).
- 9 In Klinger’s fantastic-philosophical novel, *The Golden Cockerel* is the protector of the Circassian sultanate, ensuring “the peace of the sultan and his kingdom”. Long ago it has been given

THE ENIGMAS OF PUŠKIN'S 'TALE OF THE GOLDEN COCKEREL'

by the good fairy Morena. It is described as this "little golden cockerel, the minutest thing in the world: it was gold-coloured, with a beautiful blood-red crest and silver-grey little feet. It did not eat or drink, it lived on its sad thoughts, its lofty philosophical contemplations, its future prospects and hopes and crowed at the usual hours like every ordinary house cock" (Klinger 1842: 5; in the original "Hahn" and "Hähnchen" occur alternately). The cockerel is stolen and, when retrieved, it turns out to be the incarnation of Sahir, the first-born son of Eve, "the genius of enlightenment and humanity", who had been turned into a cock by the fairy Morena.

10 Here we limit ourselves to a brief comparison of the two texts, the original tale and the libretto. A fully detailed investigation should include analyses of Rimskij-Korsakov's musical composition (vocal and orchestral), of concrete performances, which add other layers of interpretation, for instance, with regard to attempting to follow (or ignore) Bel'skij's quite extensive and complicated stage directions. Some of these have a strong narrative and descriptive component, aimed at evoking atmosphere and mood, but are quite impressionistic, e.g. reflecting the inner life of characters. Further analysis of performances should consider choice of costumes, scenery, lighting, props, acting, choreography, etc.

11 Bel'skij spells "Додон" ("Dodón") instead of Puškin's "Дадон" ("Dadón"). Dodon is the usual spelling of the name of the tsar who figures in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century copies of the widely popular tale 'Bova Korolevič'. There is no difference in pronunciation. For a long time (as early as 1822 and as late as 1834) Puškin made plans for a *skazka* about this hero (1977: 291-293 and 431-433).

12 Bel'skij spells "Шемаханская царица" ("Šemachan queen") instead of Puškin's "Шамаханская" ("Šamachan"). This can be explained by the original name of the historic city in Azerbaijan, which in Azerbaijani is: "Şamaxı". In Russian there is little or no difference in pronunciation. In his translation (Pushkin 1964) Fennell tacitly corrects Puškin and writes "Shemakhan".

13 In the first song of the Šemachan queen she addresses the sun: "Ответь мне, зоркое светило" ("Answer me, all-seeing luminary"). The preceding stage direction reads: "The beautiful woman, as if she does not notice anything, turns to the bright sun, raises her arms in prayer". This would seem to support (or have inspired?) Pašenko's (2009) hypothesis of Puškin's allusions to sun-worshipping sects.

14 In general, there is a lack of socio-pedagogical explanation for this expansion from adult reading into the children's sphere in Russia. In his excellent history of children's literature in Russia, which is exceptional in dealing with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ben Hellman does not pay special attention to this phenomenon in his discussion of Puškin's *skazki* (2013: 31-35).

15 With the exception of the twenties when Lenin's wife Krupskaja condemned fairytales as unrealistic and ideologically harmful.

16 Here one may think of the Freudian views of the Austrian-American psychologist Bruno Bettelheim (and his predecessors), who holds that violence in fairytales may have therapeutic value for children and helps them to prevent or overcome psychological traumas.

In the first chapter of her book *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales*, entitled 'Sex and Violence' (2003: 3-38), Maria Tatar describes how the Grimm brothers revised their first edition of fairytales, to make them suitable for children. They retained most of the horrors and violence, but deleted any sexual elements or allusions as much as possible.

17 To my knowledge, there is no practice of adapting or abridging the text.

18 O. I. Krasnova, 'Referat uroka po literaturnomu čteniju. A. S. Puškin. "Skazka o zolotom petuške". 4. klass'.

<http://nsportal.ru/nachalnaya-shkola/chtenie/2015/10/10/referat-uroka-po-literaturnomu-chteniyu-a-s-pushkin-skazka>. Last accessed 10 July 2017.

- 19 S. F. Pavlova, 'Urok literaturnogo čtenija v 4-m klasse po skazke A. S. Puškina "Skazka o zolotom petuške"'.
<http://festival.1september.ru/articles/504526>. Last accessed 10 July 2017.
- 20 Krasnova. See note 18.
- 21 [Anonymous] 'Literaturnoe čtenie. Tema: A. S. Puškin. "Skazka o zolotom petuške". 3. klass'.
<https://infourok.ru/literaturnoe-čtenie-tema-aspushkin-skazka-o-zolotom-petushke-klass-1622195.html>. Last accessed 10 July 2017.
- 22 S.I. Edrennikova, 'Urok literatury po teme: "A. S. Puškin "Skazka o zolotom petuške". Sravnenie s "Legendoj ob arabskom astrologe" V. Irvinga", 7-j klass'.
<http://festival.1september.ru/articles/211362>. Last accessed 10 July 2017.
- 23 In one model lesson (Pavlova, see note 19; for the 4th class) the teacher should include a "физминутка" (a minute of physical exercise, common practice in lower classes to break a 45-minute period), in which the pupils are instructed to "impersonate the cockerel and show how it ruffles its feathers and flutters".
- Another quite special treatment of Puškin's tale can be seen on You Tube: some thirty children (2nd class: seven-to-eight-year olds) from a school in Yakutsk recite the 224 lines in turn, with just a few wobbles and omissions. (Школа читает Пушкина. 2 класс. Сказка о золотом петушке)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXYgKptZ-ZI>. Last accessed 10 July 2017.
- 24 Krasnova. See note 18.

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NOT THE LAST WORD ON THE SHORT FORM: A DEICTIC APPROACH

Andries van Helden

When expressing an adjectival predicate, a speaker of Russian has three different forms at his disposition: the *nominative* (*NF*), the *instrumental* (*IF*) and the *short form* (*SF*). The factors that condition the choice among them have not been fully clarified. The SF, in particular, is still regarded, by students and teachers alike, as one of the greatest mysteries that the Russian soul confronts them with.

Not long ago, after viewing Mixail Kalatozov's silent film *Salt for Svanetia* (Svan. *Jim Švante; Sol' Svanetii* 1929), Janneke, I and a few others indulged in speculation about a single principle that accounts for all uses of the SF. After deciding that a plausible specimen was not immediately at hand, we ordered another drink.

With this paper I am returning to the issue. The scope of the present exercise is limited, however, to exploring it within the semiotactic framework, or at least a loose and non-formal variety of it.

In the semiotactic approach, which was developed by the late Carl Ebeling (1924-2017), semantic invariants are the holy grail of linguistic description. The meaning of each sign is a little theory that enables us to predict unambiguously which messages can be conveyed by it (Ebeling 1983: 181) while excluding the messages that cannot. Semantic invariants are an application of Occam's razor: whenever a choice presents itself between two theories for the same facts, the one that offers the lowest ratio between the number of assumptions and the number of facts accounted for is preferred. Jespersen's dictum "one form: one meaning", as adopted by Ebeling (2006: 11), is no more than a ban on redundant homonymy.

While there is an enormous scholarly literature on the SF, efforts to work out a single semantic invariant that covers all instances of its use are rare. Ebeling (1978: 326-327) sketchily presented one to illustrate his conception of predication. The

semantic invariant that he proposed for the SF was not intended to be the final word on the issue. A Popperian, Ebeling regards any semiotactic analysis as provisional, based on a limited set of observations and waiting for counterexamples that call for revision and refinement (cf. Ebeling 1978: 15).

Ebeling's proposed meaning of the SF will be expounded and discussed in the present paper. Moreover, an amendment will be proposed and explored.

1 The short form and predication

The SF competes with the NF and IF when marking adjectival predicates. Such predicates occur in nominal sentences, understood as sentences lacking an overt verb, such as 1. Here the SF competes with the NF.

- (1) Oleg bolen.
 'Oleg is ill (SF)'

Adjectival predicates are also found in sentences containing overt forms of the copula *byť* 'be', as in 2. Here the SF competes with the NF and the IF.

- (2) Oleg byl bolen.
 'Oleg was ill (SF)'

The SF is also found with other copulative or *ad hoc* copulative verbs, as in 3, 4 and 5. Such constructions are often qualified as stylistically marked in various degrees, or as isolated constructions, or even as obsolete (e.g. Kržižkova 1968: 216, Isačenko 1963: 76, Guiraud-Weber 1993: 91).

- (3) Oleg stal krasen.
 'Oleg turned red (SF)'
- (4) Oleg ležal bolen.
 'Oleg lay ill (SF)'
- (5) Oleg vernulsja domoj ugrjum.
 'Oleg returned home gloomy (SF)'

The SF is also used to characterize situations, as in 6, and in the interesting construction in sentence 7 (Zuber 1976: 251). Here it does not normally compete with the NF or IF.

- (6) Segodnja xolodno.
 ‘it is cold (SF) today’
- (7) Oleg kto-to umen.
 ‘Oleg is somebody intelligent (SF)’

An account of the meaning of the SF cannot be definitive without taking all productive constructions of the modern language into account. This paper, however, is focused on the use of the SF in nominal sentences.

2 Predication in semiotactics

Consequently, we are dealing with the use of the SF as a predicate. Ebeling prefers to avoid the term *predication*, as well as *subject* and *predicate*. In his opinion, the terms have become blurred as linguists interpret them in too many different ways (Ebeling 1978: 323). He insists on distinguishing carefully between ITEMIZATION and ASSEMBLAGE. Itemization deals with speakers’ strategies to land messages efficiently in hearers’ frames of reference and involves concepts like *theme* and *rheme*, *topic* and *comment*, etc. Assemblage “concerns the order in which the speaker mentally reconstructs the projection of the fact or the situation the thought of which he wants to evoke in the hearer’s mind” (Ebeling 1978: 324). The traditional conception of predication fits assemblage better than itemization.

A few auxiliary concepts are required for expounding and discussing the way in which predication is handled in semiotactics. Most of them are introduced in this section, along with some general linguistic notions that do not belong to the semiotactic toolkit but are needed to deal with the present issue.

Let us define language as intentional use of arbitrary signs. Following Bühler, three basic functions of language are distinguished. Bühler’s terminology and understanding of the functions varied over time, which licences me to present my own variety.¹

In its SIGNALLING FUNCTION, language is an instrument for the speaker to effect changes in the situation in which he finds himself (Bühler 1922: 58), like an alarm call. The SOCIAL FUNCTION of language starts when the speaker singles out the hearer as a privileged partner in the situation: he assumes that the latter is a sign user, like himself. Language becomes a tool for cooperation, an instrument to affect and gauge the hearer's actions, attitude, intentions and attention. The social function presupposes that the speaker of an utterance uses a THEORY OF THE HEARER, i.e. assumptions on the latter's behaviour, knowledge, state of mind and willingness to cooperate, to be taken into account when encoding utterances. Finally, in its REPRESENTATION FUNCTION, language becomes an instrument for evoking items and situations (*Gegenstände* and *Sachverhalte*; Bühler 1934: 28) that are not, or not necessarily, present in the speech situation or even do not exist at all. Since their existence is not required, a speaker may evoke two or more situations simultaneously. In principle, the two "home" situations need not be evoked as they are already there when an utterance is produced: the SPEECH SITUATION as viewed from the perspective of the speaker, and the FRAME OF REFERENCE of the hearer as featured in the speaker's theory of the hearer. The situationality of written communication is more complex.

In actual utterances, the language functions are entangled. Deixis serves not only to guide the hearer's attention in the speech situation but also to navigate the hearer's frame of reference between items and situations that have been evoked by the use of language in its representation function. A demonstrative pronoun may refer to an item in the speech situation or to an item in the frame of reference.

Ebeling (1978: 11) is aware of Bühler's language functions but does not believe that distinguishing them has fundamental implications for semiotactic analysis. In practice, he prefers to record the meanings of all linguistic signs in terms of the representation function. Assemblage implies the construction of representations by means of referent properties, i.e. FEATURES. The semantic particle 'boy' that matches the word *boy* is said to comprise the properties that characterize boys, rather than representing an appeal to the hearer to think of those properties. Similarly, deictic meanings, e.g. the meaning 'DEF' of the definitive article, are defined in terms of properties of referents, however volatile they may be (e.g.

‘auto-prominent’ in Ebeling 2006: 112), rather than as nudges to the hearer to shift or sustain his focus with respect to items in the speech situation or the frame of reference. In the present paper I shall sometimes deviate from Ebeling’s practice and use social function terminology and imagery (*propose, appeal, instruct*, etc.) for describing meanings when this is more convenient.

In its representation function, language enables a speaker to make his hearer think of, say, carriers of boy properties by saying or writing *boy*. *Boy* corresponds to a semantic particle, which is said to characterize elements and fragments of the world, whether real or imagined. The particle ‘boy’ characterizes a set of APPROPRIATE REFERENTS, the boys of this world. By combining particles, a speaker reduces the set of appropriate referents. The particles evoked by *big boy* as a combination in example 8 reduce the sets of appropriate referents that fit the particles ‘big’ and ‘boy’ respectively to their intersection: the appropriate referents of 8 must be both big and boy.

(8) A big boy.

There are various ways of combining semantic particles. Ebeling distinguishes INDIRECT characterization from DIRECT characterization. In 8 the semantic particles ‘big’ and ‘boy’ jointly characterize a set of appropriate referents. In 9, on the other hand, the particles ‘boy’ and ‘bicycle’ do not share any appropriate referents. The appropriate referents of 9 are just bicycles: the particle ‘boy’ serves to reduce the set of appropriate referents of *bicycle* to those bicycles that pertain to the boy. Here ‘boy’ characterizes the bicycle indirectly (Ebeling 1978: 102-103).

(9) The boy’s bicycle.

A NEXUS is a pair of semantic particles the conjunction of which in one or more appropriate referents serves as a means to characterize a third set of appropriate referents indirectly. (In the semiotactic notation system, the two members of the nexus pair are separated by the “=” symbol.) The appropriate referents of 10 are men but are neither broad nor shoulders: they are indirectly characterized by the presence of referents that are both broad and shoulder (Ebeling 1978: 234).

(10) A broad-shouldered man.

An item that is characterized by a nexus may be implicit. The appropriate referents of 11 are entities that are neither legs nor long but are indirectly characterized by entities that are both.

(11) A long-legs.

Semantic features can be reified. This makes them abstractions. The English word *height* corresponds to an abstraction: it denotes the feature ⟨high⟩, which is thought in isolation from any specific carrier. Abstractions can be indirectly characterized by features of other entities. The way in which an instance of height is indirectly characterized by the *trees* in 12 is analogous to the way in which the bicycle is characterized by the boy in 9 (cf. Ebeling 1978: 116-117, 277).

(12) The height of the trees.

A nexus, too, may indirectly characterize an abstraction, i.e. fill the slot that is filled by the trees in 12. The way in which good nature indirectly characterizes carelessness in 13 is analogous to the way in which broad shoulders indirectly characterize the man in 10.

(13) Good-natured carelessness.

Ebeling identifies one privileged abstraction, viz. ⟨situation⟩, which is the reified feature characterizing a situation. In Ebeling 1994: 15, the term FACT is introduced to refer to a ⟨situation⟩. In the semiotactic notation system, a fact or ⟨situation⟩ is usually denoted with a Σ (Ebeling 1978: 235, 281). *Fact* is to *situation* what *height* is to *something high*. Sentence 14 is analogous to 9 and 12. It expresses a fact that is indirectly characterized by rain (Ebeling 1994: 16), i.e. a rain fact.

(14) It is raining.

More often than not, a fact is indirectly characterized by a nexus. Sentence 15 expresses a tall-treed fact.

(15) The tree is tall.

Sentence 1, too, is thought to comprise a fact. Its analysis mirrors that of 11, whereas the analysis of 15 mirrors that of 10 and 13.

Ebeling's conception of *fact* varies over time. In Ebeling 1978 and Ebeling 1994, Σ is a fully-fledged semantic unit: it represents an effort on the part of the speaker to evoke the features of a situation in the hearer's mind. In Ebeling 2006: 152, following a modification of the definition of a nexus, Σ ceases to stand for an autonomous contribution to the meaning of a sentence and seems to be reduced to a notational device, a linking pin for semantic elements occurring in a sentence that do not refer to the appropriate referents that make up the nexus but rather characterize the status of the nexus as a whole, e.g. expressions of time. In the present paper, the approach presented in Ebeling 1978 and Ebeling 1994 is continued: a fact (Σ) is taken to stand for a semantic unit, i.e. an abstraction that stands for the properties of a situation. Or in terms of the social function: a fact is an appeal to the hearer to project the features of a situation. This implies that it is not taken for granted that the representation of each utterance contains a Σ . The speech situation is already there: instances of linguistic communication that serve to affect it directly, like De Groot's (1949: 204) interjections, do not require a fact to be assembled (except in the case of grammaticalization, when the language requires the reader to use a construction opposing the "home" situation to a fact in the past or in an imaginary world, as in 14).

The pattern of sentence 15 represents the prototype of traditional predication. In what follows we shall assume that all facts (i.e. instances of Σ) that are indirectly characterized by a nexus are instances of predication. Predication is *fact plus nexus*.

Within a nexus, Ebeling's FIRST NEXUS MEMBER and SECOND NEXUS MEMBER by and large correspond to the traditional concepts of *subject* and *predicate* respectively (Ebeling 1978: 323). Deciding for each sentence which nexus member is first and which is second, e.g. whether 'tree' or 'tall' is the first nexus member in 15, is not always simple; linear order and stress may also be used for itemization purposes, i.e. to mark relative importance, etc. Ebeling presents

three definitions that jointly take care of identifying second nexus members in all instances of predication.

In the first definition, Ebeling uses the concept of *NARRATED EVENT*, to be distinguished from *NARRATED PERIOD*. A fact is often anchored in time. Its narrated period is the time window that is characterized by one or more occurrences of the narrated event. The narrated event comprises the actual occurrences of the fact (cf. Ebeling 1978: 324-325). In sentence 16, the narrated period may be the stretch of time bridging John's first day in the office and his retirement, whereas the narrated event comprises only the situation(s) of his actually working there, say, office hours minus lunch and tea breaks.

(16) John worked in the office.

The concept of narrated event enables Ebeling to identify *TEMPORAL* nexus members. For a nexus member to be temporal, the time during which its features characterize the referent must coincide with the narrated event, while this is not necessarily the case for the other nexus member; also this must be the case whenever its formal correlate is used.

Sentence 17, for example, "pictures a person (who is a teacher) at the moment when he is/was coming, but certainly not a coming person at the time when he is a teacher" (Ebeling 1978: 325). As this pattern is found for all sentences in which the coming correlates with *came*, the particle 'coming' in sentence 17 is a temporal nexus member.

(17) The teacher came yesterday.

Temporal nexus members are by definition second nexus members (Ebeling 1978: 326).

The definition works well for nexus members containing finite verbs, as in 17. English adjectives, when used as predicates, also qualify as temporal nexus members. In 18, even if Peter has been myopic during all of his life, the formal means that are used to refer to his myopia can be used to mark a temporal situation, as in 19, while they cannot be used to refer to a situation in which the

temporal limits of Peter's myopia exceed those of his being Peter (cf. Ebeling 1978: 328-329).

- (18) Peter is myopic.
- (19) Every now and then, Peter is myopic.
- (20) *every now and then, myopic is Peter

In sentences where both nexus members are nouns, temporal nexus fails to pinpoint second nexus members. Sentence 21 does not picture Peter at the moment when he is/was the/a diabetic, nor does 22 normally picture the/a diabetic at the moment when he is/was Peter (allowing for role playing).

- (21) Peter is the/a diabetic.
- (22) The/a diabetic is Peter.

Additional definitions are needed to resolve these cases. In his second definition (Ebeling 1978: 327-328), *assemblage* is resorted to directly to assign second member status. It is assumed that speakers' intuitions as to the order in which the speaker mentally constructs a situation to be communicated are accessible to linguists. For any remaining issues, Ebeling (1978: 331) adds an *analogy* rule: wherever the second nexus member cannot be pinpointed unambiguously by means of the temporal nexus criterion or by assessing native speakers' intuitions on assemblage, it can be found by matching the linear arrangement and other formal characteristics of the sentence with those of sentences in which temporality or assemblage do work.

The definitive representation of the meaning of a sentence does not reveal its derivational history. At the end of the day, the way in which second nexus members are recorded in the semantic notations is identical for all sentences, no matter which definition has been applied to identify them (cf. Ebeling 1978: 331).

3 The short form in semiotactics

SFs of Russian adjectives parallel English adjectives in that they mark temporal nexus members (Ebeling 1978: 326). In this respect, the analysis of the nexus in sentence 1 coincides with that of the nexus in 18.

The NF *bol'noj* 'sick' in 23, on the other hand, cannot be qualified as a temporal nexus member. As shown in 24, *bol'noj* can be used to mark evident first nexus members; i.e. the NF *bol'noj* 'sick' in 23 matches *diabetic* in 21, not *myopic* in 18. This excludes temporal nexus member status for *bol'noj*.

- (23) Oleg bol'noj.
 'Oleg is sick (NF)'
 (24) Bol'noj umer.
 'the sick (NF) died'

Ebeling's findings are in line with the literature. SFs are often equated to verbs, or at least viewed as the converse of participles: if participles are adjectivized verbs, SFs can be regarded as verbified adjectives (cf. Šaxmatov 1941²: 190; Babby 1973: 351ff.). Peškovskij (2001⁸: 220) regards sentence 2 as synonymous with 25.

- (25) Oleg bolel.
 'Oleg ailed'

NFs, on the other hand, are often regarded as some kind of substantivized adjectives. According to Isačenko (1963: 83), sentence 23 is typically read as "Oleg is a sick one".

In Ebeling's final notation, however, the difference between the SF and the NF is not accounted for in terms of temporal and non-temporal predication. In subsequent definitions, temporal nexus members are merged with second nexus members that have been obtained with other definitions. This cancels the difference between the semantic representations of 1 and 23.

Yet there is a semantic difference. Informants report that 1 represents 'sick' as a state (cf. English *ill*), whereas 23 presents 'sick' as a (potentially) identifying property.

Ebeling (1978: 326) records this difference with an invariant semantic feature labelled 'KF', representing the meaning of the SF.

The relation between 'KF' and the meaning of the adjective is GRADATION. Gradation is to be distinguished from direct and indirect characterization. When a gradation feature is combined with another feature, the combination acts as a

complex feature expressing a characterization of the abstraction of the latter feature. Gradation meanings include ‘VERY’ and ‘RATHER’ (cf. Ebeling 1978: 202). In 26, the feature ‘VERY’ indicates a high degree of sickness. In 27, ‘RATHER’ expresses a degree of sickness x that is identified by, say, taking a sample of instances of Peter’s or other persons’ being sick, ranking them according to the degree of their seriousness or inconvenience and allocating x within one standard deviation above the mean.

(26) Peter is very sick.

(27) Peter is rather sick.

The meaning of the gradation feature expressed by ‘KF’, too, is rather complex. According to Ebeling 1978: 326,

“‘KF’ is an abbreviation for “feature characterizing its carrier x with respect to something outside x ”.”

Assuming that *feature* refers not to ‘KF’ itself but to the feature of which ‘KF’ is a gradation, *its carrier* x is likely to be the referent of the nexus (not the fact). When interpreting an SF sentence, the hearer must fix two variables: the “something outside x ”, which might be called the ANCHOR of the ‘KF’, and the “respect”, with which x is characterized to its anchor, i.e. the nature of the relation between the characterization of x and its anchor.

The complement (*dopolnienie*) of an adjective is often regarded as its anchor. In Ebeling’s sentence 28, Oleg is content *with respect* to his marks: here the marks are the anchor. In 29, the success of the expedition is the anchor. In 30 the anchor is Oleg’s father.

(28) Oleg byl dovolen otmetkami.

Oleg-Nom was content-SF mark-Inst-Plur

‘Oleg was content (SF) with the marks’

(29) Oleg byl rad uspexu ěkspedicii.

Oleg-Nom was glad-SF success-Dat expedition-Gen

‘Oleg was glad (SF) of the success of the expedition’

- (30) Oleg poxož na otca.
 Oleg-Nom alike-SF on father-Acc
 ‘Oleg resembles his father’

SFs with such explicit anchors are very frequent. But they may not reveal a great deal as far as the meaning of the SF is concerned. It is not or hardly possible to use the NF or the IF in such sentences. The cases and prepositions that mark the complements (the instrumental of *otmetkami* ‘marks’ in 28, the dative of *uspexu* ‘success’ in 29 and the preposition *na* ‘on’ with the accusative of *otca* ‘father’ in 30) suggest that the complement simply fills a slot that is determined by the lexical meaning of the adjective. Considered in isolation, these examples might be accounted for in terms of grammatically conditioned alternation (cf. Ebeling 1978: 434), in which the meaning of the SF is reduced to that of a syntactic marker. To the hearer, the anchor is obvious, as its morphology is governed by the adjective, while the relation between *x* and its anchor is semantically empty, as it is fully predicted by the lexical and syntactic environment.

Constructions in which the anchor is not regularly specified are likely to be more informative. In Ebeling’s (1978: 326) sentence 31, the something outside the sleeves with respect to which they are tight is the person who is expected to wear the garment. In 32, the something outside Oleg with respect to which he is young may be going to school, drinking vodka, etc., depending on the specific situation in which the sentence is uttered.

- (31) Rukava uzki.
 ‘the sleeves are tight (SF)’
 (32) Oleg molod.
 ‘Oleg is young (SF)’

For these sentences, the nature of the relation between the characterization of *x* and the anchor of the SF must be interpreted in the speech situation. In 31 and 32 it is likely to be interpreted as “excessive”. The degree of tightness exceeds the norm set by the anchor: the sleeves are *too* tight; Oleg is *too* young.

When someone is in the process of choosing a second-hand car, the “excessive” interpretation is also plausible for the SF *stara* ‘old’ in sentence 33. The age of the car is prohibitive. But, as Zel’dovič (2012: 460-461) points out, if sentence 34 is uttered in the same situation, the use of the SF *nova* ‘new’ is likely to prompt a different interpretation, e.g. “sufficient” or even “propitious” or “mandatory”. In both sentences, the purchase of the car is the anchor of the SF, while the respect with which the car is old or new varies.

- (33) Mašina stara.
‘the car is old (SF)’
- (34) Mašina nova.
‘the car is new (SF)’

In sentence 35, the relation between the characterization and the something outside *x* for the SF *molod* ‘young’ may be “on the ... side”: the subject is on the young side for a president. The anchor, i.e. the something outside the president with respect to which his youth is defined, must be the presidency.

- (35) Dlja prezidenta on molod, i v gèbe ne služil. A vse ostal’ noe na rol’ upravljajuščego ékonomikoj strany u nego est’.
‘He is young (SF) for a president, and never served in State Security. But he possesses all the other qualities needed for the job of running the country’s economy.’

Ebeling’s condition that the anchor for ‘KF’ must be located *outside* the subject is relevant. When testing the difference between 36 and 37, Siegel’s informant observes that, in 37, the use of the NF *umnyj* ‘intelligent’ presupposes that the context or speech situation supplies “something that the adjective is relative to”, implying that the interpretation of the NF may require some kind of anchor *within* the subject: Oleg must be intelligent as a student, or as a painter, etc. (Siegel 1976: 297-298).

- (36) Oleg umen.
‘Oleg is intelligent (SF)’

- (37) Oleg umnyj.
 ‘Oleg is intelligent (NF)’

Sometimes a certain degree of flexibility is required to apply the definition of ‘KF’. The anchor to be identified may be rather abstract. For sentence 1, Ebeling (1978: 326) suggests that the something outside the subject with respect to which the subject is sick “may be the narrated event”, i.e. the period or periods of time when the subject is actually ill. In other words, the meaning of the adjective characterizes the subject with respect to the stretch(es) of time during which it characterizes the subject. In that case, the relation between the characterization of Oleg as being ill and the narrated period must be “not different from”: the narrated event is implicitly opposed to periods of time that are *not* characterized by Oleg’s being ill.

The anchor of ‘KF’ in 1 coincides with the temporal nexus criterion that was used to qualify the SF as a second nexus member. Sentences like 1 have prompted grammarians (e.g. Vinogradov 1972²: 220 or Tolstoj 1966: 168) to believe that the SF indicates a temporary characteristic. It opposes 1 to 23, where the NF *bol’noj* ‘sick’ presents the subject as being sick without any reference to stretches of time.

Ebeling (1978: 326-327) rejects using temporal limitation, i.e. “opposing the subject as it is at a given time to itself as it is at some other time” (Ebeling 1978: 312), as the defining property of a semantic invariant ‘KF’ because it applies only to a variant of its meaning. The tightness of the sleeves in 31, for example, is not necessarily due to shrinkage.

Moreover, it may be added, the IF competes with the SF in sentences containing forms of *byt’* ‘be’. Here the IF already marks temporal limitation of the predicate (Ebeling 1978: 313). A plausible reading for the IF sentence 38 is “Oleg was a sick man in those days”. Assuming temporal limitation for the SF as well would suggest that 2 and 38 are synonymous, which they are not.

- (38) Oleg byl bol’nym.
 ‘Oleg was sick (IF)’

Several authors point out that the SF does not always signal time-limited predication, nor does the long form necessarily signal atemporal predication (Nichols 1981: 302; Gasparov 1997: 39, etc.). This is another reason to reject the assumption that ‘KF’ primarily expresses a temporary characteristic. Here are two examples adduced by Isačenko (1963: 73).

- (39) On vseгда molčaliv.
‘he is always silent (SF)’
- (40) Po večeram on takoj nekrasivj.
‘in the evenings he is so ugly (NF)’

4 Counterexamples

Sometimes the task of finding an appropriate anchor outside the subject with respect to which a property can be said to characterize it is quite a challenge. Consider, for example, the use of the SF in general statements, as in 41, the text of a warning notice.

- (41) Neispravnyj instrument kovaren i opasen.
‘an instrument that is out of order is treacherous (SF) and dangerous (SF)’

The described state of affairs is not limited in time and there is no obvious item outside the subject around that might serve as an anchor. So ‘KF’ does not predict an SF here. Yet according to Ermakova (1974: 224) the SF is mandatory in nominal sentences when the subject denotes a phenomenon or class of objects without referring to a concrete instance. This is typically the case in 41.

Conversely, Boguslavskij (1964: 15) observes that the SF is practically blocked when the subject is assumed to be present in the described situation. This accounts for the NF following the introduction of the subject into the situation by means of the personal pronoun *on* ‘it’ in the NF sentence 42. (This quasi-minimal pair was found in Mjasnikov 1958: 12; the sentences occur on p. 17 of *Novyj mir*, 28(1951)/11, in a short story by Sergej Antonov.)

- (42) Ved' sami znaete – neispravnyj instrument, on kovarnyj i opasnyj.
 'for you know it yourself: an instrument that is out of order, it is
 treacherous (NF) and dangerous (NF)'

So there seem to be constructions and rules around that are not captured by the present definition of 'KF'. Incidentally, Ermakova's rule does not always apply. On the internet, the SF sentence 43 is quite frequent, although quite a few instances of its LF counterpart 44 are found. But it only takes the addition of *počemu* 'why' to change the pattern. Whereas the LF sentence 45 is obviously normal, not a single instance of the SF sentence 46 was found.

- (43) Pot solon.
 'sweat is salt (SF)'
- (44) Pot solenyj.
 'sweat is salt (NF)'
- (45) Počemu pot solenyj?
 'why is sweat salt (NF)'
- (46) ??Počemu pot solon?
 'why is sweat salt (SF)'

Here we may have to resort to Zel'dovič's (2012: 469) observation that the speaker's personal experience with the subject favours the NF. Such experience is referred to in the introductory clause to 42. For 45, the use of the NF should, then, imply that the required personal experience does not necessarily include experience with specific sweat, or even specific experiences with sweat, but may comprise meta-experience, i.e. experience with statements to the effect that sweat is salt.

Sentence 47 is the classic counterexample that defies nearly every attempt to arrive at formulating a general rule for the use of the SF (e.g. Rude 2005: 85; some linguists, e.g. Babby 1973: 360, have *prostranstvo* 'space' instead of *vselennaja* 'universe').

- (47) Vselennaja beskonečna.
 'the universe is infinite (SF)'

Sentence 47 is a challenge to ‘KF’ as well. *Vselennaja* ‘universe’ is a unique object that happens to embrace all other objects. There are no temporal limits to the existence of an infinite universe. It does not seem to make sense to look for an anchor outside the universe with respect to which it can be characterized as infinite. Unless the sentence assumes the presence of a parallel universe, preferably a finite one.

5 The proposed amendment

Strategies to account for the use of the SF tend to start out with accounting for the cases that are embedded in contexts favouring its use. The resulting explanation is consequently adapted to include the less obvious ones. Eventually, the explanation runs up against a few residual cases that must be set apart for being exotic and exceptional.

In what follows, it is attempted to take the SFs in sentences like 41, 43 and 47 seriously and to recast ‘KF’ using 47 as a prototype instead of as a marginal case.

The preference for the SF in 47 suggests that the nature of the anchor that is assumed for ‘KF’ must be thought of as being more abstract than has been assumed so far. In a way, the parallel universe explanation may not be that far-fetched: the only something with respect to which the universe can be regarded as infinite is an imagined situation in which it is not. In that case, the implicit message conveyed by the SF *beskonečna* is that the universe is not finite. The anchor in the definition of ‘KF’ may, then, simply be what might be called the *counter-fact*: the negation of the fact that is assembled in the sentence.

It may be objected that any predicate disaffirms its negation. The LF sentence 23, too, implicitly rules out that Oleg is not sick. If negation of counterfact would be part of its definition, ‘KF’ would predict SFs everywhere.

This will not, however, be a problem if ‘KF’ is captured in terms of deixis. It is conceivable that the difference between the meanings of the SF and the NF lies not in the properties of their referents but in the way in which the speaker guides the attention of the hearer among elements in the situation and in the message to be communicated. Consider, as a model, the difference between definite articles and demonstrative pronouns, e.g. in the French examples 48 and 49.

- (48) L'homme est libre.
 'the man is free'
- (49) Cet homme est libre.
 'this/that man is free'

The sentences may be used to refer to the same man. In some contexts and circumstances, either sentence can be used to refer to the same situation. Yet there is a semantic difference.

By using the definite article *l'* in 48, the speaker instructs the hearer not to change his focus as far as referents of 'man' are concerned. This may imply two different things. Either the speaker wants the hearer to think of a specific man. In that case his theory of the hearer must have made him confident that the hearer is focusing on the intended man already. Or the speaker wants the hearer to think of man as a phenomenon. In that case his theory of the hearer must have made him confident that the hearer does not happen to be focusing on one particular specimen already. The meaning of the definite article, the instruction "do not change focus", is identical for both cases. Until further notice, this may be the invariant meaning of the French definite article.

By using the demonstrative pronoun *cet*, as in 49, a speaker instructs the hearer to adopt what the speaker considers to be (or, in the case of accompanying gestures, causes to be) the *most* appropriate referent in the hearer's frame of reference as a focus for his attention, while implicitly warning him that there may be other appropriate referents around that should not be focused on. The speaker is confident that the intended man is available in the hearer's physical or contextual environment (Bühler's (1934: 124) *Zeigfeld*) but wants to rule out the possibility that the hearer is not yet or no more focusing on it.

An analogous analysis may be available for 'KF', but on the level of *facts* rather than objects. By using an SF, the speaker may instruct the hearer to think of a situation that fits the fact that is assembled by the sentence while warning him that there may be situations around in his frame of reference that should not be thought of as being the case. The anchor, in other words, is an imagined situation

that the hearer is suspected of having taken into consideration but should be cancelled. The corresponding NF sentence contains no such a warning.

If this makes sense, the message conveyed in sentence 47 typically requires the SF as long as it is used to convey a message that presupposes that two alternative options are being opposed: “while you may have taken the fact of a finite universe into consideration, possibly besides that of an infinite one, I propose to opt for infinity”. Zel’dovič (2012: 448, where *prostranstvo* ‘space’ is used) suggests that, in principle, the NF counterpart 50 of 47 could be uttered by a student who has prepared for an exam on the subject and is reproducing the facts that he has memorized. In that situation, the speaker does not assume that the hearer has been considering finiteness as a possibility.

- (50) Vselennaja beskonečnaja.
‘the universe is infinite (NF)’

The analysis of 47 thus prompts the assumption that ‘KF’ presupposes a dichotomy of mutually exclusive facts: the narrated fact and the anchor counterfact. The speaker assumes that the hearer is aware of the anchor fact and appeals to the hearer to cancel it in favour of the narrated fact.

6 Testing the amendment

Does the proposed new interpretation of ‘KF’ apply to other instances in which the SF is used?

The text on the warning notice 41 presents no problems. The message to its reader that is triggered by the proposed meaning of ‘KF’ is something like: “you might think that working with busted instruments is harmless: well, you shouldn’t, it isn’t, it’s dangerous”. Raising awareness is the essence of a warning. The message conveyed in sentence 42, on the other hand, appeals to knowledge and experience that is already there, in the hearer’s frame of reference.

The difference between 43 and 45 is also captured by the distinction. While 43 is normally used to inform a hearer about the saltiness of sweat as a fact of life, the added *počemu* ‘why’ in 45 implies that the hearer is already aware of it. As there is

no need to dispel the thought of the opposite in his frame of reference, the speaker uses the NF.

Sentences that appear to express temporal limitation, such as 1, also fit in the suggested definition. By using the SF, the speaker confronts the narrated fact of Oleg's being ill to Oleg's being well. Although the situations are easily interpreted as being opposed in terms of time, this is not necessarily part of the proposed invariant meaning. Temporality is only inferred: in many situations in which 1 occurs, Oleg's being well is the default assumption: the sentence is likely to be used when the speaker presupposes that the hearer is not aware of the news and assumes that Oleg is OK as usual and is likely to come to school or whatever. Or there may be a situation of doubt: the speaker assumes that the hearer is uncertain about Oleg's condition and expects this uncertainty to be reduced. The likely message to be conveyed by 1, then, is something like: "contrary to what you may be thinking or anxious about, Oleg is ill". We shall see below that, in certain situations, different interpretations of the SF *bolez* 'sick' impose themselves.

Adjectives like *uzkij* 'tight', *molodoj* 'young', *novyj* 'new', etc., which occur in several of the examples discussed above, present an interesting challenge to the proposed modified definition of 'KF'. Grammarians refer to such adjectives as *qualitative* (*kačestvennyj*) and oppose them to *relative* (*otnositel'nyj*) adjectives. Boguslavskij (1964: 18) observes that the difference is relevant when dealing with the SF. A qualitative adjective is *gradable*; it allows for variation as to the degree in which an object possesses a property. A relative adjective, on the other hand, stands for a yes-or-no property: it imposes a binary division on the world of objects. A car may be *rather* new or *very* new. A universe is not usually *rather* or *very* infinite. In what follows here, I shall avoid the terms *qualitative* and *relative* and use the terms *gradable* and *non-gradable*.

Standard examples like 31 prompt the observation that gradability has something to do with the SF issue. SFs of gradable adjectives are more frequent and produce richer messages than SFs of non-gradable adjectives. Many non-gradable adjectives, including the numerous adjectives with the suffix *-skij*, such as *russkij* 'Russian' and *elliptičeskij* 'elliptical', even lack SFs altogether. The "mutual

attraction of SFs and gradable adjectives” (Boguslavskij 1964: 18) has induced linguists to treat ‘KF’ as a type of gradation.

If at least some non-gradable adjectives have SFs, we may wonder what happens, semantically speaking, when ‘KF’ is combined with one. If ‘KF’ is a type of gradation, it is natural to expect that, in that case, the SF serves as a morphological device to make non-gradable adjectives behave like gradable ones. This is the way other instances of gradation work. If I qualify the universe as “rather infinite”, I suggest that there is a possible conception of infinity in which it can be regarded as a graded property.

(51) The universe is rather infinite.

But this is not how it works for the meaning of the SF.

Sometimes speakers, or rather writers, skirt morphological constraints to make up SFs of non-gradable adjectives. In 52 the linguist Šor, translating a quote from Saussure, needs the SF of the adjective *lingvističeskij* ‘linguistic’ so badly that she makes up an *ad hoc* synonym *’lingvističnyj*, i.e. replaces the derivational suffix *-ičeskij*, which does not allow making up SFs, by the suffix *-čnyj*, which allows SF formation. This enables her to use the perfectly acceptable SF *lingvističen*.

(52) Rjad zvukov lingvističen liš’ postol’ku, poskol’ku on javljaetsja nositelem izvestnogo smysla.
 ‘a sequence of sounds is linguistic (SF) only in as far as it is the bearer of a meaning’

In 53, the mathematician Kordjukov uses both the NF *elliptičeskij* ‘elliptical’ and the SF *elliptičen* of its *ad hoc* synonym *’elliptičnyj* in the same sentence. (I owe this example to Martijn Anthonissen.)

(53) Skažem, čto operator A – *kasatel’no elliptičeskij*, esli dlja ljubogo sloja X operator A_X elliptičen (v obyčnom smysle).
 ‘we shall say that operator A is *tangentially elliptical* (NF) if, for each layer X , operator A_X is elliptical (SF) in the usual sense of the word’

This practice of making up *ad hoc -ičnyj* synonyms of adjectives with the suffix *-ičeskij* in order to circumvent morphological constraints is quite common and is encountered in some descriptions of Russian (e.g. Isačenko 1975³: 146). Kordjukov's addition "in the usual sense" in 53 suggests that the writer does not perceive the SF *elliptičen* as belonging to a separate lexical item, to be distinguished from *elliptičeskij*. Yet the practice does not seem to be entirely spontaneous; it is something writers are aware of doing.

Coinage of SFs for adjectives that are not supposed to have them is not entirely restricted to scientific discourse. In Sakhno's (2001: 90) example 54, from the spoken language, even *russkij* 'Russian' is supplied with an SF *'russk*.

(54) Karl – ne russkij, a nemeč, no on russk v duše.

'Karl is not Russian (NF) but a German but he is Russian (SF) in his soul'

Now if writers and speakers go out of their way to use SFs of non-gradable adjectives, the message they want it to convey must be taken seriously.

The message that is conveyed by the SFs in the above examples does not involve gradation. It is the non-gradable nature of the adjective that is emphasized. Šor insists on the relevance of splitting the set of sound sequences into linguistic and non-linguistic ones. Kordjukov insists on splitting a set of operators into elliptical and non-elliptical ones. The speaker of 54 uses the SF to cancel the "no" of Karl's Russianness that he triggered in the frame of reference of the hearer by mentioning his passport nationality: "from what I just said you might have inferred that Karl is not one of us. But there is one interpretation of Russianness in which he certainly is."

Boguslavskij (1964: 18) suggests, therefore, that the SF is a morphological device, not to impose some kind of gradation on non-gradable adjectives, but to produce the opposite effect, viz. to equip a gradable adjective for expressing an all-or-nothing distinction.

The obvious example is *živoj*. Depending on the context, the property referred to may be a gradable 'lively' or a non-gradable 'living'. As shown by 55, 56 and 57, the NF may be used in either case. But if Oleg was reported missing at the front and turns up unexpectedly after the war, the non-gradable 'alive' is all his anxious

mother is focussed on, thus prompting the SF in 58. The fact of Oleg's being alive is not being opposed to another period when he was not or will not be. It is opposed to a dreaded situation in which he is not.

- (55) Ètot stil' očēn' živoj i interesnyj.
'that style is very lively (NF) and interesting (NF)'
- (56) Živoj rebenok.
'a lively (NF) child'
- (57) Živoj trup.
'a living (NF) corpse'
- (58) Oleg živ!
'Oleg is alive (SF)'

The yes-or-no opposition is also clear in fragment 59 from Solženicy'n's *First Circle*, adduced in Sakhno 2001: 85, where the speaker tries to convince a Stalin critic of the great leader's wisdom using the SF of *mudryj* 'wise'. The adverb *dejstvitel'no* 'really, indeed' shows that the speaker does not intend to convince the hearer of the high degree of Stalin's wisdom but insists on his abandoning the conviction that Stalin is not wise. As Sakhno observes, using an NF instead would have turned the message into something of a reminder.

- (59) Slušaj, slušaj! [...] Èto veličajšij čelovek! [...] Ty kogda-nibud' pojmeš'. Èto Robesp'er i Napoleon našej revoljucii. On – mudr! On dejstvitel'no mudr!
'Listen, listen! He is a very great man. One day you'll understand. He is both the Robespierre and the Napoleon of our revolution. He is wise (SF)! He is wise (SF) indeed!'

The idea of imposing a dichotomy is found in 31 as well. The adjective *uzkij* 'tight' is gradable. Sleeves can be rather tight and very tight. But the SF *uzki* in 31 emphasizes binarity. The sentence is likely to be interpreted as follows. "You want to know whether or not the sleeves fit. This implies that only two sizes are relevant: tight and not tight. Forget about the latter one."

The same applies to 32. “In the given situation, Oleg’s age is reduced to the two values that are relevant in the given situation: “young” and “not young”. Cancel the second option.”

Zel’dovič (2012: 460-461) qualifies *reducing options*, i.e. reducing the set of possible follow-ups after the speech situation, as the main pragmatic function of the SF. When the intention of carrying a cupboard through a doorway is being discussed, the message conveyed by the SF sentence 60, “the cupboard is too wide”, is relevant to the intentions of the hearer in the given situation, a warning. In the same situation, the SF sentence 61, “the cupboard is narrow”, is felt to be less acceptable than 60 because the news that the cupboard is narrow does not cut off options. The NF sentence 62, on the other hand, is fully acceptable. It would simply be taken as a factual statement, which is not expected to affect the hearer’s options in the situation. This again points to the deictic nature of the SF.

- (60) Škaf širok.
‘the cupboard is wide (SF)’
- (61) Škaf uzak.
‘the cupboard is narrow (SF)’
- (62) Škaf uzakij.
‘the cupboard is narrow (NF)’

The SF sentences 33 and 34, uttered when the purchase of a second-hand car is being considered, also reduce the probability of existing scenarios. While the SF *stara* ‘old’ in 33 (almost) rules out that the car will change hands, the SF *nova* ‘new’ in 34 (almost) rules out that it won’t (Zel’dovič 2012: 461).

The objection may be raised that meanings that express a degree of a property, e.g. ‘VERY’, are perfectly compatible with the SF of an adjective, as shown in 63: this might prompt the conclusion that the gradable adjective *interesnyj* ‘interesting’ continues to be amenable to gradation even in its SF. This is a matter of assemblage: it may be argued that the SF ending in *očen’ interesna* ‘very interesting’ in 63 simply opposes ‘very interesting’ as a whole to its absence, i.e. ‘not very-interesting’.

- (63) *Kniga očēn' interesna.*
 'the book is very interesting (SF)'

Complications arise when the SF is used with gradable adjectives involving subjective judgements. Here, grammarians and informants often invoke stylistic factors and speakers' attitudes besides referential meanings.

This starts when drinking a glass of wine and commenting on its quality. The SF *vkusno* 'good' in sentence 64 is as good as the NF *vkusnoe* in 65. According to Gasparov, the SF *vkusno* reflects the speaker's immediate sensation, whereas by using the NF *vkusnoe* the speaker assigns the wine to the class of good wines (Gasparov 1997: 40). Similar observations are found in Babby 1975: 207, Nichols 1981: 302 and Zuber 1983: 248. Nichols remarks that a speaker using the SF sentence 64 need not know anything about wines and may never have tasted wine before.

- (64) *Èto vino vkusno.*
 'this wine is good (SF)'
- (65) *Èto vino vkusnoe.*
 'this wine is good (NF)'

The Russian instructor whom I consulted on these sentences reports a "stylistic" difference that contradicts this interpretation: in her perception, by choosing the SF *vkusno*, as in 64, the speaker acts like a snob who likes to impose his opinion on his company. The context in which I found the SF sentence 66 seems to support this observation. It occurs in a wine seller's catalogue and is followed by a characterization of the prospective buyer of the wine: "choosing this wine patently testifies to the highly developed taste of its possessor: he travels business class in the world of wines".

- (66) *Vino vkusno i aromatno.*
 'the wine is good (SF) and aromatic (SF)'

The proposed meaning of 'KF' allows for this effect. A speaker of the language wielding the SF as an instrument to reduce the gradual property of goodness to a

binary one commits an act of classification, of *creating* classes rather than *assigning* something to an existing one. He implicitly pretends, not only that the hearer is in the given situation unaware or in doubt about the nature or presence of goodness, but also that he himself has the power or knowledge to decide what is good and what is not.

In several sources, the use of the SF is characterized as “matter-of-fact”, as “dry” and “haughty”, and the use of the NF as “warm” and “friendly”. As Mjasnikov puts it, “in spoken usage, with its emotional and expressive character, the dryness and abstractness of the short adjectives may be perceived as offensive, hostile and reflecting a stern and harsh attitude, in contrast to the warmth and comradely sympathy that characterize long adjectives” (Mjasnikov 1958: 14).

It is difficult to subscribe to this statement in general. It is hardly haughty to warn someone trying to move a cupboard through a doorway that it cannot pass through. But Mjasnikov’s qualifications do apply to instances in which gradable adjectives are used to qualify persons, especially persons present in the speech situation.

As Peškovskij (2001⁸: 225) observes, the SF *glup* ‘foolish’ in 67 sounds like an offence, while Čexov’s sentence 68, with the NF *glupaja*, has none of that, and instead emphasizes the intimacy between the speaker and the hearer.

- (67) Ty glup.
 ‘you are foolish (SF)’
 (68) Ty, Maška, glupaja.
 ‘you, Maška, are foolish (IF)’

Here the same mechanism seems to be at work as in the wine example. The use of the SF in 67 implies the claim on the part of the speaker that he has the authority to decide about the difference between foolishness and normalness and knows the hearer well enough to assign him to one of the categories. The fact that he addresses the hearer implies, moreover, that his opinion interferes with the hearer’s options. These effects are not produced by the LF sentence 68.

Gasparov (1997: 64) finds a strong association between the NF/SF distinction and the T/V distinction that Russian uses for addressing persons. The “warm” NF

is typically associated with the familiar T-pronoun *ty* ‘you’; the “dry” SF with the polite V-pronoun *vy* ‘you’. While the familiar NF sentence 69 is perfectly neutral, Gasparov perceives its familiar SF counterpart 70 as a rather harsh, confronting judgement, a “verdict allowing no appeal”, an infringement on the addressee’s private life or integrity. The polite SF sentence 71 is said to be more neutral: it may count as the result of an objective, mature, judgement. Using a polite LF sentence, e.g. 72, would be perceived as a somewhat inappropriate mix of politeness and intimacy (Gasparov 1997: 65).

- (69) Ty bol’noj.
 you-T sick-NF
 ‘you (T) are ill/sick (NF)’
- (70) Ty bolen.
 you-T sick-SF
 ‘you (T) are ill/sick (SF)’
- (71) Vy bol’ny.
 you-V sick-SF
 ‘you (V) are ill/sick (SF)’
- (72) Vy bol’noj.
 you-V sick-NF
 ‘you (V) are ill/sick (NF)’

It appears to me that these differences may also be accounted for in terms of the proposed ‘KF’. Gasparov’s analyses are geared to prototypical situations in which the sentences are used. It may be assumed that prototypical situations in which a speaker addresses a hearer with familiar *ty* presuppose a different theory of the hearer than prototypical situations in which a speaker addresses a hearer with polite *vy*. As Zel’dovič (2012: 468) points out, *ty* sayers know different things about their hearers than *vy* sayers. They communicate about their health for different purposes and will accordingly use different criteria for assessing illness and different reasons for informing their hearers about what they think of the state of their health. A *ty* sayer is likely to be acquainted with the hearer’s state and behaviour in a broader range of situations than a *vy* sayer. He is likely to use that

knowledge to establish his judgement and express it to influence the hearer's actions. His "you are ill" may imply: "why do you refuse to go to the doctor?" (Gasparov 1997: 65). A *vy* sayer, on the other hand, is likely to know less about the hearer's personality but more about diseases, and expect the hearer to be receptive to statements about the state of his health. His "you are ill" is more likely to imply: "so I advise you to stay in bed". In both cases, the speaker reduces the gradable property to a binary judgement with implicit consequences for the hearer. Their different impact on the hearer can be explained by the social relationships between the speaker and the hearer and the situations in which the sentences are likely to be used, i.e. in Zel'dovič's *situational frame* (*ramočnaja situacija*).

Checking the examples points to the conclusion that a speaker uses the SF rather than the NF when intending to dispel the hearer's expectations, unawareness, uncertainty or doubt with respect to the assembled fact.

- In 31, 32 and 58, the SFs *uzki* 'tight', *molod* 'young' and *živ* 'alive' remove doubts on the part of the hearer as to the given situation.
- In 33 and 34, the SFs *stara* 'old' and *nova* 'new' reduce the hearer's uncertainty.
- In 41, the SFs *kovaren* 'treacherous' and *opasen* 'dangerous' are used to raise the reader's awareness of the assembled fact.
- In 47, the SF *beskonečna* 'infinite' signals a conclusion that is intended to change or fix the hearer's world outlook.
- In 52, the SF *lingvističen* 'linguistic' is used to set apart objects that do not belong to language although the reader may have thought so.
- In 53, the SF *eliptičen* 'elliptical' is used as a metaphorical instruction to the reader to check for each layer whether operator *A* is elliptical or not.
- In 54, the *ad hoc* SF *russk* 'Russian' is used to contradict a likely consequence of what the speaker just said.
- In 59, the SF *mudr* 'wise' is used to override the hearer's negative opinion on Stalin's wisdom.
- In 60, the SF *širok* 'wide' signals an observation that changes the hearer's options (and probably the speaker's as well), as he may have hoped or expected that the cupboard was not too wide for the door.

- In the situation in which 64 is used, the SF *vkusno* ‘good’ sounds snobbish because its use presupposes unawareness or ignorance on the part of the hearer.
- In 67 the message conveyed by the SF *glup* ‘foolish’ increases the offensiveness of the message because the speaker rules out alternative opinions for the hearer.
- The SF *boleń* ‘ill’ in 1, instead of marking a temporary state, as in the traditional analysis, marks a situation that is different from the one the hearer expected. The use of the SF *boleń* ‘sick’ with the familiar second person pronoun *ty* in 70 may in many situations be perceived as confronting because the speaker incites the hearer to increase his awareness of his situation, i.e. implicitly accuses him of being unaware of it. The use of the SF *bol’ny* ‘sick’ with the polite pronoun *vy* in 71 is in many situations perceived as less confronting because persons addressing the hearer with *vy* are more likely to be in the role of an uncertainty reducer.

Interestingly, the SF sentences that suited the original definition of ‘KF’ best, viz. those containing explicit anchors, like 28, 29 and 30, are most problematic for the proposed ‘KF’. The specific deictic connotations that characterize the other examples seem to be absent here. It can hardly be argued that, in 30, the observation that Oleg resembles his father is opposed to its negation, i.e. used to remove doubts about the matter. As suggested, these cases may be less revealing of the semantics of the SF: in sentences of this type, there is hardly any competition on the part of the NF and IF. The adjective *rad* ‘glad’, used in 29, does not even have an NF and an IF. We might assume that the meaning of the SF is simply neutralized here, i.e. can be described in terms of grammatically conditioned alternation (cf. Ebeling 1978: 434). According to Švedova (1952: 81), such instances of “grammatical coalescence” of a short adjective with a complement must be treated separately, as “grammatical phraseologisms”. Until further notice we shall settle with this solution.

7 Semiotactic implications

The examples seem to support the thesis that ‘KF’ is a deictic meaning, which parallels the meaning of demonstrative pronouns on the level of facts. While the French demonstrative pronoun *cel* in 49 was an appeal to the hearer to adopt an identifiable man as the focus for further attention and leave other candidates out of focus, ‘KF’ may be defined, for the time being, as an:

“appeal to the hearer to adopt the assembled fact as a starting point for further thought or action and leave situations that are appropriate referents of its negation out of consideration”.

As to the position of ‘KF’ in the semiotactic notation system, thus far ‘KF’ has been regarded as an instance of gradation, as a modification of the adjective. Gradation includes ‘RATHER’, ‘VERY’, ‘ALMOST’, etc.

The new ‘KF’ does not seem to behave as a type of gradation. All the examples discussed here suggest that ‘KF’ pertains to the assembled fact, rather than just the property that is referred to by the adjective.

In semiotactics, the status of assembled facts is handled by a relation called STRATIFICATION (denoted as “/”). Space and time do not allow an in-depth discussion of this concept, which is one of the most complex relations in semiotactic analysis. When applied to facts, a stratifying meaning “demotes” an assembled fact into an anchor fact of another fact, which might be referred to as *matrix fact* or *setting*. In a way, stratification is a type of embedding, with the difference being that the properties that the matrix fact brings in consist of a simple feature, like ‘PAST’ in 73.

(73) John worked hard.

When assembling 73, the speaker instructs the hearer to project fact A of John’s working hard and subsequently demote fact A into a feature of another fact B. Fact B is characterized by ‘PAST’, i.e. a fact whose appropriate referents (events, situations) are characterized by their location on an imagined time axis prior to the point of time that is assumed to be focused on by the hearer (and often

coincides with the speech event). The ‘PAST’ fact B is anchored by the assembled fact A of John’s working hard.

Similarly, the feature ‘DECL’, defined as something which the speaker states the given representation to be the correct one of (Ebeling 2006: 290), may be viewed as demoting a fact into the anchor of an assertion on the part of the speaker. ‘DECL’, too, is a stratifying feature.

Some instances of negation, too, can be viewed as stratification. There are two types of negation around in semiotactics. Ebeling (1978: 206) views the absence of a property as zero gradation and denotes it as ‘NON’: the word *uneasy* marks a zero degree of ease. But matters are different when dealing with facts. Sentence 74 does not refer to a zero fact.

(74) John does not work.

When assembling a negated fact, the hearer is first instructed to project a fact A. He is subsequently instructed to demote A into an anchor fact of a matrix fact B. Fact B inherits all the features of fact A but assigns the whole complex to the feature ‘NON’, which must not be read as “zero” here but as “different”. In 74, the communicated fact is solely characterized by its *being different* from the anchor fact of John’s working (cf. Ebeling 1994: 17; in Ebeling 2006: 52 and 174, a different approach to negation has been adopted, which is not taken into account here).

To avoid confusion, a counter-fact might be denoted with ‘DIF’ instead of ‘NON’. ‘KF’ is related to ‘DIF’. In the case of ‘DIF’, the hearer is instructed to assemble a fact and to cancel it. In the case of ‘KF’, the hearer is instructed to assemble a fact and to cancel the thought of cancelling it. It may be argued that, in the semiotactic notation system, ‘KF’ is equivalent to ‘DIF/DIF’.

Those who read semiotactic notation may be interested to see the implications of the proposals presented here for the representation of sentences containing an SF. Representation 75 of sentence 1, as found in Ebeling 1978: 326 and adjusted for subsequent rules (cf. Ebeling 1978: 331), would be replaced by representation 76 (where substitution of DIF/DIF for KF may be considered).

(75) “... Σ
 PNOleg = ⟨sick⟩ KF ...”

(76) “... Σ /KF
 PNOleg = sick ...”

8 Inversion: a loose end?

There are plenty loose ends to the present proposals. To mention one, the implications of the new ‘KF’ for sentences with forms of *byt* ‘be’, i.e. sentences like 2, have not been investigated and may upset the picture. One loose end, however, deserves our attention here as it was brought in by Janneke.

Sentence 77 is the text of the intertitle at 25’04” of the YouTube version of Kalatozov’s *Salt for Svanetia*. It was this sentence that triggered our discussion on the SF.

(77) Solon pot.
 salt-SF sweat-Nom
 ‘sweat is salt’

The sentence makes sense. The dramatic salt deficit in Svanetia made all creatures look for salt substances, and the footage following the intertitle shows a goat licking the face of a sleeping country girl so as to save precious salt from being lost. (The intertitle actually contains the SF **solon* ‘salt’ instead of the irregular but prescribed form *solon*.)

Janneke came up with a rule given by Isačenko (1975³: 149), which stipulates that, whenever a predicate adjective is the first word of a sentence, the use of the SF is mandatory. Her point was, if I remember it well, that there is no point in looking for semantic explanations for the use of an SF in 77. I promised to sort that out.

In spoken Russian, word order and prosody interact for itemization purposes. Predicates may end up in the first position of a sentence and carry prosodic stress. Here are some 20th century examples given by Isačenko (1965²: 197).

(78) Veliki uspexi pjatiletki.
 ‘great (SF) are the successes of the five-year plan’

- (79) Krasiv pan polkovnik Golub: brovi čerňnye, lico blednoe [...].
 ‘handsome (SF) is pan colonel Golub: his brows are black (NF), his face
 pale (NF)’

Such SFs are found in texts that are intended (to be imagined) to be read aloud or render (imagined) oral discourse. The SF adjective is likely to be stressed.

The SFs in 78 and 79 do not seem to call for a special inversion rule. They can be accounted for by the new ‘KF’. Greatness and beauty are opposed to their absence.

Tolstoj’s (1966: 180) NF example 80 shows, moreover, that the use of the SF is not mandatory in inversion in spoken Russian. The reasons for using an SF are absent here: the speaker does not seem to intend to convince a sceptical hearer of the superior quality of his grenade. So he uses the NF.

- (80) Xorošaja éta štuka dlja nočnoj razvedki: ogon’ jarkij, zvuk rezkij.
 ‘good (NF) is this gadget for night reconnaissance: its fire is glaring (NF),
 its sound sharp (NF)’

So I gather that in sentences reflecting or evoking spoken Russian, the semantics of ‘KF’ may be at work as expected.

But there is another, parallel, system of rules, which governs word order in written discourse intended to be read silently or aloud in monologue.

At the turn of the 19th century, Karamzin and (Puškin’s teacher) Košanskij increased reading speed for written prose by introducing a convention to the effect that sentences should be written and read presupposing a “pre-set” rhythmical template (*gotovaja ritmičeskaja setka*; Kovtunova 1969: 180). By using this fixed default prosodic pattern (*nejtral’nyj ritmiko-intonacionnyj fon*; Kovtunova 1969: 178), a writer could save his readers the effort of figuring out for each sentence with which (imaginary) contour it should be read in order to reconstruct the itemization intended by the writer. The “neutral” prosodic pattern to be adopted was a rising intonation contour (cf. Kovtunova 1969: 151-185).

Having lost the option to vary intonation patterns, writers had to resort to word order to mark itemization. As the rising intonation pattern fixes the rheme

in final position, the way to make sure that an item is itemized as a rheme is to put it there. Compare 81 and 82: if writing conventions do not allow stressing the first item, the only way to secure an itemization to the effect that the reader picks up that it is the son who loves his father, i.e. not the daughter or whatever, is to put the son in final position.

- (81) Syn ljubit otca.
 son-Nom loves father-Acc
 ‘the son loves his father’
- (82) Otca ljubit syn.
 father-Acc loves son-Nom
 ‘the son loves his father’, ‘the father was loved by the son’, ‘it was the son who loved the father’

Russian writers can get away with a great deal of inversion as the morphology usually secures the intended assemblage: the case markers make clear who loves whom.² West European languages had to resort to passive or cleft constructions.

The SF sentence 77 is a typical instance of itemization inversion under neutral prosody. The intertitle answers the question what kind of objects or substances contain salt: salt is the theme, the sweat the rheme. Now the question is whether, in these sentences, itemization is the all-overriding reason for using the SF *solon* ‘salt’, irrespective of any semantic necessity.

It is hard to substantiate the assumption that the writer intends to express the meaning of ‘KF’ in 77, i.e. view the SF as an instruction to the reader to cancel the thought that sweat is not salt. The saltiness of sweat is a generally accepted fact. The message of 77 is that sweat must be included in the list of salt substances: at 25’53” of Kalatozov’s film, another intertitle shows SF sentence 83 (morphology corrected). Never mind the footage.

- (83) Solona moča.
 salt-SF urine-Nom
 ‘urine is salt’

Moreover, enumerations of salt substances can be found on the internet, with descending prosodies and no inversion, that use the NF.

- (84) *Slezy solenye, pot solenyj, krov' solenaja.*
 'tears are salt (NF), sweat is salt (NF), blood is salt (NF)'

So Janneke must be right. In stylistically unmarked written discourse, inversion is an autonomous factor that requires the use of the SF, even where it is not predicted by 'KF'.

There may be a reason for the preference for the SF in case of inversion. If the word order rules have really been designed to enhance reading ease and speed, placing NF predicative adjectives in nominal sentences before subject nouns undoes most of their intended impact. When reading the NF *solenyj* 'salt' instead of the SF *solon* in 77, a reader would take a moment, albeit very short, to realize that he is reading a full sentence with a nexus instead of an elliptic one consisting of a noun group meaning 'salt sweat'. But in longer sentences, the impact on the reading process may be more disruptive. If the SF *mnogočislenna* 'numerous' in sentence 85 (found in the running text of Tolstoj 1966: 171) were replaced by the NF *mnogočislennaja*, the reader would read on for two lines before realizing that the predicate that he was expecting fails to turn up, and then wonder what went wrong, go back to the beginning of the sentence and try again.

- (85) *Gorazdo bolee mnogočislenna grupa kratkix prilagatel'nyx v funkcii skazuemogo, trebjuščix pri sebe zavisimogo slova v kosvennom padeže.*
 considerably more numerous-SF group-Nom short-Gen-Plur adjectives-
 Gen in function-Prep predicate-Gen, requiring-Gen-Plur with self-Prep
 dependent-Gen word-Gen in oblique-Prep case-Prep
 'considerably more numerous (SF) is the group of short form adjectives in
 the role of the predicate requiring a dependent word in an oblique case'

So no wonder writers wishing to avoid bewildering their readers prefer to use the SF, even if they do not really intend to convey the meaning 'KF'. This is a small price to be paid for the convenience of using word order for itemization whenever oral communication is impossible. In writing, the semantic potential of 'KF' is,

after all, rather limited. Its deictic value is more relevant for speakers and hearers sharing a speech situation. Written communication presents different challenges.

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Notes

- 1 Bühler uses *Kundgabe* (1918: 1) or *Ausdruck* (1934: 28) for the first function. For the second function, he uses *Auslösung* (1918: 1) or *Appell* (1934: 28). For the third function, he uses *Darstellung* (1918: 1). Jakobson's (1960: 353-355) terms (*emotive, conative, referential*) and concepts diverge considerably from Bühler's. Space does not allow an exposition of the differences.
- 2 Both *mat'* 'mother' and *doč'* 'daughter' syncretize the nominative and the accusative, thus undermining the inversion convention. This triggered a discussion involving Peškovskij and Jakobson, cf. Van Helden 1993: 886-889.

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GRAMMATICALE ASPECTEN VAN DE RUSSISCHE VERTALING VAN HUYGENS’ *KOSMOTHEOROS*

Wim Honselaar & Johannes G. van der Tak

Inleiding

De *Kosmotheoros* is het laatste werk van de wereldberoemde zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse natuur- en sterrenkundige Christiaan Huygens; het manuscript, in het Latijn geschreven, bevindt zich in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van de Universiteit van Leiden. Kort na Huygens’ dood is het in 1699 in drukvorm in Den Haag gepubliceerd.¹

Van de *Kosmotheoros* zijn een Franse², Duitse³, Engelse⁴ en Nederlandse⁵ vertaling – gemaakt door Pieter Rabus (1660-1702) in 1699 – verschenen, en ook – in opdracht van tsaar Peter de Grote – een Russische vertaling van de hand van Jacob Bruce (1669-1735), zie Van der Tak en Honselaar (2016). Deze Russische vertaling werd geruime tijd later, op 27 oktober 1717, in Sint-Petersburg gepubliceerd onder de titel “Книга мірозрѣнія или мнѣніе о небесноземныхъ глобусахъ, и ихъ украшеніяхъ”. In 1724 is hiervan in Moskou een identieke druk verschenen. De RNB in Sint-Petersburg bezit zes exemplaren van de tweede uitgave. Wij hebben voor ons onderzoek de tekst van een van deze uitgaven gebruikt.

De Petersburgse druk van de *Kosmotheoros* kende slechts een zeer beperkte oplage van dertig exemplaren (in plaats van de door Peter de Grote bestelde 1200 exemplaren), omdat de drukker, M. P. Avramov, vreesde dat het goddeloze karakter van de inhoud van het werk tot problemen zou leiden; de hoogte van de oplage van de Moskouse druk is niet bekend (zie Van der Tak en Honselaar, 2016).

De inhoud van de *Kosmotheoros* is inderdaad, zeker voor het toenmalige Rusland, revolutionair, zo niet blasfemisch te noemen: het boek gaat over de

astronomische inzichten van Copernicus en Kepler, welke in het geheel niet strookten met de traditionele religieuze opvattingen, en neemt het bestaan aan van hoogontwikkelde bewoners op andere hemellichamen zoals Mars, Venus, Jupiter en Saturnus.

1 De Russische *Kosmotheoros*

In een eerdere publicatie (Van der Tak en Honselaar, 2016) hebben wij aannemelijk gemaakt dat de Russische vertaling van de *Kosmotheoros* vervaardigd moet zijn op basis van de Duitse vertaling. Wie de auteur van deze Duitse vertaling was, staat niet in de Duitse uitgave vermeld. Onlangs heeft onze Leuvense collega Henri Bloemen ontdekt dat de toentertijd bekende Duitse sterrenkundige Philipp von Wurzelbau als de vertaler vermeld staat op internet; hoewel Von Wurzelbau qualitate qua in aanmerking zou kunnen komen als vertaler van Huygens, is er vooralsnog helaas geen nadere onderbouwing voor gevonden.⁶

De Russische vertaling is vervaardigd in opdracht van en ten behoeve van de innovatieve tsaar Peter, in een tijd waarin het geschreven Russisch evolueerde van een vorm die sterk beïnvloed was door het Kerkslavisch naar een vorm die meer aansloot bij het levende Russisch. Dit is een proces dat geruime tijd in beslag moet hebben genomen en dat, naar alle waarschijnlijkheid, ook allerlei tussenstadia en overgangsvormen heeft gekend. Als wij als de voorlopige codificatie van deze ontwikkeling in het midden van de 18e eeuw de grammatica van Lomonosov nemen (Lomonosov, 1755), is het interessant om te bekijken in hoeverre de *Книга мірозрѣнія* uitdrukking geeft aan de modernisering van de Russische schrijftaal.

Bij een eerste beschouwing is al snel te zien dat er zowel Kerkslavische als echt Russische elementen in de tekst zitten. Zo valt het frequente gebruik van de Kerkslavische conjunctie *идѣже* op, de vorm *нічесо* (op -есо) en het frequente gebruik van het pronomen relativum *иже* (naast *которыи*). Kerkslavisch (zie Leskien 1962: § 36, p. 61) is ook het gebruik van de dualis; voorbeelden zijn *ногама* (Instr. dual.), *очіма* (Instr. dual., 6 keer), *очесама* (Dat. dual.) en *саміма* (pron.det. Instr. dual.). In Lomonosov (1755) staat de dualis niet meer vermeld.

Anderzijds wordt het werkwoordelijk reflexief suffix *-ся* soms gespeld als *-ца*

на -т van de uitgangen van de 3e persoon singularis en pluralis, zoals кажетца, унічтожіваяуцца, почи́таюцца, проі́зводі́цца, удосто́яетца, отвергаюцца, соблю́даюцца, сумні́ваетца, явля́етца, подві́заетца, изобрѣ́таюцца, держатца, являюцца, стянѣ́тца, изобрѣ́таетца, прі́мѣряюцца, etc. De gewone schrijfwijze met -ся, zoals in откланя́ются, называ́ется, прорѣ́зывается, обраща́ется, емя́ются, обраща́ются, etc. komt ook vaak voor. De alternatieve schrijfwijze kan worden beschouwd als een voorbeeld van “spellen-zoals-men-het-zegt” en derhalve als een poging om aan te sluiten bij de taal zoals die echt gesproken werd. De alternatieve spelling van -ся als -ца is in Lomonosov (1755) echter niet vermeld.

Wij zullen ons in ons opstel echter niet verder verdiepen in de pronomina, de verba of de dualis maar ons concentreren op Kerkslavische vormen van het substantief die niet in Lomonosov (1755) vermeld zijn.

De *Книга мірозрѣнія* is een redelijk omvangrijke tekst van ongeveer 28.500 woorden. Hiervan hadden wij al eerder met behulp van OCR (en aanzienlijke nacorrectie!) een digitale versie gemaakt. Voor het onderhavige onderzoek is deze digitale tekst omgezet in een lange lijst van woorden door de spaties tussen de woorden te vervangen door een Enter. De resulterende lijst is ingeplakt in een kolom van een Excel-werkblad; links daarvan is een kolom met identificatienummers ingevoegd en rechts ervan een kolom met dezelfde woorden, maar dan ontdaan van leestekens, haakjes e.d., een kolom met het passende lemmawoord en een kolom met een grammaticale determinatie; een representatief voorbeeld is hieronder afgebeeld:

00292	и	и	и	conj.
00293	дѣла	дѣла	дѣло	sb. n. A.pl.
00294	рукъ	рукъ	рука	sb. f. G.pl.
00295	его	его	его	pron.pos. 3p. m.
00296	унічі́жательно,	унічі́жательно	унічі́жательно	adv.

Afb. 1: *fragment Excel-file*

In Excel kan het gehele file worden gesorteerd op grond van de inhoud van elk van de kolommen; wordt deze bewerking toegepast op de vierde kolom dan verkrijgt men een alfabetische lijst van gebruikte woorden (in hun lemmavorm) en

toepassing op de vijfde kolom resulteert in een sortering op determinatie; ook hiervan is een voorbeeld ingevoegd, als Afb. 2:

00296	унічіжательно,	унічіжательно	унічіжательно	adv.
00292	и	и	и	conj.
00295	его	его	его	pron.pos. 3p. m.
00294	рукъ	рукъ	рука	sb. f. G.pl.
00293	дѣла	дѣла	дѣло	sb. n. A.pl.

Afb. 2: *fragment Excel-file, gesorteerd op de inhoud van kolom 5*

Met behulp van de in Afb. 2 getoonde bewerking konden de substantiva op eenvoudige wijze worden verzameld, en konden binnen de substantiva de geslachten en naamvallen ook snel worden gevonden.

2 Naamvals vormen van het substantief in de Russische *Kosmotheoros*

De naamvals vormen van het substantief in de Russische vertaling van de *Kosmotheoros* vertonen geen opvallende afwijkingen ten opzichte van wat in Lomonosov (1755) vermeld staat, met uitzondering van de Instr. pl. Deze heeft in zeven gevallen namelijk de “Kerkslavische” uitgang *-ы/-и*:

глобусы
 доводы (2x)
 народы
 образы
 случаи
 философы

Opvallend is dat naast de vorm *доводы*, die twee keer voorkomt, ook de Russische vorm *доводами* is gebruikt, eveneens twee keer.

In de volgende paragraaf wordt bekeken hoe de inventaris van vormen op *-ы/-и* zich verhoudt ten opzichte van Leskien (1962); daarvoor wordt eerst een overzicht gegeven van wat Leskien daarover vermeldt.

3 Instrumentalis pluralis op *-ы/-и* bij Leskien

Leskien (1962, 66-85) presenteert de verschillende flexieklassen van het

substantief in het Kerkslavisch en geeft daarbij aan of een Instr. pl. op -ы/-и geattesteerd is; Afb. 3 geeft daarvan een overzicht:

klasse	toelichting	geslachten	Instr. pl. op -ы/-и
<i>i</i> -stammen (p. 66)		vooral fem.: КОСТЬ, МЫШЬ, МЫСЛЬ, ...; enkele masc.: ГВОЗДЬ, ...	ø
<i>n</i> -stammen (p. 69-70)		masc. op -Ы/-Ь	ДЫНЬ > ДЫНЫ (naast ДЫНЬМИ)
		neutr. op -А	ИМА > ИМЕНЫ
<i>r</i> -stammen (p. 71)		alleen fem.: МАТИ en ДЪШТИ	ø
<i>s</i> -stammen (p. 72)		alleen neutr.	ТЪЛО > ТЪЛЕСЫ
wisseling van van <i>s</i> - en <i>o</i> -stammen (p. 72)		alleen neutr.	ДЪЛО > ДЪЛЕСЫ, СЛОВО > СЛОВЕСЫ ⁷
<i>t</i> -stammen (p. 73)		alleen neutr.: СТРОУДЪ, ...	ø
woorden op -ЪНИНЪ, -ЯНИНЪ, -ИНЪ (p. 74)	zijn in sg. <i>o</i> -stammen, maar verliezen in pl. het suffix en worden dan consonantisch geffecteerd	alleen masc.	ГРАЖДАНИНЪ > ГРАЖДАНЫ, ВЛАСТЕЛИНЪ > ВЛАСТЕЛЫ, ИСПОЛИНЪ > ИСПОЛЫ, РОУМИНЪ > РОУМЫ
consonantische vormen van <i>i</i> -stammen (p. 75)		enkele masc.	НОУЪТЪ > НОУЪТЫ
<i>û</i> -stammen (p. 75)		alleen fem.: ЦРЪКЪЫ, ...	ø
oude <i>û</i> -stam (p. 76)		alleen fem.: КРЪВЬ	ø
<i>u</i> (<i>ø</i>)-stammen (p. 76)		alleen masc.: БОЛЪ, ДОМЪ, ПОЛЪ, ...	ø
vermenging van <i>u</i> -stammen met masc. <i>o</i> -stammen (p. 76)		alleen masc.: СЪИНЪ, ДОМЪ, ...	ø
<i>a</i> (<i>ā</i>)-stammen (p. 78)	harde <i>ā</i> -stammen	alleen fem.: ЖЕНА, ...	ø
	zachte <i>jā</i> -stammen	alleen fem.: ЗМИА, ЗЕМЛИА, ДРОУША, ...	ø
woorden met Nom.sg. op -и (p. 80)	stammen op -унја-	alleen fem.: БОУЪНИИ, ...	ø
	stammen op -ѣја- en -ја-	enkele fem.: МЛЪНИИ, ЛАДИИ, КРАВИИ, ...	ø
		meestal masc. met fem. Nom.-vorm: СЪДЫИ, ...	ø

<i>o</i> -stammen (p. 80)	harde <i>o</i> -stammen	masc.	РАБЪ > РАБЫ
		neutr.	ЛЪТО > ЛЪТЫ
	zachte <i>jo</i> -stammen	masc.	КРАЙ > КРАИ, КОНЬ > КОНИ, МЪЖЬ > МЪЖИ
		neutr.	ЗНАМЕНИЕ > ЗНАМЕНИИ, ПОЛЕ > ПОЛИ, ЖЖЕ > ЖЖИ
vormen van <i>i</i> -stammen bij <i>jo</i> -stammen (p. 84)		niet-neutr. op -ье en -ие	ø
woorden op -ТЬЛЬ en -ДР'Ь als consonantische en <i>o</i> -stammen (p. 85)		masc.	МЪИГАР'Ь > МЪИГАРЪИ, РОДИТЕЛЬ > РОДИТЕЛЫ / РОДИТЕЛЫ, ДЪЛАТЕЛЬ > ДЪЛАТЕЛЫ, СЪВЪДЪТЕЛЬ > СЪВЪДЪТЕЛЫ, СЪАТИТЕЛЬ > СЪАТИТЕЛЫ

Afb. 3: het voorkomen van de *Instrumentalis pluralis* op -ы/-и in *Leskien* (1962)

Duidelijk is dat de Instr. pl. op -ы/-и in het Kerkslavisch in slechts een deel van de (sub)klassen geattesteerd is, en dan alleen bij masc. en neutr. woorden. Het betreft de volgende (sub)klassen: *n*-stammen (masc. en neutr.), gevallen van wisseling van van *s*- en *o*-stammen, woorden op -ЪНИНЪ, -ЮНИНЪ, -ИНЪ, consonantische vormen van *i*-stammen, *o*-stammen (harde *o*-stammen masc. en neutr., en zachte *jo*-stammen masc. en neutr.), en ten slotte woorden op -ТЬЛЬ en -ДР'Ь als consonantische en *o*-stammen.

Als wij de zeven Instr. pl. vormen op -ы/-и die in de *Книга мирозрънїя* zijn aangetroffen vergelijken met *Leskien* (1962), dan valt het volgende op:

1. Zes van de zeven vormen gaan uit op -ы en slechts één vorm gaat uit op -и. (случаи).
2. Alle gevallen zijn gevormd van masc. substantiva; neutr. woorden zijn niet gebruikt.
3. De verdeling van de Instr. pl. vormen op -ы/-и over de klassen van *Leskien* is dat de zes gevallen op -ы allemaal tot de *o*-stammen horen (глобусъ, доводъ, народъ, образъ en фїлософъ), terwijl случай moeilijk te klasseren is. Het woord komt niet voor in de *Slovník*, wel worden een Nom. sg. сълоучаи en een Gen. sg.

сълоучая (maar dan met geprejoteerde *a*) genoemd; dit suggereert een *a*-stam volgens Leskien (zie Leskien § 60, p. 80).

Van woorden uit de overige klassen die bij Leskien een Instr. pl. op -ы/-и kennen zijn dus geen voorbeelden in de vertaling van de *Kosmotheoros* te vinden.

4 Conclusie

Met betrekking tot de flexie van het substantief vertoont de Russische vertaling van de *Kosmotheoros* alleen in de Instr. pl. kenmerken van het Kerkslavisch, door het (incidentele) gebruik van de uitgang -ы/-и. Deze uitgang is echter niet in alle gevallen gebruikt waar dit in het Kerkslavisch mogelijk was; met name fem. woorden komen niet met een Instr. pl. op -ы/-и voor. Waar in het Kerkslavisch de uitgang -ы/-и bij woorden uit een flink aantal klassen geattesteerd is, is dat in de vertaling nog maar slechts in één klasse (die van de *o*-stammen) het geval, als we het ene geval van случай buiten beschouwing laten. Daarbij komt van het woord доводъ zowel een Instr. pl. op -ы voor als op -ами. De conclusie is dan ook dat bij de flexie van het substantief de Kerkslavische sporen al zo goed als helemaal zijn vervaagd.

Met de genoemde lexicale en andere grammaticale/orthografische kenmerken geeft de vertaling een genuanceerd beeld van een ontwikkelingsstadium van het geschreven Russisch van de 18e eeuw, waarbij de Kerkslavische elementen duidelijk op hun retour zijn; gezien het destijds revolutionaire karakter van de inhoud van de *Kosmotheoros* en de innovatieve opdrachtgever hoeft dit relatief bescheiden gewicht van het Kerkslavisch ons niet te verbazen.

Universiteit van Amsterdam

Noten

- 1 Hugonii 1699².
- 2 Hughens 1702.
- 3 Hugens 1703.
- 4 Huygens 1698.
- 5 Huygens 1754/1989.
- 6 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Philipp_von_Wurzelbau;
Deutsche Biographie (<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz86302.html>).
- 7 Deze vorm is ontleend aan de Syllabus Kerkslavisch van dr. Tineke Amse.

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- Hugens 1703 = Herrn Christian Hugens u. / COSMOTHEOROS / Oder / Welt-betrachtende / Muthmassungen / von denen himmlischen Erd- / Kugeln und deren Schmuck, u. / Geschrieben an / seinen Herrn Bruder / Herrn Constantin Hugens, / Weyland / Der Königl. Maj. Von Groß- / Britannien geheimen Rath. / Aus dem Lateinischen ins Teutsche übersetzt. / Leipzig, Verlegt von Friedrich Lanckischens Erben, 1703. [Tekst beschikbaar gesteld door de Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Digitalisierungszentrum, Göttingen (D).]
- Hughens 1702 = NOUVEAU TRAITÉ / DE / LA PLURALITÉ / DES / MONDES. / *Par feu MR HUGHENS, cy-devant / de l'Academie Royale des Sciences.* / Traduit du Latin en François / *Par M. D. **** / A Paris. / Chez Jean Moreau, ruë Saint / Jacques, vis-à-vis S. Yves, à la / Toison d'or. / M. DCCII. / *Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roy.*
- Huygens 1698 = THE / Celestial Worlds / DISCOVER'D: / OR, / CONJECTURES / Concerning the / INHABITANTS, / PLANTS and PRODUCTIONS / OF THE / Worlds in the Planets. / Written in Latin by / CHRISTIANUS HUYGENS, / And inscrib'd to his Brother / CONSTANTINE HUYGENS, / Late Secretary to His Majesty K. William / LONDON, / Printed for TIMOTHY CHILDE at the / White Hart at the West-end of St. / Paul's Church-yard. M DC XC VIII.
- Huygens, Christiaan 1754/1989. *Cosmotheoros: de wereldbeschouwer*; vertaling uit het Latijn door Pieter Rabus; fotomech. herdrt. van de 3e uitg. (Amsterdam 1754) Steven van Esveldt, voorzien van een inleiding door H.A.M. Snelders (Utrecht 1989).
- Книга мірозрѣнія* = Господина христіана Гюенса, / МІРОЗРѢНІЕ / или / мнѣніе / о / небесноземныхъ глобусахъ, / и украшеніи ихъ, / пісаное къ господіну константіну / ГЮЕНСУ, / Его Господіну брату. / (Напечатана / въ Санктпѣтербургскои / Типографіи, 1717 году, / Октября 27 дня. / А въ Московскои противъ тогожъ первое / 1724 году Марта въ 31 день.).
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INTONATIONSOPPOSITIONEN IM KROATISCHEN DES SÜDLICHEN BURGENLANDES

Peter Houtzagers

1 Einleitung

Im Sommer 2015 hatte ich die Gelegenheit eine kurze Feldforschungsreise in das südliche Burgenland zu machen. Zuvor hatte ich dieses Gebiet nur einmal besucht, und zwar in 2008. In 2008 habe ich Aufnahmen gemacht in Petrovo Selo (Prostrum, Szentpéterfa) und Hrvatske Šice (Kroatisch Schützen, Horvátlovő), in 2015 in Gornji Četar (Oberschilding, Felsőcsatár), Narda (Nahring, Narda), Čemba (Schandorf), Čajta (Schachendorf) und Vincjet (Dürnbach). Ich hatte das Glück Bekanntschaft mit Frau Mag. Edith Mühlgaszner zu machen, die mich mit einigen Informanten in den österreichischen Dörfern in Verbindung gebracht hat und mit der ich Aufnahmen ausgetauscht habe, so daß ich über viel mehr Material verfügen kann als ich vor der Reise hätte hoffen können. Wegen anderer Verpflichtungen hatte ich bisher leider noch wenig Gelegenheit das Material zu studieren und abgesehen von Petrovo Selo, worüber ich in 2011 ein Artikel publizierte, beinhaltet dieser kurze Aufsatz nicht mehr als einen ersten Eindruck. Ich beschränke mich auf die obenerwähnten Dörfer.

Wenn man eine Mundart beschreiben will, braucht man erstens eine Notierung. Damit man sich für eine Notierung entscheiden kann, muß man zuerst wissen, welche phonologische Oppositionen es in der Mundart gibt. Für kroatische Dialekte sind die schwierigsten Fragen in dieser Beziehung meistens diejenige, die zusammenhängen mit den Vokalen: welche Vokale gibt es, gibt es Diphthonge, gibt es Quantitätsunterschiede, wenn ja, wo (etwa auch in unbetonten Silben), usw. Vielleicht die schwierigste Frage in diesem Zusammenhang ist die, ob es eine Intonationsopposition gibt, das heißt eine Opposition zwischen steigenden und fallenden langen Vokalen. Mit dieser Frage möchte ich mich im

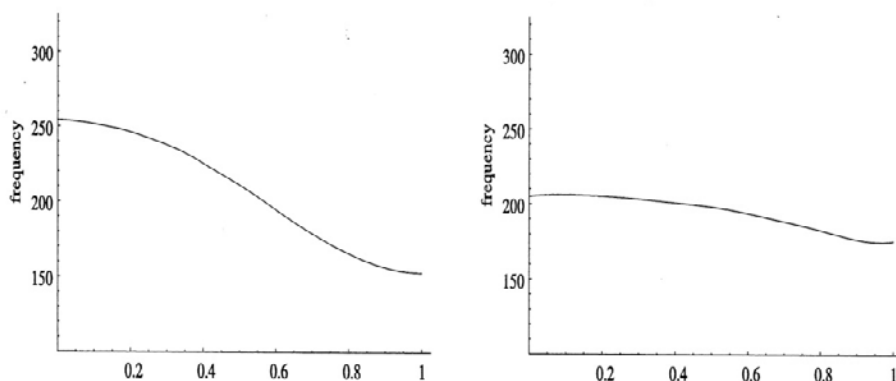
Folgenden beschäftigen. Mein vorläufiger Eindruck ist, daß es in den genannten Dörfern eine solche Opposition gibt, aber daß sie in Čemba und Vincjet am Verlorengehen ist.

2 Die Frage der Intonationsoppositionen in der kroatischen Dialektologie

Ob es eine Intonationsopposition gibt ist oft eine Streitfrage bei der Beschreibung čakavischer Dialekte.¹ Auf der Insel Cres, zum Beispiel, sind Feldforscher zwischen 1895 und 1956 in dieser Hinsicht zu den verschiedensten Ergebnissen gekommen (s. Houtzagers 1982). Ein zweites Beispiel ist die Mundart der moravischen Kroaten, die in meiner Beschreibung (2009) eine Intonationsopposition besitzt, in der Beschreibung von Lončarić (1998) aber nicht. Das Bestehen oder Nichtbestehen einer phonologischen Intonationsopposition kann in Dialektbeschreibungen auch ein Gegenstand des Zweifels sein. Manchmal wird dieser Zweifel explizit geäußert (z.B. Neweklowsky 1989: 7), bisweilen ist die Beschreibung der Opposition so undeutlich und widersprüchlich, daß man nur folgern kann daß die Opposition für den Autor recht problematisch gewesen ist (z.B. Šojat 1993). Meiner Meinung nach gibt es drei Ursachen für diese Probleme.

(1) In dem frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert haben Belić und Ivšić eine Beschreibung einer spezifischen phonetischen Realisierung des langen steigenden Akzents gegeben die sie *čakavski akut* nannten.^{2,3} Der *čakavski akut* hat am Anfang einen flachen oder sogar fallenden Tonverlauf, wonach der Ton stark steigt und steigen bleibt bis zum Ende des Vokals. Mit dieser Steigung der Tonhöhe nimmt die Lautstärke gleichermaßen zu. Nach Belić und Ivšić hat ein Teil der Dialektologen die sich mit dem Čakavischen beschäftigten sich oft nicht die Frage gestellt, ob es in den Dialekten die sie beschrieben eine Intonationsopposition gab, und wenn ja, wie die phonetische Realisierung aussah, sondern sie haben sich gefragt ob sie etwas hörten das mit diesem *čakavski akut* übereinstimmte. Wenn es das nicht gab, war die Schlußfolgerung, daß der Dialekt keine Intonationsopposition besaß. Inzwischen steht fest daß ein „steigender“ Ton in čakavischen und altštokavischen Dialekten meistens nicht phonetisch steigend ist, sondern eher „flach“ oder „weniger fallend“. Man siehe z.B. Figur 1.

INTONATIONSOPPOSITIONEN IM SÜDLICHEN BURGENLAND



Figur 1.

Links der durchschnittliche Tonhöheverlauf des „fallenden“, rechts der des „steigenden“ Tones in Hreljin in der Umgebung von Rijeka (Langston 2006: 61).

(2) Der Unterschied ist wirklich subtil und variiert je nach der Satzintonation. Meine Erfahrung ist, daß es richtig schwierig ist bei jeder Realisierung die bezügliche Intonation zu erkennen. Wegen dieser Variabilität fertige ich manchmal Montagen an mit einer Reihe von verschiedenen Realisierungen einer und derselben Wortform. Dies ermöglicht es, die Variationsbreiten steigender und fallender Vokale zu vergleichen.

(3) Man muß damit rechnen, daß ein Dialekt sich möglicherweise in einem Prozeß des allmählichen Verlusts der Intonationsopposition befindet, was bedeuten kann, daß bei den Informanten oder einem Teil der Informanten, noch abgesehen von der oben erwähnten Variabilität, die Opposition nicht konsequent realisiert wird. Hierbei könnte die relativ schwache funktionelle Belastung der Intonationsoppositionen eine Rolle spielen (s. z.B. Neweklowsky 1978: 134-135).

3 Die Bedeutung von Intonationsoppositionen

Im Hinblick auf die geringe funktionelle Belastung des Intonationsgegensatzes könnte man sich fragen, wie wichtig es eigentlich ist zu wissen, ob ein Dialekt solch einen Gegensatz besitzt. Ein Beispiel für die Relevanz dieser Opposition wäre das folgende. In 1935 entdeckte Aleksandar Belić (1935: 9-11) eine Isoglosse

die man im allgemeinen als alt und wichtig betrachtet. Diese Isoglosse durchschneidet den westlichen Teil des Posavischen und den südöstlichen Teil des čakavischen Dialektgebietes in Kroatien. Die Isoglosse bezieht sich auf das Ergebnis der Verlängerung kurzer Vokale vor tautosyllabischen Sonoranten, z.B. *t'ancat* 'tanzen' > *t'a:ncat* (' = Iktus). (Nord)westlich von der Isoglosse war das Ergebnis der Verlängerung ein steigender Vokal (> *tāncat*), (süd)östlich ein fallender (> *tâncat*). Bis 2011 wurde in burgenländisch-kroatischen Dialekten nur die „nordwestliche Variante“ der Verlängerung gefunden, d.h. überall war das Ergebnis ein steigender Vokal (> *tāncat*, e.g. Neweklowsky 1978: 72, 133; Ivić 1961-62: 120). Jedoch ist in meinem Material aus Petrovo Selo die „südöstliche Variante“ der Verlängerung zu finden: *tâncat*, *karmîl* 'fütterte' (2011: 281). Wenn das stimmt, gibt es eine Möglichkeit daß Belićs Isoglosse auch durch das Burgenland verläuft und uns neue Information gibt über die Herkunft (eines Teils) der burgenländer Kroaten. Wenn der fallende Ton nichts mit Belićs Isoglosse zu tun hat, muß eine andere Erklärung gefunden werden. Klar ist jedenfalls, daß diese Isoglosse distinktive Töne betrifft und um herauszufinden wie sie verläuft müssen wir zuerst feststellen welche Mundarten eine Intonationsopposition besitzen.

4 Neweklowsky und andere über die Intonationsoppositionen bei den Štoji

Neweklowsky berichtet uns, daß er in štojischen Mundarten keine Intonationsoppositionen feststellen kann, obwohl „... nach Ivić in Narda fakultative Intonationsoppositionen bestehen (1961/62, 120) ...“ und „im Material von Brabec und Ivšić Intonationszeichen gesetzt werden“ (1978: 157).⁴ Aus Petrovo Selo und Hrvatske Šice hat Neweklowsky nur wenig Material (1978: 153-154). Mühlgaszner und Szucsich unterscheiden in Čemba nicht zwischen steigenden und fallenden langen Vokalen (2005: 20-21, 59), auch nicht in den wenigen angeführten Formen aus Čajta und Vincjet (z.B. 2005: 16).

5 Petrovo Selo

In 2008 habe ich Aufnahmen gemacht in Petrovo Selo und Hrvatske Šice. Das Material aus Petrovo Selo habe ich studiert und ich bin zu der Schlußfolgerung

gekommen daß es dort eine Intonationsopposition auf langen betonten Vokalen gibt, auch in der letzten Silbe eines Wortes und in einsilbigen Wörtern. Bei den Diphthongen fand ich den Tonunterschied sehr schwierig zu hören. Meine vorläufige Lösung war, daß es bei den Diphthongen im folgenden Sinne eine Optionalität gibt: ein steigender Diphthong kann fakultativ fallend realisiert werden.⁵

Beispiele (Pänultima):⁶ *bīli* 'sein' LPplm, *pīlin* 'sähen' PR1sg, *karmīli* 'füttern' LPplm, *viēza* 'Seil' Gsg, *niēden* 'nicht gehen' PR1sg, *debēle* 'dick' Apl, *zlāto* 'Gold', *rāslo* 'wachsen' LPsgn, *dvājset* '20', *buōlti* 'Laden' Lsg, *duōjdu* 'kommen' PR3pl, *dōma* 'zu Hause', *l'ūdi* 'Mensch' Npl, *l'ūdi* 'Mensch' Gpl, *čūda* 'viel'.

Beispiele (offene Ultima): *mī* 'wir', *bolī* 'weh tun' PR3sg, *svin'ārī* 'Schweinehüter', *čistiē* 'sauber' DEFGsgf, *doveziē* 'bringen' PR3sg, *d'ē* 'sein' PR3sg, *dvā* '2', *dā* 'geben' PR3sg, *dvarā* 'Hof' Gsg, *čistuō* 'sauber' DEFNsgn, *bižimō* 'rennen' PR1pl, *čistū* 'sauber' DEFAsgf, *velū* 'sagen' PR3pl, *selū* 'Dorf' Lsg.

Was die Distribution der Toneme anbetrifft war sehr interessant, daß das Ergebnis der Verlängerung vor tautosyllabischen Sonoranten ein fallender Ton war, daß hier also die „südöstliche Variante“ der Verlängerung stattgefunden hat (s. § 3). Desto gespannter war ich, wie es in den nördlicheren Dörfern aussehen würde.

6 Mein erster Eindruck von den übrigen Dörfern

Wegen der beschränkten Zeit die ich zur Verfügung hatte, habe ich aus den übrigen Dörfern jeweils nur ein Teil von einer Sitzung einige Male abgehört. Information über die Informanten:

<i>Dorf</i>	<i>Geschlecht</i>	<i>Geburtsjahr</i>
Hrvatske Šice	weiblich	1940
Četar	weiblich	ca. 1940
Narda	weiblich, männlich	1946, 1947, 1951
Čemba	weiblich	1931
Čajta	weiblich	1930
Vincjet	männlich	1936

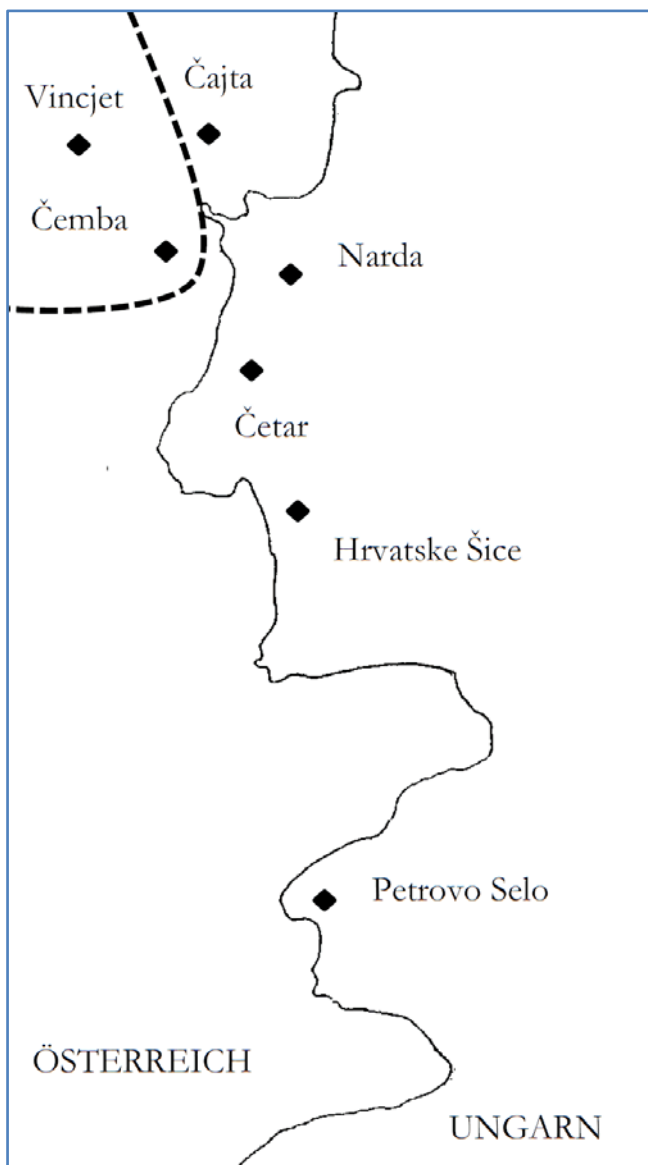
Beim ersten Mal abhören war mir deutlich, daß es in Hrvatske Šice und Četar dieselbe Intonationsopposition gibt als in Petrovo Selo. In den übrigen Dörfern aber war die Opposition schwieriger zu hören. Anfangs dachte ich, daß es sie gar nicht gäbe, aber allmählich bemerkte ich, daß vor allem in Narda und Čajta, in Formen in welchen man einen fallenden langen Vokal erwartet (z.B. *jáko* 'sehr', *lipo* 'schön', *múži* 'Mann' Npl, *bili* 'sein' LPplm), auffällig oft der betonte Vokal einen energischen, hohen Anfang hat und bald nach dem Anfang abschwächt. Eine gute Beschreibung findet man bei Kalsbeek:

The most characteristic moment in long falling vowels is the abrupt decline in pitch and loudness almost immediately after the beginning of the vowel. The decline is so strong that the second part of the long falling vowel seems often to be reduced to near silence (1998: 39).

Als mein Ohr sich einigermaßen an die Mundarten gewöhnt hatte, meinte ich auf den Aufnahmen aus Narda und Čajta die Intonationsopposition ziemlich konsequent hören zu können, in Čemba und Vincjet aber viel weniger konsequent. Was Čemba und Vincjet betrifft ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die (ziemlich schwache aber dennoch bestehende) Korrelation zwischen den Tönen die ich auf sprachhistorischen Gründen erwarte und den, die ich wahrzunehmen glaube, auf Zufall oder auf Selbstbeeinflussung beruht, aber ich halte dafür, daß wir in den beiden Dörfern mit einem System zu tun haben, in dem die Intonationsopposition zwar noch besteht, aber am Verschwinden ist. In Narda und Čajta ist die Intonationsopposition phonetisch weniger deutlich als in Petrovo Selo, Hrvatske Šice und Četar, aber sie wird ziemlich konsequent realisiert. Eine Optionaltät in eine Richtung so wie Ivić sie in Narda gehört hat (s. Note 4) habe ich nicht feststellen können, ausgenommen von den Diphthongen: ich nehme an, daß die Opposition zwischen steigenden und fallenden Diphthongen entweder optionell ist (steigende Diphthonge können fakultativ fallend realisiert werden) oder sogar neutralisiert ist.

Was die Verlängerung vor tautosyllabischen Sonoranten anbetrifft nehme ich an, daß das Ergebnis „südöstlich“, d.h. fallend ist.

INTONATIONSOPPOSITIONEN IM SÜDLICHEN BURGENLAND



Figur 2.

Nördlich und westlich von der Isoglosse - - - - - ist die Intonationsopposition am Verlorengehen.

8 Schlußbemerkung

All dieses war, wie gesagt, nur ein erster Eindruck. Bevor man mit einiger Sicherheit feststellen kann welche phonologischen Oppositionen es in den Mundarten gibt müßte man aus jedem Dorf viel mehr Material abhören. Das Ohr muß sich an die Mundart jedes einzelnen Dorfes gewöhnen, und verschiedene Informanten aus demselben Dorf können sich sprachlich von einander unterscheiden.

Es wäre natürlich auch interessant, die Dörfer im südlichsten Teil des Burgenlandes an der österreichischen Seite der Grenze in die Untersuchung hineinzuziehen. Während meiner Feldforschungsreise in 2015 bekam ich den Eindruck, daß in vielen Dörfern das Kroatische schon ausgestorben war. Hoffentlich ist es den Mitarbeitern des Kroatischen Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum noch gelungen oder wird es ihnen noch gelingen, Sprachmaterial aus diesen Dörfern festzulegen.

Reichsuniversität Groningen

Noten

- 1 Die Dialekte um die es sich hier handelt haben zwar das Fragewort *što* und ihre Sprecher werden gewöhnlich *štoji* genannt, sie werden aber meistens als štokavisch-čakavische Übergangsmundarten betrachtet "bei denen eigentlich die čakavischen Merkmale das Übergewicht besitzen" (Neweklowky 1978: 152, siehe auch Ivić 1961-62: 121).
- 2 Siehe Angaben bei Langston (2006: 27). Mehr über diese Frage findet man bei Vermeer (1982: 304-309).
- 3 Übrigens beschrieb Ivić hier keine čakavische, sondern posavische (altštokavische) Dialekte.
- 4 Die Optionalität bei Ivić gilt nur in eine Richtung: der steigende Ton kann optionell fallend realisiert werden (1961-62: 120).
- 5 Die hier vorgestellte Lösung ist Ivićs Optionalität in Narda sehr ähnlich (s. vorige Note), mit dem Unterschied, daß bei Ivić die Optionalität nicht nur für die Diphthonge zutrifft.
- 6 Morphologische Abkürzungen: LP – I-Partizip, PP – zweites Partizip; sg, pl – singular, plural; N, G ... L. – Nominativ, Genitiv ... Lokativ; m, f, n – männlich, weiblich, sächlich; PR1sg ... PR3pl – Präsens erste Person Singular ... dritte Person Plural; INF – Infinitiv, COMP, SUP – Komparativ, Superlativ. IND, DEF – unbestimmt, bestimmt.

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THREE HITHERTO UNDISCOVERED OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC BIBLE VERSES

Jaap Kamphuis

1 Introduction

Janneke Kalsbeek's work in Slavic linguistics has always been data driven, whether it concerns her dialectological work (e.g. Kalsbeek 1998), studies in Croatian historical linguistics (e.g. Kalsbeek 2008, 2012), or the modules she gave at the University of Amsterdam, she always worked closely with the actual language material. I was Janneke's student, and she was the one who introduced me to the endlessly beautiful world of Slavic historical linguistics through reading Old Croatian texts like the *Vinodolski Zakon*, or *Povelja Kulina Bana*. Because of the enthusiastic way she presented the language data and the detailed way in which she was able to dissect the language to explain language development, I developed a real taste for old Slavic texts and some years later wrote my dissertation on verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic (OCS). That project allowed me to work with another corpus of old Slavic texts and in an attempt to make the various existing OCS Gospel manuscripts more easily comparable, I created the *Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts*. While doing so, I discovered three, until now wrongly classified, and as such undiscovered, Bible verses in the Codex Assemanianus. In this article, I will present these three verses as a tribute to Janneke, who inspired me to study these historical Slavic sources in the first place.

The structure of this article is as follows: in Section 2, I will first elaborate briefly on the philological context. I will discuss what kind of manuscript the Codex Assemanianus is, and try to make clear how it is possible that the three verses were wrongly classified. In addition to that, I will attempt to provide insight into the history of the classification of the attestations in this manuscript by comparing the three existing concordances to the Codex Assemanianus. In Section 3, I will

give a short introduction to my Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts; it was the creation and use of this corpus that led to the discovery of the three verses. Finally, in Section 4, I will discuss the actual discovery of the three wrongly classified verses and propose a new classification.

2 Philological context

2.1 Old Church Slavonic Gospel Codices¹

Old Church Slavonic is the first attested Slavic language. The manuscripts that form the OCS corpus are from the tenth and eleventh century and contain almost exclusively religious texts, often translations of Bible books, sermons and saint's lives. A number of linguistic traits indicate that we are dealing with a South-Slavic variant of Slavic.

The Codex Assemanianus, in which I discovered the three wrongly classified Bible verses, is part of the OCS corpus. It is an evangeliary, which means that it does not contain the complete text of all four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), but selections of the Gospel texts for reading during the mass and other church services. The two largest and most studied evangeliaries in the OCS corpus are the Codex Assemanianus (short: Assemanianus) and Savvina Kniga. The latter is a Cyrillic manuscript from the eleventh century, copied from a Glagolitic source. The Assemanianus is a Glagolitic manuscript, also from the eleventh century. It bears the name of its finder, Joseph S. Assemani, who found it in 1736, in a monastery in Jerusalem. The codex consists of three parts. *Part 1* is the largest (folia 1-112) and is an *aprakos* Gospel, containing readings for every day from Easter to Pentecost and subsequently readings for each Saturday and Sunday of the year, from Pentecost to Easter (Ivanova-Mavrodinova and Džurova 1981: 16). *Part 2* (folia 112-153) is a *menologium*, containing readings for church holidays per month, starting in September, as well as readings for saint's days (ibidem). *Part 3* (folia 153-158) contains some additional readings and instructions for church holidays (ibidem).

There are also so-called fourfold Gospels in the OCS corpus. Unlike the evangeliaries the fourfold Gospels contain the full text of the Gospels in their usual

order: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John and within those books in the regular order by chapter and verse, which makes finding Bible verses in these codices easy. There are two almost complete fourfold Gospels in the OCS corpus: the Codex Zographensis and the Codex Marianus, both are Glagolitic manuscripts from around the beginning of the eleventh century.²

Since the text in evangeliaries is ordered differently from the usual order, as found in the fourfold Gospels, a concordance is needed to quickly find a Bible verse in an evangeliary. In such a concordance text in the codex is linked to the corresponding Bible verse. A particular Bible verse can be found in the codex through the use of the concordance, if one knows the book it is in (e.g. John or Mark), the chapter and the verse.

There are three concordances to the Assemanianus, which I will discuss in Section 2.2 below.

2.2 Concordances to the Assemanianus

The first concordance to the Assemanianus is by Rački (1865: 213-216). He arranges the Gospel attestations from the Assemanianus in their regular order (based on Bible book, chapter and verse) and indicates the location of the verses, or of ranges of verses if they occur consecutively. The location indicated is a page number in Rački's own Glagolitic transcription of the codex where these verses can be found. If one were to look for, for example, John 1: 1-17 one would be referred to page 1 of the transcription. The pages of the transcription, however, contain more text than the folia in the original codex, hence, the page numbers and the folio numbers are not in sync. In his transcription, Rački indicates where a new folio starts, but he does not differentiate between the front side and the backside of the folio, nor between the two columns of text that most sides contain, nor does he refer to line numbers in the transcription. This makes finding the actual passage rather challenging, not to mention the difficulties some may have reading quickly through the Glagolitic. If one wished to study a particular Bible verse in the manuscript, or in a facsimile edition, one would first have to look up the verse in the concordance, go to the indicated page number in the

transcription by Rački, subsequently find the folio number indicated in the margin, then look up the folio in the manuscript and finally scan through the text, often through two columns, to find the verse. This is a rather cumbersome process.

Kurz (1951: 336) mentions the challenges that the concordance by Rački poses for the innocent reader, and creates a more detailed concordance, which makes it easier to locate verses. His concordance is subdivided into 3 sections. *Section A* (ibidem: 337-340) is similar to the concordance by Rački (1865), in that it gives Bible verses, or a range of Bible verses, in their regular order and refers to their location in the manuscript. However, unlike Rački's concordance, Kurz's concordance refers the reader to the folio, or folia, on which these verses can be found, indicating on which side of the folio the verses can be found. Kurz also gives the exact line numbers and takes into account the two columns, if present. For example, John 1: 1-17 can be found starting on folio 1 backside, first column line 4 and ending on folio 2 front side, first column, line 25. In the notation of Kurz that is 1^c4-2^a25.³ Moreover, the concordance by Kurz is more detailed; he indicates the locations of verses that appear more than once in the Assemanianus (cf. Section 3), which Rački (1865) only indicates in his transcription, but not in the concordance. Kurz is also more careful in giving the exact verses in larger passages. For example, 56^b7-57^a10 contains the story of Jesus driving out demons from a possessed man. This story is told in Luke 8: 26-39. However, in the Assemanianus the verses 26, 36 and 37 of this story are not included. This is indicated in the concordance by Kurz, but not in Rački's, which simply states Luke 8: 26-39, located on page 78. Kurz furthermore indicates whether a verse is attested in its entirety or only partially. *Section B* of the concordance (ibidem: 340-362) can be considered as an even more detailed version of Section A, as it gives the lines per individual verse (e.g. John 1: 1 can be found on 1^c4-9), making it even easier to find one particular verse in a larger passage. And finally, *Section C* (ibidem: 362-363) indicates all Gospel texts that are not attested in the Assemanianus.

Four years later, in 1955, Kurz published a diplomatic edition of the Assemanianus. This edition also included a concordance (Kurz 1955: XVIII-

XXIII), in addition to a transcription of the Assemanianus in Cyrillic, with commentary. I compared the concordance used in Kurz (1955), to the one in Kurz (1951), and there are about 10 minor differences between them, which shows that Kurz kept updating his concordance. In one case, the 1951 edition follows Rački (1865), indicating the absence of John 16: 20 from the Assemanianus, while the 1955 edition corrects that and includes the verse (on 97^b12-13), indicating that it is a short version.⁴ Other differences include a different counting of line numbers (e.g. 40a and 44b, both starting with an empty line, which is appreciated in the 1955 edition) and some other minor differences.⁵ Generally the concordance in Kurz (1955) is a small improvement over his own 1951 edition, which, in turn, is a major improvement compared to the concordance in Rački (1865). However, notwithstanding the development through the years, the three verses that are the subject of the present paper, are wrongly classified in all three concordances.

The concordance from Kurz (1955) forms the basis for aligning the text in the Assemanianus with the text of both fourfold gospels and *Savvina Kniga* in my Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts, which I will discuss in Section 3.⁶

3 Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts

When I started my study of verbal aspect in OCS, many Old Church Slavonic manuscripts had already been made digitally available, making it much easier to search them, do word counts, etc.⁷ However, I also wished to compare them, as differences between codices (as well as within codices) can reveal much about the stage of development of verbal aspect in OCS. It turned out that comparing the various Gospel codices, which have the most potential for comparison within the OCS corpus, was still a rather time consuming task, even with the codices digitally available. In order to be able to more easily compare OCS gospel codices, I used the existing digital versions to create the Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts. This corpus contains the parallel texts of Zographensis, Marianus,

Assemanianus and Savvina Kniga, with the Glagolitic manuscripts transliterated in Cyrillic.⁸

Since Assemanianus and Savvina Kniga do not contain the full text of the Gospels, there are numerous places in which Zographensis and Marianus have attestations, where Assemanianus and Savvina Kniga have none (cf. Kurz 1951: 362-363, 1955: XXIII). A smaller proportion of the missing text can be attributed to lost or damaged parchments. When such damage occurs in a fourfold Gospel, it also happens that Bible verses are attested in the evangeliaries, but not in the fourfold Gospels. Fig. 1. shows a typical sample from the parallel corpus:

Gospel	Chapter	Verse	Zographensis	Marianus	Assemanianus	Savina kniga
Luke	1	76	І тѣ))отрочѣ пророкъ вѣшнѣго))наречешн сѣ . прѣдѣдешн))бо прѣдѣ лицемъ гнемѣ .))оцготовати пѣти его .	І тѣ отрочѣ пророкъ вѣшнѣго наречешн сѣ . прѣдѣдешн бо прѣдѣ лицемъ гнемѣ оцготовати пѣти его .	И тѣ отрочѣ . пророкъ вѣшнѣго наречешн сѣ . Прѣдѣдешн бо прѣдѣ лицемъ гнемѣ . оцготовати пѣти его .	
Luke	1	77))дати разумѣ спенѣ))людемъ его въ оставѣ))нѣе въ отъпощенѣе губь))хъ нашихъ .	дати разумѣ спенѣ людемъ его въ отъпощенѣе губькоу ихъ .		
Luke	1	78	линосудѣды))радн линости ба нашѣго .))въ ннхъже посѣти насѣ .))въстоукъ съвѣше	линосуден радн ба нашѣго . въ ннхъже посѣтиѣ естѣ насѣ въстоукъ съ вѣше .		
Luke	1	79	просѣтн сѣлаштамъ въ тѣмѣ))и в' сѣнн сѣмрѣтнѣ .))направитн ногы наша на пѣтѣ миренѣ .	просѣтнн сѣлаштамъ въ тѣмѣ : і сѣнн сѣмрѣтнѣ . направитн ногы наша на пѣтѣ миренѣ .		
Luke	1	80	отрочѣ же растѣше . і крѣплѣше сѣ дхмъ . і бѣ въ поустынѣхъ . до днѣ авеленѣе своего къ іаіу . коц .	отрочѣ же растѣше и крѣплѣше сѣ дхмъ . і бѣ въ поустынѣхъ до днѣ авеленѣе своего къ издранію . :: кц :: Въ вечерѣ хва рождства :: ::	Отрочѣ же растѣше . и крѣплѣше сѣ дхмъ . і бѣ въ поустынѣхъ . до днѣ ѡвеленѣе своего . къ изаіу :: -	
Luke	2	1	Бѣгъ же въ днн тѣ . изидѣ повелѣнне . отъ кесара авѣгуста . написати всѣхъ вселеннѣхъ .	Бѣгъ же въ днн тѣ . изидѣ повелѣнне отъ кесарѣ авѣгуста . написати всѣхъ оуселеннѣхъ .	изидѣ заповѣ отъ кесарѣ августа . написати всѣхъ вселеннѣхъ .	изидѣ повелѣнне отъ кесара авѣгуста . написати всѣхъ вселеннѣхъ .

Fig. 1. Sample from the Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts

As I already mentioned, Bible verses are more often absent from evangeliaries when compared to the fourfold gospels. On the other hand, though, some texts, playing a role in more readings throughout the liturgical year occur twice, or

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sometimes even more often, in the evangeliaries. An example is John 3: 16, which occurs both in the first and the second part of the Assemanianus (cf. Section 2):⁹

(1) 8^b15-25 Тако възлюбви в[ог]ъ мира . Ёко с[ъ]на своего възлюбленааго дастъ . Да въсѣкъ вѣроуѣи въ нь не погъибнетъ . нъ иматъ животъ вѣчънъи.¹⁰

17^a12-17 Тако бо в[ог]ъ възлюбви вѣсего мира . Ёко с[ъ]на своего единопъадааго . даалъ естъ въ весь миръ . да въсѣкъ вѣроуѣи въ нь не погъибнетъ нъ иматъ животъ вѣчънъи .

(For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whoever believes in Him shall not perish, but have eternal life,)¹¹ (John 3: 16)

The Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts makes comparison of such double attestations within the same codex also easier, as they are automatically grouped together. In the case of John 3: 16 there are a number of differences between the two OCS versions, which is the rule rather than the exception with such double attestations. Some striking examples of differences between the two attestations are:

- There is a lexical difference between единопъадааго ‘only begotten’, used in the attestation on folio 8^b and възлюбленааго ‘loved one’, used in the one on folio 117^a.
- A different verb construction is used; the attestation on folio 8^b has the aorist дастъ ‘gave’, while folio 117^a has the perfect даалъ естъ ‘has given’ (cf. Kamphuis 2016: 136).
- The long form of вѣчънъи ‘eternal’ is used on folio 117^a, while in the attestation on folio 8^b we find the short form вѣчънъи.
- The attestation on 8^b omits the translation of the Greek γάρ ‘for’ and has Тако възлюбви в[ог]ъ ‘God so loved’, while the one on folio 117^a follows the Greek original more closely, translating γάρ with бо: Тако бо в[ог]ъ възлюбви ‘For God so loved’.

Space considerations limit further discussion of differences. However, even though there are differences between the two attestations from the Assemanianus,

both are clearly a rendering of John 3: 16; there is no other text in the Greek New Testament that these OCS versions can be translations of. In the case of the three verses that I discuss in Section 4, the situation is different.

4 The three undiscovered Old Church Slavonic verses

In this section we will proceed with the central point of the present article. The three verses under discussion have been treated as double occurrences of Matthew 3: 13, 16, and 17 by both Rački (1865, in his transcription) and Kurz (1951, 1955). The first attestation of this passage in the Assemanianus contains some more context (Matthew 3: 13-17) and can be found on folio 139^b3-18, in the second part of the Assemanianus, the *menologium*. The second attestation is classified as containing only Matthew 3: 13, 16, and 17, and is attested in the third part of the Assemanianus, on folio 158^a17-25, with the verses following each other consecutively:

- (2) 139^b3-5 Приде ис[оу]сѣѡ отъ галилеѡ на иерданѡ крѡтити сѧ отъ него .
 158^a17-19 приде ис[оу]сѣѡ? отъ ???дрета . галилеискадо . и крѡти сѧ о иона
 въ ерданѡ .¹²
 ‘Then Jesus arrived from Galilee at the Jordan coming to John, to be baptized by him.’ (Matthew 3: 13)
- (3) 139^b12-16 Крѡтити же сѧ ис[оу]сѣѡ . възиде абие отъ водзи . и се отврѡсѧ сѧ
 емоу н[е]б[е]са . и видѡ д[оу]хѡ б[о]жи . съходящѡ въ голѡбѡ . и
 градоу на нь .
 158^a19-22 и абие възхода отъ водзи . видѡ разводяща сѧ н[е]б[е]са . и
 д[оу]хѡ въ голѡбѡ съходящѡ на нь .
 ‘After being baptized, Jesus came up immediately from the water; and behold, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove and lighting on Him.’ (Matthew 3: 16)
- (4) 139^b16-18 И се гласъ съ н[е]б[е]се гл[агола]а . съ естъ сѣѡни мои
 възлюбленни . о немъже благоволихъ : : . –

158^a22-25 и гласъ вѣисъ съ н[ѣ]в[ѣ]се . Тѣи еси с[ѣ]нѣи мѡи вѣзлюбенѣи . О тѣбѣ благоволихъ : : -

‘And behold, a voice out of the heavens said, “This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased.”’ (Matthew 3: 17)

Just as in case of example 1, there are differences between the OCS versions. In this case the differences are larger, however. I will only mention a few of the most striking differences below:

- In example 2, the attestation on folio 158^a adds information as to where Jesus came from, **???аѣта** ‘Nazareth’, and in which river he was baptized **ѣрданѣ** ‘Jordan’.
- In example 3, the attestation on folio 158^a misses the part **Крѣциѣ же са исѣ** ‘After being baptized’, next to numerous other differences.
- Finally, in example 4, God addresses the people by saying ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased’ in the attestation on folio 139^b, while on folio 158^a, God addresses Jesus himself by saying ‘You are my beloved son, in You I am well-pleased’ (**Тѣи еси снѣ мѡи вѣзлюбенѣи . О тѣбѣ благоволихъ**).

The differences between the two attestations were so striking that when comparing them, I found it hard to believe that these were in fact two renderings of the same Greek source. The version on folio 139^b appeared to be a faithful rendering of the Greek source for Matthew 13, 16 and 17, and so I started looking for a Bible passage that could have been the source of the attestation on folio 158^a. Fortunately, I did not have to look far; the best candidate turned out to be Mark 1: 9-11, where the same story of Jesus’ baptism is told. Not only does the OCS text fit the source better, the verses in the story in Mark follow each other consecutively, just as they appear on folio 158^a. Incidentally, when these verses are classified as Mark 1: 9-11, the Assemanianus tells the same part of the first chapter of Mark as Savvina Kniga; the three verses that until now were left blank for the

Assemanianus in the Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts, have been filled with the lines found on 158^a17-25, telling the following story:

- (5) ⁹In those days Jesus came from Nazareth in Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan. ¹⁰Immediately coming up out of the water, He saw the heavens opening, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon Him; ¹¹and a voice came out of the heavens: “You are My beloved Son, in You I am well-pleased.” (Mark 1: 9-11)

This is a better fit for the attestation on folio 158^a: Nazareth is mentioned in Mark 1: 9, just as the river Jordan, the “missing” part of Крѣщѣнъ же сѧ и сѣ ‘After being baptized’ is not in Mark 1: 10 either, and in verse 11, God addresses his Son directly, and not the public. These are only some of the differences that show that Mark 1: 9-11 must be regarded as the source for this part of the Assemanianus. With this, the Assemanianus has attestations of three more Bible verses than it was thought to have before. If it were not for the Parallel Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Gospel Texts, which enabled me to easily compare OCS Gospel attestations with one another, I would probably not have detected this.

5 Conclusion

The discovery of these three verses may not be very sensational and the result may not immediately lead to new insights in the linguistic or philological features of Old Church Slavonic, but it is an example of the small steps that one can make working closely with language material, if one has an eye for detail. And since Janneke’s eye for detail is unsurpassed, it seemed fitting to contribute this finding to a Festschrift in her honour.¹³

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Notes

- 1 For more information on the philological context cf. Schenker (1995), Schaeken and Birnbaum (1999). See also Kamphuis (2016) for a concise description of the historical and philological context, and linguistic features of OCS.
- 2 Zographensis could also be from the end of the tenth century.
- 3 I will use this notation to refer to the exact location of attestations in the Assemanianus.
- 4 Only the first four words of the verse are attested: АМИН ГЛ[АГО]ЛНѢ ВАМЪ . ‘truly, truly, I say to you’. These words are not unique to John 16: 20, it is a very frequent collocation, especially in the Gospel of John (with the double АМИН), but in this particular case it immediately follows John 16: 19, making it very plausible that we are indeed dealing with a partial attestation of John 16: 20 here.
- 5 There is one typo that caused some excitement for a moment: in Kurz 1955, in Section C of the concordance, Luke 20: 1-4 is given as one of the missing parts, while in Kurz 1951, it read Luke 20: 1-44. At first sight, it appeared that Kurz had found 40 additional verses of Luke 20 after creating his first concordance in 1951. However, a quick look at Section A shows that verses 5-44 are not attested in the Assemanianus. It appears therefore that Section C contains a typo: a “4” is dropped at the end of the location. The correct reading is still the one from 1951, Luke 20: 1-44.
- 6 To be more precise: the part of the concordance giving the (range of) verses that are attested.
- 7 See the Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingense, which can be found on <http://www.helsinki.fi/slaavilaiset/ccmh/> and on the website of the Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS), <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm>.
- 8 All supralinear signs have been omitted in the corpus; supralinear letters and words are entered as linear. Other punctuation has been preserved, the transcription of which can be found in the legend. Capital letters have been preserved, except in case of the omega, which is always rendered as “o”.
- 9 In fact, it even occurs twice in the second part. The attestation that I do not discuss here, is a drastically shortened version, with only the words ТАКО ВЪЗЛЮБИ В[O]РЪ ‘For God so loved the world’.
- 10 OCS examples are given in Cyrillic transliteration. Accents and *titlos* are omitted and abbreviations are resolved by inserting the missing letters in parentheses, e.g. В[O]РЪ ‘God’. The attestations are preceded by folio number and line numbers.
- 11 The English translations I use in this article are from the New American Standard Bible and, hence, are not translations of OCS. Often, there are minor differences between the English and the OCS translations, but this is not the place to discuss such differences.
- 12 The question marks indicate an unreadable part.
- 13 Janneke always finds inconsistencies, grammatical mistakes and typos in my writings and I am very grateful for the meticulous way in which she commented on papers and chapters I wrote. Unfortunately, and for obvious reasons, I could not ask Janneke to read the present article before sending it in. No doubt Janneke will find some irregularities, even though I have done my utmost to make sure that this time she will not.

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NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL ACCENTUATION OF THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECT OF BLATO ON KORČULA: ACUTE POSTTONIC LENGTH, SLAVIC *ā*-STEM LOCATIVE PLURAL AND OTHER ISSUES

Mate Kapović

Introduction

This paper deals with certain aspects of accentuation of the Čakavian dialect of Blato on the island of Korčula from a historical and wider dialectological perspective. The material in the paper is based completely on a recently published dictionary – Milat Panža ([2014]) (for the overview of other descriptions of the Korčula dialects cf. the bibliography in Milat Panža ([2014]: 496-498). The author is a native speaker and not a professional linguist, but the dictionary is mostly reliable (the errors are usually not difficult to spot). In any case, the data in the dictionary show a few interesting archaic features and other points worth discussing.

Accentual system

The dialect of Blato has an archaic accentual system – both phonetically and paradigmatically – with no phonetic stress retractions (e.g. *voda* ‘water’) and with preserved pretonic (e.g. *rūka* ‘arm’) and posttonic length (e.g. *vāvik* ‘always’). Like some other South Čakavian (Brač, Hvar and Vis) and South Štokavian dialects (Konavle – south of Dubrovnik, Montenegro) it preserves, at least in some cases, the old acute posttonic length (e.g. *dīgnūt* ‘to rise’ compared to *dignūt* elsewhere), which we shall discuss later. Preresonant lengthening occurs under accent and posttonically (probably also pretonically in specific cases) – cf. *zelēn* ‘green,’

zboǵōn ‘goodbye.’ The long syllabic *r* is shortened (*čr̄n* ‘black’). The long *ā* is closed and marked as such in the dictionary (we have omitted this in this paper).

Although posttonic length is preserved in most positions in the dialect, it does tend to shorten in some positions. It regularly shortens after the neoacute: *čārān* ‘I bewitch,’ *grādīn* ‘I build,’ etc. There are some exceptions (if these are not mistakes), cf. *cībněn* ‘I sneeze’ (perfective) but *cīhjēn* ‘I sneeze’ (imperfective). Definite adjectives seem to preserve length after the neoacute at all times, cf. *mlādī* ‘young.’ This is probably due to analogy to forms like *nōvī* ‘new.’ Posttonic length also disappears in auslaut when not following the stressed syllable immediately, cf. *dīlajū* ‘they hack’ but *čārājū* ‘they bewitch.’

Acute posttonic length

The acute posttonic length is the vowel length that in some cases appears after the stress (e.g. **čīstīti* ‘to clean’), but not in final open syllables (which is a special case), while having the old acute stress in others (e.g. **lovīti* ‘to hunt’). For the overview of the problem cf. Kapović 2015: 516-525. In many dialects, the acute posttonic length is generally not preserved – cf. literary Neo-Štokavian *čīstīti* (and expected *lōvīti*) or Czech *čistiti* (like the expected *loviti*). This is different from non-acute posttonic length, cf. Proto-Slavic gen^{sg} **mēsēca* ‘month’ > Neo-Štokavian *mješēca*, Czech *měsíce* (cf. Kapović 2015: 502-512 for details). However, certain Štokavian and Čakavian dialects do preserve at least some of those acute posttonic lengths and thus have forms like *čīstīt* (not *čīstīti*). The problem with such dialects, which preserve numerous cases of acute posttonic length, is that they often exhibit a wide range of secondary long posttonic vowels that must be analogical. Thus, in Montenegrin dialects we find secondary posttonic long vowels, structurally imitating originally posttonic acute long vowels, like *vēsēla* ‘happy’ (feminine), *nā mjēsto* ‘to the place,’ *ōlōvo* ‘lead,’ etc. (cf. Kapović 2015: 524 for more examples and references). The same thing is found in Selca, the only Čakavian dialect on the island of Brač that preserves posttonic length, cf. secondary forms like *jāñāc* ‘lamb,’ *pūpāk* ‘bellybutton’ or *bōlēstan* ‘ill’ (Šprljan 2015: 58, 256). These secondary long vowels are unfortunate because they obfuscate original patterns

and developments, which makes historical analysis much more difficult. Luckily, there are some dialects that do not have such secondary long vowels but preserve original length (both acute and non-acute). The dialect of Blato is one such case. We shall now see what happens with acute posttonic length in Blato.

The old acute posttonic length is found in the following cases in the dialect of Blato:

1. in infinitives: *čistīt*, *dignūt* ‘to pick up,’ *glēdāt* ‘to watch’
2. in *l*-participles: *kūpīla* ‘she gathered,’ *primīstīli smo se* ‘we moved,’ *dīgnūla* ‘she picked up,’ *plākāla* ‘she cried’
3. in the adjectival *-ast* suffix: *lūdāst* – *lūdāsta* – *lūdāsto* ‘ill-advised, reckless,’ *stūpāst* ‘fibrous’
4. in the adjectival *-av* suffix: *kīlāv* – *kīlāva* – *kīlāvo* ‘bad, weak,’ *mūtāv* ‘hard of hearing’

Cf. literary Štokavian *čistīti*, *dīgnūla*, *lūdāst* ‘silly,’ *kīlāva* ‘incapable, slow,’ etc. There is no length in:

1. the nominal *-ica* suffix: *krāvica* ‘pinecone,’ *kūćica* ‘little house’ (cf. Kapović 2015: 523)
2. the nominal *-ina* suffix: *drđina* ‘big/strong man,’ *dažjēvina* ‘rainy weather’
3. the secondary *-ama* nominal ending: dat^{pl} *košūjama* ‘to shirts’
4. the rare nominal *-ilo* suffix: *prūdilo* ‘branch with thorns used to dry fish’ (cf. Neo-Štokavian *vòzilo* ‘vehicle’ for **-ilo*)
5. the rare nominal *-uh* suffix: *spāzuh* ‘armpit’ (cf. *trbūh* ‘stomach’)

As is obvious from the data, the dialect of Blato had analogical levellings of brevity as well, albeit in less forms than most other Čakavian/Štokavian dialects. Unlike many other dialects that preserve instances of posttonic acute length, Blato did not experience a secondary spread of length, which makes its forms with the preserved acute length more reliable.

The length alternation in *(na)činīt* ‘to make’ – *načīnēn* ‘made’

The historical interchange of length, stress and paradigmatic shifts in the old a. p. *c* *i*-verbs is very complex in Čakavian and Štokavian (cf. Kapović 2011: 228-231, 2015: 476-488). The Blato dialect seems to have one remarkable archaism in the a. p. *c* verb *činīt* ‘to do, make.’ The verb *(na)činīt* has the usual a. p. C with the generalized short stem vowel in almost all forms: *načinīn* ‘I do’ – *načinīmō* ‘we do’ (the stress is not stem-fixed in verbs with prefixes) – *načinīla* ‘she did’ – *načinī!* ‘(you) do!’, etc. However, in the past passive participle the Blato dialect remarkably has length, cf. sg. *načīnēn* ‘done, made’ – *načīnēnā* (fem.) – *načīnēnō* (neut.) – pl. *načīnēni* (masc.) – *načīnēnē* (fem.) – *načīnēnā* (neut.). This length must be archaic, i.e. phonetically preserved, in the masc. sg. form *načīnēn* (cf. Kapović 2015: 442-454 for the preservation of pretonic length in this position), with the subsequent preresonant lengthening in the stressed syllable. The original length was then generalized in all forms of the past passive participle, like *načīnēnā*, etc. In other forms, as we have seen, we find the shortened stem – both in forms where that is expected (like *načinīn* – *načinīmō* – *načinīla*) and where it is not (in *načinī!*). The opposition of *načinīn* and *načīnēn* is what is fascinating in Blato and what points to an old pattern of short/long stem alternation, that subsequently disappeared almost everywhere. Other Čakavian (and Štokavian) dialects usually have the short vowel in all forms in this and similar verbs, cf. e.g. in Orbanići (Kalsbeek 1998) *činīt* – *činīn* but also *načīnīēn* (with a variant with secondary stress position: *načīnēn* – cf. Ivšić 1911: 165 for such variance in stress position in *en*-participles).

Accent in the locative plural of *ā*-stems (accentual paradigm C)

Classical modern accentology reconstructs **-āxǝ* (Stang 1957: 61-63, Дыбо 1981: 33, 38, 2000: 60) in the locative plural of the *ā*-stem a. p. *c*, which correlates to the *dat*^{pl} **-āmǝ* and *instr*^{pl} **-āmi* (Carlton 1991: 189, differing from the mainstream, reconstructs **-axǝ*, but also less convincing *dat*^{pl} **-amǝ* and highly unlikely *instr*^{pl} **-ami*). This is based on reflexes such as Slovene *gorāh* or Novi Vinodolski Čakavian (Белић 2000: 162) *gorāh* ‘on mountains.’ However, there are some data that do not fit into this picture – cf. Czech/Slovak *loc*^{pl} *-áčh* (that cannot stem from the

original old acute), e.g. *horách*, and in Čakavian remnant forms like *gorôh* in Dračevica on Brač (Hraste 1940: 43, Šimunović 2009: 40 – in both synchronic a. p. C and a. p. B), *rukôh* ‘in hands’ in Pitve/Zavala on Hvar (Barbić 2011: XXXIV, XXXVI), *nogâ* ‘on feet’ in Brinje in Lika (Šimunović 2011: 229). The Blato Čakavian dialect is one of those dialects that does not point to the old *-*ǣxъ* (the island of Korčula is geographically close to the islands of Brač and Hvar, though the accentuation of Korčula is rather different in some, even very old, respects from that of Brač/Hvar). In Blato, what one finds in the a. p. C loc^{pl} *ā*-stem forms is the neo-acute, cf. *gorāh*, *rukāh* ‘in hands,’ *nogāh* ‘on legs’ (Milat Panža [2014]: 15). Cf. also *vālāh* ‘in bays’ for feminine a. p. A and *stanēh* ‘in cottages,’ *gradovēh* ‘in townns,’ *jajēh* ‘in eggs’ for masculine/neuter (with a strange *-eh* instead of the expected *-*ih* from *-*ěxъ*).

So how to interpret the Czech/Slovak and Čakavian forms that would point to *-*ǣxъ* and not the usually reconstructed *-*ǣxъ* in loc^{pl}? The obvious parallel is Lithuanian loc^{pl} *-osė* (dialectal also *-āsū*) from the original *-*āsū*. Stang (1957: 62-63) supposes that Slavic *-*ǣxъ* is analogical to the original a. p. *b* accent (due to the rightward stress shift to the acute *-*ā*- in a. p. *b*) and that the original a. p. *c* form was *-*ǣxъ* < *-*axǫ* (due to the comparison with Lithuanian). However, he does not mention Czech/Slovak and Čakavian forms that may point to the supposed original *-*ǣxъ* (unlike Carlton 1991: 191 who mentions Czech/Slovak but not Čakavian).

There is one more case where the same variants in loc^{pl} can be found: in personal pronouns. In loc^{pl} (and gen^{pl}) Proto-Slavic **nāsъ*, **vāsъ* ‘on us’ is usually reconstructed (Дыбо 1981: 34-35, 2000: 62-63, Kapović 2006: 91). The reconstruction is based on Czech *nás*, *vás*, Slovene (and Kajkavian) *nās*, *vās*, and North Čakavian (Novi Vinodolski – Белић 2000: 167; Криквенца – Иванčić Duser & Bašić 2013: 25; Grobnik – Lukežić & Zubčić 2007: 39; Orbanići – Kalsbeek 1998: 162 for gen/acc^{pl}, etc.) *nās*, *vās* (in dialects with the neocircumflex in the present tense and definite adjectives). Such an accent, but for the gen/acc^{pl} form (see below) is found also in southern Štokavian (Dubrovnik and Old Štokavian Montenegro) – cf. Dubrovnik (Budmani 1883: 173, Rešetar 1900:

144) *nās, vās*, Ozrinići and Prčanj (Rešetar 1900: 144) *nās, vās*, Piperi (Стевановић 1940: 78) *nāc, vāc*, etc. – but cf. Piva and Drobñjak (Вуковић 1940: 265) in the Neo-Štokavian part of Montenegro with the usual Neo-Štokavian (see below) *òd nāc, òd vāc*. The forms *nās, vās* are also found in Molise Croatian in Italy (Rešetar 1911: 212). However, the classical reconstruction does not take into account the following data. First of all, Slovak also has *nās, vās*, which would, together with the Czech forms, point rather to **nās̃, *vās̃* with the neoacute (if the Slovak forms were not to be interpreted as some kind of Czech influence), presumably from the older **nas̃ō *vas̃ō* (as in the case of the nominal form above). Secondly, (Neo-)Štokavian regularly has (gen/acc^{pl}) *nās, vās*, with the reflex of the old acute seen only in possessive *nās̃* ‘ours,’ *vās̃* ‘yours.’ Neo-Štokavian *nās, vās* is most probably not a neocircumflex (as claimed by Stang 1957: 96 and Дыбо 1981: 35, 2000: 63) in the light of the Old Štokavian *nās, vās* (cf. in Posavina – Ivšić 1913/II: 35). More Southern Čakavian (cf. already Senj gen/acc^{pl} *nās, vās* – Moguš 1966: 78) has *nās, vās* as does Štokavian – cf. *nās, vās* in Blato as well (but only in gen/acc^{pl}; at present loc^{pl} has the old dual form *nāma, vāma* in Blato). As can be seen, there is an old synchretism of gen^{pl} and loc^{pl} here (in both *nas̃ō* and *vas̃ō*) due to historical development (Proto-Indo-European **-su* and **-s̃m* both yield Slavic *-s̃*). Later the gen^{pl} form becomes also the acc^{pl} one in many dialects. The accentuation of the Čakavian/Štokavian gen^{pl}/acc^{pl} *nās, vās* seems to stem from the original loc^{pl} variant forms **nās̃ō, *vās̃ō* (cf. the Old Prussian gen^{pl} *noūson* ‘of us’ for the initial accent). The dialects with *nās, vās* have either the accent of the loc^{pl} variant **nās̃ō, *vās̃ō* or the accent of the gen^{pl} **nās̃ō, *vās̃ō* (with short **-ō*). Usually the same accent is generalized in *nīh/nīh* ‘them’ as well.

The traditionally reconstructed old acute in loc^{pl} **-āx̃ō* and loc^{pl} (and gen^{pl}) **nās̃ō, *vās̃ō* is in accordance with dat^{pl} **-ām̃ō* (though Czech/Slovak again have *-ām* here), **nām̃ō, *vām̃ō* (but Czech/Slovak have *nām, vām*) and instr^{pl} **-āmi, *nāmi, *vāmi*. The acute in **-āx̃ō, *nās̃ō, *vās̃ō* is based on the Proto-Indo-European forms with laryngeal/long vowel: **-eh₂su, *nōs-, *wōs-* (the last two plus secondary **-su*, cf. Kapović 2006: 130). Other stems and pronominal forms have no acute (i.e. no laryngeal/long vowel in Proto-Indo-European) and desinential stress, cf. *o*-stem **-*

ěxǔ, *i*-stem **-bxǔ*, *u*-stem **-ǔxǔ* and **těxǔ* ‘of those,’ **jixǔ* ‘of them’ (Дыбо 1981: 36, 2000: 62) and Proto-Indo-European **-oysu*, **-isu*, **-usu*, **toysu*, **eysu* (cf. e.g. Kapović 2017: 65, 67, 72, 74, 83, 86-87 for the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions). The obvious explanation for this kind of distribution would be Hirt’s law (cf. Дыбо 1981: 39), though not all is clear (Дыбо 2000: 64), which is not unusual for this law (cf. the overview of the issues and examples of analogical levellings concerning Hirt’s law in Kapović 2015: 176-193).

Since we are dealing with a rather wide range of reflexes pointing to neoacute variant forms (**-āxǔ*, **nāsǔ*, **vāsǔ*) besides the usually reconstructed acute ones (**-ǎxǔ*, **nǎsǔ*, **vǎsǔ*), it does not seem likely that the neoacute is the result of some very late or local innovation (cf. Kapović 2006: 58 for such an explanation when it comes to pronominal forms). However, though it is tempting to reconstruct the neoacute variants already for Proto-Slavic (whether they are indeed genetically related to Lithuanian or independent developments), their exact status is murky since a number of different scenario’s are possible: **-āxǔ* can be either the original form, later supplanted by **-ǎxǔ* due to analogy with dat^{pl} **-āmǔ* (and instr^{pl} **-āmi*), or it can be an old dialectal/variant innovation due to analogy with **-ěxǔ*, **-bxǔ*, **-ǎxǔ*. In any case, the data from Blato are a useful piece of the puzzle.

Preposition + pronominal clitics of the *za me* ‘for me’ type

The Blato prepositional pronominal forms *zā mě* ‘for me,’ *zā tě* ‘for you’ (Milat Panža [2014]: 26) are very interesting. They attest that the very south of Čakavian agrees with Neo-Štokavian in this regard – cf. Neo-Štokavian *zá me*, *zá te*. This kind of accentuation appears also in South-West Istrian Čakavian, a migrational dialect with influences of Štokavian – cf. there *zā me* < **zā mě* (Mandić 2009: 90). It seems that already a bit to the north of Korčula, on the island of Brač, there is the beginning of a large central Čakavian territory where we have forms with the neoacute (of unclear historical origin): Selca on Brač (Šprljan 2015: 261-263, Šimunović 2009: 853) *nā te* ‘on you,’ *ū se* ‘in ...self,’ Vrgada (Jurišić 1966: 85) *ū me* ‘into me,’ *z’ā se* ‘for ...self,’ Senj (Moguš 1966: 79) *pō me* ‘for me,’ *ū se*. In North Čakavian (the dialects with the neocircumflex in *e*-presents and definite

adjectives) we find the circumflex everywhere (which was not shortened – Kapović 2015: 241): Novi Vinodolski (Белић 2000: 167) *zâ me*, *zâ te*, Crikvenica (Ivančić Dusper & Bašić 2013: 110) *nâ me* ‘onto me,’ Orlec on Cres (Houtzagers 1985: 102) *zâ te*, *vâ me* ‘into me,’ Grobnik (Lukežić & Zubčić 2007: 583) *zâ se*, Orbanici (Kalsbeek 1998: 164, 322-323) *nâ me*, *nâ te*, etc. The North Čakavian accent agrees with Slovene (if literary Slovene *nâme* with no progressive circumflex shift is to be historically interpreted by analogy with the original **ni nâ me*), Kajkavian (cf. e.g. *zâ me* in Gornja Konjščina – Gudek 2013: 77-78) and the majority of Posavina Old Štokavian (Ivšić 1913/II: 36). Cf. the provisional table (the migrational and mixed dialect of South West Istria is left out):

dialect group	territory	accent	agrees with
far south of Čakavian	Korčula	<i>zā mě</i>	Neo-Štokavian
south and central Čakavian	from Brač to Senj	<i>zā me</i>	
North Čakavian (“neocircumflex Čakavian”)	north of the Lošinj-Novi Vinodolski line	<i>zâ me</i>	Slovene, Kajkavian, Posavina Štokavian

Other issues

Here, we shall take a look at some of the other accentual characteristics and aspects of Blato Čakavian.

Many Čakavian dialects have stem stress in pluralia tantum neuters like *vrāta* ‘door’ (or semi-pluralia tantum like *črīva* ‘intestines’), cf. Kapović 2015: 130-133. Blato, like Neo-Štokavian, does not – cf. *črīvā*, *vrātā*, *jūstā* ‘mouth,’ *klīščā* ‘pliers.’

In forms like *gūvno* ‘threshing floor,’ *proklēstvō* ‘imprecation,’ *badān* – gen^{sg} *bādna* ‘vat,’ *rūčāk* – gen^{sg} *rūška* ‘brunch,’ etc. Blato (Korčula) acts like Brač/Hvar/Vis and a few other Čakavian dialects (cf. Kapović 2015: 422-425) and generalizes the accent of the dominant root derivatives (Дыбо 1981: 146-147, Brozović & Ivić 1988: 18). There are a few exceptions with the *-ac* suffix:

gen^{sg} *těňcā* ‘werewolf,’ *horcā* ‘snout,’ *mrcā* ‘deadman’ (the usual type is *dolāc* – gen^{sg} *dōca* ‘valley,’ *kēňāc* – gen^{sg} *kēnca* ‘boor,’ *grotāc* – gen^{sg} *grōca* ‘wooden vessel,’ etc.).

In the genitive plural, we often find the Neo-Štokavian ending *-ā*, e.g. gen^{pl} *gōrā* ‘of mountains,’ *kōzā* ‘of goats,’ etc. The circumflex is probably due to a historically false contact interpretation of (Dubrovnik area) Neo-Štokavian *gōrā*, *kōzā* as Čakavian *ō-ā* and not *ō-ā* (as is the case, for instance, in Old Štokavian Posavina). This proves that this ending must be secondary in the dialect (cf. the original gen^{pl} *dasāk* ‘of boards’ together with younger *dasākā*). Cf. the preserved neoacute in cases like 3^{pl} *rěstū* ‘they grow’ (Milat Panža [2014]: 24-25).

As usual in Čakavian (cf. Kapović 2015: 588-593) the suffixes *-je* and *-stvo* are lengthened (with a circumflex when stressed in the South), cf. Blato *grōzjē* ‘grapes,’ *lozjē* ‘vineyard,’ *gospostvō* ‘lordliness,’ etc.

As usual in Čakavian (cf. Kapović 2015: 191-192) the suffix *-ić* can have the *-iĉ* and *-iĉ* (gen^{sg} *-iĉā*) variant. In Blato, there is no apparent trace of a pattern connected to the accentuation of the original noun (the meanings of the derivatives are usually metaphorical in the following examples), cf. *nožić* ‘a type of billhook,’ *soviĉ* ‘little owl’ and *golīĉ* ‘small bird without feathers,’ *popīĉ* ‘waterbug (oriental cockroach)’ from a dominant stem (a. p. *b*), and *golubiĉ* ‘garlic clove,’ *miĉić* ‘small bellows’ and *lozīĉ* ‘wren,’ *lukīĉ* ‘billhook’ from a recessive stem (a. p. *c*).

The nominal suffix *-ina* is short (cf. Kapović 2015: 185-186) as in neighbouring Brač, cf. *dajinā* ‘distance’. The adjectival *-in* (Kapović 2015: 186-188) is short, except when stressed, cf. *gūjīn* – *gujinā* – *gūjino* ‘snake’s,’ *gospinā trāvā* ‘common Saint John’s wort,’ *kūrbina* ‘whore’s,’ etc.

Unlike the Čakavian on Brač/Hvar/Vis, Korčula dialects (like the neighbouring Dubrovnik Štokavian area) preserve the old end stress in forms like *rěslā* ‘she grew,’ *ispeklā* ‘she baked,’ etc. (cf. the forms in Milat Panža [2014]: 24-25).

Like Neo-Štokavian, the dialect show a curious opposition of the regular 2^{sg} *hōćeš* ‘you will/want’ and an interrogative *hōćeš dōc?* ‘do you want to come?’ (Milat Panža [2014]: 28).

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VEZANA DVOJINA U KAJKAVSKOME HRVATSKOM KNJIŽEVNOM JEZIKU

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Autori u članku promatraju odnos između množine i dvojine u okviru imenovanja dvaju ili više subjekata u sintagmatskim izrazima gdje se pojavljuju imenice i brojevni kvantifikatori 2, 3, 4 i *oba(dva)*. Istraživanje na korpusu kajkavskih nebeletrističkih tekstova od 16. do 18. st. pokazuje rijetko čuvanje dvojine uz brojevne kvantifikatore 2 i *oba(dva)*, češće u starijim, a manje u mlađim tekstovima, dok se uz brojevne kvantifikatore 3 i 4 redovito ostvaruju množinski oblici.

Uvod

VEZANA DVOJINA poseban je tip dvojine kojim se označavaju dva zasebna pojma iste vrste, a da se pritom ne označava jedinstvenost predmeta ili dijelova tijela. Termin vezane dvojine preuzimam iz Beličeve monografije *O dvojini u slovenskim jezicima* (1932). Navedeni se termin ustalio u ruskoj i slovenskoj slavističkoj literaturi, a u hrvatskoj se literaturi pojavljuje termin GRAMATIČKE DVOJINE (Simeon 1969: 275).

Uz vezanu dvojину stoje brojevni kvantifikatori *dva*, *oba(dva)*, a djelomice *tri* i *četiri* zato što pojam vezane dvojine (moguće je pronaći možda bolji termin za ovaj dvojni tip) nužno uključuje povezanost brojevnog kvantifikatora s imenicom (rjeđe zamjenicom ili participima) u sintagmatskom izrazu. Termin BROJEVNI KVANTIFIKATOR preuzimamo iz radova predstavnika generativne lingvistike. Ako se prihvati mišljenje da je SLOBODNA DVOJINA prvotna, dakle postanjem najstarija koja je počela djelovati na oblikovanje drugotne, vezane dvojine, tada se mora postaviti pitanje na koji je tip slobodna dvojina mogla utjecati – na staru vezanu dvojину oblikujući neki novi tip dvojine, tzv. novu dvojину ili se njezin utjecaj širio na kategoriju broja koji svakako nije mogao biti ni dvojina ni jednina?

Kada bi se prihvatilo prvo rješenje, tada bi se moralo krenuti od pretpostavke da je već u indoeuropskome prajeziku došlo do formiranja dvaju tipova dvojine, tzv. STARE (slobodne) i tzv. NOVE (vezane) dvojine što povećava kategoriju broja u odnosu *jednina : dvojina (stara/nova) : množina*, a istovremeno nije razvidno jesu li oblici tzv. nove dvojine nastali posljedicom miješanja tzv. stare dvojine i množine ili je razvoj tzv. nove dvojine tekao samostalnim putem. Nitko od ozbiljnijih proučavatelja dvojine u indoeuropskome prajeziku ni ne spominje mogućnost formiranja dviju vezanih dvojina, ali se, prihvatimo li drugo rješenje, nameće zaključak da su na mjestu današnje vezane dvojine u indoeuropskome prajeziku mogli stajati množinski oblici. Takvo mišljenje dijeli Belić (1932: 6-7) navodeći da je dvojina uz brojevni kvantifikator *dva* nastala pod utjecajem brojevnog kvantifikatora *oba(dva)* koji je najprije počeo djelovati na morfološku strukturu novoga brojevnog kvantifikatora, a tek kasnije na ostale članove dvojinke imeničke sintagme. Teško je pouzdano tvrditi da je dvojinu uz brojevni kvantifikator 2 prethodila množina, kao što tvrdi Belić, ali je isto tako teško dokazati da se u indoeuropskome prajeziku vezana dvojina posve samostalno razvijala uz slobodnu dvojinu. U praslavenskom jeziku vezana dvojina počela se osjećati kao nesiguran gramatički sustav (usp. Naylor 1972: 3), čije su se posljedice počele javljati u pojedinim slavenskim jezicima, počevši od najstarijega slavenskoga književnog jezika gdje se vezana dvojina uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)* počinje obilježavati nositeljem množinskoga značenja primajući množinske nastavke (usp. Remneva, M. L. i O. N. Kijanova 1991; Žolobov 1998).

U kajkavskim nebeletrističkim tekstovima vezana se dvojina uz brojevine kvantifikatore *dva* i *oba(dva)* djelomice (o)čuvala, a kako i na koji je način tekao proces miješanja s množinskim oblicima, iznosi se u ovom radu. Za vezanu dvojinu u kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku Šojat (2009: 64) će napisati da se „rijetko susreću sintagme kao: *dva pajdaša* (Šilobod, ali i u njega: *dva pajdaši*).“ Istraživanje provedeno u ovome radu potkrijepit će ili odbaciti postavljenu tezu.

Tekstovi na kojima se provodi istraživanje objavljeni su u knjigama ili periodici. Njihov se popis prilaže na kraju rada. Tematski pripadaju

nebeletrističkim tekstovima napisanim od 16. do kraja 18. stoljeća – mahom su to povijesni, pravni, gospodarstveni ili vojno-redarstveni tekstovi.

Kao što smo ranije napisali, vezana dvojina nužno uključuje povezanost brojevnog kvantifikatora s imenicom (rjeđe zamjenicom ili participima). U ekscerpiranim tekstovima nismo pronašli sveze (vezane dvojine) sa zamjenicama i participima što znači da ćemo u radu promatrati samo svezu imenica s brojevnim kvantifikatorima.

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2

U kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2 u NA redovito dobivaju dvojiniski nastavak *-a*, npr. dva *beča*...(LL); po dva *delavca*...(LL); dva *diela*...(5x, DEC, 129-130, 145, 166, 182); jesam dal za dva *dukata*...(ČL); za dva *dukata*...(HI); dva *kopuna*...(LL); dva *kosca* dati...(VL); dva *lista*...(DEC, 123); i dva *ovna*...(ZL); na dva *persta*...(HI); dva *primetka*...(DEC, 88); dva *refa*...(HPS); na dva *stola*...(HI); dva *turna* ima...(DEC, 96); za dva *zroka* popisati...(DEC, 121); *čabra 2*...(UR, 186); dva pako *dela*...ostavljam...(OIK, 107); zapada dva *dela* u grad...(HPOC, 92); po dva *dukata*...(LP); čini...dva *dukata* španu...(OTK, 4); imaju davati...dva *dukata*...(VL 1); zostavil je dva *dukata*...(LMS); na dva *falaca* oraće zemlje...(HPOC, 149); moramo davati...dva *kernjaka*...(PPB, 187); *klinča* dva za cenu...(HPOC, 149); dati...dva *kopuna*...(UB, 303); moramo dati *kosca* dva...(PPB, 187); davati mora...dva *kosca*...(TBŠ, 1); na dva *kosca*...(HPOC, 99); za četiri dukate i dva *krajcara*...(LMR); prijel sem dva *lista*...(SHK 2, CXXVIII); hoćemo po dva *novca* dobrovoljno davati...(DBŠ, 36); po sto novac brojeći i više dva *novca* davši...(HPOC, 131); *orkinga* dva...(OBP, 34); vdobil je dva *paripa*...(PPB, 2); nema nego dva *pčelca*...(PPB, 2); na preplaćenje likova dva *pinta*...(HPOC, 151); takaj dva *poselca*...(UB, 303); dva *prstena*...(OBP, 36); po dva *rajnčka*...(HPOC, 148); dva *sužnja*...(LL 1); jedan taler neka mu se da, dva *talera* onomu...(OIK, 103); bu moral polselac dva *težaka* vu godišću...(UB, 303); po dva *težaka*...(PPB, 271); hoćemo dva *težaka* dati...(PPB, 77); na dva *tiedna*...(2x, OTK, 4); na dva *tiednja*...(UO); po dva *vagana* žita...(OIK, 106); daje...pšenice *vagana 2*...(2x, UR, 175); na dva *venčeca*...(OBP, 36); dva *vola*...bude daval...(SHK 2, CCXLIII);

na dva *zdenca*...(SHK 3, LVII); moramo dati...*zgrinača* dva...(PPB, 187); za dva *dukata*...(ZP); po dva *groša*...(6x, BVG; CRR, I-III; OGP); na cel dan *groša* dva...(CRR, I); bude razvažal *groša* 2...(CRR, I); ter k tomu *groša* 2...(CRR, I); težaku dva *groša*...(OGP); z hranum dva *groša*...(OGP); v zimi pak dva *groša*...(OGP); v letu dva *groša*...(OGP); ima dati...dva *kopuna*...(U, IV-§II); korači takaj dva *koračaja* nazad...(VO, 70); dva *koračaja*...(3x, VO, 71, 74); dva *novca* gubil bude...(CRR, I); na cel dan dva *pinta*...(OGP); pako *pinta* dva...(OGP); pregrešil dva *puta*...(IVS, 97); moraju se vsi dva *puta* obrediti...(VO, 77); na dva *puta*...(2x, ZGV; IŽZ); plačal bude...dva *ranjiška*...(U, IV-§VII); na *sekača* dva...(LV); dva *tiedna*...(2x, IVS, 95); je...52 *denara*...(2x, OIK, 104). Navedena jezična pojava karakteristična je za ukupnu kajkavsku pismenost počevši od 16. do kraja 18. stoljeća. Rijetko se tijekom triju stoljeća dopreporodne kajkavske pismenosti ostvaruju množinski oblici, npr. kosca 2 *groši*...(OOS); dva *puti*...(OBP, 35); i po imeni dvi *turni*...(SHK 1, XIII); ostavljam...dva *voze* vina...(OIK, 108). Time se ruši Beličeva teza da je „množina prodrila i uz broj *dvâ*, tako da je izgubljen i poslednji znak dvojine koji se inače čuva u ovoj brojnoj konstrukciji“ (Belić 1932: 147).

Imenice m. roda u G čuvaju dvojninski nastavak *-u*, npr. devojke ili kćeri dveju *bratencu*...(DEC, indeks); od dveju *bratu* kćeri...(DEC, 43); dveju *bratu* kćeri...(DEC, 43); prot dveju inkvizicije *listu*...(DEC, 123); da su se svedokov imena v relatoriju z dveju *zroku* navadila popisati...(DEC, 121). Čuvanje dvojninskoga nastavka karakteristično je samo za tekstove iz 16. stoljeća. Tijekom kasnijih dvaju stoljeća u G imenica m. roda ostvaruje se množinski nastavak, npr. od dveh *dnevov*...(U, III-§XII); na dalinu dveh *pednjov*...(KK, 111) ili je sintagmatski izraz jednak NA dvojine, npr. više dva *meseca* doma ležal...(IVS, 100).

Za imenice m. roda u L pronalazimo samo jednu potvrdu u kojoj se realizira množinski oblik, npr. i to nam je njih gospodstvo po dveh *plebanušeh* poručilo...(PPB, 2).

U tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća redovito se u I ostvaruju dvojninski oblici, npr. i preplati dvema *bečema*...(AC, CCCXXXI); med dvema *perušema*...(DEC, 161); međ dvema *perušema*...(DEC, 161); pred dvema *prisežnikoma*...(2x, DEC, 171);

koteru gode pernju dvema *putema*...(DEC, 144); dvema *putema* hodi...(DEC, 145); ako se i dvema *putema* vidi...(DEC, 146); pred dvema *sudcima*...(DEC, 144); pa da se takovo darovanje dvima *zakonma* more razumeti...(DEC, 33); z dvema *vertoma*...(AC, CCCIV); založenje se imienja dvema *zakonma* razme...(DEC, 65); jer ništor ne more...dvema *zakonma* i *putma* deržati...(DEC, 66); da se privilegium dvema *zakonma* razme...(DEC, 107); privilegiom se dvema *zakonma* napravlja...(DEC, 107); da se privilegiom razme dvema *zakonma*...(DEC, 107); privilegijom dvema *zakonma* drugim škode...(DEC, 107); gda što koteru pernju dvema *zakonma* ili dvema *putema* nasleđuje...(DEC, 144); dvema *zakonma* more biti...(DEC, 156); pravde dvema *zakonma* kondeščenduju...(DEC, 156); da su se pernje dvema *zakonma* navadile...(DEC, 157); homagium se dvema *zakonma* razme...(DEC, 167); prokurator se more dvema *zakonma* odezvati...(DEC, indeks); more...dvema *zakonma* ziti...(DEC, indeks); se govori nešto dvema *zakonoma*...(DEC, 57); prokuratorovo se odgovaranje dvema *zakonoma* more odezvati...(DEC, 155); obramba se dvema *zakonoma* vzimlje...(DEC, 176); more dvema *zakonoma*...škoditi...(DEC, indeks); na kraljevo davanje dvema *zrokma* siedaju...(DEC, 17); da se dvema *zrokma* i *putema* govori...(DEC, 57); to je to, sedemdeset dvema *dukatma*...(DEC, 149); preplatih dvema *novcema*...(HPOC, 96). Kasnije se redovito ostvaruju množinski oblici, npr. Ribarić z dvemi *brati*...(UB, 300); dvemi *falati*, sinokošum, dvemi *falati* volja bude obernuti...(HPOC, 152); z dvemi *stričevići*...(VL 3); z dvemi *junaki*...(KSKŽ, 16); z dvemi *mladenci* imaju gospodara poiskati...(AMD); med dvimi *persti*...(VO, 49); z...dvimi *persti*...(VO, 49).

Imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2

U kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2 u NA redovito dobivaju dvojinske nastavke *-e/-i*, npr. blažu višaku dvie *oranji* zemlje...(AC, CCXCVIII); ober pota dve *oranji*...(AC, CCCIV); jest pribolšano...dve *jezere*...(NM); dve *lete*...(2x, SGZ, 22^o; PPŠD II); neka bude dve *lete*...(OTK, 4); daše dve *vedre* vina...(HPOC, 98); ter na dve *kole* postaviti...(KSKŽ, 7); dve *kole*...postaviti...(KSKŽ, 7); trideset i dvie *lete*...(3x,

DEC, 40, 64). Nastavak *-e* tumačimo kao ekavski refleks *jata*, a nastavak *-i* kao stari dvojinjski nastavak imenica palatalnih osnova. Paralelno se tijekom ukupne kajkavske pismenosti mogu realizirati i množinski oblici, npr. dva *pitanja...prinese...*(DEC, 180); na dva *kola* postaviti...(KSKŽ, 3); na dva *tela* razseče...(KSKŽ, 3); postat je kupil...vina *vedra* dva...(LV). Za spomenuti nastavak *-a* u sintagmatskom izrazu *dva sela* Belić (1932), Ivšić (1970) i u novije vrijeme Žolobov (1998) dijele mišljenje da je postao ujednačavanjem prema NAV dv. imenica m. roda *o-/*jo-osnova. Prije bi se moglo kazati da se radi o NAV mn. imenica sr. roda jer ne može se prihvatiti teza o dvostrukim oblicima dvojine tipa *2 seli* (stara dvojina) ~ *2 sela* (nova dvojina nastala pod utjecajem imenica m. roda *o-/*jo-osnova) zbog toga što je odnos između *2 seli* ~ *2 sela* istovjetan odnosu *2 brata* ~ *2 brati*. Čini se da je najveći nedostatak navedene teze u tome što su se spomenuti autori prvenstveno bavili odnosom nastavka *-a* imenica sr. roda *o-/*jo-osnova prema imenicama m. roda istih osnova umjesto da su spomenuti oblik usporedili sa stanjem unutar paradigme imenica sr. roda. Na taj je način utjecaj dvojinjskih oblika imenica m. roda na imenice sr. roda minoran, što pokazuju navedeni primjeri, a to prije upućuje na zaključak kako su množinski oblici (ne dvojinjski!), isto kao u imenica m. roda, postupno počeli prodirati u imeničku paradigmu. Belić je u kasnijim jezičnim priručnicima (1950: 92) djelomice promijenio mišljenje u svezi s množinskim nastavkom *-a* u imenica sr. roda, dodavši postanju prema NAV dv. imenica m. roda *o-/*jo-osnova drukčije tumačenje: *-a* je dobiveno ujednačavanjem prema sintagmatskim izrazima s brojevnim kvantifikatorom *tri* i *četiri* jer se uz njih upotrebljavala množina.

U G imenica sr. roda ostvaruju se skamenjeni oblici iz NA dvojine, npr. *kadi nas* i *veće dve jezeri* skupa bilo...(PPB, 194); više *dve lete*...(PPB, 263); do trideset i dvie *lete*...(2x, DEC, 93) ili množine, npr. od *dve let*...(OTK, 4); ne derži veće nego trideseti djevu *liet*...(DEC, 64).

U tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća imenice sr. roda u L čuvaju dvojinjski nastavak *-u*, npr. v dvjeju *mestu* stoji ta zemlja...(AC, CCXCVIII), a kasnije nalazimo samo potvrde za množinske oblike, npr. vu dveh *mestah* na kolo postavi...(KSKŽ, 3); vu dveh *mesteb* na kolah postaviti...(KSKŽ, 3). Postanak nastavka *-ah* pojedini

slavisti (Ivšić 1970: 210) tumače ujednačavanjem prema N množine (*sela-h*; završno *-h* preuzima se iz staroga lokativa).

Instrumental imenica sr. roda potvrđuje se trima množinskim nastavcima (*-i*, *-imi*, *-mi*), npr. ima vsaku grivnju dvema *zlatimi* platiti...(DEC, 162); pred dvem *letmi*...(SHK 3, XXXIV); pred dvemi *leti*...(2x, IVS, 97).

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2

U imenica ž. roda nećemo uzeti u obzir oblike NA zato što je teško reći jesu li oblici tipa *dve žene* postali od NA dvojine ekavskim refleksom *jata* ili su to množinski oblici postali ujednačavanjem prema palatalnim osnovama. U ostalim padežima, točnije G i D, redovito se ostvaruje množina, npr. ne najmanje dve *glav* sužanstva...(PPB, 187); od dveh *dervenjek*...(U, I-§I); dvem *strankam*...primiešati se ima...(KK, 113). Za I nalazimo samo dvije dvojinke potvrde iz 16. stoljeća, npr. međ dvema *stranama*...(2x, DEC, 70, 118).

Imenice svih triju rodova uz brojevni kvantifikator 12

Uz brojevni kvantifikator 12 potvrđuju se dvojinke samo u tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća, npr. dal sem mu *denara* 12...(HPS); za dvanadesete *soldina*...(DEC, 97); dvienuadeste *lete*...(4x, DEC, 64, 83, 94, 132); dvienuadeste *lete*...(DEC, 172); kada im slobode dvienuadeste *lete* izmine...(SHK 1, CLXXII); niema dvienuadeste *lete*...(DEC, 183); če niema dvienuadeste *letu*...(DEC, 183). U kasnijim tekstovima nalazimo samo potvrde za množinske oblike, npr. doklam dvanajste *dukat* ne plate...(OTK, 4); po 12 *dukat*...(2x, PPB, 242); nahode...12 *dukat*...(OPK, 3); 12 *dukat* davati...(PPB, 242); za škudi šest ili *guldinarov* dvanajst...(HPOC, 149); od mita ide *novac* 12...(HPOC, 96); je...12 *taljerov*...(2x, OIK, 104); dvanadesete *jajec*...(2x, UB, 300, 305); dati...dvanadeset *jajec*...(UB, 303); hoću 12 *glav* na marofu ostaviti...(ODD); i oni 12 *ovac* dadu...(OTK, 4); su deržala...dvanajst *staj*...(PPB, 242); pod biršag 12 *dukat*...(CRR, I); cel funt iliti *groši* dvanajst...(AMD); po dvanajst *krajcari*...(BVG); po 12 *purgareh* ispunjavamo...(OOS); ima dati...dvanaest *jajec*...(U, IV-§II); dvanaest *palic* kaštigu prieti ima...(U, VIII-§XV).

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)*

Imenice m. roda u NA, GL i I uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)* čuvaju nastavak dvojine, npr. NA: je potrebno...obadva *lista* zapisati...(DEC, 57); na obadva *spola*, i na sini i na kćeri gleda...(DEC, 22); GL: i pernju obejudveju *orsagu* jednukrat...pošlju...(DEC, 166); opitana ili nie obejudveju *perušu* vsaka vun vzimanja...(DEC, 169); ako bi ni ženinoga, ili ni obeju *spolu* imene...(DEC, 79); v obejudveju *orsagu* i v Jerdeli ima...(DEC, 141); I: jer ako bi obemadvema *zakonma*...napravum ne bilo...(DEC, 103); i obema ga dvema *zakonma* išče...(DEC, 144); jer je prot plemenitomu človeku obemadvema *zakonma* glavna šentencija...(DEC, 175). Sve potvrde potječu iz 16. stoljeća, a u kasnijim tekstovima ne nalazimo potvrde uz navedeni brojevni kvantifikator.

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)*

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)* u G ostvaruju dvojinjski oblik, npr. i za legacije obejudveju *stranu*...vun poviedanja...(DEC, 137); po odgovoru obejudveju *stranu* vun poviede...(DEC, 139); sudec z odgovaranja obejudveju *stranu* nazoči...(DEC, 156). To je karakteristično samo za tekstove iz 16. stoljeća, dok se u kasnijim tekstovima ostvaruju množinski oblici, npr. od obodveh *stranki* ov valaš napisahu...(HPOC, 155); poleg obodveh *strankih* nazoči bitja...(IŽZ).

Instrumental imenica ž. roda samo u tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća čuva dvojinjski oblik, dok se kasnije redovito ostvaruju množinski oblici, npr. međ obemadvema *stranma*...(DEC, 156); potegne oružje z obedvemi *rukami*...(VO, 49); digne oružje z obadvemi *rukami*...(VO, 50); z obodvemi *rukami*...(9x, VO, 47, 52-55, 65, 68).

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3

U kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3 u NA redovito dobivaju množinske nastavke *-e* ili *-i*, npr. na tri *diele*...(DEC, 130); za tri *dukate*...(AC, CCXCVIII); položiti tri *dukate*...(AC, CCXCVIII); tri *listi*...(DEC, 123); tomu na tri *mesece* plaća teče...(SHK 1, XXXVIII); ada se zvunjim daju tri *mieseci*...(DEC, 104); za tri *zroke* zlameno ruho prostiti...(DEC, 82); dadu i tri *dele*...(NM); tri *djemanti*...(OBP, 36); davati

mora...tri *dukate*...(TBŠ, 1); item druge zemlje tri *fertali* oranja...(HPOC, 127); za pet slogov dugih i *klinče* tri...(HPOC, 122); tri *pelikani*...(OBP, 34); tri *pute* seno dovesti...(PPB, 124); po tri *pute*...(PPB, 207); na tri *tiedne*...(PNF); naimre dva ali tri *voze*...(DBŠ, 82); od vala tri *groše*...(OGP); na dan tri *groše*...(OGP); po tri *groše*...(2x, OGP); od jednoga melinskoga kola 3 *groši*...(OOS); kopača 3 takaj *groši*...(OOS); marširaju...tri *koračaje* napervo...(VO, 77); na dan tri *meclje*...(OGP); bude v letu po tri *novce*...(OGP); vu ladicu detičku tri *novce* postaviti...(AMD); samo za tri *palce* visoko pokrije...(KK, 111); tri *pinte*...(OGP); naboju tri *vudarce*...(VO, 50); plaćali se budu po tri *groše*...(OGP). Tu valja reći da je nastavak *-e* karakterističan za oba padeža, a *-i* samo za nominativ.

Samo u tekstovima iz 17. i 18. stoljeća moguć je u NA utjecaj dvojine koji se preslikava iz sintagmatskih izraza imenica m. roda s brojevnim kvantifikatorom 2, npr. tri *kanovnika*...(PPB, 252); tri *puta*...(PPB, 184); vu Beč tri *puta* iduć...(SHK 3, XXXVI); je dužen...pšenice *vagana* 3...(UR, 178); mora tri *forinta* brojiti...(BVG); *groša* 3 na dan bude imel...(CRR, I); tri *kneza* sebi uzme...(BVG); sprosil je tri *poliča* vina...(IVS, 100); i to biva tri *puta*...(VO, 50); orjemo tri *puta*...(OOS).

U svim kosim padežima ostvaruju se isključivo množinski oblici – u G: npr. ada do napunjenja treh *miesecev*...(DEC, 104); nakon treh *miseci*...(AC, CCCXXI); jer djevu ili treh *susedov* i *međašev* valovanja...veče hasne i važu...(DEC, 121); kaj je više od tri *zlate* vriedna...(DEC, 167); od treh *zlati* vriedna...(DEC, 166); od treh *tjednov*...(PPB, 261); po kaštige treh *dnevov*...(U, VIII-§IV); z pešičkim delom treh *dnevov* kaštiguval se bude...(U, VIII-§XVI); naj iz treh *kelihof* treh *far* pije vino...(IVS, 98); kakoti i treh *mesecov* restancija...(ZGV); samo na višinu treh *palcev* dojt...(KK, 111); na visinu treh *palcev*...(KK, 111); u D: npr. dade dvema ili trem *ljudem*...(DEC, 41); ostavljam trem *kloštrom*...(OIK, 104); u L: npr. v treh *fundamentomeh* stoji...(DEC, 105); ; v treh *zrokib* stoji...(DEC, 50); o treh *kraleh*...(HPOC, 149); vu treh *fertaljev* vure...(KK, 112); i I: npr. pred tremi *krali*...(AC, CCCV); z *kmeti* trimi...(AC, CCCXXV); tremi se *zakonmi* sinovli i bratinski terhi gore vzimlju...(DEC, 49); a to tremi *zakonmi* more biti...(DEC, 144); jer se nota nevernosti tremi *zakonmi* vun povieda...(DEC, 150).

Imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3

Imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3 u svim padežima ostvaruju množinske oblike, npr. u NA: tri je *dugovanja* potrebno...(DEC, 119); tri *dugovanja*...(DEC, 131); na tri *oranja*...(DEC, 97); činil tri *oranja*...(DEC, 97); dužen je...*jajca* 3...(2x, UR, 175, 178); daju...*jajca* 3...(3x, ŠU, 372-373); zminuši tri *leta*...(ML); stal je savski breg tri *leta*...(PPB, 2); ovo nesu 3 *leta*...(PPB, 187); čez tri *leta*...(PPŠD II); zemlje *oranja* 3...(OU, 233); *sela* 3...(2x, OU, 247); tri *zerna* djundja...(OBP, 35); u G: od treh *oranj*...(DEC, 97); daču treh *let*...(VL 2; PPB, 167); do tri *leta*...(2x, PPŠD II); i I: pred tremi *leti*...(IVS, 93); pred tremi okolu *leti*...(IVS, 97).

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3 potvrđuju se u L i I redovito s množinskim oblicima, npr. na treh *grivnjah* zaostane...(DEC, 163); s *podlogami* tremi...(HI); tremi *grivnami* zaostane...(DEC, 178); tremi *grivnami*...zaostanu...(DEC, 179); tremi *grivnjami* zaostane...(4x, DEC, 163, 178); 3 *puškami* spravna...(PNF).

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4

U kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4 u NA redovito dobivaju množinske nastavke, npr. na četiri *diele* razdeljava...(DEC, 72); kotera četiri *duKate*...čini...(DEC, 96); četiri *prasci*...(DEC, 99); vsaka grivnja četiri *zlate* čini...(DEC, 166); po orsagu...*dukat* četiri...(HPOC, 131); daje vsako leto...četiri *duKate*...(UB, 302); za četiri *duKate*...(LMR); za *duKate* četiri...(HPOC, 103); po orsagu...*duKate* četiri...(HPOC, 132); na *kosce* četiri...(HPOC, 149); četiri *novce* davši...(2x, HPOC, 132); dava...*pišćenac* 4...(UO); *stoli* 4...(UR, 186); četiri *šenatori*...(SGZ, 16°); po 4 *težake*...(PPB, 259); morali smo sako leto četiri *verostove* iz naše mošne plačati...(PPB, 242); *virostove* četiri...(2x, VL 2; PPB, 167); po četiri *groše*...(5x, OGP); bude daval...*novce* četiri...(AMD); 4 pako *plutoni*...(VO, 76); četiri *voli* voziti mogu...(2x, OGP).

Rijetko se u tekstovima iz 17. i 18. stoljeća ostvaruju dvojniski oblici, preslikani iz sintagmatskih izraza imenica m. roda s brojevnim kvantifikatorom 2, npr. od

vsake hiže četiri *dukata*...(CL); po 4 *groša* na dan plaćati se bude moral...(CRR, II); dopelja dober voz *groša* 4...(OGP); četiri *palca* izraste...(KK, 112).

U svim kosim padežima ostvaruju se isključivo množinski oblici – u G: npr. od četireh *dimov*...(PNF); u D: npr. tremi grivnami čertim *sudcem* zaostanu...(DEC, 179); prot čertim *sudcem* vraždum zaostanu...(DEC, 179); u L: npr. nas hote pravdati po četerteh *sudceh*...(TPB, 2); i I: npr. dete je bilo vraženo pri gerle čtiriemi *perstmi*...(BŠ, 147); z čertimi *sudci*...(2x, DEC, 178); a človieče se je suđenje čtiriemi *zakonmi* navadilo prevernuti...(DEC, 6); poznavaju se čtiriemi *zakonmi*...(DEC, 101); pojde čtiriemi *zlati*...(DEC, 163); preplati ga iz više cine čtirimi *novci*...(HPOC, 95).

Imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4

U imenica sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4 redovito nalazimo množinske oblike – u NA: npr. za četira *godišća*...(Š, 104); za četiri *godišća*...(Š, 94); takaj na četiri *leta*...(UB, 305); četiri *leta*...(2x, ČL, 1; PPB, 42); *leta* 4...(L, 360); 4 *oranja* zemlje...(UB, 302); još k tomu *vedra* vina četiri...(HPOC, 153); u G: npr. do četireh *let*...(ČL); i L: npr. v čtيره se *dugovanjah* ne dopusti...(DEC, 89); po četireh *leti*...(ČL).

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4

U imenica ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4 u G i L redovito nalazimo množinske oblike, npr. s treh ili z čtيره *stran*...(DEC, 161); od četireh *biž*...(PPB, 265); na četireh *oktavah*...(DEC, 27); vu četireh *vur* daljine imamo...(URK, 20).

Zaključak

a) imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2 u NA redovito dobivaju dvojinški nastavak *-a*. Rijetko se tijekom triju stoljeća dopreporodne kajkavske pismenosti ostvaruju množinski oblici. Čuvanje dvojinškoga nastavka u G karakteristično je samo za tekstove iz 16. stoljeća. U L pronalazimo samo jednu potvrdu u kojoj se realizira množinski oblik. U tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća redovito se u I ostvaruju dvojinški oblici, a u mlađim tekstovima množinski.

b) imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2

Imenice sr. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2 u NA redovito dobivaju dvojinske nastavke *-e/-i*. Paralelno se tijekom ukupne kajkavske pismenosti mogu realizirati i množinski oblici. U G se ostvaruju skamenjeni oblici iz NA dvojine ili množine. U tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća u L se čuva dvojinski nastavak *-u*, a kasnije nalazimo samo potvrde za množinske oblike. Instrumental se potvrđuje trima množinskim nastavcima (*-i, -imi, -mi*).

c) imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2

U imenica ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 2 u G i D, redovito se ostvaruje množina. Za I nalazimo samo dvije dvojinske potvrde iz 16. stoljeća.

d) imenice svih triju rodova uz brojevni kvantifikator 12

Uz brojevni kvantifikator 12 potvrđuju se dvojinski oblici samo u tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća. U kasnijim tekstovima nalazimo samo potvrde za množinske oblike.

e) Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)*

Imenice m. roda u NA, GL i I uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)* čuvaju nastavak dvojine. Sve potvrde potječu iz 16. stoljeća, a u kasnijim tekstovima ne nalazimo potvrde uz navedeni brojevni kvantifikator.

f) imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)*

Imenice ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator *oba(dva)* u G ostvaruju dvojinski oblik. To je karakteristično samo za tekstove iz 16. stoljeća, dok se u kasnijim tekstovima ostvaruju množinski oblici. Instrumental samo u tekstovima iz 16. stoljeća čuva dvojinski oblik, dok se kasnije redovito ostvaruju množinski oblici.

g) imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3 u NA redovito dobivaju množinske nastavke *-e* ili *-i*. Samo u tekstovima iz 17. i 18. stoljeća moguć je u NA utjecaj dvojine koji se preslikava iz sintagmatskih izraza imenica m. roda s brojevnim kvantifikatorom 2. U svim kosim padežima ostvaruju se isključivo množinski oblici.

h) imenice sr. i ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3

Imenice sr. i ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 3 u svim padežima ostvaruju množinske oblike.

i) imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4

Imenice m. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4 u NA redovito dobivaju množinske nastavke. Rijetko se u tekstovima iz 17. i 18. stoljeća ostvaruju dvojinjski oblici, preslikani iz sintagmatskih izraza imenica m. roda s brojevnim kvantifikatorom 2. U svim kosim padežima ostvaruju se isključivo množinski oblici.

j) imenice sr. i ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4

U imenica sr. i ž. roda uz brojevni kvantifikator 4 redovito nalazimo množinske oblike.

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Izvori

16. st.

AC – Acta Croatica, CCXCVIII. Mate Višak zalaže dvije oranice pred sucem križevačke županije (Hižanovec, 2. 7. 1586., u: Kukuljević-Sakcinski, I. 1863)

AC – Acta Croatica, CCCIV. Suci županije varaždinske otkupljuju kneza Ivana Araša i dijele jedno njegovo selo (Petruševac, 19. 11. 1588., u: Kukuljević-Sakcinski, I. 1863)

AC – Acta Croatica, CCCV. Nikola Gjurkanić iz Trnave i Toma Grekša daju u spravu svoje novce zagrebačkomu građaninu Gašparu Kaučiću (1589., u: Kukuljević-Sakcinski, I. 1863)

AC – Acta Croatica, CCCXXI. Matija Radošević nagađa se s knezom Petrom Hruševačkim za neki kvar (Rečica, 2. 2. 1595., u: Kukuljević-Sakcinski, I. 1863)

AC – Acta Croatica, CCCXXV. Gavro Ajtić zalaže svoje imanje Marku Bentiću (Karlovac, 27. 6. 1596., u: Kukuljević-Sakcinski, I. 1863)

AC – Acta Croatica, CCCXXXI. Stanko Drženić prodaje svoj vinograd Ivanu Šgudlinu (Međimurje, 1. 1. 1598., u: Kukuljević-Sakcinski, I. 1863)

BŠ – Blaž Škrinjarić i parnica protiv Urše Geljanice (Varaždin, 1588 – 1589, u: Šojat, O. 1975)

ČL – Čunčičev list (Kuče, 1521., u: Pranjković, I. 1994)

DEC – Decretum Ivana Pergošića (Nedelišće, 1574., u: Pergošić, I. 2003)

HI – Hrvatski inventar (3. 4. 1596., u: Horvat, R. 1911)

HPS – Hrvatski popis stvari (1588., u: Horvat, R. 1912)

LL – Lestakovečka listina (Lestakovci, 5. 11. 1580.; Ivan Drenovački naseljuje kmetove u Lestakovce i naznačuje im urbarske dužnosti, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)

OTK – Otpor kmetova u Šenkovcima povećanju tlake (1584 – 1600, u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)

SHK 1 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 1, XIII. Kralj Maksimilijan II. nalaže Vidu Haleku, generalu na slovinskoj (varaždinskoj) Krajini, da izvidi jesu li zagrebački građani popravili gradske zidine (Beč, 5. 5. 1573., u: Lopašić, R. 1884)

BORIS KUZMIĆ I IVANA KLINČIĆ

- SHK 1 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 1, XXXVIII. Naputak izdan nadvojvodom Karlom za konjanike na hrvatsko-slavonskoj krajini s latinskim naputkom od g. 1577. za ugarsku krajinu (Graz, 1. 3. 1578., u: Lopašić, R. 1884)
- SHK 1 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 1, CLXXII. Gornji grad križevački naseljuje Ivana Pejašinovića i ostale Uskoke u svojem području (Križevci, 29. 9. 1596., u: Lopašić, R. 1884)
- VL – Vukovinska listina (Vukovina, 25. 2. 1599.; Ban Ivan Drašković naseljuje Letovanić, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
- ZL – Zagrebačka listina (Zagreb, 15. 3. 1599.; Službe i dužnosti naseljenika iz okolice Bihaća na zemljištu grada Zagreba u Hrašću, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
17. st.
- CL – Celničanska listina Jurja Zrinskoga (8. 5. 1624., u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
- ČL – Čakovečka listina (Čakovec, 5. 2. 1654.; Službenik kneza i bana Nikole Zrinskoga dopušta Gašparu Kudoviću i dr. da se nastane u Rakovcu, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
- DBŠ – Druga buna Štibrenaca (1633 – 1637, u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)
- HPOC – Hrvatska plemenska općina Cvetkovići (1605. – 1697., u: Laszowski, E. 1929)
- LL 1 – Letovanička listina (Letovanić, 12. 4. 1636.; Ban Sigismund Erdödy određuje prava i dužnosti Jelačića u selu Farkašiću, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
- LMR – Listina Mike Radaka (Svetice, 3. 2. 1677., u: Strohal, R. 1907)
- LMS – Listina Mikule Sopića (Šipak, 1. 4. 1646., u: Strohal, R. 1907)
- LP – Lonjička povelja kneza Jurja Zrinskoga (31. 5. 1618., u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
- ML – Moravička listina (Moravice, 3. 7. 1623.; Stjepan Lacković i dr. naseljuju Ivana Klobučara i dr. u Dragama Moravičkim, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
- NM – Oporuka Nikole Makara (28. 4. 1671., u: Horvat, R. 1913)
- OBP – Oporuka Barbare Peranski iz g. 1696. s popisom nakita (u: Kolanović, J. 1977)
- ODD – Otpor davanju desetine u Ivaniću (2. 11. 1667., u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)
- OIK – Oporuka brdovečkoga župnika Ivana Kobbea (Brdovec, 14. 8. 1681., u: Laljak, S. 2002)
- OPK – Otpor pavlinskih kmetova u Kamenskom, povećavanju tlake i uvođenju krčevinskih daća (1660 – 1668, u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)
- OTK – Otpor kmetova u Šenkovcima povećanju tlake (1601 – 1660, u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)
- PNF – Poziv bana Nikole Frankopana na vojnu protiv Turaka (9. 10. 1618., u: Laszowsky, E. 1913)
- PPB – Prva posavska buna (1653 – 1659, u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)
- PPŠD II – Prilog povijesti školstva u Draganiću II (Šipak, 11. 8. 1680., u: Sporčić, M. 1899)
- SGZ – Statut grada Zagreba (1629., u: Šojat, O. 1974)
- SHK 2 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 2, CXXVIII. Gaspar Stankovački, vicekapetan, priopćuje zagrebačkom biskupu Benku Vinkoviću da je biskupov grad Dubrava zapušten, i da je poradi toga pogibelj od Turaka (Križevci, 12. 11. 1639., u: Lopašić, R. 1885)
- SHK 2 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 2, CCXLIII. Kapetan ivanički, Oto Stubenberg, naseljuje Ivana Čičerića i drugove u Rečici i označuje međe njihova sela (Ivanić, 8. 7. 1688., u: Lopašić, R. 1885)
- SHK 3 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 3, LVII. Grof Petar Keglević naseljuje Vukadina i Stanivuku zajedno s njihovim drugovima u kotaru jastrebičkom (Kostajnica, 10. 3. 1698., u: Lopašić, R. 1889)
- SHK 3 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 3, XXXIV. Radvo Badrić, harambaša sa svojim drugovima Vlasima moli biskupa zagrebačkoga da im dozvoli naseliti se u Malom Gradcu i u Sračici te oko rječice Dragotine (Krajina, oko 1689., u: Lopašić, R. 1889)
- SHK 3 – Spomenici Hrvatske krajine 3, XXXVI. Pukovnik grof Krištof Rindsmaul opominje Vlahe krajišnike da se ne bune (Koprivnica, 21. 2. 1697., u: Lopašić, R. 1889)
- TBŠ – Treća buna Štibrenaca (Zagreb, 1654., u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)

- TPB – Treća posavska buna (1670 – 1671, u: Adamček, J. i dr. 1985)
 UB – Urbar imanja Bukovca u Podravini (1645., u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
 UO – Urbar Ostrne (Ostrna, 10. 10. 1667., u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
 UR – Urbar grada Rakovca (1630., u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
 VL 1 – Vrbovečka listina (Vrbovec, 23. 8. 1619.; Knez Juraj Zrinski naseljuje Slavonce u gori Lipi Gaj na vrbovačkom imanju, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
 VL 2 – Varaždinska listina (Varaždin, 11. 5. 1656.; Podanici sisački pred varaždinskim generalom Valterom Lesleom sklapaju sporazum o službi, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
 VL 3 – Vrbovečka listina (Vrbovec, 7. 5. 1669.; Službenici grofice Sofije, udovice bana Nikole Zrinskoga, nastanjuju Matiju Fiolića u selu Poljani, u: Lopašić, R. 1894)
18. st.
- AMD – Artikuluši mladenecv ili detičev plemenitoga ceha mesarskoga varaša koprivničkoga (Koprivnica, 22. 2. 1766., u: Kolander, Z. 1914)
 BVG – Buna varaždinskoga generalata i pograničnih kmetova (Severin, 25. 1. 1755., u: Ivančan, Lj. 1902)
 CRR – Cijena radnje i robe u Varaždinu (1. 3. 1705., u: Strohal, R. 1910)
 IVS – Istraga na vlastelinskom sudu grofa Ratkaja u Velikom Taboru (1744., u: Šojat, V. 1969)
 IŽZ – Instrukcija županije zagrebačke seoskim sucima (1764., u: Noršić, V. 1912)
 KK – Kazitel knjig za polodjelavca na hrvatskom jeziku očituvan (1788., u: Šatović, F. 1975)
 KSKŽ – Kažnjavanje seljaka u selu Dubovcu u Križevačkoj županiji (1755., u: Adamček, J. 1977)
 LV – Listina Jure Vrbaničića (Hrastje, 10. 2. 1753., u: Strohal, R. 1907)
 OGP – Odredba gradskog poglavarstva u Zagrebu glede plaćanja nadnice (1726., u: Barle, J. 1913)
 OOS – Odnosaji općine Samobor (1774., u: Noršić, V. 1914)
 U – Urbarium Marije Terezije (26. 4. 1766., u: Udvari, I. 2003)
 URK – Urbarijalna regulacija sela Kapelšćaka (1774 – 1778, u: Adamček, J. 1970)
 VO – Vojni obučevnik (18. st., u: Jurić, Š. 1971, 1972)
 ZGV – Zastupanje grada Varaždina na saboru u Požunu (14. 2. 1708., u: Horvat, R. 1911a)
 ZP – Zavjet plemića iz Sv. Helene (21. 4. 1787., u: Gundrum, F. 1914)

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JOŠ JEDNOM O VRGADINSKOM GOVORU

Josip Lisac

1

Istraživanje govora otoka Vrgade na rubu zadarskoga otočja prema Šibeniku otpočelo je već potkraj 19. stoljeća kada je Milan Rešetar (1890-1891) taj idiom svrstao u štokavsko narječje. Toj se je Rešetarovoj tezi usprotivio Blaž Jurišić (1936-1938) opisujući vrlo pouzdano glasovlje zavičajnoga otoka. Jurišićevi podatci i interpretacije potakli su Stjepana Ivšića (1951) i Aleksandra Belića (1952) da na širokom planu pokrenu raspravu o osobinama toga i drugih govora, a o tom su raspravljali i Vesna Jakić Cestarić (1960) i Milan Moguš (1977). Jurišić je i onomastički istraživao razna jadranska područja, obrađivao je i glagoljaštvo rodnoga otoka, a proučavanje vrgadinskoga govora zaključio je vrlo vrijednom monografijom (1966) i dragocjenim rječnikom (1973). Jurišićev veoma raznoliki rad obrađuje se u posebnoj zborniku koji je uredio Šime Batović (1992) gdje je o Jurišiću kao dijalektologu pisao Božidar Finka. U sklopu mnogih raščlambi čakavštine prikazao je i Jurišićev rad Zdzisław Wagner (1973). Jurišićev leksikografski rad obrađivale su i Mirjana Šokota (1988) i Sanja Vulić (1993). Opsežno je o govorima Vrgade, Novoga Vinodolskoga i Senja uglavnom na temelju literature pisao Hein Steinhauer (1973), a o pitanjima Jurišićevih prinosa povijesnoj gramatici hrvatskoga jezika Dalibor Brozović (1992) i Stjepan Babić (1992). Psiholog Tomislav Grgin, rođeni Vrgadin, raspravio je 2000. o podrijetlu žitelja otoka Vrgade. Sažet pregled Jurišićeva rada za ediciju *Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* priredio je Josip Lisac (2011). O vrgadinskom govoru u najnovije vrijeme je pisala Jennifer Resch (2014), a na taj se idiom često osvrću Josip Lisac (2009), Petar Šimunović (2011), Iva Lukežić (2012; 2015) i Mate Kapović (2015). Značajna je i monografija *Toponimija otoka Vrgade* koju je uredio Vladimir Skračić (2008), a tu je i članak Ante Jurića i Nataše Šprljan 'Jezični i

semantički opis vrgadinske toponimije', str. 99-110. Proučavanju čakavštine veliki je doprinos dala Janneke Kalsbeek (osobito 1998), pa se zato u ovom prinosu bavim jednom od čakavoloških tema.

2.

Vrgadinski je govor ikavski kao i drugi idiomi južnočakavskoga dijalekta, ali su i odstupanja dosta brojna. Uz *bisan*, *bižati*, *cvit*, *dīd*, *mlīkō*, *prostriti*, *sīme*, *stīnā*, *ūvīk*, *vītar*, *žīvīti* itd., govori se i *čēsta*, *ozlēditi*, *pēteh*, *sēno*, *vērovati*, *zēnica* itd. Znatan broj ekavizama nimalo ne iznenađuje, jer srednočakavski (ikavsko-ekavski) govori nisu vrlo udaljeni (Dugi otok, Ugljan). Jurišić je bio uvjeren da su zapadnoštokavski ikavski govori i čakavski ikavski govori izrasli iz zajedničke podloge i da su dugo vrijeme proveli u užem govornom dodiru (Jurišić 1973: 7), a ovdje nije mjesto za raspravu o tom jesu li mnogi štokavci ikavci diftonškoga podrijetla jata.

Uglavnom redovito južnočakavski dijalekt ima *u* na mjestu stražnjeg nazala i na mjestu samoglasnoga *l*, pa je tako i na Vrgadi (*pūt*; *sūnce*). Prednji nazal na Vrgadi iza *j* nerijetko je davao *a* (*jazīk*), u ostalim pozicijama *e* (*počēti*, *žēža*, *mēso*). Šwa je davao *a* (*maglā*, *danās*). Ima i dvostrukosti (*uzēsti* || *vazēsti*, *ūvīk* || *vāvīk*) i višestrukosti (*jučēr* || *učēr* || *učēra*).

Vrgadinski govor ima primjer *gnīzdō*, kao i mnogi drugi idiomi južnočakavskoga dijalekta, ali je već na Pašmanu *ñqzlbō*, što je i prirodno s obzirom na susjedovanje s ikavsko-ekavskim govorima gdje nerijetko bilježimo *a* od jata iza palatala, a ispred tvrdoga dentala (Sali, Zaglav, Iž itd.).

Na čakavskom jugoistoku izrazito prevladava prijedlog *u* a slično je i u drugim primjerima, npr. na Braču u *Split*, *udovica*, *unuk*, ali ipak *vazest* i *slično*. Na Vrgadi je nešto drugačije, tu je npr. *u crikvi*, *utorak*, a uz to i već spomenute dvostrukosti tipa *uvik* – *vavik*.

U vrgadinskom govoru *kresti*, *rebac*, *resti* redoviti su primjeri prijelaza *ra-* u *re-*, a to je češće nego u mnogim drugim jugoistočnim i brojnim drugim čakavskim govorima, pa i kod mnogih ikavaca novoštokavaca. U sva je tri primjera proveden prijelaz *ra-* u *re-* u mnogim mjestima od Brača do Bibinja u okviru južnočakavskoga dijalekta.

Na Vrgadi govori se *greb*, kao i u mnogim drugim južnim čakavskim idiomima i kod brojnih štokavaca. U čakavaca ikavaca takvi se primjeri nalaze od Pelješca do Bibinja. U jednim je govorima *grēb* (kao na Vrgadi), u drugima je došlo do duljenja pred šumnikom, često uz zatvaranje vokala kao na Braču i do diftongacije kao na Hvaru. Dodajem da je na Vrgadi npr. *tepliti*, a takvi primjeri dolaze i kod mnogih drugih čakavaca, ikavaca i neikavaca.

U južnočakavskom dijalektu vrlo je često *krelo* 'krilo', pa je tako i na Vrgadi.

Ispred nazala, *o* u južnočakavskom dijalektu mjestimice prelazi u *u*, npr. *unda* ili *mumak*. U načelu od zapadnog dijela Šolte prema sjeverozapadu mijenja se *o* u *u* ispred *n* koje zatvara slog. Recimo, na Žirju je *z bratun* I jd., u Ždrelcu na Pašmanu *nogun*, ali je na Vrgadi instrumental jednine *braton*, *nogon* itd.

Dugo *a* u mnogim govorima južnočakavskog dijalekta prelazi u zatvoreno *a* ili u diftong. Riječ je o pretvaranju kvantitativnih kontrasta u kontraste po vokalnoj boji, tj. o duljenju naglašenih kratkih vokala u svim slogovima osim u posljednjima ili o diftongaciji dugih vokala. U dalmatinskoj zoni dulji se obično samo *a*, pa i ono *a* dobiveno od šwa. I *o* i *e* nerijetko se zatvaraju ili diftongiraju. Na Vrgadi bilježimo *zajâti* 'zajmiti', *grâd*, *ribâr*, ali *nôč*, *tênda*.

U južnočakavskom dijalektu samoglasno *r* može biti i sekundarno (npr. *prpotentan* ponegdje), može se čuvati (npr. *hrkot* 'hrkati'), često prelazi u *ar* (*gardelin*) a na Vrgadi bilježimo ili npr. *r* (*brvâski*) ili *er* (*Hervât*). U posljednje doba uglavnom je redovito slogotvorno *r*, bez popratnoga vokala.

Praslavensko *d'* dalo je u čakavaca ikavaca redovito *j*, čega ima i na Vrgadi (npr. *meja*), ali je i *ž* (npr. *preža*) dosta često, a to svakako svjedoči i o staroj i o novijoj povezanosti sa štokavskim idiomima. U mnogim govorima *č* i *ť* izjednačeni su u srednjem glasu. Tako je i na Vrgadi, prema Jurišićevu svjedočenju, a to sam i ja registrirao 1991. prilikom istraživanja na Vrgadi. U novije vrijeme Ante Jurić i Nataša Šprljan (2008) bilježe ipak minimum razlikovanja ta dva glasa. Iz rečenoga jasno je da Vrgadini nisu čakavci, ali jesu šćakavci (*godišće*, *šćeta*). Posebno su važni primjeri kao *možžani*, *zvižžiti* ili *drežžiti* 'gledati željno očekujući' jer i oni pokazuju staru vezu sa štokavcima šćakavcima. Pravi čakavci, naime, uglavnom redovito imaju primjere tipa *možžani*. Doseljeni štokavci u blizini Vrgade svi su šćakavci. Na Vrgadi dobro je zastupljeno *čr-* (npr. *črivo*) i *cr-* (*crn*). *H* se na Vrgadi

dosta dobro čuva (*mih, zihati* 'zijeovati' itd.), ali nerijetko izostaje (*krubh*, ali *kruva; kuvati* itd.), u čemu također sigurno ima štokavskoga utjecaja. *F* se čuva bolje nego *h*, npr. *fažo* 'grah', *fermati, rasfljati* 'raščešljati višestruki konop u sastavne dijelove'. Na Vrgadi dočetno *l* u participijima otpada (*bi* 'bio', *šti* 'čitao'), ali i u drugim primjerima (*di* 'dio'). Dočetno *m* u nastavcima i u nepromjenjivim riječima prelazi u *n* (*mislin, sedan*). U južnočakavskom dijalektu *l* se često čuva ali i često prelazi u *j*. Na Vrgadi imamo jedno i drugo (*ule, uje*, pa i *vuje*), ali je fonem *l* sve rjeđi. Protetsko *j* i *v* djelomice se javljaju na Vrgadi. Pojednostavljanja suglasničkih skupova osobito su dalekosežna na jugu dijalekta, pa i na Vrgadi dolaze primjeri kao *deško* 'dečko', *grški* 'grčki'. Na Vrgadi dobro su zastupljene redukcije prvoga od suglasnika u suglasničkim skupovima (*tica* 'ptica', *ko* 'tko') a i u drugim pozicijama (npr. *srbiti* 'svrbjeti').

Na čakavskom jugoistoku provedena je metateza *vs-* > *sv-*, pa dolazi *sve, svaki* i slično, na čakavskom sjeverozapadu bez metateze (Grobnik: *vas, sa, so*). Na Vrgadi je također s metatezom, ali i *švenak* 'uš', kao i na Murteru, na otocima pred Zadrom često *švenac*.

Južnočakavski dijalekt u mnogim govorima ima tronaglasni sustav (*uvātiti, mēso, mihūr*). Vrgada je čuvala prednaglasne i zagnaglasne duljine (*dītē, vēlikī*), što se sve više gubi. Dugi silazni akcent kao rezultat duljenja staroga kratkog cirkumfleksa u vrgadinskom govoru dolazi u primjerima kao *rōd* ili *léd*, a kao rezultat kompenzacijskoga duljenja imamo *divōjka, dīm, stārca*, kako na čakavskom sjeverozapadu te na sjeveru slavonskoga dijalekta, tako i na zapadu južne zone slavonskoga dijalekta. U primjeru *kōñ* do duljenja nije došlo, a tako je i u mnogim drugim čakavskim govorima. U tom primjeru, uostalom, čest je i akut (obično na sjeverozapadu) i cirkumfleks (obično na jugoistoku). U primjerima kao *pīsmō, krīvāc - krīvācā* ili *kōlāc - kōlācā* Vrgada ima akcent kao čakavski sjeverozapad, a u primjerima kao *otāc - ōca* kao čakavski jugoistok. Prevladavaju, dakle, crte kao na čakavskom sjeverozapadu (npr. *prāg, krāva*), ne *prōg, krāva* kao npr. na Braču.

3

Na čakavskom jugoistoku dolazi prilog *di*, a ne *kadi* ili slično kao na sjeverozapadu. *Di* dolazi od viških do paških ikavskih govora a i u mnogim drugim idiomima.

U lokativu jednine m. i s. roda uvijek je nastavak *-u*, ne *-i* ili *-e*, kako je često na sjeverozapadu, pa i kod ikavaca u mjestima Klana i Studena sjeverno od Rijeke. Dakako, i na Vrgadi dolazi *na svitu* ili slično. Na Vrgadi jednosložne imenice m. i s. roda i neke dvosložne imenice uglavnom imaju kratke množine, ali na Vrgadi bilježimo i dvostrukosti tipa *bori* i *borovi*.

Na čakavskom jugoistoku često su izjednačeni dativ, lokativ i instrumental množine. Tako je i na Vrgadi (*po brodin, kolcin, u zubin*), a drugačije na čakavskom sjeverozapadu.

Na Vrgadi imperfekt je izniman, aorist čest, kao i pluskvamperfekt. U kondicionalu Vrgada ima u jednini za sva tri lica *bi*, a u množini obično *bimo, bite, bi*. U glagola druge vrste dolaze primjeri kao *krenuti, dignuti* i slično. Na Murteru većina mjesta ima tip *digniti*, jedino je u Murteru *maknuti* i slično.

Običan je na čakavskom jugoistoku nastavak *-e* a ne *-i* u akuzativu množine imenica muškoga roda (Brač: *grode*), no od Vrgade dosta dalje prema sjeverozapadu nastavak je na otocima *-i*, npr. *natežu brodi, kad operen pajoli* i slično. Primjeri akuzativa množine na *-i* dolaze i na čakavskom sjeverozapadu.

U imenica i pridjeva ženskoga roda instrumental jednine dolazi od nesazetog *-ojo*, pa imamo npr. *nogon, ženon* na Vrgadi. Na sjeverozapadu polazi se od *-o*.

Pokazne zamjenice na čakavskom jugoistoku obično dolaze prema tipu *ovi, oni*, a ne *ov* ili *on* kao na sjeverozapadu. Ipak je na Vrgadi registrirano i *vi, ni*, bez početnoga *o*, a eventualno dolazi i *ov* kao na sjeverozapadu.

U pogledu radnoga pridjeva tipa jugoistočnoga *išal* odnosno sjeverozapadnoga *šal*, treba reći da vrgadinski glagol *iči* nije domaća riječ, ali se u novije doba ipak rabi, a, naravno, on je tipa *išal*. I tu je arhaičnije stanje na čakavskom sjeverozapadu.

U vrgadinskom govoru javlja se glagol *imati*. To je kao i drugdje na jugoistoku, dok je na sjeverozapadu *iměti* odnosno rezultat toga starog oblika (npr. *imit, jimit* i slično). Kako vidimo, vrgadinski su infinitivi cjeloviti a tako je i od Žirja i Prvića do otoka pred Zadrom.

Na čakavskom jugoistoku običan je prezent *vazmeš*, na sjeverozapadu *zameš*. Zanimljiva je situacija na Vrgadi: *vazmeš* odnosno *uzmeš*. To je, dakle, jugoistočna crta.

4

U pogledu sintakse ističem vrgadinske primjere izostavljanja pojedinih dijelova u rečenicama (npr. *popeškon ču te*) ili uporabu bezličnih konstrukcija (*mitilo me* ‘mimoišlo me’). Na Vrgadi često se rabi prijedlog *ča* (*gren ča*) kojim se uz glagole kretanja izriče odmicanje.

5.

Vrgada, naravno, ima dosta tipičnih čakavizama (*měla* ‘mjesto u moru gdje je pliće’; *prītil* ‘debeo’) kao i riječi tipično slovensko-čakavskih (npr. *sīmo*, *sěgutra*, *besīda*, *prijāti* ‘primiti’), ali su izrazito brojni primjeri riječi koje se rabe i na širokim štokavskim područjima (*čūdo* ‘neobično mnogo’, *dāž* ‘kiša’, *drīvo* ‘drvo’, *kuča*, *glādan*, *pōt* ‘znoj’, *čāča*, *vlās* ‘kosa’, *zībāti*, *zīkva* ‘kolijevka’, *zrčalo*, *gōzjē* ‘željezo’, *cīnē* ‘jeftino’, *lūtīlo* ‘ljutnja’, *kūp* ‘hrpa’, *kūs* ‘komad’, *pīvo* ‘piće uopće’).

6

Sve u svemu, ne bih želio ulaziti u prepričavanje onoga što su o vrgadinskom govoru rekli mnogi dijalektolozi kao Rešetar, Belić, Ivšić, Vesna Jakić-Cestarić, Moguš i drugi. Čini se ipak očitim da je udio štokavštine u formiranju vrgadinskoga govora i u prošlosti i u novije doba bio znatan, pri čemu su zanimljive Grginove opaske o doseljenjima iz zapadne Bosne i zadarsko-šibenskoga kraja. On misli da su današnji Torići stigli iz Pounja, a današnji Jurišići iz Povrbasja. Svakako ipak nije vjerojatna Jurišićeva misao da su vrgadinski doseljenici iz Povrbasja bili vjerojatno čakavci (1966: 17). No svakako Vrgadini i danas govore *što* i *zašto*, a u cjelini se potvrđuje Ivšićeva misao (1951: 376) “da se izoglose u srodnim govorima ne sastaju u jedan splet, nego [...] se sijeku i prepleću”.

Odjel za kroatistiku i slavistiku, Sveučilište u Zadru

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ATTITUDES REGARDING THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON VARIETIES OF SLOVENIAN

Grant Lundberg

It is well known and widely accepted that language influences identity and that a national language is an important factor in the formation of the identity of a people (Anderson 1991: 6). After centuries of inclusion in various multiethnic and multi-linguistic states, Slovenians have struggled to find and maintain a common identity.¹ Language has played an important role in this process, especially because, for most of their history, Slovenians were not bound by a common dynasty, a unified state or even a single religious faith (Nećak 1997: 19). Even now, after Slovenians have ultimately established an independent nation, language continues to play a fundamental role in their identity (Stabej 2006: 697). This influence also goes the other way. Identity can influence and change language (Preston 1999: xxiv). It may be that “language and identity are ultimately inseparable” (Joseph 2004: 13).

Slovenians have long been concerned about preserving their language in the context of pressure from other larger, more dominant languages. The Slovenian constitution defines Slovenian as the official language of the nation. There are laws on the books on public usage of the language and resolutions and action plans to encourage implementation of language policy.² Before the 20th century, German was the dominant language in much of the Slovenian speech territory. As a result, the spoken language and dialect varieties are full of German borrowings. English has now taken German’s place as the dominant linguistic influence on Slovenian. This is particularly apparent in the second half of 20th century. Many borrowed forms have been largely incorporated into the system of the language. Words like *film*, *sendvič*, *servirati* do not stand out as borrowings (Šabec 2016: 69). With the heavy influence of media and the internet, especially social media, in the last 20

years the situation has changed again, becoming more chaotic. Borrowings enter the language faster, almost immediately, with significant spelling variations, e.g., double consonants, spelling based on English pronunciation rather than on the original English spelling. Many calques are created based on English phrases, e.g., *zmagam-zmagaš odnos* ‘win-win relationship’ (idem: 71). This can cause barriers to comprehension because many readers do not understand the usage. One needs to know English quite well to read the newspaper in contemporary Slovenia. Often the writers themselves do not understand the meaning of phrases and make mistakes in the creation of calques, e.g., *na dnevni bazi* ‘on a daily basis’ (idem: 71). This situation has caused many, including some academics, to be concerned about the status of the Slovenian language as regards English.

The ongoing debate on the status of the Slovenian language flared up recently, during the summer and fall of 2016, in response to a proposal to amend Article 8 of the Act on Higher Education to allow for increased use of foreign languages, primarily English, within degree programs in Slovenia.³ Throughout the summer and fall, a significant public debate raged. The debate included open letters and editorials in newspapers, interviews and discussions on radio and television, and a petition against the amendment and in favor of the universal development of the Slovenian language, which gathered nearly 9000 signatures.⁴ Many were and are concerned about measures that might reduce the range, depth and diversity of Slovenian as well as measures that could lead to poor quality of instruction or that might lead to Slovenian no longer holding its place as the preferred medium of communication within the Republic of Slovenia (Jesenšek 2016: 17). This concern extends to the worry that Slovenian could be weakened in its function as a language for scholarly communication (idem: 46).

Not everyone was worried that this proposed change would begin the process of the relegation of Slovenian to the status of a “kitchen” language used only informally among family and friends. There were also scholars and journalist who felt that the fears expressed by the opposition were exaggerated, that the constitution protected the status of the Slovenian language, which had survived in difficult circumstances and now was in a relatively favorable position (Stabej 2010: 179; Merljak 2016). The situation was additionally complicated by

Slovenia’s engagement with the European Commission’s focus on “plurilingualism,” which seeks to encourage the study and use of multiple European languages. Slovenians find themselves balancing between a commitment to study and use as many languages as possible, opening their education system to foreigners, and the desire to protect and expand the domain of the Slovenian language and its varieties.

This paper presents the results of a survey conducted in Slovenia among the general public during the spring and summer of 2016, the very time when the public debate over Article 8 was happening. The survey focuses on attitudes about the use of English in Slovenia and the influence of English on the Slovenian standard language. There are also several questions concerning language choice and identity. Broadly speaking, the survey seeks to answer two questions. 1) How do Slovenians, represented by the respondents to this survey, view the status of Slovenian as a functional national language? 2) How do Slovenians view the influence of (intentional) multilingualism, generally, and the prevalence of English, specifically, on the status and health of Slovenian as a functional national language?

The following discussion is based on 330 responses to an online Qualtrics survey. Respondents came from every region of Slovenia, although, 34% were from Ljubljana or the surrounding area of Central Slovenia.

Table 1: Region of Residence

Region	%	Count
Central Slovenija (Area around Ljubljana)	33.74%	111
Gorenjska	6.69%	22
Dolenjska	6.99%	23
Zasavje	3.34%	11
Podravje	17.93%	59
Savinjska dolina	10.94%	36
Posavje	2.13%	7
Koroška	4.86%	16
Pomurje	2.43%	8

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Goriška	2.74%	9
Notranjska	3.34%	11
Obalno-kraška	3.95%	13
severna Primorska	0.91%	3
Total	100%	329

The respondents were also from all age groups, with 38% between 18 and 30, 33% between 31 and 50, 16% between 51 and 65, and 8% and 5% under 18 and older than 65, respectively. The respondents were 65% female and 35% male. All levels of formal education were represented, with 50% having some form of post-secondary education.

Table 2: Education Level

level	%	Count
Primary or Vocational (osnovna ali poklicna šola)	10.03%	33
Secondary or College-Preparatory (srednja ali višja šola)	40.12%	132
College or University (visoka šola, univerza)	40.12%	132
Post-Secondary (podiplomski študij)	9.73%	32
Total	100%	329

The first part of the survey focused on questions meant to address attitudes toward the status of Slovenian as a functional national language. Most of these questions asked respondents to agree or disagree with statements by choosing one of the following answers: “strongly agree” (“popolnoma se strinjam”), “agree” (“se strinjam”), “somewhat agree” (“delno se strinjam”), “disagree” (“sploh se ne strinjam”). First, respondents were asked to react to the statement that Slovenian is endangered. As is clear from Table 3, most people, 55%, either disagreed or only partially agreed with this statement. On the other hand, 45% did believe that Slovenian was under threat or endangered.

Table 3: Slovenian is endangered.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	21.04%	69
agree	24.09%	79
somewhat agree	32.62%	107
disagree	22.26%	73
Total	100%	328

Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the responses to statements expressing the need for government support for Slovenian in the form of protective legislation as well as financial and scholarly support.

Table 4: The Slovenian language should be given additional legislative protection.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	33.64%	111
agree	26.97%	89
somewhat agree	27.88%	92
disagree	11.52%	38
Total	100%	330

Table 5: The Slovenian language needs government support (financial support for activities in the areas of description, study, and standardization).

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	38.53%	126
agree	34.56%	113
somewhat agree	18.04%	59
disagree	8.87%	29
Total	100%	327

There was clear support for both of these statements. 60% of respondents agreed with the need for additional legislative protection for Slovenian, and only 11% disagreed with the statement. The support was even stronger for the statement indicating the need for government financial and scholarly support. Nearly 70% of respondents agreed with this idea. It is unclear to what extent respondents knew that Slovenian already enjoys strong legislative protection and regular financial support. Regardless, the responses indicate a belief that the language is in additional need of governmental support and protection, and these responses can be connected to the belief that the language is under some threat.⁵

Finally, respondents were asked to react to the statement indicating that strong proficiency in the Slovenian literary language is important to their individual identity. Nearly 90% of respondents to this survey agreed that proficiency in the literary language is important to their individual identity.⁶ Based on this survey, there is strong support for government intervention in support of the Slovenian language as well as significant concern among the public that the language is endangered.

Table 6: Strong proficiency in the Slovenian literary language is important to my individual identity.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	57.19%	187
agree	30.28%	99
somewhat agree	10.09%	33
disagree	2.45%	8
Total	100%	327

The Act on the Public Usage of the Slovenian Language, passed in 2004, makes Slovenian the official language of the Republic of Slovenia. Based on this law, there have been a number of resolutions and action plans to implement Slovenian language policy, but, as seen in the responses to the above questions, there is still significant concern among Slovenians that the language is in a precarious

situation. This partly explains the public uproar in 2016 over a relatively minor proposed change to the law liberalizing the use of foreign languages, particularly English, in university programs. It also explains why the proposal was eventually dropped.

The second part of the survey focuses on attitudes about the influence of multilingualism, generally, and the prevalence of English, specifically, on the status of the Slovenian language. It is clear from the data in Table 7 that many Slovenians put a high value on multilingualism. Speaking foreign languages is important to their identity. This is also reflected in Slovenian language policy.

Table 7: Mastery of at least one foreign language is important to my individual identity.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	55.18%	181
agree	34.15%	112
somewhat agree	7.62%	25
disagree	3.05%	10
Total	100%	328

The next question is also connected to the idea of multilingualism. Table 8 illustrates reactions to a statement about the influence of the early initiation of the study of multiple foreign languages on the status of Slovenian.

Table 8: The early study of at least two foreign languages in school has a negative influence on the acquisition and mastery of the Slovenian literary language.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	7.98%	26
agree	8.59%	28

somewhat agree	21.47%	70
disagree	61.96%	202
Total	100%	326

Relatively few respondents agreed that there is a negative influence on the acquisition and mastery of the Slovenian language from the early study of multiple foreign languages. Over 60% disagreed with this statement.⁷

Tables 9, 10, and 11 depict responses regarding attitudes to statements about the influence of English on several varieties of the Slovenian language.

Table 9: The prevalence of English in everyday life has a negative influence on the status and development of the Slovenian language as it is used in the Republic of Slovenia.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	21.58%	71
agree	20.06%	66
somewhat agree	35.56%	117
disagree	22.80%	75
Total	100%	329

Table 10: The prevalence of English borrowings in the slang expressions of youth has a negative influence on all varieties of the Slovenian language.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	22.56%	74
agree	18.29%	60
somewhat agree	39.94%	131
disagree	19.21%	63
Total	100%	328

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Table 11: The frequent use of English borrowings in the Slovenian literary language is:

Answer	%	Count
very good	1.22%	4
good	11.28%	37
bad	48.17%	158
very bad	20.43%	67
unimportant	18.90%	62
Total	100%	328

The answers to these three statements are fairly evenly distributed across the possible responses. Most people either disagreed or were ambivalent about the negative influence of the prevalence of English in slang and general usage, although, over 40% agreed to both statements. The strongest reaction was to the use of English borrowings in the Slovenian literary language with nearly 70% seeing it as “bad” or “very bad.”⁸

In the final part of the survey, respondents were asked to evaluate their proficiency in English and to indicate circumstances in which they used English. The majority of respondents rated themselves highly, between 5 and 9, with 40% rating themselves as 7 or 8 out of 10. This self-reported information indicates that these respondents have a strong command of English.

Table 12: Rate your knowledge of English from 1 to 10 (1 being the weakest, 10 being the strongest).

Answer	%	Count
1	5.26%	17
2	2.48%	8
3	6.19%	20
4	4.33%	14
5	11.15%	36

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6	12.69%	41
7	19.50%	63
8	19.50%	63
9	12.38%	40
10	6.50%	21
	100%	323

Table 13: There are certain topics, ideas, or fields that I can more easily or more effectively express in English.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	19.21%	63
agree	20.12%	66
somewhat agree	29.57%	97
disagree	31.10%	102
Total	100%	328

It is interesting that 40% of respondents to this survey indicated that there are topics about which it is easier to speak in English than in Slovenian. This reinforces the idea that Slovenians are general quite confident in their proficiency in English and that English is prevalent in Slovenia. It will not come as a surprise that the ratio of respondents who agreed with this statement went up the higher they rated their language knowledge.⁹ When asked to react to the statement indicating that they often used English words and expressions when speaking Slovenian, nearly 50% of respondents agreed.

Table 14: When I speak Slovenian, I often use English words or expressions.

Answer	%	Count
strongly agree	19.51%	64
agree	24.39%	80

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somewhat agree	32.01%	105
disagree	24.09%	79
Total	100%	328

Those who indicated that they did use English words or expressions when speaking Slovenian were asked why they chose those forms. 222 respondents answered this question with additional explanations. The answers were individual but could be grouped loosely into several categories. The largest number of responses, nearly 50%, used a practical explanation. Respondents said things like, “there is no translation,” or “English is more specific.” Respondents often repeated the idea that the meaning is more specific in English, the expression is more exact or shorter, one word in English would require a long explanation in Slovenian. The next largest group of respondents, approximately 30%, repeatedly claimed that using English expressions or words was habit. This is just the way people speak in Slovenia now. The remaining 20% of responses were more difficult to group. Some people claimed to use English for expressive purposes. Respondents said things like, “English is more colorful,” or “sounds better.” Respondents also often said that they used English for jokes, emphasis, and especially swearing. Finally, there were a number of people who connected English to technology and, of course, the influence of media, film and music.

Slovenians have a complicated relationship with language. On the one hand, many believe that the language is threatened and that the government should use legislation and active means of support to solidify the language’s position and to encourage it’s use. On the other hand, Slovenians are committed to the study and use of foreign languages, especially English, as well as the preservation of other varieties of Slovenian, in particular dialects. The Resolution on the National Program for Language Policy 2014–18 states that language teachers are not only providers of linguistic knowledge but are also communicators and purveyors of culture and civilization (10).

V tem okviru je bistvena razširitev razumevanja vloge učiteljev slovenščine in drugih jezikov. Ti niso le posredovalci jezikovnega, ampak tudi

kulturnocivilizacijskega znanja ter so vezni člen med različnimi jeziki, kulturami in identitetami.

(In this context, an extension of the understanding of the role of teachers of Slovene and other languages is essential. They are not only providers of linguistic but also of cultural and civilizational knowledge and they are a link between different languages, cultures and identities.)

The survey discussed above illustrates the tension between the fear that Slovenian is threatened by larger, more dominant languages, specifically English, and the firm commitment to multilingualism and openness to European and global culture, which often presents itself through the medium of English.

The last two decades have brought significant new pressures on Slovenian identity (Nečak 1997: 24). Slovenia has a progressive language policy that supports minority rights of Italian, Hungarian and Roma speakers and encourages proficiency in and early study of more than one foreign language. On the other hand, increased pressure connected to globalization and especially Europeanization have renewed fears of assimilation and loss of local identity (Golež Kaučič 2009: 38). In Slovenia, this has led to a new focus on local and regional identity and culture as a way of emphasizing uniqueness within Europe (idem: 39, Malešević 2003: 188). This same shift toward a focus on regional and local culture is likely reflected in Slovenians' attitudes to their local dialects as well as to the standard language and their desires to speak and maintain them as an important part of their local and national identity (Lundberg 2007: 106). This tension is not likely to go away. Slovenian will continue to borrow heavily from English and other languages, but, based on public opinion and recent scholarly activism, it will not lose its place as the dominant and preferred medium of communication within the Republic of Slovenia nor will Slovenian be weakened in its function as a language for scholarly communication.

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Notes

1 As a relatively conservative Slavic linguist I have generally used the term *Slovene* as a noun and as the adjective for the language or language varieties, and I have tried to use *Slovenian* as a more

general adjective for things 'of Slovenia.' In this paper I am using *Slovenian* as a noun and as an adjective describing the language, nation, and culture. *Slovenian* seems to be displacing *Slovene* in most contexts including in the official English translations of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences.

2 Cf. http://www.mk.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/sluzba_za_slovenski_jezik/resolucija_o_nacionalnem_programu_za_jezikovno_politiko_20142018/

3 Cf. <http://pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO6817#>

4 The proposed change to Article 8 was dropped in November of 2016.

5 A similar survey was conducted during 2016 among language teachers, of both Slovene and foreign languages, in Slovenian elementary and high schools across the entire country. 448 teachers responded to the survey, 291 employed in elementary schools and 154 in secondary institutions. All regions of the country were represented with 20% of responses coming from schools in Central Slovenia. In response to the same questions about the need to protect the Slovene language with appropriate legislation and with government support, teachers were even more supportive of these ideas. In response to the first question about the need for government protection, 85% chose "strongly agree" or "agree," 14% chose "somewhat agree," and 1% chose "disagree." In response to the question about the need for government financial and scholarly support, 91% said "strongly agree" or "agree," 8% chose "somewhat agree," and 1% answered "disagree."

6 In the survey of language teachers referenced earlier, respondents reacted in a similar way to a statement indicating that a high level of proficiency in the Slovene language is important to maintain a unified Slovenian identity with 93% choosing "strongly agree" or "agree," 6% "somewhat agree," and only 1% choosing "disagree."

7 The same question was posed in the survey of language teachers mentioned above. 4% of respondents chose "strongly agree," 13% "agree," 28% "somewhat agree," and 55% chose "disagree."

8 This same question was asked of language teachers in the survey referenced earlier. In that survey 1% chose "very good," 6% "good," 63% "bad," 13% "very bad," and 17% said it was "unimportant."

9 For example, of those who rated their language knowledge at 1 (the weakest), one respondent chose "strongly agree," two "agree," three "somewhat agree," and ten chose "disagree." Of those respondents who rated their knowledge of English at 9 (nearly the strongest), thirteen chose "strongly agree," twelve "agree," thirteen "somewhat agree," and two chose "disagree." The same is true of age. The younger the respondent, the more likely they were to agree with the statement. Of respondents between 18 and 30, 39 chose "strongly agree," 35 "agree," 38 "somewhat agree," and 12 chose "disagree." In the age group over 65, 13 out of 18 chose "disagree."

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O OSOBITOSTIMA IMPERATIVA U KAJKAVSKOME NARJEČJU

Jela Maresić

Prilog posvećujemo profesoricu Janneke Kalsbeek koja je svojim znanstvenim istraživanjima i radom zadužila hrvatsko jezikoslovlje, osobito dijalektologiju objavivši vrlo opsežnu i vrijednu monografiju te niz zapaženih znanstvenih radova s područja čakavologije.

U radu se daje pregled i analiza općih karakteristika imperativa u kajkavskome, jednome od triju narječja hrvatskoga jezika. Nastojalo se da bude, koliko je bilo moguće, što više primjera s cjelokupnoga kajkavskoga prostora, teritorijalno ravnomjerno raspoređenih. Znatan je dio građe s područja križevačko-podravske kajkavskih govora prikupljen vlastitim terenskim istraživanjima.

1 Uvod

Prije nego se počnemo baviti kategorijom koja je temom ovoga rada podsjećamo da sustav glagola u kajkavskome narječju obuhvaća sljedeće sprezeve oblike – prezent, perfekt, pluskvamperfekt, futur, imperativ, kondicional I. i kondicional II. te nesprezeve – infinitiv, supin, glagolski pridjev radni, glagolski pridjev trpni i glagolski prilog sadašnji.

Današnji govori kajkavskoga narječja nisu sačuvali imperfekt ni aorist.¹ Jedini su ostatci aorista petrificirani oblik za 1. l. jd. *reko* te petrificirani nenaglašeni oblik aorista glagola *biti* – *bi* (za sva lica jednine i množine) koji se rabi u tvorbi kondicionala I. (*došel bi*). Ti su oblici potvrđeni na cijelome kajkavskom prostoru. U kajkavskome narječju nema futura II., ni glagolskoga priloga prošlog.

Supin je očuvan kao karakterističan oblik uz glagole kretanja. U nekim se kajkavskim dijalektima i govorima razlikuje od infinitiva samo kod nesvršenih i dvovidnih glagola (*īdem vlēć* : *īdem povlēćī* Pod). Kao i u drugim narječjima hrvatskoga i slavenskih jezika općenito, svaki je glagol određen temeljnom

kategorijom vida svojstvenom samo glagolima i to već u polaznom, infinitivnom obliku. Osim toga, glagolski oblici mogu imati i sljedeće kategorije – stanje, vrijeme, način, lice, broj i rod. Samo su glagolima svojstvene kategorije vida, stanja, vremena i načina, a lice, broj i rod pripadaju i drugim vrstama riječi.

Glagoli s istim leksičkim značenjem obično imaju vidske parove s oprekom svršeno – nesvršeno. Svršeni se glagoli mogu tvoriti prefiksalsnom i sufiksalsnom tvorbom uz supletivnu alomorfizaciju ili bez nje, npr. *tôći* – *potôći*, *gorëti* – *zgorëti* (Ham);² *oräti* – *zoräti* (Dr); *potikäti* – *potëknöti* (SvA) itd.

Nesvršeni se glagoli tvore sufiksacijom te unutarnjom tvorbom, npr. *skopäti* – *skäpäti* (Ham); *pokäzäti* – *pokäživäti* (Mol); *mëknöti* – *mikäväti* (Nov) itd.

Pri unutarnjoj tvorbi imperfektivnih glagola od perfektivnih³ vidski se parovi obično tvore duljenjem osnovnoga samoglasnika, npr. *razmëtäti* – *razmëtäti* (Ses); *namëtäti* – *namëtäti* (Đur) i itd.

Određen je broj glagola kao i u drugim hrvatskim sustavima dvovidan.

2 Imperativ

Imperativ je glagolski oblik koji ima osnovno značenje zapovijedi (*beš tam, bešte proč, mekni mi se s pota*), ali i značenja zamolbe (*kupete nam kruha*), upozorenja (*pazi da se ne spečeš, pazete šklisko je*), poziva (*dojdite k nam*), poticanja (*zemi si kolača, napijte se*) i dr. U svojim osnovnim značenjima ne veže se uz oznaku vremena, već samo načina.

U optativnome je značenju potvrđen u nizu stalnih izričaja i frazema kojima se izriče želja da se što dogodi ili ne dogodi: *ne daj Bože, ne daj Bog zla, oslobodi Bože, Bože pomози* i sl.

U frazemima, poslovicama i drugim tipovima ustaljenih sveza riječi, kao što su, npr. *drž – ne daj* ‘neugodne okolnosti, opći metež, neprilike’, *vudri brigu na veselje* ‘opusti se, zaboravi brige’, *vužgi ga Blaž* ‘svom snagom’, *idi spat* ‘pusti me na miru; ne govori gluposti’, *čem je bolje tvoj, bolje se ga boj* ‘i bliske osobe mogu nauditi’, *prvo skoči, a onda reči hop!* ‘ne govori prije nego što si napravio što!’ itd. riječ je o svezemskom, poslovičnom ili gnomskom imperativu kojim se izriče relativna sadašnjost (usp. Barić i dr. 2003: 410). Uporabe u takvim ustaljenim izričajima

nisu neobične, ako se uzme u obzir da su oni slikoviti, metaforični i stilski obilježeni, a imperativ svojom ekspresivnošću još više upotpunjuje cijelu sliku.

Rjeđe se rabi u pripovjednim formama: *Kòpaj od vida do vida.*⁴ *Kòpaj, ðèlaj, mùči se, sàki za nèčj čèžni.*⁵ (Oso, Menac-Mihalić, Celinić 2012: 140). Takva uporaba uključuje neutralizaciju oznake načina, a njime se izriče relativna sadašnjost. Pripovjedni imperativ izrazito je stilski obilježen, njime se izriče emocionalna uključenost pripovjedača te značaj, silina, brzina i druge značajke glagolske radnje izrečene imperativom (Barić i dr. 2003: 409, Težak 1981: 320, Marinković 2015: 230).

Vrlo je zanimljive primjere stilskih varijacija uporabe dvojako naglašениh oblika imperativa u govoru Donjega Jesenja u Hrvatskome zagorju analizirao August Kovačec u radu *Dvostruki oblici imperativa u jednome kajkavskom govoru* (v. više o tome u: Kovačec 2013). Za susjedni bednjanski govor Josip Jedvaj također navodi stilske varijante imperativa, oblike s pojačajnim česticama: *zèmi-do* ‘uzmi’, *zèmita-do*, *zopevìe-do* ‘zapovijedi’, *zapevìeta-do* itd., perifrastične oblike za izricanje zabrane koja se odnosi na dalju budućnost: *bùd’i mu pemègel* (pomozi mu), *ne bùd’i go zlàcol* (nemoj ga uplašiti) itd. (Jedvaj 1956: 310, 311).

U kajkavskome se narječju imperativ tvori od prezentske ili infinitivne osnove. Oznake za osobu i broj su:

	1. mn. <i>-mo</i>
2. jd. <i>-Ø</i>	2. mn. <i>-te</i>

Imperativ je krnji glagolski oblik jer ne postoji 1. l. jd., a u kajkavskome se narječju rijetko rabi i oblik za 1. l. množine. Zapovijed se za 1. mn. najčešće izriče opisno:

- glagolom kretanja i supinom: npr. *ìdemu kòpat*, *ìdemo si mǎlo sèst* (Tur, Šojat 1982: 412); *Idèmo jèst!* *Idèmo kòpat!* (Ses); *Idèmo plèsat!* (Mol);
- glagolom kretanja i infinitivom: npr. *Idèmo si nèkej pojèsti!* *Idèmo si popìti!* (Ses); *Idèmo stòči!* *Idèmo sè mèknòti!* (Ham);
- konstrukcijom *dajte da* + prezent: npr. *Dǎjte da čujèmo!* (Ses);
- drugim konstrukcijama, npr. *ǎjd dà* + prezent: npr. *ǎjd dà si popìjemu* (Tur, Šojat 1982: 412); *ǎjdè bòmò sǎda sǐ èkòmèli!* (Ham);

- zapovijed se za 1. l. mn. može izreći i prezentom: *idemo domôm* (Tur, Šojat 1982: 412); *Staněmo! Počiněmo se! Popijěmo si!* (Ses);
- rjeđe se rabi poseban oblik za to lice, npr. *presatànima* (Ple, Celinić 2000: 21); *popĩmu si pak idemu* (Tur, Šojat 1982: 412); *Držmõ ga! Pũstimõ ga!* (Mol).

Samo za neke kajkavske govore autori redovito navode potvrde i za taj oblik (npr. *čâokema* ‘čekajmo’ – *čŷvema* ‘čuvajmo’ itd. (Bed, Jedvaj 1956: 310).

Za treće se lice jednine i množine rabi konstrukcija s česticama *naj* i/ili *nek* + 3. l. prezenta, npr. *nâj ti Bõk da zdrãvle* (Tur, Šojat 1982: 412); *něk ide* (Kal).

Za 2. l. jd. i 2. l. mn. za izricanje zabrane, zapovijedi i sl. dolazi imperativ s negacijom *ne* (npr. *ne tõi Rak*); konstrukcija *naj/najte* + infinitiv (npr. *nâj tõi, nâj dôjti, nâj pĩti – nâjte pĩti Rak; nâj pripovědãti – nâjte pripovědãti Đur*).

Ishodišne su kajkavske imperativne oznake *-e-* (<ě), *-Ø-* i *-j-* te su prema njima formirana tri obrasca za njegovu promjenu. U mnogim je današnjim kajkavskim govorima ishodišna oznaka *-e-*, analogijom promijenjena u *-i-*. S druge je strane, u nekim govorima u 2. l. jd. došlo do analoške promjene *-i>-e* te je u 2. l. jd. objedinjena oznaka imperativa, lica i broja.

Nastavci prve paradigme

lice	jednina	lice	množina
		1.	<i>-emo, -imo</i>
2.	<i>-i, -e</i>	2.	<i>-ete, -ite</i>

Osim ishodišnih kajkavskih nastavaka *-emo, -ete*, nalazimo i niz njihovih varijanti (*-eme, -ema; -ete* itd.) koje su posljedica specifičnoga fonološkog razvoja pojedinih govora. Oblici s imperativnom oznakom *-e-* potvrđeni su na cijelome kajkavskom prostoru:

- u konzervativnim govorima bednjansko-zagorskoga dijalekta: *plę:t'i – plę:t'etę, kuos'i – kuos'etę, k'ope – k'opetę, št:ve – št:vetę* (Gre, Jembrih, Lonaćrić 1982–1983: 45); *čkõmi – čkumètę, zěmi – zemètę, rěči – rěčetę* (Mor, Celinić 2016: 61, 66); *nusęte, spęci – specęte, rěci – recęte* (Cer, Šojat 1973: 49); *prãdi – prãdema – prãdeta i prãdi – prãdema – prãdeta* itd. (Jes, Kovačec 2013: 225);

čaoke/čaokej ‘čekaj’ – *čaoke* – *čaoke*, *čyve/čyvoj* ‘čuvaj’ – *čyvema* – *čyveta*, ali i *běrblje/běrbljoj* ‘brbljaj’ – *běrbljima* – *běrbljita* itd. (Bed, Jedvaj 1956: 310);⁶

- turopoljsko-posavskim govorima: *pletěte, trěšěte, greběte, počměte, rāstěte, digněte, sedněte si, bežěte, nosěte*⁷ (Šojat 1982: 412); *zěmēte, otiděte, sědēte si, pęčēte, vršēte*, ali i *ōdite* (Pos, Celinić 2010: 62);
- gornjolonjskim: *spęci – spęčēte, ręci – ręčēte* (danas češće *spęči – spęčite*) (Čre, Kalinski, Šojat 1973: 32); *sędēte* (Kn); *zadržēte, zęmi – zęmēte, ūdi – ūdēte, sędēte si*, ali i *ōdi – ōdite* (Iža);
- u govorima u okolici Samobora: *speci – speciēte, reci – reciēte, speči – spečiēte* (Dom, Ned), ali i *zemite, vlovite, zadržite, sēdite se, nosite*, uz moguće oblike kao što je *zemēte* (Sam, Rud), a u Domaslovcu se pojavljuju i oblici kao npr.: *vugnite se* (Šojat 1973: 61);
- u podravskim kajkavskim govorima s ograničenim mjestom naglasaka, koji se nalaze zapadno od Đurđevca (Nov, Br, Mol, Vir, Šem, Rak, Ham, Mih, Jag), npr. *zęmi – zemēte, potękni – potęknęte* (Nov); *prędi – prędēte, svęži – svęžęte, sędnęte (si), zęmēte, pōberęte, spravęte, stanęte* (Mol); *tręsi – tręšęte, vlęči – vlęčęte* (Šem); *dignęte – dignęte, pōmožęte* (Vir); *zęmi – zemēte, donęsi – donęšęte, obrni – obrnęte, stępi – stepęte, zažmęri – zažmęřęte, ođnęsi – ođnęšęte, hiti – hitęte* (Br).

U drugim su podravskim kajkavskim govorima prevladali nastavci *-i, -imo, -ite*, a u nekim su, uz inovativne, sporadično zabilježeni i stariji nastavci, npr. u govorima Sigetca, Drnja i Svete Ane (*spęči – spečiēte/spečēte* Sig; *sędnite, podęžęte, začkomęte* Dr; *potękni – potęknite, zęmi – zemite, donęšite, dōjdite, ględęte* SvA).

Nastavak *-ę* u dijelu se govora proširio i u 2. l. jd. u glagola na *-ati*, npr. u Gregurovcu Veterničkome (*k’ope – k’opęte, ši:ve – ši:vetę* Jembrih, Lonaćrić 1982–1983: 45) i Bednje (*čaoke*, uz *čaokej* itd. Jedvaj 1956: 310).

U prigradskim zagrebačkim govorima zabilježeno je čuvanje razlike u nastavcima za 2. l. mn. I. i IV. vrste, npr. *pilite* prema *dunesęte, peręte*, a dolazi i do generalizacije nastavka *-ęte*, npr. *pilęte* (Gra, Šojat i dr. 1998: 200).

U okolici Zagreba zabilježena je još jedna zanimljiva pojava (Markuševac i okolica). Umjesto očekivanoga samoglasnika *-ę-* (od ishodišnoga jata, odnosno od samoglasnika koji odgovara kontinuantu jata) pojavljuje se samoglasnik *-ę-*, pa je

nastavak *-eťe*, umjesto *-eťe* (npr. *pīlěťe*, *napišěťe*, Šojat i dr. 1998: 200). Niz je takvih primjera zabilježeno i u nekim podravskim kajkavskim govorima s ograničenim mjestom naglaska: *naměči* – *namečěťe*, *nalōži* – *nalōžěťe*, *čkōmi* – *čkōměťe*, *doněsi* – *donesěťe*, *sědni* – *sědněťe*, *stōči* – *stōčěťe* (Rak); *skěči* ‘jauči’ – *skěčěťe* (Ham); *sědni* – *sědněťe*, *čkōmi* – *čkōměťe*, *zažmēri* – *zažmērěťe*, *vlōvi* – *vlōvěťe*, *podīši* – *podīsěťe*, *cěpli* – *cěplěťe* (Mih). Ta se pojava može tumačiti utjecajem nastavka prezenta za 2. l. mn. *-eťe* (v. Šojat i dr. 1998: 200).

Imperativni nastavci *-i*, *-imo*, *-ite* potvrđeni su u:

- u sjevernomoslavačkim govorima: *zěmi* – *zěmite*, *īdi* – *īdite* (Pit);
- u bilogorskim govorima: *pī:lite*, *n'osite*, *p'erite*⁸ (Lončarić 1986: 185);
- na karlovačkome području, u govorima različitih dijalektnih baza: *pōčmi/pōčni* – *pōčmite*, *žāni* – *žānite*, *sněmi* – *sněmite* (Kar, Finka, Šojat 1973: 127);
- u ozaljskim govorima: *nōsi* – *nōsimu* – *nōsite*, *zōblji* – *zōbljimu* – *zōbljite* (Težak 1981: 281);
- u jednome dijelu podravskih kajkavskih govora: *spěčěťe* (Mič); *dōji* – *dojite*, *zěmi* – *zěmite*, *oblěči* (*se*) – *oblěčite* (*se*), *ostāni* – *ostānite* (Fer); *svěži* – *svěžite*, *mīslī* – *mīslite*, *poděli* – *podělite*, *lěgni* – *lěgnite*, *zmōgni* – *zmognite*, *stěpi* – *stěpite* (Kal); *děni* – *děnite*, *digni* – *dignite* (Ses); *pīli* – *pīlite* (Đur); *glědi* – *glědite*, *bōri* – *bōrite*, *naměči* – *naměčite* (Bo); *spōlči* – *spōlčite*, *čkōmi* – *čkōmite*, *děri* – *derite*, *vrišči* – *vriščite*, *kōpli* – *kōplite*, *drēmli* – *drēmлите*, *pokōsi* – *pokōsite*, *vlōvi* – *vlōvite* (Sig); *běri* – *berite*, *čkōmite*, *napravite*, *orjite*, *posādite* (Dr);
- u istočnogoranskim govorima: *m'isli* – *m'islimo* – *m'islite* (Oso, Marinković 2015: 229).
- gornjosutlanskim govorima: *glědi*, *děři*, *žěji* ‘žanji’, *pěči*; *prestānima* (Ple, Celinić 2000: 21);
- u arhaičnom kajkavskom govoru u zapadnoj Mađarskoj potvrđen je primjer: *bižite* (Houtzagers 1999: 152).

U mnogim kajkavskim govorima koji imaju imperativnu oznaku *-i*- u znanom položaju u značajnom broju primjera dolazi do sinkopiranja. Ta je pojava zabilježena u Gorskom kotaru: *p'eci* – *p'ecte*, *p'iči* – *p'ičte*, *z'emi* – *z'emte*, *m'iči* – *m'ičimo* – *m'ičite*/*m'ičte* itd. (Oso, Marinković 2015: 229), na istoku kajkavskoga narječja, u sjevernomoslavačkim govorima: “U govorima u kojima

otpada nenaglašeno finalno *i* u pojedinim kategorijama oblika, otpada i u imperativu.” Primjeri: *pí:lte* (Samarica, Đurđić, Bojana itd.), *pí:lte* (V. Trnovitica)” (Lončarić 1980–1981: 107). Za bilogorske je govore zabilježeno: “Sporadički se imperativ bez morfa *i* pojavljuje gotovo na cijelom području.” (npr. *stàn – stànte* itd., Lončarić 1986: 185). Za ozaljske: “Uz sinkopirane imperativne oblike *něšte, potěcte, bište, šáljite, zěmte (zámte)* ravnopravno se čuju i nesinkopirani: *něsite, potěcite, bížite, šáljite, zěmite (zámite)*.” (Težak 1981: 282). Pri ispadanju samoglasnika *-i-* na završetku osnove može doći do glasovnih promjena: *rěci – rěste/rěcte/rěcite, pěci – pěste, strizi – striste/strizite* (Kar, Finka, Šojat 1973: 127).

U mnogim kajkavskim govorima sibilizacija izostaje, odnosno nema alternacije osnove u glagola I. vrste 3. r.: *vlěči, rěči – rěčete* (Mor, Celinić 2016: 61); *pěči* (Ple, Celinić 2000: 21); *pečěte* (Pos, Celinić 2010: 62); *rěči, pěči, vlěči, sěči* (Mol, Đur i dr.); *stōči* (Rak, Mih, Ham).⁹

S druge strane Šojat navodi za Cerje: „Glagoli s osnovom na velar sačuvali su rezultat II. palatalizacije: *spěci – spečete, rěci – recěte*.” (Šojat 1973: 49), tako je zabilježeno i u nekim zagrebačkim prigradskim govorima (*pěci/pěci, sěci/sěci* (Šojat i dr. 1998: 199); turopoljskim *rěci – recěte, pěci – pecěte, vřzi – vržete* (Dub, Vuk, Dra, Kra, Bun, Mra, Rk), uz napomenu autora da je u nekih glagola i u tim govorima običniji palatal koji je prodro iz prezentskih oblika: *vlěči – vlěčete, tōči – tōčete* (Šojat 1982: 412); u ozaljskim (*potěcte/potěcite* (Težak 1981: 282).

Dvojako je stanje zabilježeno i u sjevernomoslavačkim kajkavskim govorima: „Većinom se u imperativu čuvaju rezultati II. palatalizacije, ali se upotrebljavaju i oblici s analoškom osnovom iz prezenta. Zabilježeno je *nasié:c* u Samarici, Ivanjskoj, Sišćanima, Bojani i Vrtlinskoj, a *nasié:čte* Đurđicu, *spěč* u V. Trnovitici.“ (Lončarić 1980–1981: 107). Slično je stanje zabilježeno i u Črečanu, zelinskom tipu govora (gornjolonski dijalekt): “Kod starijih ljudi u Črečanu karakteristično je čuvanje rezultata II. palatalizacije u glagola I. vrste: *spěci – spēčete, rěci – rěčete*, ali se danas već češće govori: *spěči – spēčite*.” (Kalinski, Šojat 1973: 32). U Samoboru: „U imperativu se čuva rezultat II. palatalizacije (*speči – spečete, reci – recěte*), ali u sve istražene govore prodire i analoški palatal (*speči – spečete*).“ (Šojat 1973: 61). I u arhaičnim su kajkavskim govorima u zapadnoj Mađarskoj

zabilježeni dvojni likovi: *rěči, rěci, slěči, pomòži, dosěži, vrš, vrš, vřg* (Houtzagers 1999:175).

Nastavci druge paradigme

lice	jednina	lice	množina
		1.	<i>-jmo</i>
2.	<i>-j</i>	2.	<i>-jte</i>

U pojedinim govorima, ovisno o njihovu fonološkom razvoju, pojavljuju se i varijante nastavka u mn. (*-jme, -jma, -jmu* itd.), kao i u prvoj paradigmi.

Imperativne nastavke *-j, -jmo, -jte* imaju glagoli koji u infinitivu završavaju na *-ati*, a u prezentu imaju nastavke *-am, -aš...* (1. razred V. vrste), glagoli VI. vrste (*daruvati, kupuvati* i sl.) te neki nepravilni glagoli (npr. *dati*). Primjeri:

- bednjansko-zagorski: *kópaj – kópajma – kópajta, diêlaj – diêlajma – diêlajta* itd. (Jes, Kovačec 2013: 225);
- turopoljski: *kôpaj – kôpajte, brblaj, tîraj, měšaj, čûvaj* (Šojat 1982: 412);
- podravski: *dâj – dâjte, špricaj – špricajte* (Kal); *prôdaj – prodajte* (Mič); *čekaj – čekajte, pîtaj, privûčaj, popêvajte* (SvA); *dopëljaj – dopëljajte, poglëdaj, skûvaj, dëlaj* (Fer); *zračûnaj, dopëljaj, prigazîvaj, zgrînaj* (Kal); *dêljaj* (Bo, Nov), *děj – dějte* (Sig, Nov); *děj/dâj, zëbiraj – zëbirajte* (Mol); *spomînaj – spomînjajte, spripovêdaj – spripovêdajte* (Dr); *měšaj – měšajte, počëkaj – počëkajte* (Mih); *darûj – darûjte* (Ses); *poštûj – poštûjte* (Br, Sig);
- ozaljski: *kópaj – kopajmu – kopajte* (Težak 1981: 281).

Neki glagoli koji tvore imperativ nastavcima *-j, -jmo, -jte*, a osnova im završava na samoglasnik, mogu imati dubletne oblike, a neki glagoli toga tipa imaju samo nastavke *-ø, -mo, -te*, stoga ulaze u treću paradigmu:

- podravski: *čû/čûj* (Mol); *čû – čûjte* (Kal); *pî – pîte* (Mih); *čû/čûj – čûte/čûjte, pîj – pîjte* (Mol); *popîj – popîjte* (Got); *zbîj – zbîte* (Kal); *pîj – pîte* (Ses); *popîj – popîjte* (Sig);
- bilogorski: *pi: – pi:te, sme: – sme:te* (oblici potvrđeni u većini bilogorskih govora, Lončarić 1986: 185);

- ozaljski: *pī – pīte, smī se – smīte se, si – site, ši – šite, vži se – vžite se* itd. (Težak 1981: 282).

Glagoli koji imaju dvojni prezent (mogu pripadati dvama razredima) mogu imati i dvojni imperativ, npr. *drēmli/drēmaj – drēmliite/drēmājite* (Sig) itd.

Nastavci treće paradigme

lice	jednina	lice	množina
		1.	<i>-mo</i>
2.	<i>-Ø</i>	2.	<i>-te</i>

Osim u tipu glagola navedenih u prethodnom odjeljku (npr. *pī – pīmae – pīte, zagriē – zagriēma – zagriēta* itd. Jes, Kovačec 2013: 225), nastavci *-o, -mo, -te* na cijelom su kajkavskom području potvrđeni i u atematskim glagolima:

- bednjansko-zagorski: *b'ēs – b'ēšte*¹⁰ (uz *biež'i – biež'etę*), *v'is – v'ishte* (Gre, Jembrih, Lončarić 1982–1983: 45); *j'ě – j'ěšte*¹¹ (Mor, Celinić 2016: 66);
- gornjolonjski: *j'ě – j'ěte, p'oveč – p'ovečte, gl'ě – gl'ěte, viš/vič – vište/vičte* (Brlobaš, Lončarić 2012: 241);
- donjolonjski: *gl'ě – gl'ěte, j'ě – j'ěte* (Pos, Celinić 2010: 62);
- podravski: *p'oveč – p'ovečte* (Dr); *j'ě – j'ěte* (Fer); *v'is – v'ishte* (Dr, Nov, Kal); *d'rš – d'ršte* (Kal); *b'ēs – b'ēšte* (Đur);
- turopoljski: *j'ě – j'ěte, p'oveč – p'ovečte, vič/viš – vičte/vište* (Šojat 182: 413);
- bilogorski: *j'ě – j'ěte, p'oveč – p'ovečte* (u većini govora), *j'ěš – j'ěšte, p'oveš – p'ovešte* (Reka), u dijelu govora *v'ič – v'ičte*, u nekim *viš – vište* (Lončarić 1986: 185);
- Vedešin i Umok: *d'rž, gl'ě, pogl'ě* (Houtzagars 1999: 152).¹²

Ponekad se 2. l. mn. imperativa razlikuje od prezenta samo prozodijski, npr. impt. 2. l. mn. *ěkomīte/ěkomītešutite*' (Ses, Kal); prez. 2. l. mn. *ěkomīte* (Ses, Kal).

U nekim podravskim kajkavskim govorima dolazi do duljenja nastavka u 2. l. mn. npr. *dōjdi – dōjdīte, začkōmi – začkōmīte, zībli – zīblīte, ščīpli – ščīplīte, zōbli – zōblīte* (Got) itd. Duljenje može izostati, osobito ako naglasku prethodi nenaglašena dužina, npr. *zmlāti – zmlātīte, vrīšči – vrīščīte, strūži – strūžīte* (Got).

Mnogi prethodno navedeni primjeri pokazuju da se naglasak u 2. l. mn. vrlo često vezuje uz nastavak (*speci* – *specēte*, *reci* – *recēte*, *speči* – *spečēte* (Dom, Ned, Šojat 1973: 61) i dr.

Zaključno se može reći da su u morfološkoj tvorbi imperativa u kajkavskome narječju hrvatskoga jezika zastupljene tri paradigme:

1. *-i/-e, -emo/-imo, -ete/-ite*
2. *-j, -jmo, -jte*
3. *-o, -mo, -te*

U prvoj paradigmi, a na temelju potvrda zaključujemo da još uvijek prevladava imperativna oznaka *-e-*, uz inovativno *-i-* u dijalektima i govorima koji su se i na dugim jezičnim razinama više udaljili od polaznoga kajkavskog sustava. U mnogim se kajkavskim govorima čuva rezultat II. palatalizacije.

Za sveobuhvatne bi zaključke svakako valjalo imati više podataka iz većega broja dijalekata i govora, pogotovo za utvrđivanje rasprostiranja pojedinih izoglosa na hrvatskoj jezičnoj karti. Ipak, vjerujem da smo u ovome radu dali pregled osnovnih značajki imperativa u kajkavskome narječju kao iznimno zanimljive morfološke kategorije.

Zavod za lingvistička istraživanja Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti

Bilješke

1 U kajkavskim pisanim spomenicima 16. st. još su potvrđeni, npr. u Antuna Vramca (Junković 1972: 133). Junković drži da je aorist u 16. st. postojao i u živim kajkavskim govorima, a za imperfekt dvoji (Junković 1972: 75, 133).

2 Abecednim redoslijedom donosimo kratice svih govora koji se navode u ovome radu: Bed – Bednja, Bo – Botovo, Br – Podravski Bregi, Bun – Velika Buna, Cer – Cerje (kraj Sesveta), Čre – Črečan (kraj Zeline), Dom – Domaslovec (kraj Samobora), Dr – Drnje, Dra – Dragonožec, Dub – Dubranec, Đur – Đurđevac, Fer – Ferdinandovec, Go – Gola, Got – Gotalovo, Gra – Granešina, Gre – Gregurovec Veternički, Ham – Hampovica, Iža – Ižanovec (Kalnik), Jag – Jagnjedovec, Jes – Donje Jesenje, Kal – Kalinovec, Kar – Karlovac, Kn – Kalnik, Kra – Kravarsko, Mič – Mičetinec, Mih – Miholjanec, Mol – Molve, Mor – Moravče, Mra – Mraclin, Ned – Sveta Nedjelja (kraj Samobora), Nov – Novigrad Podravski, Oso – Osojnik (Gorski kotar), Pit – Pitomača, Ple – Plemenščina, Pod – Podravina, Pos – Posavski Bregi, Rak – Rakitnica, Rk – Rakitovec, Sam –

O OSOBITOSTIMA IMPERATIVA U KAJKAVSKOME NARJEČJU

Samobor, Šem – Šemovci, Ses – Podravske Sesvete, Sig – Sigetec, SvA – Sveta Ana, Tur – Turopolje, Vir – Virje, Viz – Vizvar, Vu – Vukomerić.

Većina primjera iz govora podravskoga kajkavskoga dijalekta, koji karakterizira naglasak ograničen na posljednja dva sloga riječi ili naglasne cjeline, dobivena je vlastitim terenskim istraživanjem. Za druge je kajkavske govore korištena građa iz objavljenih dijalektoloških rasprava, znanstvenih radova, disertacija i HJA. Primjeri se donose u znakovlju kakvim su zabilježeni u izvorima.

3 U suvremenom je hrvatskom književnom jeziku taj način tvorbe imperfektivnih glagola arhaičan (v. Babić 2002: 461).

4 *od vida do vida* 'od jutra do mraka'.

5 *čezni* 'čezne, teži'.

6 "Pored redovnih završetaka u tom glagolskom liku, koji odgovaraju štokav. nastavcima, nalaze se u našem govoru i završeci *-e, -ema, -eta*, i to u glagola, kojima je nastavak u 1. l. sing. prez. *-om* (štokav. *-am*)..." (Jedvaj 1956: 310). Poznato je da je bednjanski jedan od najkompliciranijih hrvatskih govora: „Govor Bednjančana ide u red svakako najinteresantnijih i najkompliciranijih govora kajkavskoga narječja zbog svojih diftonga, zanimljivih glasovnih promjena, akcenta i nekih drugih osobina.“ (Jedvaj 1956: 282).

7 Uz napomenu autora: „U takvih je glagola moguć i nastavak *-ite*, ali je on netipičan, unesen, što se odražava i u naglasku (usp. *sědnite si, mlātite*).“ (Šojat 1982: 412).

8 "Osnovna je značajka imperativa u većini govora da nema karakterističnoga kajkavskoga morfema za tvorbu imperativa u množini od I. do IV. vrste *e*, pa 2mn npr. glasi *pi:lite, n'osite, p'erite*. Oblici s morfemom *e*, kao *pi:lete, n'osete* zabilježeni su samo u priferinim govorima u Podravini i ispod Kalnika." (Lončarić 1986: 185).

9 Alternaciju nalazimo u štokavskom, a većim dijelom i u čakavskom narječju (usp. Menac-Mihalić 1986: 123).

10 Takvi su oblici zabilježeni i u čakavskim govorima (usp. Kalsbeek 1998: 221).

11 S. Ivšić za oblike tipa *ječ, poveč* smatra da stoje prema završetku **-djb*, a množinski oblici (*ječte, povečte*) nastaju analogijom prema sunglearnim (usp. Ivšić 1970: 268, 269).

12 U tim je govorima nastavak *-ø* potvrđen i u drugim glagolskim vrstama i razredima (*pokšš, odvješ, vřš* itd.) v. isto.

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HJA = *Hrvatski jezični atlas* – korištena je rukopisna građa Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje za punktove Ižanovec (prikupio Antun Šojat) i Kalnik (prikupio Mijo Lončarić).

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HRABAL EN DE KLASSIEKE MUZIEK

Kees Mercks

1 Verzameld werk en registers

Bohumil Hrabals verzamelde werk telt negentien delen, waarvan het laatste deel ook registers bevat, onder andere een personenregister en een zakenregister. Geen register is zonder omissies, maar voor een globale indruk kan zo'n register nuttig zijn. In dit geval heb ik een recherche gedaan op hoeveel namen van componisten er in Hrabals werk voorkomen om vervolgens na te gaan in welke context ze verschijnen en welke functie ze hebben. Daarbij verscheen (globaal) het volgende beeld, waarbij de componisten in alfabetische volgorde staan, gevolgd met het aantal hits: Beethoven (13), Bach (9), Dvořák (13), Liszt (11), Mozart (21), Smetana (17), Stravinski (10), Strauss (16), Tsjajkovski (3), Wagner (13) en nog enkele laag scorenden. Het gevaar bestaat dan dat een laag scorende toch van groot belang kan zijn omdat bijvoorbeeld alleen zijn werk genoemd wordt. Dat is het geval bij Tsjajkovski, wiens Symfonie nr. 6 (*Pathétique*) diverse malen met het nodige gewicht in de tekst wordt genoemd en dat niet alleen onder die titel, maar ook onder de naam van het begiendeel: het 'Largo lamentoso'.

Het zakenregisters vertoont nogal wat meer leemtes, onder andere in het geval van de *Pathétique*, die hier niet eens in voorkomt. Andere werken weer wel, zonder dat daarbij de componist vermeld wordt. Dit geldt voor 'Harlekijntjes miljoenen', dat als *Les millions d'Arlequin* of als *Harlequinade* te boek staat en als balletmuziek gecomponeerd is door Riccardo Drigo (1846-1930) en in 1900 in première ging in de Hermitage in Sint-Petersburg. Hrabal, die een hele roman (*Harlekýnovy miliony*; *Harlekijntjes miljoenen*) heeft vernoemd naar vermoedelijk deze compositie, vond weer dat de melodie hiervan sterke gelijkenis vertoonde met de filmmuziek uit *Limelight* van Charlie Chaplin (1952; 10/195). Die gelijkenis was niet alleen gebaseerd op klankovereenkomst van de melodie, maar

ook door de ietwat sentimentele uitvoering door de “beverige” violen, die dan weer met het beverige gedrag van de oudjes uit zijn roman van die naam correspondeerde. In diezelfde beginjaren vijftig werd echter ook een arrangement op Drigo’s compositie populair. Het werd geschreven en niet op de viool maar “op de nostalgische piano” (Malásek 1980 – cd *Piano in nostalgia*) uitgevoerd door Jiří Malásek (zelf slechts eenmaal vermeld in het register). Dit nummer moet als derivaat van een klassiek muziekwerk toch ook in deze beschouwing betrokken worden, te meer omdat het erop lijkt dat niet alleen Drigo, maar ook Chaplin en Malásek schuilgaan in het wijdere conglomeraat van de benaming ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen’.

Wanneer we de diverse vindplaatsen de revue laten passeren, valt meteen de verschillende functie van hun presentatie op. De meest simpele is het vermelden van diverse componisten “in een rijtje”, bijna een soort *namedropping*. Hun namen geven dan niet veel meer aan dan een bepaalde preferentie voor een aantal componisten in relatie tot een personage (vaak de ik of de ik “in disguise”, waar Hrabal bij voorbeeld het vertelperspectief kiest van zijn vrouw Pipsi of zijn moeder Maryška) of in breder cultureel verband tot een regio (vaak Bohemen/Tsjechië of Midden-Europa). Alleen al het feit dat er niet bij een van de componisten uit het rijtje wordt stilgestaan, of althans dat het werk van een van hen er soms wel, soms niet bij genoemd wordt, geeft al aan dat het hier om de meest oppervlakkige aanduiding gaat. Kenmerkend voor deze wijze van presentie zijn tal van passages die aan de muziek zijn gewijd in een zeer uitgebreid (100 blz.) interview met Hrabal, dat in het midden van de jaren tachtig de Hongaarse Hrabal-bewonderaar László Szigetti met hem had. Het gaat hier dus niet om componisten die in het literaire werk zijn ingebed, maar om Hrabals persoonlijke preferenties. Bij voorbeeld over muziek die hem doet huilen (17/91): Mahler, Schubert, Tsjajkovski (*Pathétique*), bij de laatste dus wel al met een werk. Of over muziek die Hrabal in zijn periode in Nymburk, waar hij zijn jeugd vanaf 1919 doorbracht, schoolging tot ten slotte – na diverse onderbrekingen – zijn officiële inschrijving in Praag in 1950. En passant vertelt Hrabal hem dat hij zelf in die tijd piano speelde (later ook trompet) en dat hij van alles speelde, van populaire nummers tot walsen van Strauss, nocturnes van Chopin en de ‘Liebestraum [nr. 3

- red.]' van Liszt. Aan dat rijtje componisten worden even later toegevoegd Beethoven, Wagner en Smetana (17/111) en nog even verder Debussy (*Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*) en Beethoven (5e Symfonie, de *Noodlotsymfonie*), allebei dus mét werk genoemd (17/112).

In het verhaal 'O svatojánském chlebu' (15/147-148, Over johannesbrood), dat refereert aan de periode Nymburk in zijn literaire werk, is een mooie passage die veel verder gaat dan namedropping, maar die het wezen van de muziekbeleving raakt. Het gaat over de eerste grammfoonplaten die hij in zijn jeugd jaren beluisterde: "pod dojmem chvil jsem přehrával tyto desky tak dlouho, až jsem se dostal za tóny, téměř až do samotného srdce hudby" ['onder invloed van die momenten speelde ik deze platen net zo lang totdat ik voorbij de tonen terechtkwam, vrijwel recht in het hart van de muziek']. Het is een van die plekken waar Hrabal tendeert naar het filosofische, de ruimte voorbij het reële: de eeuwigheid, oneindigheid. (Bijv. in *Přiliš hlučná samota, Al te luide eenzaamheid*, deel 9/passim, en elders.)

Laten we enkele bijzondere vindplaatsen noemen met de context waarin de namen van componisten geplaatst zijn.

1.1 Beethoven

In de oerversie van 'Krásná Poldi' (2/218, 'De beeldschone Poldi'), dat met een gedicht begint, liggen Poldi en de ik kennelijk bij elkaar in bed en vraagt ze: "Proč tak dlouze posloucháte na mé hrudi? / Copak mám uši jako Beethoven!" ['Waarom luistert u u zo langdurig aan mijn borst? / Ik heb zeker oren als Beethoven!'] Beethoven wordt dus hier in een heel andere, fysieke kwaliteit aangehaald dan in zijn muzikale. In 'Aurora na mělčině' (14/16, 'Aurora in ondiep water') komt het motief van (dove) oren opnieuw voor. De ik moet zijn oren laten uitspuiten, want denkt niet dat hij net zo doof zal zijn als Beethoven of Smetana. Als de vrouwelijke oorarts tegen hem zegt dat hij tijdens het doorspuiten "Káva" ('koffie') moet zeggen – kennelijk om zo de buis van Eustachius te openen – roept hij op het *moment suprême*: "v tu chvíli vstříku, *ejaculatio* vlažné voděnky" ['op het moment van inspuiting, van ejaculatio van het

lauwe watertje'] in plaats van "Káva!" met één letter verschil: "Kráva!" (letterlijk: 'koe', hier: 'trut') tegen haar.

In een van zijn laatste verhalen 'The Fascination' (1994, in de door Nat King Cole gezongen versie van de wals van Marchetti uit 1932¹) komt het poezenthema uit bij onder meer Beethoven, wanneer Hrabal zich in zijn buitenhuisje in Kersko beklagt over zijn eigen ouderworden en dat van zijn geliefde katertje Cassius, vernoemd naar Cassius Clay alias Mohammed Ali, maar nu al flink in zijn nadagen:

'a k tomu ten můj nešťastný chátrající Cassius, ten který miloval hudbu, třicet pásků se symfoniemi Mahlerovými a Beethovenými teď leží vedle rádia a už si nehraju ani tu moji Mahlerovu 10. symfonii, to Adagio, protože Cassius už o hudbu nemá zájem [...]' (14/266)

(en daar komt nog eens mijn ongelukkige, aftakelende Cassius bij, de kat die van muziek hield, dertig bandjes met de symfonieën van Mahler en Beethoven liggen nu naast de radio en ik heb al geen zin meer om mijn Mahlers 10e Symfonie te spelen, dat Adagio, want Cassius taalt niet meer naar muziek.)

Opmerkelijk in dit verband is ook het feit dat Hrabal hier het Adagio van de 10e Symfonie van Mahler noemt: zijn aanzet tot zijn laatste symfonie, onvoltooid gebleven, als 'laatste snik' voordat hij in 1911 overleed.

Beethoven komt verder nog uitvoerig aan bod in het relaas van 'meneer Ruis' (in *Kdo jsem, Wie ik ben*), maar daar gaat het om de muzikale voorkeur van Jaroslav Ruis, violist en mede-oprichter van het befaamde Dvořák Kwartet. Ook wordt Beethovens *Mondscheinsonate* een enkele keer genoemd, maar zonder bijzondere context, onder andere in het genoemde verhaal 'Over johannesbrood'.

1.2 Dvořák

Met Dvořák is iets aan de hand: hij noemt hem "Dvořáček" (2/119, in *Utrpení starého Werthera* – 'Dvořákje' in 'Het lijden van de oude Werther', een toespeling op Goethes 'junge Werther'), zoals hij ook Mozart af en toe 'Mozartek' ('Mozartje') noemt. Dat kan een aanwijzing zijn dat hij hem in deze verkleinde vorm niet interessant vindt, maar dat lijkt toch niet aan de orde voor een componist van zo'n statuus, die ook nog eens succes had in Bohemen. Eerder lijkt

de verkleinvorm een lieflijke (melioratieve) functie te hebben, in de zin van ‘ons Dvořákje’. Hij plaatst hem wel in één rijtje met Smetana en, op z’n Tsjechisch geschreven – dus gedomesticiseerd – “Štraus”, ‘ons Strausje’. De keuze voor deze componisten wijzen toch naar een vriendelijke, bekende, vertrouwde context. Hrabal zelf speelde in zijn jeugd Strauss’ walsjes op de piano.

Hrabal kan het echter ook niet laten om Dvořák, die toch voor enige tijd de enge Boheemse context verruilde voor het weidse Amerika, bij herhaling te voorzien van het epitheton “zoon van een slager” (5/45). In *Proluky* (11/447, *Kaalslag*, p. 38) speelt Hrabals boezemvriend Karel Marysko (cellist), die in het voorname orkest van het Nationaal Theater in Praag speelde, maar tegelijkertijd ook verslingerd was aan nogal wat profanere zaken zoals drank, toen hij nog nuchter was een deel van een concert van Antonín Dvořák, ter gelegenheid van de huisslacht die de vorige dag heeft plaatsgevonden, met alle slagerslekkernijen van dien, want “geniální skladatel Dvořák byl taky vyučený rezník” [‘de geniale componist Dvořák was ook een volleerd slager’].

In het lange interview met Szigetti meldt Hrabal ontroerd:

“A Dvořák? [...] Jeho kvarteta... to je mleté sklo... to já taky mohu poslouchat jen v Kersku... abych včas mohl utéct až tam k potůčku a ve tmě se rozplakal... ta jeho hudba... to je mleté sklo.”

(En Dvořák? [...] Zijn kwartetten... dat is gemalen glas... daar kan ik alleen maar in Kersko naar luisteren... om dan op tijd weg te kunnen rennen tot aan het beekje ginds en in het donker in huilen uit te barsten... die muziek van hem... dat is gemalen glas.’ – In de betekenis van: dat gaat me door merg en been.)

En hij vervolgt zijn lofzang op Dvořák door diens *Slavische dansen* aan te halen, waar hij ook voor moet wegvlugten, en diens opera *Rusalka*, die ook al zo door en door Tsjechisch zijn. En hoewel (of dankzij het feit dat) Dvořák een “volleerde slagersknecht” [‘vyučení reznický tovaryš’] was, was hij tegelijkertijd zo menselijk en artistiek onmetelijk teder “lidský a umělecky neskonale něžný”). Alsof er in zijn ziel een meisje (‘dívenka’) huisde “[...] dat met een licht verschoven oog [...] in het diepst van hart keek van het menselijke oneindige en de menselijke eeuwigheid” [‘do samotného srdce lidského nedokonečna a lidské věčnosti], alle citaten 17/116).

1.3 Liszt

Liszts ‘Liebestraum’ komt diverse keren aan de orde, bij voorbeeld in *Vita nuova*, het tweede deel van zijn trilogie dat niet alleen verwijst naar Dante maar ook met zijn ondertitel ‘Kartinky’ (in het Tsjechisch een russisme: Schilderijtentoonstelling), verwijzend naar de niet vermelde Russische componist Moessorgski. De context zelf is hier niet bijzonder. In het verhaal ‘Několik vět’ (‘Enkele zinnen’) echter, in hetzelfde deel, staat een passage over ‘Liebestraum’ die er wel degelijk toe doet. Gezeten in de tuin van zijn buitenhuisje schreef Hrabal zijn geliefde Dubenka een brief. Ze was een Amerikaans studente Tsjechisch die hem ooit was komen opzoeken om hem ertoe te bewegen een collegetoer langs Amerikaanse universiteiten te maken. Met enige weemoed denkt hij, terug in Kersko en omgeven door zijn zwervkatten, aan haar terug.

‘A tady je tak krásný podzim, listí padá a den ze dne je každý list barevnější a průsvitnější [...], celá koruna a koruny těch mých bříz se sypou, jako klavírní Liebestraum Lisztův, ta střední část, kdy prsty musí probírat celou klaviaturu a nahoru a dolů a doleva a doprava, tak, jako se sypou listí a lístečky kerských bříz... a kočky a kotata si hrají, vyskakují a chytají padající ty poštovní známky [...]’ (13/69)

(En hier hebben we een mooie herfst, de bladeren en blaadjes vallen en elke dag zijn de blaadjes kleuriger en doorzichtiger [...], uit de kruinen, hele kruinen van die berken van me dwarrelen ze neer als de pianoklanken van Liszts ‘Liebestraum’, dat middendeel, wanneer je vingers de hele klaviatuur moeten zien te bereiken, naar boven en naar beneden, naar links en naar rechts, net zoals die bladeren en blaadjes van mijn berken in Kersko... en de poezen en poesjes dartelen, ze springen op en vangen die vallende postzegels [...])

In deze passage zijn diverse elementen met elkaar versmolten: Liszts pianostuk, de ‘kabbelende’ tonen, de vallende herfstbladeren, de dartelende poezen en natuurlijk centraal op de achtergrond de liefdesrelatie tussen Hrabal en Dubenka die voorbij is, verleden tijd, en Hrabal in de herfst van zijn leven. Verzwegen zijn hierbij de woorden van de romantische dichter Ferdinand Freiligrath die Liszt tot zijn ‘Liebestraum’ inspireerde: “O, Lieb’, so lang du lieben kannst! / O, Lieb, so lang du lieben magst! / Die Stunde kommt, die Stunde kommt, / Wo du am Gräbern stehst und klagst!”

Oftewel: ‘wanneer de miezerige, mistige en depressieve dagen van de late herfst aanbreken... Brr’ (‘a nastanou deštivé en mlžnaté a depresivní dny pozdního podzimu... Joj!’ 13/69), dan volgt daarna de hardvochtige winter (het graf, de dood).

1.4 Mozart

Tegenover Mozart (of Mozartje) koesterde Hrabal toch gemengde gevoelens: hij komt in anekdotes voor, bij voorbeeld hoe hij in een larkshouten bad zat in een badhuis niet ver van Kersko (8/12 en 12/259) en hoe hij daar in de buurt (in Sadská) op het orgel zou hebben gespeeld (8/41-42), of via de ironische vaststelling dat Mozart noch Goethe ooit gevoetbald hebben in tegenstelling tot hemzelf (5/18). Ook de uitspraak van Strauss in het verhaal ‘Smrt pana Baltisbergra’ (‘De dood van meneer Baltisberger’) over Mozarts compositie *Jupiter*, namelijk dat hij (Strauss) “daar niet goed van werd” (p. 134; ‘mně je z toho špatně’, 4/56 en in 2/99), zegt het nodige over Hrabals appreciatie van Mozart. Hij ontzegt hem niet zijn genialiteit, noemt hem (Mozartje) in één rijtje met Socrates en Goethe (5/20), met Beethoven en Einstein (17/246), associeert hem met puberteit (1/193) en ziet vooral een blaag in hem. Dit laatste werd hem ook mede ingegeven door de verfilming *Amadeus* van Miloš Forman, waarover Hrabal het heeft in een recensie van een roman van Barbara Basíková (18/224). Hij vergelijkt hierin ironisch haar stijl enigszins met de broze en tegelijk zo diepgaande stijl van Mozart in zijn *Praagse symfonie*, die hij ter ere van Basíková even opzet. Hij ziet in de hoofdpersoon, de rockstar Anna, een afspiegeling van Basíková, die zelf ook rockzangeres is of was, en vergelijkt Anna met Mozart, de bepoederde rococo-punker (“napudrovaný rokokový pankáč”) en maakt de grap ‘Rococo-Rock’ af wanneer hij “der gepuderte Rokoko-Punker” Mozart in verband brengt met ‘Rocker-Punk’ (18/228-229):

‘Jako chuligán se zjevuje na všech plátnech kin, a zapaluje všechny návštěvníky tak, že ani nepozorují, že ten Rocker-Punk dopředu a jen a jen pro ně komponuje slavné a hřímavé a tolik tristní Requiem.’

(Als een relschopper verschijnt hij op alle filmdoeken en enthousiasmeert de bezoekers in die mate dat ze niet in de gaten hebben dat deze Rocker-Punk op voorhand en

louter en alleen voor hen het befaamde en overdonderende en zo intrieste ‘Requiem’ componeert.)

Daarmee zijn we weer bij Hrabal: al die frivoliteit en speelsheid die zo kenmerkend zijn voor Mozart, krijgen bij hem pas zin in het licht van de dood, die voor Mozart zelf in 1791 roemloos was: begraven in een massagraf bij Wenen.

1.5 Smetana

Smetana ziet Hrabal vooral als Tsjechische grootheid die niet door zijn eigen volk begrepen werd (2/109). Hij noemt hem een “votrok a žádnej pán, ubohý člověk” (2/119; ‘een slaaf en geen grote meneer, een stakker’) en voegt er de anekdote bij (5/45) dat toen hij stierf, men braadworstjes in zijn twee koffers met bladmuziek heeft gestopt, als dank voor wat hij voor zijn volk had gedaan. Het is echter eerder een typering voor het Tsjechische volk dan voor Smetana. Hij is in een dieptreurige, melancholieke stemming. Denkt aan Saint-Exupéry, Glenn Miller en Jesenin. Allen dood, verongelukt. Hrabal is in Kersko en zijn katertje Cassius is bij hem. Hrabal declameert voor hem een strofe uit een gedicht van Jesenin en vervolgt:

‘Je tyranský mráz a nad kerským lesem září měsíc jak střep žluté láhve od borovičky. Cassius! Básníci Malého prince a Moonlight Serenade spadli s letadly do moře Věčnosti, Serjoža Jesenin dávno před nimi se v Petrohradě v hotelu Angleterre na lustru oběsil a rychle zastřelil [...]’ (14/130)

(Het is berekoud en boven het Kersko-bos schijnt de maan als een scherf van een geelkleurige jeneverfles. Cassius! De dichters van *De kleine prins* en van ‘Moonlight Serenade’ zijn met hun vliegtuigen in de zee van de Eeuwigheid neergestort, Serjozja Jesenin heeft zich al lang vóór hen in hotel Angleterre in Petrograd aan een kroonluchter opgehangen en zich snel doodgeschoten [...])

Onder invloed daarvan pas stuit hij ontroerd op de essentie van Smetana’s symfonische gedicht *Má vlast* (‘Mijn vaderland’), dat hij die avond op de tv hoort: “Dobrou noc, Cassie, dobrou noc. A dobrý den, Česká republiko, dobrý den. He he he!” [‘Goedenacht, Cassius, goedenacht. En goedendag, Tsjechische Republiek, goedendag. Hihhi!’] Een zinsnede die is op te vatten als een verzuchting over de slechte tijden waarin het vaderland (‘vlast’) nu verkeerde.

Ironisch is Hrabal weer over Smetana's *Triumfale symfonie*. Tot tweemaal toe vergelijkt hij die symfonie met een opstijgend vliegtuig (15/219 en 17/116), die hij hoort doorklinken in de prachtig brullende motoren. Maar hij haast zich in de tweede vindplaats (het interview met Szigetti) hieraan toe te voegen dat Smetana's opera *De verkochte bruid* hem met zijn melancholie naar zijn hart deed grijpen en dat hij bijna stierf wanneer hij die opera in Kersko op de plaat beluisterde. Dan moest hij naar buiten rennen, het bos in, helemaal tot aan het beekje, waar hij zich niet schaamde om in huilen uit te barsten (net als eerder bij het beluisteren van de strijkkwartetten van Dvořák). Dat is toch een bijzonder effect voor het beluisteren van een komische opera, die kennelijk zo 'typisch Tsjechisch' is, zo herkenbaar, zo melancholisch-melodius, zo vrolijk volks dat een Tsjech zich er zeer direct door voelt aangesproken, zozeer zelfs dat Hrabal deze opera 'vreest' ("bojím se té opery", 17/115). Misschien was het ook Smetana's lot dat hem zo aangreep bij het horen van deze muziek. Dat was namelijk nogal treurig: hij overleed in 1883 op zestigjarige leeftijd in een psychiatrische kliniek in Praag. Zowel zijn doofheid als psychiatrische aandoening waren waarschijnlijk het gevolg van syfilis.

1.6 Strauss

Johann wordt wel zestien keer vermeld, maar meestal of 'in een rijtje' genieën of onder verwijzing naar een regio en daaraan verbonden cultuur (Oostenrijk, Wenen, Weense wals, bals), die zo contrasteert met het volkse Praagse kroegleven. De enige andere anekdote die behalve de reeds genoemde opmerking over Mozarts *Jupiter* nog iets aan zijn naam toevoegt, is de passage over hoe Johann Strauss de *Radetzky mars* zou hebben gecomponeerd: "Strauss si sedl, zpomalil valčík Wiener Blut a tak vznikl marš, který každého vojáka, i nevojáka, vzbudí z únavy" (12/56) ['Strauss ging zitten, vertraagde de wals Wiener Blut en zo ontstond een mars die iedere soldaat, en niet-soldaat, uit zijn vermoeidheid wakker schudt'].

Richard komt zelfs nul keer voor, maar de titel van diens opera *Der Rosenkavalier* is in het Tsjechisch (*Růžový kavalír*) wel de titel van een bundeltje brieven aan Dubenka/miss April en van een brief hieruit, die de titel verklaart.

Hrabal droeg als cavalier ten aanzien van Dubenka graag een roze sjaal en noemde zich daarom niet ‘rozencavalier’ maar ‘roze cavalier’ (13/337).

1.7 Stravinski

In een van de brieven aan Dubenka, ‘Greyhound story’ (13/90-91) mijmert Hrabal over hoe hij zich op zijn collegetoer door Amerika naar de befaamde Great Falls in de rivier de Potomac (Maryland) had laten brengen. Hij associeert dit natuurgeweld en het vrolijke spelevaren van jonge mensen die langs de rivier stoeien, rennen en fietsen met *Le sacre du printemps*:

‘Dubenko, tady jsem zažil to, co otrásl jako hromem Evropu v tom roce 1913, pan Igor Stravinskij v Paříži předvedl Svěcení jara... hromový úder bylo to Svěcení, ten vegetační kult, ten archaický Potomac a ten prastarý les, to všechno, Dubenko, v té mé přítomnosti bylo jako čerstvě narozený list...’

(Dubenka, hier heb ik beleefd hetgeen als door een donder Europa in 1913 heeft geschokt: meneer Igor Stravinski presenteerde zijn Sacre van de lente in Parijs... een donderslag was die Sacre, en die vegetatieve cultus hier, die archaïsche Potomac en dat oeroude bos, dat allemaal, Dubenka, in de aanwezigheid daarvan voelde ik me als een pasgeboren boomblad...)

In ‘Achtenhalf’ vinden we nog een variatie hierop: de *Sacre* die met zijn donderslag Parijs de stuipen op het lijf joeg, toen het tijdloze met het tijdgebundene een kruising aanging (“kdy nadčasové se zkrížilo s časovým” (13/183-184), net alsof de Praagse Lente van 1968, hoewel het winter was, uit de doden opstond. Dat motief van de *Sacre du printemps* wordt nog een paar keer herhaald op momenten dat de lente ergens overdonderend uitbrak, maar heeft verder geen extra dimensie.

1.8 Wagner

In deel 1/202 staat Wagner in een rijtje samen met onder meer Dostojevski en Cézanne en de componisten Schubert en Smetana. Hrabal noemt hen als een reeks genii die creëerden “*sub specie patriae*”: ze kenden een grote liefde voor het vaderland, de natuur en de waarheid. Verder wordt het thema Wagner uitvoerig gebruikt in de roman *Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále* (deel 7, *Ik heb de koning*

van Engeland bediend), waar het huwelijk betreft van de hoofdpersoon Jan Dítě met de rondborstige Germaanse oervrouw Líza ten tijde van het Derde Rijk. Hun zoontje wordt onder verwijzing naar Wagner naar diens opera Siegfried vernoemd. De beroemde ‘sterrenvriendschap’ tussen Wagner en Nietzsche, in feite een koele vriendschap waarbij iedere ster zijn eigen baan behoudt, komt aan de orde in *Příliš hluchná samota* (9/32; *Al te luide eenzaamheid*, p. 35), wanneer de hoofdpersoon de passage over die vriendschap uit het niet-genoemde boek *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* liefdevol in de trog van zijn pletpers legt om tot oud papier verwerkt te worden. (Wel genoemd worden *Ecce homo*, in 9/30 en *Also sprach Zarathustra* 9/12.)

Anekdotisch is het verhaal over Hrabals muziekles in Nymburk, waar hij als puber op school ingewijd werd in Wagner, en wel door de leraar scheikunde Novák en diens vrouw (met de grote borsten), die zichzelf respectievelijk beschouwden als Tanhäuser, Lohengrin, de Vliegende Hollander, dan wel als Elsa von Brabant, Isolde of Senta (14/71). Een lyrische ontboezeming met betrekking tot Wagners muziek is er eigenlijk alleen in deel 15/149 – en meteen *in extremis* – in het verhaal ‘Over johannesbrood’: “ta nejkrásnější místa Tristana a Isoldy vyjadřují svou podstatou to, co v literatuře bych nazval eroticko-sexuální plození v krásném” [‘de mooiste passages in Tristan en Isolde geven uitdrukking aan wat ik in de literatuur zou willen noemen: de erotisch-seksuele verwekking in schoonheid’]. Die laatste term (‘verwekking in schoonheid’) gebruikte hij ook in *Kdo jsem* (‘Wie ik ben’, in *Praagse ironie*, p. 10) en noemde Plato erbij (12/225), die deze uitspraak liet doen in zijn dialoog ‘Symposium’: als het hoogste moment in het samenzijn van man en vrouw. Hrabal gebruikte die term ook met betrekking tot het creëren van kunstwerk: “tvoření v krásném” [‘een creatie in schoonheid’] in *Příliš hluchná samota* (9/14, *Al te luide eenzaamheid*, p. 11) en “žádné umění a tvoření a plození v krásném” (9/60, iets vrijer vertaald: [‘niks geen scheppen van schoonheid’], p. 71). Maar opvallend is ook hier de literair-filosofische context van Plato en niet zozeer de emotionele belevenis bij het beluisteren van Wagners muziek.

1.9 ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen’

Het voorkomen van de hierboven reeds beschreven compositie, of die nu van Drigo afkomstig is of in gepopulariseerde vorm van Malásek of uit de film *Limelight*, is niet beperkt tot de gelijknamige roman. Al in het eerder genoemde verhaal ‘Krásná Poldi’ (‘De beeldschone Poldi’) is een passage waarin een gestrafte vrouw buiten haar werkkamp deze melodie hoort, gespeeld op een orgeltje (‘ariston’). Kennelijk gaat het dan om het arrangement van Malásek, waarbij ze een traantje wegpinkt: “slza jako briliant jí zářila v prstenu oka” (5/204; [‘een traan als een briljant blonk in de ring van haar oog’], p. 58). Ook in *Městečko, ve kterém se zastavil čas* (Het stadje waar de tijd stil is blijven staan), waar tegen het einde ook het bejaardenhuis uit de roman *Harlekijntjes miljoenen* beschreven wordt, wordt al – voordat de roman *Harlekijntjes miljoenen* geschreven is – gezegd: “ale hudba hrála pořád ‘Harlekýnovy miliony’, sladounké charakteristické intermezzo, které zvyšovalo slavostní barvotiskovou náladu očekávajících penzistů.” (6/187; [‘maar de muziek speelde aldoor “Harlekijntjes miljoenen”, dat suikerzoete karakteristieke intermezzo dat de plechtige kleurenplaatjesstemming van de in afwachting zijnde gepensioneerden verhoogde.'], p. 126).

Verder werd deze melodie nota bene gespeeld tijdens de huwelijksplichtigheid van Hrabal, toen deze op 8 december 1952 met Eliška Plevová, beter bekend als Pipsi, in het Praagse stadsdeel Libeň de witte trappen besteeg van Zámeček (Het kasteeltje), waarin het stadsdeelkantoor was gevestigd. (*Svatby v domě*, 11/167): “a shora padala hudba, varhany hrály Harlekýnovy miliony.” (*Trouwpartijen*, [‘en vanboven daalde er muziek neer, het orgel speelde ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen’], p. 209) Ook in *Proluky* (11/524, *Kaalslag*, p. 140) komt nog een scène voor waarin een zekere Lothar in zijn Mercedes, waarin ook Hrabal zit, bandjes draait, bij voorbeeld van James Last die ‘Liebestraum’ speelt en van Jiří Malásek die ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen’ ten gehore brengt, in beide gevallen dus populaire derivaten van een klassiek werk: “A Lothar vyměnil pásku a melancholický klavír Jiřího Maláska hrál, jen tak klopýtal po klaviatuře... Harlekýnovy miliony.” [‘En Lothar verwisselde het bandje en toen klonk het melancholieke pianospel van Jiří Malásek’ – hij trippelde als het ware met zijn vingertjes over de toetsen – ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen.’] In deze gevallen gaat het duidelijk om het

pianoarrangement van Malásek, dit in tegenstelling tot de beverige violen in de stomme films van Chaplin, met name *Limelight*. (10/196 en /239).

2 Benoeming, functies en perceptie

De boven beschreven voorbeelden zijn interessant om hetgeen ze toevoegen aan de ‘normale’ benoeming van dingen en personen. Het woord ‘stoel’ roept een voorstelling op van de verzameling stoel-achtigen die een subject hieronder verstaat, maar de naam van een componist roept al iets extra’s op: hij is geen willekeurige naam, hij wordt gepersonaliseerd en er bestaat een zekere kennis over hem. Misschien zelfs hoort het subject bij het lezen van die naam een bepaald werk in zijn hoofd klinken, hetgeen nog zal worden versterkt wanneer het werk ook nog eens daarbij genoemd wordt. Daarbij is het effect van het noemen van een muziekwerk (met of zonder componist) in een literaire context tweeledig. Enerzijds is het in een context verankerd, anderzijds roept het bij het een klankvoorstelling op en geen semantische constructie. Wanneer men het woord ‘stoel’ leest, roept dat een zeker beeld op van een stoel, dat nog kan worden verbijzonderd door een in bredere kring bekend type erbij te vermelden: de Rietveldstoel. Toch blijft dit soort voorstelling beperkt tot beelden, semantische constructies, terwijl in het geval van een muziekwerk een abstracte melodie in de herinnering wordt opgeroepen. Hooguit kan hieraan nog een betekenisvol beeld worden gevoegd in het geval van een symfonisch gedicht (met titel!), een podiumvoorstelling (een bepaalde, bijzondere uitvoering of zelfs geheel in de privésfeer door de ruimte waarin een bepaald muziekwerk te horen was en door personen die daarbij aanwezig waren, of ook door bepaalde betekenisvolle associaties die een melodie bij iemand oproept. Bovendien bewerkstelligt zowel het percipiëren van een literaire tekst als van muziek een bepaald scala aan emoties.

Vanuit het oogpunt van functionaliteit kan worden gesteld dat de referentiële functie van literatuur en muziek verschillend zijn. De eerste brengt min of meer begrijpelijke (esthetische) betekenisconstructies met mogelijke persoonlijke associaties teweeg, de andere primair (esthetische) klankconstructies met mogelijke persoonlijke associaties van dien. Ook voor beeldende kunst geldt

natuurlijk dat deze primair op een (esthetische) betekenisconstructie aanstuurt. Alle drie de kunstvormen roepen tevens emotie op: primair door de perceptie van schoonheid van het object zelf en secundair door de ermee samenhangende associaties. Naast de referentiële functie is er dus een emotieve, een die tot emoties aanzet. Hiervan zijn hierboven ettelijke voorbeelden gegeven. Daarnaast is er ook een therapeutische functie: een kunstwerk kan bij het percipiërend subject een loutering teweegbrengen of een vermindering of zelfs genezing van pijn of verdriet.

In het licht hiervan heeft de melodie van ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen’ in de gelijknamige roman niet alleen een esthetische functie, maar ook een praktische functie, een die therapeutisch, sussend werkt: overal in en buiten het bejaardenhuis hangen luidsprekers die de melodie verspreiden om de gepensioneerden te kalmeren: “z každé ty klicky že vytéká smyčcova hudba [...] Byly to Harlekýnovy miliony” (10/196, [‘uit elk zo’n kooitje stroomde strijkmuziek [...] Het was “Harlekijntjes miljoenen”], p. 13). Of: “Ten smyčcový orchestr tichounce obtáčí staré kmeny a stoupají ty Harlekýnovy miliony do korun jak starý břechtan a kapou potom listí dolů” (10/199, [‘dat strijkorkest kringelt muiszacht om die oude stammen en “Harlekijntjes miljoenen” stijgt als een oude klimop tot in de kruinen en druipt van de bladeren naar beneden’], p. 18). Die muziek klinkt er als muzikaal behang en valt pas op als de stroom uitvalt en de muziek ophoudt. Ze wordt vergeleken met een klimopraken, suikerspin, een kanten kleedje enz. Ook de oude verpleeghuisdokter zag deze muziek als therapie (10/274; p. 117) om weg te kunnen dommelen van zijn bezigheid. Hij zou vervangen worden door de jonge arts Holoubek, die er een andere muzikale smaak op nahield.

Naast die therapeutische functie is er ook sprake van een conatieve functie, de functie die iemand aanspreekt (appellatieve functie) en in beweging zet, emotioneel (emotieve functie) en letterlijk in fysieke zin (kinetische functie), (Mercks, 2015: 98-99). Muziek heeft veel meer dan andere kunstvormen juist die capaciteit, een die zich kan uiten in wegvluchten voor de emotie, zoals uit enkele bovenstaande voorbeelden al bleek met betrekking tot werken van Dvořák en Smetana, maar ook bijvoorbeeld in meer gestructureerde uitingen, zoals de dans.

2.1 ‘De doorgetrapte trom’

Voordat ik de ‘dansscène’ aan het besluit van *Harlekijntjes miljoenen* onder de loep neem, wil ik nog wijzen op een ander, bijzonder gevolg van de conatieve functie bij muziek. Het gaat hier om het verhaal ‘Prokopnutý buben’ (‘De doorgetrapte trom’) in deel 5 van het verzameld werk. Het gaat hier echter om de conatieve functie die voortvloeit uit de botsing van twee muziekstijlen en muziekculturen: de klassieke en volksmuziek, die tegelijkertijd op de aan elkaar grenzende maar door een hoge muur van elkaar gescheiden Ledebour-terrassen en de achtertuin van de Sint-Thomas bierbrouwerij in Praag ten gehore worden gebracht voor een navenant van elkaar verschillend publiek. Aan de ene kant is het het Hoofdstedelijke Symfonieorkest en aan de andere kant de blaaskapel Böhmerwald die elkaar beconcurreren en dusdanig op elkaar botsen dat er een massale vechtpartij uit ontstaat, eerst muzikaal: de *Pathétique* vs. een “knallende galop” (p. 164; ‘ryčný kvapík’, 5/193), gevolgd door Waldteufels *Schaatsenrijderswals*, die over de schutting probeert te klimmen om de *Pathétique* een kusje te geven (5/194; p. 164). De ik vindt juist die mengvorm, die botsing, die kruising prachtig, zoals Hrabal ook altijd graag in zijn proza met meng- en knipvormen experimenteerde: “já jsem slyšel dechovku pana Polaty ne jako nepřítel, ale jako spojence, propojovala se mi ta dechovka s Patetickou, jako by to bylo jedno těleso” (5/193-194; [‘ik hoorde die fanfare van meneer Polata niet als vijand maar als bondgenoot, in mijn gehoor verbond zich die muziek door met de *Pathétique*, alsof het tot hetzelfde corpus behoorde’], p. 164). Hij gaat ook een kijkje nemen bij het publiek: in het ene de uitgestreken gezichten en bij de andere de rondborstige vrouwen die met mannen zwierden. Vervolgens klinkt het ‘Adagio lamentoso’ van Tsjajkovski’s *Pathétique*, maar de bezoekers van de biertuin schreeuwen dan verstoord: “Jděte do háje s tím vaším Beethovenem! Mozarti sakramentský! Kazisvěti!” (5/195, [‘Schei toch uit met jullie Beethoven! Mozartklanten! Spelbedervers!’], p. 166) En zo voort totdat er één grote kloppartij tussen musici en bezoekers van beide kampen ontstaat. De directe conatieve functie is waarneembaar bij de op muziek dansende mannen en vrouwen. De conatieve functie heeft een bijzondere vorm als het gaat om een vechtpartij die ontstaat door de mengeling van botsende

muziekculturen: hier leidt de confrontatie van twee terreinen tot handelen, niet de terreinen apart.

2.2 *Harlekijntjes miljoenen*

Tot slot de prachtige scène in de roman *Harlekýnovy miliony* (deel 10, hoofdstuk 10; *Harlekijntjes miljoenen*). De jonge arts Holoubek (Duijfe – maar dit terzijde, km) brengt de hoofden van de gepensioneerden op hol wanneer hij voor hen zijn favoriete platen voor hen draait. Achtereenvolgens krijgen ze in de muziekzaal te horen: Liszts ‘Liebestraum’, gespeeld door de Chileense pianist Claudio Arrau, het symfonische gedicht *V podvečer* (‘In de vroege avond’) van Zd. Fibich, dat beter bekend is onder de Engelse naam ‘Poem’, uitgevoerd door het Tsjechisch Filharmonisch Orkest onder leiding van Václav Neumann, dan van Debussy het symfonisch gedicht ‘Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faune’, gedirigeerd door Herbert von Karajan, eveneens onder diens leiding *Les préludes* van Franz (Ferenc) Liszt, gevolgd door het Vioolconcert nr. 77 van Brahms, eerst uitgevoerd door de Duitse virtuoze violist Georg Kulenkampff en daarna ‘hetzelfde maar heel anders’ door de vermaarde Tsjechische violist Váša Příhoda, het hoogtepunt van het concert dat het publiek tot tranen toe ontroerde en deed opstaan en de zaal in extase verlaten, daarna in het park door naar de vijver en orgiastisch erin ronddansend. De gepensioneerden voelden zich weer jong, beleefden voor even weer die grote passie en extase van vroeger.

De benoeming van deze werken is consecutief, maar wordt steeds onderbroken door commentaren, soms van de verteller (Hrabals moeder), soms door andere vertellers (de getuigen van oude tijden) en is uitgespreid over elf bladzijden, waardoor de indruk wordt gewekt dat die commentaren simultaan met de muziek “gedacht” worden. Om de gemoederen weer te bedaren wordt ten slotte de melodie van ‘Harlekijntjes miljoenen’ weer gestart en in plaats van klassieke muziek bestelde de dokter kalmerende drankjes met broom voor de oudjes, maar die mochten niet baten, zo opgewonden als ze waren door het vioolspel van Georg Kulenkampff en hún eigen Váša Příhoda...

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Noot

1 Hrabal schreef ook over deze melodie in de populaire uitvoering van Helmut Zacharias, zoals die hem tot tranen roerde: 'a já jsem přikápl navíc slzy moje a když jsem vymrkal oči ze slz, přečetl jsem: The Fascination...' (8/34; en ik druppelde er ook nog eens tranen van mij bij en toen ik mijn ogen drooggeknipperd had van tranen, las ik: 'The Fascination'.) En op 8/35: 'hraná samotným Helmuthem Zachariásem! – gespeeld door Helmut Zacharias himself! – Deze speelde trouwens ook met zijn 'magic violin' de titelsong van *Limelight*... (Polydor 22 311, Single, 1954) en hij trad soms ook op met de Duitse jazzbassist en bandleider James (Hans) Last.

Referenties

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Al te luide eenzaamheid, Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 1988

Het stadje waar de tijd stil is blijven staan, Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 1993

Trouwpartijen, Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 1996

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Kaalslag, Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 1998

'Beeldschone Poldi.' *De toverfluit*, Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 2002, 51-66

'De dood van meneer Baltisberger', ibidem, 121-139

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'Wie ik ben.' *Praagse ironie*, Prometheus 2007, 5-57

N.B. Alle geciteerde vertalingen in de tekst zijn van mijn hand en zijn, als het een citaat betreft, tussen apostrofs geplaatst. Niet tussen apostrofs geplaatste vertalingen heb ik voor deze gelegenheid gemaakt.

Samenhangende artikelen over *Harlekijntjes miljoenen*:

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ROMANIZMI U NAZIVLJU KUHINJSKIH PREDMETA I HRANE U GOVORU ŽMINJSKIH ORBANIĆA

Samanta Milotić Bančić

1 Uvod

Žminjski Orbanići mjesto su koje jezično pripada sjevernočakavskom, odnosno ekavskočakavskom dijalektu, jednom od autohtonih istarskih dijalekata, ili preciznije, središnjem istarskom poddijalektu sjevernočakavskoga dijalekta. Osobitosti su toga poddijalekta sustavno ekavski refleks jata, čak i u tvorbenim i relacijskim morfemima, uz nekoliko ikavizama, uglavnom u posuđenicama. Prednji je nazal dao većinom [e] ([a] samo iza nazala), dok je stražnji nazal dao, ovisno o govoru, [o] ili [u]. Samoglasno je [l] u većini govora dalo [u] (*vuk*). Žminjski i pazinski govori (kojima pripada i govor žminjskih Orbanića), kao i neki boljunski te motovunski, imaju diftonge na mjestu dugih vokala: [o] > [uo], [e] > [ie]. Prijedlog /u/ realizira se kao /v/, /va/ ili se reducira, dočeto se -l kod glagolskog pridjeva radnog uglavnom reducira (*san bi*), a zvučni se opstruenti te [v] obezvučuju (npr. *křv* > *křf*). U žminjskim je govorima karakterističan stari tronaglasni sustav s prednaglasnim dužinama, dok zanaglasnih dužina nema. U morfologiji se uglavnom još čuvaju izvorni imenički množinski nastavci te stara nepalatalna sklonidba ženskoga roda.¹

Govor mjesta Orbanići, koji prema svojim jezičnim karakteristikama pripada žminjskim govorima te time središnjem istarskom poddijalektu sjevernočakavskoga dijalekta, pobliže je istražila Janneke Kalsbeek (Kalsbeek 1998). Samim time i romanizmi pronađeni u govoru žminjskih Orbanića, iako slični romanizmima drugih istarskih govora, obiluju fonološkim i morfološkim osobitostima. U svakom se govoru mogu pronaći romanizmi na koje ne nailazimo u drugim govorima. Istraživanje je tih romanizama utoliko važnije za sveukupni doprinos

istraživanju nekog idioma. Nadamo se da će i analiza kuhinjskih romanizama u govoru žminjskih Orbanića doprinijeti boljem poznavanju toga govora.

2 Romanizmi u Istri

Termin “romanizam” različito se tumači kod različitih autora, no sve su definicije u svojoj biti slične. U *Rječniku stranih riječi* nalazimo definiciju romanizma kao “elementa latinskog (novolatinskog) ili kojeg drugog romanskog jezika u nekom neromanskom jeziku” (Klaić 2001: 1174). Jasna Gačić definira romanizam kao “svaki jezični element koji je ušao u proučavani jezik (dijalekt) iz nekoga romanskoga dijalekta ili jezika” (Gačić 1979a: 4). Najprihvatljivije nam je tumačenje romanizma ono iz *Enciklopedijskog rječnika lingvističkih naziva*: “Romanizam je jezični element (riječ, izraz ili konstrukcija) preuzet iz nekog romanskog jezika u bilo kojoj fazi (rjeđe iz latinskog) u koji neromanski jezik” (Simeon 1969: 317). Ovo nam tumačenje šire pojašnjava značenje romanizma, uzimajući u obzir dijakronijsko posuđivanje.

Romanizmi su postali dio istarskih govora najviše kroz jezični utjecaj Venecije. Taj je utjecaj započeo već u X. stoljeću te trajao do kraja XIX. stoljeća. Istromletački govori, koji su nastali stapanjem venecijanskog (došljačkog) i predmletačkih (autohtonih) govora u Istri, svojim su dugotrajnim širenjem uz pomoć kulturno-političkog nametanja polako istisnuli predmletačke romanske govore te su danas najrašireniji romanski govori u Istri (cca. 30 000 izvornih govornika). Osim najraširenijeg istromletačkog (istrovenetskog), od romanskih istarskih govora tu su i, povijesno stariji, istriotski, te furlanski govori (sjever Istre). Istriotski (istoromanski) govori predmletački su romanski govori u Istri, koje neki smatraju potomcima jedinstvenoga romanskog jezika (potomka vulgarnog latinskog). Istriotski se danas govori još samo u Rovinju, Vodnjanu, Balama, Fažani, Galizani i Šišanu.²

3 Istraživanje

Iz terenskog istraživanja romanizama obavljenog u lipnju 2017. godine,³ koje smo nadopunili primjerima ispitanica, dobivena je polazišna dijalektalna građa.

Intervjuirane su obavjesnice Marija Živolić (rođ. Orbanić) rođena 1940. godine te Milka Bančić (rođ. Orbanić)⁴ rođena 1949. godine, obje u žminjskim Orbanićima. Cilj nam je bio popisati, na temelju upitnika, kuhinjske termine iz govora žminjskih Orbanića, izdvojiti lekseme romanskoga porijekla te ih usporediti s istim ili sličnim leksemima iz drugih istarskih govora, kao i s leksemima iz venecijanskog (Boerio 1856) te istromletačkog idioma (Rosamani 1999). Upitnik se sastojao od 107 leksema za semantičko polje *kubinja* i *kuhinjski pribor*, od kojih je identificirano 75 romanizama. Istražili smo najviše njihovu neposrednu etimologiju (etymologia proxima), no ponegdje smo se dotakli i krajnje etimologije (etymologia remota). Etimologiju smo istražili u *Etimologijskome rječniku hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Skok 1971—1974), a mnoge potvrde u drugim istarskim govorima pronašli smo u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015), rječniku pićanskih idioma (Ružić Sudčev 1999), rječniku medulinskoga govora (Peruško 2010) i rječniku roverskih govora (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014).

Od 75 romanizama koje smo pronašli, 36 ih je iz semantičkoga polja namještaja i predmeta u kuhinji, 22 su iz semantičkoga polja kuhinjskog posuđa, 15 ih je iz semantičkoga polja hrane te dva iz semantičkoga polja prostorija povezanih s kuhinjom. Dobivenu smo romanističku leksičku građu usporedili i s građom koju je prikupila Janneke Kalsbeek u svojoj knjizi o govoru Orbanića (Kalsbeek 1998), sa zaključkom da je većina primjera koje je Kalsbeek zapisala prije 20-ak godina još uvijek u uporabi.

3.1 Rezultati istraživanja

Rezultati istraživanja popisani su abecednim redom⁵ u obliku natuknica i sadrže 75 leksema. Gramatički podatci i definicija na standardnome hrvatskome jeziku slijede svaku natuknicu, s napomenom da su neke imenice zapisane u jednini, dok se neke češće pojavljuju u množini te su stoga zapisani njihovi množinski oblici.

Bānak, bānka, m. r. — stol ili klupa za sjedenje. Termin, mlet. *banco*, ovjeren je kod Rosamanija (Rosamani 1999: 62) i kod Boerija “arnese di legno, sul quale possono sedere più persone unite” (Boerio 1856: 60). Kod Skoka nalazimo etimologiju: tal. *banco* < germ. *bank* koje je ušlo već u vlat. (tal. = talijanski; germ.

= germanski; vlat. = vulgarni latinski, S. M. B.) (Skok 1971: 105). Ovaj je romanizam potvrđen kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998 : 415), u rječniku medulinskoga govora (Peruško 2010: 21), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 27), u govoru Pićna (*banjak*; Ružić Sudčev 1999: 10) te u *Rječniku boljunskih govora* (Francetić 2015: 7).

Barila, -i, ž. r. — bačvica za spremanje vina ili neke druge tekućine. Ovaj romanizam nalazimo ovjeren kod Boerija: *barila* “vaso di legno fatto a doghe come le botte, della capacità ordinaria di sei secchie” (Boerio 1856: 65), kao i kod Rosamanija (Rosamani 1999: 70). Potvrdu tog romanizma pronašli smo i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 415). U Skokovu je rječniku ovjera *baril*, u značenju “drvena posuda od dužica kao vjedro” (...) “Oblik sa *u* stoji u vezi sa mlet. *boria* “botte”, tal. *barracela*, stfr. *buire* “krug”, fr. *burette*, *burinette*, tal. *burrini* m. pl. “scodelle molto cupe”, *vrro* (Otranto) “sorta di vaso” (mlet. = mletački; stfr. = starofrancuski; fr. = francuski, S. M. B.) (Skok 1971: 113). U *Rječniku boljunskih govora* ovjeren je *baril* (Francetić 2015: 8), *barila* u rječniku Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 11), kao i u rječniku roverskih govora (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 29), a u Medulinu leksemi *barija* i *barilica* (Peruško 2010: 22).

Bicerin, -a, m. r. — mala čaša, čašica za aperitiv. Kod Rosamanija je ovjeren *bicchierino* (Rosamani 1999: 90), a kod Boerija *bichieron* “vaso di vetro da bere, di vasta tenuta” (Boerio 1856: 80). Termin je potvrđen i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 417), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 31), u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 24), u govoru Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 12) i u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 10).

Böca, -i, ž. r. — boca, staklena posuda za spremanje tekućina. U Rosamanijevu rječniku ovjeren je leksem, iz mlet. *boza* “boccia (recipiente di vetro)” (Rosamani 1999: 110), kao i kod Boerija *bozza* (misura di liquidi) (Boerio 1856: 96), a nalazimo ga i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (Kalsbeek 1998: 420). U Skokovu rječniku javlja se *böca* (17. v., Vuk, Dubrovnik, Perast, Božava, bug., slov.) “1° staklenka, flaša” (...) Balkanska riječ mletačkog podrijetla (mlet. *bozza*, 13. v.) (Skok 1971: 177; bug. = bugarski; slov. = slovenski, S. M. B.). Termin je potvrđen i na Roveriji

(Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 34), u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 25), u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 13), a u govoru Pićna nalazimo *boconić* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 14).

Bocuôn, -a, m. r. — veća boca, staklenka; boca za rakiju opletena slamom. Termin je ovjeren i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 420). Kod Rosamanija je ovjeren leksem iz mlet. *bozon/bozun*, “boccia molto grande, con collo corto, di vetro ordinario” (Rosamani 1999: 111), kod Boerija *bozzon* “boccia grande di vetro” (Boerio 1856: 96). Skok navodi: “bōca (...) na augmentativni *-one > -un bōcūn*, gen. *-ūna* (Vuk, Dubrovnik, Perast, Crna Gora, Lika) = *bocūn* (Budva, Rab, Božava, Kućište, Krasić; “velika boca, demižun”, sa deminutivom *bocūnić* (Lika)” (Skok 1971: 177). Potvrde smo pronašli i u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 13); u roverskim je govorima *bocūn* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 34), kao i u rječniku medulinskoga govora (Peruško 2010: 25), dok je u govoru Pićna ovjeren *bocòn* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 14).

Brōka, -i, ž. r. — stakleni vrč za vodu. Potvrdu smo pronašli kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 423). Kod Rosamanija: mlet. *brocca, brocchetto*, „mesciacqua“ (Rosamani 1999: 118), kao i kod Boerija *broca* 'da aqua' (Boerio 1856: 100). Kod Skoka nalazimo “*broka* (Hercegovina, Prčanj, Potomje, Korčula, Boka, Čilipi, Milna, Baška, Račišće) = *brōkva* (Pag, Šibenik) “urceus, vrč, pehar za vodu (zamjenjuje romijenču) od tenećeta, lima”(…) Od tal. *brocca* “isto”, prema Battistiju od *προχόος* (od *προχέω* “lijevam”)” (Skok 1971: 216). Termin je ovjeren u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 40) i u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 29).

Broštulīn, -a, m. r. — pržilica za kavu. Kod Rosamanija je ovjeren termin iz tršćanskoga, *brustolin* “tostino” (Rosamani 1999: 124). U Boerijevu rječniku nalazimo potvrdu u mletacizmu *brustolin* “strumento cilindrico di ferro con cui si abbastolisce il caffè” (Boerio 1856: 104). Termin je potvrđen i u istraživanju govora žminjskih Orbanića Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 423). U Skokovu je rječniku ovjera: “sttal. *brustolare* “pržiti”, vlat. **brüstūlare* (unakrštenje kllat. *ūstūlare*, deminutiv od *ūrēre*, i *bruciare* = a mlet. *brusar* < srlat. *brusāre*)“ (sttal. =

starotalijanski; kllat. = klasično-latinski; srlat. = srednjovjekovni latinski, S. M. B.). Skok još navodi da se od osnove toga glagola s deminutivnim nastavkom *-ino* tvori *bruštùlîn/bruštulîn/brštulîn/broštulîn*, u značenju „pržionik za kavu“ (Skok 1971: 221). Leksem je prisutan i u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 29), govoru Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 16), boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 18), kao i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 40).

Bukalëta, -i, ž. r. — keramička posuda iz koje se pije vino ili supa. U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjeren mletacizam *bocaleta* (Rosamani 1999: 99). Termin je potvrđen u knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 424) te u govorima Medulina (Peruško 2010: 30), Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 42), Boljuna (Francetić 2015: 19) i Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 16). Skok bilježi “*bòkāl (...)* na tal. *-etta* < vlat. *-itta bukaleta* (Vrbnik, Baška) “vrč (rjeđe)” (...) Od tal. *boccale* (11. v.) < gr.-lat. *baucalis*” (Skok 1971: 184).

Cukerānčić, -i, m. r. — vrsta pečenog kolača ili kekisa posuta šećerom. Leksem je ovjeren kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 427). U Boerijevu rječniku nalazimo potvrdu: *crostoli, crespelli* o *zuccherini*, “*pasta di farina bianca intrisa con uova e zucchero, tirata a guisa di vermicelli, ingraticolata insieme e fritta nel grasso di porco o nel butirro*” (Boerio 1856: 210). Kod Rosamanija je ovjeren termin *zucarìn* “*zuccherino (che contiene zùcchero)*” (Rosamani 1999: 1271). U Pićnu nalazimo termin *cukerònciči* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 19), a u roverskim govorima *cukerānčić* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 49).

Čikarica, -e, ž. r. — šalica za crnu kavu. Termin je potvrdila i Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 431). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjereneno *cicara/cicaretà* (Rosamani 1999: 214), a kod Boerija *chicara* “*vasetto notissimo per uso di bere cioccolatta, caffè e simili*” (Boerio 1856: 166). U Skokovu *Etimologijskom rječniku* imamo potvrdu: *čikara*, od mletačkog *chicara* (Skok 1971: 323). Isto je pronađeno i na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 53). U govoru Medulina pronašli smo *čikara* (Peruško 2010: 42), kao i u govoru Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 22).

Čikoběrnica, -i, ž. r. — pepeljara. Leksem, koji je ovjeren i kod Kalsbeek (1998: 431), složenica je od romanskog *cica, cicca, mozzicone* (Rosamani 1999: 213) i

hrvatskoga glagola *brāti* ('posuda u koju se beru opušci'). U Boerijevu rječniku ovjeren je leksem *cicār* "masticare il tabacco, come alcuni usano fare" (Boerio 1856: 169). Termin je potvrđen u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 42) i na Roveriji: *čikabernica* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 209).

Dagēta, -i, ž. r. — veliki nož. Kod Boerija nalazimo ovjeru *dageta, dagheta* "piccola daga ossia coltello di lama assai lunga" (Boerio 1856: 217). Isti je leksem potvrđen u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 59). U Skokovu je rječniku ovjera *dagēt* i *degēt*: „(Istra, preko Učke; u Kastavštini nepoznato) "veliki kuhinjski nož". Od tal. *daghetta*, deminutiv na *-etta* < vlat. *-itta* od *daga* "spada corta e larga" (Skok 1971: 372).

Fuōrmo, -a, m. r. — kalup za izradu kolačića. Pronašli smo potvrdu u Rosamanijevu rječniku u obliku mletacizma *fōrma* (Rosamani 1999: 394), kao i kod Boerija: *forma, figura* (Boerio 1856: 281). Leksem *fūrma* je zabilježen u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 67), u Pićnu *fōrma* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 33), kao i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 78), a u boljunskim govorima *fuōrma* (Francetić 2015: 58). U Skokovu je rječniku ovjera *fōrma*, uz *fūrma*, u značenju "1 oblik, obličje, pelda, 2 kalup". Skok izvodi termin od lat. > tal. *forma* < gr. μορφή (Skok 1971: 525—526; lat. = latinski; gr. = grčki, S. M. B.).

Fritula, -i, ž. r. — vrsta prženog kolača, obično s grožđicama; vrsta krafne. Ovjeru *frituli* pronašli smo kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 443). Leksem *fritola, fritella* "vivanda nota fritta nella padella con olio o grasso di porco, o burro, o simili", kao opći termin za svako prženo jelo, nalazimo kod Boerija (Boerio 1856: 288) i kod Rosamanija (Rosamani 1999: 406). U Skokovu je rječniku potvrđen oblik *fritula* „od mlet. *fritola* > *fritula* (Božava, Kučište). Upor. istro-rom. *freitula*, furl. *fritule*" (Skok 1971: 531; furl. = furlanski; istro-rom. = istro-romanski, S. M. B.). Leksem je ovjeren u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 66), u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 57), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 79) i u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 34).

Fūži, fūš, m. r. mn. (rijetko u jd.) — vrsta tjestenine koja se pravi tako da se četvrtasti komadić tijesta omota oko štapića ili nečeg sličnog. Termin smo

pronašli i kod Kalsbeek (1998: 444). Od tal. *fusilli* ‘vrsta tjestenine nalik na svrdlo’; podrijetlo od tal. *fuso*, nekoć ‘oruđe za omatanje konca, pređe; kalem’. Leksem je ovjeren kod Boerija, kao kalem za pređu *fuso* “I suo capo si chiama cocca, a sui s’ accoppia il filo acciò torcendosi non isgusci” (Boerio 1856: 292). U Rosamanijevu rječniku nalazimo *fufò*, culin. *macaroni fufi* “pasta da minestra asciutta della forma di fusi” (Rosamani 1999: 414-415). Potvrde nalazimo i u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 58), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 80), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 35) i u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 67).

Golida, -i, ž. r. — omanja drvena ili metalna kada ili posuda za pranje. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 447). Kod Rosamanija nalazimo *goleda* “mastella di legno bassa” (Rosamani 1999: 445), dok kod Boerija ima drugačije značenje: *golèta* “piccolo bastimento da querra ed anche mercantile” (Boerio 1856: 311). Isti je termin zabilježen u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 37) i Boljuni (Francetić 2015: 61). U govoru Medulina ovjeren je leksem *golèda* (Peruško 2010: 72), kao i na Roveriji, uz *golida/guleda/gulida* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 84). U Skokovu su rječniku ovjere *goleda* “drveni sud za vodu” i *golida* (Hrvatsko primorje, Vodice; slov., Dolenjsko, Kras) “maleni sud u koji se ovce muzu ili iz njega piju, drveni sud za mlijeko”. Skok navodi i da se deminutiv tvori na *-ica*: „*gòlidica* (Hrvatsko primorje, Režija), *galida* (Notranjsko)” (Skok 1971: 586).

Gradèla, -i, ž. r. — željezna rešetka za ognjište, roštilj. Leksem *gradèla* ovjeren je kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 449). Boerio je zabilježio mlet. *graèla* “strumento di ferro da cucina notissimo” (Boerio 1856: 313). Kod Rosamanija je ovjera *gradela* “gratella” (Rosamani 1999: 448). U Skokovu rječniku nalazimo *kràta* „Od lat. *cratella* > tal. *gratella*” (Skok 1972: 182). Leksem je očuvan u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 86), u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 74), u pićanskom idiomu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 37) i boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 62).

Gròštuli, gròštul, ž. r., mn. (rijetko u jd.) — vrsta hrskavog prženog kolača, najčešće oblikovana u čvor ili slično. Ovjeren je kod Boerija kao *crostoli, crespelli o zuccherini*, “pasta di farina bianca intrisa con uova e zucchero, tirata a guisa di

vermicelli, ingraticolata insieme e frita nel grasso di porco o nel butirro” (Boerio 1856: 210). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku potvrđen leksem *cròstolo* “pasta tirata fine e in tocchi, frita e venduta con sopra un poco di zùcchero” (Rosamani 1999: 271). Termin je ovjeren u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 88) i u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 75).

Jòta, -i, ž. r. — gusta juha (maneštra) od kupusa i graha. Leksem je potvrđen i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 458). Potvrdu *iota* “ministra maritata (di cappucci àcidi, fagioli e patate, soffritto di òttimo olio casalingo con aglio e due manciate di farina gialla. Può essere anche d’òrzo e fagioli)”, nalazimo kod Rosamanija (Rosamani 1999: 515). Leksem je ovjeren u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 79), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 45), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 102) te u medulinskom govoru (Peruško 2010: 91).

Kadìn, -a, m. r. — lavor, manja posuda za pranje. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 459). Potvrdu smo pronašli kod Rosamanija: *cadin*, “1. catino (per lavarvi le stoviglie), 2. terrina (francesifmo), catino (vassoio dal quale anche i contadini toscani màngiano tutti insieme)” (Rosamani 1999: 139). U Boerijevu je rječniku leksem koji imenuje odvodni kanal: *cadin* “quel canale murato che si fa a traverso de’ campi, a fine di raccorre le acque piovane” (Boerio 1856: 113). Kod Skoka je ovjereno *káda*: „Na rom. deminutivni sufiks *-ellus*: *kadiò*, gen. *kadèla* m (Prčanj, Tivat, Lastva) “Waschtrog, korito za pranje rublja” (Skok 1972: 12; rom. = romanski, S. M. B.). Romanizam je ovjeren u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 94), u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 105), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 45) i u Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 82).

Kadìni, kadìn, ž. r. mn. (rijetko u jd.) — lanci o koje se na ognjištu vješao kotao. U knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek nalazimo leksem *kadìni* (Kalsbeek 1998: 459). Kod Rosamanija smo pronašli potvrdu *cadena* “catena” (Rosamani 1999: 139), a kod Boerija *caèna* i *catena* “catena da fuoco” (Boerio 1856: 113). Ovjere smo pronašli u *Rječniku boljunskih govora* (Francetić 2015: 82), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 45), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 105) i u medulinskom govoru

(Peruško 2010: 94). U Skokovu je rječniku ovjereno *kādēna*, *kadīna*, *kātēna*, od starijeg mletačkog ili furlanskog oblika (Skok 1972: 12).

Kamēla/gamēla, -i, ž. r. — metalna posuda za nošenje hrane/vojnička zdjela. Umanjenica je *kamēlica*. Ovjeru *gamēla* pronašli smo kod Kalsbeek (1998: 444). U Rosamanijevu rječniku nalazimo *gamela* “*gamella, gavetta... Anche camela*” (Rosamani 1999: 151, 421), a termin je ovjeren i kod Boerija (1856: 298). U Medulinu je potvrđena *gamēla* (Peruško 2010: 70), kao i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 81), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 35) i Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 59).

Kantriēga, -i, ž. r. — stolica. Leksem *kantriēga*, uz *kandriēga*, pronađen je kod Kalsbeek (1998: 462). Potvrde nalazimo kod Rosamanija: mlet. *carega*, “*sedia, sèggiola*” (Rosamani 1999: 172) i *cantrida* (str. 163.); te kod Boerija: *carega* “*sedia, seggiola, sedile*” (Boerio 1856: 137). Skokov etimologijski rječnik zabilježio je termin *kàtrida*, od gr. *kathedra* > lat. *cathedra*, što smatra posuđenicom iz dalmato-romanskoga i istro-romanskoga (Skok 1972: 62—63). Isti je leksem potvrđen u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 86). U govorima Roverije nalazimo *kantrida* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 109), u Pićnu *kantriga* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 46), a u Medulinu *kariga* (Peruško 2010: 97).

Karatēla, -i, ž. r. — bačva srednje veličine za vino, pivo ili kupus. Kod Rosamanija i Boerija nalazimo mletacizam *caratel* (Rosamani 1999: 171) i *caratelo* (Boerio 1856: 136). Potvrdu smo pronašli u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 47) te u Boljunu *karatiēl* (Francetić 2015: 87) i Medulinu *karateja* (Peruško 2010: 97). U Skokovu je rječniku također potvrda tog leksema, u značenju “bačvica od 200—300 l”, uz bilješku da vuče podrijetlo od tal. *car(r)atello* (Skok 1972: 49—50).

Kasēla, -i, ž. r. — vrsta spremišta, ormara. Termin je potvrđen kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 463). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjerena *cafela* “*casella (piccolo scompartimento in forma di nicchia)*” (Rosamani 1999: 184). Kod Boerija nalazimo leksem *cassēla* “*parte d’una cassa grande o sia d’un cassettone*” (Boerio 1856: 146). Ovjere smo pronašli u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 47), u boljunskim

govorima (Francetić 2015: 88) i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 112).

Kašetin, -a, m. r. — ladica. Kod Rosamanija nalazimo *cassetin, cassetino* “calto, cassitéin, cassitin, coto 1, scabelin, scafetin, scafeto 1, scansel 2, scanselo, -zel 2” (Rosamani 1999: 186). U Boerijevu je rječniku zabilježeno *cassèta* i *cassetòn* (Boerio 1856: 146). Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 463), u roverskim govorima, uz *škafa* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 268.), u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 98), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 47) i u Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 88).

Kôgoma, -i, ž. r. — posuda za kuhanje kave. Ovjeru *cògoma* “bricco del caffè, del tè (di rame, di porcellana)” nalazimo kod Rosamanija (1999: 227) i Boerija (1856: 177-178). Leksem je potvrđen i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 117), govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 101) te Boljuna u obliku *kògoma* (Francetić 2015: 93). U Skokovu je rječniku ovjera tog leksema u značenju “posuda od latuna, rama, dolje šira, gore uža, za kavu”. Od kslat. > tal. *cucuma, cuccuma* > mlet. *cògoma* nepoznatog postanja (Skok 1972: 120).

Komò, komã, m. r. — ormarić, komoda. Ovjeru smo pronašli kod Boerija u mletacizmu *comò* “cassettone, arnese o masserizzia nota” (Boerio 1856: 183), kao i kod Rosamanija: *comò* “cassettone” iz francuskoga *commode* (Rosamani 1999: 236). Skok navodi da termin dolazi “od furl. *comò/cumò* “cassettone” > *kòmo* m /?/ (Dubrovnik, Račišće) = *komò* m (Božava, Rab) = *kòmò*, gen. *kòma* (Korčula)” (Skok 1972: 134). Romanizam je potvrđen u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 103), Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 50), Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 96) te na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 120).

Konòba, -i, ž. r. — podrum ili prostorija za pripremanje hrane ili vina, najčešće u kući ili njezinoj neposrednoj blizini. Potvrdu nalazimo kod Rosamanija, kao tršćanski *conoba* “cantina” (Rosamani 1999: 242). Termin je ovjeren i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 469) te kod Skoka, u obliku “*kãnava*, od mlet. *càneva, caneveta*, istro-rom. *canuvita* < kslat. *canaba* = *canapa*” (Skok 1972: 32; kslat. = kasnolatinski, S. M. B.). Pronašli smo ovjere u medulinskom govoru (Peruško 2010: 103), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 122), u

boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 98) i u pićanskom idiomu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 51).

Kopić, -a, m. r. — kutljača, palj; umanjenica od *kop*. U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjereno *cóp* “ramaiolo per l’acqua (di rame stagnato con un beccuccio e un lungo mànico di ferro)” (Rosamani 1999: 248). Potvrdu leksema pronašli smo kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 469).

Krdiēnča, -i, ž. r. — kuhinjski ormar. Mletacizam *credenza* “mobile di cucina” nalazimo kod Rosamanija (1999: 262—263) i Boerija: *credenza* “armario nel quale si ripongono a custodia gli arnesi ed avanzi della mensa, ed altre cose ad uso di famiglia” (Boerio 1856: 206). Kod Skoka je zabilježeno: *krèdēnca* “kuhinjski, sobni ormar”. Od tal. *credenza* (16. v.); “armadio” < srlat. *credentia*“. Skok izvodi etimologiju od glagola *crédere* ‘vjerovati’ (Skok 1972: 188). U medulinskom je govoru potvrđena *kredenča* (Peruško 2010: 107), kao i na Roveriji, uz *kredenca* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 128); u Pićnu je ovjerena *krdēnča* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 53), a u Boljunu *krediēnca* (Francetić 2015: 105).

Kunšīerva, -i, ž. r. — pasirana rajčica ili koncentrat rajčice. Kod Rosamanija je ovjerena *conserva* “conserva de pomodoro, de pomi, de sufini (La polpa estratta e trattata in modo che si conservi)” (Rosamani 1999: 243). U Boerijevu rječniku potvrđen je leksem *conserva* “chiamansi i fiori, i frutti ed altre cose confettate nello zucchero o sia nel giulebbe” (Boerio 1856: 189—190). Leksem *konšīerva* “konzerva, pekmez” pronađen je u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 99), a *kunžerva* u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 55). Na Roveriji je zabilježena *konšerva* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 122), a u Medulinu *kunšerva* (Peruško 2010: 110).

Kušēt, -a, m. r. — batac pilećeg ili drugog mesa. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 477). Rosamanijev rječnik ima zabilježeno *cosseto, coscetto*, umanj. od *coscia* (Rosamani 1999: 257), kao i Boerio (1856: 203). Leksem je ovjeren u Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 112), Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 111), Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 56) i na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 136).

Lavandīn, -a, m. r. — umivaonik, sudoper. U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjeren *lavandin, lavandino* (Rosamani 1999: 529). Kod Boerija nalazimo termine *lavaman* i *lavèlo* (Boerio 1856: 363). Ovjere smo pronašli na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 142) i Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 115).

Lavêc, -a, m. r. — posuda za kuhanje, najčešće palente; nekoć kamena posuda za čuvanje maslinova ulja. Kod Kalsbeek je ovjeren leksem *lavècina* (Kalsbeek 1998: 479). Potvrdu nalazimo kod Boerija: *lavèzo* “vaso di pietra viva fatto al tornio, per cuocervi entro la vivanda in cambio di pentola; esso ha il manico come il paiuolo” (Boerio 1856: 363). Leksem je ovjeren u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 115), a u roverskim je govorima *lavīč* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 142) te u Medulinu *lavīc* (Peruško 2010: 115). Kod Skoka je zabilježeno *lavèl* “posuda u kojoj se drži ulje” (Skok 1972: 276).

Lišiera, -i, ž. r. — praonica ili mjesto za pripremu hrane, najčešće izvan kuće. Mletacizam je potvrđen kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 482). Kod Rosamanija nalazimo *lissiera* (Rosamani 1999: 547), kao i kod Boerija: *lissiera* “lavatoio, luogo dove si lava” (Boerio 1856: 373). U Medulinu je ovjeren termin *lušjera* i *lišjera* (Peruško 2010: 117), u Pićnu *lišjera* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 59), a na Roveriji *lušjera* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 147).

Makarūnī, makarūn, m. r. (rijetko u jd.) — vrsta tjestenine. Ovjeru nalazimo kod Kalsbeek (1998: 485). Kod Rosamanija je pronađen primjer *macaron* “culin. maccheroni (nome generico delle paste di varie forme, secondo le regioni, e che si léssano e poi si mângiano condite in vario modo)” (Rosamani 1999: 561). U Boerijevu je rječniku ovjeren leksem *macaròni* “gnocchi, vivanda di paste notissima” (Boerio 1856: 380). U Skokovu rječniku nalazimo potvrdu leksema, s tumačenjem da dolazi od mlet.-furl. *macaron* = tal. *maccherone* (Skok 1972: 359). Na Roveriji je zabilježen isti leksem (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 152), kao i u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 61) i Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 124), dok je u Boljunu zabilježeno *makaruòni* (Francetić 2015: 125).

Manēštra, -i, ž. r. — vrsta guste juhe s povrćem i grahoricama. U Rosamanijevu rječniku potvrđena je *manestra*, uz *ministra* (Rosamani 1999: 583), kao i kod

Boerija (1856: 393). Isti je leksem zabilježen kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 487) te u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 126), roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 154) i Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 62), dok je u Medulinu ovjereno *manēstra* (Peruško 2010: 125). U Skokovu je rječniku zabilježeno *manistra* od lat. > tal. *ministrare* “servirati jelo na stol”, a u značenju “juha, supa” (Skok 1972: 371).

Mariēnda, -i, ž. r. — doručak, užina. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 487). Kod Rosamanija: *marenda* “il primo pasto della mattina e anche il leggero del mezzogiorno, merenda” (Rosamani 1999: 592). Leksem je potvrđen i kod Boerija: *marenda, merenda* (Boerio 1856: 398). I Skok navodi termin *marēnda* “doručak”: „Od lat. > tal. *merenda, merendare*, mlet. *marenda*.“ (Skok 1972: 377). Isti je termin zabilježen u Boljuni (Francetić 2015: 127), dok je u Pićnu *marēnda* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 62), kao i u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 126) i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 154).

Mižuōl, -a, m. r. — čaša, čašica. Potvrda je pronađena u knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 492). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjeren *misol* (Rosamani 1999: 633). U boljunskim je govorima ovjeren isti leksem (Francetić 2015: 132), na Roveriji je zabilježen *mižō* i *mižōlič* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 160), a u Pićnu *mižōl* i *mižōlič* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 65).

Mōštra, -i, ž. r. — lanac na ognjištu. Romanizam je ovjeren kod Rosamanija: *comostre* “catena (del focolare)” (Rosamani 1999: 236). U Skokovu rječniku nalazimo etimologiju: „Dalm.-rom. leksički ostatak (relikt) *camastro*, krčko-rom. *camustre* (...)” (Skok 1972: 25; dalm.-rom. = dalmato-romanski; krčko-rom. = krčko-romanski, S. M. B.). Potvrde smo pronašli: na Roveriji *komōštra* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 120), u Medulinu *komōštre* (Peruško 2010: 103) i u Boljuni *komōštr/komōštar* (Francetić 2015: 96).

Mulēti, muliēt, m. r., mn. (rijetko u jd.) — metalne hvataljke za žar, žarači. Ovjeru leksema pronašli smo u knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 496). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjeren mletacizam *molete* “molle”; “per rattizzare il fuoco” (Rosamani 1999: 639). Isti je leksem osvjedočen kod Boerija, *moleta*

(Boerio 1856: 421). Potvrdu tog leksema smo pronašli u medulinskom govoru (Peruško 2010: 134), u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 165), u govoru Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 67) te u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 136).

Nāpa, -i, ž. r. — otvor iznad ognjišta ili kamina. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 500). Kod Boerija je ovjeren mletacizam *napa* “capanna, ceppo” (Boerio 1856: 436), a kod Rosamanija nalazimo *napa* “nappa del camino” (Rosamani 1999: 671). U Skokovu etimologijskom rječniku ovjeren je termin *nāpa*: „Od lat. *Mappa* punskog (= mediteranskog) podrijetla, s disimilacijom $m - p > n - p$, *nappa* > furl. *nape*, tršč.- mlet. *napa*“ (Skok 1972: 502; tršč. = trščanski, S. M. B.). U rječnicima nailazimo još na potvrde u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 142), u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 145) i u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 171).

Njōki, njuōk, m. r. mn. (rijetko u jd.) — vrsta tjestenine s krumpirom, valjušak. Potvrda u liku *njōk* pronađena je i kod Kalsbeek (1998: 507). Mletacizam *gnoco*, *gnocco* ovjeren je u Rosamanijevu rječniku (Rosamani 1999: 443) te u Boerijevu: “specie di pastume o vivanda grossolana di figura rotonda” (Boerio 1856: 310), a potvrde smo pronašli i u rječnicima istarskih govora (Francetić 2015: 156; Peruško 2010: 152; Ružić Sudčev 1999: 73; Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 181).

Padēla, -i, ž. r. — plitak lonac za kuhanje, najčešće s dugom drškom. Leksem je ovjeren kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 512). U Boerijevu je rječniku potvrđen oblik *paela* “padella, strumento noto di cucina” (Boerio 1856: 461). Potvrdu smo pronašli i u Rosamanijevu rječniku: *padela* “padela; tegame” (Rosamani 1999: 718). U *Etimologijskom rječniku* Petra Skoka stoji da leksem potječe: „Od lat. > tal. *patella*, *padella* (Livorno, Mleci)” (Skok 1972: 584). Termin je ovjeren u roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 189), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 79) i u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 171).

Palēta, -i, ž. r. — željezna lopatica za ugljen. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 513). Kod Rosamanija nalazimo *paleta*, *paletta* “(del focolare)” (Rosamani 1999: 724). U Boerijevu rječniku potvrđena je *palēta* “piccola pala di ferro, e si

dice propr. di quella che si adopera nel focolare” (Boerio 1856: 463). Ovjere smo pronašli i u govorima Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 190) i Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 80).

Peštaduôr, -a, m. r. — veći nož za sjeckanje ili gnječenje slanine, povrća i začina ili pravljenje pešta. Kod Rosamanija je pronađen mletacizam *peštador* (Rosamani 1999: 769), a kod Boerija *pestariol* “quella specie di scure larga di lama, con due manichi di legno, che serve ai pizzicagnoli per tritare le carni porcine da far salsicce” (Boerio 1856: 497). U Skokovu su rječniku ovjere *pèstati* i *peštàti*: „Od tal. *pestore* < lat. *pistare*. (...) Na tal. složeni sufixs *-aruolo* (...) *pestaruolo* > *peštarol* (Istra) “drveni mlat, tučak kojim se tuče meso, slanina”“ (Skok 1972: 645). Termin je potvrđen u Pićnu (*peštador*; Ružić Sudčev 1999: 82), a u roverskim govorima *peštadûr* i *peštarô* znače “kuhinjska daska za rezanje” (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 196), kao i u Boljunu *peštaduôr* (Francetić 2015: 178) i u Medulinu *peštarôla* (Peruško 2010: 172).

Pijâdina, -i, ž. r. — niska zdjela za serviranje hrane. Leksem *pijâda* ovjeren je kod Kalsbeek (1998: 518). Kod Rosamanija je potvrđen mletacizam *piâdina* “vassoio (piatto grande e alquanto fondo in cui si portano le vivande in tavola)” (Rosamani 1999: 775), a kod Boerija je ovjereno *piadena* “Vaso di legno, a guisa di piatto grande ad uso di cucina” (Boerio 1856: 501). Termin smo pronašli i u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 173) i Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 197).

Pinca, -i, ž. r. — vrsta slastice, često s grožđicama, priprema se najčešće za Uskrs. Termin je ovjeren kod Rosamanija u obliku *pinza*, *schiacciata*, *pizza*, *focaccia* (Rosamani 1999: 791). U Boerijevu rječniku potvrđen je isti leksem (Boerio 1856: 511). Skok navodi leksem *pînca*: „Od mlet. *pinza* = furl. *pinze* (...) varijanta s umetnutim *n* od tal. *pizza* (Rim) “focaccia”“ (Skok 1972: 658). Ovaj je mletacizam ovjeren i u rječniku roverskih govora (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 198), u rječniku Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 83) i boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 181).

Piruôn, -a, m. r. — vilica, pribor za jelo. Ovjera leksema pronađena je kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 519). Mletacizam *piron* potvrđen je kod Rosamanija

(1999: 797), kao i kod Boerija: *piron* “piccolo strumento d’argento o altro metallo, con due o tre o quattro rebii detti Punte o Rampini, con qual s’infilzano le vivande per mangiare” (Boerio 1856: 512). Ovjeru pronalazimo i kod Skoka, s napomenom da se termin nalazi u sjevero-talijanskom, furlanskom, tršćanskom i mletačkom, što možda objašnjava njegovu prisutnost u jadranskoj zoni (Skok 1972: 643). Leksem je ovjeren i u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 181), u govoru Roverije *pirûn* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 199), Medulina *pirunić* (Peruško 2010: 175) i Pićna *piròn* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 83).

Pošâda, -i, ž. r. — kuhinjski nož. U knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek potvrđen je taj termin (Kalsbeek 1998: 525), a potvrdu mletacizma *posada* ovjerali smo u Rosamanijevu rječniku (Rosamani 1999: 822), uz *pusada* (Rosamani 1999: 841). U rječniku pićanskih idioma nalazimo *pašòda* (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 81), u rječniku medulinskoga govora *pošâda* (Peruško 2010: 184), u rječniku roverskih govora *pašâda* (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 193), a u boljunskim govorima *pošâda* (Francetić 2015: 195).

Pršût, -a, m. r. — vrsta soljene šunke, stražnje noge svinje. Leksem je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 531). Kod Rosamanija smo pronašli samo *prosciuttella* “prosciuttella (mortadella speciale)” (Rosamani 1999: 832). Romanizam je ovjeren u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 218), u pićanskom idiomu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 93) i u medulinskom govoru (Peruško 2010: 193).

Sûpa, -i, ž. r. — vrsta začinjelog pića od vina, maslinova ulja i zapečenoga kruha. Ovjeru smo pronašli kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 554). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku potvrđeno *sôpa* “zuppa” (Rosamani 1999: 1051), kao i kod Boerija: *sopa, zuppa, suppa* “intriso nel vino o in altro liquore” (Boerio 1856: 674). Termin je potvrđen kod Skoka: „Od sttal. *suppa*, mlet. *supa*, tal. *zuppa* “1° minestra di pane nel brodo, 2° pane intinto nel vino < germ. *suppa*”” (Skok 1973: 363). Ovjere smo pronašli i u rječniku roverskih govora (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 260), u rječniku medulinskoga govora (Peruško 2010: 221), u rječniku pićanskih idioma (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 107) te u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 259).

Šešula, -i, ž. r. — lopatica za brašno. Leksem je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 558). Kod Rosamanija je potvrđen mlet. *sessola, sessolata* (Rosamani 1999: 1010). U Boerijevu je rječniku ovjera *sessola* “specie di pala piccola di legno che serve a cavar l’acqua dal fondo delle piccole barche e as altri usi simili” (Boerio 1856: 649). Leksem je ovjeren u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 226), Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 266), Boljuna (Francetić 2015: 264) i Pična (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 109).

Škabižl, škabèla, m. r. — ormarić s ladicama. Pronašli smo potvrdu termina kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 559). Kod Rosamanija nalazimo *scabel, scabelo* “comodino” (Rosamani 1999: 952), a kod Boerija *scabèlo* “arnese di legno ad uso d’inginocchiarsi, che si tien per lo più presso al letto” (Boerio 1856: 613). Skok navodi da leksem dolazi od tal. *sgabello, scabello*, furl. *scabèl* “comodin”, a to od lat. *scabellum* (Skok 1973: 397). Termin je, uz neke fonološke razlike, potvrđen u pičanskim idiomima (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 110), u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 266), u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 227) i govorima Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 268).

Škaf, -a, m. r. — kameni sudoper. Leksem smo pronašli i kod Kalsbeek (1998: 559). Rosamani je ovjerio mletacizam *scafa*, “acquaio” (Rosamani 1999: 952), kao i Boerio: *scafa* “pila dell’acquaio, propr. quella pietra quadrangolare con risalti intorno ai lati, sulla quale si rigovernano le stoviglie, e i vasi della cucina” (Boerio 1856: 613). Potvrde nalazimo u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 266), u rječniku Pična (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 110) i u rječniku medulinskoga govora u značenju ‘brodsko korito’ (Peruško 2010: 227).

Škancija, -i, ž. r. — kuhinjski ormar s ladicama, za držanje posuđa. Ovaj smo romanizam pronašli i kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 559). Kod Rosamanija je potvrđen mlet. *scansia* “più lavorata di scaffale, può èsser anche a vetri” (Rosamani 1999: 958). Termin je ovjeren kod Skoka, u obliku *škancija*: „Od mlet. *scanzia, scansia*, franačkog podrijetla (franač. *skankjan*)“ (Skok 1973: 255). Potvrde nalazimo u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 227), na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-

Milovan 2014: 268), u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 110) te u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 267).

Škājnj, *-a*, **m. r.** — duga drvena klupa za sjedenje, bez naslona, obično za sjedenje uz ugnjište; **škanjžć**, *-a*, **m. r.** — drvena klupica ili stolčić; tronožac. Janneke Kalsbeek ovjerila je oba termina (Kalsbeek 1998: 560). Kod Rosamanija nalazimo potvrđen mletacizam *scagno* “panchettino, fgabellino, panchina” (Rosamani 1999: 954). U Boerijevu rječniku ovjeren je *scagno*, *scanno*; *sgabello* o *scabello* “arnese di legname sopra il quale si siede; ve n’ha con ispalliera e senza”, kao i umanjenica *scagneto*, “predella o predellino; arnese di legname sul quale si siede, o sedendo si tengono i piedi” (Boerio 1856: 614). U *Etimologijskom rječniku* Petra Skoka potvrđe talijanizam “od sjeverno-tal. i furl. *skañ(o)* < vlat. **scomnium* od *scamnum*, *scagnetto*, furl. *scagnel*” (Skok 1973: 398—399). Oba su termina potvrđena u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 268), u Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 267), Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 110) i na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 268).

Škātula, *-i*, **ž. r.** — kutija. Leksem je pronađen kod Kalsbeek (1998: 560). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjeren mlet. *scatola* (Rosamani 1999: 965), a u Boerijevu rječniku *scatola* “arnese noto e di mille svariate forme, che serve a riporvi le robe.” (Boerio 1856: 622). Termin je potvrđen u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 228), roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 269), Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 110) i Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 267).

Škovaciēra, *-i*, **ž. r.** — lopatica za smeće. Ovaj je mletacizam, *scovazera* “pattumiera”, ovjeren kod Rosamanija (Rosamani 1999: 984). Potvrdu nalazimo kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 560) te u rječniku Medulina (Peruško 2010: 229), Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 270) i Boljuna (Francetić 2015: 268).

Škrtòc, *-a*, **m. r.** — papirnata vrećica. U Rosamanijevu je rječniku potvrđen mletacizam *scartoso*, *scartozo* (Rosamani 1999: 964), a u Boerijevu *scartozzo*, *cartoccio* “recipiente di carta in forma di cono, notissimo” (Boerio 1856: 622). Kod Skoka nalazimo ovjeru u leksemu *škårtoč*, *škartoc*: „[Od tal. *scartozzo* = *scartoccio* „cartoccio“]“ (Skok 1973: 399). Termin *škartoc* je potvrđen na Roveriji

(Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 269), u Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 267) kao i u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 110). U Medulinu je ovjereno *škartoč* (Peruško 2010: 228).

Škudëla, -i, ž. r. — veća zdjela. Termin je potvrđen kod Kalsbeek (1998: 561). Rosamani je u svom rječniku zabilježio mletacizam *scodela, scudela, scuella* “tazza” (Rosamani 1999: 976). Kod Boerija je zabilježeno *scuella* “vaseto cupo, usato per lo più a mettervi dentro minestre” (Boerio 1856: 637). Leksem je potvrđen na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 272), u Boljunu (Francetić 2015: 269) te u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 111).

Špalëta, -i, ž. r. — vrsta sušene ili dimljene svinjske plečke. U knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek ovjeren je leksem *špalëti* (Kalsbeek 1998: 562). U Rosamanijevu rječniku ovjereno je *spaleta* “macell. spalla (di agnello, di maiale)” (Rosamani 1999: 1061), a isti je termin zabilježen i kod Boerija (Boerio 1856: 682). Leksem je potvrđen u rječniku medulinskoga govora (Peruško 2010: 231) te u rječniku roverskih govora (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 273).

Štanjâda, -i, ž. r. — kotao, veliki lonac. Kod Rosamanija je ovjereno *stagnada* “paiolo, calderotto” (Rosamani 1999: 1086). U rječniku roverskih govora nalazimo potvrdu ovog leksema (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 276), kao i u medulinskome rječniku (Peruško 2010: 232) i rječniku pićanskih idioma (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 114).

Štikadënat, štikadiënta, m. r. — čačkalica. U Rosamanijevu su rječniku pronađeni ovi primjeri: *stecadenti, stecchino, stuzzicadenti, steccadenti* (Rosamani 1999: 1091). Kod Boerija je zabilježen leksem *stecadenti* (Boerio 1856: 702). Termin je ovjeren u boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 274), u Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 233) i na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 276).

Štrâca, -i, ž. r. — kuhinjska krpa. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 564). Kod Boerija je potvrđen mletacizam *strazza, straccio* “cencio di panolino o altra roba consumata o stracciata” (Boerio 1856: 713). U Rosamanijevu je rječniku ovjera *strasa* (Rosamani 1999: 1103). Potvrdu leksema nalazimo u rječniku govora Medulina (Peruško 2010: 233), rječniku govora Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan

2014: 277), rječniku pićanskih govora (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 115) te u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 275).

Štrafanić, -a, m. r. — maramica, krpica. Ovjeru nalazimo kod Rosamanija: *strafancio* “rimbrénciolo, ciarpa” (Rosamani 1999: 1099). U govoru Medulina potvrđen je isti leksem (Peruško 2010: 233).

Šugamân, -a, m. r. — ručnik, krpa za brisanje. Termin je potvrđen kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 565). Leksem *sugaman* je potvrđen kod Rosamanija (1999: 1119), kao i kod Boerija (1856: 722). Kod Skoka je ovjera: „Ovamo ide i tal. imperativna složenica *asciugamano*, mlet. *sugamân*“ (Skok 1973: 421). Ovjere smo pronašli u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 277), rječniku Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 279) i rječniku Medulina (Peruško 2010: 235).

Tavèla, -i, ž. r. — ploče na ognjištu. Leksem *tavèla* ovjeren je kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 567). Kod Rosamanija je potvrđen leksem *tavela* “sorta di mattone piuttosto sottile” (Rosamani 1999: 1142). U Boerijevu rječniku *tavela* je “pietra cotta di figura quadrilunga con cui si ammattonano i pavimenti” (Boerio 1856: 738). Ovjere termina pronašli smo u govoru Medulina (Peruško 2010: 239), boljunskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 282), roverskim govorima (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 285) i pićanskim govorima (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 117).

Terîna, -i, ž. r. — keramička zdjela za juhu ili salatu. Ovjera je pronađena kod Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 568). U Rosamanijevu rječniku ovjeren je termin *terina* “zuppiera” (Rosamani 1999: 1148—1149). Potvrde nalazimo i u govoru Pićna (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 118) te na Roveriji (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 286). Skok bilježi talijanizam *terîna* od mlet. *terina* (Skok 1973: 461).

Trapîje, trapîj, ž. r. mn. (rijetko u jd.). — željezni tronožac; podložak za kuhanje na ognjištu. U Rosamanijevu je rječniku mletacizam *trepiè* “treppiede, -piedi” (Rosamani 1999: 1175). Kod Boerija nalazimo *trepiè, treppiede* “strumento triangolare di ferro con tre piedi, per uso di cucina o di mensa” (Boerio 1856: 766). Termin je potvrđen i kod Skoka, u obliku *trepîlja*, kao ostatak od lat. *tripes*, vjerojatno iz istroromanskoga ili starotalijanskoga *treppiè* (Skok 1973:

497). Leksem je ovjeren u govorima Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 292) i Medulina (Peruško 2010: 245).

Tuōndiċ, -a, m. r. — mali okrugli tanjur. Leksem je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 572). Termin *tōndo* (u značenju ‘okrugao, kružnog oblika’) ovjeren je kod Rosamanija (1999: 1163), kao i kod Boerija, uz lik *tōndolo* “figura ritonda o tonda” (Boerio 1856: 755). Skok je zabilježio leksem *tūnd* u značenju ‘okrugao’: „Od tal. *tondo* < *ritondo* “okrugao” (Skok 1973: 480). Potvrdu lika *tōndo* pronašli smo u pićanskim govorima (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 119), Medulinu (Peruško 2010: 241) i govorima Roverije (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 288), a *tuōndiċ* “mali plitki tanjur” u boljuskim govorima (Francetić 2015: 290).

Vāš, -a, m. r. — vaza, lonac za cvijeće. Ovaj leksem nalazimo i kod Kalsbeek (1998: 580). Mletacizam *vaso* ovjeren je i kod Boerija (Boerio 1856: 780) i kod Rosamanija (Rosamani 1999: 1203). Potvrdu nalazimo i u Skokovu rječniku: „Od tal. *vaso* < lat. *vasum*, od *vas*“ (Skok 1973: 568). U rječnicima istarskih govora potvrđen je isti leksem (Peruško 2010: 254; Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 310; Francetić 2015: 302).

Vāška, -i, ž. r. — praonik, kamenica, kada izdubljena u kamenu. Potvrdu smo pronašli u knjizi Janneke Kalsbeek (1998: 580). Ovjeren u Rosamanijevu rječniku kao mletacizam u značenju: 1. *vasca*; 2. *vasca* da bagno detta tinozza (Rosamani 1999: 1203); kao i u Boerijevu: *vasca o tazza* “ricetto murato dell’acqua delle fontane” (Boerio 1856: 780). Ovaj je romanizam potvrđen i u Medulinu kao ‘veća posuda, kada za pranje’ (Peruško 2010: 254), kao i u roverskim govorima, u dvama značenjima, kao ‘kamena posuda iz koje pije stoka’ i ‘kada za kupanje’ (Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 310). U boljuskim je govorima termin ovjeren u značenju “kada (za vodu)” (Francetić 2015: 302), slično kao i u Pićnu (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 125).

Vetrīna, -i, ž. r. — vrsta ostakljenog ormarića u kuhinji. Termin je ovjeren kod Kalsbeek (1998: 582). Leksem *vitrina* “armadio da cucina, credenza a vetri” potvrđen je u Rosamanijevu rječniku (1999: 1231). U Skokovu rječniku nalazimo potvrdu *vetrīna*: „Od tal. *vetrina*, poimeničen pridjev na lat. -

inus od *vītrum* “staklo” > tal. *vetro*“ (Skok 1973: 583). Ovjeru smo pronašli u rječniku boljunskih govora (Francetić 2015: 304), rječniku pićanskih idioma (Ružić Sudčev 1999: 126) i rječniku roverskih govora (*vitrīna*; Kalčić-Filipi-Milovan 2014: 314).

4 Zaključak

Analiza građe prikupljene terenskim istraživanjem dokazala je velik broj romanizama u kuhinjskome nazivlju u govoru žminjskih Orbanića. Statističkom je analizom utvrđeno da je ipak najviše pronađenih romanizama mletačkoga podrijetla, što ne čudi s obzirom na kulturni, ekonomski i politički utjecaj Venecije u Istri kroz više stoljeća. Ipak, zanimljivo je da je u kuhinjskome nazivlju prisutan velik broj romanizama usprkos tomu što su Žminj i okolica duži period vremena pripadali Austriji, a tek vrlo kratko Veneciji. Bilježenjem i analizom tih romanizama nastojali smo utvrditi koliki je bio utjecaj Venecije na kulinarsku tradiciju u žminjskim Orbanićima, u jednom od autohtonih sjevernočakavskih govora, kao dopunu sadašnjim i budućim istraživanjima tog idioma.

Tijekom ispitivanja, uvidjeli smo da ispitanice poznaju navedene romanizme, no nisu osvijestile da je riječ o leksemima romanskog podrijetla jer ih svakodnevno koriste kao dio svoga materinskog idioma. Također, istraživanje je pokazalo da je većina romanizama koje je zapisala i Janneke Kalsbeek još uvijek u uporabi te da većina tih leksema postoji i u drugim istarskim idiomima.

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Bilješke

1 Usp. Pliško, L. 2016.

2 Usp. Filipi, G. 2005.

3 Upitnik je sastavljen po uzoru na upitnik iz hrvatsko-talijanskoga Istriotskog lingvističkog atlasa – Atlante linguistico istrioto (Filipi, Buršić-Giudici: 1998, 201-231 i 249-261).

4 Ovom prilikom toplo zahvaljujem obavjesnicama Mariji Živolić i Milki Bančić na velikodušnoj suradnji i gostoprinstvu.

5 U popisu natuknica držali smo se abecednog poretka, no uzevši u obzir glasove od kojih su diftonzi nastali.

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EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR*

Cecilia Odé (Part I and II) & Dejan Matić (Part II)

Introduction

Tundra Yukaghir (henceforth TY) is an almost extinct Paleo-Siberian language spoken by a people with the same name in the far Northeast of the Sacha Republic (Russian Federation) between the Lower Indigirka and Lower Kolyma rivers in the Nižnekolymskij ulus. There are approximately seven hundred TY people, about sixty of whom are native speaker, but only a few of them are fluent in all skills. Together with Kolyma Yukaghir, with three speakers even more moribund than TY, the TY language constitutes the Yukaghir language family (Nikolaeva & Chelimskij, 1997: 155). Though the two languages are related, speakers do not understand each other. The TY live mainly in the villages of Andrjuškino and Čerskij. Most TY's are bilingual in Russian and/or Yakut, and often also speak another language of the region: Čukči, Even or Evenki. Publications on the TY language are, among others, Krejnovič (1958, 1968, 1982), Kurilov (2001, 2006) Maslova (2001, 2003), Matic (2014), Nikolaeva (2006), and Schmalz (2012, 2013). Besides linguistic fieldnotes by Jochelson (1905), Krejnovič was the first to write a full description of both Yukaghir languages. Krejnovič did his fieldwork in Siberian camps, to which he was exiled and later during linguistic expeditions (Roon & Sirina 2003).

In Part I the issue of vowel length in TY is discussed. The linguistic material for this study is an illustrated text by native speaker Maria Kurilova on TY clothing, recorded on video in 2009. With her permission, in Part II of this article the original and full text with pictures is presented in a romanized transliteration with glosses, and in English translation, together with the metadata of the videorecording.

PART I – CECILIA ODÉ

TY vowels

Table 1 shows the TY vowel phonemes. Long vowels are indicated by diacritic ‘:’. TY native speakers write long vowels as *aa*, *ee* etc. In the table, phonetic realizations of some vowel phonemes are added in square brackets.

	front	central	back
close	i i:		u u:
close-mid			o o: [uo]
mid	ö [œ, ɔ] ö: [uö]		
open-mid	e [ɛ] e: [ɛ: iɛ]		
open		a a:	

There are no specific problems in defining the vowel quality of vowel phonemes, except for phoneme /*ö*/, a mid rounded vowel often pronounced as [œ] or [ɔ]. This vowel does not occur so frequently as the other vowels and in Jochelson’s study of 1905 it is not described at all. An extensive study on this phoneme with its large variety in pronunciation has been published in Odé (2012). Vowel /*ö*/ occurs only word-initially and after k, l, m, p, s and approximant j. Long vowels are distinguished by all authors mentioned in the introduction who have presented vowel phoneme charts in their publications.

Diphthongs do not occur in these charts if they are considered non-phonemic. There is no phonological difference between long vowels and diphthongs. All diphthongs in TY are falling diphthongs and they occur before consonants. I follow Nikolaeva (2006: 30) and consider diphthongs to be free variants of long vowels. Diphthongs are defined here as long vowels having two different targets, whereas long vowels have two identical targets (see e.g. Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 321). However, in his dictionary, Kurilov (2001) distinguishes between o: and uo, and ee and ie, and may use both spellings. For example, after uvular voiceless stop /q/ long vowel /o:/ hardly ever occurs, it is always ‘uo’ as, for example, in *quodi:r* ‘why’. If a TY text has been transcribed by another native speaker than G.N. Kurilov, three possible spellings must be checked to find such a

word: o:, uo and u:. The same problem exists with long vs short vowels. So for words in transcribed texts written with graphemes o, u, o:, uo or u:, one of the five possible renditions may be the one you will find in the dictionary. Even closely related words or compounds may occur in different spellings. This holds true for all long and short vowels. For example, in Kurilov's dictionary, the orthography for *pa:jpě* 'woman' is with short vowel /a/ *pajpě*. However, obviously related *pa:d'ěduo* 'girl, daughter' and *pa:děduoka:n* 'little girl' are written in his dictionary with a long vowel. It is not likely that /a/ would become a long vowel in compounds as this has not been observed in TY, at least to my knowledge. When I confronted Kurilov with such inconsistencies, he told me that he is not a phonetician.

Segmental phonetics of TY have never been seriously studied, let alone experimentally verified. TY orthography may be very confusing to linguists, but note that native speakers don't have difficulties as far as the perception or writing of short vs long vowels vs diphthongs is concerned: they, so to speak, write them as they hear them, "so what is the problem?" Except for a few TY writers and teachers of the TY language, native speakers hardly ever write anything in their mother tongue, and even more seldom do they read out aloud a written text.

TY short and long vowels

According to Krejnovič there are short and long vowels in TY: *glasnye mogut byt' dolgimi* 'vowels can be long' (1958: 9) but he does not describe long and short vowels as a phonemic opposition. In his later study he mentions that vowel length *podležit ešče issledovaniju* 'has to be further investigated' (Krejnovič 1982: 10). To her chart of TY vowel phonemes, Maslova (2003: 3) adds that each vowel has a long counterpart without mentioning whether this counterpart is phonemic. Nikolaeva (2006: 29) presents short and long vowels in a chart as phonemes but these are not discussed any further. Kurilov describes 12 vowel phonemes: short a, e, i, o, ö, u, long a:, i:, o:, u: and diphthongs ie and uo (2006: 35).

To my knowledge there are no experimental phonetic studies on vowels in TY. The only work on TY vowel phonemes is by Turkin, who distinguishes between the same 12 phonemes as Kurilov (Kurilov 2006: 35; Turkin 1986: 69).

According to Turkin the difference between short and long vowels is confirmed in the minimal pair *waj* ‘to pull’ and *wa:j* ‘stream’. However, in Kurilov’s dictionary that verb is spelled with a long vowel: *wa:j* ‘to pull’ (the adverb *wa:j* means ‘again’), while the word for ‘stream’ is *wa:jl*. In his article on the articulation of TY vowels, Turkin states that there is no qualitative difference between short and long vowels (Turkin 1984: 79). Nevertheless, in the perception of /a/ vs /a:/, a difference in vowel quality can sometimes be found between short /a/ in open vs closed syllables. For example, in *ama*: ‘father’, the vowel quality in both syllables is the same, viz. an open vowel [a], whereas in *amdur* ‘quickly’ /a/ in the closed syllable is sometimes pronounced as closed vowel [ɐ] and thus differs perceptually from short [a] and [a:] in *ama*:. This difference can be established by measuring the formant frequencies of both pronunciations of /a/ and /a:/ in different syllable positions. In my opinion, this difference in pronunciation is not phonemic and will not be discussed any further in this article.

A problem is the varying pronunciation of TY vowels due to the interference between TY and the languages spoken in the area where the TY live. For example, there is no vowel reduction in TY, as in Russian, where e.g. the vowel phoneme /o/ is qualitatively reduced in non-stressed positions and pronounced as [ɐ] or [ə] in pretonic syllables and [ə] in posttonic syllables. This reduction can frequently be observed in the speech of TY who are all bilinguals. Therefore, during fieldwork, before starting a soundrecording, I always invited some extra native speakers and let them chat among each other or, if other TY were not around, I asked them to tell a story about themselves or read a TY text for as long as necessary, that is, until I hardly heard any Russian or Yakut words anymore in their speech, and until their pronunciation and intonation did not sound Russian or Yakut anymore (Odé 2011). Furthermore, native speakers now living mainly in a single area are originally from different settlements on the tundra and they may speak, as they say, a dialectal variant, which complicates making a description of a single TY vowel system.

Native speakers of TY, especially those who have studied their mother tongue in more detail, have more than once reported to me that in writing, long vowels are often neglected, especially if they do not occur at a prosodic boundary. A

prosodic boundary is a clearly perceptible break in speech, for example, utterance-final or before a pause. Utterance-final vowel length is perceived more clearly than utterance-internal, but it is also suspect, as vowel lengthening often occurs when the utterance-final vowel is a short vowel. This perception may lead native speakers to writing a long vowel where vowel lengthening of a short vowel occurs, and to writing a short vowel where utterance-internally a shortened long vowel occurs.

The first question is whether long vowels are phonemic, as is assumed by all authors who distinguish between them since they are clearly perceptible, but without presenting experimental evidence for there being such an opposition between short and long vowels. The next question is whether vowels are lengthened in prominent positions, or whether prominence is perceived because the vowel is a long vowel phoneme. This last question will not be answered in this article as it requires further research.

Minimal pairs of short vs long vowels are found to exist but they are not very frequent. Examples are *aji* ‘to.shoot’ vs *aji:* ‘to.offend’ *maruol* ‘to.be.dressed’ vs *ma:ruol* ‘happiness’; *malaa* ‘come on’ vs *maalaa-* ‘to watch with curiosity’; *para* ‘basis’ vs *paraa* ‘maximum sledge load for two reindeer’; *idié-* ‘to.forbid’ vs *iidié* ‘aunt’; *kukul* ‘devil’ vs *kukuul* ‘sleeping.bag’. When I was happy to find another minimal pair, namely *kisè-* vs *ki:sè-* ‘to.show’ I found that the verbs have the same meaning, they appear with /i/ and /i:/ in the dictionary. Unfortunately, more such inconsistencies occur in the dictionary.

The text from which examples are taken for the present analysis is very useful because many words occur repeatedly in different positions in the utterances. The description of Yukaghir clothing by native speaker Maria Kurilova is spontaneous and at a normal speech rate while she was showing the different parts of her clothing. For the analysis vowels are taken that have been written as long vowels by the native speakers who transcribed and corrected the text (see Metadata in Part II). As it is beyond the scope of the present article to analyse all vowels and diphthongs, only seven words with varying occurrences of /a/ vs /a:/ and /i/ vs /i:/ are analysed. The analysis has been carried out using *Praat, doing phonetics by computer* (Boersma & Weenink, 2016).

Vowel length in three words with /a:/, one word with /a/, two words with /i:/ and one word with /i/ is measured in different positions of the utterance. The durations are presented in tables 2-8 below with an indication of the position in the utterance. “At a boundary” means that the transcribers have put a comma into the text, or that a clear intonation contour marked a boundary, which will not be discussed any further in this article. The text number refers to the number of the utterance in the glossed text in Part II from which it was taken.

Measuring vowel length

In *Praat* the word to be measured was first selected from the recorded utterance. Then, by observing the oscillogram and the spectrogram, and by listening to the selected syllable, the duration of the vowel was established through defining the beginning and the end of the vowel. As most vowels occur before or after an approximant or a nasal or both, it is not possible to isolate the vowel from its adjacent consonants. So the beginning and end points are established by carefully listening to the syllable, ensuring that the end of a preceding or the beginning of a following syllable are not part of the measured duration. It was not possible to measure isolated vowels for the reasons just mentioned, and certainly, this recording from a video registration with surrounding sounds like the ringing bells on the clothing and with the speaker moving about did not lend itself for this as the sound quality was not the best possible for this kind of analysis. Yet I believe that the durations as listed in tables 2-8 below are acceptable. For example, approximant /j/ as in monosyllable *wa:j* ‘again’ and in *pa:jpé* ‘woman’ contributes to the sensation of the perceived long /a:/. Nevertheless the measurements give some indication towards an answer to the main question of the analysis: does the TY language have short and long vowel phonemes?

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

Table 2. Durations for /a:/ in initial syllable *pa:j*-(-) in *pa:jpè* ‘woman’.

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	210	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	003	utterance-internal
02	194	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	004	utterance-internal
03	202	<i>pa:jpè</i>	010	before a pause
04	209	<i>pa:jpèpul</i>	010	utterance-final
05	193	<i>pa:j...</i>	013	utterance-internal
06	245	<i>pa:jpè</i>	013	before a pause
07	235	<i>pa:jpèl'éhanè</i>	014	utterance-final
08	206	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	026	utterance-internal
09	178	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	026	utterance-internal
10	174	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	026	utterance-internal
11	222	<i>pa:jpèjoll'èlk</i>	051	utterance-internal
12	175	<i>pa:jpèll'èda</i>	052	utterance-internal
13	170	<i>pa:jpèll'è</i>	053	utterance-internal
14	179	<i>pa:jpèll'èha</i>	054	utterance-internal
15	207	<i>pa:jpèll'è</i>	056	before a pause
16	182	<i>pa:jpè</i>	056	utterance-final

Table 3. Durations for /a:/ in monosyllable *wa:j* ‘again’.

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	275	<i>wa:j</i>	031	before a pause
02	207	<i>wa:j</i>	031	utterance-internal
03	202	<i>wa:j</i>	033	utterance-internal
04	203	<i>wa:j</i>	033	utterance-internal
05	220	<i>wa:j</i>	036	utterance-internal
06	234	<i>wa:j</i>	040	utterance-internal
07	311	<i>wa:j</i>	040	utterance-final
08	331	<i>wa:j</i>	044	before a pause
09	205	<i>wa:j</i>	045	utterance-internal

10	221	<i>wa:j</i>	045	utterance-internal
11	184	<i>wa:j</i>	047	utterance-internal
12	148	<i>wa:j</i>	047	utterance-internal
13	202	<i>wa:j</i>	052	utterance-internal

Table 4. Durations for /a:/ in final syllable (-)–*ŋa* (3pl) in verbs with the form hab-tr.3pl: *i:riɛnun-* ‘to.tie’, sew; *wiɛnun-* ‘to.make’; *oŋiɛnun-* ‘to.wear’; *oŋunun-* ‘to.dress’; *nimɛləsun-* ‘to.decorate’ (three realizations of *wiɛnunŋa:* in 009, 024, 036 and *oŋununŋa:* in 057 could not be measured on account of the weak quality of the sound or the ringing bells on the clothing).

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	259	<i>i:riɛnunŋa:</i>	007	utterance-final
02	337	<i>wiɛnunŋa:</i>	009	before a pause
03	215	<i>i:riɛnunŋa:</i>	010	utterance-internal
04	281	<i>oŋiɛnunŋa:</i>	011	utterance-final
05	234	<i>i:riɛnunŋa:</i>	012	at a boundary
06	220	<i>i:riɛnunŋa:</i>	013	utterance-final
07	225	<i>wiɛnunŋa:</i>	014	utterance-internal
08	172	<i>wiɛnunŋa:</i>	015	utterance-internal
09	265	<i>oŋiɛnunŋa:</i>	019	utterance-final
10	284	<i>nimɛləsunŋa:</i>	020	at a boundary
11	199	<i>wiɛnunŋa:</i>	021	utterance-internal
12	184	<i>i:riɛnunŋa:</i>	021	utterance-final
13	193	<i>nimɛləsunŋa:</i>	023	utterance-final
14	195	<i>i:riɛnunŋa:</i>	038	utterance-final
15	229	<i>oŋiɛnunŋa:</i>	044	utterance-internal
16	192	<i>wiɛnunŋa:</i>	046	utterance-internal
17	212	<i>oŋiɛnunŋa:</i>	051	utterance-final
18	159	<i>oŋiɛnunŋa:</i>	055	utterance-internal
19	212	<i>oŋiɛnunŋa:</i>	055	utterance-final
20	174	<i>oŋununŋa:</i>	056	utterance-internal

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

Table 5. Durations for /a/ in the first three syllables of *jadarqa(-)* ‘bead’ (note that /a/ in the second and third syllables in utterances 006 and in the third syllable in 033 were pronounced so weakly that they could not be measured, for the same reason *jadarqa* in utterance 054 could not be analysed).

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	107 (first syllable)	<i>jadarqapul</i>	006	utterance-internal
02	113, 110	<i>jadar...</i>	014	utterance-internal
03	102, 90, 103	<i>jadarqalèk</i>	014	before a pause
04	95, 115, 76	<i>jadarqalèk</i>	015	utterance-internal
05	83, 114 (first two syllables)	<i>jadarqa</i>	033	utterance-internal
06	97, 71, 102	<i>jadarqa</i>	034	utterance-internal
07	128, 95, 74	<i>jadarqa</i>	046	utterance-internal

Table 6. Durations for /i/ in the initial syllable of *tité* ‘so’. In text nos 032, 047, 048 and 057 /i/ in *tité* could not in all occurrences be measured because of bells or other noises.

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	62	<i>tité</i>	008	utterance-initial
02	111	<i>tité</i>	011	utterance-internal
03	82	<i>tité</i>	012	utterance-internal
04	108	<i>tité</i>	012	utterance-final
05	85	<i>tité</i>	016	utterance-internal
06	110	<i>tité</i>	024	utterance-internal
07	90	<i>tité</i>	026	utterance-internal
08	75	<i>tité</i>	036	utterance-internal
09	103	<i>tité</i>	037	utterance-initial
10	91	<i>tité</i>	046	utterance-internal
11	103	<i>tité</i>	047	at a boundary
12	84	<i>tité</i>	047	utterance-internal

13	87	<i>tité</i>	048	utterance-internal
14	51	<i>tité</i>	052	utterance-internal
15	96	<i>tité</i>	055	utterance-internal
16	78	<i>tité</i>	056	utterance-internal
17	91	<i>tité</i>	057	utterance-internal

Table 7. Durations for /i:/ in the initial syllable of *i:rié(-)* ‘to.tie, to.sew’.

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	173	<i>i:riénunuj</i>	004	before a pause
02	186	<i>i:riénunŋa:</i>	007	utterance-final
03	181	<i>i:riénunŋa:</i>	010	utterance-internal
04	183	<i>i:riénunŋa:</i>	012	at a boundary
05	187	<i>i:riénunŋa:</i>	013	utterance-final
06	174	<i>i:riénunŋa:</i>	021	utterance-final
07	203	<i>i:riélék</i>	036	before a pause
08	193	<i>i:riénunŋa:</i>	038	utterance-final

Table 8. Durations for /i:/ in *sökči:(-)* ‘suede.strip’.

no.	milliseconds	word	text no.	position in the utterance
01	208	<i>sökči:lék</i>	029	before a pause
02	173	<i>sökči:</i>	029	before a pause
03	92	<i>sökči:rèŋ</i>	029	utterance-internal
04	271	<i>sökči:</i>	029	before a pause
05	187	<i>sökči:</i>	035	utterance-internal
06	134	<i>sökči:rèŋ</i>	035	before a pause
07	132	<i>sökči:lék</i>	045	utterance-internal
08	147	<i>sökči:</i>	046	utterance-internal
09	88	<i>sökči:rélék</i>	046	utterance-internal

Conclusions and Discussion

The measurements show that there is a difference in duration between short and long vowels. However, vowel length reduction can be observed in realizations of long vowels if the syllable in which they occur is followed by one or more morphemes, or if the word occurs utterance-internal. For example, in *sökči:rénj* and *sökči:rèlèk*, /i:/ (nos 3 and 9) is much shorter than in *sökči:*. Here /i:/ is followed by one and by two morphemes, respectively. In *sökči:* without following morphemes and before a prosodic pause, the vowel length is, as expected for long vowels, much longer (nos 1, 2, 4 and 5). Initial long vowel /i:/ in *i:riè-* and final long vowel /a:/ in verbs with 3PL ending *-ŋa:* have in the realizations at a boundary or utterance-final a somewhat longer duration. Differences in durations in *wa:j*, although all long, can be explained by their position in the utterance: not surprisingly, utterance-internal /a:/ is less long than at a boundary or utterance-final.

In pilot perception experiments on vowel length in syllables in accented and unaccented position and in isolation, described in e.g. Odé (2014), it was found that long vowels are from one and a half to three, sometimes even five times longer than short vowels. Though that pilot in a controlled experiment and the measurements in the present text in spontaneous speech show a difference between long and short vowels, in my opinion the problem of the status of vowel length in TY has not yet been satisfactorily solved. If native speakers report that they have so little difficulty in perceiving vowel length without any confusion, and say they write vowels as they hear them, which they certainly do not always do consistently in same words, then, is vowel length in TY phonemic? As mentioned earlier, it is a valid question whether or not vowels are lengthened in prominent positions, or that prominence is perceived because the vowel is long. This is also not without its problems, since syllables with long vowels are not always prominent, as for example in final *-ŋa:*. In other words, what can be said about prominence in words with long vowels, in words with more than one long vowel, and in words without long vowels? Native speakers reported to me that long vowels are stressed vowels, and that words without long vowels do not have stress. This problem has not yet been solved either.

For the time being, I consider vowel length in TY to be phonemic, as there is too much evidence from my earlier experiments and measurements. Word and utterance prosody in TY, particularly word stress and intonation, is at present my main research topic.

PART II – DEJAN MATIĆ & CECILIA ODÉ

For the convenience of the reader, the original text in Tundra Yukaghir with the illustrated English translation is first presented without glosses. In the transliteration TY consonant h represents uvular voiced fricative ɣ.

Wadun maqil

Mét... mit sukun oŋjérɛŋ tɛn kériéjɛŋ, tɛn id'ie tɛn mo... moŋo juösét. Mit moŋo tɛn *malaqa:j* monnunji wa:waçéd-aru:lék, tɛn nimélɛgi mit moŋo, tɛn pa:jpɛn moŋok. Tigin taŋ pa:jpɛn moŋo tɛn jɛwlið'é sawa... sawahat i:riɛnunuj, ta:t tɛn'i nimélɛsunuj: tɛn'indɛ nimélɛstɛj, tɛn jɛ...jɛ... l'élɛk, bu sukun n'amu... n'amuçénd'ɛrukundɛ quodɛ band'é sukun l'ɛ... l'édɛlɛk, nimélɛstɛŋ, wiɛnunuj, ta:t l'ie igijɛs... igijɛn'... tɛj. Taŋn'ɛ, moŋo nimélɛgi... nimélɛgi, jadarqapul éçé... Moŋon nimélɛgi, *anda:tara*, quodɛ band'é... l'ɛŋ... jédɛjl...délɛk i:riɛnunŋa:. Titɛ band'é rukunɛk wiɛ... atwiɛna:nul. Tan kõnmɛ č'i: tuŋ jɛwlið'ɛn kédɛldɛlɛk wiɛnunŋa:, ta:t kinha nɛmɛ l'édɛlɛk, wiɛnunŋa:. Ta:t tan pa:jpɛ oŋjérɛ, tɛn taŋudɛŋ i:riɛnunŋa:, pa:jpɛpul. Tɛn kɛjpɛ... pul titɛ oŋjɛnunŋa:. Tɛn, titɛ tɛn i:riɛnunŋa:, kɛjpɛpul, titɛ. Pa:j... pa:jpɛ taŋudɛŋ i:riɛnunŋa:. Tɛn jadar... jadarqalɛk wiɛnunŋa:, tɛn tɛn'in pa:jpl'ɛhanɛ. Tan kɛj... kɛjpɛpl'é, mm... tɛlɛ... jadarqalɛk ɛlwiɛnunŋu, tuŋ... tɛn tittɛl sukun... mm... sukunɛk wiɛnunŋa: tuŋ nimélɛdɛhanɛ. Juöhatɛŋ... tɛn mit moŋo tɛn titɛ bannuni.

Id'ie tɛn sawdahil' ... sawdahilɛŋ, tɛn ma... mahil tuduru:lgi. Tuŋunhanɛ çamu solhad'ilpɛlha, solhad'ilpɛlha ɛwrɛr oŋjɛnunŋa:. Nimélɛsunŋa:, tɛn... l'élɛk wiɛr... séwrɛrɛŋ, i... igijɛpul...n'ɛj. Ta... tada:t tɛn... tuŋn'édɛhanɛ mɛt tɛn tɛn wa:... wa:jnurɛŋ wiɛ... wiɛrɛŋ, wiɛnunŋa:, tɛn... mm... quodɛ band'é l'ie jédɛjdɛlɛk, i:riɛnunŋa:. Tɛn mɛt jédɛjl *anda:tara* mɛ toron'ɛj, sukun, l'ɛŋ, nimélɛnd'é sukun.

Tèn mè albèwrédèhan nimélésunja:. Tèn sukun tèn tèn titè niméléstèj, wiènunja:. Tèn titèk taŋn'él.

Tada:t pa:jpèn pö... mit... n'ujurukun: pa:jpèn n'ujurukun jawnèr, tan pa:jpèn n'uju... n'ujurukun titè ŋolnuni, nimélé, jawnèr nimélé ŋolnuni. L'èŋ... *Vot*... kinha nèmè jédéldélék. Sökçiélék... sökçi:... sökçirèŋ n'iwien sukunék niméléstèj, tèn n'amučènd'è rukun...mm... tèn toron'èj rukun sökçi:, qomon'èj rukun. Tèn čuopul, tida:l'è čuopul. Tada:t tèn albèwrédahan wa:j tan sawda... sawdahil' ditè... ditèl'uo bani, sawdahil' wa:j titè bani. Tan titè. N'ujurukun wa:j, tan niméléstèj wa:j, tèn tuŋ könméld'è tèn jadarqa ŋolnuni tèn'i. Könmè či:ll'è, tèn'in jadarqa ŋolnuni. Tada:t sökçi:... sökçirèŋ l'ienunŋi. Ta:t l'èr toron'èj... toron'èj sukun, l'élék, pugučènd'è *sa:plék* mèt i:riélék, tèn titè band'è l'élék, kinha nèmè jédéjdelék, wa:j wiènunja:. Titè bani. Ta:t, mm, čuopélé i:riènunja:. Tuŋ čuolpugi... min... Tida:l'è čuopélé nu:rélék, kinha wa:j nèmè jédéjdelék, wa:j. N'iwiedè či:ll'è jawnèr n'iwiedè bannuni. Tèn tèn'i l'ienunŋi tada:t tèn'i l'ienunŋi, tuŋ čuopul l'ienunŋi.

Ta:t id'ie ugurčèŋ. Tèn tugi tèn wa:j čama solhod'ilhanè qada: èwrèrèŋ, oŋienunja: ugurčèk. Tèn'i wa:j niméléstèj, wa:j sökçilék, sökçirèŋ. Tèn mitl'è... mitl'è, *juka:girpèll'è*, tèn titè bannuni, nèmè ja.. jadarqa tèn'i èwl'ienun, sökçi:, sökçirélék wiènunja:, jawnuo. Ta:t, tèn'i wa:j niméléstèj titè, tèn titè l'è *juka:girpèll'è* wa:j ta:t titè bannuni: n'iwèn sukunék tèn jawnèr, igijègi tèn'in. Tèn titè bani, tèn titè bani, waj... titè.

Ta:t tèn čald'édawur. Tèn čald'édawur, tèn tugi kèjpèn čald'édawurék. Könmédaha pa... pa:jpèŋoll'èlk oŋienunja:. Tèn tèn'i nimélé... niméléstè... niméluoldé: tan kèjpèll'è, pa:jpèll'èda wa:j titè bannuni, èwl'ienuni. Tuŋ pa:jpèll'è wiè... l'ukuočuo wièdè bannuni. Pa:jpèll'èha igijègi èwl'è... èwl'ienun tèn'i, tèn tèn'i mèl'ienuni, tèn tada: jadarqa tada: l'ienuni. Tèn'in oŋienunja:, tan tugi kèjpèha mo:rquon' l'ènuni, tèn titè čahad'èr, tèn'in oŋienunja:. Pa:jpèll'è tèn'in ökuolnuni... è... tèn'in ökuolnuni, tan tèn'in oŋu... oŋu... oŋununja:, titè èwriènunŋi pa:jpè. Köj... kèjpe *buollar* titè mo:jrèŋ, čahad'a:nuni, ta:t titè oŋununja:. Tèn kèjpèll'èk, tèn nimélèpulgi tèn.

Tundra Yukaghir clothing

I am being recorded while I wear our clothes, now I will show our fur hat. In



Russian our fur hat is called *malachaj*, these are the patterns on our fur hat, this is a women's fur hat. We sew women's fur hats from young reindeer skin, we decorate them here: we decorate them here. We decorate them here with whatever is available, with some red materials, whatever there is, we make them, and to decorate them we tie them with ribbon.

Those patterns on fur hats. patterns, beads, uh... Patterns on fur hats are edged with any kind of musk rat skin that is available. These are the things we would make. Some people make them with reindeer skins or they make them with what they have. When women put it on, they tie it in this direction, women. Men put it on like this. Men tie it like this. Women tie it here. They edge it with beads, here, women's hats. Men's hats uhm..., they don't sew them with beads, but with this material, uhm, they sew this pattern with this material. Take a look... our fur hat, our fur hat it is like this.

Now, this is the inner coat. It is the inside coat. They put it on when they go to large gatherings of people. They decorate it, see, with this, uhm, they make it, insert, it has ribbons. Then, this part (of the coat), one holds it and makes from whatever one finds, and then it's tied on. And if I have muskrat hide, it is dark material, uhm, it is decorated material. Me, it is decorated like this, down here. That is how the material is decorated. This is how it turns out.



Next, our women's apron, the whole women's apron, women's apron looks like this, patterns, it is full of patterns. There... There, whatever one has... With chamois strips, decorated by inserting strips from different materials, here red ones, eh, here black chamois,

green chamois. Iron, old iron things... Then, here in the lower part, it is like the inner coat, it is like the inner coat. Like this. And the apron, when it is decorated, some people have beads here. Some people have beads here. Also, there are chamois strips inserted in it. So the dark, the dark material I sew it with woolly thread, or they make it with something like that, other available material. That is how it is. So, they sew iron decorations on it. These iron decorations... Iron decorations that one can find, those that are available, too. It is different for different people. They are here, then there, these iron decorations.

And now footwear. These, also when going to people's gatherings, people put them on, these are shoes. They are also decorated, also by inserting chamois strips into them. Our Yukaghir shoes are like this: there are no beads here, strips, they are made by inserting chamois strips, everywhere. Like this, decorating it here like this, here, only the Yukaghir (decoration) is like that: everything with different kinds of hide, and this way are the straps. It is like this, like this, like this too.



So, now see the mittens. These mittens, these are men's mittens. Women also sometimes wear them. And here, when they are decoration, decorating, decorated,



men's and women's mittens can both be like that, or not. Women's mittens are slightly different. There are no straps on women's mittens here, while here there are, and there are beads there. Here they wear them, but this exists only for men, when they work, they wear them here. In women's mittens there is a slit here, eh, here is a slit, and here they put... put... put them on, that's how women roam. Men hold them like this when they work, and they put them on like this. These are men's mittens. These are the patterns they have.

Text with glosses

Wadun maqil

Yukaghir clothing

(001)

<i>Mét...</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>sukun</i>	<i>oŋjèrèŋ</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>kérijèŋ,</i>
met	mit	sukun	oŋje:-rè-ŋ	tu-n	kere:-jè-(ŋ)
1SG	1PL	thing	wear-SS.IPF.CVB-FC	DEM.PROX-ADV	go.down-1INTR.SG
<i>tèn</i>		<i>id'ie</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>mo...</i>	<i>moŋo jö:sét.</i>
tu-n		id'e:	tu-n	mo	moŋo jö:-s(è)-t(è)-Ø
DEM.PROX-ADV	now	DEM.PROX-ADV	ca	cap	see-CAUS-FUT-TR.1SG

I am being recorded while I wear our clothes, now I will show our fur hat.

(002)

<i>Mit</i>	<i>moŋo</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>malaqa:j</i>	<i>monnunŋi,</i>	<i>wa:wačéd</i>
mit	moŋo	tu-n	malachaj.R	mon-nun-ŋi	wa:wačè-N
1PL	cap	DEM.PROX-ADV	fur.hat.R	say-HAB-INTR.3PL	Russian-GEN
<i>aru:lék;</i>		<i>tèn</i>	<i>nimèlègi</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>moŋo,</i>
aru:-lèk		tu-n	nimèlè-gi	mit	moŋo
language-INST		DEM.PROX-ADV	pattern-3POSS	1PL	cap

In Russian our fur hat is called ‘malachaj’; these are the patterns on our fur hat,

(003)

<i>tèn</i>	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	<i>moŋok.</i>
tu-n	pa:jpè-N	moŋo-(è)k
DEM.PROX-ADV	woman-GEN	cap-FOC

this is a women’s fur hat.

(004)

<i>Tigin</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>pa:jpè-n</i>	<i>moŋo</i>	<i>tèn</i>
tigi-n	ta-ŋ	pa:jpè-N	moŋo	tu-n
DEM.MED-ADV	DEM.DIST-ATTR	woman-GEN	cap	DEM.PROX-ADV
<i>jèwliid'è</i>	<i>sawa...</i>	<i>sawahat</i>	<i>i:riènunuj,</i>	<i>ta:t tèn'i</i>
jèwliid'è	sawa	sawa-h-at	i:riè-nun-u-j	ta:t tèn'i
reindeer.fawn	HESIT	hide-LOC-ABL	sew-HAB-0-TR.1PL	so
				DEM.PROX.LOC

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

nimèlèsnunuj.

nimèlè-s(è)-nun-u-j

pattern-CAUS-HAB-0-TR.1PL

We sew women's fur hats from young reindeer skin, we decorate them here.

(005)

<i>Tèn'indè</i>			<i>nimèlèstèŋ,</i>		<i>tèn</i>		<i>jè...jè...</i>
tèn'i-n=dè			nimèlès-rè-ŋ		tu-n		jè jè
DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL=PTL.E			decorate-SS.IPF.CVBC-FC		DEM.PROX-ADV		HESIT
<i>l'èlèk,</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>sukun</i>	<i>n'amu...</i>	<i>n'amučën'd'è</i>	<i>rukundè</i>		<i>quodè</i>
l'è-lèk,	bu	sukun	n'amu	n'amučë-n(è)-j(è)	sukun=dè		quodè
HESIT-INST	HESIT	thing	HESIT	be.red-PROP-PTC	thing=PTL.E		how
<i>band'è</i>	<i>sukun</i>	<i>l'è...</i>	<i>l'èdèlèk,</i>		<i>nimèlèstèŋ,</i>		
pan-j(è)	sukun	l'è:	l'è-dè-lèk		nimèlè-s(è)-rè-ŋ		
be.like-PTC	thing	PTL	HESIT-3POSS-INST		pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVBC-FC		
<i>wiènnunuj,</i>	<i>ta:t</i>	<i>l'è</i>	<i>igijès...</i>		<i>igijèn'...tèj.</i>		
wiè-nun-u-j	ta:t	l'è:	igijè-s(è)		igijè-n'(è)-t(è)-j		
do-HAB-0-TR.1PL	so	PTL	string-CAUS		string-PROP-CAUS-TR.1PL		

We decorate them here with whatever is available, with some red materials, whatever there is, we make them, and to decorate them we tie them with ribbon.

(006)

<i>Tarŋn'è,</i>	<i>moŋo</i>	<i>nimèlègi,</i>	<i>nimèlègi,</i>	<i>jadarqapul</i>	<i>èèè</i>
ta-ŋn'è,	moŋo	nimèlè-gi	nimèlè-gi,	jadarqa-pul	èèè
DEM.DIST-NLZR	cap	pattern-3POSS	pattern-3POSS	bead-PL	HESIT

Those patterns on fur hats, patterns, beads, uh...

(007)

<i>Moŋon</i>	<i>nimèlègi,</i>	<i>anda:tara,</i>	<i>quodè</i>	<i>band'è...</i>	<i>l'èŋ...</i>
moŋo-N	nimèlè-gi,	ondatra.R	quodè	pan-j(è)	l'è-ŋ
cap-GEN	pattern-3POSS	musk.rat	how	be.like-PTC	HESIT-FC
<i>jèdèjl...dèlèk</i>		<i>i:riènnunŋa:</i>			
jèd-èj-l-dè-lèk		i:riè-nun-ŋa:			
appear-PF-ACT.NLZR-3POSS-INST		sew-HAB-TR.3PL			

Patterns on fur hats are edged with any kind of musk rat skin that is available.

(008)

Tité band'è rukunék wié... atwiéna:nul.
 titè pan-j(è) sukun-(è)k wié at=wié-nu-A:-nu-l
 so be.like-PTC thing-FOC do COND=do-IPF-INCH-IPF-OF.1PL

These are the things we would make.

(009)

Tan könmé č'i: tuŋ jéwliđ'èn
 ta-n könmé č'i: tu-ŋ jéwliđ'è-N
 DEM.DIST-ADV other people DEM.PROX-ATTR reindeer.fawn-GEN
kédèldèlék wiénunŋa:, ta:t kinha nèmè
 kédèl-dè-lék wié-nun-ŋa: ta:t kin-ha nèmè
 body-3POSS-INST do-HAB-TR.3PL so who-LOC what
l'édèlék, wiénunŋa:.
 l'è-dè-lék wié-nun-ŋa:
 be-3POSS-INST do-HAB-TR.3PL

Some people make them with reindeer skins, or they make them with what they have.

(010)

Ta:t tan pa:jpé oŋiè-ré, tèn
 ta:t ta-n pa:jpé oŋiè-ré, tu-n
 so DEM.DIST-ADV woman wear-SS.IPF.CV B DEM.PROX-ADV
taŋudèŋ i:riènunŋa:, pa:jpèpul.
 tu-ŋudè-ŋ i:riè-nun-ŋa: pa:jpè-pul
 DEM.PROX-DIR-FC tie-HAB-TR.3PL woman-PL

When women put it on, they tie it in this direction, women.

(011)

Tèn kéjpè...pul titè oŋiènunŋa:.
 tu-n kéjpè-pul titè oŋiè-nun-ŋa:
 DEM.PROX-ADV man-PL so wear-HAB-TR.3PL

Men put it on like this.

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

(012)

<i>Tèn,</i>	<i>tité</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>i:riènunŋa;</i>	<i>kèjpepul,</i>	<i>tité.</i>
tu-n	tité	tu-n	i:riè-nun-ŋa:	kèjpe-pul	tité
DEM.PROX-ADV	so	DEM.PROX-ADV	tether-HAB-TR.3PL	man-PL	so

Men tie it like this.

(013)

<i>Pa:j...</i>	<i>pa:jpe</i>	<i>taŋudèŋ</i>	<i>i:riènunŋa:.</i>
pa:j	pa:jpe	ta-Gudè-ŋ	i:riè-nun-ŋa:
HESIT	woman	DEM.DIST-DIR-FC	tether-HAB-TR.3PL

Women tie it here.

(014)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>jadar...</i>	<i>jadarqalék</i>	<i>wiènunŋa;</i>
tu-n	jadar	jadarqa-lék	wiè-nun-ŋa:
DEM.PROX-ADV	HESIT	bead-INST	do-HAB-TR3PL
<i>tèn</i>	<i>tèn'in</i>	<i>pa:jplè'hané.</i>	
tu-n	ten'i-n	pa:jp-N-lè'-hané	
DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL	woman-GEN-NLZR-ACC	

They edge them with beads, here, women's hats.

(015)

<i>Tan</i>	<i>kèj...</i>	<i>kèjpepl'è,</i>	<i>mm...</i>	<i>tèle...</i>	<i>jadarqalék</i>
ta-n	kèj	kèjpe-N-l'è	mm	tèle	jadarqa-lék
DEM.DIST-ADV	HESIT	man-GEN-NLZR	INTJ	HESIT	bead-INST
<i>élwiènunŋu,</i>	<i>tuŋ...</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tittél</i>		
él=wiè-nun-ŋu-Ø	tu-ŋ	tu-n	tittè-l		
NEG=do-HAB-PL-NEG3	DEM.PROX-ATTR	DEM.PROX-ADV	3PL-NOM		
<i>sukun...</i>	<i>mm...</i>	<i>sukunék</i>	<i>wiènunŋa:</i>	<i>tuŋ</i>	
sukun	mm	sukun-lék	wiè-nun-ŋa:	tu-ŋ	
thing	INTJ	thing-INST	do-HAB-TR.3PL	DEM.PROX-ATTR	

nimèlédèhané.

nimèlè-dé-hané
pattern-3POSS-ACC

Men's hats uhm..., they don't sew them with beads, but with this material, uhm, they sew this pattern with this material.

(016)

Juöhatèŋ... *mit moŋo, tèn* *tité bannuni.*
 jö:-hatè-ŋ mit moŋo tèn titè pan-nun-j
 see-?-FC 1PL cap DEM.PROX-ADV so be.like-HAB-INTR3

Take a look... our fur hat, our fur hat it is like this.

(017)

Id'ie tèn *sawdabil'...* *sawdabilèŋ,*
 id'ie tu-n sawdaqil' sawdaqil'-lè-ŋ
 now DEM.PROX-ADV inner.coat inner.coat-FOC-FC

Now, this is the inner coat.

(018)

Tèn *ma...* *mabil tuduru:lgi.*
 tu-n ma mahil tuduru:-l-gi
 DEM.PROX-ADV HESIT coat inside-ACT.NLZR-3POSS

It is the inside coat.

(019)

Tuŋunhanè *čamu solhad'ilpèlba,*
 tu-ŋun-hanè čomo solha-d'i-l-p(è)-ha
 DEM.PROX-NLZR-ACC big gather-MULT-ACT.NLZR-PL-LOC
solhad'ilpèlba *èwrèr* *oŋiènunŋ:a.*
 solha-d'i-l-pè-ha èwrè-r oŋiè-nun-ŋa:
 gather-MULT-ACT.NLZR-PL-LOC walk-SS.IPF.CVB wear-HAB-TR.3PL

They put it on when they go to large gatherings of people.

(020)

Nimèlésnunŋa:, *tèn...* *l'èlèk* *wièr,*
 nimèlé-s(è)-nun-ŋa: tu-n l'è-lèk wiè-r
 pattern-CAUS-HAB-TR.1PL DEM.PROX-ADV HESIT-INST do-SS.IPF.CVB
sèwrèrèŋ, *i...* *igijèpul...n'èj*
 sèg-r(è)-rè-ŋ i igijè-pul-n'(è)-j
 enter-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVB-FC HESIT string-PL-COM-INTR3

They decorate it, see, with this, uhm, they make it, insert, it has ribbons.

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

(021)

<i>Ta...</i>	<i>tada:t</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tuyṅ'édébané</i>	<i>mèt</i>	
ta	tada:t	tu-n	tu-ṅn'è-dé-hané	mèt	
HESIT	DEM.DIST-ADV-ABL	DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX-NLZR-3POSS-ACC	HESIT	
<i>tèn</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>wa:...</i>	<i>wa:jnureṅ</i>	<i>wiè...</i>	
tu-n	tu-n	wa	wa:j-nu-ré-ṅ	wiè	
DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX-ADV	HESIT	hold-IPF-SS.IPF.CVB-FC	HESIT	
<i>wièrèṅ,</i>	<i>wiènuṅna:,</i>	<i>tèn...</i>	<i>mm...</i>	<i>quodè</i>	<i>band'è</i>
wiè-ré-ṅ	wiè-nuṅ-na:	tu-n	mm	quodè	pan-j(è)
do-SS.IPF.CVB-FC	do-HAB-TR.3PL	DEM.PROX-ADV	HESIT	how	be.like-PTL
<i>l'è</i>	<i>jédéjdelék,</i>	<i>i:riènuṅna:.</i>			
l'è	jéd-èj-l-dé-lék	i:riè-nun-ṅa:			
PTL	appear-PF-ACT.NLZR-3POSS-INST	tether-HAB-TR.3PL			

Then, this part (of the coat), one holds it and makes from whatever one finds, and then it's tied on.

(022)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>mèt</i>	<i>jédéj</i>	<i>anda:tara</i>	<i>mètoron'èj,</i>	<i>sukun,</i>
tu-n	mèt	jéd-èj-l	ondatra.R	mè(ṛ)=toron'è-j	sukun
DEM.PROX-ADV	1SG	appear-PF-ACT.NLZR	musk.rat	EX=black-INTR.3	thing
<i>l'èṅ,</i>	<i>nimèlènd'è</i>	<i>sukun.</i>			
l'è-ṅ	nimèlè-n'(è)-j(è)	sukun			
HESIT-FC	pattern-PROP-PTC	thing			

And if I have musk rat hide, it is a dark material, uhm, it is a decorated material.

(023)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>mèt</i>	<i>albèwrédéhan</i>
tu-n	met	albè-wrè-dé-ha-n
DEM.PROX-ADV	1SG	lower.part-LOC.NLZR-3POSS-LOC-PROL
<i>tite</i>	<i>nimèlésunṅa:,</i>	
tite	nimèlè-s(è)-nun-ṅa:	
so	pattern-CAUS-HAB-TR.3PL	

Me, it is decorated like this, down here.

(024)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>sukun</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tité</i>	<i>nimèlèstèŋ</i> ,
tu-n	sukun	tu-n	tité	nimèlè-s(è)-rè-ŋ
DEM.PROX-ADV	thing	DEM.PROX-ADV	so	pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVB-FC

wiènunŋa:.

wiè-nun-ŋa:
do-HAB-TR.3PL

That is how the material is decorated.

(025)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>titék</i>	<i>taŋn'él.</i>
tu-n	tité-(è)k	ta-ŋn'è-l
DEM.PROX-ADV	so-FOC	DEM.DIST-NLZR-SF

This is how it turns out.

(026)

<i>Tada:t</i>	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	<i>pö...</i>	<i>mit...</i>	<i>n'ujurukun:</i>	<i>pa:jpèn</i>
ta-da:-t	pa:jpè-N	pö	mit	n'ujurukun	pa:jpè-N
DEM.DIST-ADV-ABL	woman-GEN	HESIT	1PL	apron	woman-GEN
<i>n'ujurukun</i>	<i>jawnèr,</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>pa:jpèn</i>	<i>n'uju...</i>	<i>n'ujurukun</i>
n'ujurukun	jawnè-r	tu-n	pa:jpè-N	n'uju	n'ujurukun
apron	all-SS.IPF.CVB	DEM.PROX-ADV	woman-GEN	HESIT	apron
<i>tité</i>	<i>ŋolnuni,</i>	<i>nimèlè,</i>	<i>jawnèr</i>	<i>nimèlè</i>	<i>ŋolnuni.</i>
tité	ŋol-nun-j	nimèlè	jawnè-r	nimèlè	ŋol-nun-j
so	be-HAB-INTR3	pattern	all-SS.IPF.CVB	pattern	be-HAB-INTR3

Next, our women's apron: the whole women's apron, women's apron looks like this, patterns, it is full of patterns.

(027)

L'èŋ...
l'è-ŋ
HESIT-FC

There...

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

(028)

Vot, kinha nème jèdèldelek.
 vot.R kin-ha nème jèd-èj-l-dè-lèk
 PTL.R who-LOC what appear-PF-ACT.NLZR-3POSS-INST

There, whatever one has...

(029)

Sökčielèk... sökči... sökčirèŋ n'iwien
 Sökči:-lèk sökči: seg-či-rè-ŋ n'i(ŋ)=wiè-N
 chamois.strip-INST chamois.strip enter-CAUS.MULT-SS.IPF.CVB-FC REC=other-GEN
sukunèk nimèléstèŋ, tèn n'amučènd'è
 sukun-lèk nimèlé-s(è)-rè-ŋ tu-n n'amučè-n'(è)-j(è)
 thing-INST pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVB-FC DEM.PROX-ADV redness-PROP-PTC
rukun... mm... tèn toron'èj rukun sökči,
 rukun mm tu-n toron'è-j(è) rukun sökči:
 thing HESIT DEM.PROX-ADV black-PTC thing chamois-strip
qomon'èj rukun.
 qomon'è-j(è) rukun
 green/blue-PTC thing

With chamois strips, decorated by inserting strips from different materials, here red ones, eh, here black chamois, green chamois.

(030)

Tèn čuopul, tida:l'è čuopul...
 tu-n čuo-pul tide-da:-l'è čuo-pul
 DEM.PROX-ADV iron-PL DEM.INVIS-ADV-NLZR iron-PL

Iron, old iron things...

(031)

Tada:t tèn albèwrédahan wa:j
 ta-da:-t tu-n albè-wrè-dè-ha-n wa:j
 DEM.DIST-ADV-ABL DEM.PROX-ADV lower.part-LOC.NLZR-3POSS-LOC-ADV again
tan sawda... sawdahil' ditè... ditèl'uo bani,
 ta-n sawda sawdahil' titè titè-l'è-o: pan-j,
 DEM.DIST-ADV HESIT inner.coat so so-be-O be.like-INTR.3

sawdahil' *wa:j* *titè* *bani.*
sawdahil' *wa:j* *titè* *pan-j*
 inner.coat again so be.like-INTR.3

Then, here in the lower part, it is like the inner coat, it is like the inner coat.

(032)

Tan *titè.*
 ta-n tite
 DEM.DIST-ADV so

Like this.

(033)

N'ujurukun *wa:j,* *tan* *nimèlèstèn* *wa:j,*
 n'ujurukun *wa:j* ta-n nimèlè-s(è)-rè-ŋ *wa:j*
 apron again DEM.DIST-ADV pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVB-FC again
tèn *tuj* *könmèld'è* *tèn*
 tu-n tu-ŋ könmè-N-l'è tu-n
 DEM.PROX-ADV DEM.PROX-ATTR other-GEN-NLZR DEM.PROX-ADV
jadarqa *ŋolnuni* *tèn'ì.*
 jadarqa ŋol-nun-j tèn'ì
 bead be-HAB-INTR.3 DEM.PROX.LOC

And the apron, when it is decorated, some people have beads here.

(034)

Könmè *či:ll'è,* *tèn'in* *jadarqa* *ŋolnuni,*
 Könmè či:-N-l'è tèn'ì-n jadarqa ŋol-nun-j
 Other people-GEN-NLZR DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL bead be-HAB-INTR.3

Some people have beads here.

(035)

Tada:t *sökči:* *sökčirèŋ*
 ta-da:-t sökči: seg-či-rè-ŋ
 DEM.DIST-ADV-ABL chamois.strip enter-CAUS.MULT-SS.IPF.CVB-FC

l'ienunŋi.

l'ie-nun-ŋi
 be-HAB-INTR.3PL

Also, there are chamois stripes inserted in it.

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

(036)

<i>Ta:t</i>	<i>l'èr</i>	<i>toron'èj</i>	<i>toron'è-j</i>	<i>sukun,</i>	<i>l'èlèk,</i>	
ta:t	l'è-r	toron'è-j(è)	toron'è-j(è)	sukun	l'è-lèk	
so	be-SS.IPF.CVB	black-PTC	black-PTC	thing	HESIT-INST	
<i>pugučënd'è</i>	<i>sa:plèk</i>	<i>mèt</i>	<i>i:rièlèk,</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tité</i>	
pugučè-n'(è)-j(è)	sa:p-lèk	mèt	i:riè-lèk	tu-n	tité	
wool-COM-PTC	thread.Y-INSTR	1SG	sew-SS.PF.CVB	DEM.PROX-ADV	so	
<i>band'è</i>	<i>l'èlèk,</i>	<i>kinba</i>	<i>nèmè</i>	<i>jédèjdèlèk,</i>		
pan-j(è)	l'èl-èk	kin-ha	nèmè	jéd-èj-l-dè-lèk		
be.like-PTC	HESIT-INST	who-LOC	what	appear-PF-ACT.NLZR-3POSS-INST		
<i>wa:j</i>	<i>wiènunŋa:.</i>					
wa:j	wiè-nun-ŋa:					
again	do-HAB-TR.3PL					

So the dark, the dark material, I sew it with woolly thread, or they make it with something like that, other available material.

(037)

<i>Tité</i>	<i>bani.</i>
Tité	pan-j
so	be.like-INTR3

That is how it is.

(038)

<i>Ta:t,</i>	<i>mm,</i>	<i>čuo-pèlè</i>	<i>tite</i>	<i>i:riènunŋa:.</i>
ta:t	mm	čuo-p(è)-lè	tite	i:riè-nun-ŋa:
So	INTJ	iron-PL-ACC	so	sew-HAB-TR.3PL

So, they sew iron decorations on it.

(039)

<i>Tuŋ</i>	<i>čuo-pulgi...</i>	<i>min...</i>
tu-ŋ	čuo-pul-gi	min
DEM.PROX-ATTR	iron-PL-3POSS	HESIT

These iron decorations...

(040)

<i>Tida:l'è</i>	<i>čuo:pèlè</i>	<i>nu:rèlèk,</i>	<i>kinha</i>	<i>wa:j</i>	<i>némè</i>
tide-da:-l'è	čuo-p(è)-lè	nug-rèlèk	kin-ha	wa:j	némè
DEM.INVIS-ADV-NLZR	iron-PL-ACC	find-SS.PF.CVB	who-LOC	again	what
<i>jèdèjdèlèk,</i>		<i>wa:j.</i>			
jèd-èj-l-dè-lèk		wa:j			
appear-PF-ACT.NLZR-3POSS-INST		again			

Iron decorations that one can find, those that are available, too.

(041)

<i>N'wièdè</i>	<i>či:ll'è</i>	<i>jawnèr</i>	<i>n'ì=wièdè</i>
n'ì(ŋ)=wièdè	či:-N-l'è	jawné-r	n'ì(ŋ)=wièdè
REC=different	people-GEN-NLZR	all-SS.IPF.CVB	REC=different
<i>bannuni.</i>			
pan-nun-j.			
be.like-HAB-INTR3			

It is different for different people.

(042)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>tèn'ì</i>	<i>l'ienunji</i>	<i>tada:t</i>
tu-n	tèn'ì	l'ie-nun-ŋi	ta-da:-t
DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX.LOC	be-HAB-INTR.3PL	DEM.DIST-ADV-ABL
<i>tèn'ì</i>	<i>l'ienunji,</i>	<i>tuŋ</i>	<i>čuo:pul l'ienunji.</i>
tèn'ì	l'ie-nun-ŋi	tu-ŋ	čuo-pul l'ie-nun-ŋi
DEM.PROX.LOC	be-HAB-INTR.3PL	DEM.PROX.ATTR	iron-PL be-HAB-INTR.3PL

They are here, then there, these iron decorations.

(043)

<i>Ta:t id'ie ugrčèŋ.</i>
ta:t id'ie ugrčè-ŋ
so now footwear-FC

And now footwear.

(044)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>tugi,</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>wa:j</i>
tu-n	tu-gi	tu-n	wa:j
DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX-3POSS	DEM.PROX-ADV	again

EXPLORING VOWEL LENGTH IN TUNDRA YUKAGHIR

<i>solhod'ibhané</i>	<i>qada:</i>	<i>éwréréŋ</i>
solho-d'i-l-ha-(N)é	qa-da:	éwré-ré-ŋ
gather-MULT-ACT.NLZR-LOC-SCAL.OBL	INTER-ADV	walk-SS.IPF.CVB-FC
<i>oŋjénunŋa:</i>	<i>ugurčék.</i>	
oŋjé-nun-ŋa:	ugurčé-(é)k	
wear-HAB-TR.3PL	footwear-FOC	

These, also when going to people's gatherings, people put them on, these are shoes.

(045)

<i>Tén'i</i>	<i>wa:j</i>	<i>niméléstəŋ,</i>	<i>wa:j</i>	<i>sökči:lək,</i>
tén'i	wa:j	nimélé-s(é)-ré-ŋ	wa:j	sökči:-lək
DEM.PROX.LOC	again	pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVB-FC	again	chamois.strip-INST
<i>sökčirəŋ.</i>				
ség-či-ré-ŋ				
enter-CAUS.MULT-SS.IPF.CVB-FC				

They are also decorated, also by inserting chamois stripes into them.

(046)

<i>Tén</i>	<i>mit'l'é</i>	<i>mit'l'é,</i>	<i>juka:girpəll'é,</i>	<i>tén</i>	
tu-n	mit-l'é	mit-l'é	jukagir.R-N-l'é,	tu-n	
DEM.PROX-ADV	1PL-NLZR	1PL-NLZR	Yukaghir.R-GEN-NLZR	DEM.PROX-ADV	
<i>tité</i>	<i>bannuni,</i>	<i>némé</i>	<i>ja...</i>	<i>jadarqa</i>	<i>tén'i</i>
tité	pan-nun-j	némé	ja	jadarqa	tén'i
so	be.like-HAB-INTR3	what	HESIT	bead	DEM.PROX.LOC
<i>éwl'ienun,</i>	<i>sökči:,</i>	<i>sökčirələk</i>			
éwl'ie-nun-Ø	sökči:	seg-či-rələk			
not.be-HAB-NEG3	chamois.strip	enter-CAUS.MULT-SS.PF.CVB			
<i>wiənunŋa:,</i>	<i>jawnuo.</i>				
wiə-nun-ŋa:	jawné-o:				
do-HAB-TR.3PL	all-O				

Our Yukagir shoes are like this: there are no beads here, stripes, they are made by inserting chamois stripes, everywhere.

(047)

<i>Ta:t, tèn'i</i>	<i>wa:j</i>	<i>nimèlèstèj</i>	<i>tité, tèn</i>
ta:t tèn'i	wa:j	nimèlè-s(è)-rè -ŋ	tité tu-n
so DEM.PROX.LOC	again	pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CV-B-FC	so DEM.PROX-ADV
<i>tité l'è juka:girpèll'è</i>	<i>wa:j</i>	<i>ta:t</i>	<i>tité bannuni:</i>
tité l'è jukagir.R-N-l'è	wa:j	ta:t	tité pan-nun-j
so PTC Yukagir.R-GEN-NLZR	again	so	so be.like-HAB-INTR3
<i>n'iwè:n</i>	<i>sukunèk</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>jawnèr, igijègi</i>
n'i(ŋ)=wè:-N	sukun-lèk	tu-n	jawnè-r igijè-gi
REC=other-GEN	thing-INST	DEM.PROX-ADV	all-SS.IPF.CV-B string-3POSS
<i>tèn'in.</i>			
tèn'i-n			
DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL			

Like this, decorating it here like this, here, so, only the Yukagir (decoration) is like that: everything with different kinds of hide, and this way are the straps.

(048)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>tité bani,</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tité bani,</i>
tu-n	tité pan-j	tu-n	tité pan-j
DEM.PROX-ADV	so be.like-INTR.3	DEM.PROX-ADV	so be.like-INTR.3
<i>wa:j... tité.</i>			
wa:j tité			
again so			

It is like this, like this, like this, too.

(049)

<i>Ta:t tèn</i>	<i>čald'édawur.</i>
ta:t tu-n	čald'édawur
so DEM.PROX-ADV	mitten

So, now the mittens.

(050)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>čald'édawur,</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tugi</i>
tu-n	čald'édawur	tu-n	tu-gi
DEM.PROX-ADV	mitten	DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX-3POSS

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kəjpən *čald'édawurək.*
kəjpə-N *čald'édawur-(ə)k*
 man-GEN mitten-FOC

These mittens, these are men's mittens.

(051)

Könmédaha pa pa:jpəŋoll'élk oŋiənunŋa:.
Könmédaha pa pa:jpə-ŋoll'élk oŋiə-nun-ŋa:
 sometimes HESIT woman-SCAL.S wear-HAB-TR.3PL

Women also sometimes wear them.

(052)

Tən ten'i nimələ, nimələstə,
tu-n ten'i nimələ nimələ-s(ə)-rə
 DEM.PROX-ADV DEM.PROX.LOC pattern pattern-CAUS-SS.IPF.CVB
nimələsuoldə: tan kəjpəll'ə,
nimələ-s(ə)-uol-rə: ta-n kəjpə-N-l'ə
 pattern-CAUS-STAT-SS.IPF.CVB DEM.DIST-ADV man-GEN-NLZR
pa:jpəll'əda wa:j titə bannuni, əwl'iənuni.
pa:jpə-N-l'ə=d(a) wa:j titə pan-nun-j əwl'iə-nun-Ø
 woman-GEN-NLZR=PTL-E again so be.like-HAB-INTR.3 not.be-HAB-NEG.3

And here, when they are decoration, decorating, decorated, men's and women's mittens can both be like that, or not.

(053)

Tuŋ pa:jpəll'ə wiə... l'ukuočuo wiədə
tu-ŋ pa:jpə-N-l'ə wiə l'ukuo-či:-o wiədə
 DEM.PROX.ATTR woman-GEN-NLZR HESIT small-DIM-O different
bannuni.
pan-nun-j
be.like-HAB-INTR.3

Women's mittens are slightly different.

(054)

Pa:jpəll'əba igijəgi əwl'ə... əwl'iənun tən'i,
pa:jpə-N-l'ə-ha igijə-gi əwl'ə əwl'iə-nun-Ø tən'i
 woman-GEN-NLZR-LOC string-3POSS not.be not.be-HAB-NEG.3 DEM.PROX.LOC

<i>tèn</i>	<i>tèn'i</i>	<i>mél'ienuni,</i>	<i>tèn</i>
tu-n	tèn'i	mé(r)=l'ie-nun-j	tu-n
DEM.PROX-ADV	DEM.PROX.LOC	EX=be-HAB-INTR.3	DEM.PROX-ADV

<i>tada:</i>	<i>jadarqa</i>	<i>tada:</i>	<i>l'ienuni.</i>
ta-da:	jadarqa	ta-da:	l'ie-nun-i
DEM.DIST-ADV	bead	DEM.DIST-ADV	be-HAB-INTR.3

There are no straps on women's mittens here, while here there are, and there are beads there.

(055)

<i>Tèn'in</i>	<i>oɲienunɲa;</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>tugi</i>		
tèn'i-n	oɲie-nun-ɲa:	ta-n	tu-gi		
DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL	wear-HAB-TR.3PL	DEM.DIST-ADV	DEM.PROX-3POSS		
<i>kéjpeha</i>	<i>mo:rquon'</i>	<i>l'ienuni,</i>	<i>tèn</i>	<i>tité</i>	<i>čahad'er,</i>
kéjpe-ha	mo:rquon'	l'e-nun-j	tu-n	tité	čahad'e-r
man-LOC	only	be-HAB-INTR.3	DEM.PROX-ADV	so	work-ss.ipf.cvb
<i>tèn'in</i>	<i>oɲienunɲa:</i>				
tèn'i-n	oɲie-nun-ɲa:				
DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL	wear-HAB-TR.3PL				

Here they wear them, but this exists only for men, when they work, they wear them here.

(056)

<i>Pa:péll'e</i>	<i>tèn'in</i>	<i>ökuolnuni...</i>	<i>é...</i>		
pa:jpé-N-l'è	tèn'i-n	ök-uol-nun-j	é		
woman-GEN-NLZR	DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL	hole-STAT-HAB-INTR.3	INTJ		
<i>tèn'in</i>	<i>ökuolnuni,</i>	<i>tan</i>			
tèn'i-n	ök-uol-nun-j	ta-n			
DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL	hole-STAT-HAB-INTR.3	DEM.DIST-ADV			
<i>tèn'in</i>	<i>oɲu...</i>	<i>oɲu...</i>	<i>oɲununɲa;</i>	<i>tité</i>	<i>éwriénunɲi</i>
tèn'i-n	oɲu	oɲu	oɲu-nun-ɲa:	tité	éwrié-nun-ɲi
DEM.PROX.LOC-PROL	dress	dress	dress-HAB-TR.3PL	so	walk-HAB-INTR.3PL

pa:jpé.

pa:jpé

woman

In women's mittens there is a slit here, eh, here is the slit, and here they put... put... put them on, that's how women roam.

(057)

<i>Köj...</i>	<i>kéjpe</i>	<i>buollar</i>	<i>tité</i>	<i>mo:jrèŋ,</i>	<i>čahad'a:nuni,</i>
köj	kéjpe	buollar	tité	mo:j-rè-ŋ	čahad'è:-nun-j
HESIT	man	PTL.Y	so	hold-SS.IPF.CVB-FC	work-HAB-INTR.3

ta:t tité oŋununŋa:.

ta:t tité oŋu-nun-ŋa:

so so dress- HAB-TR.3PL

Men hold them like this when they work, and they put them on like this.

(058)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>kéjpell'èk.</i>
tu-n	kéjpe-N-l'è-(è)k
DEM.PROX-ADV	man-GEN-NLZR-FOC

These are men's mittens.

(059)

<i>Tèn</i>	<i>nimèlepulgi</i>	<i>tèn.</i>
tu-n	nimèlè-pul-gi	tu-n
DEM.PROX-ADV	pattern-PL-3POSS	DEM.PROX-ADV

These are the patterns they have.

University of Amsterdam & University of Münster

Abbreviations

- – morpheme boundary; = – clitic boundary; 0 – epenthetic sound; ABL – ablative; ACC – accusative; ACT.NLZR – action nominalizer; AFOC – agent focus; CAUS – causative; COM – comitative; CVB – converb; DAT – dative; DEM – demonstrative; DIR – direction; DIST – distal; DS – different subject; E – Even (for Even loanwords); EV – evidential; EX – existential; GEN – genitive; FC – final consonant; FOC – focus; FP – sentence final particle; FUT – future; HAB – habitual; HESIT – hesitation; IMP – imperative; IMPF – imperfective; INCH – inchoative; INT – intentional; INTERR – interrogative; INTJ – interjection; INTR – intransitive; INVIS – invisible; MED – medial; MULT – multiplicative; NEUT – neutral; NOM – nominative; NLZR – nominalizer; O – object; OBL – oblique; OFOC – object focus; PF – perfective; PL – plural; POSS – possessive; PROL – prolative; PROH –

prohibitive; PROP – proprietive; PROX – proximal; PTL – particle; PTC – participle; R – Russian (for Russian loanwords); REC – reciprocal; S – subject; SCAL – scalar; SFOC – subject focus; SG – singular; SS – same subject; STAT – stative; TR – transitive; Y – Yakut (for Yakut loanwords)

Note

* Research on the Tundra Yukaghir language has been financially supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) from 2009 till 2014.

Metadata

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Corrections: Samona Nikolaevna Kurilova, Jakutsk 2011-2013

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Final corrections: Cecilia Odé and Dejan Matić, 2017

The video with TY, English or Russian subtitles can be watched on a closed YouTube address which is available upon request via Cecilia Odé (c.ode@uva.nl)

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ADJECTIVE ARTICLES IN GERMANIC AND SLAVIC

Harry Perridon

1 Introduction

The North Germanic languages and dialects vary a great deal in the way in which adjectives are combined with nouns, especially when the resulting noun phrase is to be definite. There are three different markers of definiteness which may all be combined with one another, as e.g. in the (Standard Swedish) phrase *det gula huset* ‘the yellow house’. Comparing this phrase with its indefinite counterpart *ett gult hus* ‘a yellow house’ we find the following three differences, which all signal that it is definite: a) there is a definite article *det*, contrasting with its indefinite counterpart *ett* ‘a(n)’; b) the ‘weak’ ending *-a* contrasts with the ‘strong’ ending *-t*, and c) the noun shows up with a suffix *-et* which is absent in the indefinite noun. As at least one marker has to be present in order for the noun phrase to be interpreted as definite, there are hence in principle seven possible combinations of the three markers P(reposed definite article), W(eak form of the adjective) and S(uffix on the noun). According to Dahl (2003: 153) the combination of P and $\neg W$ (the opposite of ‘weak’, hence ‘strong’) seems to be excluded,¹ which leaves us with the five construction types that are exemplified in 1:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (1) a | +P +W +S | Standard Swedish |
| | <i>det gula huset</i> | |
| | ‘the yellow house’ | |
| (1) b | +P +W \neg S | Standard Danish |
| | <i>det gule hus</i> | |
| | ‘the yellow house’ | |

- (1) c -P +W +S Standard (Central) Swedish
 - *gula huset*
 (the house known as) ‘the Yellow House’
- (1) d -P +W -S Standard Swedish
 - *kära vän*
 ‘dear friend’ (vocative)
- (1) e -P -W +S Icelandic
 - *rauður bíllinn*
 ‘the red car’ (Pfaff 2014: 237)

In the traditional view the adjective article is older than the suffix, see e.g. Nygaard (1905: 54). This view is according to Dahl (2015: 124) contested by Larm in his dissertation on the use of the article in Old Swedish, stating that “the preposed article *þæn* cannot be older than the suffixed one” (1936: 64) and “that the high frequency of the type *þæn gamli man* in poetry depends to a considerable degree on foreign influence” (Larm 1936: 68).² Dahl fully endorses this alternative view in his impressive study on the wide variety of noun phrase structures in Swedish dialects, which he describes as the result of an ongoing struggle between the preposed article coming from the south (Denmark) and the suffixed article in the east and north: “It is consonant with this view to assume that the preposed article arrived later in the Swedish dialect area than the suffixed article. In fact, as we shall now see, the use of the preposed article is still more restricted in Standard Swedish than in Standard Danish.”

In this paper I will argue that there is no logical connection between attributive articles and markers of definiteness, and that it is therefore not to be expected that the presence of demonstrative elements in adjectives or adjective phrases automatically leads to the emergence of definiteness marking on the noun, or the other way round. It just happens to be the case in Germanic that both developments took place in this order: already in the earliest stages of the Germanic dialects, and possibly even in Proto-Germanic, adjective attribution by means of a demonstrative was part of the grammar, as will be demonstrated for Gothic, Old Norse, Old English and Old Saxon in the following sections.

Definiteness marking on nouns, on the other hand, emerged much later in the individual dialects. In the Baltic and Slavic languages, except Bulgarian and Macedonian, adjective attribution by means of demonstrative elements, did not lead to the emergence of definiteness as a grammatical category. A short discussion of the adjective article in Slovene will show that there are remarkable similarities between this language and Gothic, which did not develop a noun article either.

2 Attribution marking

In his monograph on adjective attribution marking Rießler (2015) distinguishes three main ways in which an adjective can be connected with a noun:

- a. by simple juxtaposition, e.g. English *delicious food* with the adjective immediately preceding the noun, or Indonesian *makan enak* ‘food delicious’ with the opposite word order
- b. by agreement: the adjective agrees with the noun in one or more features (number, gender, definiteness, case etc.)
- c. by means of a linker: the best known example of a linker is the *ezafe* in Persian, in the phrase *āb-e garm* ‘hot water’, for example, the adjective *garm* ‘hot’ is joined to the noun *āb* ‘water’ by means of the linking element *-e*, the *ezafe*. This same element is used to join other attributes to the noun, e.g. a possessor as in: *asb-e mard* ‘horse *-e* man’, ‘the man’s horse’ or a descriptive epithet: *hasan-e tājer* ‘Hasan *-e* the merchant’.³

Since all attributive adjectives usually either immediately precede or follow the noun they modify it seems better to distinguish only two main types of adjective attribution, which are defined by either the presence A or the absence B of markers. Type A is then subdivided into subtype A1 with agreement markers that are usually to be found at the end of the adjective; and subtype A2 with markers or ‘linkers’ that are usually placed before the adjective. Both subtypes of attributive marking have the same function: to show that the adjective is predicated of the same entity as the noun it is formally connected with. As such anaphoric reference is one of the core functions of demonstratives, too, it is only natural that demonstratives time and again turn up as linkers or agreement

markers in the languages of the world. The Germanic and Slavic languages form no exception in this respect, in the history of these language families the use of pronominal elements for linking and agreement marking seems even to be of a more or less cyclical nature. In Proto-Slavic, for example, attributive adjectives developed the so-called “long form” consisting of the adjective with a demonstrative pronoun attached to it. In the course of time the distinction between short and long forms wore off in Slovene, but in the colloquial language another demonstrative element, viz. *ta*, took over the role of the original pronoun in the long forms as a linker. See section 7 for a somewhat more detailed discussion of Slovene.

Also in the history of the Germanic languages the demonstrative pronouns played an important role in joining adjectives to nouns, as will be shown in the following sections on East Germanic (Gothic), North Germanic (mainly Old Norse) and West Germanic (mainly Old English).

3 Gothic: *sa* + attribute

In Gothic there are two ways in which adjectives are joined to the nouns they modify: a) without a linker, in which case they agree with the noun in number, gender and case, albeit with other, pronominal endings (cf. McFadden 2004), that often differ considerably from the nominal ones; or b) with a demonstrative pronoun as a linker, in which case both linker and adjective agree with the noun in number, gender and case, the pronoun with one set of endings, the adjectives with another, so-called “weak” set of endings. Both types of adjective attribution are exemplified in the following passage in Wulfila’s translation of the Bible:

- (2) *ik im hairdeis gods. hairdeis sa goda saiwala seinā lagjīþ faur lamba*
 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός: ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 προβάτων:
 ‘I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.’

Both *hairdeis gods* and *hairdeis sa goda* translate the same phrase in the Greek original:⁴ *ho poimèn ho kalós* with a definite article *ho* preceding the noun (*poimèn*) and a formally identical article *ho* that links the adjective (*kalós*) to the

noun. What then is the difference in meaning between the two phrases in Gothic? Strong adjectives in Gothic and Old High German were according to Hodler (1954: 77) still indifferent to the kind of reference expressed by the nouns they modified, and could hence occur with both semantically definite and indefinite concepts, as well as with nouns that are used generically. Weak adjectives preceded by the article were banned from indefinite contexts, but might occur with a generic noun. The weak adjective + article (“die artikulierte schwache Form”) does hence not differ from its strong counterpart in species (definiteness), Hodler writes, but rather in emphasis: “only when a strong emphasis lies on the adjective, is the articulated weak form used.”⁵ This makes good sense in the case of 2. Although the Greek original has clearly definite noun phrases, there is no compelling reason to think that their Gothic counterparts are definite as well. To my mind a translation with indefinite noun phrases actually captures the sense of the text better: “I am a good shepherd. A *góod* shepherd gives his life for his sheep” with contrastive stress on the adjective *good* in the second occurrence of the noun phrase *a good shepherd*.

The weak adjective with its proclitic article is usually placed after the noun it modifies, as in 2, but may also appear in prenominal position, as in 3:

- (3) *ip sa ubila bagms akrana ubila gataujip*
 τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖ
 ‘but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.’⁶

Other elements may be placed between the noun and the weak adjective + article, e.g. a possessive pronoun as in 4 or a prepositional phrase as in 5:

- (4) *hlaif unsarana þana sinteinan gif uns himma daga.*
 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον:
 ‘Give us this day our daily bread.’
- (5) *ak atta meins gaf izwis hlaif us himina þana sunjeinan.*
 ἀλλ’ ὁ πατήρ μου δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν
 ‘but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.’

Article and adjective form a syntactic and semantic unit, the article only indicates that the adjective is an attribute to the noun, it does not function as a determiner of the noun in this use, or as Hodler (1954: 78) puts it: “The adjective article has nothing to do with the realisation or individualisation of the concept. A noun does not become more definite by the mere fact that an adjective is added to it.”⁷

Not only adjectives are joined to the noun by means of the *ezafe*-like article *sa* in Gothic, but also genitives 6, prepositional phrases 7, appositions 8, and present participles 9:

- (6) ei ni gatairaidau *witop þata Mosezis*
 ἵνα μὴ λυθῆ ὁ νόμος μωϋσέως
 ‘that the law of Moses should not be broken.’
- (7) aiþþau laun ni habaiþ fram *attin izwaramma þamma in himinam*
 εἰ δὲ μή γε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
 ‘otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.’
- (8) qaþ þan ains þize siponje is, *Judas Seimonis sa Iskariotes*
 λέγει δὲ ἰούδας ὁ ἰσκαριώτης εἷς [ἐκ] τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ
 ‘Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon’s son.’
- (9) ik im *hlaiþs sa atsteigands us himina*
 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ καταβὰς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 ‘I am the bread which came down from heaven.’

Especially in the latter case, with a participle phrase that is semantically more or less equivalent to a relative clause, the article functions in much the same way as a relative pronoun, a pronoun that is often formally identical with the distal demonstrative in West-Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch *die/dat*, German *die/der/das*. Just like adjective articles, relative pronouns have no influence on the referential status of the noun they link the relative clause to, they are linking devices *tout court*.

The adjective article in Gothic is functionally equivalent to the *ezafe* in Persian, which, however, is usually considered to be enclitic to the noun, whereas the article is proclitic to the attribute. But Franco *et al.* (2015: 292) provide convincing evidence that “the *ezafe* is integral part of the modifier, not of the

modified noun.” The *ezafe* forms a constituent with the adjective or genitive (or other attribute), just as the Gothic attributive article does. The constructions with the *ezafe* in Persian and the article in Gothic are thus not only functionally equivalent but also structurally. But there are some important differences, too, between the two constructions, the two main ones being: a) The *ezafe* is obligatory when the attribute follows the noun, in Gothic the article is optional, adding emphasis to the adjective or other attribute; and b) the *ezafe* is confined to postnominal position, wedged in between noun and attribute, whereas the article in Gothic enjoys a much greater freedom of placement: the attribute it is proclitic to, may not only follow the noun it is joined to, but also precede it. In the latter case the attributive article looks deceptively similar to the definite article in the modern West Germanic languages, e.g. *sa ubila bagms* ‘ART corrupt tree’ in 3. Such a definite article had, however, not evolved yet in Gothic.

4 North Germanic *sá* or *inn* + adjective

The earliest attestation of an adjective article in North Germanic is from around 800, in the inscription on the Sparlösa stone:

- (10) **runor þar raki-ukutu**
runar þar rægi[n]kundu
 rune-PL *sá*-PL divine-WEAK
 ‘runes of divine origin’

In this phrase the adjective is joined to the noun by means of a form of the demonstrative *sá* that agrees with the noun in case, number and gender. The same linking function is fulfilled by the demonstratives *inn* and *hinn*,⁸ *inn* appearing, for example, in the inscription on runic stone Sö 41 (Södermanland, Sweden; around 1050) in the phrase:

- (11) **mirki it mikla**
mærki it mikla
 landmarkn-SG *inn*N-SG greatWEAK
 ‘(the) great landmark’

hinn is regularly used in epithets to proper nouns, as e.g. in the inscription on the cross in Kirk on the Isle of Man; dated between 980 and 1015):

- (12) **sunr : þurulfs : hins : rauþa :**
sonr Þórułfs hins Rauða,
 son ÞórułfGEN *hinn*GEN redWEAK
 ‘the son of Þórułfr the Red’

In the inscription on the Skern stone 2 (North Jutland, Denmark; around 1000) both *sá* and *hinn* occur in epithets to the proper noun *Óðinkárr*:

- (13) **at uþinkaur usbiarnaR sun þoh tura uk hin turutin:fasta**
at Oþinkor AsbiarnaR sun, þan dyra ok hin drottinfasta
 ‘in memory of Óðinkárr Ásbjörn’s son, the valued and loyal to his lord’

Given the paucity of inscriptions from the period before 800 it is almost impossible to give more than a tentative answer to questions about the age of the construction in North Germanic. It is, on the one hand, not attested before 800, in older inscriptions in Elder Futhark an occasional epithet is linked to the proper name without the adjective article, as in the text on the Sjøland bracteate 2 (dated to around 500):

- (14) **hariuha haitika farauisa gibu auja**
 ‘Hariuha (army-lord) I am called, knowing (the) danger: I give protection’

The weak adjectival form *fāravisa* appears here without the article, but we cannot be sure that this was the ordinary way in which weak adjectives were used in those days. It is, on the other hand, not impossible that the construction with a linking demonstrative evolved already in the Proto-Germanic parent language, as it is found in all the daughter languages. Absence of the construction in the extremely limited amount of texts in Elder Futhark that have come down to us does not guarantee that the construction was absent in the language.

Whatever the right answer might be, it seems certain that adjective articles emerged in North Germanic long before the demonstrative *inn* was cliticized to the right of the noun, and turned into a suffix that signals that the noun is

definite. Exactly when this latter process took place, is not clear. The earliest attestation of a definite noun form is **antini/ontini** on two runic stones from the 11th century U 644 and U 669 (Uppland, Sweden) transcribed as *andinni*, dative sg. of *and* (f) + dat.sg.f. of the suffixed article.⁹ Much attention has been paid in the literature to the fact that the definite suffix only makes a rare appearance in the oldest Danish and Swedish texts, such as the Older Law of Västgötaland (Äldre Västgötalagen) from around 1220, and the Law of Jutland (Jyske Lov) from around 1250. This leads many scholars to the conclusion that the suffixed article is of a rather late date, Delsing (2002: 939), for example, suggests “that the article developed as an innovation in the 13th century.” This is blatantly wrong. The suffix appears regularly in the earliest Icelandic texts, such as the Book of the Icelanders (Íslendingabók, written by Ari Þorgilsson hinn fróði (‘the wise’) sometime between 1122 and 1134), and the First Grammatical Treatise from around 1150. The following passage from that treatise on spelling shows that definite noun forms (in italics in 15) are used abundantly:

- (15) Leka mǫnde (myndi) *húsit*, ef eigi mǫnde (mœndi) *smiðrinn*. Ef *gestrinn* kveðr dura, þa skyldi eigi *bóndinn* dúra. Runar heita geltir, en rúnar málstafr. Se þú hvé *flottinn* flýtr, er *sakarlinn* flytr. Stýrimaðr þarf *byrinn* brýnna, en sá er *nautunum* skal brynna.

‘The house would (mǫnde) leak, if no craftsman had ridged (mǫnde) the roof. If a guest knocks on the door (dura), the man of the house must not doze on (dúra). Male pigs are called boars (runar), but letters are called runes (rúnar). Look how the raft floats (flýtr) when the raftsman drives (flytr) it. The helmsman needs a sharper (brýnna) breeze than he who is to water (brynna) the cows.’

(text and translation Haugen 1950: 18)

Since the suffixed article is found in all North Germanic dialects, with the exception of West and South Jutlandic which have a prefix (*æ* or *a*) instead, it must have come into existence well before the end of the Viking Age, i.e. before communication between the various parts of the vast language area broke down.

The traditional dating of the origin of the suffixed article to the Viking Age seems to me therefore to be basically correct.

After the emergence of the suffix of definiteness, and hence of the grammatical category of definiteness in the language, the adjective article + attribute was predominantly used with semantically definite nouns or noun phrases, without contributing itself to that definiteness.

In Old Norse the construction (*h*)*inn* + weak adjective is used when the noun is definite by itself, or made definite by a demonstrative, a possessive or a genitive:

- (16) hafit þat it djúpa
 [sea-DEF that ART deep-W]-N-SG-NOM
 ‘that deep sea’
- (17) þau hin stóru skip
 [those ART big-W ships]-N.PL.NOM
 ‘those big ships’
- (18) minn hinn hvassi hjörr
 [my ART sharp-W sword]-M-SG-NOM
 ‘my sharp sword’
- (19) þú mín hin fríða
 you [my ART beautiful-W]-F-SG-VOC
 ‘you, my beautiful one’
- (20) á því are eno sama
 in [that year ART same-W]-N-SG.DAT
 ‘in that same year’

The article forms one constituent with the adjective [*inn* + adj], there is hence no construction type in which the demonstrative *sá* ‘that’ combines with *inn* into a complex demonstrative [*sá* + *inn*], as is mistakenly assumed by Sprenger (1977) and Bell & Robertson (1984). The constituent [*inn* + adj] enjoys great freedom of placement in Old Norse, it may turn up between a demonstrative or a possessive and the noun as in 17 and 18, at the very end of the phrase, as in 16, 19 and 20 or at the beginning of the phrase, e.g. 21:

- (21) hit fyrsta þeira verk
 ART first-W their task
 ‘their first task’

In this position the adjective article looks like a definite determiner, just as its Gothic counterpart *sa* in 3, but it isn’t, as is proven by the fact that it turns up at the front of an indefinite NP as well, as in 22:

- (22) hit tiunda hvert ár
 [ART tenth each year]-N-SG
 ‘every tenth year’

Clearly indefinite are noun phrases with an absolute superlative, denoting a very high degree. In Old Norse such superlatives always appear in their weak form, preceded by the article, whereas the relative superlative, denoting the highest degree, usually has strong form:

- (23) Ámundi var hinn vitrasti maðr
 Ámundi was ART wisest-W man
 ‘Amundi was a very wise man’
- (24) hann var kallaðr vitrastr maðr i Svíaveldi
 he was called wisest-S man in Sweden
 ‘he was called the wisest man in Sweden’

This is exactly the opposite of what one would expect if one, on the one hand, assumes the adjective article *hinn* in 23 to be a determiner that makes the noun definite, and on the other hand subscribes to a Russellian theory of definiteness, which would consider the formally indefinite phrase *vitrastr maðr* to be semantically definite, as it undeniable denotes uniqueness of the referent.

In Old Norse the adjective article is only used with adjectives and numerals, not with other attributes, and thus contrasts in this respect with the article in Gothic that also links genitives and prepositional phrases to the noun. Whether the North Germanic articles never acquired this function, or had lost it before it could appear in writing, is an open question. But whatever the right answer might

be, loss of function is certainly the main theme in the subsequent history of the adjective article in the Scandinavian languages.

In Modern Icelandic the adjective article is on its way out of the language, Sigurðsson (2006: 196) claims: “the proposed free article is almost nonexistent in common everyday language.” In stead a construction ‘weak adjective + definite noun’ is used, e.g. *rauði billinn* ‘the red car’. According to Thrainsson (2007: 4), however, “it is clearly a simplification to say that the difference between the freestanding article and the suffixed one is mainly one of formal vs. informal language.” In fact “the free-standing article is sometimes required and the suffixed one excluded when a non-restrictive reading of a definite noun phrase is needed,” as e.g. in 25:

- (25) hinn þekkti leikari Clint Eastwood
 ART known-W actor C.E.
 ‘the well-known actor C.E.’

“In such a context the suffixed article cannot be used at all: **þekkti leikarinn Clint Eastwood*” (Thrainsson 2007: 89). Pfaff (2014: 231) supposes that the adjective in constructions like 25 is used epithetically, as “it does not contribute identifying information” and therefore calls such a construction an “appositive description”: “a definite A + N description that applies to a specific given/known referent.” The article + adjective may also follow the noun, with the same ‘appositive’ meaning:

- (26) leikari-nn þekkti Clint Eastwood
 actor-ART known-W C.E.
 ‘the well-known actor C.E.’

Pfaff analyses the *-nn* as the suffixed definite article of the noun, not as the adjective article.¹⁰ As far as I can see the construction type ‘noun + *inn* + weak adjective’ is a direct continuation of the construction in Old Norse: “When the article and the adjective are placed after a common noun, the article fuses sometimes with the noun to one word” (Nygaard 1905: 50),¹¹ e.g.:

- (27) *með fingrunum vátum*
 with [finger-ART wet-W]M-PL-DAT
 ‘with his wet fingers’

According to Pfaff (2014: 221) the construction with the postnominal weak adjective has not been noticed in the literature, but is actually “productively used both in spoken and written language.” In the other Scandinavian languages, however, art + weak adjective always precede the noun, except when used in appositions to proper names: *Ludvig den fromme* ‘Louis the Pious’. When adjectives were fixated to prenominal position at the end of the Common Scandinavian period, the adjective article often ended up as the first element of the noun phrase. It could (and still can) be preceded by a demonstrative, but only if that demonstrative is not formally identical to the article, the Old Norse of 17 *þau hin stóru skip* ‘those big ships’ has, for example, an almost perfect match in Modern Swedish *dessa de stora skeppen* ‘these the large ships’. According to Stroh-Wollin (2009: 18) “it is fully possible to use double determiners” in such a construction in Modern Swedish, at least for those who still use the demonstrative *denna* in stead of *den här* ‘this’. Also in Norwegian and Danish the construction is still alive, but not kicking. Some examples, found on the internet, are given in 28 – 30:

- (28) Ungefär 97% av brukarna är positiva till *dessa de nya lås-en* Swedish
 ‘About 97% of the users are satisfied with these ART new locks-DEF ‘
- (29) for å sette *disse de nye tall-ene* fra SSB i perspektiv Norwegian
 ‘in order to put these ART new figures-DEF from SSB into perspective’
- (30) Omtrent halvdelen af den danske befolkning bor i dag i *disse de nye*
 landsbyer Danish
 ‘About half the population of Denmark lives nowadays in these ART new villages’

But apart from these rare cases the adjective has shed its article when following a demonstrative, or – at a later stage – a possessive. The article in constructions without a demonstrative or possessive now seems to be in a position in the noun

phrase where it competes with these determiners, and hence to have turned into a determiner itself. This appears indeed to be the case in Danish, in this language the article stands in opposition to demonstratives, possessives and genitives, when followed by an adjective:

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| (31) a | det nye hus | the new house | article |
| (31) b | dette nye hus | this new house | demonstrative |
| (31) c | dit nye hus | your new house | possessive |
| (31) d | familiens nye hus | the family's new house | genitive |

In Swedish the article still forms a phrase with the adjective, it is not a definite determiner, as it does not contribute to the species (definiteness) of the noun. The structure of a noun phrase *det nya huset* 'the new house' is therefore not [Det [A-w + Ndef]], but rather: [-[art [A-w]] Ndef]. The article has scope over the weak adjective or adjectives that follow it, but not over the noun. Its function is to show that the weak adjective it precedes is predicated of the same entity as the noun it links the adjective to. Its reference is language internal, anaphoric, not external, deictic, pointing to the outside world. As Franco *et al.* (2013) argue such internal linking is exactly what agreement is all about. It makes therefore good sense to claim that adjective articles as well as agreeing or non agreeing *ezafe*'s are part of the agreement system of the language in which they occur.

In Runic Scandinavian and Old Norse the article was repeated with each adjective, as in 13 above, repeated here for convenience, and 32:

- (13) at uþinkaurl usbiarnaR sun þoh tura uk hin turutin:fasta
at Opinkor AsbiarnaR sun, þan dyra ok hin drottinfasta
 'in memory of Óðinkárr Ásbjörn's son, the valued and loyal to his lord'
- (32) Halfdan inn mildi ok inn matarilli
 Halfdan ART generous-W and ART food-stingy-W
 'Halfdan the generous and stingy on food'

In Modern Swedish repetition of the article with adjectives that are predicated of the same entity is stylistically marked, but not impossible, as in 33:

- (33) jag väljer i stället att fokusera på *de* stora, *de* verkliga och viktiga problemen.
 I choose instead to focus on ART big, ART real and important problemsDEF
 ‘I choose instead to focus on the big, the real and important problems’

But normally there is only one occurrence of the article in constructions with multiple adjectives, in which case each adjective appears in the weak form (usually ending in *-a*), a form that shows that the adjective is linked to the following noun. As the article has the same function as the weak inflection, i.e. marking that the adjective ‘belongs’ to the immediately following noun in the noun phrase, it can be left out in a number of constructions, especially those that have namelike meanings (adjective noun combinations that “have grown capitals letters,” Strawson 1950: 338), such as *Vita Huset* ‘the White House’; *Tekniska Högskolan* ‘the Technical University’. The tendency to leave out the article is more pronounced in Central and North Sweden than in the South, and especially prominent in what Dahl (2015) calls ‘peripheral Swedish’, the ‘genuine’ dialects of Central, North and Eastern Swedish.

The structure of constructions with and without the article is basically the same: A + Ndef:

- (34) a det vita huset
 [ART white-W]_{AP} houseDEF
 ‘the white house’
- (34) b Vita Huset
 [white-W]_{AP} houseDEF
 ‘the White House’

In constructions with an absolute superlative, the non-deictic nature of the adjective article is particularly clear:

- (35) vi följer utvecklingen med *det största intresse*
 (Engdahl & Coppock 2017: 1)
 ‘we follow developmentDEF with the greatest interest’

The noun has indefinite form, the article is part of the adjective phrase, and the meaning of the whole phrase is indefinite: [ART [störst-w]]_{AP} N. The article may be left out, especially in standing phrases like *i värsta/bästa fall* ‘at worst/best’ or *utan minsta tvekan* ‘without the slightest doubt’. An adjective wedged in between superlative and noun has weak form, too, which proves that weak adjectival form as such does not entail that the noun phrase it occurs in, is definite:

- (36) vid första lilla vinkat the first little hint’
 at first-W little-W hint
 ‘at the first little hint’

5 West Germanic

In the period in which the oldest texts in a West Germanic dialect were written down the definite article of the noun was *in statu nascendi*. According to Crisma (2011: 175) the article emerged in English “no later than the last quarter of the 9th century, being regularly used in Old English prose of the ‘Alfredian’ period.” On the basis of Crisma’s and her own research into the use of the article in Old English Allen (2016: 72) concludes that it is “well established that the definite article emerged within the OE period.” Kraiss (2014: 127) arrives at a similar conclusion as to the age of the article in Old High German: “a definite article did exist from the earliest recorded examples of OHG,” and Hodler (1954: 38) assumes this to be the case in Old Saxon as well. The article derives in all West Germanic languages from the distal demonstrative: OE *se*, OHG *dher/ther*, OS *the* ‘that, the’. It precedes the noun it determines. The same demonstrative lies at the origin of the adjective article, too. When the construction ‘adjective article + weak adjective’ is preposed it is virtually impossible to tell the two types of article apart. In most cases the article appearing at the front of a noun phrase will be interpreted as an instance of the definite article, which functions as a determiner on a par with demonstratives, possessives and preposed genitives; *the* in *the new house* will receive the same interpretation as *the* in *the house*. But in postposition the adjective article survives in the modern languages, linking epithets to proper

And then led I my ART new-W wife into my ART half-plastered-W
house

‘Then I led my new wife into my half-plastered house’

Vita Malchi

But as Wood (2007: 357) remarks “the construction did not survive the Old English period,” the article was lost in this position in Early Middle English. Curiously, the construction seems (still?, again?) to be alive and kicking in Danish, as a quick search on the Internet (14-07-2017) showed: the string *min den gamle* ‘my ART old’ gave some 150 useful results, as did the string *min den første* ‘my ART first’.

6 Slavic: long adjectives

The long adjective in Slavic consists historically of the short adjective + the demonstrative (and/or relative) pronoun **jb-* in the appropriate form, e.g. *novъ + jb* → *novъjb* → *novy(j)* (m.sg.nom.). It is usually assumed that the incorporated pronoun has retained its meaning, functioning as a kind of definiteness marker of the noun to which it is joined, together with its host, the adjective. This assumption cannot be correct. “It is a curious fact that OCS only allows the overt marking of definite nouns when they are modified by regular adjectives” Flier (1970: 67) remarks, and indeed a curious fact it would be if it were one. Attributive adjectives are not very frequent in spontaneous discourse, and they are almost absent in definite noun phrases: “What I found hardly any examples of, interestingly enough, were definite noun phrases with adjectives in them,” Thompson (1988: 256) writes; Dahl (2015: 121) points to a similar low frequency of attributive adjectives in definite noun phrases in Swedish: “In the corpus *Samtal i Göteborg* (Löfström 1988), comprising half a million words of spoken Swedish – corresponding to 1250 printed pages – there were only 253 examples of the pattern *den/det/dom adj-e/a n-def* that is, the standard form of such NPs in Swedish. (Comparatives and superlatives were excluded from this count.) This is equivalent to about once in ten minutes of conversation, or once in five printed pages.” It would be surprising indeed if a language would mark

definiteness only in these relatively rare cases; it would be even more surprising if it did so by making the adjective definite, instead of the noun. But as was argued in the sections on Germanic above, only nouns can be definite, i.e. show that they are used referentially, adjectives cannot, unless they are nominalized. Reference means pointing to entities in the world, it does not matter whether this is the real world, or one created in language. Speakers of languages that have a grammatical category ‘definiteness’ use the markers of definiteness as signals that they are referring, ‘pointing’ to extralinguistic entities. Reference as a more or less direct link to the world differs fundamentally from agreement, the function of which is to make clear that the agreeing adjective or verb is predicated of the same external entity as the noun it agrees with. The demonstrative elements that are cliticized or affixed to the adjective or verb function more or less like the subscripts in logical notation, they establish internal relations between elements in a given structure, but do not establish a relation with the outside world by themselves.

The demonstrative pronoun **jb-* that is suffixed to adjectives in Slavic functions in much the same way as the adjective article in Germanic, and more specifically in Gothic, a language that, like Old Slavic, had not developed nominal definiteness either. The pronoun ties the adjective tightly to the noun it modifies, adjective and noun form a semantic unity, denoting a subkind of the kind of entities denoted by the noun. The adjective has therefore often contrastive force, as in the first example from Gothic in this paper: *hairdeis sa goda* ‘a shepherd of the good kind’ → ‘a góód shepherd’. The long form (adjective + ART) in the OCS translation of the phrase *ton arton ek tou ouranou ton alèthinon* corresponds exactly to the ART + adjective construction in Gothic:

- (40) τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν
 xlěbъ istinъny sъ nebesē
 [bread true-LONG]-M-SG-ACC from heaven
 hlaif us himina þana sunjeinan
 bread from heaven [ART true-W]-M-SG-ACC
 ‘the true bread from heaven’

‘The true bread’, which is of a different, spiritual kind. With proper names epithets that characterise the person bearing that name, have long form in OCS, and the article in Gothic, e.g.:

- (41) *Ναιμᾶν ὁ σύρος*
 neemaŋ surьsky
 Naiman sa Saur
 ‘Naiman the Syrian’

7 Slovenian: *ta* + adjective

The opposition between short and long forms has to a large extent been given up in the majority of the present-day Slavic languages (see Kalsbeek 2012: 211-2). In colloquial Slovene a new demonstrative element, the undeclinable *ta* has taken over the role of **jъ*- in Early Slavic: “in the spoken language the forms *ta lep* and *en lep* replace definite *lepi* and indefinita *lep*,¹²” Bazeč (2008: 237) writes, thus restating common opinion that the opposition between long and short forms reflects an opposition of definiteness. But at the end of that same paper (2008: 254) she remarkss that the indefinite article *en* very often occurs immediately before *ta*.¹³ She gives the following example of that use:

- (42) *ena ta prava svinska kurba*
 [a ART real dirty whore]-F-SG-NOM
 ‘a real dirty whore’

In this example *ta prava* means according to Bazeč “one of those real ones,” one of the real kind. Marušič & Žaucer (2007) also suggest that *ta* forces a type-reading on the noun phrase, *ta* “can also refer to a definite (/unique) type or class of a noun described by the adjective.” The contribution made by *ta* to the overall meaning of the noun phrase *dva ta mala pira* ‘two small beers’ in 43 is an emphasis on the type: two small beers, two half pints, not two pints:

- (43) *Dejte nama prosm dva ta mala pira.*
 give to-us please two TA small beers
 ‘two half pints, please’

As we have seen in the preceding sections this is exactly the element of meaning that the adjective article in Gothic and the long forms in OCS bring with them to the noun phrase they are part of. Not only the semantics of *ta* in colloquial Slovene and *sa* in Gothic is similar, but also their distribution. Both articles may follow a demonstrative or a possessive, they function as nominalizers (or: ‘in noun phrases with an empty noun’), and they are repeated when multiple adjectives modify the noun. Examples of the various constructions are given in 44a-b (after Marušič & Žaucer 2007)

- (44) a tá [ta zelen] [ta debeu] svinčnik demonstrative / stacking
 this TA green TA thick pencil
 ‘this thick green pencil’
- (44) b Tole so njeni ta stari possessive / nominalization
 these are her TA olds
 ‘These are her parents.’

8 Concluding remarks

Adjective articles derive in most cases from demonstrative pronouns, pronouns that also lie at the origin of the definite noun articles. In North Germanic the two types of article have different forms, it is therefore relatively easy to see that they have different histories, too. It is equally easy to grasp that the function and history of adjective articles are different from those of noun articles in languages that lack the latter, as most Slavic languages do, and Gothic did. But since both kinds of article have the same form and position in present-day West Germanic languages, it is difficult to tell them apart. It looks like the two article types have merged, or rather that the noun article is the only article left, having ousted its competitor from its former territories. But scattered over these languages there are relics to be found of the earlier state of affairs. There are still some constructions in which the article does not make the noun phrase definite, but only has scope over the adjective. The absolute superlative is a good example:

- (45) ze koopt de duurste kleren Dutch
 ‘she buys the most expensive clothes’

which, in the absolute reading means, ‘clothes, of the extremely expensive type’, the noun phrase is indefinite, the article *de* has no scope over the noun *kleren*. The phrase has a type reading, characteristic of adjective article constructions.

Epithet constructions of the type *Charles the Bald*, which has the ART + adj following the noun, a proper name¹⁴, is another example of the survival of the adjective article in the modern West-Germanic languages.

As soon as one has realized that the article in a construction [ART + adj + noun] is not always an instance of the definite article, and, hence, that not every occurrence of the article in such constructions makes the noun phrase definite, one finds many more instances of what in minimalist theory probably would be called ‘a low article’. By way of conclusion I give a last example of a non-determining article in Dutch:

- (46) Er is *de nodige* belangstelling voor dit onderwerp.
 there is ART needed interest for this subject
 ‘there is a lot of interest for this subject.’

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Notes

1 Stroh-Wallin & Simke (2014: 102*f*) found at least one example in Old Swedish of the construction article + strong adjective: *them gambloom laghom* ‘the old laws_{DAT}’.

2 “*Þæn* sásom artikel kan ej vara äldre än suff. artikel” and “att den rika frekvensen av typen *þæn gamli man* i poesien till väsentlig grad beror på främmande inverkan.” In fact Larm (1936: 64) only argues that the use of *þæn* as an adjective article belongs to a later period of the language than the suffix on the noun, he does not claim that the adjective article as such is of later date than the suffixed article: “... that the prepositive adjective article is older than the suffixed article. This is probable, but this does not apply to the article *þæn* but to *hin*.” Referring to this passage in the concluding part of his dissertation (p. 176) he writes: “The state of affairs in Greek and Gothic confirms also my opinion, expressed on p. 64 above, that the adjective article is older than the substantive article.”

3 The Persian examples are taken from Boyle (1966).

4 All the fragments of Wulfila’s text are taken from the online edition of Streitberg’s *Die gotische Bibel* (1919) on Project Wulfila (www.wulfila.be). The interlinear Bible translations used on the project’s website are: the King James version, and Nestle-Alands 26/27th edition of the Greek text *Novum Testamentum Graece*, which according to the editors of the online version “is obviously not the version used by Wulfila.” This has of course some consequences for the reliability of the hypotheses about Gothic syntax that are based on a comparison between the Gothic text with the Greek original: “Obviously, the lack of a reliable reconstruction of the ‘Vorlage’ makes it harder to

determine whether an unexpected word order or other apparent deviation actually tells something about syntax or style, or simply reflects an alternative reading in the unknown base text.”

5 “bloß, wenn eine starke Emphase auf dem Adjektiv liegt, wird die artikulierte schwache Form verwendet –aber (in der Regel) nicht beim indefiniten Begriff.”

6 Notice in passing that the King James version has here an indefinite NP ‘a corrupt tree’.

7 “Der Adjektivartikel hat nichts mit Realisierung oder Individualisierung des Begriffes zu tun. Ein Substantiv wird um nichts bestimmter deswegen, weil ein Adjektiv zu ihm tritt.”

8 It is usually assumed that *inn* and *hinn* are two variant forms of the same word, see Perridon (1989: 129-135) for a brief summary of the discussion on this matter in the first part of the 20th century. Skrzypek (2008) produces some interesting new arguments for the hypothesis that *inn* and *hinn* were two separate words in the Common Scandinavian period.

9 As Skrzypek remarks in her dissertation (2012: 75) there are some problems with both inscriptions. U 669 is only known from some drawings, which are reproduced by Wessén & Jansson in *Upplands runinskrifter* 3, 155-7; the first and the last word, which is just *ontini*, in the inscription on U 644 are the most difficult to read, but accusative to Wessén & Jansson (1949: 95) the interpretation of the last three runes as *-ini* is almost certain. “The reading (of the runes) 103-108 *ontini* has been verified on several inspections (of the stone), and is in our opinion certain.” On plate 20 in *Upplands runinskrifter* the runes on U 644 are readily readable and interpretable, there is no doubt that the last 6 runes are *ontini*. From recent pictures of the stone on the internet, however, it is clear that the stone has withered to such an extent that nowadays hardly any rune can be read at all.

10 On p. 233 of his paper, however, he assumes that the distinction ART vs. DEF (the suffix) is secondary.

11 “Naar artiklen og adjektivet sættes efter et fællesnavn, smelter artiklen stundom sammen med substantivet til et ord.”

12 “nella lingua parlata al posto della forma definita *lepi* e indefinita *lep* subentrano le forme colloquiali *ta lep* e *en lep*.”

13 “È infatti molto frequente l’occorenza dell’articolo indeterminativo colloquiale immediatamente davanti a *ta*.”

14 For a useful discussion of this type of construction, see Rießler (2016: 67-8).

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ТӘНН МУНН НЕ ОТРИЦАЮ: TAALHUTSPOT OP HET KOLA-SCHIEREILAND

David Pineda Dijkerman

Inleiding

Op het Kola-schiereiland in het uiterste noordwesten van Rusland, omgeven door de Barentssee in het noorden en de Witte Zee in het zuiden, leeft een kleine groep Samen (1771 volgens de volkstelling van 2010),¹ stamgenoten van de veel grotere groep Samen die in de Scandinavische landen Noorwegen, Zweden en Finland wonen. De Samen spreken een aantal onderling nauw verwante Fins-Oegrische talen: in Rusland zijn dat het Kildin-Samisch, het Ter-Samisch, het Skolt-Samisch en het mogelijk uitgestorven Akkala-Samisch. De samischsprekenden in Rusland behoren grotendeels tot de oudste generaties en hun aantal neemt snel af: volgens diezelfde volkstelling spreken nog 299 mensen een vorm van Samisch, maar andere onderzoeken wijzen op een getal van ca. 200 actieve sprekers (Шеллер 2010: 20-22). Alle huidige sprekers van het Samisch zijn minstens tweetalig Russisch, en een aantal beheerst ook het Komi.

Mijn promotieonderzoek aan de Universiteit van Tromsø (Noorwegen) heeft als onderwerp de codewisseling tussen het Samisch en Russisch, en dan meer bepaald de vraag hoe codewisseling een rol speelt bij het aanbrengen van structuur in een gesprek of vertelling. Als basis dienen twee opnames van elk ca. één uur en een kwartier, gemaakt in het stadje Lovozero (Samisch *Лувовэр*). Bij beide opnames was mijn collega Elisabeth Scheller aanwezig, die een taalrevitalisatieproject in Lovozero leidde en goed Kildin-Samisch sprak. Opname L21H7 is een gesprek tussen een Samische bekende van ons en een vriend van haar. Het gesprek gaat voor een groot deel over illegaal vissen, over het dorp en de natuur in de omgeving. Het tweede gesprek, L26H7, is een interview met een vrouw die we van een Samisch sociaal evenement kenden. Het begon als een

klassiek interview met vragen en antwoorden, maar al heel gauw werd het eerder een lange monoloog van de kant van informant L26, waarin ze haar levensverhaal vertelt, en *en passant* commentaar geeft op o.a. het alcoholisme onder de Samische bevolking en op het traditionele geloof in watergeesten.

In dit artikel zal ik een aantal voorbeelden geven van de verschillende soorten „taalhutspot” die in mijn Kildin-Samische materiaal voorkomen: codewisseling en de combinaties van Samische onderwerpspronomen en Russische werkwoorden. Onderweg zal ik ook het verschil tussen codewisseling en leenwoorden aankaarten.

Codewisseling

De term *codewisseling* (of de Engelse term *code switching*) wordt door verschillende onderzoekers op verschillende manier gehanteerd. In mijn onderzoek gebruik ik het, in navolging van Gumperz (1982: 59), in vrij brede zin: het gebruik van meerdere talen in één gesprek. Er zijn echter ook onderzoekers die het gebruik van de term *code switching* beperken tot het wisselen van taal tussen twee zinnen, en die dan de term *code mixing* gebruiken voor het overgaan van de ene taal naar de andere binnen een zin, bijvoorbeeld Pieter Muysken (2000:1).

Serieuze studie naar dit verschijnsel begint in 1972 met het artikel van Jan-Petter Blom en John Gumperz over codewisseling tussen Standaard-Noors (*bokmål*) en een dialect in het Noorse dorp Hemnesberget. Binnen het onderzoek naar codewisseling bestaan er verschillende benaderingen:

1. een grammaticale benadering, die vooral zoekt naar syntactische beperkingen voor codewisseling en zich dus voornamelijk beperkt tot codewisseling binnen de zin;
 2. een macro-sociolinguïstische benadering, die haar aandacht richt op de rol die de maatschappelijke structuur van een land of regio speelt bij het ontstaan en het gebruik van codewisseling;
 3. een derde richting die betrekking heeft op de rol die codewisseling speelt op het niveau van interactie bij het structureren van een gesprek.
- Overigens sluiten deze verschillende benaderingen elkaar geenszins uit, en veel onderzoekers doen onderzoek in meer dan een benadering.

Mijn onderzoek beperkt zich tot de laatstgenoemde benadering, en in het bijzonder tot een benadering vanuit het oogpunt van de conversatieanalyse. De al eerder genoemde Amerikaan John Gumperz ontwikkelde in de jaren '70 het concept van *contextualisatie* en *contextualisatietekens* (*contextualization cues*), waar hij in zijn boek uit 1982 een hoofdstuk aan wijdde. Uitgangspunt daarbij was dat bij gesprekken verschillende *activiteiten* plaatsvinden – een bepaald type gesprek dat gedeeltelijk een „draaiboek” volgt, waarbij de sprekers bepaalde verwachtingen hebben van hoe een (deel van een) gesprek hoort te verlopen, en ook van een daarbij behorende „stijl”. Een extreem voorbeeld van zo'n activiteit is het vertellen van een mop, een toast op een feestmaaltijd, een telefoontje naar de politie of een gesprek met een arts. Maar bij een gesprek kan ook, bijvoorbeeld na het vertellen van een verhaal of anecdote, een samenvatting of een conclusie worden gegeven; een fragment kan als een citaat worden gemarkeerd, of als ironisch bedoeld. Het op die manier mogelijk voor de toehoorder een fragment van een gesprek te interpreteren, in een bepaalde context te plaatsen, noemt Gumperz *contextualisatie*, en de „signalen” die de toehoorder eraan herinneren dat hier naar een bepaalde context wordt verwezen *contextualization cues*.

Contextualisatietekens kunnen vele vormen aannemen. In veel gevallen werken ze door de contrastwerking die ze hebben ten opzichte van de omgeving: veranderingen in intonatie, luidheid, snelheid, blik, maar ook het gebruik van „vlaggen”, zoals het gebruik van de uitdrukking *но-русски сказать* door informante L26, of het overschakelen naar een andere taal, markeren een bepaald deel van het gesprek als „anders”, en het is dan aan de toehoorder om – op grond van zijn ervaring met eerdere gesprekken – de juiste context te bedenken. In die zin kan men bijv. cursivering in een geschreven tekst ook zien als een contextualiseringsteken: het contrasteert een woord met zijn omgeving, maar de betekenis van die contrastering, de context van het gecursiveerde woord, moet de lezer op grond van eerdere ervaringen zelf reconstrueren. Cursivering heeft op zich geen betekenis.

In veel gevallen geeft het contextualisatieteken echter een hint in welke richting die context moet worden gezocht. De verandering van stem door spreekster L26 in een bepaald fragment gaf bijvoorbeeld aan dat ze een luie,

verwekelijkte vrouw nadeed; het gebruik van Russisch vol officiële termen en medische terminologie (zie voorbeeld 2) suggereert dat we met een wetenschappelijk bedoelde verklaring te doen hebben. In dit soort gevallen heeft het contextualisatieteken een zogenaamd „inherent betekenispotentieel”, en is dus niet puur willekeurig. Als we weer een vergelijking maken met de geschreven taal, is het zoals het gebruik van gotisch schrift of Iers-Keltische letters. Beide contrasteren met de omgeving, maar tegelijkertijd suggereert het eerste Duitse cultuur en gezelligheid of strengheid en nazisme; het tweede Keltische mystiek, new age, Ierse muziek of pubcultuur.

In zijn artikelen uit 1998 en 1999 probeert Peter Auer tot een typologie van verschillende soorten codewisseling te komen, gebaseerd op hun functie. In het laatste artikel (1999) komt hij op drie verschillende types:

1. *Codewisseling in eigenlijke zin*: hierbij wordt in principe één taal gesproken, en overgangen naar een andere taal geven „andersheid” aan en hebben dus contextualiserende betekenis;
2. *Taalmenging (language mixing)*: de overgangen van één taal naar de andere vinden niet langer alleen op syntactische of prosodische grenzen plaats. Doordat ze zo veel voorkomen hebben de wisselingen tussen talen ook geen contrasterende, contextualiserende werking meer. In sommige gevallen kan het mengen van talen ook te maken hebben met het gebrek aan passende woordenschat in één van de talen, zie daarvoor voorbeeld 1 hieronder;
3. *Fused lect*: hierbij is sprake van een stabiel mengsel van twee talen: het gebruik van bepaalde woorden van een taal A (meestal onverbuigbare functiewoorden als voegwoorden, discourse markers, bijwoorden, soms ook telwoorden) zijn min of meer verplicht geworden in taal B, en hebben daarbij eventuele corresponderende woorden in taal B verdrongen. Het invoegen van deze woorden heeft dan ook geen contrasterende, contextualiserende betekenis meer.

Ik zal hieronder een paar voorbeelden nader bekijken waar, naar mijn mening, codewisseling inderdaad een contextualiserende functie heeft. Daarnaast komen

er in mijn opnamen ook typen vermenging van talen voor waarbij de wisseling van één taal naar de ander geen contextualisatieteken lijkt te zijn: volgens Auers typologie is hier dus sprake van *language mixing*. In het volgende fragment vertelt informant L21 over het verspillende waterverbruik van de dorpelingen. Het Samisch en het Russisch wisselen elkaar als basistaal in snel tempo af, met het werkwoord en de pronomina dan weer in de ene, dan weer in de andere taal. De Samische woordenschat wordt rijkelijk aangevuld met Russische technische termen (hier en in de volgende voorbeelden staat Russisch in romein, Samisch in cursief):

- (1) Ну *сõн* на счётчике *сыйй* экономят, счётчики поставят. *Пыййев счётчикэ́тб, кáжнэ* капля если капает *сõнн* тоже *вуайй* накрутить, *тёмэ́тб мáккьсэв* по пятьсот рублей, да. Но *кэгк* счётчики *пыййма лэв,* *сыйй пугк* экономят. Не включают. А *тэ́сьт* лей, лей, лей. Не хочу, *валяйся*. Сколько положено *лй,* а счётчик *сыйй,* *уйнах,* кичают,² ача, ой много накрутил.

‘Nou ze besparen op de meter, ze plaatsen meters. Ze plaatsen meters, elke druppel als die lekt kan die hem ook laten draaien, daarom betalen ze ook elk vijfhonderd roebel, ja. Maar degenen die een meter geplaatst hebben, die besparen de hele tijd. Ze doen het water niet aan. Maar hier: laat maar lopen. Als ik niet wil, [*onverstaanbaar*] Zoveel nodig is, maar ze houden de meter in de gaten, aha, o jee, wat draait-ie veel’ (L21H7-03-19)

Wat de derde categorie aangaat, lijkt het erop dat het „Samisch” in onze opnamen inderdaad een *fused lect* is. Zo zijn de meest frequente voegwoorden, zoals *а, и, но, что* en *или*, uit het Russisch overgenomen (naast *а/и* wordt ook het „inheemse” (feitelijk een oud Germaans leenwoord) *я* gebruikt). Veel bijwoorden en discourse markers komen ook uit het Russisch, waarbij de Samische tegenhangers, althans in onze opnamen, niet of nauwelijks voorkomen: R. *уже* i.p.v. S. *э́;* R. *потом* i.p.v. S. *мануа*; R. *конечно* i.p.v. S. *зо́абэль.* *Вот* concurreert met het Samische *тэль.* Daarnaast vindt de codewisseling plaats met name bij telwoorden boven de 10, zeker als ze samengesteld zijn en/of in jaartallen en leeftijden voorkomen: *две*

тысяча втором году *сѣнн лѣихэ мыннэ* или первом году „hij gaf het me in 2002 of 2001” (L21H7-01-01/02); *мыннэ* шестнадцать *эллий* „ik was nog geen zestien” (L26H7-01-02); туда килограмм тридцать *вуайй* напрессовать „daar kun je een kilo of dertig in persen” (L26H7-01-23).

Hier volgt een kort, niet-uitputtend overzicht van Russische woorden in het *fused lect* van Kildinsamisch:

- Discourse markers: *вот, вот и* (naast *тэль*), *дак, вобщем, ну, же*;
- Voegwoorden: *а, и, но, эле* (= *или*), *что, чтобы*;
- Bijwoorden: *тоже, потом, особенно, сначала, беда* (= *очень*), *конечно, может, типа, только, ведь, всё* (in de betekenis „en dat was het”), *значит, слишком, нибудь, бы* (vaak in combinatie met een Samische werkwoordsvorm), *даже*, en waarschijnlijk nog veel meer;
- Telwoorden: telwoorden hoger dan zes meestal in het Russisch (vooral jaartallen en leeftijd).

Codewisseling als contextualiseringsteken

Het eerstgenoemde type codewisseling, de codewisseling in eigenlijke zin, heeft dus, in tegenstelling tot de andere twee types vermenging van talen, wèl contextualiserende betekenis. Daarbij treedt codewisseling meestal op in combinatie met andere contextualiseringstekens als veranderingen in toonhoogte en spreekvolume, pauzes, en verdraaiing van stem. Hieronder volgen een paar voorbeelden van dit type codewisseling, alle afkomstig uit opname L26H7:

- (2) *А то юженъ, оо. И мыйй шигктээнне коацькэмъ тэнн пёрк ыррпэмъ. Ми лй скрывать? Потому что, тэж все коренные народности севера, малые национальности они очень быстро спиваются, потому что у нас в организме нет такого фермента, который расщепляет алкоголь и выводит с организма. У нас его нет, и потому идёт быстрое спаивавание особенно женщин. А у женщин объясняется очень просто: менструальный цикл. Вот мунн эмм тидъ коххт самас пугк объяснить, рўшас сārна вот. И юженъ пугк, кэррсэнне юженъ.*

‘En ze dronken, ooh. En we aten goed van dat eten, vraten het. Wat valt er te verbergen? Want alle inheemse volkeren van het noorden, de kleine volkeren, die worden heel snel alcoholist, want wij hebben zo’n ferment niet in ons organisme dat alcohol afbreekt en uit het organisme afvoert. Dat hebben we niet, en daarom worden vooral vrouwen snel verslaafd. En de uitleg bij vrouwen is heel eenvoudig: de menstruatiecycclus. Zo, ik weet niet hoe ik het allemaal in het Samisch moet uitleggen dus ik spreek Russisch. En iedereen zoop, ze zopen vreselijk.’ (L26H7-01-11)

Voorafgaand aan dit fragment spreekt L26 over het drankgebruik in Lovozero en over de pogingen van de vorige kolchozevoorzitter om daar door verplicht afkicken iets aan te doen. Na haar overgang naar het Russisch plaatst ze het alcoholisme in een breder perspectief en legt uit dat er medische redenen zijn waarom de inheemse volkeren snel verslaafd raken. De manier waarop L26 spreekt, het gebruik van Russisch – de taal van de medische wetenschap, de officiële terminologie (ferment, organisme, menstruatiecycclus, inheemse volkeren), suggereren allemaal dat ze zichzelf opstelt als een expert op dit gebied. De overgang naar het Russisch gaat vergezeld van een andere cue: een verandering in intonatie, die gelijkmatiger wordt, met minder pieken en dalen.

Iets later gaat het gesprek over hoe bij echtparen vaak beide partners alcoholist worden omdat ze samen andere stellen bezoeken en samen drinken. Na dit uitgelegd te hebben in het Samisch pauzeert L26 1,3s, waarna ze overschakelt naar het Russisch en haar uitspraak becommentarieert (ze verhult niets en vertelt alles zoals het is) en van conclusies voorziet (dàárom stierven Samen zo jong). Hier dienen codewisseling en pauze als contextualisatietekens:

- (3) *Кõххт лй пйрсэгуйм тэ́дт а́ххьк кáллeнэсь нуэдтэв, мыйй тэсьт допустим мыйй тэ́ль ... пьидцэ́пь сáмас цéлдькэ́ |1,3s|* вот. Да такое было, не приукрашиваю |0,5s| всё как есть, и это было в порядке вещей, вот почему наши |0,9s| саамские женщины и мужчины рано помирали.

‘Want hoe is dat bij families, een echtpaar komt bijvoorbeeld van ‘laten we ons bezuipen’ om het op zijn Samisch te zeggen. Ja, dat soort dingen

gebeuren, ik ga het niet goedpraten, ik zeg het zoals het is, en dat was heel normaal, en daarom gingen wij Samische vrouwen en mannen vroeg dood.’ (L26H7-01-12/13)

L26 komt later terug op deze gewoonte van stellen om samen te drinken. Ze begint met het beschrijven van de gemengde gevoelens die de terugkeer van de mannen van de toendra bij een kind opwekt: de vreugde over het weerzien gaat gepaard met angst voor de drinkgelagen.

- (4) *Тэдт ѝжя-дэдт* в детстве *тэдт сӓррнэв тэль адтв выйсэв чӓрэсът ъллмэ. Касът роӓммиэдак, касът сӓрркнак. А югкмушии лӓ югкмушии* |4,0s| Страшно то, по-русски говоря, страшно то что мы вот эти свои детские переживания, детские вот эти взгляды на пьяный образ жизни, на пьяных родителей мы забываем когда мы сами начинаем выпивать, и что самое страшное что первая стопка-то идёт из дома |2,6s| да |1,2s|
- ‘Dezelfde mensen zeggen, als je kind bent, nou, nu komen de mannen van de toendra. Ergens verheug je je erop, ergens ben je bang. Maar zuipen is zuipen. Wat zo vreselijk is, om het in het Russisch te zeggen, wat zo vreselijk is is dat wij dus die jeugdervaringen, die manier waarop we in onze jeugd tegen de dronken manier van leven aankeken, tegen onze dronken ouders, dat we dat vergeten als we zelf beginnen te drinken, en het allerergste is dat je je eerste glaasje thuis drinkt |2,6s| ja |1,2s|’ (L26H7-01-14)

Na een lange pauze vervolgt L26 in het Russisch (aangekondigd door de „vlag” *но-русски говоря*) met een conclusie uit het voorafgaande: hoe je als volwassene de angst voor drinkgelagen uit je kindertijd vergeet en zelf ook weer met drinken begint. De climax wordt bereikt met de zin „en het allerergste is dat je je eerste glaasje thuis drinkt”. Daarna volgt een dramatische pauze van 2,6s tijdens welke ze met een voorwerp vier keer op de tafel bonkt. Daarna volgt een gefluisterd „ja”; na nog een pauze van 1,2s gaat ze over naar het Samisch en ogenschijnlijk op een ander thema: haar arbeidsleven. Al deze contextualisatietekens – de (aangekondigde) overgang naar het Russisch, de dramatische pauzes, het bonken

op de tafel en het gefluisterde *да* – verlenen haar conclusie een indrukwekkend theatraal effect.

L26 heeft een aantal jaar in een tehuis voor kinderen van alcoholici gewerkt. Ze beschrijft een voorval met een van de meisjes:

- (5) *Сәрна сост кэжя мэни тōнн лыгжак* |1,0s| *а сōнн тараканэ́тб шылл я поарр* |1,3s| *Вот* |0,6s| *разве нормально* |1,0s| *полный по-... полный полностью дебилизм* |0,8s| *дауны.*

‘Ik zeg, ik vraag haar ‘wat ben je aan het doen’, en zij zit kakkerlakken te vangen en op te eten. Is dat soms normaal, vol-... volkomen volkomen achterlijk, Down-patiënten.’ (L26H7-01-16)

In de beschrijving van hoe het meisje kakkerlakken eet spreekt L26 met een hoge toon, totdat, na een pauze van één seconde, de climax van het verhaal wordt bereikt. Daarbij daalt de toon scherp en volgt een lange pauze, waarin ze op een reactie van de toehoorders lijkt te wachten. Als ze die krijgt (in de vorm van een „hmm”), gaat ze over op het Russisch, stelt de retorische vraag *разве нормально?*, die ze zelf beantwoordt met de conclusie *полностью дебилизм, дауны*. Na een afsluitende pauze schakelt ze terug naar het Samisch en gaat ze verder met vertellen over haar arbeidsverleden.

Een ander gespreksonderwerp is het „bijgeloof” van de Samen. Voorafgaand aan het volgende fragment vertelt L26 hoe elk meer een eigen „meester” of „meesteres” heeft, aan wie kleine geschenken worden gegeven:

- (6) *А куэссэ ёадтвемь соаймэ́тб лүши́ьтэ муни соннэ* *зажигалочку лүши́ьтэ, на тоннэ Коанн́тъяввр-кәллса,* *что Коанн́т- Контозеро,* *как, Коанн́тъяввр* *это как мужской род значит там хозяин мужчина а вот такое вот и вот* |1,8s| *мыйй тамьне* *сколько күль шылемь ниман́тем* *приключений евлий.*

‘En toen we weggingen om de netten uit te zetten liet ik een aansteker voor hem achter, zo van ‘hier, voor jou, Ора Коаннтјаввр’, dat Коаннт-... Контозеро, wat, Коаннтјаввр, dat is mannelijk, daar is dus de meester een

man, en zo, zeg maar. We hebben daar zoveel vis gevangen, we hebben daar nooit problemen gehad.’ (L26H7-01-19)

Na het *на тоннэ Коаннтъяввр-кӕлласа* volgt, als terzijde, een uitleg over het „geslacht” van dit meer in het Russisch. Hier is de „afbakening” aan het begin van het terzijde niet erg scherp: de overgang naar het Russisch van de uitleg verloopt met haperingen, en L26 is er niet zeker van of ze de Samische (Koanntjavvr) of Russische (Kontozero) naam van het meer zal gebruiken. De overgang terug naar het hoofdverhaal en daarmee naar het Samisch daarentegen is wel netjes afgebakend, met een reeks *вом*’s die de conclusie afsluiten, een pauze van 1,8s, de codewisseling zelf en een hogere toon.

Als laatste een voorbeeld waarin codewisseling mogelijk wordt gebruikt om een citaat te markeren. L26 spreekt over hoe agressief stropers zijn geworden. Daarbij citeert ze het dreigement dat een van de stropers tegen de brigadechef van de rendierherders uitte:

(7) *Седьмоесть лӕйй бригадирэнб* |1,0s| браконьеры *соннэ* карабин *вуаххца пыййлэнб сӕрри* |0,8s| „*алках* будешь много рыпаться сейчас и тебя вместе с оленями свалим” |1,9s| такой беспредел страшно.

‘Hij was brigadier in de zevende [brigade]|1,0s| de stropers zetten hem een karabijn op het voorhoofd, hij zei |0,8s| ‘als je als je veel tegenstribbelt leggen we je gelijk met de rendieren om’ |1,9s| zo’n wetteloosheid, vreselijk.’ (L26H7-01-23)

Interessant is hier dat L26 begint de stroper in het Samisch te citeren (*алках*) en dan, na een aarzeling, in het Russisch verder gaat. Het gebruik van het Russisch in een verder Samischtaalig verhaal kan op twee manieren geduid worden: a) het Russisch contrasteert met het Samisch en dient, samen met de twee pauzes van 0,8s en 1,9s, als contextualisatieteken; b) Russisch was de taal van het oorspronkelijke dreigement en wordt daarom hier aangehouden. Eventueel kunnen beide factoren hier een rol hebben gespeeld bij de taalkeuze.

Leenwoord of codewisseling?

Een wisseling van code kan ook uit één enkel woord bestaan, en in dat geval dringt zich natuurlijk de vraag op waar de grens loopt tussen leenwoorden en invoeging van losse woorden of soms ook vaste uitdrukkingen. Verschillende onderzoekers hebben zich over deze vraag gebogen en hebben verschillende criteria genoemd die zouden moeten helpen om tussen leenwoord en codewisseling te onderscheiden. Myers-Scotton (1993) noemt bijvoorbeeld fonetische aanpassing aan de doeltaal als mogelijk criterium. Toegepast op het Samisch betekent dat o.a. dat consonantclusters en stemhebbende plosieven aan het begin van een woord niet toegelaten zijn, en dat de klemtoon altijd op de eerste lettergreep moet vallen. Zo zouden bijv. *кáрдáш* (< R. *карандаш* ‘potlood’) en *кáльнесь* (< R. *колбаса* ‘worst’), die in overeenstemming met de Kildin-Samische fonologie de klemtoon naar de eerste lettergreep verschoven hebben, leenwoorden zijn, maar *бурáн* ‘sneeuwscooter’, met stemhebbende plosief en eindklemtoon, niet.

Anderszijds noemen Appel & Muysken (1987) daarnaast ook morfologische aanpassing als criterium. Daardoor zou een vorm als *бурáнэсьт* ‘op de sneeuwscooter’, met de Samische inessiefuitgang *-эсьт*, wél een leenwoord zijn, ondanks zijn on-Samische fonologie.

Andere onderzoekers hebben vraagtekens geplaatst bij beide criteria. Sankoff (2002: 650) stelt bijvoorbeeld dat deze criteria niet werken, omdat veel woorden maar half worden aangepast, en sommige sprekers woorden soms wel en soms niet aanpassen – zij stelt zelf als criterium voor het gebruik van een woord door een grote groep sprekers. In een minuscule, gefragmenteerde en zwaar door de taal van de meerderheid beïnvloede taalgemeenschap als de Kildin-Samische is dit echter een moeilijk criterium: de taal leeft bijna uitsluitend binnen de familie, en zelfs daar in een innige symbiose met het Russisch. Een grote groep sprekers in een duidelijke gemeenschap bestaat nauwelijks meer.

Sommige onderzoekers, zoals Poplack, Sankoff en Miller (Poplack *et al.* 1988: 74) werken met de term *nonce borrowing*, een soort spontane ontleningen die, in tegenstelling tot gevestigde ontleningen, niet fonologisch of morfologisch zijn aangepast. Hoe deze afgebakend worden ten opzichte van codewisseling is niet geheel duidelijk.

Het criterium van fonologische aanpassing levert bij kleine minderheidstalen een bijzonder probleem op. De eerste vermelding van tweetaligheid bij Kola-Samen dateert al uit de 16e eeuw (Burrough 1557) en in de 19e eeuw merken reizigers naar het Kola-schiereiland op dat de meeste (mannelijke) Samen vloeiend Russisch spreken. Mijn informanten gebruikten doorgaans meer Russisch dan Samisch: op hun werk, met hun partners en kinderen, in de winkel. Hun schoolgang was in het Russisch geweest (Samischtaalg onderwijs bestond in de jaren '30, maar verdween na een arrestatiegolf onder leraren in 1938). Voor hen is Russisch een tweede moedertaal geworden, en het is niet duidelijk of de eerder genoemde fonologische beperkingen die vroeger in het Samisch golden, voor deze mensen nog steeds gelden: consonantclusters en stemhebbende plosieven aan het begin van een woord kennen zij immers van het Russisch en hebben zij bij wijze van spreken met de paplepel ingegoten gekregen. Deze hoeven dus bij het gebruik in het Samisch niet meer naar de Samische fonologie „gerepareerd” te worden, zoals blijkt uit het frequente gebruik van woorden als *бригада* in verder Samische zinnen, vaak ook met Samische uitgangen (vgl. ook *бригадирэнь* in voorbeeld 7). Hetzelfde zien we ook in *детский садикэсьт* ‘in het kinderdagverblijf’, dat ondanks de stemhebbende plosief aan het begin netjes van een Samische inessiefuitgang voorzien is; en in *буранэйгуэйм* ‘met sneeuwscooters’, met klemtoon op de tweede lettergreep en toch een Samische comitatiefuitgang.

Een ander probleem is dat morfologische aanpassing natuurlijk alleen optreedt als er morfemen worden toegevoegd, niet als de stam onveranderd blijft. Zo is aan de woorden *бомба* ‘bom’ en *буран* ‘sneeuwscooter’ in de nominatief niet te zien of het Russische invoegingen zijn in een verder Samische context, of fonetisch niet-aangepaste leenwoorden. Pas in een context waar een Samische buigingsuitgang verschijnt (*а талльва буранэйгуэйм нуэдтлэв* ‘en in de winter kwamen ze per sneeuwscooter’) of waar een buigingsuitgang achterwege blijft die in het Russisch verplicht zou zijn geweest (*руць самолёт [...] тамьне чецьке бомба* ‘een Duits vliegtuig gooide daar een bom’ – in het Russisch zou *бомба* de accusatiefuitgang *-у* hebben gekregen) kunnen we zeggen dat deze woorden in deze specifieke gevallen morfologisch – maar niet fonologisch – aangepaste ontleningen zijn.

Een geval apart zijn woorden die bij gebrek aan verbuiging of vervoeging niet morfologisch kunnen worden aangepast, zoals bijwoorden, partikels en voegwoorden. Sommige daarvan zijn door eeuwenlang gebruik fonetisch aangepast, zoals *эле* ‘of’ < R. *или*; maar andere frequente woorden (zoals die hierboven genoemd als onderdeel van de *fused lect*) bewaren hun „on-Samische” fonologie, bijvoorbeeld *даже* en *вообще*.

Door al deze complicaties en het in de praktijk zeer onvoorspelbare gedrag van veel ontleningen is het het veiligst om het verschil tussen codewisseling en ontlening eerder te zien als een continuum, waarin de uitersten gevormd worden door enerzijds de gevestigde ontleningen van het type *кальнесь*, fonologisch en morfologisch aangepast, en anderzijds duidelijke gevallen van codewisseling, waarbij een woord of woordgroep de fonologie en morfologie van de brontaal volledig bewaard. Tussen deze uitersten zitten de gevallen waarin de individuele leden van een taalgemeenschap woorden in verschillende mate aanpassen, en daarin zelf niet consequent zijn.

Russisch werkwoord – Samisch persoonlijk voornaamwoord

Een andere interessante vorm van taalmenging die in beide onderzochte opnamen regelmatig voorkomt is het gebruik van een persoonlijk voornaamwoord in het Samisch, gecombineerd met een Russisch werkwoord dat met Russische uitgangen wordt vervoegd. Daarbij worden Samische voornaamwoorden van 1e, 2e en 3e persoon gebruikt, en de Russische werkwoorden staan zowel in de tegenwoordige en verleden tijd als in de conditionalis. Beneden volgt een (niet uitputtende) lijst met voorbeelden:

Uit opname L21H7:

- (8) *Тѳнн ѳдлэнне* решаешь
 Jij snel oplossen.2SG
 ‘Je lost het snel op’ (L21H7-03-12)
- (9) *Правильно сѳнн* в вигваме вырос
 Juist hij in wigwam opgroeide.M
 ‘Hij is echt in een wigwam opgegroeid’ (L21H7-01-12)

- (10) *Сõни не мог бы ни-мәни*
 Hij niet kon.M COND niet-wat.ACC
 ‘Hij zou niets kunnen’ (L21H7-01-09)
- (11) *Вусьтә маңьтә-лянич эмм тйдб БМВ лянич*
 Kocht.3SG een-of-ander niet.1SG weet.NEG BMW was.COND
маңьтә-лянич, мунн тэйт не разбираюсь
 een-of-ander, ik die.ACC.PL niet ken.1SG
 ‘Hij kocht iets, ik weet het niet, of het een BMW was of zoiets, ik heb geen
 verstand van die dingen’ (L21H7-03-05)
- (12) *Я вѣл мугка зрение что мунн любое расстояние*
 En ook zo’n zicht dat ik om-het-even-welke afstand
 спишу
 afschrijf.1SG
 ‘En ik zie zo goed dat ik van om het even welke afstand afschrijf’
 (L21H7-03-12)

Uit opname L26H7:

- (13) *Мунн перешла вот в детский дом*
 Ik over-ging.F hier naar kinder- tehuis
 ‘Ik ging dus werken in een kindertehuis’ (L26H7-01-15)
- (14) *Тәни мунн не отрицаю*
 Dat.ACC ik niet ontken.1sg
 ‘Dat ontken ik niet’ (L26H7-01-10)
- (15) Ну ладно, тәни займёшься тәни
 Nou goed, daarmee bezighoudt.2SG jij
 ‘Nou goed, dan houd je je daarmee bezig’ (L26H7-01-08)
- (16) Вот сõни кодировался [...] эфт ыккә
 Hier hij nam-behandeling.M [...] een jaar
 ‘Dus hij onderging een jaar lang een afkickkuur’ (L26H7-01-12)

- (17) *Мунн тэсьт* просто-напросто под дурочку скосила
Ik hier gewoon-gewoonweg onder dwaas maaide.F
'Ik hield hem dus gewoon voor de gek' (L26H7-01-21)
- (18) *Сыйй уже стройе* начали тамьне чърэсьт
Zij al bouwen.INF begonnen daar toendra.INE
'Ze waren daar in de toendra begonnen met bouwen' (L26H7-01-12)

Deze strategie om een Russisch werkwoord te „lenen”, met behoud van zijn Russische vervoeging, maar die te verbinden met een Samisch pronomen, is interessant. Het is alsof de sprekers wèl een Russisch werkwoord willen gebruiken, het niet lenen in de zin dat het werkwoord ook morfologisch aan het Samisch wordt aangepast, maar het toch ook weer te ver vinden gaan om dan ook nog het voornaamwoord uit het Russisch over te nemen.³ Het resultaat is deze hybride vorm.

In zijn studie van het Romani-dialect van Noord-Rusland beschrijft Alexander Rusakov (Rusakov 2001, Русаков 2004) precies hetzelfde verschijnsel, maar dan met Romani voornaamwoorden en Russische werkwoorden, zoals in het volgende voorbeeld (Русаков 2004: 73):

- (19) *Ту поедешь дэ форо, пишем по-романэс*
'Jij gaat naar de stad, schrijven we in het Romani'

In het voorbeeld is het pronomen (*ту*) in het Romani, het werkwoord (*поедешь*) in het Russisch.

Rusakov wijst erop dat soortgelijke constructies ook voorkomen tussen Russisch en andere minderheidstalen in de voormalige Sovjetunie, zoals Duits en Ingrisch (Русаков 2004: 75). Als mogelijke uitleg noemt hij Myers-Scottons verklaring dat verschillende tijd-aspectsystemen in de betrokken talen een rol kunnen spelen, maar hij merkt ook op dat Russisch en Romani verschillende categorieën uitdrukken in de verleden tijd:

... несоответствие категориального наполнения форм русского прошедшего времени и претерита С[еверно]Р[усского цыганского]Д[иалекта]. Вопрос о том, могла ли эта разница в парадигмах прошедшего времени способствовать отказу от адаптации русских

глагольных форм и предпочтению употребления их в неадаптированном виде, нуждается в дальнейшем осмыслении. (Русаков 2004: 77)

(... het niet-samenvallen van de invulling van de categorieën van de Russische verleden tijdsvormen en van het preteritum van het Noord-Russische Romani-dialect. De vraag of dit verschil in de paradigma's van de verleden tijd er aanleiding toe zou kunnen hebben gegeven de Russische werkwoordsvormen niet aan te passen en de voorkeur te geven aan het gebruik van niet-aangepaste vormen, vereist nader beraad.)

Het punt hier is dat in het Russisch de vormen van de tegenwoordige en toekomstige tijd, naast getal, persoon uitdrukken, terwijl de verleden tijd, die afstamt van een deelwoord, juist geslacht uitdrukt. In het Samisch drukken zowel de tegenwoordige als de verleden tijd persoon en getal uit.

Maar Rusakov noemt ook een andere mogelijke verklaring: hij wijst erop dat Russische substantieven en adjectieven vrij makkelijk aan de morfonologische structuur van het Romani kunnen worden aangepast, terwijl dat met werkwoorden niet het geval is:

Адаптационный механизм для глаголов более сложен, он должен включать вычленение русской глагольной основы, непростую операцию, если учитывать чрезвычайно сложный характер русской глагольной морфонологии. Цыганская глагольная парадигма также определяется скорее сложными морфонологическими правилами. (Русаков 2004, *ibidem*)

(Het aanpassingsmechanisme voor werkwoorden is ingewikkelder, het moet de isolering van de Russische werkwoordsstam omvatten, een moeilijke operatie, als men rekening houdt met het buitengewoon ingewikkelde karakter van de morfofonologie van het Russische werkwoord. Ook het werkwoordsparadigma van het Romani wordt bepaald door tamelijk ingewikkelde morfofonologische regels.)

Om te begrijpen wat voor morfofonologische problemen het lenen van Russische werkwoorden met zich meebrengt moet men rekening houden met de veranderingen die optreden in de stam van het werkwoord bij de vervoeging van de tegenwoordige tijd. Voor de werkwoorden van de zogenaamde i-vervoeging worden zulke veranderingen van de laatste medeklinker van de stam zelfs als „regelmatig” beschouwd. Een paar voorbeelden:

Писать „schrijven (inf.)” → presens enkelvoud *пишу, пишешь, пишет*: *с* verandert in *ш*;

Брать „nemen (inf.)” → presens enkelvoud *беру, берёшь, берёт*: stam verandert van *бр* naar *бер*;

Ответить „antwoorden (inf.)” → presens enkelvoud *отвечу, ответишь, ответит*: *т* verandert in *ч*, maar alleen in de 1e persoon enkelvoud.

Een bijkomende moeilijkheid is dat er verschillende patronen zijn voor de klemtoon in Russische werkwoorden: vast stamaccent, vast accent op de uitgang, en verschuivend accent. Het Kildin-Samisch heeft normaal gesproken de klemtoon op de eerste lettergreep, en dat zou de fonologische aanpassing van werkwoorden nog verder compliceren, aangezien het het verlies van onbeklemtoonde lettergrepen in polysyllabische werkwoorden zou kunnen veroorzaken.

In de meeste Samische talen bestaan er eigen morfofonologische regels; daarbij wisselen bij de vervoeging van werkwoorden (vaak ook in andere woordklassen) bepaalde (groepen) medeklinkers en klinkers met andere. We zien dit verschijnsel („stadiumwisseling”) duidelijk in de volgende Noord-Samische en Kildin-Samische voorbeelden:

Noord-Samisch: *boahit* „komen (inf.)”: 1, 2, 3sg en 3pl *boadán, boadát, boahá, bohtet*;

Kildin-Samisch: *nyэдтэ* „komen (inf.)”: 1, 2, 3sg en 3pl *nyada, nyadak, nyадт nyэдтэв*;

Deze stadiumwisseling is minder uitgesproken in het Kildin-Samisch (waar het meestal gaat om de oppositie tussen een korte en een lange medeklinker, zie Терешкин 2002) dan in het Noord-Samisch, waar verschijnselen als preaspiratie, stemhebbendheid, toevoeging van plosieven aan nasale medeklinkers en spirantisatie een rol spelen (Sammallahti 1998: 47-53). Niettemin speelt deze stadiumwisseling ook hier een rol.

Zoals gezegd meent Rusakov dat het invoegen van niet-aangepaste Russische werkwoorden in combinatie met pronomina van een minderheidstaal (Romani, Duits, Ingrisch etc.) typisch is voor de situatie in de landen van de voormalige Soviet-Unie:

Вообще, складывается ощущение, что это явление характерно при использовании в С[мешении] К[одов] именно русских (или восточнославянских?) глаголов. (Русаков 2004: 75)

(In het algemeen ontstaat de indruk dat dit verschijnsel kenmerkend is voor het gebruik in gemengde code van met name Russisch (of Oost-Slavische?) werkwoorden)

In dat geval zou het in gebieden met Russisch (of Oekraïens) als dominante taal een veel voorkomende strategie zijn voor sprekers van minderheidstalen om problemen met die lastige Oost-Slavische werkwoordsstammen te omzeilen.

Het is in dit licht interessant om deze situatie te vergelijken met die van het Noord-Samisch in Noorwegen. Noord-Samisch heeft een lange traditie van het ontlenen en invoegen van Noorse werkwoorden in verder Samische zinnen. Ook Noord-Samisch en Noors drukken in het werkwoord tamelijk verschillende categorieën uit: Noorse werkwoorden vervoegen niet naar persoon en getal, en drukken conditionalis en passief uit met hulpwerkwoorden; Noord-Samische werkwoorden daarentegen drukken persoon, getal (enkelvoud, meervoud én een tweevoud), potentialis en irrealis uit met uitgangen, en hebben bovendien nog een synthetisch passief en een grote hoeveelheid infinitieve vormen (actio-substantief, actio essief, verbaalgenitief, gerundium; veel van deze vormen hebben ook een speciale ontkenkende vorm) en suffixen die de betekenis van een werkwoord subtiel veranderen (iteratief, diminutief etc.). Maar in tegenstelling tot het Kildin-Samisch lijkt het Noord-Samisch weinig moeite te hebben met het opnemen van Noorse werkwoorden.⁴

Bijna alle Noorse werkwoorden eindigen in de infinitief op *-e*. Het Noord-Samisch heeft een werkwoordsklasse (de zogenaamde „gecontraheerde” of samengetrokken werkwoorden) die een sub-klasse met infinitief op *-et* bevat (een voorbeeld van een „echt Samisch” woord in deze klasse is *fertet* „moeten”).⁵ De meeste werkwoorden die uit het Noors worden geleend krijgen een *-t* achter de

Noorse infinitiefuitgang en worden vervolgens in deze klasse ingedeeld. Een groot voordeel hierbij is dat Noorse zwakke werkwoorden (veruit de grootste groep net als in andere Germaanse talen, zoals het Nederlands) maar één stam hebben, in tegenstelling tot veel Russische werkwoorden, zoals we zagen in de voorbeelden met *нисать*, *братъ* en *ответить*; verder ontbreekt bij Samische samengetrokken werkwoorden op *-et* de stadiumwisseling die we bij andere werkwoordsklassen aantreffen (vgl. het eerder genoemde *boabtiti*). Hierdoor is het erg makkelijk om Noorse werkwoorden in het Samisch in te voegen en naar Samische regels en categorieën te vervoegen, zoals een paar voorbeelden uit Jernsletten (1985: 266) laten zien (de Noorse wortel is hier onderstreept): *ledje bevilgem* „ze hadden toegewezen” (Noors *bevilge* „toewijzen”, met de Samische deelwoordsuitgang *-m*); *dat huonas byggeduvvui* „dat huis werd gebouwd” (Noors *bygge* „bouwen” met het Samische passieve suffix *-duvvut*); *dah gutabkejih min dego mii leap* „ze accepteerden ons zoals we zijn” (Noors *godta* „accepteren”, hier met de uitgang 3pl *-jih*).⁶

Als we het gemak waarmee het Noord-Samisch Noorse werkwoorden opneemt vergelijken met de moeizame aanpassing van Russische werkwoorden aan het Kildin-Samisch, lijkt het erop dat Rusakov gelijk heeft als hij suggereert dat de ingewikkelde morfofonologie van het Russische werkwoord (en in mindere mate die van Kildin-Samische werkwoorden) er de hoofdoorzaak van is dat het Kildin-Samisch ervoor kiest om de Russische werkwoorden met buigingsuitgang en al in een Samische zin in te voegen. Het is mogelijk dat het niet-samenvallen van de categorieën die door het werkwoord worden uitgedrukt (zoals Myers-Scotton voorstelt) hierbij ook een secundaire rol speelt, maar naar mijn mening zijn morfofonologische verschillen de belangrijkste oorzaak.

Afsluitend

In dit artikel heb ik slechts kort een aantal soorten taalvermenging laten zien die op het Kola-schiereiland voorkomen: Samisch-Russische codewisseling en de gemengde pronomen-werkwoord-constructies. Daarnaast bestaat er ook codewisseling tussen Russisch en Komi (al meer dan honderd jaar leven er rendierhoudende Ijzma-Komi op het Kola-schiereiland); er worden al sinds de

middeleeuwen Pomor-Russische dialecten gesproken aan de Witte-Zeekust, die veel leenwoorden uit het Samisch, Komi en Karelsch hebben overgenomen; verder is er de Russische invloed op de Samische morfologie en zinsbouw (bijvoorbeeld het gebruik van het Russische conditionalispartikel *бы* in combinatie met Samische conditionalisvormen), en is er mogelijk ook Samische invloed op de uitspraak van het Russisch („halfzachte” *t, d, n*). Naar veel van deze vormen van wederzijdse beïnvloeding staat het onderzoek nog in de kinderschoenen.

Noten

1. http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm
2. *Кичаюм* is hier overigens een interessante vorm: het moet van het werkwoord *кичать* komen, en zo iets betekenen als ‘kijken’. Maar zo’n werkwoord heb ik in geen enkel woordenboek gevonden, en navraag bij Russen leverde ook niets op. Aangezien het Kildin-Samisch een woord *кйхххе* ‘kijken’ heeft, ligt het voor de hand dat het een ontlening is. Volgens collega Elisabeth Scheller, die L21 goed kende, was het woord typisch voor zijn idiolect.
3. Het Russisch en Kildin-Samisch zijn allebei „semi-pro-droptalen”: hoewel ze allebei het subjectspronomen voor werkwoorden kunnen weglaten zonder dat verarring optreedt, gebeurt dat in de praktijk meestal niet.
4. Het Kildin-Samisch heeft overigens wel degelijk werkwoorden uit het Russisch geleend en aan de eigen morfofonologische regels aangepast. Een paar voorbeelden: *кйррэ* ‘roken’ < R. *курить*, *чйиинэ* ‘repareren’ < R. *чинить*, *чйистэ* ‘schoonmaken’ < R. *чистить*. Dit moeten vrij vroege ontleningen zijn, getuige de aanpassingen die zijn gedaan: verschuiving van de klemtoon naar de eerste lettergreep en aanpassing aan de regels voor stadiumwisseling en klinkerverandering (bijv. inf. *чйиинэ*, 1sg. *чйна*; inf. *кйррэ*, 1sg. *кйра*, 3sg. *кйррэ*).
5. *Feret* is overigens ook een leenwoord, maar al zeer oud.
6. Dit laatste voorbeeld is erg interessant, omdat *godta* een sterk werkwoord is: inf. *godta*, verleden tijd *godtok*. Hier moet de Samische infinitief *gutahket* zijn: het stukje *-hk-* wijst ofwel op een erg oude ontlening (*-ta* komt van het Oud-Noords *taka*, vgl. Engels *take*, dat ook een ontlening uit het Scandinavisch is), ofwel het is uit de verleden tijd *godtok* overgeheveld. Hier zou het interessant zijn om te zien of ook andere sterke werkwoorden uit het Noors, bijv. *skytte-skjøt* „schieten”, *gjelde-gjaldt* „gelden”, *gidde-gadd* „het kunnen opbrengen”, en werkwoorden met infinitief op een andere klinker dan *-e*, bijv. *snu* „draaien”, *vri* „draaien”, *flå* „villen”, *gro* „laten groeien, kweken”, ook zo makkelijk in de Noord-Samische vervoeging kunnen worden opgenomen.

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ROMANIZMI U NAZIVLJU ŽENSKE ODJEĆE U MJESNOME GOVORU ORBANIĆA KOD ŽMINJA¹

Lina Pliško & Marijana Fabijanić

U radu prikazujemo bližu etimologiju romanizama iz semantičkoga polja za žensku odjeću, obuću i modne dodatke zabilježene u mjesnome govoru Orbanića kod Žminja. Polazište za istraživanje bili su romanizmi ekscerpirani iz *Rječnika* koji je Janneke Kalsbeek pridodala svojoj dijalektološkoj raspravi o govoru Orbanića (1998.). Taj smo popis riječi provjerili terenskim istraživanjem, a u radu ga označili kao korpus A. Cilj nam je bio provjeriti jesu li ti romanizmi i danas u Orbanićima prisutni kao prije dvadesetak godina. U razgovoru s obavjesnicama usmjerenim smo pitanjima iz *Upitnika* i u spontanom razgovoru dobili još deset novih romanizama, koji su u radu analizirani kao korpus B. Riječima iz obaju korpusa određena je bliža etimologija te su tražene ovjere i u drugim rječnicima čakavskih govora od Istre do Dalmacije. Zaključeno je da je prikupljeni korpus romanizama u Orbanićima i danas dio aktivnoga leksika, te da su oni, uz fonološke prilagodbe i u istom značenju, prisutni u čakavskim govorima od sjevernog do južnog Jadrana.

1 Uvod

Orbanići (Gorenji i Dolenji) teritorijalno pripadaju općini Žminj gdje prema popisu stanovništva iz 2011. živi 3483² stanovnika. Na području Žminjštine nalazi se 112 sela i zaselaka. Veća su od njih: Balići, Benčići, Cere, Debeljuhi, Damijanići, Gradišće, Gržini, Jurići, Karlovići, Klimni, Krajcar Breg, Krculi, Kresini, Križanci, Krničari, Kršanci, Laginji, Matijaši, Modrušani, Mužini, Orbanići, Pamići, Pifari, Prkaćini, Pucići, Rudani, Šivati, Tomišići, Vadediji, Vidulini, Zeci, Žagrići, Žminj. Na Žminjštini je najveći broj stanovnika kojima je materinski jezik hrvatski, njih 3392. Talijanski je materinski jezik trideset devetorici stanovnika, albanski

trideset i dvojici, slovenski petorici, rumunjski dvojici, po jednom je stanovniku materinski jezik hrvatsko-srpski, bosanski, mađarski, makedonski, ruski, slovački, vlaški, ostali jezici 1, a nepoznat je podatak za dvojicu stanovnika.³ U Orbanicima prema popisu stanovništva iz 2011.⁴ živi 106 stanovnika (51 muškarac i 55 žena).

2 Govor Orbanića

Mjesni govor Orbanića⁵ kraj Žminja pripada sjevernočakavskom dijalektu,⁶ odnosno njegovu središnjem istarskom poddijalektu prema klasifikaciji S. Vranić (2005: 336-344). Taj je govor na fonološkoj, morfološkoj i sintaktičkoj razini opisala Janneke Kalsbeek u dijalektološkoj raspravi naslovljenoj *The Čakavian Dialect of Orbanići near Žminj in Istria* (1998.).

U uvodnome je dijelu svoje rasprave Kalsbeek (1998: 1-20) prikazala jezičnu sliku istarskoga prostora. Između ostalih, spomenula je romanske govore (istriotske i istrovenetske), jezični sloj čiji se utjecaj još uvijek dobro čuva u leksiku žminjskih Orbanića, kao što se vidi iz *Rječnika* pridodana na kraju knjige (Isto, 411-598).

U Žminju, kao većem središtu kojemu su Orbanići tijekom povijesti, ali i danas, upućeni, govorilo se uz čakavski i talijanskim jezikom. U samome je Žminju danas, prema Kalsbeek (1998: 18-19), nekolicina izvornih govornika istromletačkoga dijalekta, više je njih dvojezičnih – istromletačkih i čakavskih. U selima oko Žminja samo su čakavci. Takva je situacija u odnosu na grad i selo jednaka diljem Istre. (Isto)

Mjesni govor Orbanića,⁷ prema Kalsbeek, karakterizira ekavski refleks jata u korijenskom i nastavčnom morfemu, vokalski sustav od sedam jedinica (*a, e, i, o, u, ie, uo*) i samoglasno *ɣ*, stari troakcenatski sustav s prednaglasnom dužinom. Konsonantski se sustav sastoji od 23 fonema. Glas *t'* se artikulira umekšano, a *ž* i *ž'* nisu dio sustava. Sačuvane su stare suglasničke skupine **čr, *st, *sk > šć, *zd, *zg, *tj > t'*, obezvučuju se krajnji zvučni suglasnici u riječi, kao: *bob > bōp, pod > pōt, praz > prās, puž > pūš*. Prijedlog *k* se ostvaruje kao *h*: *h māše* (Kalsbeek, 1998: 62).

U imeničkoj se pluralnoj paradigmi muškoga, srednjega i ženskog roda čuvaju nesinkretizirani nastavci (m. i s. r.: D mn. *-uōn/-on, iēn/-en, -ān/-an*; L mn. *-āh/-ab, -iēh/-eh*; I mn. *-i, -āmi/-ami*; ž. r. D mn. *-ān/-an, L mn. -āh/-ab, I mn. -āmi/-*

ami (Kalsbeek 1998: 65)). Genitiv množine svih triju rodova je $-\emptyset$ i $-i$. I u pridjevskim se pluralnim paradigmama čuvaju nesinkretizirani nastavci. Određeni pridjevi muškoga i srednjega roda u D mn. imaju nastavke $-en/-iën$, L mn. $-eh/-iëh$, $-ëh$, I mn. $-emi/-iëmi$, $-ëmi$, a ženskoga u D mn. $-en$, L mn. $-eh/-ëh$, I mn. $-emi/ëmi$ (Kalsbeek 1998: 129). Komparativ se tvori pomoću sufiksa $-ej$ (*čarëja*, *bledëji*) ili dodavanjem $-lj-$ na osnovu koja završava suglasnikom *sub* > *suhli*, umetanjem $-j-$ ispred posljednjeg suglasnika na osnovi riječi: *sub* > *sujše*. Kalsbeek (Isto, 149) je u Orbanicima zapisala i tri komparativa koji se tvore prilogom *već* (*ku je već lačan, je bivälo već tēplo nego sadä*). Superlativ se tvori dodavanjem prefiksa *naj-* komparativu. Zamjenica *ja* glasi u N *ja* i *jas*, I s *manon*. Upitno-odnosne zamjenice su: *čä, čä; kî, kâ, kô*. Posvojne su zamjenice *muōj, tvuōj* itd. Pokazne su zamjenice bez sekundarnog naveska *tä/tä/ti, tâ, tō; ovî, ovä, ovö* itd. Posvojne su zamjenice *näš, näša, näše* itd. (Isto, 158-160). Pokazne su zamjenice *täjsti, tōjsto, täjsta* (nastale su spajanjem pokazne zamjenice *ta* + *isti*) (Isto, 172).

Glavni brojevi jedan, dva, tri i četiri imaju svoju paradigmu. Zbirni su brojevi primjerice: *dvōji (očenäšt), trōji (sväti), četvoreh (postöli)* (Isto, 178). Redni se brojevi dekliniraju po pridjevskoj deklinaciji (Isto, 175-178).

U govoru Orbanica ovjerena su sva glagolska vremena, osim imperfekta i aorista te glagolskog priloga prošlog. Infinitiv je krnji (*dignut, dëlat; pëc, tûc*), takav je i glagolski prilog sadašnji (Isto, 202-203). Kondicional glagola *biti* čakavski je: *bin, biš, bi, bimo, bite, bi* (Isto, 182). U nastavku navodimo neke od brojnih sintaktičkih posebnosti ovoga govora. Uočena je uporaba vokativa pri dozivanju ljudi, npr. „*Kume, hote semo!*“, ali se isti može zamijeniti i nominativom. Odnosna zamjenica *ča* je u nominativu na mjestu gdje bi se očekivalo nesklonjiv oblik odnosne zamjenice: *Släja je malvažija, ča je za vîñö dobrä*. (Kalsbeek 258). Prisutan je spoj imenica + *za* + infinitiv: *Sät je štajuôn za vädit kumpîri*. (Isto, 312). Evidentirane su rečenične konstrukcije kao: *Si se počesäla?* (subjekt je istovremeno i objekt; prijelazni glagoli) (Isto), bezlične konstrukcije (glagol u 3 l. jd. prezenta; logični objekt je i gramatički objekt u akuzativu): *Kat se lüpi trukîño*. (Isto, 313). Moguća je reduplikacija zamjenica, kao u rečenici: *Manë so mi se raskînule hōljevi danäs*. (Isto, 332).

3 Metodologija istraživanja

Rezultat terenskog istraživanja koje je Janneke Kalsbeek provela u Orbanicima opsežna je dijalektološka rasprava naslovljena *The Čakavian Dialect of Orbaniči near Žminj in Istria*, objavljena 1998. Na kraju te rasprave, autorica je pridodala ispile razgovora na različite teme koje je snimala sa svojim obavjesnicima i opsežan rječnik (*Lexicon*, 411-598). U ovome istraživanju iz tog su *Rječnika* ekscerpirani romanizmi iz semantičkog polja ženske odjeće, obuće i modnih dodataka i uvršteni kao polazni korpus (korpus A) na temelju kojega je izrađen prvi dio *Upitnika za terensko istraživanje*. Drugi dio *Upitnika* namijenjen je utvrđivanju romanizama istraživanoga semantičkog polja koji nisu zastupljeni u rječniku (korpus B).

Cilj je istraživanja bio utvrditi jesu li romanizmi iz korpusa A i nakon dvadeset godina od prvotnoga istraživanja još uvijek prisutni u leksičkom fondu Orbaniča te u usmjerenom razgovoru, pomoću pitanja iz *Upitnika*, s obavjesnicama nadopuniti korpus riječima koje se ne spominju u *Rječniku* kako bismo dobili cjelovitiji uvid u leksički fond romanskog podrijetla iz odabranoga semantičkog polja.

Istraživanje je u Orbanicima provedeno u svibnju 2017. Obavjesnice su bile Marija Živolić (rođ. Orbanić, 1940.) i Milka Bančić (rođ. Orbanić, 1949.).

Svaki se romanizam etimološki obrađuje utvrđivanjem bliže etimologije, odnosno navođenjem neposrednog izvora i modela (*etymologia proxima*, Muljačić 2003), a u pojedinim slučajevima, ako su romanski idiomi posredovali pri preuzimanju posuđenice, razmatra se i daleka etimologija (*etymologia remota*, Isto). Za dokazivanje neposredne etimologije čakavskih romanizama koristili smo se sljedećim dijalekatnim rječnicima mletačkoga repertoara:

- za venecijanski: Boerio, Giuseppe. 1856. *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*
- za istromletački: Rosamani, Enrico. 1999. *Vocabolario giuliano dei dialetti parlati nella Venezia Giulia, in Istria, in Dalmazia, a Grado e nel Monfalconese*
- za mletačke govore u Dalmaciji: Miotto, Luigi. 1991. *Il vocabolario del dialetto veneto-dalmata*.

Osim toga, koristili smo se sljedećim etimološkim izvorima:

- Cortelazzo, Manlio, Zolli, Paolo. 1999. *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*
- Skok, Petar. 1971 – 1974. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*
- Vinja, Vojmir. 1998 – 2004. *Jadranske etimologije – Jadranske dopune Skokovu etimologijskom rječniku.*

Zabilježene romanizme u Orbančićima usporedili smo s jednakim oblicima u čakavskim govorima Istre (Medulin, Mrkoči, boljunski govori, roverski i okolni govori) te u govorima srednjega i južnojadranskoga areala (Bibinje, Kukljica (otok Ugljan), Rivanj, Ošljak, Ist, Sali (Dugi otok), Novalja (Pag), Brač). Time se, osim rasprostanjenosti pojedinog naziva u ostalim čakavskim govorima, poglavito na području Istre i u Dalmaciji, sagledavaju i njegove fonološke, morfološke i semantičke varijante.⁹ Ovjere za istarske čakavske govore potražili smo u sljedećim rječnicima:

1. Francetić, Ivan. 2015. *Rječnik boljunskih govora*¹⁰
2. Kalčić, Slavko, Filipi, Goran, Milovan, Valter. 2014. *Rječnik roverskih¹¹ i okolnih govora*
3. Peruško, Marija. 2010. *Rječnik medulinskoga govora*
4. Runko, Radoslav. 2014. *Rječnik govora zaseoka Mrkoči¹² u Istri.*

Za čakavske govore južnijega areala korišteni su sljedeći izvori:

1. Maričić Kukljičanin, Tomislav. 2000. *Rječnik govora mjesta Kukljica na otoku Ugljanu*
2. Piasevoli, Ankica. 1993. *Rječnik govora mjesta Sali*
3. Radulić, Ladislav. 2002. *Rječnik rivanjskog govora*
4. Smoljan, Ante. 2015. *Rječnik govora otoka Ista*
5. Šimunić, Božidar. 2013. *Rječnik bibinjskog govora*
6. Šimunović, Petar. 2009. *Rječnik bračkih čakavskih govora*
7. Valčić, Ante Toni. 2012. *Rječnik govora otoka Ošljaka*
8. Vranić, Silvana, Oštarić, Ivo. 2016. *Rječnik govora Novalje na otoku Pagu.*

Posudjenice romanskog podrijetla iz semantičkog polja odijevanja dosad su obrađene u nekoliko čakavskih govora, i to: u govoru Ražanca i susjednih ravnokotarskih sela (Miočić 2012), u govoru Boljuna u sjeveroistočnoj Istri

(Tamaro 2013), u grobničkom govoru (Crnić Novosel, Nežić 2013), u govorima Milne i Ložišća na otoku Braču (Galović 2013; Galović, Papić 2016) te u govoru Jurićeva Kala u jugoistočnoj Istri (Milotić Bančić 2015).

4 Rezultati istraživanja

U nastavku se navode i obrađuju nazivi iz semantičkog polja ženske odjeće, obuće, nakita i modnih dodataka u govoru Orbanića prikupljeni u istraživanju, i to najprije oni preuzeti iz nekoga romanskog izvora (41 naziv), podijeljeni u dva korpusa (31 naziv u korpus A i 10 naziva u korpusu B), a potom 3 naziva slavenskog podrijetla i 2 posuđenice iz ostalih jezika.

4.1 Romanizmi iz semantičkoga polja ženske odjeće, obuće, nakita i modnih dodataka iz rječnika J. Kalsbeek (korpus A)

(1) *brhān* m. – haljina

Petar Skok je u Istri zabilježio *brhan* u značenju ‘ženska kijklja do pasa’, u Hrv. primorju i Lošinju *barhan*, *berhan* ‘ženska suknja’ te na jugu, u Tivtu *bran*, *brhan* ‘jaka ili teško gornje žensko odijelo, cottola, jaka nagrešpana’. Prema njegovu zapisu, u Dubrovniku je *barakan* ‘vuneni pokrivač na postelji, kuvertur deblji od velence’. Sve navedene nazive povezuje s tal. *barracano* < srlat. *barracanus*, arapskog podrijetla. (Skok I:110, s. v. *barakan*) U tal. jeziku *baracane*, od ar. *barrakān*, označava tkaninu od kozje ili devine dlake i od nje napravljen odjevni predmet,¹³ dok se naziv istog podrijetla *barracano* ili *baracano* odnosi na odjevni predmet karakterističan za sjevernu Afriku.¹⁴ Ekvivalent u standardnom hrvatskom jeziku je *barakan* i označava vrstu tkanine izrađenu od kostrijeti i vune kao i haljinu napravljenju od iste (RSR 159). Mlet. *baracān* Boerio bilježi kao trgovački termin koji označava vrstu vunene tkanine: „T. di commercio, Specie di Stoffa forte di lana ch'è come un Ciambellotto“ (Boe 37). Romanizam je ovjeren u roverskim govorima kao *brhān* u značenju ‘podsuknja’ (RROG 38), u boljunskim govorima *brhōn* u značenju ‘ženska oprava bez rukava’ (RBOG 16), u Mrkočima *brhān* (RGMI 43). Nije ovjeren u Medulinu, ni u konzultiranim rječnicima dalmatinskih čakavskih govora.

(2) *budānti* mn. – gaće

Mlet. naziv za odjevni predmet koji pripada intimnom rublju *mudānde* (Boe 431) zabilježen je u istoj formi i značenju u istromlet. govorima (VG 657) i u mlet. govorima u Dalmaciji (VDVD 128). Njegove su replike prisutne u čak. govorima duž cijele istočnojadranske obale,¹⁵ npr. u boljunskim govorima *mudžndi* (RBOG 136), u Medulinu *mudānte* (RMG 134). Fonološka adaptacija inicijalnog *m > b*, zabilježena u Orbanicima, susreće se u Mrkočima *budānte* i *budāntine* (RGMI 48) i na Istu: *budūnte*, dem. *budūntice* (RGI 52). U roverskim govorima ovjerene su dvije inačice, *budānte* i *mudānte* (RROG 41). Na semantičkom planu, replike uglavnom imaju općenito značenje ‘gaće’, npr. nov. *mudānde* (RGN 381), bib. *mudānte* (RBG 398),¹⁶ br. *mudōnte* (RBČG 496), dok se ženske gaćice nazivaju *mudantīne* (RBG 398, RBČG 496) ili *mudāndice* (RGN 381). Ponegdje ovaj mletacizam označava i muško i žensko donje rublje, npr. u Kukljici *mudānte* ‘muške gaće, gaćice’ (RGMK 166).

(3) *buōrša* ž. – torba

Potječe od mlet./istromlet. *borsa* (Boe 93, VG 107). U čak. rječnicima zabilježena je fonološki adaptirana posuđenica *bōrša* koja ponekad semantički varira, npr. u Kukljici *bōrša* je ‘torba (gospodska)’ (RGMK 26), a u riv. govoru *buōrša* ‘ručna torba, taška’ (RRG 55). Opsežniji rječnici osim osnovne riječi bilježe i umanjenice, npr. za govor Mrkoča ovjerene su *bōrša* ‘torba za svakodnevnu upotrebu’, *boršēta* ‘ženska ručna torbica’ i *boršētica* ‘torbica na biciklu (za alat)’ (RGMI 39), na Braču *bōrša* ‘torbica’, *boršīn/boršīn* ‘ženska ručna torbica’ i *bōršica* ‘mala torbica’ (RBČG 126). Varijante sa sačuvanim romanskim vezanim morfemima, *-eta < -etta*, *-in < -in*, ukazuju na različite modele: tal. *borsetta* ‘ženska torba, različitog oblika, dimenzija i materijala’, „Borsa da donna, di forma, dimensioni e materiali varī”,¹⁷ mlet. *borsin* ‘torbica; džepić’, „borsetta; borsellina; taschino“ (Boe 93, VDVD 30). Naziv nije ovjeren u rječnicima govora Novalje, Ista i Ošljaka.

(4) *cavāta* ž. – papuča

Potječe od mlet. naziva za staru, istrošenu cipelu *zavāta* „scarpa vecchia e molto logora“ (Boe 808). Ovaj mletacizam, proširen u čak. govorima,¹⁸ osim naglasnog,

pokazuje i semantičko variranje: od općenitog ‘papuča’, *cāvāta* u Kukljici (RGMK 35), ili ‘vrsta papučice’, *cavāta* na Braču (RBČG 147), do naziva za specifičnu vrstu obuće, npr. oš. *cavāte* ‘vrsta ljetnih cipela, kućne natikače’ (RGOO 29), riv. *cavāte* ‘seoska gruba obuća, papučice’ (RRG 65), bib., ist. *cavāta* ‘ženska lagana i plitka cipela s gornje strane od tvrdoga platna, a potplat obično guma’, tako je i u istarskim govorima, u rov., med., bolj., mrk. (RBG 174, RGI 61, RROG 45, RMG 33, RBOG 22, RGMI 54). Leksem nije ovjeren u Novalji na Pagu.

(5) *cinturîn* m. – pās, remen

Naziv potječe od tal. *cinturino* ‘mali pojas’, „Piccola cintura in genere; anche sottile striscia di stoffa, di cuoio o d’altro materiale che serve per chiudere, trattenere o sostenere qualcosa“. ¹⁹ To je umanj. izvedena od tal. *cintura* ‘pojas’. Skok je u Vrbniku zabilježio prilagođenicu *čenturîn* i također je povezao s tal. *cinturino* (Skok I: 307). Posuđenica je sačuvana u istarskim govorima, ali je izgubila deminutivnu vrijednost: npr. u Medulinu *cintûra* („na kotuli“) je ‘pojas’, a *cinturîn* ‘kaiš, pojas’ (RMG 35), u bolj. govorima *čintûra* je ‘ženski pojas, pas, remen’, a *čenturîn* ‘pojas, pas, kožnati remen’ (RBOG 28), kao i u Mrkočima gdje je uz *cinturîn* zabilježena i umanj. s domaćim sufiksom *-iç*, *cinturîniç* (RGMI 57). Na Istu je ovjeren romanizam *cintûra* u značenju ‘struk na hlačama ili suknji’ (RGI 64). Naziv nije zabilježen u rov. govorima ni u nov., bib., kuk., ošlj. govoru i br. čak. govorima.

(6) *còkula* ž. – drvena natikača, klompa

Naziv potječe od mlet. *zocolo* (Boe 739). U rov. govorima, Medulinu i Mrkočima *còkula* znači ‘drvenu natikaču, klompu’ (RROG 48, RMG 35, RGMI 58). U kuk. i br. čak. govorima *còkula* je naziv za ‘visoku tešku cipelu s čavlicima na potplatu’ (RGMK 37, RBČG 153), a u bib., ošlj. i ist. govoru *còkule* su ‘muške visoke, teške cipele, obično vojničke’ (RBG 178, ROO 31, RGI 67). Romanizam nije ovjeren u boljunskim govorima i Novalji.

(7) *façoletuôn* m. – velika marama

Naziv je nastao preuzimanjem mlet. *fazzoletòn* koji označava veliku, dugu maramu

koja pokriva cijelo tijelo žene: „Gran fazzoletto, lungo anche due braccia quadrate, di varie fogge, con cui le donne si ricuoprono quasi tutta la persona“ (Boe 264). Leksem nije ovjeren u rječnicima istarskih govora, a od konzultiranih čak. rječnika u južnijim arealima samo je u Dračevici na Braču zabilježena replika *facoletūn* u značenju ‘platneni rubac s resama’ (RBČG 225).

(8) *fačuōl* m. – marama

U mletačkim izvorima zabilježeno je nekoliko formalnih varijanti naziva za maramu: mlet. *fazzòl*, *fazzuol*, *faciòl* (Boe 258), *fazolo* (VG 364).²⁰ U bolj. govorima ovjeren je jednak oblik kao i u Orbanicima *fačuōl*, s istim značenjem (RBOG 50). U Mrkočima ‘marama’ je *fačòl* (RGMI 117), u rov. govorima ‘marama za glavu’ naziva se *facò* i *facòl* (RROG 75), u Medulinu *facò* je ‘rubac za glavu’ (RMG 61). Replike s diftongom zabilježene su u Ošljaku *facuò* (RGOO 49), u Rivnju *facuò* (RRG 89), a bez diftonga u Kukljici, *facò* i *facòl* (RGMK 62), u Bibinjama i Novalji *facòl* (RBG 226, RGN 219), u Dračevici *facòl* (RBČG 225), na Istu *facò* (RGI 95). Sve označavaju žensku maramu.

(9) *fjòk* m. – mašna

Naziv je nastao preuzimanjem mlet. ili istromlet. *fioco* ‘mašna’ (VG 380, Boe 223), kojemu je ekvivalent stand. tal. *fiocco*.²¹ Replika *fjòk* u čak. govorima fonološki ne varira. U semantičkom pogledu, zabilježena su dva značenja, općenito ‘mašna’ u rov. govorima (RROG 77), med. (RMG 63), bolj. govorima (RBOG 53), mrk. (RGMI 121), u Nerežišćima na Braču (RBČG 231), Istu (RGI 100) i ‘ukrasna vrpca za kosu vezana u obliku mašne’ u bib. (RBG 230) i ošlj. govoru (RGOO 51). Leksem nije ovjeren u Novalji.

(10) *kalcèti* m. pl. – čarape

Od mlet. *calzeta* ‘čarapica’, „dicesi per *Calzino*, dim. di *Calza*, e vale *Calzetta* piccola“ (Boe 120) nastale su fonološki ujednačene replike. Deminutivna vrijednost modela ovjerena je u bolj. govorima *kalcèta* ‘sokna, kratka čarapa’ (RBOG 83), u rov. govorima *kalcèta* ‘kratka čarapa’ (RROG 106), kao i u Medulinu *kalcèta* (RMG 94). U pojedinim govorima posuđenica više ne označava umanjenicu iako je romanski vezani morfem sačuvan pa joj je dodan

jednakovrijedni domaći sufiks, npr. u Mrkočima *kalcěta* i *kalcětica* (RGMI 175), u Novalji *kalcěta* ‘ženska čarapa’ i *kalcětica* ‘čarapica’ (RGN 289). U bib. govoru *kálca* je ‘čarapa (kratka)’, a *kalcěta* je ‘čarapa od vunene pređe’ (RBG 299). Na drugim mjestima naziv označava ženski odjevni predmet, npr. u ist. *kalcěta* ‘ženska čarapa’ (RGI 152), na Braču *kálce* su ‘ženske čarape’, a *kalcěta* je ‘(duga) čarapa’ (RBČG 365). Leksem nije ovjeren u Ošljaku i Kukljici.

(11) *kalcetuôn* m. – ženska dokoljenica

Posuđenica je nastala od tal. *calzettone* ‘deblja čarapa, dokoljenica, živahnih boja i dezena, najčešće za sport’, „Calza pesante, lunga fin sotto il ginocchio, spesso a disegni e colori vivaci, per lo più d’uso sportivo“.²² Ovjerena je u Medulinu *kalcetôni* ‘dokoljenke’ (RMG 94). Nije zabilježena u govoru Novalje, Kukljice, Ošljaka, Ista, a nema je ni u bračkim čak. govorima.

(12) *kapõt* m. – kaput

Naziv potječe od mlet./istromlet. *capoto* ‘kaput, podstavljeni, debeli, grubi odjevni predmet koji koriste pomorci, vojnici, ribari’, „*Cappotto*, Specie di ferraioulo o veste soppannata o grossolana ad uso de’ marinari, de’ soldati, de’ pescatori“ (Boe 135, VG 169) ili tal. *cappotto* ‘muški ili ženski zimski ogrtač’, „Soprabito invernale pesante da uomo o da donna“.²³ Replike su fonološki i semantički ujednačene u istarskim govorima i u južnijim čak. arealima: *kapõt* s općenitim značenjem ‘kaput’ (RBOG 87, RMG 97, RGMI 180, RROG 110, RGN 294, RGI 158, RGMK 111, RBG 304, RBČG 372).

(13) *kolâna* ž. – ogrlica

Naziv potječe od mlet. *colâna* „*Collana; Monile*“ (Boe 138), ‘lančić, ogrlica’. Replike, proširene u čak. govorima diljem istočne obale Jadrana, u potpunosti semantički preslikavaju model: bib. *kolājna* ‘lančić oko vrata, ogrlica’ (RBG 318), kao i kuk. *kolājna* (RGMK 120), riv. *kolâna* (RRG 134, RRG 118), oš. *kolôjna* (RGOO 89). U roverskim govorima *kadîna* i *kordûn* u istom značenju ‘lančić’ (RROG 118), u Medulinu i bolj. govorima *kolājna* (RMG 101)/*kolājna* (RBOG 94). Riječ nije ovjerena na Braču, u Novalji, na Istu.

(14) *kolār* m. – ovratnik

Naziv potječe od mlet. *colāro* koji označava ovratnik mantila ili zimskog kaputa: „Collare del mantello o gabbano“ (Boe). Njegova replika u roverskim govorima i mrk. je *kolār* ‘kragna na svećeničkoj odjeći; tvrda svećenička ogrlica’ (RROG 118, RGMI 191). Poklapa se s bib. *kolār* ‘kragna, ovratnik i onaj svećenički i onaj uštrikani’ (RBG 318). U Medulinu (RMG 102) i bolj. govorima (RBOG 94) prisutan je mletacizam *kolarîn*. U Novalji su zabilježene tri formalne varijante: *kolarîn/kularîn/kuralîn* ‘ovratnik (savijen)’ (RGN 307). Leksem nije ovjeren na Braču i na Istu.

 (15) *korduôn* m. – lanac ogrlice

Naziv potječe od mlet. *cordòn* „Cordoncello, Cordoncino“ (Boe 155), ‘tanka vrpca od pamuka ili drugog matarijala, ob. je ukras’,²⁵ odnosno istromlet. ekvivalenta *cordon* (VG 250M). Semantička slika modela zadržana je u bolj. *korduôn* ‘široka traka, vrpca, vrst ukrasnog konopca, verižica’ (RBOG 101). U roverskim govorima *kordûn* i *kadîna* znače ‘lančić’ (RROG 124), u Medulinu je ‘lančić’ *kadîna* (RMG 94), a *kadinëla* je ‘lanac za sat’ (RMG 94), u mrk. *kordûn* ‘ogrlica, ukrasni lančić’ (RGMI 199), a *kadîna* ‘ukrasni lančić džepnog sata’. (RGMI 174). U bračkim govorima *kordûn* ima više značenja ‘kolajna’ (‘zlatni lančić’), ‘uzica za cipele’, ‘red ljudi s obje strane prolaza; rub (ceste)’ (RBČG 399). U Novalji *kordunîć* ‘uska vrpca’ (RNG 312). Leksem nije ovjeren u bib. govoru i na Istu.

 (16) *kõtula* ž. – suknja

Naziv je nastao od im. *cotola* koji je u istromlet. govorima označavala donju suknju ili samo suknju: „sottana, gonna, gonnella“ (VG 259). Boerio nazivu pripisuje značenje udobne starinske ženske haljine koja je pokrivala cijelo tijelo i kopčala se sprijeda i na rukavima: „una sorta di veste antica ed agiata da donna, che ricopriva tutta la persona ed affibbiavasi al davanti ed alle braccia con occhielli“ (Boe 205), a potječe od stfranc. *Cotte*.²⁶ Mletacizam je u čak. govorima rasprostranjen u nekoliko formalnih i značenjskih varijanti.²⁷ U izvorima korištenim u ovom istraživanju evidentirana su značenja: ‘haljina’, npr. bib. *kõtula* (RBG 327) i ‘suknja’, npr. *kõtula* u rov. govorima (RROG 126), u med. i mrk. (RMG 106,

RGMI 201) te oš. (RGOO 93), kao i *kõtula* u kuk. (RGMK 125–126). Uz to su zabilježena specifična značenja: u bolj. *kõtula* je ‘donja ženska suknja’ (RBOG 103), na Braču *kõtula* ‘duga suknja’ (RBČG 404), na Istu *kõtula* ‘duga naborana suknja’, a *kõtul* ‘moderna suknja uz tijelo’ (RGI 172). Leksem nije zabilježen u Novalji.

(17) *očālī* pl. tant. – naočale

Nastao je preuzimanjem mlet. naziva za naočale *ochiàli* „strumento notissimo e comunissimo, composto di due cristalli o vetri pel cui mezzo s’ingradisce o rischiara la vista“ (Boe 447), u istromlet. *ociàl* (VG 694). U čak. govorima: u rov. *očále* (RROG 184), med. *očāli* (RMG 155), bolj. i mrk. *očālī* jednako kao i u Novalji, (RBOG 159, RGMI 330, RNG 441), bib. *očālè* (RBG 447), brač. *očōlē* (RBČG 578). U govoru Ista leksem nije zabilježen.

(18) *petiněla* ž. – češalj

Naziv preslikava tal. *pettinella* koji označava mali gusti češalj i češljíc, ukosnicu u obliku malog češlja: „Pettinina, pettine fitto“; „Piccola fiocina, così detta per la forma che assomiglia a quella di un pettine“.²⁸ U Mrkočima *petinîn* i dem. *petinić* znači ‘ukrasni češalj za kosu’ (RGMI 388). Naziv nije ovjeren u rov. i bolj. govorima, a nema potvrda ni za med. govor. Isto tako, ne bilježe ga ni čak. rječnici govora Novalje, Ista, Kukljice, Ošljaka. U brač. govorima nije ovjerena imenica, ali je zabilježen glagol *petinat se* ‘češljati se’ (RBČG 651).

(19) *rakān* m. – čipka, čipkana traka; var. *rakām* m.

U govoru Orbanića zabilježene su fonološke varijante *rakam* i *rakan* nastale od mlet. *recamo* (Boe 557) koji odgovaraju tal. *ricamo* arapskog podrijetla (DELI-cd). U čak. govorima: rov. (RROG 228), mrk. (RGMI 517) *rakām*, ‘vez, vezeno platno, vezeni ukras na tkanini, vezenjem ukrašeno platno’, u bolj. govorima *rakamě* (RBOG 223), u med. *rekām* (RMG 203). U istom obliku i značenju zabilježen je u bib. govoru (RBG 586), Novalji (RNG 577), na Istu (RGI 315). U brač. uz *rekôm* ‘čipka’ i ‘vez’ (RBČG 824) zabilježen je glagol *rakamāt*, a za *rakam* nalazimo ovjeru u rečenici koja je iz mjesnoga govora Pučišća (RBČG 794).

(20) *ričîn* m. – naušnica

Potječe od naziva za naušnicu mlet. *rechîn* (Boe 559; VDVD 168), istromlet. *rechina* „orecchino“ (VG 865). U čak. govorima replike fonološki variraju, ali su semantički stabilne i ne odstupaju od modela:²⁹ bib. *rečîn* i var. *renčîn*, *ričîn*, *rinčîn* (RBG 601), kuk. *račîn* (RGMK 246), brač. *ročîna* (RBČG 834) i mrk. *račîn* (RGMI 516), oš. i Novalja *rečîn* (RGOO 190, RNG 591), riv. *račîni* (RRG 251), bolj. *rečîn* (RBOG 231). U rov. govorima osim *rančîn* bilježi se i *špîndula*, *špendula*, s tim da *špendula* označava i ‘ušnu resicu’ (RROG 275), u med. *špingula* (RMG 232). Leksem nije zabilježen u bib. govoru i na Istu.

(21) *stomånja* ž. – bluza (dio narodne nošnje), nosi se ispod haljine (*brhana*)

Naziv je dalmatoromanski relikv nastao sinegdohom od sintagme *casùlla stamînea* ‘košulja od grubog platna’ (Skok III: 338; Tamaro 2013: 273-274). *Stomånja* je potvrđena kao ‘košulja’ u rov., bolj. govorima, u mrk. (RROG 256, RBOG 256, RGMI 605). Naziv nije zabilježen u bib., brač., Novalji, na Istu, med. govoru.

(22) *šijâl* m. – šal

Naziv je nastao preuzimanjem mlet. *sial/ scial* (Boe 659, VG 1025, VDVD 190) koji potječe od fr. *châl* perzijskog podrijetla, isto kao i tal. ekvivalent *scialle* (DELI 1472). Mletacizam je potvrđen u općenitom značenju ‘šal’ u Bolu na Braču *šjôl* (RBČG 924). U bolj. govorima zabilježen je *šijâl* ‘šal, svileni rubac’ (RBOG 265), u Mrkočima *šijâl* ‘ženska vratna pletena vunena marama s resama koja se nosi kao ogrtač’ (RGMI 623), u med. *šijâl* ‘šal, ogrtač’ (RMG 226) i *šijalët*, um. od *šijâl* (RMG 226), u rov. govorima *šijâl* ‘šal’ i *šijalët* ‘ženski šal’ (RROG 266). Leksem nije ovjeren u Bibinjama, Kukljici, na Ošljaku i na Istu.

(23) *šijârpo* ž. (A jd.) – šal³⁰

Naziv je nastao od mlet. *sciarpa* koji označava dugi, široki šal od muslina ili neke druge fine tkanine koji su žene nosile na ramenima: „chiamano le Donne quella striscia lunga e larga di mussolina o d’ altra tela finissima ch’ esse portano sulle spalle a guisa di stola per abbigliamento o riparo“ (Boe 660; VG 1025). Ovaj mletacizam zabilježen u Medulinu kao *šijârpa* (RMG 226), u Mrkočima *šijârpa* i dem. *šijârpica* (RGMI 623), u roverskim govorima kao *šijârpa* (RROG 266) znači

‘šal’. U boljunskim govorima *šijārpa* ima značenje ‘kravata, vezanka’ (RBOG 265), kao i na Ošljaku *šjōrpa* ‘šal; kravata’ (RGOO 213). U Kukljici *šārpa* je ‘šal, okovratnik’ (RGMK 286). Na Istu šal je *šijārpa* (RGI 340), a *šijārpeta* ‘kravata’. Leksem nije ovjeren u bib. govoru. U mlet. govorima u Dalmaciji Miotto je zabilježio varijantu *sciālpa* „sciarpa“ (VDVD 190) koja je mogla nastati križanjem mlet. *siarpa* s mlet. *siāl*, radi razlikovanja homonima *siārpa* ‘šal’ i *siārpa* „cassetta della carrozza“ (VDVD 191).³¹ Replike s konsonantskom grupom *-lp-* nalazimo u riv. *šijālpa* ‘kravata’ (RRG 289), u Dračevici *šjōlpa* ‘šal’ i u Bolu *šjalpēta* ‘kravata’ (RBČG 924).

(24) *škafonīca* ž. – ženska čarapa

Čak. *škafuōn* ‘sukneni omot na nogama na dnu hlača, gamaša’ u bolj. govorima (RBOG 266) i *škafūn* ‘kratka vunena čarapa koja se nosi iznad druge čarape’ u Mrkočima (RGMI 625) mogli bi potjecati od istromlet. *scofon* „calzerotto (pezzo di tessuto che legato sotto il ginocchio fascia la gamba e copre la calzatura, impedendo così che durante i lavori agricoli si insudicino i calzoni o entri della terra nella calzatura)“ (VG 988). Međutim, zbog glasovnoga i značenjskog podudaranja s istriotskim nazivom *scofon* u govoru Pirana i furlanskim *skufons* ‘vunena čarapa’ (REW 8004), nije isključena mogućnost pripadanja predmletačkom sloju (Tamaro 2014: 277). Etimon bi mogao biti srlat. *scuffones* (Skok III: 397) < franački *skōb* „cipela“ (REW 8004). Deminutivni oblici nastali poput onoga u govoru Orbanica dodavanjem domaćeg sufiksa *-ica*, zabilježeni su u bolj. govorima *škafonīca* ‘domaća muška pletena čarapa’ (RBOG, 266) i u Mrkočima *škafunīca* ‘kraća čarapa’ (RGMI 625). Čak. govori u Dalmaciji preuzeli su mlet. *scofōni* „calze di lana“ (VDVD 183). Replike su glasovno prilično ujednačene, u semantičkom pogledu mogu se grupirati u dvije skupine: 1. replike koje označavaju vrstu obuće, npr. *škofūn*, obično u mn. *škofuni* ‘obuća napravljena kod kuće (vrsta opanka)’ u Kukljici (RGMK 292); *škofūni* ‘gruba seoska obuća’ u rivanjskom govoru (RRG 293); na Istu *škafūn* ‘prikladna obuća za kopanje’ (RGI 344);³² 2. replike koje označavaju vrstu čarapa, npr. *škofūni* ‘debele, bijele vunene čarape, ručno rađene’ u oš. govoru (RGOO 214). Nema potvrde u med., rov., bib. govoru i u brač. govorima.

(25) *špigët* m. – vezica

Potječe od istromlet. *spigheto* ‘vezica’, „laccetto da scarpe (per allacciarle), stringa“ (VG 1070). U čak. govorima: bib., rov., mrk. *špigët* ‘vezica za postole’ (RBG 691, RROG 274, RGMI 637), u brač., ist., med. i bolj. leksem je ž. r. *špigëta*, *špigëta* (RBČG 937, RMG 231, RBOG 272, RGI 361), a umanj. *špigetîn* u Medulinu znači ‘vezicu na odjeći’ (RMG 231). Leksem nije ovjeren u Novalji.

(26) *takujîn* m. – novčanik

Nastao je preuzimanjem mlet. naziva za ‘novčanik’.³³ mlet. *tacuino*, istromlet. *tacuin* „borsellino, portamonete“ (VG 1132). Isti je zabilježen i u mlet. govorima u Dalmaciji: mlet. *tacuin* “portamonete” (VDVD 206). Rasprostranjen je u čak. govorima.³⁴ U med., bolj. i mrk. govoru te južnije u Novalji, bib., brač. zabilježen je romanizam po formi i značenju identičan onom u Orbanićima: *takujîn* (RMG 238, RBOG 281, RGMI 552, RGN 682, RBG 709, RBČG 953). U rov. govorima *takuwîn* i *portafoj* (RROG 284), a u Novalji i *gëltaš*, *portafòlj* (RNG 682). Na Istu nije zabilježen nijedan od ovih oblika.

(27) *travešîn* m. – pregača koja se veže oko vrata

Potječe od mlet./istromlet. *traversa* (Boe 765, VDVD 213, VG 1173). Posuđenica je ovjerena u rov. govorima *travêrsa*, *trversa* i *trversa* (RROG 289), u med. *travêrsa* ‘pregača’ (RMG 243), u bolj. govorima *traviêrs* (RBOG 287), u mrk. *travêrs* u značenju ‘pregača bez naramenica’ (RGMI 667). U govoru Bibinja zabilježena je *travêsa* ‘vrsta pregače koja se veže oko pojasa’ (RBG 727) za razliku od *travešîna* u Orbanićima. Općenito značenje ‘pregača’ zabilježeno je u Novalji: *travêrsa* ‘pregača, odjevni predmet koji se pripasuje preko odjeće radi zaštite’ (RNG 694); u brač. govorima ima *travêrsa/traviêsa* (RBČG 968). Na Istu nije zabilježen nijedan od ovih oblika.

(28) *travešuôn* m. – radna kuta

Potječe od istromlet. *traverson* (VG 1173), izvedenice od *traversa* ‘pregača’ (VG 1173), s augmentativnim sufixom *-on*. U rov. govorima zabilježena je posuđenica u istom značenju kao i u Orbanićima *travešôn* (RROG 289), a u Mrkoćima *traversôn* znači ‘pregaču s naramenicama’ (RGMI 667). U bib. *travešôn* je ‘radna

kuta od laganijeg platna s uobičajeno dugim ili kraćim rukavima' (RBG 727). U med. i bolj. govorima, u Novalji, na Istu i na Braču leksem nije zabilježen.

(29) *vělo* sr. – veo

Naziv je nastao od tal. *velo* 'vrsta fine lagane tkanine' i 'veo koji žene pokrivaju glavu i ramena', „Tessuto finissimo e leggerissimo, trasparente, di seta, cotone, lana, ecc., destinato a usi molteplici (per coprire il volto, il capo, le spalle e anche oggetti vari[...]) [...] in quanto il velo che copre la testa e le spalle è così chiamato non tanto per il tessuto di cui è fatto, che può essere anche una stoffa più fitta e pesante, quanto per la sua funzione di velare il volto o avvolgere la testa“³⁵ ili istromlet. ekvivalenta *vel* 'veo', „vello“ (VG 1207). U čak. govorima replike variraju u pogledu naglaska: rov. *vělo* (RROG 311), med. *vělo* (RMG 254) 'kao dio mladenkine oprave', bib. *vělo* (RBG 768). Apokopirane varijante zabilježene su u Mrkočima *věl* (RGMI 706), Novalji i Istu *věl* (RGN 730, RGI 424) te u brač. govorima *věl* (RBČG 1014). Leksem nije ovjeren u bolj. govorima.

(30) *veštālja* ž. – moderna haljina

Naziv je nastao od istromlet. *vestaia* (VG 1217), usp. mlet. *vestàgia* 'duga udobna gornja haljina', „veste lunga ed agiata che si porta di sopra“ (Boe 791). U bolj. govorima i mrk. naziv je jednak orb. *veštālja* (RBOG 303, RGMI 708). Nije zabilježen u južnijim čak. arealima. Čak. govori redovito čuvaju romanizam *věšta* 'haljina' (RROG 312, RMG 255, RBG 769, RGN 731, RBČG 1018), u ist. *věšta* (RGI 425).

(31) *vetīca* ž. – vjenčani prsten

Posuđenica bi mogla potjecati od naziva iz područja kovačke struke, mlet. *gaveta* ili *veta* koji označava zlatnu ili srebrnu nit koja se dobiva prvim izvlačenjem žica', „T. de' Battilori. Il filo d'oro o d'argento tirato ch'esce dalla prima filiera“ (Boe 302, 791). U roverskim se govorima za vjenčani prsten rabe leksemi: *verīca*, *vera* i *vitica* (RROG 312), u bolj. *vetīca* 'ženski vjenčani prsten' (RBG 304), a na Istu *věra*, *věrica* (RGI 424). Mletacizam nije zabilježen u rječnicima sljedećih govora: bib., brač., nov., med. i mrk.

4.2 Romanizmi iz semantičkoga polja ženske odjeće, obuće, nakita i modnih dodataka prikupljeni terenskim istraživanjem u Orbanicima (korpus B)

(1) *buština* ž. – steznik

Naziv je nastao od mlet./istromlet. modela *bustina* koji označava ‘odjevni predmet kojim su žene pokrivale prsa’, ‘steznik, korzet’, ‘vestito con che le donne cuoprono il petto nella lunghezza del busto’ (Boe 110), „fascetta“ (VG 135). Replike ovog naziva potvrđene su u Medulinu *buština* ‘pršnjak, grudnjak’ (RMG 31), u Kukljici i Ošljaku *buština* ‘dio ženske odjeće’ (RGMK 33, RGOO 28). U mlet. govorima u Dalmaciji Miotto je zabilježio morfološku var. *bustin* m. ‘ženski steznik’, „corpetto femminile“ (VDVD 37).³⁶ U bolj. govorima zabilježen je romanizam *būšt* s tri značenja ‘struk’, ‘steznik’ i ‘poprsje’ (RBOG 21). Skok bilježi *bust* m. „prsa od haljine“ kod Marulića te posuđenice s deminutivnim sufixsom *-in būstīn* u Dubrovniku i Cavtatu, *buštīn* u Korčuli i povezuje ih s tal. *busto* „tronco di corpo umano“, nastalog od lat. *combustus* „lik preminuloga na grobu“, od *comburare* „spaliti“, odbacivanjem prefiksa *com-* (Skok I 224). Posuđenica je registrirana i u recentnim radovima, ali bez preciznijeg opisa semantičkog razvoja.³⁷ Nastanak značenja ‘poprsje, bista’ od lat. BUSTU(M) ‘mjesto spaljivanja leševa’; ‘grob, tumul’, Bruno Migliorini tumači u kontekstu običaja ukrašavanja grobova reljefnim prikazima pokojnika (Migliorini 2004: 42). Kasniji semantički razvoj moguće je rekonstruirati u sljedećim etapama: lat. BUSTUM ‘prikaz (reljef ili skulptura) gornjeg dijela tijela pokojnika koji se stavlja na njegov grob’, ‘poprsje, bista’ → ‘trup’ → ‘odjevni predmet(i) za gornji dio tijela (prsluk, oplećak, korzet)’. Sva navedena značenja ‘trup’; ‘steznik’; ‘bista’ prisutna su u suvremenom tal. jeziku.³⁸ Čak. *būšta* ž. mogla bi pripadati skupini starijih posuđenica³⁹ u odnosu na mlađu *buština* ‘steznik’. Romanizam *bušt* m. u bračkim čak. govorima (RBČG 145) i *buštīn* u Novalji (RGN 159) doživjeli su semantičku inovaciju: zbog promjene odjevnih navika stare riječi danas označavaju suvremeni odjevni predmet ‘prsluk’, ‘grudnjak’.

(2) *fačolēt* m. – maramica

Naziv je nastao od mlet. *fazzolèto* (Boe 264). U rov. i bolj. govorima te med. *facolìč* (RROG 75, RMG 61, RBOG 50) označava ‘maramicu’, a romanizam *fačolēt* je

umanjenica imenice *facôl*. U Mrkočima ‘maramica’ se naziva *façolič* (RGMI 117). Šimunović je zabilježio *facolët* u Dračevici i *faculët* u Nerežišću u značenju ‘rupčić’, a u Milni ovaj mletacizam označava ‘čipkasti rubac’ (RBČG 225). U nekim srednjoločakavskim i južnočakavskim govorima romanski deminutivni sufiks (tal. *-etto*, mlet. *-eto*) zamijenjen je domaćim *-ič/-ič*, npr. u govoru Ošljaka, Rivnja i Novalje *façolič* (RGOO 50, RRG 89, RGN 219), u Kukljici *façolič* (RGMK 62), u bib. govoru *façolič* (RBG 226), na Istu *façulič* (RGI 95).

(3) *fjũba* ž. – kopča na ženskoj haljini

Naziv potječe od mlet. *fũba* „*Fibbia*“, ‘kopča’ (Boe 275), kao i *juba* koju je Skok zabilježio u Perastu, Potomju i Vrbniku (Skok I: 513). Nastavljače lat. *fibula* u čak. govorima nalazimo u svim slojevima romanskih posuđenica. Najstarijem sloju pripada primjerice dalmatoromanski relikv *fibla* sačuvan u Boki, a najmlađem *fibija* ‘kopča, spona’ u bolj. govorima (RBOG 52) te *fibija* u govoru Mljeta, nastale od tal. *fibbia* ili tršč. *fibia* (Skok I: 513, VG 373). Najbrojniji su mletacizmi: npr. u Medulinu i Mrkočima *fjũba* (RMG 63, RGMI 121), u rov. govorima *filjũba* (RROG 77), u bib. i iš. *fjũba* ‘pokretni šiljati dio na kopči za pojas ili na remenu cipela koji ulazi u rupe’ (RBG 230, RGI 101), u Dračevici na Braču *fjũba* (RBČG 233). Naziv nije zabilježen u Novalji.

(4) *frkëta* ž. – ukosnica

Naziv potječe od istromlet. *forcheta* ‘ukosnica’, „forcina“ (VG 394). Istovjetne replike sačuvane su u bolj. i brač. govorima te u Novalji (RBOG 57, RBČG 239, RGN 229). Preciznu definiciju naziva nalazimo uz bib. *frkëta* ‘vrsta ukosnice, savijena žica u obliku slova ‘U’ koju žene stavljaju, ubadaju u kosu’ (RBG 235). Na Istu je, međutim, zabilježeno značenje ‘štivaljka’ (RGI 107). Leksem nije ovjeren u med., mrk. i rov. govorima.

(5) *jakëta* ž. – ženska jakna, kao dio kompleta sa suknjom

Naziv potječe od istromlet. *iacheta* (VG 468), prema mlet. *giacheta* (Boe 304)⁴⁰ koji je nastao kao i stand. tal. *giacchetta* od franc. *Jaquette*.⁴¹ Iako je Kalsebeek navela da se u govoru Orbanića *jakëta* odnosi na mušku jaknu, naše su nam obavjesnice rekly da je *jakëta* i ženska jakna, a kada jakna dolazi u kompletu sa suknjom ili hlačama naziva se *jaketin*. Isto je ovjeren u Mrkočima: *jakëta* (RGMI

166), te *jaketin* ‘kaputić, gornji dio ženskog kostima’ (RGMI 166). Romanizam *jaketa* ovjeren je i u ostalim čak. govorima:⁴² u rov. govorima (RROG 99), med. (RMG 90). U bolj. govorima navodi se i dem. *jakëtica* (RBOG 76). U bib. *jakëta* je ‘kaput, sako, gornji dio muškog odijela’ (RBG 288), kao i u bračkim govorima (RBČG 348) i na Istu (RGI 143). U Novalji se osim naziva *jaketa* ‘kratak kaput, jakna, sako’ (RGN 279) navodi i *jaketin* ‘gornji dio novaljske ženske nošnje, ženska bluza’ (RNG 279), koji u Dračevici na Braču znači ‘ženska jakna’ (RBČG 348).

(6) *kanotiëra* ž. – potkošulja

Naziv potječe od istromlet. *canotiera* ‘majica bez rukava’, „maglietta senza maniche o scolata“ (VG 161). Replike su potvrđene u sljedećim čak. govorima: rov. govori, med. i mrk. *kanotjëra* (RROG 109, RMG 96, RGMI 178) te bib. *kanot(i)jëra* „pamučna potkošulja na poramenice, majica“ (RBG 302). Leksem nije zabilježen u bolj. govorima, Novalji, na Istu i na Braču.

(7) *kapelin* m. – ženski šešir, šeširić

Naziv je nastao od mlet./istromlet. *capelin o capèlo da donna* „Cappellina, specie di cappello o armatura per difendere il capo, e più per ornamento, che portano le donne“ (Boe 133; VG 165). Njegove replike su u čak. govorima fonološki i semantički ujednačene: *kapelin* ‘ženski šešir’ (RBOG 86, RMG 97, RMIG 180, RROG 110, RGI 158, RGMK 111, RGOO 82, RBG 303,). Romanizam nije ovjeren u Novalji i na Braču.

(8) *kompletin* m. – žensko odijelo (obično suknja i jakna)

Naziv bi mogao potjecati od mlet. *completo* (Boe 185, VG 2389) ili tal. *completino* „Insieme coordinato di indumenti dello stesso tessuto, dello stesso colore, ecc., spec. per donna o per bambini“.⁴³ Potvrđen je u istom značenju u rov. govorima i med. *kompletin* (RROG 121, RMG 103), u bolj. *kopliët* (RBOG 96). Nije zabilježen u mrk., bib., brač., na Istu, u Novalji.

(9) *kumbinë* m. – kombine

Potječe od istromlet. *combinë* u značenju ‘odjevni predmet koji se nosi ispod haljine’ (VG 234). Romanizam je ovjeren u čak. govorima: rov. *kombinë* i

kumbině (RROG 120), mrk. *kombině* (RGMI 193), med. *kunbině* (RMG 110), bib. *kumbiněja* m. ‘dio donjega ženskog rublja, tanka košulja s naramenicama, kombine’ (RBG 341), u Dračevici na Braču *kombinět* (RBČG 390), u Novalji *konbinět/ kunbinět* (RGN 310). Leksem nije ovjeren u bolj. govोरima i na Istu.

(10) *redipět* m. – grudnjak

Naziv potječe od tal. *reggipetto* ‘grudnjak’, „reggiseno“.⁴⁴ Preuzeli su ga brojni čak. govori u sljedećim formalnim varijantama: *redipět* u Medulinu (RMG 233) i Bibinjama (RBG 602), *rečipět* u Mrkočima (RGMI 544) i na Braču (RBČG 822), *ridapět* na Istu (RGI 321). U rov. zabilježene su dvije prilagođenice: *redipět* i *rečipět* (RROG 233). Leksem nije ovjeren u bolj. govोरima, u Novalji se rabi *buštîn* (RGN 159).

4.3 Nazivi iz semantičkoga polja ženske odjeće, obuće, nakita i modnih dodataka u govoru Orbanića neromanskog podrijetla

Među nazivima vezanim za odijevanje žene koje je u govoru Orbanića zapisala Janneke Kalsbeek prevladavaju posuđenice iz romanskih idioma, a tri naziva su slavenska:

(1) *höljef* m. (mn. *holjefi*) – čarapa

Naziv je praslavenski < prasl. **chol’eva* ← **choliti* (Boryś 2007: 21). Čak. *höljefu* konzultiranim čak. rječnicima zabilježen je još samo u Mrkočima (RGMI 152). U rov. govोरima, u med. i Novalji koristi se romanizam *bičva* (RROG 30, RMG 23, RGN 133).⁴⁵

(2) *upanak* m., var. *opanak* m. – vrsta obuće

Naziv potječe od prasl. *opъnъkvъ*.⁴⁶ Ovjeren je u čak. govोरima: med. *opānak* (RMG 159), bolj. i mrk. *upānak* (RBOG 297, RGMI 689), rov. *opānak* i *panak* (RROG 184), u Novalji *opānak* (RGN 455), na Braču *opānak* ‘vrsta domaće obuće od valuje kože’ (RBČG 607). Leksem nije potvrđen na Istu.

(3) *ubuojki* m. mn. – vrsta natikača

Potječe od prasl. **obvojb(kъ)*.⁴⁷ U Mrkočima je ovjeren *ubōjak* (RGMI 677). U Novalji *obōjak* je ‘upletena vunena seljačka čarapa’ (RGN 703), kao i na Braču

obojak ‘ovijač oko stopala’ (RBČG 573). Naziv nije zabilježen u Medulinu, rov. i bolj. govorima te na Istu.

Germanskog podrijetla je naziv *pûmparice* ž. pl. tantum ‘ženske gaće koje su sezale do koljena’, hibridna tvorba s domaćim deminutivnim sufiksom. Naziv je prisutan u rov. govorima *pûmparice* (RROG 224), u Novalji *pûmparice* ‘gaće, žensko donje rublje od flanela’ (RGN 570) i u Bibinjama *pûnparice* 1. ‘široke dugačke hlače stegnute na svršetku nogavica’ (RBG 577). Leksem nije zabilježen na Braču, Istu, u Medulinu, boljunskim govorima, Mrkočima.

Naziv *trěňč* m. ‘mantil’ nastao je od engl. *trenchcoat*⁴⁸ uz elipsu. U Medulinu je zabilježen *trěňč* (RMG 243), a u rov. govorima uz *trěňč* i *šuššavac* u značenju ‘kišna kabanica’ (RROG 290). Nije potvrđen u boljunskim govorima i Mrkočima, u Novalji i Bibinjama, na Istu i na Braču.

5 Zaključna razmatranja

U istraživanju je analizirano ukupno 46 naziva iz semantičkog polja ženske odjeće, obuće, nakita i modnih dodataka u govoru Orbanića, od kojih je 41 romanskog postanja, 3 su slavenska naziva (*holjef*, *upanak*, *ubojki*), 1 germanizam (*pumparice*) i 1 naziv preuzet iz engleskog jezika (*trěňč*). Nakon provedene etimološke obradbe romanizama iz korpusa A i korpusa B vidljivo je da govor Orbanića čuva posuđenice preuzete u različitim fazama romansko-slavenskih jezičnih kontakata, od najranijih, iz predmletačkog razdoblja (*stomānja*) do najmlađih, iz standardnog talijanskog jezika (*redipēt*). Najbrojniji su mletacizmi, nastali kao rezultat intenzivnih i dugotrajnih kontakata s Venecijom. Oni potvrđuju utjecaj trgovačkih veza s Mlečanima na leksički fond čakavskih govora te kulturni utjecaj dvojezičnih urbanih centara na manje, jednojezične zajednice. Naime, u ruralnim čakavskim sredinama kao što su Orbanići, zajedno s trgovačkom robom, nabavljanom obično u obližnjim gradovima, preuzimao se i naziv (npr. *fačuôl*, *oćalī*, *takujīn*). Domaće nazive zadržali su predmeti koji su se izrađivali u samom domaćinstvu ili su dio tradicionalne odjeće (*hōljef*, *upanak/opanak*, *ubuojki*).

Usporedbom replika i romanskih modela, vidljivo je da su analizirani čakavski nazivi u adaptacijskim procesima poprimili fonološka obilježja primatelja, ali se u

pravilu nisu značajno semantički udaljili od naziva u izvoru. Osim prilagodbi ortografske prirode, npr. istromlet. *canotiera* (VG 161) > *kanotiera*, mlet. *capelin* (Boe 133) > *kapelin*, analizirani romanizmi u govoru Orbanića pokazuju neke specifične glasovne promjene:

- supstitucija vokala: *o* > *u*, npr. istromlet. *combinè* (VG 234) > *kumbině*, istromlet. *còtola* (VG 259) > *kòtula* (Kal 471);
- diftongacija: *ò* > *uo*, npr. mlet./istromlet. *bòrsa* (Boe 93, VG 107) > *buòrša* (Kal 421), mlet. *fazzoletòn* (Boe 264) > *fačòletuôn* (Kal 441), mlet. *cordòn* (Boe 155) > *korduôn* (Kal 468), istromlet. *traversòn* (VG 1173) > *travešuôn* (Kal 572);
- supstitucija konsonanata: *m* > *b* u inicijalnom položaju, npr. mlet. *mudànde* (Mio 128) > *budanti* (Kal 424); *m* > *n* u finalnom slogu, npr. mlet. *recàmo* (Boe 557) > *rakān* (Kal 535).⁴⁹

Ako se promotre formalne varijante romanizama u pojedinim čak. mjesnim govorima, uočava se da one mogu biti posljedica ne samo specifičnih fonoloških obilježja primatelja nego i različitog postanja. Međutim, pored glasovnih i/ili naglasnih varijanti (razlike u supstituciji glasova, npr. tal. *reggipetto* > *ređipět* u Orbanićima, a *rečipět* u Mrkočima), romanizmi se u pojedinim čak. govorima nerijetko formalno podudaraju, osobito na istom području (npr. *brhan*, *cavata*, *cokula*, *frkěta*). Osim toga, često su i semantički jednakovrijedni, npr. replike mlet. *colàna* „*Collana*; *Monile*“ (Boe 138) u čak. govorima također znače ‘lančić, ogrlica’; replike mlet. *rechin* (Boe 559; VDVD 168) uvijek označavaju naušnicu. Među analiziranim romanizmima ni glasovno ni semantički ne varira unutar čakavštine naziv *fjòk* ‘mašna’; ‘vrpca za kosu u obliku mašne’. Rjeđa je pojava različitih naziva u čak. govorima za neki pojam ili bliske pojmove. Primjerice, ženska čarapa u Orbanićima je *škafonīca* (Kal 559), hibridna tvorba nastala dodavanjem domaćeg sufiksa *-ica* osnovi aloglotskog podrijetla prema domaćem tvorbenom obrascu (usp. *čarapa* → *čarapica*). Prema potvrdama obavjesnica *škafonīca* označava kratku žensku čarapu, za razliku od *holjeva*, dugih čarapa, iznad koljena. Pored dva navedena naziva, u Orbanićima se koristi i treći, *kalcěti* m. pl. ‘čarape’ (Kal 461).

U govoru Orbanića nema nekih romanizama koji su potvrđeni u susjednim istarskim čak. govorima, kao što su npr. *kamižuôla*, *peturîn*, *šopràbit*, *šotàna*, *veštàlja* zabilježeni u govoru Boljuna (Tamaro 2013). U ovom govoru nema replika mlet. *guanto* ‘rukavica’ (Boe 320, VG 463), naziva kojeg su preuzeli mnogi čak. govori uključujući Milnu na Braču (Galović 2013: 169). Nema ni nekih naziva za nakit romanskog podrijetla kao što su *bračalet*, *puntapet*. Ova pojava bi mogla biti protumačena teškim ekonomskim prilikama i nerijetko oskudicom zbog kojih su žene posjedovale skromnije, najnužnije predmete i nisu bile u mogućnosti nabaviti luksuzne proizvode, što je posvjedočila gospođa Marija Živolić. S druge strane, u govoru Orbanića potvrđeni su neki romanizmi rijetko zabilježeni u čak. izvorima. To su *petinèla*, *kalcetuôn*, *veštàlja*, koji su ovjereni ponegdje u Istri, ali nisu zabilježeni u Dalmaciji. Ako se promotri rasprostanjenost analiziranih romanizama za žensku odjeću, obuću i modne dodatke u čakavskim govorima, evidentno je da je većina njih, osim gore navedena tri naziva, prisutna diljem istočne jadranske obale.

Terenskim istraživanjem potvrđeni su svi romanizmi koje je J. Kalsbeek zapisala u *Rječniku* (njih 31), a u usmjerenom smo razgovoru s obavjesnicama taj korpus obogatili s još deset novih leksema. Osim toga, saznali smo podatke koji dopunjavaju spoznaje o nekim leksemima iz korpusa A. Za romanizam *fačoletuôn* osim općenitog značenja ‘velika marama’ (Kalsbeek, 1998: 441), na temelju navoda obavjesnica bilježi se značenje ‘velika deblja marama koja se nosila umjesto kaputa’. Pored romanizma *kõtula* obavjesnice potvrđuju *kõtula do pāsa* ‘suknja’.⁵⁰ Iako nije zabilježen u istarskim rječnicima, prema našem jezičnom iskustvu znamo da postoji i u drugim mjesnim govorima u Istri, primjerice u govoru Hreljića u općini Marčana. Ovaj složeni naziv nije zabilježen u konzultiranim rječnicima čak. govora u južnijim arealima. Na temelju iskaza obavjesnice, utvrđena je semantička razlika između dvaju romanizama *šijal* i *šijarpa* u govoru Orbanića: *šijarpa* je ‘šal’, a *šijal* je ‘pletana marama koja se nosila kao ogrtač’.

Na morfološkom planu uočene su replike koje čuvaju strani vezani morfem i one koje su ga u adaptacijskim procesima zamijenile domaćim. Usporedbom promatranih čak. govora uočavaju se varijante različitoga gramatičkog roda, npr. istromlet. *spigheto* m. (VG 1070) > *špigèt* m. i *špigèta* ž.

Na koncu, možemo zaključiti da se opsežan *Rječnik* pridodan raspravi o govoru Orbanića kraj Žminja J. Kalsbeek pokazao izvrsnim izvorom ili polazištem za nova leksička istraživanja ovoga idioma u kontekstu susjednih, ali i čakavskih govora južnijega jadranskoga areala.

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Bilješke

- 1 Ovaj je rad sufinancirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom IP-2014-09-1946 (Dijalektološka i jezičnopovijesna istraživanja hrvatskoga jezika, voditelj: prof. dr. sc. Josip Lisac).
- 2 Izvor: <http://www.dzs.hr/>, posjet 4. 7. 2017.
- 3 Vidi: www.dzs.hr, *Stanovništvo prema materinskom jeziku po gradovima i općinama*, Popis 2011., str. 108–109., posjet 4. 7. 2017.
- 4 Vidi: http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/census2011/results/htm/H01_01_01/h01_01_01_zup18_5312.html, *Stanovništvo prema starosti i spolu po naseljima*, popis 2011., posjet 4. 7. 2017.
- 5 Osim žminjskih Orbanića u Istri su još dva naselja s istim imenom. Jedan je u Općini Marčana, a drugi pokraj Rovinja.
- 6 Vidi i: Josip Lisac, *Hrvatska dijalektologija 2., Čakavsko narječje* (2009: 73-94).
- 7 Budući da se u ovome radu bavimo romanizmima u govoru Orbanića, izdvajamo samo neke jezične značajke ovoga idioma prema istraživanjima J. Kalsbeek (1988: 1-335).
- 8 Rječnik sadrži riječi ovjerene u talijanskoj pokrajini Venezia Giulija, gradovima Grado i Monfalcone te na pojedinim punktovima u Istri i Dalmaciji.
- 9 Nastanak replika od romanskih modela i njihove adaptacije analizirane su prema teoriji jezika u kontaktu (Filipović 1986), koja je više puta primjenjivana u analizi romanizama, kao u studiji Lelije Sočanac (2004), Magdalene Nigoević (2007) i dr.
- 10 Rječnik je prema izvornome rukopisu uredila, priredila i popratila etimološkim komentarima Sandra Tamaro. Iz njega je, dok je još bio u rukopisu, ekscerpirala te obradila neposrednu i krajnju etimologiju romanizama iz semantičkoga polja za odjeću (Tamaro 2013: 105–122).
- 11 Roverski govori pripadaju jugozapadnom istarskom dijalektu. Njima se govori u sljedećim mjestima: Juršići, Cukrići, Brščići, Bankovići, Gilešići, Pačići, Butkovići, Dokići, Mandelići, Orlići, Muškovići, Klarići, Škicini, Stancija Grgur, Stancija Čipuli (Valpijana), Mićini, Paradiž, Sveti Kirin, Cirka, Tići i još nekim zaselcima. Isti je govor i u nekim okolnim mjestima, primjerice: Čabrunići, Režanci, Boškari, Štokovci pa su i njihovi leksemi zapisani u ovome rječniku (Kačić, Filipi, Milovan 2014: 13). Nalaze se u susjednoj općini Svetvinčenat.
- 12 Zaselak Mrkoči dio je naselja Batlug u općini Gračišće. Nalazi se na granici između općina Žminj i Barban. Od Žminja je udaljen 6 km.
- 13 *Baracane* u *Dizionario della Crusca*, 4^a edizione, vol. I, str. 382, <http://www.lessicografia.it>; te u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 14 *Barracano* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 15 Vidi JE II: 201-202, Tamaro 2013: 274.
- 16 Žene su u Bibinjama počele koristiti ovaj odjevni predmet oko 1900. godine (RBG 398, s. v. *mudānte*).

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- 17 *Borsetta* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 18 Vidi Skok I: 252, s. v. *capata*.
- 19 *Cinturino* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017. Usp. mlet. *centura* je ‘muški pojas’ (Boe 158), a *centurin* je ‘podvezica’, „Parte inferiore delle brache che le lega sotto al ginocchio“; ‘vrsta narukvice’, „Armilla, Girello che portan le donne in ornamento delle braccia“ (Boe 159), istromlet. *zintura/sintura* znači ‘ženski pojas, pas, remen i kožnati remen’ (VG 1259; 1032).
- 20 Za daleku etimologiju, kslat. *faciolum* < lat. *FACIES* ‘lice’, v. Skok I: 502-503.
- 21 Leksem je polisemičan, a ‘mašna’ je jedno od pet njegovih značenja. Vidi *fiocco* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/fiocco1>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 22 *Calzette* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 23 *Cappotto* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 24 Vidi Skok II: 123.
- 25 Tal. *cordoncino* m. „Piccolo cordone di seta, cotone o altro, usato di solito per ornamento“, *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 26 Vidi Skok II: 168-169.
- 27 O varijantama i rasprostranjenosti ovog romanizma vidi Skok II: 169; JE II: 103-104, Lisac 2010: 128-129.
- 28 *Pettinella* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 29 Vidi Skok II: 565.
- 30 Kalsbeek u *Rječniku* ne navodi značenje riječi, nego samo oblike za A jd. i G mn. (Kalsbeek 1998: 558).
- 31 Vidi Fabijanić 2014: 152.
- 32 U vrgadinskom govoru *škofūn*, *škofūni* i var. *škarfūni* „obuća spletena od vune ili bunestre“, „obuća za kopanje“ (RGOV 207).
- 33 O semantičkoj razlici između mlet. *tacuino* i tal. *taccuino* vidi Ljubičić 2011: 186.
- 34 Vidi Skok III: 437.
- 35 *Vélo* in *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 36 Muškog su roda tršč. *bustin* (GDDT 103) i tal. *bustino* „corpettino femminile con stecche, spec. negli abiti da sera“ potvrđen 1720. god. (DELI-cd).
- 37 Npr. Kristina Miočić bilježi potvrde za naziv *būština* ‘pulover; džemper’ u čak. rječnicima i ekvivalente u mlet. izvorima, a u pogledu postanja navodi Skokovo tumačenje: „osnovna riječ *bust* (koja je ovdje u ženskom rodu i deminutivnom obliku) dolazi od lat. part. perf. *combustus*, od glagola *comburare* – „spaliti lik preminuloga na grobu“, otpadanjem prefiksa *com-*. Devoto i Oli na nejasan način povezuju spaljivanje mrtvih tijela s njihovim prsima i prslucima, moguće u metonimijskom smislu: *grudi* = *tijelo* (ERHSJ, I, 244; DLI, 282).“ (Miočić 2012: 53-54).
- 38 Tal. *busto* „parte superiore del tronco umano, dal collo ai fianchi“ (14. st., Dante); „indumento intimo in tessuto elastico o compatto, usato dalle donne per modellare la persona“ (1238. god.); „fascia con stecche“, ‘steznik’; „scultura rappresentante una figura umana dalla testa alla vita, senza le braccia“ (oko 1635. god.). (s.v. *busto*, DELI-cd)
- 39 O upotrebi romanizma *bust* m. u Marulićevoj *Juditi* kao nazivu za odjevni predmet v. Fabijanić 2014.
- 40 Usp. Skok I: 749-750.
- 41 *Giacchetta* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 42 Vidi i Tamaro 2013: 271-271.
- 43 *Complettino* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 44 *Reggipetto* u *Vocabolario Treccani*, <http://www.treccani.it>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
- 45 Za ostale govore vidi s.v. *kalčeti*.

- 46 Opanak, *Hrvatski jezični portal*, <http://hjp.znanje.hr>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
 47 Obojak, *Hrvatski jezični portal*, <http://hjp.znanje.hr>, posjet 7. 7. 2017. Naziv je u govoru Orbanica doživio semantičku promjenu. U tradicionalnoj nošnji obojci su platnene trake kojima se obavijaju stopala, gležnjevi i noge sve do koljena, ili se stavljaju u opanke ispod stopala. Leksem je sačuvan u frazemu *kom opanci kom obojci*.
 48 Trenčkot, *Hrvatski jezični portal*, <http://hjp.znanje.hr>, posjet 7. 7. 2017.
 49 Promjena nije stabilna, usp. var. *rakām* (Kal 535).
 50 Usp. u rov. govorima *kotula od ženidbe* je 'vjenčanica' (RROG 126).

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- RBG Šimunić, B. 2013. *Rječnik bibinjskog govora*. Zadar: Ogranak Matice hrvatske Zadar.
- RGMK Maričić Kukljičanin, T. 2000. *Rječnik govora mjesta Kukljice*. Zadar: Matica hrvatska.
- RBOG Francetić, I. 2015. *Rječnik boljunskih govora*. Pula: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli.
- REW Meyer-Lübke, W. 1911. *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag.
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- RGOO Valčić, A. T. 2012. *Rječnik govora otoka Ošljaka*. Zadar: Matica hrvatska.
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Mrežni izvori:

Državni zavod za statistiku, <http://www.dzs.hr>
 Hrvatska jezična riznica, <http://riznica.ihjj.hr>
 Hrvatski jezični portal, <http://hjp.srce.hr>
 Lessicografia della Crusca in Rete, <http://www.lessicografia.it>
 Portal hrvatske rječničke baštine, <http://cro dip.ffzg.hr>
 Treccani.it, *l'Enciclopedia italiana*, <http://treccani.it>

Opće kratice

bib. – bibinjski	hrv. – hrvatski
bolj. – boljunski	im. – imenica
br. – brački	ist. – išćanski
čak. – čakavski	jd. – jednina
dalm. – dalmatski	kslat. – klasični latinski
fig. – figurativno	lat. – latinski
fr. – francuski	m. – muški rod

med. – medulinski

mlet. – mletački

mn. – množina

mrk. – mrkočki

N – nominativ

nov. – novaljski

npr. – na primjer

ob. – obično

orb. – orbanički

ošlj. – ošljački

pl. tant. – pluralia tantum

riv. – rivanjski

rov. – roverski

s. v. – *sub voce*

sl. – slično

srlat. – srednjovjekovni latinski

s. – srednji rod

st. – stoljeće

stand. – standardni

stfranc. – starofrancuski

tal. – talijanski

tršč. – trščanski

usp. – usporedi

uveć. – uvećanica

umanj. – umanjenica

ž. – ženski rod

Znakovi i simboli

< s desne strane je stariji lik

> s desne strane je mlađi lik

→ s desne strane je izvedenica

← s lijeve strane je izvedenica

= jednako, odgovara

* pretpostavljeni, nepotvrđeni oblik

WHICH DIALECT ARE WE RECORDING?

A CASE STUDY OF A RUSSIAN BABUSHKA'S LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION¹

Margje Post

The wave of sociolinguistic variationist studies that has washed over Western Europe since the 1960s, with its focus on socially conditioned variation and change, has hardly reached the Russian border, apart from a few drops. Empirical variationist studies from Russia are scarce. Among them we find the works by the Perm school of sociolinguistics on socially stratified variation in the speech of the population of Perm and the Perm *oblast'* (e.g. Erofeeva 2005).² Recently, the variation and gradual loss of dialect features in Russian rural speech has also become an object of study: the social stratification of phonological dialect features in a few remote villages and in a small town in Northern Russia has been identified by comparing the speech of several generations (e.g. Kochetov 2006; Vaahtera 2009; Krasovitsky 2014; Korobejnikova 2015). These apparent-time studies show a steady decline in the use of local dialect features, especially by the post-war generations. Some – mainly Western – scholars have started studying the social status of Russian rural dialects and other regionally coloured speech, and they have established that Russian dialects have little prestige, at least among urban students (e.g. Andrews 1995; Krause, Sappok and Lublinskaja 2006; Dahlberg 2008).³

Most Russian dialectologists, however, practice traditional dialectology: they record the speech of “ideal” dialect speakers – preferably elderly women, *babushka's*, from remote villages, with little education, who have hardly ever left their village – in order to collect data about the “real”, traditional village dialect (cf. Krause and Sappok 2014), before it is too late. In the 1930s, it was predicted that the dialects would soon become extinct. This has, of course, not happened

(cf. Kalnyn' 1997), but the traditional dialects are indeed threatened, both by low prestige and by demographic changes.

Most Russian dialectological studies do not focus on variants that do not belong to a particular traditional dialect. When talking to their elderly informants, the dialectologist typically tries to obtain informal, natural everyday spoken language, by talking about topics that engage the dialect speaker. This kind of recording can be called the CONVERSATIONAL INTERVIEW, although they are closer to monologues than to interviews (cf. Sundgren 2016). By using this methodology, the researcher hopes to reduce the effects of the OBSERVER'S PARADOX, i.e. the unattainable goal of the researcher "to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed" (Labov 1972: 61). It is hoped that, after ten minutes' time, the informants are no longer intimidated, forget about the microphone and get back to speaking "the way they always do", that is, their traditional dialect. But do they? This article tries to shed some light on this question.

In many parts of Europe, people are able to switch between two distinct linguistic norms in accordance with the social setting – between two languages (BILINGUALISM), or between the local or regional dialect and the standard language (BIDIALECTALITY). Such bidialectality can be found, for instance, in parts of the German speaking countries and parts of Dutch Limburg. In Russia bidialectality is uncommon (Kalnyn' 1997).

However, this does not mean that our poorly educated, isolated village babushka's never accommodate their language by applying less dialect features. Zep Honselaar provided a startling example of the difference between the language spoken in his presence, and when he had left the room in his dissertation on a Pskovian dialect (Honselaar 1997; Chonselaar 2001: 15; 178). In his absence, the *babushka* he recorded started using rare conjugational forms, such as *prisle* 'he came', corresponding to Standard Russian *prishël*. These forms, which are found in birchbark letters from the Middle Ages but had not been previously attested in modern Russian dialects, were avoided by the *babushka* in the presence of the dialectologist.

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Many more Russians must be varying the number of dialect features in their speech, speaking closer to Standard Russian in formal settings than, for instance, in conversations with relatives at home. Labov even assumes that there are no single style speakers (1984: 29). Differences in language between social groups and between speech styles are not usually the result of categorical usage or non-usage of a particular variant, but are rather manifested in statistical differences in the distribution of a form across speakers, groups, or speech styles (Foulkes, Scobbie and Watt 2010).

Such gradual differences between speakers can also be found in Russian speech communities. In the city of Perm, some regional phonetic variables are actually used by all social groups in this city. Highly educated Permians use them as well, only less often (e.g. Erofeeva 2005).

On the individual level, the frequency of linguistic variables is conditioned by changes in speech style, due to linguistic accommodation (Giles and Powesland 1975). Speakers shift style, attuning their linguistic behaviour in light of their interlocutors' behaviour and their attitudes towards their interlocutors (cf. Meyerhoff 2013: 105-6). In sociolinguistics, style shifting can be defined as variation in an individual's speech, qualitative or quantitative, correlating with differences in addressee, social context, channel, personal goals or externally imposed task (cf. Labov 1984: 29; Meyerhoff 2013: 315). Individual stylistic variation is thus conditioned by a broad range of factors (e.g. Schilling-Estes 2006),⁴ and style shifts can take place in the middle of a conversation (Labov 1972). Interlocutors accommodate to a variable degree: some hardly vary their speech at all, whereas others are linguistic chameleons (cf. Rickford and Price 2013), accommodating strongly to audience and situation.

Almost all available recordings of Russian dialectal speech – both those gathered by traditional dialectologists and the recent data from the above mentioned sociolinguistic variationist studies – are obtained in a single social setting: villagers interviewed by non-local researchers speaking (more or less) Standard Russian. The sociolinguistic studies give insight into generational differences at the community level, but they give no information about the stylistic variation at the level of the individual speaker. A local school teacher from

a neighbouring village, born in the 1950s, who had studied in a large city, spoke to us in Standard Russian, but he told us that he spoke dialect at home with his sisters. It would be unnatural for him, as an educated teacher, to speak anything other than Standard Russian with us. The elderly, immobile villagers with little education we usually record, are less likely to vary their language to such a large degree, but we have to take into account possible accommodation to the interviewers, and try to record the dialect speakers under different settings.

We have been fortunate to obtain sound recordings of Russian dialect speaker Elikonida Ioakimovna Mošnikova (1922–2006), that were recorded in various decades (in 1987, 2001 and 2004) and in more than one speech style. Apart from conversational interviews,⁵ we also possess a sound recording of her reading a text (in which she retained a salient Northern Russian pronunciation, including full *okan'e*),⁶ and, by chance, we also recorded her telling an emotional story, addressed to her neighbour and friend. In this recording, she relates to her neighbour how she found her cat, which, to her great distress, had been missing for several days. This story is less formal than the other recordings, and it is closer to natural everyday speech. Its setting combines two factors that Labov found to be most helpful in reducing the observer's effect on the recording: the story is an emotional account of a life-threatening event, and its main addressee is a local friend (Chambers 1995: 19 about Labov 1966).

We interviewed E. I. Mošnikova (further: EIM) in her native village, Varzuga, on the southern, Ter Coast of the Kola Peninsula. The Russian dialects of Kola Peninsula belong to the Pomor (or Northern, or Arkhangelsk) group of Northern Russian dialects (according to the classification to Durnovo et al. 1915) and they are closely related to the Northern dialects of Arkhangelsk *oblast'* and to the Russian dialects of Northern Karelia (Post 2006). EIM had little education – she went to school for five years – but she loved reading and performing in public. She was a proud representative of the local Pomor culture. Every researcher who wanted to learn about the local culture was sent to her.

This dialect speaker was a conscious language user. She was aware of her style shifting when she was telling about her cat. During this conversation with her neighbour, she knew that my fellow Norwegian guest and I were listening as well,⁷

and that the conversation was being recorded. After finishing her story, she addressed herself to us and asked whether we had problems understanding their speech (“Našu reč’-to ponimaete?”). She had never asked that before, although we had met several times and I had recorded many hours of her speech. Possibly, she was only worried about the dialect words she had used – she did use quite a few local words that she did not take the time to explain to us, which she otherwise was likely to have done, or would have avoided using. But did she change her language in other respects as well?

In order to find an answer to this question, I have conducted a small case study, in which I compared the use of five dialect features in EIM’s emotional account to her friend (in the figures below labelled as *2001 story*; 4’58” in length) with a random part of a conversational interview of similar length (duration: 6’36”), which I had with her eight days later, labelled as *2001 int*). Both conversations can be read and listened to in a forthcoming publication of dialect recordings from the Ter Coast (Post and Pineda, *forthc.*). The sound files will be available on CD and as mp3-files on the internet. The texts can also be found in Post 2005.⁸ I also compared these two recordings with excerpts of similar length from interviews with EIM from 1987 (8 minutes) and 2004 (10 minutes), in order to find out whether she might have changed her language over time.⁹ The five linguistic variables were chosen because they are relatively frequent and had been marked in the transcription, which makes them easy to count. The transcriptions have been checked by at least two transcribers each. All five features are morphological or morphonological in nature.

Variable 1: /o[g]o/ vs. /o[v]o/

The first variable is the pronunciation of the consonant in the personal pronoun *ego* /jogo/,¹⁰ ‘him; it’ (M.GEN/ACC.SG and N. GEN/ACC.SG) and in the ending /ogo/ (M./N.GEN.SG. AND M./N.ANIM.ACC.SG of adjectives, pronouns and numerals, written as *-ogo* or *-ego* in transliterated Standard Russian orthography). In Standard Russian pronunciation, this pronoun and ending are pronounced with a fricative labiodental [v], whereas the traditional dialect pronunciation retains the original plosive velar [g].¹¹

In EIM's speech, three variants are found:

1. dialectal /o[g]o/, e.g. [drugógo]¹² 'other'; [jétogo] '(of) this';
2. Standard Russian /o[v]o/, e.g. [étəvə] for translit. orth. *étogo*, '(of) this'; [u n'evó] for translit. orth. *u nego* 'with him';
3. /o[_]o/ – a pronunciation without consonant, i.e. without (near)-closure of the mouth, which could be regarded as an intermediate variant. An example is [s'ed'móo] for *sed'mogo* 'seventh'.

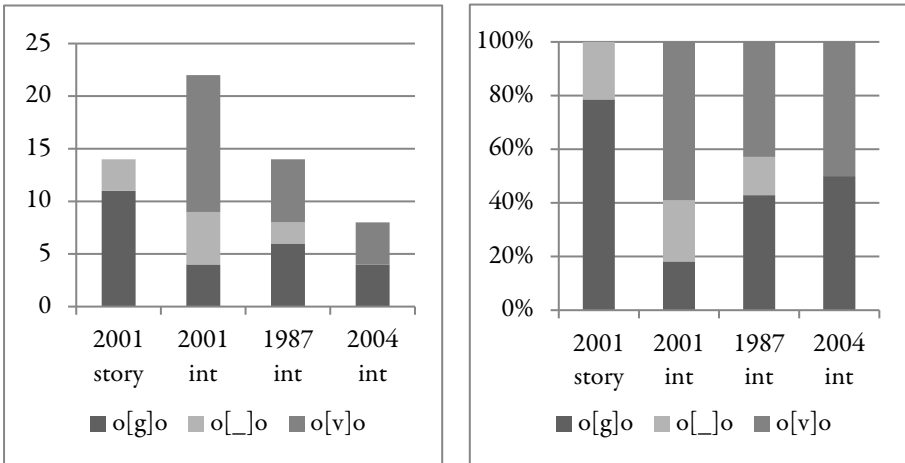


Fig. 1.

The distribution of three pronunciation variants of variable 1, the consonant of the ending /ogo/ and pronoun /jogo/ (translit. orth. *ego*), in EIM's emotional story to her neighbour (2001 story), in the interview excerpt from the same week (2001 int) and in two other interviews (1987 int and 2004 int), in number of attestations (bar graph to the left) and in relative frequency (right-hand bar graph). The traditional dialect form (dial.) has [g], the Standard Russian pronunciation (st.) has [v]. An intermediate form, with no audible consonant, is attested as well.

In the most informal text, the traditional dialect pronunciation was used in 11 out of 14 cases (79 %; Fig. 1, first column from the left), whereas in the interview from 2001, it was used only three times (18%); the standard-like pronunciation was far more frequent (59%; second column from the left). The data in the two other interviews resemble those of the 2001 interview: only in the story, standard-like forms are absent.

Variable 2: ‘with her’: /u jej/ vs. /u n’ej/

The second variable is the frequently used prepositional phrase *u* ‘with’ + personal pronoun in F.GEN.SG, corresponding to Standard Russian /u n’ejó/ ‘at her place’; ‘her’; ‘she’.¹³ The following two forms are attested in the recordings: 1) the traditional dialect form /u jej/, cf. (1) and the intermediate form /u n’ej/, cf. (2). The Standard Russian form, 3) /u n’ejó/, was not used. The intermediate form /u n’ej/ – with the dialectal pronoun /jej/, but a prothetic *n-* as in Standard Russian – is attested in many Russian dialects (cf. ruscorpora.ru). Two example utterances:

- (1) *U nej četvero detej.* (2004, interview)
 ‘She has four children.’
- (2) A govorit: “Sejčas L. F. zvonila: *U jej* kot-to!” (2001, story)
 ‘And she says: L. F. just called: The cat is *at her* place!’

This variable shows a remarkable stylistic difference: in the story, the most informal recording, only the traditional dialect form is used, whereas in the more

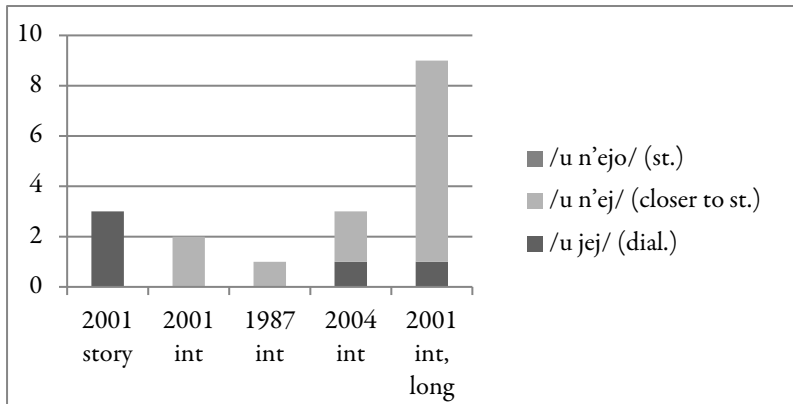


Fig. 2.

The distribution of three variants of variable 2, ‘with her’, in EIM’s informal story and in five interview (excerpts), in absolute numbers. The traditional dialect form is /u jej/ (dial.), /u n’ej/ is an intermediate form (closer to the Standard Russian form, and /u n’ejó/ is the Standard Russian form (st.; not attested).

formal interview, EIM only used the intermediate form /u n'ej/ (Fig. 2, first two columns from the left). However, the prepositional phrase was used only five times, so the numbers are too low to be statistically significant. Therefore, the data are compared with the attestations in the interview excerpts from 1987 and 2004 (third and fourth column). In these interviews, most frequent is again /u n'ej/, but /u jej/ is not absent: it was used once (Fig. 2, fourth column).

Statistically even more sound is the comparison with a long interview I did with the same speaker some days earlier, which lasted almost two hours (113 minutes) and has been transcribed entirely (Fig. 2, left column).¹⁴ In this conversation, EIM used the prepositional phrase nine times. As shown in Fig. 2, the tendency from the shorter interview excerpts is repeated here: even in this interview, /u n'ej/ is used almost exclusively (8 out of 9 times). The Standard Russian form /u n'ejo/ is not attested here either.¹⁵

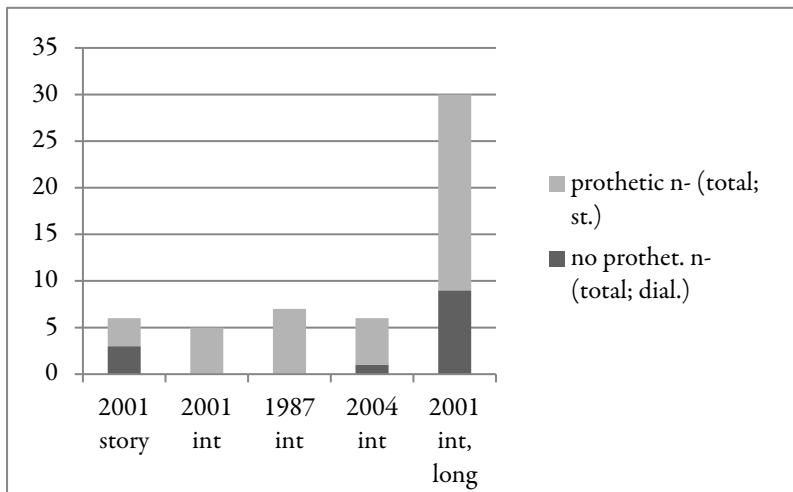


Fig. 3.

The distribution of the traditional dialectal (dial.) and Standard Russian (st.) variants of variable 3, i.e. the absence resp. presence of prothetic *n-* in personal pronouns after prepositions, in EIM's emotional story to her neighbour (2001 story) and in five interview (excerpt)s, in absolute numbers.

Variable 3: absence vs. presence of prothetic *n-* in personal pronouns

Because of the low number of attestations of the previous variable, I have compared the use of prothetic *n-* in prepositional phrases with personal pronouns in general, including not only /u jej/ – /u n'ej/ (variable 2), but also phrases with other prepositions and pronouns, such as /u jix/ vs. /u n'ix/ 'with them', /k jim/ vs. /k n'im/ 'to him' and /s jej/ vs. /s n'ej/ 'with her'.

The informal story still contains many more traditional dialect forms than the more formal interviews (Fig. 3), although the switch between dialect and standard form is no longer as absolute: the interview still does not contain any traditional, *n-*less pronouns, but the informal story no longer has only forms without initial *n-* – it contains three attestations of /u n'ix/. The other interview fragments and the long interview show that EIM does use traditional forms without *n-* in interviews as well, but far less often than in the emotional story.

This variable has also been studied in villages in the Ustyia River district in Arkhangelsk *oblast'* (Waldenfels et al. 2015; Zhigul'skaya 2015), based on the data in the electronically available and easily searchable dialect database *Ustyia River Basin Corpus* (Daniel, Dobrushina and Waldenfels 2013-2014). In these dialects, the use of pronouns without initial /n/ is consistent until the generation born in the mid 1950s, but falls dramatically in the speech of the younger generations (Waldenfels et al. 2015).

Variable 4: Dialectal endings vs. *-e/* in noun declension

The fourth variable concerns noun declension: the (non-)use of the Standard Russian ending *-e/* (after soft consonant) vs. traditional endings in second declension nouns in DAT + LOC.SG and in first declension (= M and N) nouns in LOC.SG. In the traditional dialect, second declension nouns in DAT + LOC. SG end in *-i/* (without softening of the preceding consonant, e.g. /k Anny/ 'to Anna', corresponding to StR /k Ann'e/),¹⁶ and first declension nouns in LOC.SG end in palatalized consonant + *-i/* or in stressed *-ú/*. Standard Russian has a subset of words ending in stressed *-ú/* as well – a remainder of an original *ŷ*-stem declension – but the group is larger in the traditional dialect (Merkur'ev 1997: 6). Here are some examples of the dialect endings from the emotional story: /k

L'ikon'idy/ (StR /*k L'ikon'id'e/*, 'to Likonida'; F.DAT.SG of *Likonida*); *v toj tam /izby/-to* (StR /*izb'e/*; 'in that cottage over there'; F.LOC.SG of *izba*); */vo dvor'i/* (StR /*vo dvor'é/* 'in the aisle'; M.LOC.SG of *dvor*); *na samom /dn'i/* (StR /*dn'e/*; 'on the very bottom'; N.LOC.SG of *dno*); */v m'ešku/* (StR /*v m'ešk'e/*; 'in a bag', M.LOC.SG of *mešok*).

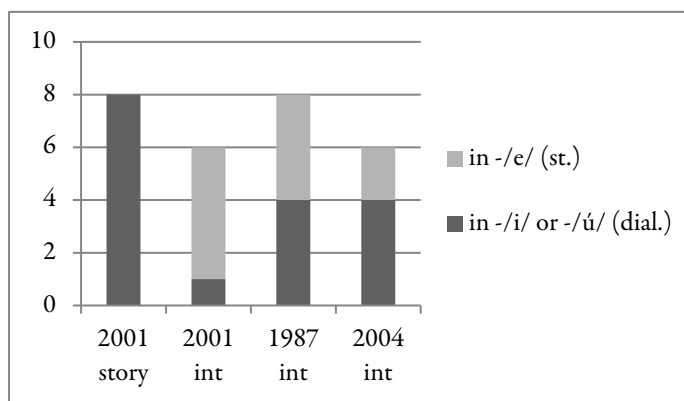


Fig. 4.

The distribution of variable 4: dialectal endings (dial.) vs. -/e/ (st.) in noun declension, in EIM's emotional story to her neighbour (= *2001 story*) and in five interview (excerpt)s, in absolute numbers.

Again, the story contains many more traditional dialect forms than the 2001 interview (Fig. 4, first two columns to the left), and this informal text even lacks the /e/-endings common for Standard Russian. In the interviews, EIM uses both /e/-endings and traditional endings.

Variable 5: intervocalic /j/-drop

The fifth and final variable is the presence or absence of intervocalic /j/ in nominal and verbal endings, e.g. /*taka/* (dial.) vs. /*takaja/* (StR; 'such' in F.NOM.SG); /*b'egat/* (dial.) vs. /*b'egajot/* (StR; orth. *bezaem* '(s/he/it) runs' V.PRES.3PS.SG). In Northern Russian dialects, the intervocalic /j/ has fallen out and the vowels have been assimilated in certain nominal and verbal endings. Since this does not

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happen to all intervocalic /j/'s, this rule is not purely phonological, but morphonological.

Below are two example utterances illustrating the use vs. drop of /j/ in VjV-endings. In the 1987 and 2001 interviews, EIM related about the same topic:

- (3) A ran'she nosili u nas vot *taki* šali, *bol'sie šerstjanye* šali [...] (1987 int)
 'In earlier times, our people wore *such* shawls, *large, woolen* shawls [...]'
- (4) Na ugorii byl magazin. I tam *taki* platki *krasivy* byli, šali *taki* byli ... (2001 int)
 'On top of the high riverbank there was a shop. They had *such beautiful* scarfs, *such* shawls ...'

In (3), EIM used one dialect form (*taki*) and two standard forms (*bol'sie* and *šerstjanye*) in this utterance; in (4), only dialectal short forms are used (*taki*, *krasivy*, *taki*).

Contrary to the preceding variables, this variable showed no difference between the two social settings: in both the story and the interview from 2001,

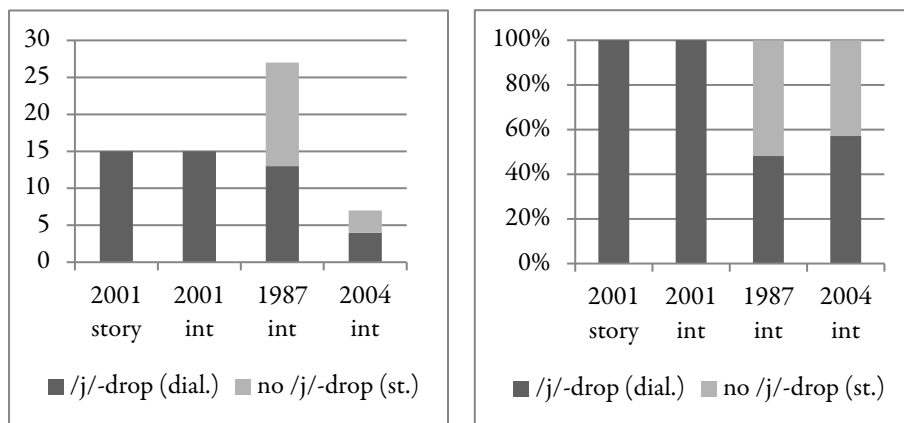


Fig. 5.

The distribution of traditional dialectal (dial.) vs. Standard Russian variant (st.) of variable 5, the presence or absence of intervocalic /j/-drop, in EIM's emotional story to her neighbour (= 2001 story) and in four interview excerpts, in number of attestations (left) and in relative frequency (right).

only traditional dialect forms were used (Fig. 5, first and second column from the left). Interestingly, both texts differ from the interviews from 1987 and 2004, for in the latter fragments, EIM did use the standard-like, longer forms with /j/ about half of the time (Fig. 5, third and fourth columns from the left). So in the case of this variable, both texts from 2001 are opposed not to each other, but to the other interview fragments.

This might be explained by differences in setting. While all interviews were conducted by a researcher, interviewing the same speaker in Standard Russian, the 2004 recording was made together with prof. Sappok, whom EIM met for the first time.¹⁷ The dimensions mentioned by Eskénazi (1993) might play a role: not only 1) social strata (i.e. from the most casual “lower class” tone to a “highly cultivated” tone; Eskénazi 1993: 502), but also 2) intelligibility, and 3) familiarity with the listener(s). Possibly, a concern about intelligibility, combined with a low degree of familiarity with the addressees, has triggered EIM to use the longer, unreduced and more intelligible Standard Russian forms in the interview from 2004.

Variables 1–5: total result

In Figure 6, all five variables are combined.¹⁸

When we take all variables together, we start to get a decent number of attestations in the two main texts: 40 in the recording of the story and 34 in the interview fragment from 2001. The story has a much higher prevalence of traditional dialect forms when compared to the interviews, both in absolute numbers (Fig. 6, left) and proportionally (Fig. 6, right): whereas 96% of the occurrences of these five variables is traditional in the story, only 39% is in the 2001 interview.

The percentage of dialect forms in the interview fragment is comparable to those in the interviews from 1987 and 2004 (Fig. 6, third and fourth columns from the left): all three are below 50%, and much lower than the frequency in the emotional story.

One should keep in mind that these observations only concern five variables, so they do not characterize the usage of dialectal features of this speaker in general

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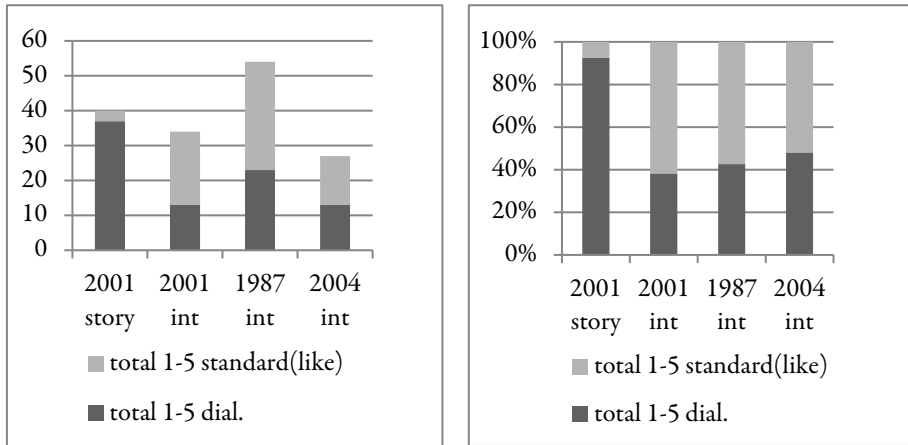


Fig. 6.

The distribution of the traditional variants (dial.; dark grey) and standard, or standard-like, variants (st., light grey) of variables 1–5, in number of attestations (left) and in relative frequency (right).

(cf. Post and Pineda, *forthc.*, for a discussion of other variables). Furthermore, in Fig. 6, the relative frequency of the variables in the texts is not taken into account: variables with relatively many attestations (such as /j/-drop, which was the “odd one out”) have more weight in this simple calculation than less frequent features.

Still, these data show clearly that change in setting (between interview with researchers and emotional account to a friend, with researchers present as third party) had a noticeable effect on the relative frequency of dialect features.

This case study attests that even poorly educated, conservative dialect speakers can change speech style and adjust their use of dialect traits to the circumstances. The dialect speaker we have observed, E. I. Mošnikova from the Ter Coast of the White Sea, has a lower number of dialect features, both qualitatively and quantitatively, when speaking with researchers than in an emotional story that was mainly addressed to a local friend.

This example shows that dialectologists should always be aware that the speech they record might be less “dialectal” than the everyday local speech they intend to record.

University of Bergen (Norway)

Abbreviations

ACC = accusative; AN = animate; DAT = dative; EIM = Elikonida Ioakimovna Mošnikova (1922–2006) from Varzuga, Kola Peninsula; F = feminine; GEN = genitive; LOC = locative; M = masculine; N = neuter; 3PS = third person; SG = singular; StR = Standard Russian; V = verb(al); V = vowel;

Notes

- 1 Parts of this study have earlier been presented at conferences (*Methods in Dialectology XV*, Groningen 2014, *The International Conference on Language Variation in Europe 8*, Leipzig 2015) and at two seminars in Amsterdam (2015), but they were never published.
- 2 Russian words are transliterated according to the official ISO transliteration; see <http://kodeks.uni-bamberg.de/AKSL/Schrift/Transliteration>. Russian place names are given in English transliteration (e.g. Arkhangelsk, Perm).
- 3 For a discussion of regional variation and the position of Russian dialects in Russia, see Krause 2010 and Krause and Sappok 2014.
- 4 For extensive overviews of sociolinguistic approaches to speech style, see Eckert and Rickford 2001; Schilling-Estes 2006.
- 5 The 2001 and 2004 recordings are my own, made together with colleagues or alone. The 1987 recordings were kindly made available to us by the author, folklorist N. M. Vlasova, who found her old cassettes and accompanied us to have them digitalized at the Phonographic Archive of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House) in Saint-Petersburg. We are greatly indebted to both. E. I. Mošnikova's speech was also recorded on tape recorder, among others, in the 1960s, by D. M. Balašov, when he and his team collected fairy tales on the Ter Coast (see Balašov 1970 for transcriptions), but we haven't detected these recordings, although we did receive copies of some of Balašov's recordings of fairy tales by other story tellers from the Ter Coast, thanks to the Pushkin House, and to the Phonographic Archive of the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History of the Karelian Research Center at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk.
- 6 Full *okan'ě* is the retained discrimination of the phonemes /o/ and /a/ after non-palatalized consonants in unstressed position, e.g. the pronunciation of /vodá/ as [vodá] and /travá/ as [travá], typical of Northern Russian dialects. Standard and Southern Russian have *akan'ě*, in which unstressed /o/ and /a/ are neutralized.
- 7 During this field work trip in November 2001, I was accompanied by Kaja Opsahl, a Norwegian graduate in Russian literature.
- 8 Part of the interview can be found in Appendix VI to Post 2005 as fragment 12 (Post 2005: 555) and the emotional story as fragment 15 (Post 2005: 560-562). The story was recorded on 17 Nov. 2001 (MD25_004.wav); the interview on 25 Nov. 2001 (MD34_001.wav).
- 9 These interviews from 1987 and 2004 are archived in Bergen under the names KK03B.wav and MD42_001.wav, respectively. The 2004 interview was taken together with Christian Sappok (Universität Bochum) and David Pineda (Universitetet i Tromsø, later Universitetet i Bergen). The 2004 interview took place after E. I. Mošnikova had suffered a stroke, and she spoke at a much slower rate.
- 10 Since transliterated Russian orthography seldom shows the presence of /j/ and of palatalized consonants, phonemic transcriptions are provided, which follow the Moscow phonological school (Avanesov 1974).
- 11 Possible reduction of the vowels surrounding the consonant /g/ are not taken into account.
- 12 Following a widely used tradition in Slavic linguistics, the following symbols are used in the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions: stress is indicated by an acute accent (é), palatalization by an apostrophe (s'), and sibilants by means of hačeks (š, č etc.).

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- 13 The phrase *u* + personal pronoun can have locative meaning ('at/close to her/him/it'; see example 2), but it is also used in a variety of constructions with possessive meaning, corresponding to a possessive pronoun or the verb 'to have', e.g. *U nej otca uvezli* 'Her father was deported' (2001 *int*). In the dialect under scrutiny it can even express the agent in a passive sentence.
- 14 This interview (recordings MD22_006.wav, MD22_007.wav and MD23_001.wav, recorded on 16 Nov. 2001) was transcribed by Elena Kuz'mina (Saint Petersburg State University), thanks to a grant by the Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen.
- 15 In this longer conversation, the corresponding pronoun without preposition /*jejó*/ for F.GEN and ACC.SG is attested, along with trad. /*jej*/, though only once.
- 16 The Moscow phonological school (e.g. Avanesov 1974) does not differentiate between /*i*/ and /*i*/, unlike the St. Petersburg school.
- 17 A third person, David Pineda, participated in this interview as well, but EIM had met him several times before.
- 18 In fact, Figure 6 gives the sum of the variables 1, 3, 4 and 5, since the data of variable 2 happen to be a subset of variable 3.

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WHAT TO GIVE AS WEDDING GIFTS IN MEDIEVAL NOVGOROD?

ON BIRCHBARK DOCUMENT NOS. 261-264

Jos Schaeken

1 Introduction

The corpus of birchbark documents from medieval Novgorod and other cities in Rus' is usually known to a larger audience because of the hundreds of private letters it comprises. They give us fascinating glimpses into everyday life and interpersonal communication in a vibrant commercial center strategically located on the major trade routes between Scandinavia and Byzantium ('From the Varangians to the Greeks'), and Western Europe and the East. Most of the scholarly literature is dedicated to this particular text type, which constitutes more than half of the corpus of birchbark documents.

The present article deals with a second category represented on birchbark,¹ viz. records which concern various financial, commercial and household affairs. Many of these birchbarks consist of lists of names in combination with goods or units of currency. This is the case with document nos. 261-264 (N261-N264, where 'N' stands for Novgorod), which is the object of our investigation (see Section 2).

We will review the current interpretation of the text (Section 3) and discuss the specific meaning of two lexemes: *čator* (Section 4) and *bljudo* (Section 5). In the latter case, evidence from two additional Western sources of knowledge (Johan Danckaert 1615, and Tönnies Fenne 1607) will be adduced to further clarify the practical nature of the text.

2 Text and comments

N261-N264 consists of four fragments which were found sixty years ago, in 1957, during excavations at the Nerev site (*Usad'ba E*), on the Sophia Side of the city,

north of the Kremlin. The pieces of birchbark, all written in the same handwriting, are the remains of a bigger document, which is dated stratigraphically between the 1370s and 1390s, whereas extra-stratigraphical evidence places it between the 1340s and the 1370s, preferably not earlier than the 1360s.²

N261-N264 was first published in 1963 (*NGB* 5, 1963: 88-91, including drawings). Additional corrections and comments can be found in *NGB* 8 (1986: 179-180, 198-199). The English translation below is based on the publication of the document in *DND* (2004: 608-611).

N264: beginning of the document

- (1) From Fedor Sinofontov³ 4 dishes, goatskin.⁴
- (2) From the *Porščane* (?)⁵...
- (3) From Syp's wife⁶ 5 (dishes), goatskin.
- (4) From Onanija Kurickij⁷ 4 (dishes), ...

N263: one of the remaining parts in the middle of the document

- (5) From Gjurgij ...
- (6) From Vasilij ...
- (7) From ...-priest 3 (dishes), felt of goat's hair.⁸
- (8) From Jakun's wife, Foma's daughter-in-law, 3 (dishes).
- (9) From Terentij Koj⁹ 5 (dishes), a cut ...
- (10) From ... Ofonosov¹⁰ 2 (dishes), goatskin.
- (11) From Flar' Kočankov 5 (dishes), a cut of blue cloth.¹¹
- (12) From Boris Pjanteleev ...
- (13) From Pavel Ivanov 3 (dishes), goatskin.
- (14) From *Ondr...* ...

N261: the second remaining part in the middle

- (15) From Filofa's wife a dish.
- (16) From Lar'jan¹² ...
- (17) From*slavova* 3 (dishes), goatskin.
- (18) From Savva Timoškin¹³ 3 (dishes).

- (19) From *O*... ...
 (20) From ... Boguslavov 3 (dishes), ...

N262: end of the document

- (21) From, goatskin.
 (22) From Gorislavlič ...
 (23) From ... 6 (dishes), a shirt made of *čator*.
 (24) From Flar'...
 (25) From, a cut of green cloth.¹⁴
 (26) From Ratslav-*podvojskij*¹⁵ ...
 (27) From Maksim Maškov 5 (dishes), goatskin.

3 Interpretation of the text

In the first edition of N261-N264, the list of names and goods was interpreted as specific purchases of the author from a group of small manufacturers (*NGB* 5, 1963: 90). The word for 'dish' (*bljudo*) was considered to be some sort of measurement unit for goatskin (*timž*): “Не совсем понятно, почему тим измеряется блюдами. Возможно, что так именовались сосуды для дубления” (*idem*, 91). However, Burov (1978) put forward a far more plausible and coherent explanation of the meaning of the list, which was later adopted by Janin (1998: 159-160)¹⁶ and *DND*, on which the translation above is based.

According to Burov, the many patronymics which occur in the list show that we are dealing with a group of individuals from the upper strata of society: “В ту эпоху отчество было наиболее характерно для лиц знатного происхождения” (1978: 87; see also *DND* 2004: 610). Second, Burov points out that 'from' is rendered by the preposition *otъ* throughout the document, in contrast with the many instances of *y* 'from' in other birchbark lists of names that occur in combination with goods or money. In the latter case, it is obvious that the meaning is 'to take from' in terms of debts, rent, tribute, etc. The preposition *otъ*, however, presupposes a voluntary act of giving, 'to receive from' in terms of donations of gifts: “В нашем понимании формула подобного типа выражает дарственность: дарят дорогую кожу, одежду, блюда, войлочные ковры. Все

берется на учет рачительным хозяином” (Burov 1978: 87). Third, Burov refers to an observation made by Sigismund von Herberstein in his *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* from the mid-sixteenth century to corroborate his thesis that the list should be understood as a memorandum of wedding gifts received from the esteemed invitees to the ceremony. Herberstein’s comments will be quoted and discussed in Section 5.

DND (2004: 609) further elaborates on Burov’s interpretation of N261-N264. The word *bljudo* ‘dish’ occurs only twice in the list, viz. at the beginning of N264, after the numeral 4, and in the beginning of N261, where we find the only instance of *bljudo* used in the singular (see entries (1) and (15) above). *DND* argues that *bljudo* is implied after all numerals in the list and should be disconnected from other gifts that are enumerated after the word. Thus, in contrast to *NGB* 5 (1963: 91), *bljudo* cannot be explained as a measurement unit for goatskin: “Последующее изучение документа постепенно приводило к освобождению от такой иллюзии” (*DND* 2004: 610; cf. Čerepnin 1969: 287). Apparently, all guests had to give at least one or more dishes, which should be understood as dishware, as Čerepnin explicitly notes (“посуда”, *idem*; cf. *SDRJa* 1988: 241). In addition, cloth and other fabrics could be donated, but not necessarily, as in the case of Jakun’s wife (three dishes only, nothing else), Filofa’s wife (one dish), and Savva Timoškina (three dishes); see entries (8), (15), and (18) above (cf. *DND* 2004: 609).

4 On *čator*

The exact meaning of *čator* in entry (23) (*соръцица чатрова*, with *c-* instead of *č-* due to *cokan’è*) is unclear: “чатровая рубаха (т. е. из ткани, называемой *чаторъ*, см. Срезн[евский])” (*idem*). The reference provided in *NGB* 5 (1963: 89) to a Hanseatic document from around 1300, where we read ... и дали ему скорлата портъ жо чаторъ (Napiersky 1868: 27; cf. Sreznevskij 1912: 1483, s.v. *чаторъ*, with a question mark regarding its meaning) remains inconclusive.

Most likely, *čator* is an old Turkic loanword (attested as *čadyr*, *šatyr*, *šadyr*, *sadyr* in different languages), which is related to Persian *čatr* and Sanskrit *chattra*-‘parasol’ (a derivation from the verbal root *chad-* ‘to cover’). It is otherwise well

known in Slavic as *шамѣр* (Russian), *шаторъ, шатъръ* (Old Russian), *шамър* (Bulgarian), *szatr, szatra* (Polish), etc., which usually means ‘tent, screen’ (Fasmer 1986-87 IV: 413). A variant of the same origin is Russian *чадра* ‘chador’, i.e. a Persian veil (idem, 311).

Although all these words refer to objects rather than the type of cloth of which they are made, a semantic shift in the case of *соръцица цатрова* is quite conceivable: ‘a shirt made of cloth similar to a *čator*’ or ‘a shirt that is similar to a *čator* in shape’, covering a larger part of the body and perhaps going down below the ankles. This conjecture can be corroborated by cognates like Azerbaijani *čadyra*, which according to Fasmer (idem) means ‘миткаль’, i.e. ‘calico; chiffon’.¹⁷

5 On *bljudo*

5.1 Herberstein and Danckaert on wedding gifts

As mentioned above, Burov (1978: 87) adduced evidence from Herberstein’s *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, where we find a comment on the procedure of giving, listing, examining, sending back or compensating wedding gifts. The passage quoted by Burov (on the basis of a Russian edition from the beginning of the previous century; Gerberštejn 1908: 71-72)¹⁸ is given below in the English translation of Major (1851: 92).¹⁹ Burov (1978: 87) explicitly refers to passage (2), where it says that the groom “carefully marked” the presents of the invitees to the wedding. Our document N261-N264 seems to be the tangible proof that such a procedure existed in former times.

In addition to Herberstein’s comments on wedding gifts, I will provide a second account of the procedure by another foreigner, namely the Dutchman Johan (Jan) Danckaert, who in 1615 published the first description of Russia in Dutch: *Beschryvinge van Moscovien ofte Ruslant ...* (‘Description of Muscovy or Russia ...’). Danckaert was clearly familiar with Herberstein’s popular and widely-spread *Commentarii* (cf. Piso 1989, Nozdrin 2016: 198), as can be deduced from his text below, which follows Herberstein’s commentary in many details. However, Danckaert also included his own observations that he must have noted down during his stay in Russia (mainly Novgorod), probably between 1609 and 1614, when he served in the Swedish army (Piso 1989: 39, Nozdrin 2016: 203-

205).²⁰ His personal additions to Herberstein's account are relevant for the discussion in the next subsection.

Herberstein 1556/1557	Danckaert 1615
(1) Horses, dresses, weapons, cattle, servants, and the like, are generally given as dowry.	Money, horses, oxen, cows, pearls, clothing and estates are generally given as a dowry. ²¹
(2) Those who are invited to the wedding, seldom offer money, but send presents to the bride, each of which is carefully marked and put away by the bridegroom.	Those who are invited to the wedding, also have to bring some gifts or loan gifts, which is sometimes also money, but usually clothing and other household goods, which the bridegroom receives, puts on record, and stows in a chest or box. ²²
(3) When the marriage is over, he again arranges them in order, and examines them, and sends such of them as please him, and as he thinks likely to be of use to him, to the market, and orders them to be valued by the appraisers; he then sends back all the other things to their respective donors, with an expression of thanks.	And after the wedding he takes them out again, examines them, and if there is something that pleases him or may be of use to him, he then sends it to the market to have its value estimated; the rest he sends back, with an expression of thanks to the donors. ²³
(4) He makes compensation in the course of the following year, either in money or in something else of equal value, for those things which he has kept.	For those things which he keeps, he pays within a year, either with money or other goods. ²⁴

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|--|---|
| (5) Moreover, if any one make out his gift to be of greater value, the bridegroom then sends back immediately to the sworn appraisers and compels the party to stand by their valuation. | And if anyone estimates his gifts higher than appraised on the market, the bridegroom then goes back to the appraisers and asks them again if the same good is of more value; and if they answer no, then he is not bound to give more, notwithstanding the fact that the other estimated it much higher. ²⁵ |
| (6) Also, if the bridegroom should not make compensation when a year has elapsed, or restore the accepted gift, then he is bound to return double. | And, if the bridegroom should not pay within a year, or restore the gifts without damage, then he is bound to pay for it double. ²⁶ |
| (7) Finally, if he should neglect to send any one's gift to be valued by the sworn appraisers, he is compelled to repay according to the will and decision of the party who gave it. | (No parallel text) |
-

5.2 What to do with dozens of dishes?

All guests mentioned in N261-N264 were obviously required to donate one or more pieces of dishware (*bljudo*). Dishware must have been of main importance as a wedding gift but is mentioned neither by Herberstein nor Danckaert. In principle, this should not be an obstacle to question the specific nature of the gift because the remarks made by Herberstein and Danckaert are at least some two hundred years later than the attested record on birchbark. Moreover, it can be doubted that their information is based on accurate firsthand observations of practical procedures during a wedding ceremony (cf. Xoroškevič 2008 II: 390-391).

However, the birchbark document itself casts some doubt on the specific type of gift that is named *bljudo*. The number of dishes mentioned explicitly is fifty-five.

These were given by fifteen invitees, which means between three and four dishes per person. If we assume the same average for the remaining twelve entries in the list, where we do not find a specific number due to lacunae, the total sum of dishes amounts to one hundred or so. This remarkable figure seems quite unrealistic and calls the meaning of *bljudo* as a simple piece of dishware into question. In this regard, I would like to return to passage (2) quoted in the previous subsection. In addition to Herberstein's observation that the groom carefully noted down the presents, Danckaert adds that he then put them away "in a chest or box" (*in een coffer oft kiste*), which he opens after the wedding for further inspection. The mention of a chest or a box gives rise to the hypothesis that *bljudo* may have had a wider semantic connotation and perhaps should be understood as a 'container' of goods.

This conjecture may be supported by Tönnies Fenne's 1607 translation of *блѹда / blüda* as 'vahtt' (Hendriks and Schaecken 2008: 97), which in Middle Low German basically means 'barrel, cask, vessel', with the secondary meaning of 'dish' (cf. Schiller-Lübben 1880: 213-214, s.v. *vat* "Faß, Gefäß"; "Schüßel (aus der man ißt)"). The Russian word *блѹда / blüda* occurs in a list of kitchen equipment, including other containers like 'kettle' (*котолъ / kottoll* 'ketell'), 'mug' (*крыска / kruska* 'kanne'), and 'pot' (*триносок / trinoszok* 'dutsch pott'; *горсок / gorsok* 'rusch pott'). Elsewhere, Fenne uses the same German word to render *бочька / botzka* in *сали бочька / sali botzka* 'tallich vatt', i.e. 'barrel for tallow' (Hendriks and Schaecken 2008: 117).

The comments made by Danckaert and Fenne may indicate that the wedding gifts enumerated in N261-N264 did not include dozens of dishes that were somehow obligatory, but (*bljudo*-shaped) containers with different goods. The scribe of the birchbark document – perhaps the groom himself – marked the number of containers per person as well as the pieces of cloth and other fabrics, which may have been additional gifts or part of the goods in the containers that deserved special mention (cf. passages (1) and (2) of Herberstein's and Danckaert's observations, who specifically refer to 'dresses' and 'clothing').

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Notes

- 1 See *DND* (2004: 20).
- 2 Cf. *NGB* 6 (1963: 7), *NGB* 10 (2000: 147; dated '1360-1380'), *DND* (2004: 608).
- 3 Fedor Sinofontov might be the son of Sinofont, who is the author of N178 (*DND* 2004: 590-591, 611).
- 4 'Goatskin' is the translation of *timъ* "т.е. сафьян (выделанная козловая кожа)" (*DND* 2004: 609); see also *NGB* 8 (1986: 198), with reference to *tim* and *timj krasnji* in Tönnies Fenne 1607 (see Hendriks and Schaeken 2008: 112).
- 5 The reconstructed form *Porčane* (based on the reading *pore[ca]*... in the document) might refer to the inhabitants of an unidentified village called *Porč'e* or people who lived along the banks of a certain river (Vasil'ev 2005: 309).
- 6 Considering the rare occurrence of the name *Syp*, we might be dealing with the widow of Ivan Syp, who is mentioned in the First Novgorod Chronicle under the year 1329 when he was murdered in Jur'ev. N261-N264 is some forty years older, which would make Ivan's wife around sixty or seventy at the time the document was written (*DND* 2004: 611).
- 7 Onanija Kurickij (*Kuričbьskij*) occurs in the First Novgorod Chronicle under the year 1345; he may have been around fifty-five or sixty when N261-N264 was compiled (*DND* 2004: 610).
- 8 In the Russian translation: "полстка (т. е. коврик, кошма, валяный полот) из козьего пуха" (*DND* 2004: 609).
- 9 Apparently, *Koj* is a nickname which can be connected with Proto-Slavic **kojiti* 'to calm, to silence'; cf. Russian *почитъ, покой*, etc., as well as the personal names *Koj* in Old Czech, *Koya* in Old Polish, *Kojić* in Serbian, *Kojka* in Bulgarian, etc. (Vasil'ev 2005: 144).
- 10 This individual might be identified as the son of Ofonos Onciforovič, who is the addressee of N178; cf. note 3 above (*DND* 2004: 590-591, 611).
- 11 Cf. *DND* (2004: 609): "*портнице голубине* – отрез (а именно, количество, потребное на один кафтан) голубой ткани" (see also *NGB* 8, 1986: 179-180).
- 12 In principle, this Lar'jan might also be the author of N91, who carries the same name (*DND* 2004: 593, 611).
- 13 Savva Timoškin might be related to Grigorij Timoškin, who figures in N260 (*DND* 2004: 604-605, 611; see also Burov 1978: 87).
- 14 Cf. *DND* (2004: 609): "*портнице зелени* – отрез зеленой ткани" (see also *NGB* 8, 1986: 179-180, and note 11 above).
- 15 A *podvojskij* is a specific administrative official (*DND* 2004: 472). Ratslav may be related to Oleksandr Ratslavov in N260 (cf. note 13 above); see also the occurrence of Radoslav in N50 (idem, 604-605, 611, 615-616).
- 16 Janin (1998) refers to the third edition of *Ja poslal tebe berestu ...* In previous editions (1965, 1975), Janin argued that the list represented tribute that had to be paid in kind. This hypothesis did not convince Čerepnin (1969: 288) and Burov (1978), for good reasons.
- 17 I would like to thank Sasha Lubotsky and Gulnaz Sibgatullina, Leiden University, for their helpful comments on this particular issue.
- 18 See now Xoroškevič (2008 I: 231, 233, II: 390-391).
- 19 For the edition of the Latin version of 1556 and Herberstein's own German translation of 1557, see Kämpfer et al. (2007). The passage quoted above can be found in the chapter *Ratio contrahendi matrimonium / Vom Ehestand* (idem, 169-175), more specifically pp. 170-171 (the Latin text starts at line 17 on p. 170 and ends at line 13 on p. 171; the German version runs from line 52 on p. 170 until line 49 on the following page). The Latin and German texts are also included in Xoroškevič (2008 I).

- 20 The passage in Danckaert quoted along with Herberstein's text can be found in chapter 14 of Part II: *Van haer houwelijck, ende hoe zy daer in leven* (pp. 51-53), more specifically pp. 52-53. – On Danckaert see also Kovalenko (2007) and especially Nozdrin (2016), with further references. Except for Piso (1989), investigations regarding Danckaert by Dutch scholars are scarce (see for instance short comments in Driessen 1986: 51-53, 55, 59, Wijnroks 2003: 293, and Blom and Bas-Backer 2014: 21-22).
- 21 “De houwelijcksche giften zijn ghemeynelijck Gelt / Peerden / Ossen / Coeyen / Peerlen / Cleederen / ende Landt-goederen.”
- 22 “De gheene die te bruyloft comen / moeten oock eenighe giften / ofte leen-goederen mede brenghen / ’twelck oock somtijds is gelt / maer meest cleederen ende andere meubelen / de welke den Bruydegom ontfanghen ende by memorie ghestelt hebbende / sluyt de selve in een coffer oft kiste /”.
- 23 “ende nae de bruyloft haelt hy die weder te voorschijn / overzietse / ende sooder yets onder is dat hem behaecht ofte te nut soude moghen wesen / dat sent hy op de Merckt / ende laet estimeren hoe veel het weerdich is / de reste sent hy wederom / doende bedancken de gheene die hem dat ghebrocht hadden;”.
- 24 “’tgheene hy behoudt betaelt hy binnen ’sjaers met gelt oft andere waren;”.
- 25 “Ende indien yemant sijne giften hoogher estimeerde / als die op de Merckt ghewaerdeert waren / soo gaet den Bruydegom wederomme by de gheene die de estimatie ghedaen hadden / ende vraecht haer noch eenmael oft t’selve goet meer waerdich is / ende soo sy antwoorden neen / soo en is hy niet ghehouden meer daer voor te gheven / niet teghenstaende den anderen ’tselve veel hoogher estimeerde;”.
- 26 “Ende soo verre den Bruydegom binnen het jaer niet en betaelt / ofte de giften onbeschadicht wederomme sent / soo is hy ghehouden de selve dobbel te betalen;”.

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ON THE ACCENTUATION OF A-STEMS FROM AP (A) IN BALKAN SLAVIC¹

Joseph Schallert

1 Introduction

The “standard” reflexes in the modern Slavic languages for monosyllabic *a*-stems of AP *a* are generally realized across the lexicon with a high rate of consistency. These standard reflexes are as follows: barytonesis in East Slavic (Ru, Ukr *ба́ба*, *-ба*) and Bulgarian (*ба́ба*, *ба́бама*, *ба́бу*, *ба́буме*), short falling pitch in BCS (*bāba*, *bābē*), long rising pitch in Slovene in open syllable (*bāba*), brevity in Polish and Slovak, and length – alternating with brevity in some forms of the paradigm – in Czech. The two principal exceptions to this general pattern occur in West Slavic, viz. Czech and Polabian, where the incidence of non-standard reflexes (cf. respectively, brevity and unstressed reduced final desinential vowel) is high enough to cause serious debate regarding the true identity of the anticipated reflex of the “old acute”. Elsewhere, the occasionally reported examples of departure from the standard reflex appear attributable either to external influence (cf. Slovak from Czech) or lexical idiosyncrasy (cf. East Slavic). Somewhat more recently, Nikolaev has not only reported special tonal reflexes of AP *a* in *a*-stems in prosodically archaic ESl dialects, but also sought to demonstrate that the distribution of these tonal reflexes among *a*-stems forms *three* sets of correspondences with the reflexes of AP *a* in Central Czech and Polabian (see Дыбо, Никол., and especially Никол. 2000).

The list of language-specific lexicalized exceptions across Slavic includes a small number of fairly well-known examples which occur in Literary Bulgarian (e.g., LBg *бреза́*, *луна́*). However, a closer (though still far from exhaustive) examination of the sources for Bg and Eastern Macedonian (EMac) dialects which we have undertaken for the present study reveals certain unexpected findings, viz. 1) the phenomenon of “exceptional oxytonesis” as the reflex of the old acute in *a*-

stems of AP *a* is more extensive than would appear on the basis of LBg; 2) the distribution of such oxytonic forms in some instances contributes to dialectal differentiation within Balkan Slavic (BkSl, here effectively Bg and EMac); 3) for a small number of *a*-stems, we have clear evidence of “mobile” as well as “oxytonic” stress as the reflex for AP *a*, but typically only in one or two dialects for any given lexeme (e.g., **cnpǎxa*, **cnpǎxáta*); 4) since there are varying degrees of overlap in the reflexes of AP *b* and AP *c* among *a*-stems in BkSl dialects, the documented existence of “mobile” stress in nouns of AP *a* (although of low frequency) raises the question of the original nature of the more widely documented “oxytonic” exceptions to the reflex of AP *a* (an exploration of this particular question falls outside the scope of the present study); 5) thus far, the largest number of “oxytonic/mobile” exceptions to the anticipated BkSl barytonic reflex of AP *a* in *a*-stems is concentrated in nouns which participate in the “third” correspondence set identified by Nikolaev for certain ESl dialects with tonal systems (notably Pl’oxov in the Černigov region and Šixotovo in the Pskov region), Central Czech dialects (also as reflected in Literary Czech), and Polabian (see НИКОЛ. 2000 for details).

2 The issue of oxytonesis in *a*-stems of AP *a*

In modern BkSl the traditional conservative reflexes of CSL AP’s in *a*-stems are as follows: AP *a* (“acute” roots) > barytonic “accent type” AT (α) = *баба*, *бабата*; AP *b* (“neo-acute” roots) > oxytonic AT (β) = *жена*, *жена́та*; AP *c* (“circumflex” roots) > mobile AT (γ) = *глава*, *глава́та* (based on the enclinal acc. sg., cf. **golvo*, **golvo-tŕ* > **glavŕto* > *glavŕta*/*glaváta*/*glavŕta*, etc., as per the reflex of **ŕ*, or on the orthotonic nom. sg., cf. **golvá*, **golvá-ta*). The three-fold reflex is best preserved in WBg and EMac. In NEBg AT (γ) most commonly yields to AT (β) (*глава*, *-та*), whereas in many Rup (SEBg) dialects AT (β) is quite rare in the Slavic lexicon (*жена* – *жена́та*). There is considerable lexical and regional diversity in the distribution of oxytonesis in nouns of AP *b* and *c*, above all in inanimate nouns.

Although all attested modern BkSl dialects concur in exhibiting barytonesis in the (large) majority of *a*-stems from CSL AP *a*, the fact remains that nearly all

dialects exhibit oxytonesis (less commonly mobile stress) in a small quantity of feminine nouns from this class (thus far, the overall lowest incidence appears to be in EMac and Rhodope dialects, but more data is required to determine this with any certainty). The precise number of oxytonic forms varies from region to region.

3 History of the question

Although the topic of BkSl oxytonesis in *a*-stems which are traditionally assigned to AP *a* has not yet been the object of special study, a small corpus of relevant examples has been brought into circulation within various historical comparative frameworks by a handful of scholars over the last 120 years. Here we limit our discussion to a brief summary of the results of this research.

In the first of his two studies of Bulgarian accentuation, Conev (Цонев 1891: 53, 70) establishes a general rule of correspondence between “short falling pitch” in the root syllable in BCS (as described by Pavić) and barytonesis in Bulgarian, corresponding in Stangian terms to AP *a* (BCS *bāba*, *krāva* : Bg *бáба*, *кpáва*, etc.) The only noteworthy exception to this general correspondence in Conev’s description is BCS *līpa* ~ Bg *лунá*. Conev’s standard for Bulgarian is based on the NEBg dialect, in particular his native dialect of Loveč.

In a later study, which is devoted exclusively to dialectal differentiation within Bulgarian, Conev (Цонев 1919: 361-362) cites a purportedly exhaustive list of more than 120 disyllabic fem. *a*-stems which exhibit end-stress in an undifferentiated composite of NEBg dialects, but which show a mixture of barytonic and oxytonic stress in Bg dialects as a whole. In addition to numerous stems of AP *b* and *c* (or *b/c*), as well as several later Turkish loanwords, Conev’s primary list of variably stressed *a*-stems includes *five* nouns from what modern accentology would identify as AP *a* – *зpyдá*, *ивá*, *искрá*, *лунá*, *смpeкá*, and *four* for which AP *a* is either a variant or probable – *лесá*, *мухá*, *менá*, *тpeскá*. Conev then describes in very general terms the dialect systems of distribution of oxytonic stress in *a*-stems from this primary “optimal” list of oxytona, asserting that NEBg dialects are the most conservative, whereas “retraction” (at least in the indf. sg. form) occurs with increasing frequency as one moves south and west, beginning with Sredna Gora dialects to the south of the Stara Planina range, continuing through “Central” and

“Western” dialects (equivalent to SWBg and NWBg in Stojkov’s modern classification, see Стойк. БД), then finishing with the Rup dialects of southern Bulgaria. Although the majority of the nouns with “retracted” stress belong to AP *b* and/or AP *c* (**blǫxa*, **borda*, **dog̃a*, **duša*, **globa*, **golva*, etc.), Conev’s list of such dialectal “retractions” also includes a small number of nouns from AP *a*, cf. Sredna Gora **iskra*, **trěska* A/B,² Western **iskra*, **trěska* A/B, as well as **lésa* A/B, **lípa*.

In his comparative Neo-Grammarians analysis of Bulgarian nominal accentuation, Kodov (КОДОВ 27) also indicates a small number of *a*-stems which from the general Slavic perspective unexpectedly display oxytonesis, cf. again *luná*, as well as two stems not noted by Conev in his comparative study of Bulgarian and Serbian – *br̃nzá* (vs. Ru *berěza*, BCS *brěza*, *brjěza*, Sn *brěza*), *lncá* (alongside “dial.” *l̃nca*).

In his discussion of Slavic *a*-stems derived from IE *barytona* with long root vocalism, Illič-Svityč (Ил.-СвИТ. 149-150) notes the “West Bulgarian” domain of “secondary” oxytonesis for *usá* (cf. Lith dial. *ieva* AP 1, Ltv *iēva* with level tone).

4 BkSl dialect distribution of “oxytonic” (β) indf. sg. forms in *a*-stems of AP *a*

Before examining the BkSl dialectal distribution of oxytonesis in *a*-stems of AP *a*, we must draw attention to the fact that the majority of the *a*-stems (and *ja*-stems) in our current BkSl dialect corpus for which AP *a* can be reconstructed either firmly, hypothetically, or simply as a variant, exhibit *consistent barytonesis* without oxytonic or mobile stress variants, although attestation rates vary considerably. These BkSl “barytonic” *a*-stems include: **bara*, **buka* (< **buk̃*), **br̃da* (A?), **duma*, **g̃oba* (mushroom), **ikra*, **jama*, **jazva*, **kl̃ka* (A?), **kolda*, **korsta*, **korva*, **kuka*, **kyla*, **k̃oniga*, *(T)*lapa*, **l̃da*, **lix(̃)va*, **ñjiva*, **para*, **pelva*, **rana*, **r̃epa*, **riza*, **rupa*, **ryba*, **s̃era*, **sila*, **sliva*, **solma*, *(v)*orka*, **str̃exa*, **stopa*, **š̃eka*, **šuma*, **tina* (LBg *múnja*), **traga* (A?), **vada*, **ṽera*, **volga*, **vorna*, **vydra*, **ṽlna* (wool), **ṽrga* (A?), **žaba*, **žila*. Consistent barytonesis also characterizes several stems (mainly *ja*-stems) with long root vocalism and a variety of derivational histories, such as **ban(v)ja*, **b̃orn(j)a*, **čaplja*, **čaša*, **č̃erš̃onja*, **dynja*, **gatj̃*, **gožal*/*gož̃bva*, **grabl̃j̃*, **griṽn(j)a*, **gunja*, **gyža*, **g̃odunja/-lja*, **gryža*, **jasli*, **kaša*, **kotja*, **kruša*,

kysa*, **nudja*/nodja*, **paša*, **pelvǎnja* (?), **prędja*, **sadjja*, **stajja*, **suša*, **vertja*, **vidly*/-*ę*, **xyža*, **žędja*, **žę̇t*(*o*)*va*.

In contradistinction to this solid array of *barytona* (the anticipated reflex), the unexpected *oxytonic* reflex in *a*-stems of AP *a* is attested in our BkSl corpus not only in the 9 nouns cited by Conev or Kodov (**berza*, **gruda*, **iskra*, **iva*, **lěsa*, **lipa*, **měna* A/B, **muxa* A/B, **šmerka*), but also in 14 additional stems (**glina*, **griva*, **dǎlaka*, **kupa* A/B, **kǝrpa*, **l[j]uspa* A/B, **merna*, **měra*, **mǝka* ‘hard work’, **mǎlaka*, **mǝrva*, **strěxa* A/B?, **trěska* A/B), as well as one *ja*-stem **lętja* A/B. Finally, there are rare oxytonic attestations (nearly all of uncertain or even dubious relevance) in *three* other stems: **baba*, **pěna*, **gnjida* (see Appendix 2 data for details).

The frequency of oxytonesis for these 26 stems in BkSl (as computed at the level of *regional* dialects, see Appendix 3 for details) is as follows (where, e.g., ‘2/40’ = oxytonesis attested in 2 out of 40 regional dialects): **baba* (2/40), **berza* (12/16, 2 γ) **dǎlaka*/**dolka* (1/10), **glina* (8/52), **gnida* (2/13, β perhaps only in coll. pl.), **griva* (8/45, 1 γ), **gruda* (?/8, Conev includes *pyda* in his general list of variably stressed stems), **iskra* (5/19), **iva* (9/12), **kupa* (2/7), **kǝrpa* (1/23), **lěsa* A/B (6/18, 1 γ), **lętja* A/B (1/30), **lipa* (23/37), **l[j]uspa* A/B (1/9), **merna* (1/9), **měna* A/B (21/26), **měra* (3/15, 1 γ), **mǝka* (3/14), **muxa* A/B (both α and β widely attested), **mǎlaka* (9/18), **mǝrva* (2/21), **pěna* (1/14, 1 γ , perhaps coll. pl.), **šmerka* (variation in LBg and Conev 1919), **strěxa* A/B (4/15, 1 γ , 2 α/γ), **trěska* A/B? (3/4, Conev also notes α in WBg and Sredna Gora).

An analysis of our data thus far indicates the presence of *three* linguogeographical distributional classes for the occurrence of oxytonic stress in the indf. sg. form in these stems of AP *a* (see Appendix 3 for further details). For all of these stems, barytonic forms are also attested, though the geographical distribution varies. Although a full comparative discussion would exceed the scope of the present study, we draw attention to the correlation of these BkSl classes (viewed as a single entity!) with Nikolaev’s *three* prosodic correspondences, to which we referred above.

In the *first* BkSl distributional class, oxytonesis is attested in *a*-stems of AP *a* in both West and East BkSl, as well as in LBg (historically based on NEBg). This

class consists of *seven* stems, of which *three* exhibit Nikolaev's "3rd correspondence" (**berza*, **lipa*, **muxa* A/B), *one* exhibits Nikolaev's "2nd correspondence" (**kupa*), while the other *four* are not attested in НИКОЛ. 2000 (**měna* A/B, **mblaka*, **smerka*, **strěxa* A/B).

In the *second* distributional class, oxytonesis in *a*-stems of AP *a* is attested only in West BkSl, whereas East BkSl and LBg exhibit root stress. This class consists of 9 stems, of which *four* exhibit Nikolaev's "3rd correspondence" (**baba* [rare], **glina*, **griva*, **iva*), The remaining *four* stems are not attested in НИКОЛ. 2000 and display oxytonesis in WBkSl with comparative rarity, cf. **dblaka/dolka*, **kōpa*, **lētja*, **merna*.

In the *third* distributional class, oxytonesis occurs in East BkSl dialects (and less commonly in LBg), but not in West BkSl. This class consists of 8 stems of which *one* exhibits Nikolaev's "3rd correspondence" (**moka*), *two* exhibit Nikolaev's "2nd correspondence" (**měra*, **pěna* [data uncertain]), *one* exhibits oscillation between Nikolaev's "2nd" and "3rd correspondence" (**gnida* [data uncertain]), and *four* are not attested in НИКОЛ. 2000 (**iskra*, **lěsa* A/B, **trěska* A/B, **l[j]uspa* A/B). Of these stems, only **lěsa* and **trěska* exhibit consistent oxytonesis in the sources for LBg, whereas all other stems exhibit consistent barytonesis, with the exception of **iskra*, which is recorded with root stress in all sources except for secondary oxytonic variants indicated by Andrejčin (БТР) and Mladenov (МЛАД. ЕТР).

Finally, we have **gruda* (which manifests Nikolaev's "3rd correspondence") and **smerka* (not attested in НИКОЛ. 2000), less well-documented stems, which according to Conev 1919 exhibit variable stress in Bulgarian dialects, but for which our other evidence indicates either barytonesis (thus **gruda* in the dialects) or variation (thus **smerka* in Mladenov's etymological dictionary of Bulgarian, see lexical entry in Appendix 2). The scope of the present study does not include the description of regional and local systems. A description of this kind, as well as an expansion of the dialect corpus, is the object of our ongoing research. Several items in the *third* distributional class require particular comment (for further details, see data and commentary below), viz. 1) Conev claims that **uškpa* in NEBg contrasts with **úškpa* in Sredna Gora (viewed as a transitional region to

Rup dialects of the south). 2) For both **gnida* (Mizija) and **pěna* (Češnegirovo), the oxytonic type occurs only in forms with softened stem-final consonant (*gnid'a*, *pen'a*). If the latter in fact represent collective fem. plural forms, they would then be non-diagnostic and irrelevant to the issue of oxytonesis in the singular. 3) The noun **trěška* is not well attested in our dialect sources (note that for the Mizija emigree dialect of Olšane the form *mpřácká* may represent variable stress). 4) Oxytonesis in **mřka* is limited to Mizija emigree dialects in Bessarabia and the WRup dialect of Velingrad, but with the specific metaphorical meaning 'livestock'.

As to the consistently "barytonic" *a*-stems listed at the beginning of this section, their distribution over Nikolaev's three correspondence sets is as follows: Set 1 (**korva*, **para*, **rana*, **vorna*, **žaba*), Set 2 (**ryba*, **vydra*), Set 3 (**goba* 'mushroom', **jama*, **klada*, **njiva*, **rěpa*, **sila*, **slava*, **solma*, **věra*, **žila*). The remainder of the BkSl "barytona" are not represented in Nikolaev's data sets.

In terms of overall distribution, it is interesting to note that if we omit the potentially spurious **pěna*, **baba*, **gnjida* (as well as **muha* A/B) from our calculations and limit discussion to stems attested in Nikolaev Sets 1-3, then the highest concentration of BkSl *a*-stem *oxytona* from AP *a* occurs in Nikolaev's correspondence Set 3, cf. 8 of 10 examples, including the three stems (**berza*, **lipa*, **iva*) with the highest ratios of dialectal *oxytonesis* at the BkSl regional level, viz. Set 3 (**berza* 12/16, **lipa* 23/37, **iva* 7/9 (WBg), **glina* 8/52, **griva* 6/45, **gruda* ?/8, **mřka* 3/14) : Set 2 (**kupa* 2/7) : Set 1 (**měra* 3/15).

Correspondingly, it is therefore not surprising that a large majority of *a*-stems from Sets 1 and 2 are clustered in the BkSl "barytonic" class (respectively 5/6 and 3/4), whereas BkSl "barytonic" stems from Set 3 constitute a smaller majority of this set's membership (10/17). There is no evident correlation of the individual BkSl linguogeographical classes 1-3 with Nikolaev's sets.

The question of the origin of the "scattering" (refraction) of the reflexes of AP *a* in Slavic *a*-stems remains open (Никол. 2000: 111). If the variation here for BkSl originates in a contest between AP *a* and AP *c* within the context of nominal formations with a *recessive acute* base (Никол. 2012: 39-42, 64-65), then the question remains as to why thus far in our investigation we most often encounter

the reflex of AP *b* rather than AP *c* in *a*-stems of the synchronic BkSl “barytonic~oxytonic” class in WBg dialects where the reflexes of the two paradigms are still distinguished (e.g., Dobroslavci AP *a* > *зривá* vs. AP *a* ? > *вѣжда*, **вѣждáma*, Makocevo AP *a* > *лунá*, Lom AP *a* > *úckpa* ~ *лунá*, *ивá*, vs. AP *c* > *снага*, *снагáma* and *дгунá*). In this connection, it is worth pointing out that on the basis of East Slavic evidence Nikolaev (ib., 39) allows for AP *b* as an alternative (secondary?) variant in the case of Slavic **pěna* AP *a* ~ **pěná* AP *c* (and *b*). In conclusion, we note the presence of “descriptive” dendronyms in the proportionately most frequent BkSl “oxytonic” stems (**berza*, **iva*, **lipa*) and of roots with CSI high front vocalism among the best-attested oxytona (**lipa*, **iva*, **iskra*, **glina*, **griva*).

In broad terms, the correlation of the *three* BkSl linguogeographical distributional classes for synchronically “oxytonic/barytonic” *a*-stems of AP *a* and the (geographically as yet undetermined) “barytonic” class (on the one hand), with the *three* prosodic correspondence sets described by Nikolaev (on the other), can be summarized in the Table in Appendix 1 below, where E = EBg, W = WBg, ES1 = dialects of Pl’oxov (Černigov) and Šíxotovo (Tver’), Cz = Central Czech dialects and Literary Czech, Pl = Polabian. Stems for which the attestation of oxytonesis is rare or perhaps of doubtful relevance are placed in parentheses (*gruda*, *lětja*, etc.).

APPENDIX 1 (Table)

BkSl classes	ES1-Cz-Pl Set 1	ES1-Cz-Pl Set 2	ES1-Cz-Pl Set 3	“ “ 2/3	-----
I: W β-α E β-α	-	kupa	berza, lipa muxa a/b gruda	-	měna мѣлака strěxa

ON THE ACCENTUATION OF A-STEMS FROM AP (A) IN BALKAN SLAVIC

II: W β - α E α	-	-	(baba), glina griva, iva	-	dьlaka кърпа merna <i>ja</i> -stem: лѣтја
III: W α E β - α	měra	(pěna)	mōka	(gnjida)	iskra, lěsa luspa trěska
W, E α	korva, para, rana, vorna, žaba <i>ja</i> -stems: čša	(t)lapa ryba, vydra <i>ja</i> -stems: kaša, sadja	gōba, jama njiva, řepa sila, slava sliva, solma věra, žila <i>ja</i> -stems: burja, dynja	<i>ja</i> -stem: kruša	duma ikra, kyla riza, vьlna etc. <i>ja</i> -stems: grivьnja merža etc.

APPENDIX 2

Data for BkSl dialect distribution of oxytonesis in *a*-stems of AP *a*

Notes. The data are organized in terms of three geographical levels: 1) *macro-dialect* (e.g., Transitional, Northwest); 2) *regional* dialect (e.g., Lom, Sofia, Trojan, etc.); 3) *village* or *town* dialect (indicated in square brackets, e.g., [Govedarci], Samokov [town]). For each lexical entry, under “OXY” (less commonly “MOB”), we present the evidence in our BkSl corpus for those *a*-stems of AP *a* which exhibit *oxytonic* (or *mobile*) stress in the singular sub-paradigm. Under “BARY” we indicate the *number* of regional dialects for which *barytonic* forms are documented. Due to limitations of space, we omit the supporting barytonic data, with the important exception of sources for LBg (including Mлад ЕТР and БЕР), which is generally based on NEBg, as well as for the nouns **dьlaka* and **iva* (due to their restriction in our data to WBg dialects), as well as **měna* and **gruda* (where it is important to establish the existence of barytonesis) and **kupa* (where one must document the separation of **kupa* from **kopa*). Under “ETYM” we provide the CSI AP, cite Скляренко 1998 and Derk. ED as published authorities

(where they attest), followed by a brief summary of relevant Slavic and Baltic (rarely Sanskrit) cognates. Also indicated are Nikolaev's correspondence sets (see above). Forms marked with an asterisk (*) are generated from the citational context (since upon occasion БЕР and ИДРБЕ do not mark details such as vowel reduction or other features not reflected in LBG). "RUP I" = SBg dialects in which oxytonic stress is not so severely restricted in general. In the headings, "A" = AP (*a*), etc.

1. **baba* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 38 of 40 regional dialects ♦ **LBg:** *ба́ба* ПРБКЕ 51; БТР 39; Кодов 26; Цонев 1891: 51; Геров (Корр.) *ба́ба* 'grandmother; бахур, дънешник от дебело свинско черво, напълнено на надъница' 1: 17, *ба́ба* 'птица Pelicanus' 18; БЕР 1: 22 *ба́ба* 'стара жена; grandmother'.

OXY ♦ **SW:** Sof. *баба́* Попив. 1940а: 303; Slivnica [Bezdenica] "...по аналогия на израза *баба́* му се е създадо и *неговата баба́*" (sic!) ТоД. 1936: 217; Вот. [Skravena] *баба́* 'стомак на животно' ТоД. Коц. 104 (same etymon? cf. LBG БТР *ба́ба* [dial.] 'вид кълбас') ♦ Several considerations cast doubt on the relevance of these data to the question of oxytonic reflexes of the Slavic etymon **baba*, viz., 1) the possible role of analogy (raised by Todorov) in the form with enclitic possessive from Bezden, 2) the unclear semantic connection of the lexeme from Skraven.

ETYM ♦ **Slavic:** AP *a* (Скляяр. 92, Derk. ED 32) ♦ Nikolaev's 3rd correspondence (Никол. 2000: 106), cf. Plex. I *bāba*, Plex. II *bāba*, pl. *bāb'i* (RF tone in non-nom. sg.) – Šix. *bāba* [*bābā*] (non-diagnostic, since level tone is generalized with *a*-root vocalism) – (Ce)Cz *bāba/baba* (Tráv.) – Plb. *bobo* ~ *bobā* / *bobó* ~ *bóbā*/ TLD 35.

2. **berza* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 4 of 16 regional dialects ♦ **LBg:** Цонев 1891 (*брéза*) sic! 53; Геров (Корр.) *брѣ́за, берѣ́за* 'Betula alba' 2: 79.

OXY ♦ **TRAN:** Bos. **брéзá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244 ♦ **NW:** Sof. [Dobroslavci] *брéзá*, по *некоа брeзá* Гъл. 2000: 95 (cf. also adj, *брес, брeзá, брeзá бѣволица, брeзи волóве* 95); Орџах. **брeзá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244 ♦ **SW:** Samok. [town] *брeзá* Шап. Близ. 208;

Samok. *od brezáta* Вак.-Чоб. 215, *od brezíte* 320 (**breza* unattested); Vraca [Дърманци] **brezá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244 ♦ NE: Drjan. (top.) *Брузи́ти* Ков. Н. 2009: 135; Plev. [Тгъстенник] **brezá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244; Presl. [Smjadovo] **brязá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244; Sevl. [Кгъвенник] *бр'ъзъ* 'дърво бреза', *Бр'азъ* 'име на биволица с бяло чело' Ков. Н. 1970: 10; Tet. **brezé* ИДРБЕ 1: 244 ♦ RUP I: WRup: Razl. **brezá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244, [Vačevo] *bredzá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244; Sand. [Gorno Spančevo] **brezá* ИДРБЕ 1: 244 ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *brezá*, БТР *brezá* 75, Кодов *brezá* 27, БЕР 1: 76 *brezá* *Betula alba*.

VAR ♦ NW: Mont. [Vinište] **bréza* ~ *brzá* (sic!) ИДРБЕ 1: 244;

MOB ♦ RUP: Dospat-Peštera (top.) *bréza*, *Brezáta*, *brézu*, *Brezíte* Бал. Цан. 114 ♦ SW: Possible relic of mobile stress retained in plural, cf. EMac Maleš. [Berovo] *bréza*, *brézata*, *brézi*, *brezíte* Gab. 121 (note that only one other fem. noun in Gabor's data exhibits this pattern, cf. *zóra*, *zórata*, *zóri*, *zoríte* < **zora* AP c, in variation with *zorá*, *zoráta*, *zóri*, *zoríte* ib., 121).

♦ Slavic: AP *a* (Скляр. 92, Derk. ED 38), cf. BCS *brěza*, *bréza* sic! (Ben.); Ravič *brěza* Цонев 1891: 53 ♦ Nikolaev's 3rd correspondence (Никол. 2000: 107), cf. Cz *bříza* (Tráv.), Kud. *brěza* 1: 19 – Plb. *brežá* / *brézǎ* / TLD 78-79, ESI data "irrelevant", due to pleophonic vocalism.

3. **dolka* / **dьlaka* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 9 of 10 regional dialects (data cited here in full) ♦ TRAN: Berk., Brez. *дла́ка* 'тяло на човек или животно' БЕР 1: 399; Виг. *дла́ка* 'лице, вид', *Он измени дла́ку* Люб. 34; Тгъп *дла́ка* 'козина; външен вид', *Вук дла́ку мени, чуд не мени* Млад. А. 56; Тгъп *дла́ка* 'козина' БЕР 1: 399 ♦ NW: Kula [Golemanovo] *дла́ка* 'козина' БЕР 1: 399; Sofia *дла́ка* 'тяло на човек или животно' БЕР 1: 399; Svoge [Seracel] *дла́ка* 'тяло на човек или животно' БЕР 1: 399 ♦ SW: Vlag. *дла́ка* Стоил. 192; Вот. *дла́ка* 'козина' БЕР 1: 399 ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ (-); БТР (dial.) *дла́ка* 176-177; Геров (Корг.) *дла́ка* 'козина, пердух' 1: 295; Млад. ЕТР *дла́ка* 128; БЕР 1: 399 *дла́ка*.

ОХУ ♦ SW: Samok. *длакá* Стойк. БД 219; [Raduil] *длакá* 'снага' Анг. П. 337.

ETYM ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. - ; Derk. ED -), cf. BCS *dlàka*, Sn *dlàka* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets ♦ БЕР 1: 399 – Attests data only for South Slavic. For Bg, the word appears to be characteristic of the Western dialects. Lith. f. *dėlka*, m. *dėlkas* ‘type of fish-hook (used in Baltic lagoons)’ (cited by БЕР) would potentially support the reconstruction of a dominant B-Sl acute, but БЕР provides no source for these forms, which in fact are not attested in standard works, nor in Fraenkel’s etymological dictionary, but do appear as a bracketed entry (hence “unvouched for”) in Kurschat’s dictionary (see Kur.: xi, 83).

4. **glina* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 44 of 52 regional dialects ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *гли́на* 88, БТР *гли́на* 134, Кодов *гли́на* 27, Геров (Кор.) *гли́на* 1: 220; Млад. ЕТР *гли́на* 101, (dial.) *гни́ла* 103; БЕР *гли́на*, *гни́ла* (Bansko) 1: 249.

OXY ♦ SW: Bot. *гни́ла* ИДРБЕ 1: 724, [Pravec] *гни́ла* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 2257); Ixt. *гни́ла* Млад. М. 1967: 51; ИДРБЕ 1: 724; Sof. *гни́ла* ИДРБЕ 1: 724 ♦ NW: Berk. [Zanožene] *гни́ла* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 1333) ИДРБЕ 1: 724; Sof. [Dobroslavci] *гни́ла* (глина), *У долó кóпаме гни́лата за пóдници́те* Гъа. 2000: 139 ♦ NE: Трој. [Orešak] *гни́ла* ИДРБЕ 1: 724 ♦ RUP I: Razl. [Jakoruda] *гли́на* ИДРБЕ 1: 724, Velgr. [Kamenica] *гли́но* ИДРБЕ 1: 724 ♦ БЕР *гни́ла* (“West”) 1: 249. ♦ Note that the metathesized form potentially has the same stress as the fem. adj. **gnilǎ* ‘rotten’ in dialects which still preserve oxytonesis in adjectives, as is often the case in some (N)WBg and a few NEBg dialects.

Variable stress ♦ SW: Ixt. *гни́ла* ~ *гни́ла* ИДРБЕ 1: 724.

♦ Slavic: AP *a* (Скляр. 92; Derk. ED 164), cf. BCS *glina*, *glina* Ben.; Skok 1: 569-570 -- *glina*, *gñila* (Vuk, North. Dalm.), Ru, Ukr *гли́на*; Cz *hlina*, Sk *hlina* ♦ Note the presence of variant reflex of AP *b* (*c?*) in BCS *glina*. ♦ Nikolaev’s 3rd correspondence set (Никол. 2000: 107), cf. Plex. I *γl’ina*, acc. *γl’inu*, Plex. II *γl’ina* ~ *γl’ina*, acc. *γl’inu* – Šix. *γl’ina* [*γl’iná*] (possible levelling of tone in nom. sg. with that of the other forms).

5. **gnjida* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 11 of 13 regional dialects (the evidence for oxytonesis is uncertain, see below) ♦ LBg: ПРБКЕ *гни́да* 89, БТР *гни́да* 136, Кодов *гни́да* 27, Цонев 1891 *гни́да*, Геров (Корг.) *гни́да* 1: 226, *ба́бини гни́ди* ‘раст. Draba verba’; Млад. ЕтР *гни́да* 103; БЕР *гни́да* 1: 256.

OXY ♦ MIZ: (Dobru.) Šišk., Šum.-Presl. *гнид’а* Млад. М. 1974: 402 (in the given example, it is not clear if we are dealing with a feature transfer **gn’ida* > **gnid’a*, or simply with a secondary fem. collective pl. form, which is regularly oxytonic, at least in LBg and, apparently, NEBg dialects, see УБКЕ 30, where the following examples are cited: *нива́, кѣща́*).

ЕТУМ ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. 1998: 92; Derk. ED 169) ♦ Variation between Nikolaev’s 2nd and 3rd correspondences (Никол. 2000: 111), with “2nd” ~ “3rd” in Plex. I *гн’и́да, гн’и́ду*, Plex. II *гн’и́да*, acc. *гн’и́ду* (but pl. *гн’и́ды*), Cz *hnida* (Трав.), Plb. *gnaǐdǎ/gnáǐdǎ/*.

6. **griva* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 37 of 45 regional dialects ♦ LBg: ПРБКЕ *грѷва* 92, БТР *грѷва* 145, Кодов *грѷва* 26, Геров (Корг.) *грѷва* 1: 246, Цонев 1891 *грѷва* 52, Санков (Svišt.) *грѷвѷ* [grǐvǐ], *грѷви* ‘Mähne’ 23, Млад. ЕтР *грѷва* 110.

OXY ♦ TR: Burel *грива́, Штом острижѷ гривѷту на ждрѷбето, оно́ се ка́же тормѷ* Люб. 30, *грива́* (на кон) 31; Pern. [Zemen] *грива́* Стойн. 76 ♦ NW: Sof. *грива́* Попив. 1940a: 303; Sof. [Dobroslavci] *грива́* [β-γ], **грива́та*, **грѷви*, **грѷвѷте* Гъл. 1965: 49, *грива́, за грива́та* Гъл. 2000: 151 ♦ SW: El. Pel. *грива́* ИДРБЕ 1: 819, Mont. [Vinište] *грива́* ИДРБЕ 1: 819, Sof. [Goljamo Malovo, Kremnikovci] *грива́* ИДРБЕ 1: 819 ♦ Marked concentration of oxytonic forms is limited to the WBg.

МОВ ♦ SW: G. Pole *грѷва, грива́та, грѷви, грѷвѷте* Кот. 2000: 33.

ЕТУМ ♦ Slavic: AP *a* (Скляр. 1998: 92; Derk. ED 189; Ил.-Св. 73, 153 derives the B-Sl barytone from an IE mobile-oxytone by Hirt’s law, cf. Ltv *grīva* level tone ~ Skt *grīvá* ♦ Nikolaev’s 3rd correspondence (Никол. 2000: 107), cf. Plex. I *грѷва, грѷву*, Plex. II *грѷва, грѷву* – Šix. *грѷвǎ* - Cz *hřiva, Kud. řiva* 1: 20 - (Plb -).

7. *gruda A

BARY ♦ TRAN: Belgr., Тгън *зрѹда* ИДРБЕ 1: 285 ♦ NW: Sof. *зрѹда* ‘къс сирене’, *прѣсни зрѹди* [Želen] Попив. 1940а: 279, [Filipovci] ИДРБЕ 1: 285 ♦ SW: Дурн. *зрѹда* ИДРБЕ 1: 285 ♦ NE: Kazan. [Enina] *зрѹдѡ* ‘зелена чепка грозде, ягорида’ Кит. 113; Pazar. **зрѹда* ИДРБЕ 1: 285 ♦ RUP I: G. Del. [Kornica] **зрѹда* ИДРБЕ 1: 285 ♦ LBg: БТР *зрѹдка*, Геров (Корр.) *зрѹда* Ru ‘ГЛЫБА, КОМ’ 1: 249; Млад. ЕТР *зрѹда* ‘буца’ 111, БЕР *зрѹда* 2: 286, *зрѹдка* (West) 286.

BARY//OXY ♦ Цонев 1919 **зрѹда*, **зрѹдѡ* (as per unspecified dialect) 361.

ETYM ♦ Slavic: AP *a* (Скляр. 92; Derk. ED 192-193) ♦ Nikolaev’s “3rd correspondence” (Никол. 2000: 107), cf. ESl [Plëx.] (*zrŭdu*); [Šix.] *zrŭdà*, СeCz *hrouda/hruda* ‘lump of earth, clay’ (Тгáв.), *bruda* (Kud. 1: 19), Plb. (-) ♦ cf. Траут. BSW – Ltv *grāuds* ‘grain’, Lith *grūodas* m. AP 3 ‘frozen earth or mud’, although Nikolaev (Никол. 2012: 55) links this with Slavic **grādo* ‘hail’ ♦ The Ltv broken tone in the verb and masc. noun points to a recessive acute base, as perhaps also does Lith AP 3, but identification of the two etyma is problematic in light of a probable cognate relation between Ltv. *grāuds* ‘grain’ and Eng *groats*, etc. (Derk. ED 192-193).

8. *iskra A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 14 of 22 regional dialects ♦ Цонев 1919: **úскра* (Sredna Gora, West) 361 (note, however, for Sredna Gora, that subsequent research attests oxytonesis in Panagjurište, see below) ♦ LBg: ПРБКЕ *úскра*, Кодов *úскра* 26, Геров (Корр.) *úскра* 2: 239, Cankov (Svišt.) *ískrŭ* [ískrŏ], *ískri* 23, БТР *úскра* (and *úскрѡ* 332, see below), Млад. ЕТР *úскра* (*úскрѡ*) 224.

OXY ♦ NW: B. Slat. (Rom.) *úскрѡ* Млад. 1993: 125 ♦ NE: Nik. [Gigen] *úскрѡ* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 204); Panag. *úскрѡ* Гариб. 83; V. Тгън. *úскрѡ* Гѣб. 1900: 222 ♦ RUP I: Xask. [Nova Nadežda] *úскрѡ* Хрис. 191; Banat *úскрѡ*, yđ *úскрѡ* Стойк. 1968: 96 ♦ MIZ: Erk.-Miz. (Mold.) [Ol’sane] *úскрѡ* Бун. 25; Miz. (Rom.) *úскрѡ* Млад. 1993: 259 ♦ Цонев 1919 **úскрѡ* (NE), **úскра* (Sredna Gora, West) 361 (note, however, for Sredna Gora, that in subsequent research

oxytonesis is attested in Panagjurište, see immediately above) ♦ LBG: БТР *искра́* (as secondary variant) 332.

ETYM ♦ **jěskra*, **iskra* AP a (Скляр. 1998: 92, Derk. ED 214) ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev's correspondence sets.

Commentary: With the exception of the Bjala Slatina emigree dialect in Romania, the indication "West" for the variant *искра́* in БЕР is not generally consistent with our data thus far, which (similarly to Цонев 1919) in fact suggest the opposite, with the limited exception of the Bjala Slatina emigree dialect in Romania.

9. **iva* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 2 of 9 (WBg) regional dialects ♦ TR: Cari. *ива* (meaning?) Бож. 39 ♦ SW: Sam. [Raduil] *ива* 'планинска врба' Анг. П. 368 ♦ LBG: Геров (Корг.) *ива* 'Salix caprea' 2: 170, ПРБКЕ (-), БТР *ива* 283, Кодов (-), Млад. ЕТР *ива* 196.

BARY//OXY ♦ Цонев 1919: 361 **ива* ~ **ивá* (as per unspecified dialects) ♦ BgED: БЕР 2: 3 *ива* 'планинска широколистна върба', *ивá* (зап.).

OXY ♦ TR: Belgr. [Čuprene] *ивá* (дърво) ТоД. 1936: 216; Kjus. Krai. *ивá* Захар. 1916: 86; Тгън *ивá* (Ru *ива*) Петр. 37, *ивá* 'планинска върба' 62 ♦ NW: Lom (town) *ивá*, -*та*, -*и*, -*те* ТоД. 1930: 34 ♦ SW: Ixt. *ивá* 'Salix caprea' Млад. М. 1967: 75; Kjus. Кам. *ивá* Захар. 1935: 171; Sam. town *ивá* 'Salix caprea; планинска врба' Шап. Близ. 208; Sam. *Товá е ивá, като врбáта е, ама е нó-ни́ска* 'Salix caprea; планинска врба' Вак.-Чоб. 2005: 128; Sam. [Govedarci] *ивá* 'плачуща върба' Стойк. Кост. 305.

ETYM ♦ AP a (Derk. ED 216, Ил.-Свит. 149-150, Illič-Svityč notes the "WBg" distribution of "secondary" oxytonesis in Тгън, Lom, and Samokov, based upon the same sources as cited above), cf. BCS *iva*, *iva* (sic!) 'bot. sallow' Ben., Vrg. *iva*, -*ē* 'trava' Jur. 74, AkRj *iva* Jur. 74 ♦ Nikolaev's 3rd correspondence (Никол. 2000: 111), cf. Plex. I *iva*, acc. *ivu* (Plex. II *iva/iva*, pl. *iv'i*) – Šix. *iva* [*ivá*] ("level" tone probably secondary, possibly due to levelling with tone of oblique cases) – Cz *jíva* [Tráv]. - Plb. (-).

10. **кура* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 3 of 5 regional dialects (discounting Rup II) ♦ WBg (Sofia) *кúна* ‘задруга’ (“преоформено от *куп*”) БЕР 3: 139 ♦ RUP I: Pavl. Banat [Vinga] *кúна* ‘голям конусвидни куп сено’, *три кúни сéну* Стойк. 1968: 120 ♦ RUP II: Madan [Zlatograd] *кúна* ‘голям конусвидни куп сено’ БЕР 3: 139 ♦ MIZ: Prov. [Asparухово] *кúна* ‘тухларски термин’ БЕР 3: 139 ♦ [dial., sic!] *кúна* ‘нещо натрупано, куп’ БЕР 3: 139.

OXY ♦ NW: Lom [town] *кунá*, *-та*, *-ú*, *-те* ТоД. 1930: 34 ♦ SW: Sam. [town] *кунá* ‘голям закръглен куп сено’ Шап. Близ. 236 ♦ LBg: Цонев 1891 *кунá* (compared with BCS *кúна*, hence **кура*, and thus informative for the Loveč dialect) 69.

OXY (?) ♦ NE: Ruse [Krasen] *кунá* ‘голям конусвидни куп сено’, *кунúте* БЕР 3: 139 (note that БЕР ascribes this form to confusion with *конá*, but this is difficult to prove); Sevl. [Kръvenik] *кунѓ*, *кунú* ‘грамади от сено или шума’ Ков. Н. 1970: 26; Трој. (top.) *Кунѓтѓ* (2 pts.), *Кунúти* (2 pts.) Ков. Н. 1969: 156; V.Тьрн. [Bjala Čerkova] *кунѓ* Бурм. 2 ♦ LBg: ПРБКЕ “*кунá* и *конá*” 183, “*конá* и *кунá*” 178 (sic!); БТР cites only *конá* 382; Геров (Корг.) *конá* ‘куп струпано сено, слама; копен, стог’ 2: 396 ♦ The interpretation of the data in EBg dialects is complicated by the widespread occurrence of strong vowel reduction (*o* > *u*) in unstressed syllables. It is noteworthy that neither БТР nor Геров attest **кура*, and that ПРБКЕ is hard pressed to distinguish between **кора* and **кура*. Our WBg data here shed no light on the situation, since the forms are all derived unequivocally from **кура*.

ETYM ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. 93; Derk. ED 256 reconstructs **kúřь* AP *a* < IE **keh₂ur-* but does not refer to **кура*) ♦ Nikolaev’s “2nd correspondence” (Никол. 2000: 109), cf. ESL [Plěx. I] *kúra/kúra*, pl. *kúr’i*, [Plěx. II] *kúra*, acc. *kúри*, [Šix.] (-), CeCz *кура* (Tráv.), Plb. (-) ♦ БЕР 3: 13; Фас. 2: 418-419 – Reflexes of AP *a*: BCS Dubrovnik (?) *кúна* (Stulli, i.e., Joakim Stulić, most probably his *Rjecosloxje*, 1806), Ru *кúна* ‘совокупность предметов’, Укр, Вр *кúна* ‘куча’, Cz *кура* (also of AP *c*) ~ reflexes of AP *b*: BCS (Pavić, Ben.) *kúra* ‘heap, pile’, Vuk *кúна*. For *o*-stem **kúřь* AP *a*, cf. BCS *кúп*, Sn *kúř*, gen. *kúra*, Lith *kaĩpas* AP 4 ‘heap’, but (dial.) *káuras* AP 1. For *a*-stem, cf. Ltv *kuõra* (level tone) ‘Haufen’ Fraen. 231.

11. **kǝra* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 22 of 23 regional dialects ♦ LBg: ПРБКЕ *кǝрна* 185; БТР *кǝрна* 404; Цонев 1891 *кǝрна* 70 Кодов (-); Геров (Корг.) *кǝрна* 2: 422; Sankov (Svišt.) *кǝрпѝ* [*кǝрпѝ*], *кǝрпѝ* 24; Млад. ЕТР *кǝрна* 266.

OXY ♦ NW: Sof. *кǝрпѝ* Попив. 1940а: 303, but cf. also *кǝрна* [Buxovo, E. Sofia, and Vraždebna, situated just to the west of the Iskǝr river] 223.

ETYM ♦ AP *a* (Derk. ED 263; Склад. [-]), cf. BCS (Ben.) *кǝра* ‘rag, cloth, towel’, (Pavić) *кǝра* Цонев 1891: 70 (irrelevant if *кǝра* ‘rag mender’ Ben.), Sn *кǝра* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets.

12. **lǝsa* A?

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 12 of 18 regional dialects, including 9 WBg + many pts. in BDA-NW ♦ LBg: Цонев 1919 **лǝса* (SW, NW) 362. Barytonesis is also indicated as “dialectal” by Kodov, cf. Кодов *лǝсѝ* (dial. *лǝса*) 27. The WBg barytonic variant may form a continuum with BCS (see below).

BARY ~ OXY ♦ SE: Troj. (top.) *Л’ѝсѝтѝ* (1 pt.) ‘мост от плетена лѝса’ Ков. 1969: 170, *Л’ѝсѝтѝ* (1 pt.) (поставена кошара от *лесѝ* ‘дървена заградка’) 165.

MOB ~ OXY ♦ RUP I: Pavl. Vanat *лѝса* (sic!) ‘изплетени на широко множество малки плитчици на коса’ Стойк. 1968: 129, *за лесѝта* (flksг.) 129, *Мумѝчѝтата плетѝт на лесѝ или на дѝскѝ* 129, pl. *лесѝ* ‘плет за ограждане от върбови прѝчки’, *Лесѝте се плетѝт уд върбѝ* ‘дѝсчени ритли на кола, канати’ 129.

MOB ♦ RUP II: Smolj. *лѝса* (γ-α) Шиш. 145.

OXY ♦ NE: Erk. [Koziciĭno] *л’ѝсѝ* ‘под на каруца, плетен от лозина’ Георг. 99; Lov. [town] *л’ѝсѝ* Цонев 1890-91: 122; SevL. [Kǝvĕnik] *л’ѝсѝ* (mobile wooden frame for drying plums, catching fish, used as a basket) Ков. 1970: 29 ♦ MIZ: Suvor. (Mold.) *лѝсѝ* ‘приспособление для обрабатывания шерстяной домотканной материи...’, *лѝсѝ* ‘сплетенный из камыша щит, которым покрывают траншеи для цитрусов’ Пол.-Зел. 95 (Dobru.) *лесѝ* Млад. М. 1974: 409 ♦ RUP I: Asep. [Āšĕnegirovo] *Нѝпрѝѝдл си лѝсѝ, Сѝбири н’ѝа л’ѝси!*, *Сѝбири лѝсѝти!* [sg. β - pl. γ] Попгр. 1907: 420 ♦ Цонев 1919 **лǝсѝ* (NE,

Sredna Gora) 362; ♦ LBG: КОДОВ *лѣса* (dial. *лѣса*) 27; Геров (Корг.) *лѣса* ‘плетен сандѣк; заграда от плет’ 3: 32; Млад. ЕТР *лѣса* 273 ♦ Oxytonic indf. sg. in East ~ barytonic indf. sg. in West (thus confirming Conev’s prior assertion). The stress alternation in the plural in Burel can reflect either AP *b* or *c*, but the fully attested barytonic paradigms from Blag. and Kjus. Polč. are best derived from AP *a*.

ETYM ♦ AP *a*? (Скляр. - ; Derk. ED -), see Фас. 2: 485-6 for reflexes of AP *a* in South Slavic (as in WBg): BCS *лѣса* ‘нары; коса’, Sn *lěsa* ‘плетень’ (also of AP *b*) ~ reflexes of AP *b* (*c*?) in Ru (dial.) *лѣса*, *-ѣ* ~ refl. of AP *a/b* in Cz *lísa*, Ukr *ліса* (sic!). Vasmer claims that a connection with Ltv *lęsa* (broken tone) ‘склад зерна, льна’ is problematic on semantic grounds ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets.

13. **lętja* ‘lentil(s)’ A/B?

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 30 of 31 regional dialects, including almost all Transitional dialects, cf. Burel *лѣча*, *лѣчу* Люб. Р. 69; Kjus. Krai. *лѣча* Захар. 1916: 189 (cf. also *лѣцита* 190, *лѣк’а* 189); Pern. [Bani.] *лѣча* Так. 8; Тгъп *лѣча*, *с лѣчу* Млад. А. 102 ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *лѣцѣ* 188; БТР *лѣцѣ* 416; КОДОВ *лѣцѣ* 27; Цонев 1891 *лѣцита* 70; Геров *лѣцѣ* (sic!) ‘раст. *Ervum lens*’ 3: 39 (irregular reflex of **ǣ*), Млад. ЕТР *лѣцѣ* 274.

OXY/BARY ♦ TRAN: Сари. *лѣчѣ* 30 Бож. ~ *лѣча* 28, 39;

ETYM ♦ AP *a/b*? (Скляр. - ; Derk. ED -), cf. BCS (Ben., Pavić) *лѣца*; БЕР 3: 383 – Sn *lěca*, Ru (obs.) *лѣча* (- acc.), Ukr *лѣнча* (sic!); ЭССЯ 15: 64 – Ru (ChSl) *лѣцѣ* Даль 2: 746, *лѣцѣ* (Orlov, Kaluga), cf. Lith *lęšis* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets ♦ The isolated occurrence of *лѣчѣ* as a variant in Caribrod is possibly the easternmost extent of an earlier continuum with Serbian in the accentuation of this stem.

14. **lira* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 14 of 37 regional dialects ♦ Цонев 1919 **ліна* (SW, NW) 362.

OXY ♦ NW: B. Slat. [Gabare] *липѣ*, **литѣта*, *липи*, **липи́те* Попов 143; *липѣ* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 1379); [Rogozen, Тгъпак] *липѣ* BDA-NW (Map

178, pts. 679, 727); Lom (town) *липа́, -та, ли́пи, -и́те* Год. 1930: 33; Orjah. [Vъrżina] *липѠ* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 675) ♦ SW: Fak. Odr. [Karaač] *липа́, -тѡ, ли́пи* Китан. 255; Ixt. *липа́* Млад. М. 1967: 99; Макос. [Макоцево] *липа́* (β-β) Стоян. 257; Vгаса [O. Kriv.] *липа́* BDA-NW (Map 178: pt. 1411) ♦ NE: Dрjan. (top.) *Липѡтѡ* (3x) Ков. Н. 2009: 265, *Липѡтѡ* 1x 265; Karl. [Vojnjagovo] *липѠ* Рал. 73; Lov. *липѠ* (2x) Цонев 1890-91: 116; Ранаг. *липѠ* Гар. 83; [Elšica] *липѠ* BDA-SW (Map 115, pt. 2975); Tet. *липѠ* Стойч. 84; Tet. [Dobrevci] *липѠ* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 1458) Трој. (top.) *Липѡтѡ* (3 pts.), *Липѡтѡ* (2 pts.) Ков. Н. 1969: 167; V. Тъгн. [Vjala Čerkova] *липѠ* Бурм. 2 ♦ RUP I: Banat *лыпѠ* Стойк. 1967: 186; Thr. (Dobru.) *липа́* Млад. М. 1974: 417; Odrin (Dobru.) [Batovo] *липѠ* Млад. М. 1974: 417; WRup: Čep. [Kogovo] *липѠ* BDA-SW (Map 115, pt. 3620) ♦ MIZ: Greb. [Požarevo] pl. *ли́пи* Коч. 47; Каран. *липѠ* Млад. М. 1984: 324; Miz. (Rom.) *липѠ* Млад. М. 1993: 259; Razgr. [Rajnino] *липа́* Иван. 115; БЕР 3: 413 – *липа́* ‘широколистно дърво Tilia’ [prov. unspec.], Silistra ‘сорт старо бяло грозде’; Miz. (Dobru.) Šikov., Šum.-Presl. *липа́* Млад. М. 1974: 401, but cf. specific citations for Šikov. [Prof. Iširk.] *липа́* ‘сорт грозде, което не се пръска’ Млад. М. 1974: 406, Каран. [Babuk] *липѠ* Млад. М. 1974: 406 ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *липа́, ли́пи*; БТР *липа́*; Кодов *липа́* (*ли́па*) 27; Геров (Корг.) *липа́* 3: 13; Млад. ЕТР *липа́* (*ли́па*) 275 ♦ Цонев 1919 **липа́* (NE, Sredna Gora) 362.

ETYM ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. 93; Derk. ED 279) ♦ Nikolaev’s “3rd correspondence” (Никол. 2000: 110), cf. Plex. I, II *l’ipa*, acc. *l’ipri*, Šix. *l’ipà* (R-F), Cz *lípa* (Tráv.), *lípa* Kud. 1: 20, Polab. *laipo* [*laipó*] TLD 499 (cf. chiefly the “rising-falling” tone in Šixotovo, whereas the same tone in Plexov I and II could indicate the “2nd” correspondence, while the absence of brevity in CeCz and the “oxytonic” reflex in Plb. could indicate the “1st” correspondence).

15. *(j)uspa A/B?

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 8 of 9 regional dialects ♦ LBG *лѡсна* ‘fish scale; husk; peel’; Млад. ЕТР *лѡсна, лѡсна* 280; Геров (Корг.) *лѡсна* ~ *лѡсна*.

OXY ♦ RUP: Banat *луспѠ* Стойк. 1967: 151, *луспѠ, сѡс луспѠ* (fish scales), *луспѠ на цвѣк’ету* (petals) Стойк. 1968: 133.

ETYM ♦ AP *a/b* (Скляр. - ; Derk. ED gives no accentual reconstruction, but cites a mixture of barytonic and oxytonic data for the etymological complex **luspa* 292, **luska* 291, **luska* 291-292, **luzga* 293), although for **luspa*, at least, BCS (dial.) *ljūspa* agrees with most of the Bg data. For the same etyma, see also Фас. 2: 250, 253, 254; Traut. BSW 152. БЕР 3: 523-524, 581 attributes **ljuspa/luspa* to earlier ablaut variants IE **leu-/*lou-*. ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev's correspondence sets.

16. **merna*, **marěna* A 'barbel (carp)'

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 8 of 9 regional dialects ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *мрјана*, *мрѣни*, БТР *мрјана* 468, БАР *мрјана* 'barbel', Кодов (-), Млад. ЕТР *мрѣна* 307, БЕР 4: 295-296 *мрјана* 'речна риба със заострена глава и четири къси мустачета, *Barbus fluviatus*, *Barbus barbuis*'.

OXY ♦ SW: Sof. [Bistrica] *мренá* (риба) Год. 1936: 217.

ETYM ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. - ; Derk. ED -), cf. BCS *мрѣна*, *трѣна* (Istra, Žumberak, Sn) Skok 2: 464, Sn *трѣна*, Sk *mrēna* 'риба *Nemachilus*' ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev's correspondence sets.

17. **měna* A/C~B

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 5 of 26 dialects, cf. NW: Орјак. [Ljubenica] *мѣна* 'премяна' БЕР 4: 444 ♦ SE: Elena [Nejovci], V. Търн. [Suxindol] *мјана* 'замяна' БЕР 4: 444 ♦ MIZ: Preslav *мјана* 'замяна' БЕР 4: 444 ♦ RUP II: Plov. [Sitovo] *мѣна* 'премяна' БЕР 4: 444 ♦ LBG: БТР *мјана* (нар., folk) 'замяна, размяна', 'обредна размяна на пръстеин; годѣж' 473 (for oxytonic variant, see below); Дюв. *мѣна* а) Ru 'мѣна': *Да ли е равна тая мѣна, живот на една праведница за живот на хайдутин*, б) 'фаза (луны); фаза, фазис, вид, положение, состояние и оборот дела' 1190.

OXY ♦ TR: Bugel *менá* 'новолуние', *менáта* *показуе сүшу* Люб. 74 ♦ NW: Mont. [Gabrovica] *на менá* (фаза на месеца) Год. 1936: 217; NWBg *менá* 'новолуние' БЕР 3: 733 ♦ SW: Вот. *менá* 'смяня, размяна, замяна; дарове, които се дават при годѣж; пари, които невестата събира на сватбата' БЕР 3: 733; Dupn. [Boboševo], Kjus. *менá* 'новолуние' БЕР 3: 733 ♦ NE: Elen. [Lazarci], Корп., Kula [Golemanovo], Lov. *м'ѣнó* Цонев 1890-91: 122; Pird., Tet.

[Gložene] *менá* ‘смяня, размяня, замяня; дарове, които се дават при годеж’ БЕР 3: 733; Sevl. [Berievo] *менá* ‘сватба’ БЕР 3: 733, [Gradište] *менá* ‘годеж’ БЕР 3: 733; Тет. *менé* Стойч. 84; V. Търн. (town) *минó* ‘мъна, годеж’ Гъб. 1896: 447 ♦ MIZ: Хърс. Razgr. *мáлка менó* ‘подарък, обикн. гривни – part of prenuptial matchmaking’ Анг. М. 127 ♦ RUP I: Rhod. [Novosel], *менá* ‘смяня, размяня, замяня; дарове, които се дават при годеж’ БЕР III:733; Velin. *менá* ‘годежен пръстен’ БЕР 3: 733 ♦ LBg: БТР *менá* (диал.) ‘първа размяна на дарове при годеж; малък годеж; изобщо размяна, замяня; трампа’ (for barytonic variant, see above); Цонев 1891 *менá* 69; Млад. ЕТР *мънá* 312; Геров *мънá* (Ru мена, размен; Bg малък годеж, etc.; новолуние) 3: 99; Дюв. *мънá* ‘подарок невесте со стороны жениха перед свадьбой и обряд его поднесения’ 1190 ♦ Djuvernuia is the only source whose data suggest possible semantic correlations with barytonic stress (‘new moon; exchange’) and oxytonic stress (‘prenuptial gift and its presentation to the bride’).

МОВ ♦ RUP II: Се Rhod *мéна* (γ-α) Шиш. 146 ♦ Since there is no evidence for mobile stress in *a*-stems of AP *a* in this dialect (not even for **lípa*, viz. *lína*, *límata*, ib.145), mobile stress for **тéна* tends to favour a reconstruction of AP *c*.

ЕТУМ ♦ AP *a/c~b* (Скляр. 96 AP *b*, Derk. ED 311 etymology sans AP, Зализ. 135: AP *b/c* in ORu), cf. reflex of AP *b*: BCS *мијéна*, (Pavić) *мијéна* 69, Čak [Vrgada] *мінá* Jur. 119, (Ben.) ‘exchange, change; phase of the moon’ ~ reflex of *a*: Ru *мéна*, Ukr *міна* ~ Reflex of *c* (or *a*): Cz *тéна*, Sk *мена* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets ♦ Unless the East Slavic forms can be shown to be back-formations from prefixed *a*-stems, they (together with the ambiguous West Slavic brevity and the comparatively weak representation of barytonesis in BkSl) provide at least tentative evidence in support of AP *a*. As to Baltic, notably Ltv *майна*, *майна*, Derk. (MB 241) observes that the Ltv forms “present a problem” as examples of “deverbative” metatony (“métatonie rude”), since the IE root is **mei-* (Pok. 710), i.e., a short diphthong (whereas the Ltv level and broken tones in root syllable are usually derived from long monophthongs, long diphthongs, or Bezzenger formations). A further complication for a reconstruction of a variant AP *a* for CSI **тéна* is that the denominative **мéнити*

appears to belong to AP *c* (Derk. ED 311, Зал. 140). A solution has been proposed by Dybo (2002: 327-328), who reconstructs a Balto-Slavic *recessive acute* derivation from a heavy IE base **meiǵ-* (i.e., a Bezenberger combination), with a split reflexation in Slavic of AP *a* and AP *c*, paralleling that attested in the Latvian *level* and *broken* tones, and with apparent secondary levelling of Slavic AP *c* with *b* in the *a*-stem, a development which is generally not uncommon in Slavic dialects.

18. **měra* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 12 of 15 regional dialects ♦ LBG ППБКЕ *мѣра*, *мѣри*, БТР *мѣра*, Кодов *мѣра*, 26, Млад, ЕТР *мѣра*.

OXY ♦ TRAN: Godeč [town] *мерá* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 1339) ♦ SW: Sof. [Dobroslavci] *мерá* BDA-NW (Map 178, pt. 2212); Bot., Sof. **мерá* Попив. 1940b: 350 (In his comparative discussion of the accentuation of the form *м'áра* in the Mizija dialect of Šumen [see above], Popivanov, ib., notes that the Šumen forms *б'áда*, *м'áра*, *р'áка*, *сл'áга*, *т'óрба* are all “end stressed” in Orhanije [Botevgrad] and also, with the exception of *р'эка*, in the regional dialect of Sofia. It seems unlikely that Šumen *м'áра* represents a barytonized version of the typically oxytonic Turkism *мерá* ‘commons, communal pasture’, unless the form has arisen by analogy with roots containing *jav'* (compare the development in Ru dial. *плóтиишь*, for Ru *плáтиишь*, in *akan'je* dialects). It also seems improbable that Popivanov would have not only misunderstood the meaning of the Šumen form, but then also confused **мэра* ‘measure’ and **мерá* ‘commons’, if such was its stress, in his native Orhanije dialect; Vraca [Oslen Krivodol] *мерá* BDA-NW Map 178 (pt. 1411) ♦ NE: Jamb. [Ovči Kladenec, Skalica] *м'эра* BDA-SE Map 23 (ѣ in pretonic position) (pts. 3892, 3902), *ст'эна* [ib.], cf. also N. Zag. [Gradec] *м'эра* [3897]; Nik. [Vъbel, Ljubenovo, Novačene] *мерѓ* BDA-NW Map 178 (pts. 759, 762, 765); Plev. [Brestovec] *мерѓ* BDA-NW Map 178 (pt. 781), SevI. [Тгъст.] *мирѓ* BDA-NW Map 178 (pt. 2347), *мерѓ* (“Turkism”, sic!) ‘мярка’, *Дай да ти зéма мерѓ за полѓта* ‘Let me take the measurement(s) for your skirt (the hem of your skirt)’ Евст. 192 (*pace* Evstatieva, it is difficult on semantic grounds to imagine that *мерѓ* here is the oxytonic Turkish borrowing *мерá* ‘commons, communal pasture’ < Tk *mera*); EBg *мерá* Mil. 1903: 56 although unglossed, is

most probably the same Turkism (contrast *m'ára* Mil. 1903: 58) ♦ With the possible exception of the forms for Sofia, Botevgrad, and Sevlievo, all of these oxytonic data are to one degree or another suspect. BDA-NW Map 178 is devoted to the stress of fem. nouns in the sg., regardless of root vocalism, thus there is no indication that we are dealing with pretonic *jať*. In fact, neither BDA-NW, nor BDA-SW include the standard map on the reflex of pretonic *jať* (unlike BDA-SE), probably due to the presence of *ekavism* in many of the dialects, as well as the rarity of consonant softening and vowel reduction.

ETYМ ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. 80, Derk. ED 312) ♦ Nikolaev's "1st correspondence" (Никол. 2000: 109), cf. ESl [Plëx. I, II] acc. *m'ïèru*, [Šix.] *m'ïèrá*, CeCz *míra* (Tráv.), Plb. *ńoro* [ńoró] TLD 587-8.

19. **mōka* A 'labour, etc.'

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 11 of 14 regional dialects ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *мѡка*, Кодов *мѡка* 26, Геров (Корг.) *мѡка* 3: 107, Млад. ЕТР *мѡка* 314.

OXY ♦ MIZ: Erk.-Miz. (USSR) [Ol'sane] *мака́* 'скот' Бун. 33; Miz. (Dobru.) Greb. [Gavran] *макѡ́* 'едрият домашен добитѡк' Млад. М. 1974: 407 ♦ RUP I: Velin. [Kostandovo] *мукѡ́* (sic!) БЕР 4: 381 ♦ A metaphorical extension of 'torment > labour > something whose upkeep and productivity requires labour' is proposed for the entry *мака* (with dialectal **o* > -*a*-) in БЕР 3: 619. The stem **mōka* 'flour' AP *b* appears irrelevant not only on semantic grounds, but also since in BkSl this concept is generally rendered by a different etymon altogether, *брашно* (**borsъno*).

ETYМ ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. 80; Derk. ED 329) ♦ Nikolaev's "3rd correspondence" (Никол. 2000: 110), cf. ESl [Plëx. I] *múka*, acc. *múku* (but cf. also Plëx. II *múka/múka*, acc. *múku*, with reflex of "1st correspondence" in acc. sg.), [Šix.] *múká*; CeCz *mouka* (Kott) / *muka* (Tráv.), Plb. (-);

20. **mьlaka* A/B?

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 13 of 22 regional dialects, including frequent toponyms ♦ LBG: БТР *млѡка* 'мочурливо место' (for oxytonic variants, see below).

OXY ♦ TR: Belgr., Godeč [Komštica] *млакá* ‘мочурливо място’ БЕР 4: 158-9; Graovo *млакá* ‘низкое, сырое место’ Март. 780; Breznica *млакá* ‘ниско и водно място’ БЕР 4: 158-9; ♦ NW: Kula, Berkovica, Orjahovo, Vidin, Vraca *млакá* ‘мочурливо място’ БЕР 4: 158-159 ♦ NE: Pleven [Boxot = BDA-NW, рт. 1479, situated not far from the jat’ isogloss] *млакѝ* ‘малко блато’ БЕР 4: 158-9 ♦ LBG: Млад. ЕТР *млакá* ‘мочурливо место’ 300; Геров (Корг.) *млакá* ‘мочурливо мѣсто, дѣто, като ся копае, извира вода’ 3: 72 ♦ “WBg” *млакá* Мар. 253.

ETYM ♦ AP *a/b?* (Скляр. - ; Derk. -), cf. reflexes of AP *a*: BCS *мла́ка* ‘мочурище; локва; блато’, dial. *мьáка* (Skok), Sn *mláka* (also of AP *b*) ~ reflex of AP *a/b*: Cz *mláka* ‘локва’, reflex of AP *b*: Sk *mláka* (or borrowed from Cz ?) ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets ♦ Either AP *a* or *c* is consistent with the “heavy” base reconstructed in Pok. 719 **melək-* **mlāk-* ‘weich, etc.’, cf. Gk *malakós*, *blāks*, *-kós*, BCS m. *mlāk*, Lith *mūlkis* (**mĭkĭjos*) ‘Dummkopf’, see also Млад. ЕТР 300 **mel-k-*, **mol-k-*, **ml(ā)-*.

21. **m̥rva* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 19 of 21 regional dialects, not including Rup ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ (-), but cf. БТР (dial.) *мѣрва* ‘горещ пепел и дребна жар’ 472; Цонев 1891 *мѣрва* 52; Геров (Корг.) *мрѣва* ‘къс, парче...трошка’ 3: 86; Млад. ЕТР 310-311.

OXY ♦ NE: Elen. [Vebrovo] *мѣрвá* ‘каша от овчи тор и счукани върбови възлища, с което се маже под’ БЕР 4: 405; Тет. [Brusen] *мѣрвá* ‘месо’ БЕР 4: 405.

ETYM ♦ AP *a?* (Скляр. - ; Derk. ED -), cf. reflexes of AP *a*: BCS (Pavić) *m̥rva* 52; Ben. *m̥rva* ‘crumb, bit’; Sn *m̥rva* ‘малко; миг; сено’; Укр *мѣрва* ‘стара слама’ < CSI **m̥rva* ‘нещо раздробено’ БЕР 4: 405 ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets ♦ For reconstruction of IE “heavy” base (whence Bezenberger’s acute), see Pok. 735-6 **mer-*, **merə-* ‘auftreiben, reiben; packen, rauben’; LIV 2001: **merh₂-*, cf. Skt *mṛṇāti* ‘zermalm’ (compare CSI **žerti* < **žer-ti* < **g^herə-ti*, **žbrō* ‘swallow’, with recessive acute, cf. Ru *жралá*, *жралу* ~ Skt *gṛṇāti*, Дыбо 235) ♦ The internally consistent (albeit somewhat limited) Slavic

data (representing both South and, less so, East Slavic) point to a dominant acute root (AP *a*).

22. **pěna* A

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 13 regional dialects ♦ TR: Belgr. [Belo Pole] *nén'ama* ТоД, 1936: 219; ТГъп *пѣня* 'пяна' Млад, А. 139 ♦ NW: Sof. [Dobroslavci] *nén'a* 'пяна', с *nén'a* на *устама* Гъл. 2000: 545; Vidin [town] *nén'a* ТоД, 1936: 217 ♦ SW: Вот. *пѣня* Попив. 1930: 30, *Коня, умóрен да припýска, се пѣня станáл* 58 (note quantitative nuance with *се* 'completely') ♦ Rup I: Stran. *n'ánamã* Гор. 29 ♦ LBG: ПРБКЕ *пѣна* 343; Млад. ЕтРеч *пѣна* 540; Кодов *пѣна* 27; Цонев 1891 *пѣна* 52; Геров (Кор.) *пѣна* 4: 408 ♦ Since there is no current evidence of consonant palatalization after the conservative /ê/ reflex of *jať* in WBg dialects situated along the *jať* isogloss, it seems unlikely that the WBg type *nén'a* is due to phonological metathesis of a hypothetical palatal feature (**p'ěna* > **pěn'a*), but rather to widespread substitution of the root-stressed collective (?) plural for the historical sg. form. This leaves unanswered the question of the origin of root stress in this form, since at least in LBG and its dialect base the coll. pl. form is oxytonic (see below).

OXY (?) ♦ RUP: Plovd. [Češn.] *нин'á* 'пяна', *Изл'áна мlóгу нин'á* Попгр. 1962: 213, *измити тáд нин'á* (пѣна) Попгр. 1907: 420; Stran. [Morjane] *пенѣтъ* (cf. pretonic ъ: *вѣнчáн, прѣгрѣшита*) BDA-SE Map 23 [pt. 4021], unless this is a different etymon ♦ The Češnegirovo forms, in particular *мlóгу нин'á*, could be collective plurals of the type sg. *нива* – coll. *нив'á*, with characteristic oxytonesis, as in the Razgrad Хърcoi dialect (Анг. М. 152), although WBg dialects, cf. above, exhibit forms of the type **nén'a* without oxytonesis, which means that at least some of the time we could be dealing with phonological metathesis of the palatal feature, unless oxytonesis has not been generalized in WBg (in contradistinction to LBG and presumably EBG). In addition, none of the glosses identifies such forms as "collective".

ETYM ♦ AP *a* (Скляр. 93; Derk. ED 397; Дыбо 2002: 389) ♦ Nikolaev's "2nd correspondence" (Никол. 2000: 109), cf. ESl [Plěx. I] *p'ěna*, acc. *p'ěnu*; [Plěx. II] *p'ìena*, acc. *p'ìenu*, [Šix.] *p'ěná*, CeCz *pěna* (Tráv.) (vs. SWCz *pína* Voráč 28).

23. **smerka* A

BARY (all secondary formations) ♦ NW: Sof. [Dobr.] *смрѣка* ‘хвойна, Juniperus communis depressa’ Гъл. 2000: 719 ♦ SW: Самок. *смрѣчѣ* ‘смърч, Picea excelsa’, *смрѣка* Вак.-Чоб. 2005:335 ♦ LBg: Цонев 1890-91: 52 *смрѣка*, БТР 904 (*смрѣка*) ♦ The secondary formation *смрѣка* most likely is a hybrid of **смрека* (original stress uncertain) and the suffixal type in *-ika*, which is attested in dialectal diminutive derivatives of tree names, such as *бор* : *бѣрика*, *борѣка* (ИДРБЕ 1: 210-211). Since the suffixed stem is never stressed on the last syllable, its root stress would not be diagnostic for the accentuation of *смрека*. As to Самок. *смрѣчѣ*, cf. oxytonesis as a commonly attested stress in dialectal secondary zero-grade *a*-stems derived from *i*-stems, e.g., *зрѣдѣ*.

OXY ♦ Млад. ЕТР *смрѣка* 595.

BARY//OXY ♦ Цонев 1919 **смрѣка* ~ **смрѣкѣ* (as per unspecified dialect types) 361.

ETYM ♦ Reflexes of AP *a* (Скляр. 93; Derk. ED -), Фас. 3: 686 – BCS *смрѣка* ‘можежевельник’, Sn *смрѣка* ‘красная ель’, Млад. ЕТР 595 – Ru (obs., dial.), Ukr m. *смерѣк*, f. *смерѣка* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets ♦ Possible cognate of Lith *smársas* AP 1 (Fraen. 841, citing Leskien), and therefore possibly related to *smárdas* ‘stench’ (AP 1 in Lith, but with broken tone in Ltv, and mainly AP *c* **smôrdô*, *-a* in Slavic, but with less common variant AP *a*, as well as an *a*-stem with AP *a*, see Никол. 2012: 122-123).

24. **stréxa* A?

BARY ♦ Barytonesis in 11 regional dialects ♦ LBg: ПРБКЕ *стрѣха*, *стрѣху*, Млад. ЕТР *стрѣха* 614, БТР *стрѣхѣ* and *стрѣха* 932.

OXY ♦ SW: (emigr.) Fokija Elx. [Rúžica] *стрѣйѣ* BDA-SE (Map 95, pt. 3978) ♦ RUP I: Thrac. Svil. [Рѣstrogor] *стрѣгѣ* BDA-SE (Map 95, 4383); Рѣгв. [Dragójnovo] *стрѣгѣ* BDA-SE (Map 95, pt. 4217) ♦ LBg: БТР *стрѣхѣ* and *стрѣха* 932.

MOB ♦ SW: G. Pole *стрѣа* (γ-γ) Кот. 1962: 70, *стрѣа*, *стрѣаѣта*, *стрѣу*, *стрѣуѣте*, *но стрѣуѣте* Кот. 2000: 231.

OXY-MOB (?) ♦ NE: Panag. [Dolno Levski] *стрейáта* BDA-SW (Map 116, pt. 2983) ♦ RUP I: Plov. [Češn.] *спруúму кáнqт* Попр. 1907: 420 ♦ Diagnostic indf. sg. lacking.

ETYM ♦ AP *a?* (Скляр. 94; Derk. ED -), Фас. 3: 776 – reflexes of AP *b/c*: Ru *стрехá* ‘крыша (соломенная)’ (S, W, Vjat.), Вг *стрехá* ~ reflexes of AP *a*: Ukr *спрiха*, BCS *спрèха* ‘выступ кровли’ ~ reflex of AP *a/b*: Sn *strèha* ~ reflexes of AP *a/c*: Cz *střecha*, Sk *strecha* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets.

25. *trěska A/B

BARY: ♦ Sredna Gora, SW, NW **трpьска* Цонев 1919: 361; Razgr. (Хърс.) *тр’áкqтq* (3x) Анг. М. 165.

OXY ♦ Kjus. Rij. [Relat.] *трескá* Ник. 11 ♦ NE: Тет. *треск’é* Стойч. 84; V. Търн. [Mer.] *тр’вск’ó* Иван. 3. 15, ‘парче от дърво, цепеница’ 74 ♦ MIZ: Erk.-Miz. (USSR) [Ol’š.] *тр’áскá* (sic! probably variable stress, -ä < *-ø in Ol’šane dial. in acc. sg.) Бун. 54 ♦ LBG: БТР *трескá* (splinter) 981 (vs. *трéска* ‘cod fish’, *трéска* ‘fever’ БАР).

ETYM ♦ AP *a/b* (Скляр. 97 AB *a*; Derk. ED -), Фас. 4: 100 – reflex of AP *a*: BCS *трéска*, Ben. *trěska* ‘splinter; banging, crack; codfish’ ~ reflex of AP *b*: Ru *трескá* ‘щепка, заноза’, Ukr *трiскá*, Sn *tręská*, Cz *tříska* ‘chip, splinter’ (also of AP *a*), Sk *trieska* ♦ Not attested in Nikolaev’s correspondence sets.

APPENDIX 3

Incidence of oxytonic indf. sg. forms in *a*-stems of AP *a* in Balkan Slavic dialects

Notes to appendix. 1) “BkSl Class 1” (oxytonesis attested in West and East), “Class 2” (oxytonesis attested only in West), “Class 3” (oxytonesis attested only in East). 2) “Nikolaev set” = three sets of prosodic correspondences in *a*-stems of AP *a* in East Slavic, Central Czech, Polabian, see НИКОЛ. 2000; ДЫБО НИКОЛ. 1998. 3) Rup I (those Rup dialects in which oxytonesis in CSI stems has in general been *less severely* restricted). 4) Notation of incidence, e.g., “4/9” = oxytonesis (β) in 4 of 9

attested regional dialects vs. *barytonesis* [α] in 5, “5/5” = (β) occurs in all 5 attested regional dialects (α occurs in none).

BkSl Class 1	Tran	NW	SW	NE	LBg	Miz	Rup I	Nikolaev set
*berza A	1/1	2/3 1 γ	3/4	4/5	α 2 β 4	-	2/3	3rd
*lipa A	0/2	3/6	4/9	7/8	β	5/5	4/6	3rd
*měna A/C~B	1/1	3/4	3/3	9/11	β	3/4	2/2	-
*muxa ¹ A/B					β			3rd
*strěxa A?	0/3	0/2	1/2 1 γ	1/1	α 3 α/β 1	0/2	2/3	-
Class 2	Tran	NW	SW	NE	LBg	Miz	Rup I	Nikol. set
*baba A	0/2	2?:11	0/31	0/26	α	0/3	0/6	3rd
*dylaka A?	0/4	0/3	1/3	-	α	-	-	-
*glna A	0/2	2/7	4/7 1 γ	1/36	α	0/3	0/2	3rd
*griva A	10/12	2/5	3/12 1 γ	0/16	α	0/2	0/2	3rd
*iva A	3/4	1/1	3/4	-	α	-	-	3rd
*kupa A	-	1/1	1/1		α	0/1	0/1	2nd
*kьpa A	0/1	1/3	0/7	0/6	α	0/1	0/1	-
*letja A/B	1/5	0/1	0/9	0/6	α	0/3	-	-
*merna A	-	0/3	1/3	0/4	α	-	-	-
*mьlaka A/B	3/3	5/7	0/2	1/6	α/β	-	-	-
Class 3	Tran	NW	SW	NE	LBg	Miz	Rup I	Nikol. set
*gnida A	0/1	-	0/1	0/4	α	2?:3	-	2nd ~3rd
*gruda2 A	0/2	0/2	0/1	0/2	α	-	0/1	3rd

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*iskra A	0/1	1/2	0/5	3/7	α/β	2/2	2/4	-
*lěsa A/B	0/5	0/2	0/3	3/4	β	2/3	1/1 1 γ	-
*l(j)uspa A/B	0/1	0/4	-	0/3	α	-	1/1	-
*měra A	-	1/2	1/2	1/5	α	0/1	0/3 1 γ	1st
*mōka A	0/2	0/4	0/3	0/2	α	2/2	1/1	3rd
*pěna A	0/2	0/2	0/3	0/3	α	0/2	1?/1	2nd
*trěska A	-			-	β	1?		n/a
Misc.	Tran	NW	SW	NE	LBg	Miz	Rup	Nikol.
*smerka ²	-	-	-	-	β	-	-	-

1. **muxa* is heavily attested with both barytonesis and oxytonesis across a broad spectrum of Bg dialects
2. **zpydá* (Цонев 1919, as dialectal variant; Млад, ЕТР, as variant for Bg),
**сръкá* (Цонев 1919, as dialectal variant)

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Abbreviations

Geographical regions:

Dalm(atia), Dobru(dža), Mold(avia), Thr(ace).

Macro-dialects (etc.):

Ce(ntral), Miz(ija), NE (Northeast), NW (Northwest), Rhod(ope), SW (Southwest), Tran(sitional).

Regional dialects:

B(jala) Slat(ina), Belgr (Belogradčik), Berk(ovica), Bos(ilegrad), Bot(evgrad), Brez(nik), Bur(el), Dupn(ica), El(in) Pel(in), Elx(ovo), Fak(ija), G(orno) Pole, Greb(en), Kapan(ci), Kjus(tendil) Kam(enica)/Krai(šte), Kopr(ištica), Maleš(evo), Mont(ana), Nik(opol), Orjax(ovo), Odr(in), Plev(en), Plov(div), Pre(slav), Prov(adija), Razgr(ad), Razl(og), Sam(okov), Sand(anski), Sevl(ievo), Sof(ia), Suvor(ovo), Šik(ovci), Troj(an), Velin(grad), Xask(ovo).

Other:

Bg (Bulgarian), Cz(ech), Čak(avian), Dalm(atian), LBg (Literary Bulgarian), L(a)tv(ian), Lith(uanian), Mac(edonian), Sk (Slovak), Sn (Slovenian), BkSl (Balkan Slavic).

Notes

1 This study is respectfully dedicated to the eminent Dutch Slavist, Janneke Kalsbeek, whose work in Čakavian dialectology and Slavic prosody I have long admired.

2 The notation “A/B” indicates stems for which the Slavic comparative evidence does not consistently reflect AP *a*.

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BOOK SPINE POETRY AS AN INNOVATIVE WAY TO LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Maja Smotlak

1 Introduction

Since numerous areas of life are frequently managed by computer technology, the ability of younger generations to decode texts written in handwritten letters is becoming quite questionable today, mostly due to texts written in lower case letters (Zezima 2011). This fact is only one of the indicators of the changed relation to texts that is reflected in technologically developed societies also through the perception and the creation of literature. The so called “*hyper-reading* or fast reading, which enables the reader to try to track the printed information in a large amount of material” (Topolovec 2010: 12) is becoming quite popular.¹ This type of reading is also connected with enhanced affiliation to accepting and creating short and interactive literary texts (e.g. drafting literary texts that have up to three hundred characters, offering online animated comics or interactive activities that are based on literary classics, *web role playing games*, *web fan fiction* etc.). Despite the mentioned “liberalisation” of literature and the demolition of its pedestal, literary education remains the type of education that “[in] contradiction to globalisation trends and the tendency to uniforming people and the world enhances [...] the sensibilisation, because it sharpens the perception of the world and encourages empathy” (Šlibar 2006: 29).

The perception of the newest possibilities, which are emerging in the field of literature, is relevant for teaching different languages and literatures, which are constantly in contact due to the flexibility of modern communication. One of the novelties of modern literature, which is characterised by “the hybridisation of forms and the combination of impacts” (Kozak 2010: 134) of different cultures, is also BOOK SPINE POETRY (orig. *poesia dorsale*).

2 What is book spine poetry?

Contemporary poetic creation in Italy is very fruitful, but according to the Italian literary critic Alfonso Berardinelli (2011), poetry is not widely read. In his opinion, the reason for this is the fact that contemporary Italian poetry is divided into two categories: “incomprehensible on one hand and boring on the other”. Nevertheless, the innovative form of book spine poetry which emerged within the above mentioned frameworks brings poetry closer to the reader. At the same time, the reader can easily become the creator as well.

Book spine poetry is an innovative and ludistic way of creating literature that by merging literary and photographic art and playing with literary book spines or titles combines the “traditional” form of writing poetry with post-modernist plurality and subversivity of creative procedures that have been analysed by Ihab Hassan (1987). In its playfulness, it opens up many possibilities of language and



Fig. 1: Book spine poetry

Mia mi? / Sale e zafferano / incertezza e piacere / zucchero a velo / mangiami pure.

(Do you love me? / Salt and saffron / uncertainty and pleasure / powder sugar / eat me) (Belloni 2011).

literary teachings as well as interculturality. It was conceived in 2007 in Italy, when the designer and photographer Silvano Belloni observed a friend's stuffed book shelf. He was suddenly struck by the idea that some books could be set on top of others, so that their titles would connect in a new rational and meaningful unit and they could thus form a poem. He photographed this set and named his final creation book spine poem. He presented his idea to Antonella Ottolina, who immediately started creating book spine poems.

Despite the playfulness and casual style of this new form of poetry, the inventors set up a few rules in order to stimulate creativity. Basic rules of book spine poetry are: a book spine poem has to be *created spontaneously and unplanned* (borrowing books or preliminary and systematic selection of titles from lists or catalogues is out of the question); the author has to perceive all the books as equivalent material, regardless of their popularity; *corrections* and *repetitions* in the process of creation of the poem are *not allowed*; the same book cannot be used twice; when the first convincing version of the poem is formed, the author shall *only take one photo* which has to be as artistic as possible. Following these rules, Ottolina and Belloni started to create book spine poems and numerous exhibitions have been held since 2007. They were mentioned in many Italian newspapers and magazines (including *Il Venerdì* and *Il Manifesto*). At the exhibitions, the inventors of book spine poetry presented many book spine poems which are also available on their website (poesiadorsale.it).

As an interesting detail, it should be mentioned here that the beginning of book spine poetry can already be seen in the work of authors who started to write poems by using book titles, although they left out the visual aspect which is one of the basic characteristics of a book spine poem. One of these authors is Josip Osti who published the poem *Brišem prašinu s police za knjige ili umijeće ljubavi čovjeka za sebe* in Serbo-Croatian in his *Tetovirani violinista* (1976). This poem consists of titles of more than one hundred books. Further research would be interesting in order to discover the first attempts at book spine poetry.

3 Book spine poetry in an intercultural situation

Unlike the notion of globalisation which nowadays has a negative connotation, the notion of interculturality has a positive connotation, and the image of a polyglot and cosmopolitan has is greatly valued. These images are at variance with the concept of affiliation to one language and to a unique national and cultural identity but at the same time they depend on the existence of both concepts, as with the hypothetical condition of homogeneity and hybridity they lose their sense and significance. Interculturality cannot exist without multiculturalism, and diversity cannot be preserved without interculturality, at least not in the modern world, where people keep moving and having contacts with other people from different parts of the world. Neutralisation of individual national and linguistic identities is far from the goal or consequence of interculturality. We have to understand the difference between multiculturalism, which is only an ascertainment of simultaneous presence of various cultures in a certain area, and interculturality which is a means of forming “the creation of the wish to discover each other or the enabling of reciprocal as opposed to unidirectional flows of information” (Kozak 2008: 168).

Development of intercultural consciousness is a life-long process occurring at different levels. One of them is also literary education which, as stated by Neva Šlibar (2006: 29), “[in] contrast with the trends of globalisation and with the tendency to uniform people and the world [...] accelerates [...] sensibilisation, because it sharpens our perception of the world and stimulates empathy”. It is also true that “literary texts are regarded as the most representative texts of a certain culture and of a certain language” (Medvešek & Stabej 2004: 207), but we cannot overlook the fact that nowadays, more and more often, different cultures come into contact within the context of literature and other works of art. We could even say that when reading fiction, we do not enter an intercultural situation only when we read literary texts from different cultures and languages. We constantly enter intercultural context also in individual texts, because “in literature, cultures and languages are constantly connected” (Kozak 2010: 134), thus “creating hybridisation of forms and a mixture of influences” (Kozak 2010: 134).

Due to its accessibility and postmodern ludistic characteristics, book spine poetry, in particular, represents a form of poetry which is highly suitable to improve understanding and comprehension of one's own and of foreign languages, of inseparably connected cultures and literatures, consequently leading to intercultural awareness. In the following, we will discuss the aspects revealed by the use of book spine poetry in intercultural perspective on the basis of examples. We are going to present certain didactic possibilities provided by this binomial, as the ethical and didactic dimension increasingly return, from the field of education, science and media to literature, as the latter offers the possibility to address people as "intellectual, emotional and social beings" (Šlibar 2006: 28) by "raising awareness of the perceptive, behavioural, cognitive, symbolic, communication, etc. patterns" (Šlibar 2006: 29), which often lead to prejudice.

4 The connection between teaching language and literature

In modern times, teaching foreign languages mostly involves communication approaches that prioritise communication and non-artistic or less demanding texts. It has been proved that the application of literature in teaching foreign languages is extremely welcome for various reasons, including: (1) literature is a very good motivation and encouragement for learning languages; (2) it contributes to better understanding of other cultures; (3) it develops the abilities of interpretation; (4) it has educational value and can encourage individuals to narrate about their own opinions and emotions (see Celentin and Beraldo 2011).

Book spine poetry as one of the most contemporary literary forms remains one of the possibilities for improving understanding and learning the mother tongue and foreign languages, and also inseparably connected cultures and literatures, consequently leading to raising awareness of interculturality. Gérard Genette, who was the first person to deal with the function of book title, front cover, back cover, dedication, index and interview, named these paratext. Paratext is an "undefined zone' between the inside and the outside" or "the *threshold* [...] or a 'vestibule' that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside [the text] or turning back" (Genette 1997: 2). Book spine poetry deprives the titles of used books from meaning that was present in the original context or in

relation to the book content. The same marker is therefore used in a playful way; however, the substance of the marked content is completely renovated. Book titles therefore convey a different message, since they are set in a new mutual relation. This message can (not necessarily) be in discordance with the tone and the message, which the original titles and even more the contents of individual books wish to convey. The existing and used material therefore becomes the construct of new ideas and along with graphic image it acquires an additional unimagined artistic dimension. We shall focus on some specific cases in continuation, namely on aspects that are revealed in the process of using book spine poetry in teaching languages and literatures. We shall also present some new didactic possibilities, offered by it.

4.1 An example of applying book spine poetry in teaching language and literature

Book spine poetry opens several new challenges from the linguistic and visual point of view and in terms of the contents. In order to illustrate this, let us present an example from the literary workshop which was held during the *Slovenian Language Summer Course at the Slovenian Coast "Hello, this is the Slovenian Mediterranean!"* at UP FHS in Koper (Slovenia). The aim of the workshop, conducted by Vladka Tucovič, PhD, was to acquaint the participants with the linguistic and literary aspects of Slovenian verbal creation. They created their own poems and in this process they got to know the names of Slovenian poets, their books, and the names of Slovenian publishing houses. In addition, they adopted new vocabulary, related to their own book spine poems (available at facebook.com/hrbtnapoezija).

The workshop was attended by speakers of Serbian, Bosnian, German, Italian and Czech. Most of them belonged to the advanced group, one participant was a beginner. Before the workshop, the mentor selected more than one hundred contemporary and older poetry collections and some prose written by Slovenian authors. Some of these literary works were selected because the participants of the summer school got acquainted with them earlier, through other workshops, literary evenings and excursions (Marko Kravos, Josip Osti, Srečko Kosovel),

while others were selected on the basis of criteria of inclusion into the Slovenian literary canon (France Prešeren), recognition (Neža Maurer, Boris A. Novak), their exposure in the media and their relation to Koper (Veronika Dintinjana, Jure Vuga, Gašper Malej), and on the basis of anticipation as to which authors the participants were probably already familiar with.

Fig. 2: Book spine poem in Slovenian from the literary workshop 18th Slovenian



Language Summer Course at the Slovenian Coast *Hello, this is the Slovenian Mediterranean!*

Pesmi in pisma / pesmi in romance / pesmi za ženski glas in zvonove / pesmi o Ljubljani.”

(‘Poems and letters / poems and romances / poems for the voice of women and bells / poems about Ljubljana) (Miličević 2011).

At the beginning of the workshop the mentor showed to the participants examples of the Slovenian book spine poems which have already been published on the internet and then she let them take a look at the books on the table. The participants selected the books, put together their book spine poems and took photos. At the end they sat in a circle and the mentor asked them to read their book spine poems aloud. In this part of the workshop they also discussed their choices, shared personal information and their own experiences. It turned out

that each participant managed to compose a book spine poem, regardless of his or her knowledge of Slovenian, which means that book spine poetry is a suitable method that can be used in foreign language and culture courses on all levels. As can be seen from the presented example, book spine poetry enables the integration of three different approaches in linking the teachings of language and literature, since it can present the way to learning a language, new contents and, last but not least, to attain another dimension of knowledge and personal characteristics.

Through time book spine poetry started to develop on various Slovenian blogs, web forums and was also used in schools, thus additionally confirming the availability of this verbal and photographic creation. Other cases of book spine poetry in English can be found online, which means that the new form of poetry is gradually extending across the Italian borders and is becoming known all around the world.

4.2 Additional possibilities of the application of book spine poetry

In addition to the example of how book spine poetry can be used in teaching Slovenian as a foreign language and in getting acquainted with Slovenian literature, let us mention some other suggestions in terms of expanding a similar workshop to additional communication approaches in literary didactics which require student's activity, co-creativity and dialogue in the process of becoming familiar with literary works. Activities are based on the consideration of modern didactic approaches that emphasise inductivity, that activate the senses, specific work with texts, encouraging the apprehension of the learning process and assessing what has been learnt and how the substance has been learnt (Celentin and Beraldo 2011).

1st activity | The participants of the workshop are offered books in different languages and are encouraged to mix them and play with them in order to put together their book spine poems. Further on, the participants present their book spine poem and explain their selections in terms of books and languages, as well as the problems they were facing when putting together the poem. We can use this occasion to discuss or present the contents of one of the books that were used in

the activity, in order to stimulate the aesthetic pleasure, curiosity and desire to get to know the unknown or little known literature or older works of domestic and foreign literature. This option points to the orientation of this method of poem-writing toward foreign languages, other cultures and to possibilities of mixing language codes. It also indirectly stimulates the research of the unknown (maybe even untranslated) foreign literature. For example, the following book spine poem (Figure 3) illustrates the fusion and mixing of the Slovenian, Bosnian (“suncokret na ramenu”) and Italian (“terra da masticare”) languages.

Fig. 3: Book spine poem in different languages



Tisti čas / sonce na Krasu / sončnica na rami – suncokret na ramenu / rumeno gori grm forzicij / terra da masticare – za grižljaj zemlje / tomajski vrt

(That time / sun in the Karst / sunflower on the shoulder / yellow fire of the forsythia bush / a bite of dirt / Tomaj garden) (Russo 2011).

2nd activity | The participants are encouraged to translate book spine poems from their language to a foreign language and vice versa, as translation is “the most common form of intercultural transmission of literature in an intercultural situation” (Grosman 2004: 43). When translating a short text they can get acquainted with the problems of translators, they can compare languages, get to

know the specific language differences which may even reflect two different culturally based perceptions of reality or views of the world. At the end they present their findings and discuss them. It is interesting to mention that when comparing the Slovenian and the Italian book spine poems, one can see that the use of verbs in the Italian book titles is more common than in the Slovenian book titles. The latter usually contain nouns and thus present an additional challenge for book spine poetry in Slovenian.

3rd activity | The participants put together book spine poems on the subject of intercultural connections, or they are given existing poems on the same subject. As a variation in creation of book spine poems we can make front covers with images, without any titles or text inside. Then we invite the participants to put titles, related to interculturality, on the covers and invent a short story to justify their selection. After that they create book spine poems with the titles they created earlier. This activity is based on the workshop that was presented as part of the competition of the festival *Words and Days* (“Le parole, i giorni”) which took place between 15 and 17 April 2010 in Poggibonsi, Italy. The selected book spine poems can be used as a platform for discussion on intercultural topics, by encouraging the participants to read and interpret the same poem in various ways. For example, if we take a look at a Slovenian book spine poem (Figure 4), we can see the variety of possibilities it has to offer. The fourth line, for example, makes us realise that the whole poem can be read in different ways. Namely, the line “pod svobodnim soncem – II” (under the free sun – II), can be interpreted in the way that the poem has two subjects, probably the Slovenians and the Italians, thus narrowing the broad significance of the word ‘Tržačani’ (the inhabitants of Trieste). The Roman numeral can be read in relation to the word “free”, which can point to lost and regained freedom. However, we can focus on “II” and interpret the line in the sense that the inhabitants of Trieste are meant to live under the free sun some time in the future. Moreover, the poem can again be read in a different way if we decide to read it starting from the end.



Fig. 4: Book spine poem in Slovenian

Tržačani / ptički brez gnezda / v rodnem mestu / pod svobodnim soncem – II
/ prevzetnost in pristranost / tra pace e guerra / così vicini, così lontani – tako
blizu, tako daleč / neskončna zgodba

(Inhabitants of Trieste / birds without a nest / in birth town / under the free sun – II
/ pride and prejudice / so close, so far away / endless story) (S. M. 2011).

4th activity | The participants are encouraged to talk about different readings and interpretations of the same book spine poem in a foreign language, or to discuss the topic of intercultural contacts, with or without consideration of the non-verbal dimension of the book spine poem. Further on we can encourage the participants of the workshop to compose a book spine poem on the subject of interculturality with substantiation, denial, complementation, expansion, or narrowing of the verbal dimension through different visual media. For example, in the following book spine poem (Figure 5) we can notice that the child on the photograph, next to the books, complements the message of the poem. Younger generations that are becoming increasingly responsive to visual stimuli can become even more aware of the meaning and importance of images and notions in the perception of their own and other cultures. It is interesting that non-verbal communication is also subject to intercultural dynamics. The point is that due to

their visual dimension, it is somewhat easier for the book spine poems to be transmitted from one culture to another, because the elements of the photograph attract the reader's attention faster, they arouse curiosity and sometimes even facilitate understanding of the verbal work. The visual component is becoming increasingly important, especially with the members of the younger generation, due to "*hyperreading* – fast reading" (Topolovec, 2010: 12) of texts that are short and accompanied with non-verbal components.



Fig. 5: Book spine poem complemented by visual elements

Otroško spanje – brez joka v sanje / hitro in okusno / najlepše klasične pravljice.”

(Child's sleep – falling asleep without tears / fast and delicious / the most beautiful classic fairy tales) (Pfundner 2011).

Through the presented activities the participants can develop reading, writing, speaking and to some extent also listening skills. It is suitable to use two or more languages in the proposed workshops and to include participants from different cultures. However, the workshops can also be adjusted to a single language. Of course, each activity can be adjusted to the appropriate language level of the

participants. However, we shouldn't forget that the activities presented above are only a part of the possibilities provided by book spine poetry.

5 Conclusion

The article establishes and proves that book spine poetry, which interdisciplinarily links textual and visual arts, is useful in modern language and literature teaching processes mostly due to its playful character and accessibility. It provides, among other things, “the opportunity to discuss interpersonal and intercultural relations, [...] reader's identification, comprehension of social norms, customs, traditions and values” (Melinc 2007: 222). It presents an innovative way to learning languages, literatures, cultures, getting to know other people and ourselves. Since it is unusual and induces creative provocations, it can be very efficient in igniting and stimulating the feeling that learning a language or literature “can be truly a lively, dynamic and exciting experience” (Samide 2008: 330).

Its contribution, however, goes beyond the theoretical findings and brings tangible proof and proposals on how to directly apply book spine poetry in teaching language and literature and how to directly apply it in developing intercultural consciousness. The latter can be perceived also as an initiative towards mutual dialogue between different literatures and towards opening new possibilities to exchange fresh literary experience.

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Note

1 All citations are translated by the author.

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TANZLINGHER'S TRILINGUAL DICTIONARY: THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZADAR (SINE ANNO) AND ZAGREB (1679) MANUSCRIPTS

Han Steenwijk

Introduction

The lexicographical production of Giovanni Tanzlingher Zanotti (Ivan Tanclinger) is at present known from four extant manuscripts. Three of them (Zagreb, Padua and Zadar mss.) contain a trilingual Italian-Croatian-Latin dictionary, whereas a fourth (London ms.) contains a bilingual Italian-Croatian dictionary. As in their comparable parts no single manuscript is similar to another, it is best to regard every manuscript as containing a separate version. This was already noted by Bockholt et al. (2001: 50), who speak of the three manuscripts that were known up to that point (Zagreb, Padua, London) as a “trilogy”.

Let us first present some detailed information on the four manuscripts, ordered by their discovery date, as has become a tradition in publications on the subject:

Zagreb manuscript

Ditti... nel qual si dic... in lingua Illirica, et Ital..., 1679

328 pages (21 x 30 cm): 2 pages containing an introduction, 315 pages containing the dictionary (plus 1 empty page) and 10 pages containing a list of Croatian collocations (“Epitteti raccolti da diversi auttori”). None of the pages is numbered and the first two leaves are heavily damaged, which explains the fragmentary title. It is a difficult manuscript to read mainly on account of the numerous interlinear

insertions which are mostly Croatian translations and even entire entries. It was first described in Ferrari-Cupilli (1861) and is presently held by the Croatian National Archives in Zagreb.

Padua manuscript

Vocabolario di tre nobilissimi linguaggi, italiano, illirico e latino, 1699, 1704

1,318 pages (32 x 45 cm): 1 page containing an introduction (plus 1 empty page) and 1,316 numbered pages containing the dictionary. The document is contained in two volumes, shows no damage and is readily readable. Apart from sporadically inserted letters the text is devoid of interlinear insertions. The year 1704 appears at the end of the introduction, whereas the year 1699 precedes the start of the dictionary itself. Already mentioned by Ferrari-Cupilli (1861) who did not have direct access to it, its first in-depth description was done by Marchiori (1959). The manuscript is part of the collection of rare books of the Department for Linguistic and Literary Studies at Padua University.

London manuscript

Vocabulario italiano, ed Illirico, 1699

516 pages (20 x 28 cm.), all numbered. There is no introduction, but it does have an appendix (“Raccolta d’alcuni termini militari che s’attrovano sparsi nel Libro Maresciallo”). Mentioned first in Sironić-Bonefačić 1992 it was subsequently described in Bockholt et al. (2001). It is held by the British Library.

Zadar manuscript

Dittionario nel qual si dichiarano le parole Italiane in lingua Illirica et Latina, sine anno

318 pages (32 x 22 cm): 300 pages, out of which the first 80 pages are numbered (1-15, 13-77), containing the dictionary, followed by 18 pages, out of which page 17 is numbered, with a list of addenda/corrigenda. Some stains are present and on some *verso* pages the right-hand column is damaged by a recent binding. Moreover, two stretches of probably two pages each are missing, between the headwords Trincato and Valle (letters T and V) and between the headwords Voce d’huomo and Scorza dell’uua (letter V). The search for the missing sheet of paper

that these four pages are probably contained on has so far not yielded any results. The text starts out with a clearly readable hand that after the first 12 pages degrades somewhat. With respect to the Zagreb manuscript the interlinear insertion of entire entries is less frequent. Inserted Croatian translations also occur. The list that follows the dictionary is written in a completely different, much more cursive script and is nigh unreadable. The manuscript was only recently discovered at the Archives of the Sv. Stošija Cathedral of Zadar and was described in Vajs Vinja (2011).

As can be seen, the newly discovered Zadar ms. lacks a date, but already the preceding information contains some valuable hints at the version that it probably most closely resembles. A close resemblance can be assumed to indicate a close collocation on the temporal axis. Firstly, there are two types of titles, one containing the word *Dittionario* (Zagreb and Zadar), and one containing the word *Vocabolario* (Padua and London). Secondly, by its size the Zadar ms. (300 dictionary pages) is very similar to the Zagreb ms. (315 dictionary pages).¹

Leaving aside the London ms, for which we do not have the entire dictionary text at our disposal, some formal characteristics again put the Zadar ms. closer to the Zagreb ms. while distinguishing it from the Padua ms. Firstly, there is the orthography of the Italian headwords and descriptions:

Zadar: Cassatione, Caualaria, Cuchiaro/Cuchiare, **Habitare**

Zagreb: Cassatione, Cauallaria, Cuchiaro, **Habitare**

Padua: Cassazione, Cavalleria, Cucchiaio, **Abitare**

Zadar and Zagreb reflect an older stage of Italian orthography in their use of <t> and <h>, whereas the sequences <-aria> and <-iaro> betray a non-Tuscan base of the Italian forms. Secondly, deviations in the alphabetical order of the entries are often shared between the Zagreb and Zadar mss.:

Zadar: Cucinare - **Cuoco** - **Caldaro** - **Cuchiare** - Cucire

Zagreb: Cucinare - **Cuoco** - **Caldaro** - **Cuchiaro** - Cucire

Padua: Cucinare - Cuciniere - Cuciniera - Cucire

We therefore propose to study more closely the relation between the versions contained in the Zagreb and Zadar mss., positing as a working hypothesis that precisely this relation is decisive for fixing the Zadar ms. on the temporal axis.² We will concentrate mainly on numerical and formal criteria, in order to minimize the risk of interpreting the contents of the two versions. Only when the proposed method will have produced a result it will be possible to interpret the differences and similarities between the two versions as a reflex of changing attitudes of the author toward his lexicographical endeavour.

Numerical and formal analysis

In order to perform a numerical analysis of the dictionary entries, criteria must be established that allow us to compare entries between the two versions and decide upon their being similar or different. For this comparison the Croatian section will generally not be considered, as it shows a high degree of variation, cf.:

Zadar: Eccessiuo | **Vellik, Vellè** | immensus

Zagreb: Eccessiuo | **Neizmiran** | Immensus

For our purposes, these two entries are considered a match on the basis of the similarity of the Italian and Latin sections.

If a certain entry is repeated in one of the two manuscripts, thereby creating an *n-m* relation, only the one that by its formal characteristics (alphabetical position, content) most closely resembles an entry in the other manuscript is considered to be matched. The other one is regarded as having no match.

Zadar: Honorare | (Vdijciti) Çastiti Opostenitti | Honoro, ras.³

Zagreb: Honorare | Opostenitti. Dyçiti. Vdyçiti. Castitti (Stouatti) | Honoro, as.

Zadar: Honorare | (Vdijciti) Postouatti (Castiti). (Pocitati) | Honoro, ras.

Zagreb: [absent]

As can be seen, in these cases the Croatian section has to be considered as well. Indeed, it is often decisive.

The corpus for our analysis is formed by the entries contained in the chapters containing the letters E, H, N, O, Q and Z. This choice was made because they are

the shortest chapters and thus could be more readily prepared for the analysis. In fact, they were transcribed and subsequently aligned on the entry level in XML, so counting could be done with the help of XSLT Stylesheets, thus reducing the influence of human error. As a consequence of this objective criterion, we have obtained a rather evenly distributed sample from each version, with chapters close to the start, to the middle and to the end of the dictionary texts. Expressed in pages, the two samples represent about 8% of each version.

A count of the total number of similar (matched, aligned) entries shows the high proportion of shared material between the two versions:

Table 1. All entries

	E	H	N	O	Q	Z	total
Zadar total:	287	+ 186	+ 261	+ 275	+ 85	+ 84	= 1,178
present in Zagreb:	279	+ 181	+ 251	+ 269	+ 85	+ 70	= 1,135 (= 96.3%)
absent from Zagreb:	8	+ 5	+ 10	+ 6	+ 0	+ 14	= 43
Zagreb total:	384	+ 207	+ 289	+ 327	+ 93	+ 84	= 1,384
present in Zadar:	279	+ 181	+ 251	+ 269	+ 85	+ 70	= 1,135 (= 82.0%)
absent from Zadar:	105	+ 26	+ 38	+ 58	+ 8	+ 14	= 249

It should be noted that the amount of 1,135 shared entries represents 96.3% of the total amount of Zadar entries, whereas for Zagreb the shared entries are only equal to 82.0% of the total amount. If one assumes that Zadar follows upon Zagreb this would mean that Zadar consists mainly of an excerpt of the Zagreb entries. On the contrary, if one assumes that Zagreb follows upon Zadar, then Zagreb would consist of almost all of the Zadar entries plus a series of new entries that were added subsequently. As added entries, in the form of insertions in the main text body, can to a large extent be identified in both manuscripts, they can be used to decide in this matter:

Table 2. Inserted entries only

	E	H	N	O	Q	Z	total
Zadar total:	18 +	3 +	15 +	16 +	4 +	13 =	69
present in Zagreb:	16 +	3 +	15 +	16 +	4 +	12 =	66 (= 95.7%)
absent from Zagreb:	2 +	0 +	0 +	0 +	0 +	1 =	3
Zagreb total:	105 +	26	41 +	57 +	7 +	13 =	249
present in Zadar:	0 +	0 +	3 +	1 +	0 +	0 =	4 (= 1.6%)
absent from Zadar:	105 +	26 +	38 +	56 +	7 +	13 =	245

For Zadar, this approach does not change the overall picture, as 95.7% of the inserted entries are shared with Zagreb, much like the 96.3% for the total amount of shared entries. For Zagreb however, the obtained percentage of only 1.6% shared inserted entries is in sharp contrast with the percentage of 82.0% for the total amount of shared entries. If one still wants to maintain that Zadar followed upon Zagreb then it is not clear why so few of the entries inserted in Zagreb made it into the supposed Zadar excerpt of entries. The only way out would be to assume that after the Zadar excerpt was completed, Tanzlingher returned to the Zagreb ms. and inserted many entries there. For the supporters of the hypothesis that Zagreb follows upon Zadar life is much easier: the Zadar ms., including its inserted entries, served as a preliminary step for the production of the Zagreb ms. This is also evident from the fact that all 66 entries inserted in Zadar that are shared between both versions turn up as part of the main dictionary text body in Zagreb.

The inserted entries in Zadar are also important for our purpose because of the disturbances in the alphabetical order they often cause. Out of the inserted entries in Zadar that are also present in Zagreb, 24 are out of alphabetical order in Zadar. In Zagreb, 23 of them appear in exactly the same – alphabetically incorrect – position, this time as entries within the main dictionary text body. Some examples:

Zadar: Eterno - (Etiopo) - Etiando

Zagreb: Eterno - Etiopo - Etiando

Zadar: Noioso - (Non maritato) - nomare

Zagreb: Noioso - (Nolo) - Non maritato - nomare

Zadar: Zafrano - (Zacco) - Zaffiro

Zagreb: Zafrano - Zacco - Zafiro

Although the picture is somewhat blurred because of three inserted entries at the bottom of the column in Zagreb, also in the following case Zagreb has the alphabetically incorrect position of Esemplio, corresponding to the inserted entry (Esemplio) in Zadar:

Zadar: Esca - (Esemplio) - Esca - Escludere

Zagreb: Esca - Esemplio - (Essenziale) - (Escarnificato) - (Esame di coscienza) -
Esca - (Esclamare) - (Esca) - Escludere

There is only one such inserted entry in Zadar that has a different position in the Zagreb ms.:

Zadar: Hier mattina - (Hierone) - Hier sera - Hierusalem

Zagreb: Hier mattina - Hier sera - Hierone - Hierusaleme

The possibility that Zadar follows upon Zagreb now becomes even less likely, as one would be stuck with a whole series of alphabetical disturbances in the main dictionary text of Zagreb that could not be accounted for. True, such disturbances also occur in the main dictionary text when no insertions are involved, in Zadar as well as in Zagreb. On the other hand, if Zagreb follows upon Zadar, at least for the 23 entries mentioned above an explanation for the disturbed alphabetical order can be found: in these cases the disturbances in the main dictionary text of Zagreb reflect the position where the entries were inserted in Zadar.

Not only do we now definitely assume that Zagreb follows upon Zadar, we also ascertain that Zadar was the direct exemplar for Zagreb. We feel confident in this respect because of some tell-tale errors (corruptions) that must have occurred

during the transcription process. First, there is a case of anticipation that has caused two separate entries in Zadar to be conflated into one entry in Zagreb:

Zadar: Estimo de beni | Çina dobaar | Census, sus.
 Estimato | Procijgnien | Census, sa, sum, Vrbs censa.
 Zagreb: Estimo de beni | Pohuala | Census. Vrbs censa.

In Zagreb, the entry *Estimo de beni* starts out with the Italian section of the first Zadar entry and adds *Vrbs censa* of the Latin section of the following Zadar entry, although it has no logical function here. This anticipation was probably caused by Latin *Census*, occurring in both entries, once as a noun and once as a participle. The entry *Estimato* does not occur in Zagreb.

Also our second example seems to be the result of anticipation, now resulting in the conflation of two Italian words:

Zadar: Cuchiare da schiumar la pignatta | Supgļačça (Variačça) | Tudicula, læ
 Zagreb: Cuchiaro da spiumar | Supgļačça, Variačça | Tudicula, læ

The Italian semantical description *da spiumar* ‘for plucking’ in Zagreb does not make any sense and can only be explained if compared to the one in Zadar, *da schiumar la pignatta* ‘for skimming a pot’. The initial *p* of *pignatta* was mistakenly inserted into the Zagreb verb, changing it from *schiumar* in *spiumar*.

Thirdly, as inserted translations in Zadar are not always readily readable, they can cause transcription errors. Consider the following case:

Zadar: Solicitudine | (Peçalnost) Pomgna (Brigha) Nasto(yanye) (Skarb) |
 Solecter
 Zagreb: Solicitudine | (Pobrinutie) Peçalnost. yanye. Skarb. (Skarbnost) (Skerb)
 Nastoyanye | Solecitudino, inis

The senseless Croatian translation *yanye* in Zagreb is an error triggered by the fact that in Zadar the translation *Nastoyanye* is divided over two positions, with the string *Nasto* on the main line and the string *yanye* as an interlinear insertion.⁴

In our last example, the inserted Croatian translation *drosgd* (i.e. *drožd*) in Zadar has a very peculiar letter *g*, written diagonally from top left to bottom right

with the upper part resembling a letter *e*. This resemblance must have triggered the erroneous transcription *Drossed* in Zagreb:

Zadar: Feccia di uino | Mutez (Kisseliça) (drosgd) | Fex, cis.

Zagreb: Feccia di uino | Drossed. Mutez (Mucefarina) | Fex, cis

Among these tell-tale errors, we consider the case of *yanye* as the most convincing one, as it is hardly likely that this error would have been repeated in multiple transcriptions.⁵ Zadar was therefore the immediate exemplar for Zagreb, as there are no indications that an intermediate manuscript between Zadar and Zagreb has to be postulated. It is only after the insertions in Zadar were added that the production of the Zagreb ms. started, as the main dictionary text body of Zagreb pretty well reflects the entries, including the inserted ones, contained in Zadar.⁶ Matić (1953: 255, 257) had tacitly assumed that the Zagreb ms. contains the first version (*redakcija*) of Tanzlingher's dictionary, but it now appears to have been the second, preceded by the first version contained in the Zadar ms.

This result opens the possibility to study three new problems:

- a. in the light of this relative chronology, what can be said about the considerable changes that occurred in the Croatian section of the Zagreb ms. with respect to the Zadar ms.? What do these changes tell us about Tanzlingher's lexicographical method?
- b. is it possible to arrive at an absolute chronology for the Zadar ms., i.e. can we say approximately when it was produced?
- c. how has Tanzlingher's use of Croatian lexicographical sources evolved in the period that he was working on these two manuscripts?

To these three problems the remaining part of this paper will be dedicated.

Tanzlingher's lexicographical method

In order to get a grip on the changes in the Croatian section, let us focus on the number of Croatian equivalents for entries shared by Zadar and Zagreb. Apart from monoverbal translations, sometimes semantic descriptions of the Italian headword can be found in this section, e.g.

Zadar: Zifra, cifra | Potayno pijsmo | Nota, æ. Ænigma, atis.

These will be counted separately, because the resulting proportions can shed some light on Tanzlingher's lexicographical progress.

Table 3. Croatian equivalents in shared entries

	monoverbal	descriptions	total
Zadar	1,767	72	1,839
Zagreb	2,596	42	2,638

As can be seen, Zagreb shows a considerable increase in the total number of equivalents over Zadar. This must be the consequence of Tanzlingher's aim, stated in the preface to the Zagreb ms. to demonstrate that an Italian word can be translated "yedno glascno, duoye glascno, troye glascno, i uecchie kakose ù ouoy kgnizi oççitto uidi". The proportional increase in Croatian equivalents in Zagreb is 30.3%, much more than the increase in entries between Zadar and Zagreb (only 9.0%). This latter increase is mainly due to the inserted entries, as was shown above.

On the other hand, Tanzlingher resorts less to descriptions in the Croatian section of Zagreb. Their proportional importance decreases from 3.9% in Zadar to 1.6% in Zagreb. Tanzlingher clearly strove to substitute descriptions with monoverbal translations, e.g.

Zadar: Zifra, cifra | Potayno pijsmo | Nota, æ. Ænigma, atis.

Zagreb: Zifra, cifra | Zifare. Taynapysc | Nota, tæ Ænigma, matis.

where *Taynapysc* in Zagreb seems to have been derived from the description *Potayno pijsmo* in Zadar.

A phenomenon somewhat related to the previous one is the peculiar treatment that Italian semantic specifications receive in the Zadar ms. They sometimes get translated literally in the Croatian section, e.g.:

Zadar: Hà, uoce di riprendere | Hà glas za pokarati | Hà.

Zagreb: Hà, uoce di riprendere | Hà | Hà.

Zadar: Ortona Città | Ortona Grad | Orton, onis.

Zagreb: Ortona Città | Vrtuna | Orton, onis.

For the dictionary user, who is supposed to know Italian well, this repetition of information is superfluous. These translated semantic specifications are generally suppressed in Zagreb.

Another phenomenon typical for the Zadar ms. likewise returns in the Zagreb ms. only in much reduced form. These are entries for which only an Italian and Latin section are given, whereas in between them a blank indicates the space where the Croatian section should go. These defective entries give the impression that Tanzlingher first decided which entries should go in his dictionary and only then tried to find Croatian equivalents for them.

Out of the 34 such entries in Zadar that return in Zagreb, in the latter ms. only three of them still appear with a missing Croatian section:

Zadar: Nacere pesce | | Pina, n[æ]

Zagreb: Nacere pesce | | Pina, næ.

Zadar: Nastro cordela di donde pende la gola | | Alimentum, ti.

Zagreb: Nastro, cordella di donde pende la gola | | Alimentum, ti.

Zadar: Zodoaria herba | | Zodura, ræ.

Zagreb: Zodoaria herba | | Zodura, ræ.⁷

In the other entries Croatian equivalents appear in Zagreb, thus clearly improving the defective entries of Zadar, e.g.:

Zadar: Nautolio pesce | | Hic nutilus, li. Nauplium, lij.

Zagreb: Nautolio pesce | Plauçich | Nutilus, li.

Here it should be mentioned that, apart from interlinear insertions, in the case of Croatian equivalents the Zadar ms. also contains in-line insertions. Originally the number of defective entries in Zadar must have been even larger, because many “complete” entries are only complete because subsequently information was inserted in the space left intentionally blank for the Croatian section. This is

evident from another ink colour, another hand or because the Croatian section is not completely filled out or, on the contrary, was projected with too little space for the information it now holds. As Tanzlingher worked on the Zadar ms. in many cases he first wrote out the Italian and Latin sections and only then inserted information for the Croatian section. See also the earlier remarks on defective entries.

The Zadar and Zagreb mss. do not differ notably in the frequency with which inserted Croatian equivalents occur:

Table 4. Croatian original and inserted equivalents in shared entries

	original	inserted	total
Zadar	1,343	496	1,839
Zagreb	1,838	800	2,638

This results in a percentage of 27.0 for Zadar and of 30.3 for Zagreb; only in-line insertions occur far less frequently in the latter ms.:

Table 5. Croatian in-line and interlinear inserted equivalents in shared entries

	in-line	interlinear	total
Zadar	121	375	496
Zagreb	5	795	800

When working on the Zagreb ms., Tanzlingher already had much more Croatian material at his disposal.

Although it is certainly useful to make a numerical comparison of the status of corresponding equivalents, we must warn here that the two transcriptions that serve as our sample were not aligned on this level. What follows is based upon a hand count carried out on the letter H.

In the light of what has already been established above, a first result will not come as a great surprise: out of the 79 equivalents that have been inserted in Zagreb, only two have a corresponding element in Zadar:

Table 6. Croatian equivalents inserted in Zagreb in shared entries (letter H)

	original	inserted	lacking
Zadar:	1	1	77
Zagreb:	-	79	-

This only goes to confirm our line of reasoning that Zagreb follows upon Zadar. However, the inserted Croatian equivalents in Zagreb do not have Zadar as their source anymore. When modifying the Zagreb ms., the Zadar ms. had lost its relevance for Tanzlingher.

A comparison that takes the 63 equivalents inserted in Zadar as the point of departure results in a different image:

Table 7. Croatian equivalents inserted in Zadar in shared entries (letter H)

	original	inserted	lacking
Zadar:	-	63	-
Zagreb:	34	1	28

A considerable amount (28) of the Zadar insertions is simply lacking in Zagreb. On the other hand, if an inserted equivalent does appear in Zagreb, it turns up there as part of the main dictionary text. We already know that Zadar was the exemplar for Zagreb, so the latter part of our finding is only natural, but the first part is an indication that considerable editorial changes must have taken place: Zagreb not only has much more Croatian material than Zadar, it also dropped or substituted Zadar material.

At this point it makes more sense to take a closer look at the various Croatian translations and descriptions in order to arrive at a qualitative, more linguistically oriented appraisal. The substitution of descriptions with monoverbal translations has already been mentioned above. Here are some more examples:

Zadar: Innumerabile | Prez broya | Innumerabilis

Zagreb: Innumerabile | Brezbroyni | Innumerabilis

Zadar: *Gelosia d'amore* | *Glubglieni strah* | *Emulatio, onis*

Zagreb: *Gelosia d'amore* | *Strahogliubstuo* | *Elatio*

Zadar: *Herboso* | *Pun traue* | *Herbosus*

Zagreb: *Herboso* | *Tráuan* | *Herbosus, sa, sum.*

As can be seen from the second example, the semantical description is not always very adequate (*Glubglieni strah* would translate as 'beloved fear'), so substitutions are also intended as corrections. Consider the following cases:

Zadar: *Eccessiuo* | *Vellik, Vellè* | *immensus*

Zagreb: *Eccessiuo* | *Neizmiran* | *Immensus*

Zadar: *Disparita* | *Nesklad (neiednako)* | *Inequalitas*

Zagreb: *Disparita* | *Neyednaçstuo* | *Inequalitas*

Zadar: *Hipocrisia* | *Çşiniyenye* | *Simulatio uirtutis*

Zagreb: *Hipocrisia* | *Liçimirstuo (Vuhouitstuo)* | *Simulatio uirtutis.*

Whereas in the first case the Croatian equivalent in Zadar should rather be a superlative, in the second case *Nesklad* 'disharmony, discord' in Zadar has a rather different semantics than the one intended. Also in the third case the intended semantics is just not conveyed in Zadar.

One can also find the substitution of a not so adequate description in Zadar with a more adequate one in Zagreb:

Zadar: *H(u)omo impracticabile* | *Çlouik neobican, clouik cuddan* | *Homo ex humanitatis expers, et vitæ communis grauis.*

Zagreb: *H(u)omo impracticabile* | *Neopcchiui clouik* | *Homo, et humanitatis expers, et uitæ. communis grauis.*

On the contrary, the introduction of a description in Zagreb can also be observed. In the following example, a monoverbal translation in Zadar, probably a neologism formed by analogy to the Latin expression, is in Zagreb replaced by a description that is semantically more adequate:

Zadar: Età tenera | Littasça | Ætula, læ.

Zagreb: Età tenera | Mladiahna litta | Ætula, æ.

Here we arrive at the subject of neologisms. Tanzlingher's liberal use of neologisms in order to create a specialized terminology in various fields of learning has already been studied by Vajs Vinja (2011: 248-255). The following substitutions seem to be motivated by a desire to eliminate a still-born neologism, however:

Zadar: Europa terza parte del mondo | Zapadye | Europa, æ

Zagreb: Europa terza parte del mondo | Europa | Europa æ

Zadar: Irreconciliabile | Nepomiritgliuo | Inespiabilis, le

Zagreb: Irreconciliabile | Nepomirgliuo | Inespiabilis

Zapadye seems a rather artificial proposal with little chance of acceptance, whereas *Nepomiritgliuo* has been derived erroneously from the infinitive form and not from the verbal root.

A substitution may also simply be motivated by an initial error that needs correction, e.g.:

Zadar: Nettare | Çistiti, Ocistiti | Nectar

Zagreb: Nettare | (Sladçiča) | Nectar, ris.

The Croatian equivalent should be a noun, but in Zadar erroneously verbs are given as the Croatian translation, as <Nettare> is a homograph for both a noun meaning 'nectar' and a verb meaning 'to clean'.

Finally, there is a certain tendency toward purism. Consider the following two examples:

Zadar: Harpia mostro | (Arpia) | Harpia, æ.

Zagreb: Harpia mostro | Nakaz | Harpia, æ.

Zadar: Nacara, gnacara | Gnakara Nakara | Crop[alum]

Zagreb: Nacara, gnakara [sic!] | (Biralla) Suiralla (Surla) | Cropolum.

But this tendency is not very clear, as one can also observe the introduction of a loan in Zagreb, cf. above the entry *Zifra*.

Although not in every single case it is possible to pinpoint the reasons Tanzlingher had for carrying out a substitution, the overall impression is that of a clear desire to improve on the Zadar version.

Turning to the Italian and Latin sections, here the differences between the two versions are far less marked. Indeed, these sections served as our mainstay during the process of alignment. Apart from incidental corrections of obvious errors, e.g. Zadar <scielta>, Zagreb <scielta> s.v. *Eletta*, a tendency can be noted to omit the Italian semantic specification or a part thereof in the Zagreb ms.:

Zadar: Originale doue si copia la scrittura | Tragga Iztočni | Exemplar

Zagreb: Originale | Iztočni. Tragga | Exemplar.

Zadar: Zingari paese di Africa | | Zengitana

Zagreb: Zingari paese | Çiganni. Yeiupçi | Zentigana [sic!].

Also the Latin section appears sometimes abbreviated in Zagreb:

Zadar: Edificatore | Sagraditegl (Sazidategl) | Edificator, oris, Opifex, cis.

Zagreb: Edificatore | Sagraditegl | Edificator. oris.

Zadar: Notaro | Pyscnyk | Scriba, bæ. Librarius.

Zagreb: Notaro | Opchienni pyscnik | Scriba, bæ.

Conspicuously often it is the last Latin equivalent that is omitted in Zagreb, that would have required a new line in the manuscript.

However, insertion of Latin equivalents also occurs:

Zadar: Esasperare prouocare a sdegno | Sarditti, Rassarditti (Dotaknutti)
(Razdraziti) | Irrito, tas.

Zagreb: Esasperare | Draxiti (Gliutiti) (Razdraxiti). (Raziadati) | Irrito, as.
(Exacerbo)

Zadar: Operare | Dillouati (Poslouatti) | Ago, gis.

Zagreb: Operare | (Teziti). (Rabiti) Dillouati. Posclouatti (Dillati). (Opraugliati)
| Ago, gis. (Laboro)

When working on the Zagreb ms. Tanzlingher's attention was primarily focused on the Croatian section, but later on he also made some additions to the Latin section.

Putting a date on the Zadar ms.

As regards an absolute chronology, the prefaces contained in the Zagreb and Padua mss. can be of help. At the start of the preface of the latter, signed May 22nd, 1704, Tanzlingher states that he has worked 25 years on his dictionary: "Duaadesset i peet lijt, nè s' mallom poomgnom i naastoyanyem ottratih moye mladosti zà protomaçiti oui proxuak od Talianskoga yezikà ù nas Haruaatski, Slouijnski yezik".⁸ Counting back 25 years from 1704 one arrives at 1679, the year the preface of the Zagreb ms. was signed (August 2nd, 1679). This 25-year period then has to be understood as the time it took to produce the new, Padua ms., not as the entire period covering his lexicographical activity, which, as we now know, extends further back than the production time of the Zagreb ms.

The preface of the Zagreb ms. starts out with a damaged phrase that is very similar to the one cited above: "Sedam, i uecchie lijt, nè s ... lom ... mladosti za protomaçiti ouij ... nas (haruaatski) slouijnski yezik". Again the question arises whether "seven, and more years" refers to the production time of the manuscript at hand or rather to the entire period covering Tanzlingher's lexicographical activity, i.e. including the production of the preceding Zadar ms. In the first case the Zadar ms. would have been finished by the year 1672, in the latter it would have been started in that year. Allowing some room for speculation one could also include the expression "i uecchie" in the calculation: "sedam" would describe the production time of the Zagreb ms. and "i uecchie" the time it took to complete the Zadar ms. In that case, 1672 would be the year the Zadar ms. was finished.

Projecting the date of 1672 on Tanzlingher's biography, it becomes clear that he started working on his lexicographical project at a very young age. He finished

the Zadar seminary and was ordained a priest in 1674, when he was 23 years old, and in the period between 1674 and 1678 spent some time in Rome and Ancona, mainly for studying purposes (Matić 1953: 254). When he started working on the Zadar ms. he must have been in his early twenties, receiving his basic ecclesiastical education.⁹

Croatian lexicographical sources

The question of Croatian lexicographical sources that were relevant for Tanzlingher has been studied by Matić (1953: 259-262) for the Zagreb ms. In the preface Tanzlingher himself singles out only Habelić (1670) among his predecessors, but Matić established that he must have perused Vrančić (1595) and Mikalja (1649-1651) as well. This is proven by the erroneous Croatian equivalent *Krafft* s.v. Virtù, due to a printing error in Vrančić, and the sequence <ri> for rendering vocalic *r* in a limited number of lexemes, e.g. *Turriġiaua* (i.e. *tvrdava*) s.v. Fortezza, *Kritiča* (i.e. *krtica*) s.v. Talpa, although normally Tanzlingher uses the sequence *ar*, e.g. *Varlo*, *Cuarsto* s.v. Fortemente immediately following [sic!] upon Fortezza. The sequence <rri>, however, is a typical trait of Mikalja's.

Almost exactly the same lexemes that point to Vrančić and Mikalja are also present in the Zadar ms. The complete list is:

Virtù, uirtude | Vmichstuo Mudrost (Kripost), (Kraft) | Virtus, tis
 (Bagatella | Drinçica | Res minima. Nugæ.)
 (Capelluta uccello | Srinadica | Alauda, æ.)
 (Capra saluatica | Srinna (Sarna) | Caprea, eæ.)
 Fortezza, cittadella | (Turriçiaua) Gradaç (Turriġia) | Castellum
 Talpa, topo | (Kartiça), (Krittiça) | Talpa, pæ.

All these citations appear in the form of insertions, making it look as if Tanzlingher took notice of these works some time after he started writing the first version of his dictionary.

As regards Habelić (1670) the situation is somewhat different. In the Zagreb ms. Matić identified 23 Croatian lexemes of Slavonic origin¹⁰ that Tanzlingher must have found in exactly that source, mainly because they show a typically

Kajkavian form or betray difficulties Tanzlingher had when adapting Habelić's orthography to his own. Out of these only two are also present in the Zadar ms.:

Zadar: (Nausea | (Kemer) (Burtanye) | Nausea, æ)

Zagreb: Nausea | (Prigruschienie) Kemer. Ghnusc. Burla (Seluça) (Ghnusobà) | Nausea, eæ.

Zadar: Sarto, sartore | Suittar (Krayak) | Sarto, oris.

Zagreb: Sarto, sartore | Suittar. Krayak. (Sostar) Kroyak | Sarto, oris.

Both *Kemer* (Habelić: *Chemer*, i.e. *čemer*) and *Krayak* (Habelić: *Krajach*, i.e. *krajac̆*), again inserted translations in Zadar, betray the same orthographical incomprehension that was already found in the Zagreb ms. by Matić.¹¹

This marked difference between Zadar and Zagreb in the proportion of Croatian lexemes traceable to Habelić requires a closer look at the Zagreb ms. It appears that in that manuscript, apart from the two already present in Zadar, all of them are the result of insertions.¹² Some examples:

(Aromati | Zakin | Aromata)

Posseditore | Obuladauaç. Possidouny (Ladauaç) (Posuoitegl) | Possessor.

Sentiero | Staza (Drum). (Zteza). (Staz). (Stagna) | Trames, tis. Semita, tæ.

Cf. Habelić *Záchin*, *Ladavec̆z*, *Zteza*.

The same holds true for a series of 22 German loans that, according to Matić, likewise must have had Habelić as their source. None of these appear in the Zadar ms., and all of them are insertions in the Zagreb ms.:

Empiastro | (Flaster) Implastar (Pripetka) (Nalijp) | Emplastrum, i.

Lametta | Plaziça (Latua). (Pleh) | Lamella, læ. (Lamina, æ)

(Quadrante | Fertaly | Quadrans)

Cf. Habelić *Flaster*, *Pleh*, *Fertaly*.

A reconstruction of the treatment of Habelić by Tanzlingher would go along the following lines: toward the end of his interaction with the Zadar ms. Tanzlingher became acquainted with this source and inserted a few lexemes taken from there.

Then he started his second manuscript and only after completing it he returned to Habledić and excerpted it more thoroughly, resulting in the insertions in the Zagreb ms.

This reconstructed chain of events is somewhat surprising, as in the Zagreb introduction Habledić receives special mention, unlike Vrančić and Mikalja. It appears that this part of the introduction either was rather theoretical or was only written after the insertions taken from Habledić were carried out.

Conclusion

The Zadar ms. contains the very first version of Tanzlingher's dictionary, on which he started working in his early twenties. He had selected a list of Italian headwords, together with Latin equivalents, for which he then strove to find Croatian equivalents. He already used Croatian lexicographical sources at that point, notably Vrančić (1595) and Mikalja (1649-1651), to a lesser extent also Habledić (1670). His knowledge of Croatian must have been less than perfect when he embarked on his endeavour, as is testified by a series of defective entries and some awkward or simply erroneous solutions.

The Zagreb ms. was produced using the Zadar ms. as the exemplar, of which the Zagreb ms. is a direct descendant (apograph). However, whereas in its initial form, i.e. without the numerous insertions, the macrostructure and the Italian and Latin sections of the entries in the Zagreb ms. show only a modest level of variation, the Croatian section was thoroughly reworked, eliminating a series of real and perceived imperfections in the exemplar and adding further Croatian equivalents. This approach reveals a rather critical attitude of Tanzlingher's toward his first lexicographical product.

Notwithstanding its imperfections, the Zadar version should not be neglected in Croatian historical lexicography, as it may still contain lexemes that are not present in the Zagreb or even the Padua and London versions.

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Notes

- 1 These two points of similarity were already noted by Vajs Vinja (2011: 228).
- 2 Vajs Vinja (2011: 248) assumes that the Zadar ms. was produced before the Padua and London mss., but refrains from putting it in a temporal relation with the Zagreb ms.
- 3 Strings between parentheses indicate insertions in the manuscript text. This mostly applies to single translations and parts thereof, but may also apply to an entire entry. Strings between square brackets have been supplied by the editor during the transcription process.
- 4 By itself *yanye* would mean 'lamb', but that is pure coincidence.
- 5 The error *Drossed* did in fact survive further transcriptions, cf. *Drossed* s.v. Feccia in the Padua ms.
- 6 Indeed, the entries contained in the four missing pages in the Zadar ms. (v. Introduction) could theoretically be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence on the basis of the main dictionary text of Zagreb, at least, as regards their Italian and Latin sections.
- 7 Out of these three entries still lacking a Croatian translation in Zagreb, only one returns in the Padua ms., albeit in somewhat altered form:
Zeoaria, santonico, assenzo marino, zodoaria; vedi Santonico; vedi Zodoaria.
The reference to Zodoaria is void, but s.v. Santonico one can finally find a Croatian translation: Santonico (erba), santonino, assenzio marino | Morski pelijn. Morski pelinak. Samenak. | Semen sanctum. Linae. Sementina suetonica.
- 8 The neologism *proxuak* occurs in the dictionary text itself s.v. Vocabolario, written as <Prozuak>, and is probably derived from *prozvati nekoga* 'to give somebody a name'.
- 9 This coincides well with the rather naïve set-up and execution of the Zadar version, as if a pupil prepared an exercise-book, copying the Italian and Latin sections, and then set out to fulfill his duty, overzealously translating some semantic specifications and leaving blanks where he was left without a clue.
- 10 For a 24th lexeme, *prioblīci* (Matić 1953: 261), nothing could be found in Habledić.
- 11 Like *Drossed*, also this error returns as such in the Padua ms. s.v. Sarto: *Krayaak*, *Kroyaak*, but now alongside the correct forms *Krayaaç*, *Kroyaaç*.
- 12 Matić (1953) did not distinguish between inserted and non-inserted material.

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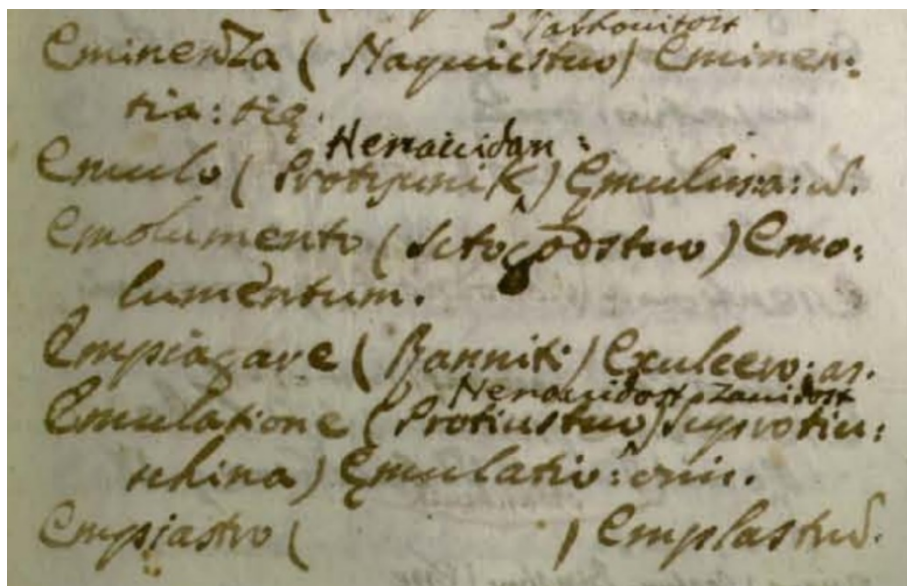
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ILLUSTRATIONS

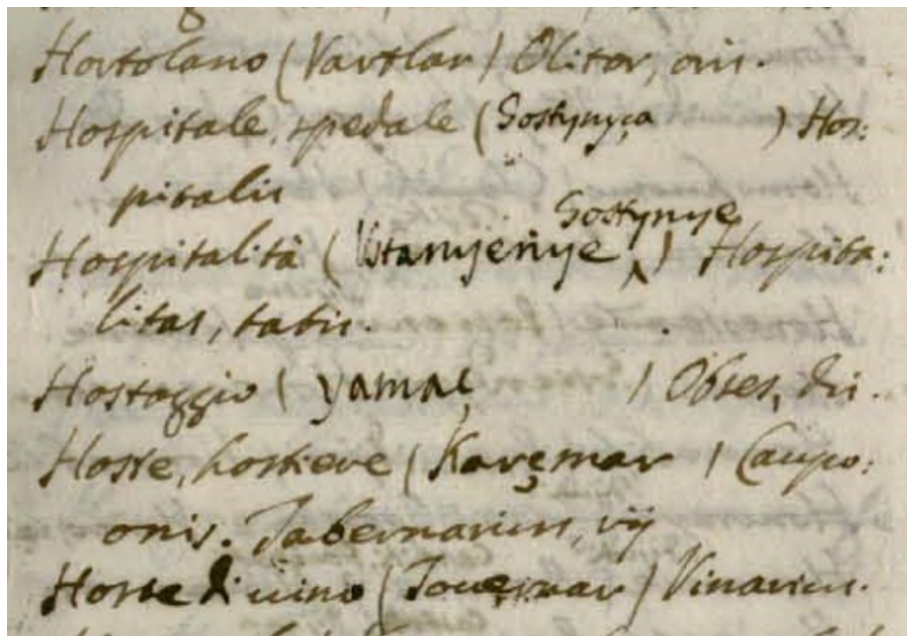
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Example of an empty Croatian section s.v. *Empiastro*.



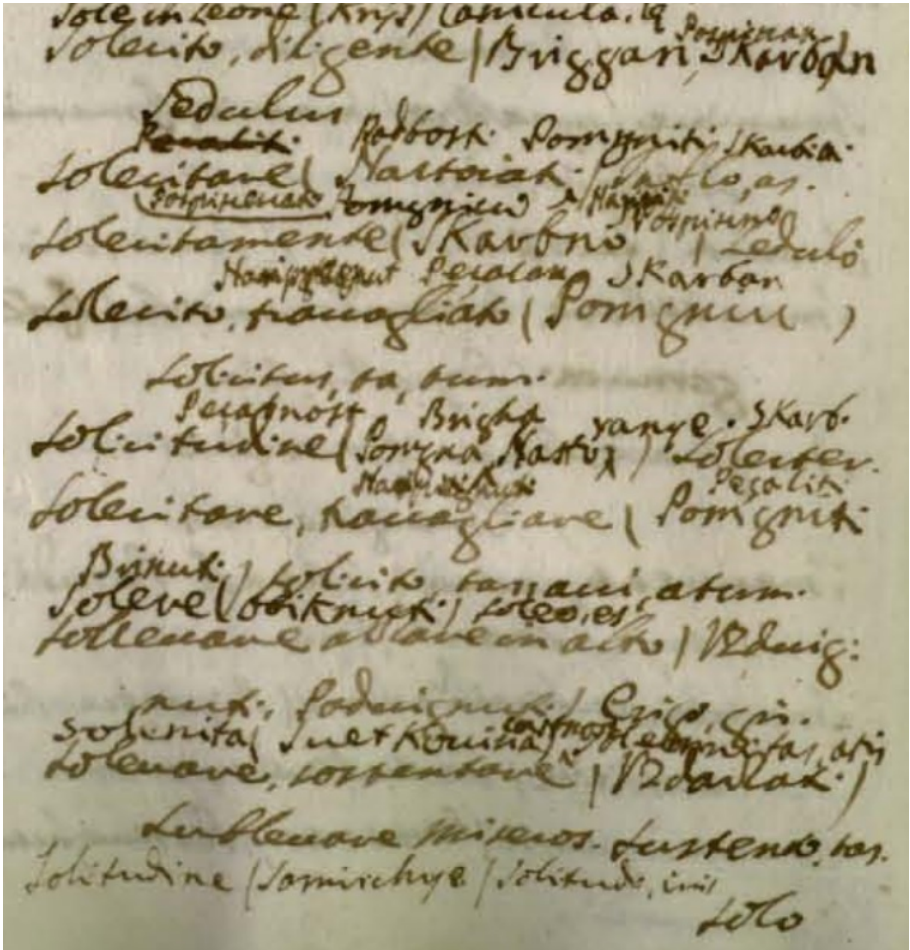
Zadar ms. f. 60^{ra}; *Eminenza* – *Empiastro*

Example of partly empty Croatian sections s.v. *Hospitale*, *Hostaggio* and *Hoste*.



Zadar ms. f. 75^{va}; *Hortolano* – *Hoste di uino*

Example of cramped Croatian section s.v. *Solecitudine* and examples of inserted entries (*Solere*, *Solenita* and *Solitudine*).



Zadar ms. f. 132^{vb}; *Solecito* – *Solitudine*

METODOLOŠKI IZAZOVI SUVREMENIH ISTRAŽIVANJA POVIJESNE SINTAKSE HRVATSKOGA JEZIKA¹

Diana Stolac & Anastazija Vlastelić

1 Jezik u evoluciji – evolucija u jeziku

Jezik je, kao univerzalna sastavnica ljudskoga društva (Parsons 1991), podložan evoluciji u onoj mjeri u kojoj se mijenja i jezična zajednica.²

„Language change is observed when a generation of speakers produces linguistic expressions that differ from those of previous generations, either in form or in distribution. Language change is explained when its causal forces are identified and their interactions are made clear.“ (Yang 2000: 231)

Dva su temeljna uzroka jezičnih promjena. Prvi je MOGUĆNOST UČENJA (engl. ‘learnability’), odnosno činjenica da nova generacija („djeca“) jezik uče primarno od starije generacije („roditelja“), pri čemu svoja jezična znanja mijenjaju i obogaćuju tijekom života. Ipak, jezik koji će nova generacija prenijeti svojoj „djeci“ nije isti kao ona koji su oni naslijedili od svojih „roditelja“ (Andersen 1973, Bertolo 2001).

Na drugi važan uzrok jezičnih promjena upućuju posljednjih pedesetak godina sljedbenici generativne i njoj srodnih jezičnih teorija. Ukratko, UNIVERZALNA se GRAMATIKA (engl. ‘universal grammar; UG’), dio ljudskoga biološkoga miraza, sastoji od pravila i ograničenja koja su u interakciji s beskonačnim proizvoljnim načinima konstruiranja, ali i razumijevanja rečenica materinskoga jezika. Dakle, usvajanje jezika, a time i promjene jezika uvjetovane su i unutarnjim i vanjskim čimbenicima; unutarnje znanje UG određuje prostor jezika koji dijete može postići, a vanjska jezična iskustva, ona u životnom okruženju, određuju koji će jezik dijete doista usvojiti. Odgovor na pitanje koji su to uvjeti koji „održavaju jezik na životu“, odnosno koji su to uvjeti pod kojima neće doći do promjene u

jeziku, leži u intuitivnoj težnji same jezične zajednice – korjenite i velike promjene u jeziku onemogućile bi komunikaciju među članovima iste jezične zajednice, čime bi bio narušen i njezin opstanak (Lightfoot 1999).

Zadržimo li se na promjenama u jeziku, ostaje otvoreno pitanje zbog čega su znanja o jeziku među generacijama različita.³ Razumna je pretpostavka da je biološko naslijeđe UG nepromijenjeno od generacije do generacije, pa se nameće zaključak da uzrok nepodudarnosti dviju generacija govornika leži u jezičnom dokazu: generacije n i $n+1$ izložene su dovoljno različitim jezičnim dokazima da kao rezultat tvore različita znanja o jeziku. A razlozi koji dovode kako do različitih znanja o jeziku, tako i do promjena na pojedinim jezičnim razinama, idalje su predmet brojnih raznorodnih istraživanja.⁴

2 Suvremeni radovi iz povijesne sintakse anglo-američkih lingvista

Iako su promjene u sintaksi važan dio POREDBENE LINGVISTIKE (engl. ‘comparativ linguistics’)⁵ i nedvojbeno je da je u posljednjih 30-ak godina broj istraživanja i radova na tu temu u porastu, činjenica je da je ostalo još mnogo neodgovorenih pitanja o metodologiji istraživanja POVIJESNE/DIJAKRONIJSKE SINTAKSE (engl. ‘historical syntax, diachronic syntax’). Opravdana je i određena bojazan o nemogućnosti uspostavljanja jedinstvene metodologije s obzirom na nezanemarive razlike u shvaćanju same povijesne sintakse, odnosno utvrđivanja predmeta njezina interesa.⁶

Dio metodoloških problema zasigurno proizlazi i iz različitih značenja koja ova sintagma pokriva, pa njezine interpretacije uključuju tumačenja da povijesna sintaksa:

- a. proučava sintaksu u ranijim razdobljima jezičnoga razvoja
- b. opisuje sintaktičke mijene u različitim fazama jezičnoga razvoja
- c. odgovara na pitanje zašto je uopće došlo do određene promjene na razini sintakse (Fanego 1994: 13).

Od 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća naovamo većina je radova na temu povijesne sintakse bila trojaka:

1. radovi na temu određenih promjena u konkretnom jeziku

2. istraživanja posebnih tipova promjena (npr. red riječi, sintaksa padeža)
3. „iskorištavanje“ rezultata formalnoga pristupa izučavanju neke povijesnojezične implikacije nerijetko s primarnim ciljem potvrđivanja neke sintaktičke teorije prije no stvarnoga prinosa istraživanju jezičnih mijena (Harris-Campbell 1995: 1).

Jedan od razloga daleko slabijoj istraženosti promjena u sintaksi u odnosu na ostale jezične razine leži i u tijesnoj vezi sintakse i semantike. Naime, nedvojbeno je da se u sintaksi, a tako i u promjenama na sintaktičkoj razini, potvrđuje određena „napetost“ između semantičke neodređenosti i samoga gramatičkoga sustava.

S obzirom na rečeno, suvremena se povijesnosintaktička istraživanja kako u svijetu, tako i u nas mahom zadržavaju na traženju podudarnih gramatičkih parametara u tekstovima uspoređivanih jezika ili jezičnih varijanata (Kroch 1999).⁷

Dakako, ovdje se otvara i problem korpusa istraživanja povijesne sintakse koji se mora temeljiti na „načelu sveobuhvatnosti u jezičnom i žanrovsko-tematskom smislu“ (Grković-Mejdžor 2007: 14) jer je bez sinkronijske sintakse teško utvrditi što se, i je li se uopće, promijenilo te kako je i zašto došlo do promjene.⁸

Tradicionalna je lingvistika, pa time i povijesna lingvistika, nešto veću pozornost pridavala fonologiji i morfologiji. Premda začetke povijesne sintakse npr. engleskoga jezika nalazimo već sredinom 19. stoljeća (Rydén 1979), njezin se značajniji razvoj veže uz američki strukturalizam te generativizam.⁹

Sažmu li se pak lingvistički pristupi druge polovice 20. stoljeća, uočavamo da se oni temelje na razlikovanju pojava koje su rezultat izvanjezičnih razloga (ponajprije društveno-političkoga okruženja u kojemu je jezik bivao) od onih koje su unutarjezične prirode, odnosno rezultat individualnih bioloških promjena govornika (Lightfoot 2013: e27).¹⁰

Budući da je jezik ključna sastavnica svake zajednice, uključivanje društvene komponente u lingvistička istraživanja očekivan je pravac za istraživanje jezičnih mijena. Uz teorije koje se temelje na sociolingvističkim parametrima, važnu ulogu

u suvremenim anglo-američkim istraživanjima dijakronijske sintakse imaju i teorije gramatikalizacije.

2.1 Sociolingvistika i povijesna sintaksa

Sve sociolingvističke škole i pravci „pri opisu jezika u obzir uzimaju aspekte djelovanja i [...] pokazuju da zajednice govornika ne rabe homogeni ‘jezik’, nego više sociokulturno determiniranih, jezičnih (uporabnih) oblika ili varijeteta koji se na različitim jezičnim razinama međusobno razlikuju“ (Halwachs 2001: 199). Drugim riječima, neovisno o jezičnoj razini koju proučavaju, sociolingvistička se istraživanja temelje na korpusu, koji, kako smo rekli, za relevantan povijesnosintaktički opis mora biti reprezentativan i u dijakronijskom i sinkronijskom smislu. Pomoć su u tom smislu brojne baze tekstova, no uzmemo li u obzir kompleksnost sintakse kao jezične razine, otvorenim ostaje i pitanje „relevantnoga“ korpusa.

Drugi je izazov koji se nameće pred sociolingviste sintaktičare pitanje VARIJANTE. Najčešća definicija sintaktičke varijante jest ona koja ju definira kao sintaktičku konstrukciju koja se može razlikovati na planu izraza (gramatičke, stilske, pragmatične razlike), ali ne i na planu sadržaja (kognitivne razlike) te mora pripadati istom semantičkom polju (Rydén 1979; Jacobson 1989). Što se povijesnosintaktičke analize tiče, teorija varijanata ovdje počiva na popisu i opisu promjena u distribuciji varijantnih obrazaca koji čine određenu sintaktičku paradigmu (Fanego 1994) nezaobilazeći pritom pokušati odgovoriti na pitanje koji su to čimbenici koji kontroliraju pojavu varijanti.

Premda je sociolingvistika dala neke odgovore u vezi s ovim KONTROLORIMA (usp. npr. Weinreich, Labov i Herzog (1968)), idalje ostaje neodgovoreno pitanje jesu li jezici generalno stabilni ili nestabilni po prirodi, neovisno o izvanjezičnim utjecajima (Croh 2000).

Suvremene teorije i pravci u lingvistici idalje se bave pitanjem unutarjezičnih i izvanjezičnih kontrolora, njihovim međusobnim utjecajem na jezične promjene, ali i ulogom jezika u njihovu nastanku.

2.2 Gramatikalizacija i povijesna sintaksa

Premda svoje začetke nalazi u strukturalističkoj školi s početka 20. st., teorija gramatikalizacije danas je jedna od najšire prihvaćenih teorija jezičnih promjena, a njezin je utjecaj posebno uočljiv u povijesnojezičnim radovima iz engleskoga i romanskih jezika. Kako je poznato, „glavni je zadatak teorije gramatikalizacije objasniti zašto su gramatički oblici i konstrukcije strukturirani na način na koji jesu“, pri čemu je specifičan *kontekst* „u procesu gramatikalizacije ključni faktor za oblikovanje strukture gramatičkih oblika.“ (Bučar 2009: 186).

Suvremeni predstavnici ove teorije (usp. npr. Hopper-Traugott 1993) razlikuju gramatikalizacijske promjene na sinkronijskoj i na dijakronijskoj razini, pri čemu se one na sinkronijskoj mahom tiču prelaska leksičke jedinice u gramatičku, dok je u dijakroniji riječ o diskursno-pragmatičkoj pojavi, koja se očituje kao prelazak jedne strukture u drugu.

Nemali je broj radova iz povijesne sintakse čija se analiza temelji na teoriji gramatikalizacije, no idalje ne postoji jednoznačan odgovor na pitanje koji su to uvjeti pod kojima uopće dolazi do gramatikalizacije, kao ni pitanje opsega „to which the semantics of a lexical item prior to its grammaticalisation determines the specific kind of grammaticalization process that that item can undergo.“ (Fanego 1994: 22)¹¹

Kao prilog odgovoru na ova pitanja idu i suvremena istraživanja (usp. npr. Hopper 1991) koja polaze od činjenice da određene negramatikalizirane („starije“) i gramatikalizirane („novije“) konstrukcije supostoje u određenom vremenskom razdoblju te je moguće (neophodno?) u cjelovito istraživanje sintaktičkih promjena uključiti i sociolingvistički pristup.

3 Budućnost istraživanja povijesne sintakse

Tek nekoliko napomena o jeziku kao društvenom i genetskom konstruktumu te o suvremenim teorijskim polazištima za istraživanje povijesne sintakse u anglo-američkih lingvista upućuju na brojne izazove na koje istraživači nailaze. Uzimajući u obzir različite pristupe u povijesnosintaktičkim istraživanjima, Alice Harris i Lyle Campbell (1995) ponudili su moguć okvir za daljnja povijesnosintaktička istraživanja koji se temelji na trima „mehanizmima“

(interaktivnim sustavima) sintaktičkih promjena: 1) *preuzimanje* (engl. ‘reanalysis’), 2) *proširivanje* (engl. ‘extension’) te 3) *posuđivanje* (engl. ‘borrowing’).¹² Uporište svoga modela cjelovite analize Harris i Campbell nalaze u dvadesetak godina poznatom KROSLINGVISTIČKOM PRISTUPU (engl. ‘cross-linguistic theory’), koji svoje pobornike ima ne samo u povijesnoj sintaksi već u lingvistici uopće.¹³

Znanstvene je temelje ovakvoga pristupa postavio David Lightfoot (1991) vjerujući da simultani višedisciplinarni pristup na više jezika vodi „to better explanations for phase transitions and emergent phenomena, drawing linguists, evolutionary biologists, economists, chemists, political scientists, environmentalists, and other scientists together more effectively event than in the remarkable convergence of the late nineteenth century.“ (Lightfoot 2013: 36).

4 Istraživanja povijesne sintakse slavenskih jezika

Predstavili smo suvremena istraživanja povijesne sintakse, od kojih su neka primjenjiva na hrvatski jezik, ali neka nisu zbog usmjerenosti na sintaktičke činjenice i procese koji nisu relevantni za hrvatski jezik, ili čak i nisu dio sintaktičkih struktura hrvatskoga jezika. Potpuno je razumljivo da je različit pristup npr. prijedlogu s jedne strane u anglo-američkoj lingvistici temeljenoj na morfoloiji i sintaksi engleskoga jezika i s druge strane u hrvatskoj i slavenskoj lingvistici, gdje je prijedlog u svezi s padežom i gdje se udvajaju ili delegiraju informacije (prijedlog i gramatički morfem) ili gdje jedan prijedlog ostvaruje vezu s više padeža te time sudjeluje u više različitih sintagmatskih odnosa i višefunkcionalan je. To se odnosi i na pristup redu riječi koji je zbog flektivnosti slobodniji, i sl. Specifičnosti slavenskih jezika kao flektivnih jezika nameću nužnost istraživanja morfosintaktičke razine. U istraživanju povijesnoga razvoja valja izdvojiti zajedničke značajke (npr. sinkretizam genitiv-ablativ) te u analizi utjecaja na razvoj uzeti u obzir povijesne jezične kontakte vidljive u nadgradnji (npr. latinski, njemački...).

Također valja podsjetiti na brojne nepoznanice u povijesnoj sintaksi hrvatskoga jezika zbog čega je nužno u budućnosti usmjeriti se na temeljna sintaktička istraživanja, pa i ona s tradicionalnim pristupima, dok se ne popune

praznine. Poznavanje slavenske dijakronijske sintakse u tome je od izuzetne važnosti.

Premda se može utvrditi da je sintaksa u dijakronijskome smislu manje obuhvaćena istraživanjima od drugih jezičnih razina, to ne znači da u literaturi ne nalazimo već više od stoljeća utvrđene temeljne činjenice.

Malo je radova prije kraja 19. stoljeća (npr. Buslaev 1863), jer je tek kraj 19. stoljeća bilo vrijeme objavljivanja velikih povijesnojezičnih pregleda, u koje je bila, uz druge jezične razine, uključena i povijesna sintaksa. Svakako u tome izdvajamo sveobuhvatni pregled usporedne sintakse slavenskih jezika Franza Miklošiča (1883), koja je, u skladu s mladogramatičarskom teorijom, uključivala i dijakronijski i sinkronijski aspekt. Slijedio je Vondrákov (1908) pregled istoga tipa, također usmjeren sintagmi.

Za hrvatski se jezik u tome vremenu pokazala potreba za utvrđivanje sintaktičkih razlika između hrvatskih narječja, a na temelju detaljnoga dijakronijskoga pregleda, s oprimjerenjima iz starije hrvatske pismenosti (Zima 1887). Premda je taj pregled primjer mladogramatičarskoga popisivanja svih zamijećenih sintaktičkih struktura s izuzetno velikim brojem pojava, te se u tako zasićenu tekstu često gubila misao, Zimina je knjiga i danas nezaobilazna u sintaktičkim jezičnopovijesnim i dijalektološkim istraživanjima.

U 20. su stoljeću uslijedile brojne povijesne gramatike pojedinih slavenskih jezika, s naglaskom na fonološkim i morfološkim promjenama, ali je gotovo u svima sintaksa imala svoje mjesto (Gebauer 1929; Klemensiewicz 1961-1972; Stanislav 1973; Walczak 1999; Rospond 2005...). Teorijska je sintaktička literatura tijekom stoljeća utvrđivala slavenske sintaktičke značajke i razlike između pojedinih slavenskih jezika te otvarala nova područja istraživanja, od onih imanentno povijesosintaktičkih kao što su promjene u sintaksi sjedinjavanjem ablativa i genitiva do onih koje su na prvi pogled suvremene teme, ali se ne mogu objasniti bez dijakronije, kao što je red riječi u rečenici i sl. (npr. Ružička 1959).

Ipak, kada se osvrnemo na teme povijesosintaktičkih istraživanja u 20. stoljeću, možemo utvrditi da je većina istraživanja bila u području morfosintakse te posebice istraživanja padežnoga sustava. Stoga ćemo u ovome dijelu rada dati

kratak pregled tema i radova koji su obilježili zanimanje dijakronijskih sintaktičara.

Padežnim su se sustavom kao teorijskim problemom, ali s oprimjerenjima iz slavenskih jezika, bavili brojni eminentni europski jezikoslovci, od A. W. de Groota (1939) preko Jerzyja Kuryłowicza (1949) i Vladimíra Skaličke (1950) do Romana Jakobsona (1985).

Pogledamo li pojedine slavenske jezike, vidjet ćemo niz nezaobilaznih radova na čelu s detaljnom analizom poljskoga padežnoga sustava Adama Heinza (1965), u kojoj je otvoren niz pitanja koja ni danas nisu odgovorena (npr. može li se lokativom iskazati objekt i sl.). I u drugim je slavenskim jezicima analiziran padežni sustav, a za hrvatski je jezik jedno je od polazišta bilo i sintaktostilističko (Stolac 1996).

Daljnja su istraživanja bila usmjerena pojedinim padežima (npr. Ivić 1954). U tome izdvajamo genitiv kao padež kojemu je u slavenskom jezikoslovlju posvećen najveći broj radova jer je intrigirao sintaktičare zbog najvećega broja sintaktičkih funkcija koje jedan padež može imati. Genitiv je dijakronijski gledano sinkretiziran s ablativom te ima i svoje i njegove funkcije. To znači da može imati i niz adnominalnih i niz adverbálnih funkcija. Primijenimo li to na hrvatski jezik, genitivom se mogu iskazivati sve funkcije osim subjekta.

Relevantna literatura smješta genitiv u indoeuropski padežni sustav (Heinz 1955), donesene su metodologije istraživanja povijesne sintakse jednoga padeža (Hausenblas 1958) i rađene su detaljne analize genitiva u pojedinim jezicima (Feleszko 1970; Stolac 1988). Možemo zastati na maestralnoj knjizi Karela Hausenblasa (1958), koji piše opsežnu studiju o razvoju češkoga genitiva na temelju potvrda iz tekstova kroz nekoliko stoljeća češke pismenosti, i to tekstova različitih stilova, za razliku od dotad uobičajenih potvrda samo iz književnoumjetničkoga stila. Hausenblasova metodološka polazišta uključuju sintaktostilistički pristup, koji će biti vrlo važan za utvrđivanje padežnih odnosa u drugim slavenskim jezicima.

Daljnja su istraživanja bila još uža. Iz bogate povijesti istraživanja slavenske povijesne morfosintakse možemo izdvojiti jednu od posebno intrigantnih tema: partitivni i slavenski genitiv. Premda engleski jezik poznaje naziv *genitiv of*

negation, valja reći da bi izravni prijevod naziva kako ga rabe slavenski jezici bio ‘Slavic genitiv’ (slavenski genitiv), što najbolje govori o tome kako je ta sintaktička pojava važno obilježje slavenskih jezika. Antoine Meillet (1897) utvrdio je i definirao pojavu te istražio razgraničenja uporabe izravnoga objekta u zanijekanim rečenicama, koji u slavenskim jezicima može biti u akuzativu (kao što je i u jesnim rečenicama), ali i u genitivu, bez unošenja semantičke razlike. U skladu s polazišnim pretpostavkama i metodologijom autor je, polazeći od praslavenske sintakse, utvrdio ablativnost kao podlogu slavenskoga genitiva u dijakroniji, a time partitivnost u sinkroniji. Naime, suvremeni je genitiv u slavenskim jezicima objedinio indoeuropska značenja genitiva i ablativa, a upravo je partitivnost ono obilježje ablativa koje je tradirano u suvremenom genitivu.

Anton Breznik (1943) je objavio jednu od prvih analiza ove relevantne sintaktičke pojave u slovenskom jeziku sa sinkronijskoga i dijakronijskoga gledišta (polazeći od starocrkvenoslavenskoga jezika i slovenske pisane književnosti), dajući i djelomičnu usporedbu s drugim slavenskim jezicima. Dok je dio zaključaka slovenistika dobro prihvatila, npr. kada je riječ o nijekanju objekta, dio nije. Izdvaja se Breznikova interpretacija determinacije zanijekanoga imperativa neovisno o aspektu, u kojoj nudi nove poglede u odnosu na Miklošiča (1883). Isto tako smatra se prerigidnim u izboru samo jednoga padeža kod alterniranja objekta u genitivu i akuzativu nakon infinitiva, ovisno o udaljenosti niječnice od objekta.

Kada se promotri kasnija jezikoslovna literatura, vidi se da su i za druge slavenske jezike utvrđena ova mjesta kao relevantna za proučavanje u povijesnoj sintaksi, kako za unutarjezične tako i za komparativne analize (usp. Harrer-Pisarkowa 1959; Gortan-Premk 1962; Menac 1979, 1986; Stolac – Horvat-Vlastelić 2004; Zovko Dinković 2013).

Ulaz u 21. stoljeće i mlada generacija lingvista unijela je u istraživanja povijesne sintakse slavenskih jezika nove pristupe. Mogu se utvrditi: usmjerenost nadrećeničnoj razini i tekstnim analizama, u radovima dijela autora kognitivni pristup, potom primjena generativne gramatike i načela korpusne lingvistike za korištenje oprimjerenja iz korpusa, te pokušaj utvrđivanja jezičnih univerzalnosti u razlikovanju procesa u središtu i periferiji (kao što to posljednjih desetljeća obilježava dijalektološka istraživanja). Ipak, uvid u zbornike radova koji su okupili

respektabilan broj sintaktičara pokazuje da je većina radova i dalje tematski vezana uz sintaktičke probleme uočene još krajem 19. stoljeća, sada preznakovljene, odnosno preimenovane (atribucijski odnosi > NP; rekcijski odnosi > VP, i sl.). Novi pristupi unose novo svjetlo u dosadašnje spoznaje i pokušavaju doći do općih teorijskih zaključaka (Reinkowski 2001; Janyšková – Karlíková 2012), ali valja reći da se poznaje i uvažava tradicionalni pristup i starija literatura.

Između zbornika koji se bave povijesnom sintaksom treba svakako izdvojiti izvrsno izdanje *Diachronic Slavonic Syntax* iz 2010. godine. Što donosi, najbolje u predgovoru opisuju priređivači:

The volume is dedicated to the study of the gradualness of syntactic change in the Slavonic languages. The aim of the book is to give an overview of recent developments in the field of diachronic Slavonic syntax. The focus is on the mechanisms of syntactic change with special reference to intermediary steps and on the question of how these micro-changes can be detected empirically. The book contains works showing applications of new theoretical syntactic models to Slavonic languages on the one hand, and articles presenting recent developments in the field of Historical Corpus Linguistics, on the other. The volume is open to diverging theories of syntactic structure and, therefore, reflects recent developments of functional frameworks like ‘Construction Grammar’ and ‘Grammaticalization Theory’, and also formal models like Generative Grammar. The syntactic structures addressed range from NP internal categories like gender, VP internal ones like analytical auxiliary constructions to the level of the clause (*argument realization, modality, possession, negation*) and, finally to the level of the complex sentence (*gerunds, participles, relative clauses*) (Hansen – Grković-Major 2010).

Između posljednjih zbornika izdajamo i *Die slavischen Sprachen* iz 2014. godine. U poglavlju Historische Syntax der slavischen Sprachen/Syntax of the Slavic Languages uvodni je tekst Alana Timberlakea ‘Goals, Tasks, and Lessons of Historical Syntax’, koji otvara niz tema, posebice one vezane uz sintaktičke zavisnosti i posljedice jezičnih kontakata i kulturnoga kruga. Izvrsno zaključuje da povijesnu sintaksu valja promatrati između inercije i inovacije. Otvorenost prema sociolingvističkim pristupima novina je u dosadašnjem vrlo često uskogramatičkom pristupu.

Timberlake zaključuje: "Much of the relevant research has not been done" (Gutschmidt et al. 2014: 1667), te dalje dodaje: "All these matters involving syntax – definition of varieties, the relationship of speech to writing, their role in standardization and in language ideology – deserve more attention." (Gutschmidt et al. 2014: 1668).

Ostali se radovi bave rečenicom, što je veliki pomak od dosadašnjega najčešćeg bavljenja sintagmama i sintagmatskim odnosima u rečenici, a svakako upućujemo na vrlo bogat popis literature.

5 Zadaci dijakronijske sintakse

Usmjerimo se sada zadacima koji stoje pred istraživačima povijesne sintakse hrvatskoga jezika.

Ograničenja zasigurno postoje u temama i metodama kako voditi istraživanja u situaciji kada znamo da je za hrvatski jezik ipak napravljeno premalo opisa i analiza da bismo mogli govoriti o potpunim slikama razvoja.

U posljednjem je stoljeću napravljen velik pomak u poimanju sintakse, prijeđen je put od miješanja jezičnih razina (sintaksa/morfologija/morfosintaksa), uključujući i pripadajuće hibridno (gotovo kaotično) nazivlje (atribut/pridjev/epitet), do jasnoga emancipiranja sintaktičke razine.

Prijeđen je put od spoznaje da je temeljna sintaktička jedinica sintagma prema rečenici te se pomiče prema tekstu.

Put kojim su sintaktičari prošli velik je i učinjeno je mnogo, ali nedovoljno da bismo mogli očekivati da sadašnji istraživači zaokruže spoznaje ili da se usmjere nekoj od brojnih modernih teorija dijakronijske sintakse navedenih u prvome dijelu rada. Stoga se treba opredijeliti za neku metodologiju istraživanja koja će donijeti rezultate, pa makar oni bili parcijalni i na razini izbora te više odgovarali donošenju sintaktičkih napomena nego cjelovitih zaključaka.

Postupci su predloženi na projektu MZOS-a *Povijest hrvatske sintakse* (Stolac – Holjevac 2003; Stolac 2004, 2008). Mogućnost istraživanja vidi se u tri pravca:

1. analiza sintaktičkih opisa u hrvatskim gramatikama;
2. analiza sintakse tekstova pisanih hrvatskim književnim jezikom od Bašćanske ploče do danas;

3. analiza sintaktičkih značajki hrvatskoga jezika, uključujući i sintaksu hrvatskoga književnog jezika i hrvatskih dijalekata.

Ovdje samo upućujemo na neke u literaturi elaborirane postupke koji izlaze iz okvira ovoga članka (npr. sastavljanje relevantnoga popisa gramatika hrvatskoga jezika, ili utvrđivanja razlika u odnosu na izabrani književnojezični model, usp. Stolac 2004: 32-38).

Za prvi pravac istraživanja ovdje izdvajamo pouzdanost sintaktičkih opisa u starijim hrvatskim gramatikama. Odnosi se to i na autorske pogreške, ali i na pogreške u izvornicima kojima su se naši stari gramatičari služili. U prvoj hrvatskoj tiskanoj gramatici nalazimo oboje. Bartol Kašić ne razlikuje akuzativ jednine imenica muškoga roda za neživo od nominativa, pa nalazimo primjer u jednom sintaktičkom pravilu s objektom u nominativu (Kašić 1604: 374), odnosno na drugom mjestu opisuje nominativ s prijedlogom (Kašić 1604: 358), dok od Alvareza prepisuje pogrešku da se imenica slaže s pridjevom u rodu, broju i padežu, umjesto obrnuto (Kašić 1604: 372).

Kada riješimo taj dio nepouzdanosti, valja prionuti sljedećem koraku. Naime, nužno je preznakoviti, odnosno prekodirati podatke i nazive koje nalazimo u gramatikama u skladu sa suvremenim sintaktičkim pojmovima. To je obvezan uvjet jer ih se tek nakon toga može uspoređivati i međusobno i sa suvremenim sintaktičkim opisima hrvatskoga jezika. Primjeri koji to potvrđuju različiti su nazivi za istu sintaktičku pojavu, npr. subjekt (*imenica – subjekt – nominativ*), predikat (*glagol – predikat*) ili atribut (*pridjev – epitet – atribut*) i sl. (usp. Vlastelić 2012). Također se ne razlikuju odnosi zavisnosti imenica i glagola, pa su na isti način opisani rekcijски odnosi predikatnoga glagola i objekta te glagola i priložne oznake. A priložna je oznaka pak poseban problem ako je iskazana prilogom jer se ne razlikuju morfološka i sintaktička funkcija. Zapravo, valja imati na umu da je u starijim hrvatskim gramatikama primarno opisivana morfologija, u koju je unesen niz morfosintaktičkih informacija (ne nužno u poglavljima koja su označena kao sintaktička), dok je do opisa rečenice trebalo pričekati do druge polovice 19. stoljeća. Jasno metodološko razdvajanje jezičnih razina u današnjem smislu nije im bilo svojstveno, premda i latinska i grčka gramatika na koju se naslanjaju imaju

pojam o odvojenim razinama: morfološkoj i sintaktičkoj. Dapače, razlikovanje je toliko jasno da morfologija pripada primarnoj razini poznavanja jezika, a sintaksa tek višoj razini.

Iz svega navedenoga potpuno je razvidno da valja postupno prema utvrđenim koracima pristupiti analizi, poznajući i uvažavajući nazivoslovni sustav svakoga pojedinoga gramatičara, jer je u protivnome rezultat kaotičan.

Uz ovo se može otvoriti i tema normativnosti jer taj pojam nije isti u vremenu pisanja ovih gramatika i u našem vremenu. Sve su gramatike hrvatskoga jezika do pred kraj 19. stoljeća opisne i nemaju kodifikacijsku snagu. Stoga uspoređivanje s opisima u suvremenim gramatikama treba obaviti s velikom pomnjom.

Ovako predstavljen model istraživanja dodatno se usložnjava činjenicom da su autori gramatika bili mahom pripadnici raznih crkvenih redova, a istraživanja su pokazala određene različitosti u pristupu jezičnome opisu isusovačkih i franjevačkih gramatičara, pa i te činjenice valja imati na umu.

Na temelju provedenih analiza starijega korpusa hrvatskih gramatika može se zaokružiti postojeća znanja o hrvatskoj sintaksi, ali je to samo prva faza.

Sljedeća, druga faza, predviđa analizu sintakse tekstova pisanih hrvatskim književnim jezikom od Bašćanske ploče do danas. Tek udružene, one nude spoznaje o hrvatskoj dijakronijskoj sintaksi.

A ovdje valja i odrediti bar neke temeljne tekstove koje se ne bi smjelo zaobići u analizi. Metodološki je opravdano sintaktičke analize raditi na proznim i dramskim tekstovima, a kada to bude obrađeno, može se uključiti i stihovana baština, uza sav oprez zbog mogućega utjecaja versifikacije na autorov sintaktički odabir.

Inicijalno su provedene neke analize na kajkavskoj komediografiji (Stolac 1988; 1996), koje su uključile i sintaktostilistički pristup (za metodologiju istraživanja sintaktolingvistike usp. Stolac 2008). U okviru znanstvenoga projekta "Povijest hrvatske sintakse", koji je bio dio znanstvenoga programa "Književnojezična i glazbena baština hrvatskih franjevac", obrađeni su brojni tekstovi hrvatskih franjevaca između 17. i 19. stoljeća. Time su ostvareni uži ciljevi (prilog prikazu uporabe u franjevačkoj prozi), ali i širi (prikaz dijela povijesti sintakse hrvatskoga jezika).

Sociolingvistički se pristup polako, ali sigurno uključuje u dijakronijska istraživanja (npr. Schubert 2016).

Starija hrvatska pismenost bogata je tekstovima, dio njih je obrađen sa sintaktičkoga polazišta, ali je ostalo puno posla pred novom generacijom istraživača.

Ali, tek udružena s trećim pravcem ova će istraživanja dati cjelovite rezultate. A treći je pravac istraživanja usmjeren analizi sintaktičkih značajki hrvatskoga jezika, što uključuje i sintaksu hrvatskoga književnog jezika i hrvatskih dijalekata. Metodološka su načela razrađena i ponuđena 2003. godine (Stolac – Holjevac 2003), a dijalektolozi su ih otada dopunjavali svojim spoznajama.

Dijalektolozi su u prvoj fazi donosili prvenstveno fonološke opise, koje su potom proširili morfološkim, a valja reći da u posljednjim desetljećima u njihovim radovima svoje zaslužno mjesto nalazi i sintaksa.

Dvoje je nizozemskih dijalektologa svojim novim i drukčijim pristupima dijalektološkim opisima dalo veliki doprinos hrvatskoj dijalektologiji, posebice čakavologiji: Peter Hubrecht Houtzagers 1985. godine istraživanjima govora mjesta Orlec na Cresu, a Janneke Kalsbeek 1998. istraživanjima govora mjesta Orbanići kod Žminja u Istri.

U radovima hrvatskih dijalektologa sve se više obuhvaća sintaktička razina (npr. Vranić 2003, Zubčić 2007, i drugi).

6 Umjesto zaključka

Razvidno je da su pred jezikoslovcima mnogi zadaci i da se radi o zahtjevima za opsežna timska istraživanja. Pokriti toliko neopisanih sintaktičkih odnosa i primjena bez timskoga istraživačkoga rada neostarivo je, ili je ostvarivo u znatno dužem razdoblju od timskih projektnih istraživačkih sinergija.

Koji će se od suvremenih pravaca istraživanja izabrati, ovisi o odlukama istraživača, koji se mogu uključiti u suvremene svjetske trendove, ili će nastaviti nešto klasičnija dijakronijska istraživanja koja se sada provode. U svakom slučaju, oba pristupa proučavanja dijakronijske sintakse otvorena su uključivanju sociolingvistike.

Bilješke

- 1 Rad je rezultat istraživanja kojemu je Sveučilište u Rijeci dodijelilo potporu br. 13.04.1.2.03.
 - 2 „Sve što ima oblik podložno je promjeni. Zato je razumljivo da se i jezik mijenja. Jezik se mijenja kada se bar jedna njegova jedinica, pod određenim uvjetima, preoblikuje, a to preoblikovanje ne utječe na sadržaj poruke.“ (Moguš 1995: 9)
 - 3 Ostaje činjenica da se ni biheviorističke ni nativističke teorije nisu podrobnije razmatrale pitanja povezanosti jezika s ostalim vidovima kognicije (učenjem, pamćenjem, mišljenjem, rasuđivanjem itd.) (Geld 2006: 184).
 - 4 „Migration of foreign speakers may introduce novel expressions that were previously unseen; linguistic innovation may modify the linguistic evidence for the next generation of learners; or social and cultural factors may influence the distributional patterns of linguistic expressions used in a population. These are interesting topics of research and are an integral part of a complete explanation of language change.“ (Yang 2002: 373)
 - 5 „Comparative and historical linguistics are often treated as a single discipline, although they actually differ considerably with respect to their goals and methods. Comparative linguistics is the scientific study of language from a comparative point of view, which means that it is involved in comparing and classifying languages.“ (Matasović 2009: 1)
 - 6 „Historical linguistics deals with HOW languages change, but the descriptive work has often been complemented by questions of explanation, practitioners frequently asking the WHY questions.“ (Lightfoot 2013: e18)
 - 7 „Istraživanje hrvatske povijesne sintakse, bilo da se sintaksi pristupa cjelovito ili da se odvoji jedna sintaktička kategorija, danas se najčešće provodi u trima smjerovima: I. analiziraju se sintaktički opisi u hrvatskim gramatikama, II. analizira se sintaksa tekstova pisanih hrvatskim književnim jezikom od prvih zapisa na hrvatskome jeziku do, uvjetno rečeno, danas i III. analiziraju se sintaktičke značajke hrvatskoga jezika, što uključuje i sintaksu hrvatskoga književnoga jezika i hrvatskih dijalekata.“ (Stolac 2004: 31-32).
 - 8 „On the diachronic dimension, the corpus must contain records dating from the various stages of the language, so as to adequately reflect language development through time. From a synchronic point of view, the corpus must include writings reflecting, as closely as possible, both the social and textual variables existing at any given period.“ (Fanego 1994: 16).
 - 9 „American structuralism essentially translated their two theses about historical change into principles for synchronic analyses, whereby abstractions were limited to surface, phonetic factors. Generative work deepened abstractions, however, and that had consequences for work on change [...] and people began to think in terms of grammar change, change in an abstract system.“ (Lightfoot 2013: 27).
- Nažalost, često se zaboravljaju i dosezi mladogramatičara (engl. *neogrammatarians*), posebno u morfosintaksi.
- 10 Tako npr. zaključak preliminarnoga istraživanja Charlesa D. Yanga o gubitku određene sintaktičke strukture (konkretno mjestu finitnog glagola u rečenici, tzv. *verb-second*, V2) u starofrancuskom i staroengleskom na temelju dostupnih tekstova ide u prilog ključnih uloga upravo ovih dvaju lingvističkih konstrukata (Yang 2000).
 - 11 Ipak, neka istraživanja upućuju na to da proces gramatikalizacije ide od pojave neke strukture u pisanom jeziku, zatim u govorenom, a na kraju postaje dijelom oprećeprihvaćenoga gramatičkoga uzusa (Fanego 1994).
 - 12 „Reanalysis is a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of syntactic pattern and which does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation. We understand underlying structure in this sense to include at least (i) constituency, (ii) hierarchical structure, (iii) category labels, and (iv) grammatical relations. Surface manifestation includes (i) morphological marking,

such as morphological case, agreement, and gender-class, and (ii) word order. [...] Extension is a mechanism which results in changes in the surface manifestation of a pattern and which does not involve immediate or intrinsic modification of the underlying structure. [...] By language contact, we mean a situation in which the speakers of one language are familiar in some way with another. [...] We use the term borrowing to mean a mechanism of change in which a replication of the syntactic pattern is incorporated into the borrowing language through the influence of a host pattern found in a contact language.“ (Harris-Campbell 1995: 50-51).

13 „This method may be termed Intersystematic Comparison. ‘Intersystematic’ should be understood as denoting a number of ideas simultaneously. The ‘comparison’ is among languages cross-linguistically. At the same time, ‘intersystematic’ refers to the (sub)systems involved in broad categories of change. [...] Finally, it refers to the fact that we must take into consideration all styles and registers of language – literary language, oral literature, conversation, and others.“ (Harris-Campbell 1995: 9).

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TWOFOLD TRANSMISSION

William R. Veder

*Grattez le cyrillique
et vous trouverez le glagolitique.
(not Joseph de Maistre)*

What causes Slavonic texts to vary in transmission, and what determines the amplitude of their variation? The search for an answer to this question leads me to adopt a text-centred approach to the manuscript witnesses, which in turn allows me to offer to Janneke three Serbian witnesses to texts hitherto known only in Russian copies.

1 *Scete Patericon*

The *Scete Patericon*, the 9th century Slavonic translation of the *Systematic* collection of *Apophthegmata patrum* (below siglum *p*), was subjected to an invasive edition, made in Ohrid in the 10th century (below siglum *c*).¹ I take the single apophthegm 4:71² and present it in a collation of five copies:

W² Beograd NBS Peć 86 (1200–1300), f. 19v, descr. Jovanović 1974.

C¹ Moskva GIM Čudov 18 (1350–1400), f. 22c, descr. Ščepkina 1965.

C² Moskva RGB F.304 nr. 703 (1350–1450), f. 57–57v, descr. Ilarij–Arsenij 1879: 82.

C³ Moskva NBMGU 1310/I (1400–1500), f.27v, descr. Konjuxova 1964: 21.

C⁴ Moskva RGB F.304 nr. 37 (1400–1450), f. 19v–20, descr. Ilarij–Arsenij 1878: 42–45.

I

W² ВЪЗЪАЛКА | се· дру҃ги брѣтъ· нѣ|когда ѿ ютра· и бор³ | се съ мыслино· не ѣ|сть

C¹ ВЪЗЪАЛКА СА ЕТЕРЪ БРАТ | И|НОГДА· ѿ оутра· и бра са | с мзелью не ѣсти

C² ВЪЗЪАЛКА СА ЕТЕРЪ БРАТ ИНОГДА ѿ оутра· и бра са с мысляю не ѣсти

C³ ВЪЗЪАЛКА СА ЕТЕРЪ БРАТ | ИНОГДА ѿ оутра· и бра са съ мыслию не ѣсти |

C⁴ ВЪЗЪАЛКА СА | ЕТЕРЪ БРАТ ИНОГДА ѿ оутра· и бра са с мзелью не | ѣсти· до·

p → *c*: инъ → етеръ (W² → дру҃ги).

2

W² дон'дѣже воуде|ть година третина· | и быв'ши третине|и годинаѣ ноуди | себе

C¹ до· г̄· ѡдѣ· и бзв'шю ѡдѣ· г̄· емѣ· и понѣди са·

C² до· г̄· ѡдѣ· | и бзв'шю ѡдѣ· г̄· емѣ· и понѣди са

C⁴ до· г̄· го ѡдѣ· и бзв'шѡ ѡдѣ· г̄· емѡ и понѣди са

C³ до· ꙗ· ѿса· и бзѣвшю ѿсаоу· ꙗ·емоу· и поноудѣ са

p → *c*: доньдеже бѣдетъ → до, година третѣѣа → ꙗ·го ѿса, третѣѣи годинѣ → ѿсаоу ꙗ·емоу, нѣди себе → понѣди са.

3

W² доньдѣже боудѣ|тѣ· и шестѣаѣ· и бы|вши же шестои годѣ|нѣ· ѿмоуѣнѣ хлѣбѣ·| и

C¹ до· ѣ·го ѿа· и омоуѣ хлѣбѣ и

C² до· ѣ· ѿа· и омоуѣ хлѣбѣ и

C⁴ до· ѣ·го ѿса· и омоуѣ хлѣбѣ и

C³ до· ѣ·го ѿса· и ѿмоуѣ хлѣбѣ и

p → *c*: доньдеже бѣдетъ → до, година шестѣаѣ → ѣ·го ѿса (W² година → и), и бзѣвѣши → о (W² + же), шестои годинѣ → о.

4

W² ебдѣ ѣсти вѣстѣ| глѣ· пожѣвѣмь до· ѣ·|нѣ годинѣ и быѣ· ѣ·ѣа |

C¹ ебдѣ ѣсти и не ѣстѣ но вѣста глѣ· пождѣ до· ѣ· го ѿа· егда бзѣѣ· ѣ·и· ѿа·

C² ебдѣ ѣсти и не ѣстѣ но вѣста глѣ· пождѣ до· ѣ· го ѿа· егда быѣ· ѣ·и· ѿа·

C⁴ ебдѣ ѣсти и не ѣстѣ нѣ вѣста глѣ· пождѣ до· ѣ·го ѿса· егда быѣ· ѣ·и· ѿа·

C³ ебдѣ ѣсти и не ѣстѣ но вѣста глѣ· пождѣ до· ѣ·го ѿса· егда бзѣѣ· ѣ·и· ѿа·

p → *c*: ѣсти + и не ѣстѣ· нѣ, девѣтѣѣа годинѣ → ѣ·го ѿса, и бзѣстѣ → егда бзѣѣ, девѣтѣѣа година → ѣ·и· ѿа· (W² година → о).

5

W² и створи мѣтѣоуѣ ви|дѣѣ неприѣзнѣ ѣко| димь вѣсходѣщюу ѿтѣ| оуброуѣса· и тако|

C¹ створи мѣтѣоуѣ· и видѣѣ бѣса исходѣщѣ изъ оуброуѣса· акѣѣ дѣѣмѣ· и

C² створи мѣтѣоуѣ· и видѣѣ бѣса исходѣщѣ изъ оуброуѣса· акѣ дѣѣмѣ· и

C⁴ створи мѣтѣѣ· и видѣѣ бѣси исходѣщѣ изъ оуброуѣса акѣ дѣѣмѣ· и

C³ створи мѣтѣоуѣ· и видѣѣ бѣса исходѣщѣ изъ оуброуѣса· акѣ дѣѣмѣ· и

p → *c*: неприѣзнѣ → бѣса, вѣсходѣщѣ → исходѣщѣ, ѿтѣ → из, ѣко дѣѣмѣ deferred, тако → о.

6

W² прѣста алѣканѣ ѿ| него·:|

C¹ прѣста алѣкота ѿ брата·:

C² прѣста алѣкота ѿ брата·:

C⁴ прѣста алѣкота ѿ брата·:

C³ прѣста алѣкота ѿ брата·:

p → *c*: него → брата.

C¹²³⁴ could have been copied from one another,³ but C¹ does not qualify as source for the lack of desinence in 1 2 ѿа·, C²³ for the lack of *y* in 4 акѣ, and C⁴ for the accident 4 бѣси. They are independent copies of one and the same Cyrillic

А нѣи ѿ своихъ дѣлъ злыхъ тогѡа не| аггли боретъ се съ ними
 Б¹ нѣи ѿ своихъ дѣлъ злыхъ тогѡа не аггѣ|ли боретъ се съ ними
 І нъ добраа дѣла іаже сътвори дѣша да|| огорожаютъ ю отъ нихъ|
 А нь добраа дѣла іаже| сътвори дѣша и вражѡаютъ ю ѿ нихъ
 Б¹ нь добраа дѣла іаже створи дѣша и вражѡаютъ ю ѿ нихъ
 І да не косноутъ са нѣи:| Ігда же оубо повѣдѡтъ дѣла нѣа тогѡа поидоутъ|
 А да| не косноутъ се нѣи ігда же оубо повѣдетъ дѣла нѣе тогѡа поидоутъ
 Б¹ да не косно^ѡ|тъ се нѣи ігда же оубо повѣдетъ дѣла еє| тогѡа поидоутъ
 І прѣдъ нею аггли донде|же оузрѣтъ ба съ весе|линемъ то тѣгда въ тѣ|
 А прѣ^а нею аггли донъ|деже оузрѣтъ ба съ веселинемъ тогѡа
 Б¹ прѣ^а нею аггли донъ|деже оузрѣтъ ба съ веселинемъ тогѡа
 І часъ завоудеть дѣша въ|сакъ трѡдъ свои вса|ко дѣло житиа сего:|
 А завоудеть дѣша всакъ трѡдъ свои и всако дѣло| жи^а сего
 Б¹ заведѣ|тъ дѣша всакъ трѡдъ свои и всако дѣло| жи^а сего

k → *i*: не тѣла → ѿ тѣла, сътворила бѣдетъ → сътвори; *i* → *b*: ігда во → ігда, сърѣтайтъ же ѿ → срѣтаютъ же, та ограждайтъ → и огражѡаютъ, въ тѣ часъ → о.

9:78

І Да и мы оубо братіе сътво|римъ силою своею дѣ|лающе доброє въ
 А и мы бра^тіе сътворимъ силою сво|нею дѣлающе доброє въ
 Б¹ и мы братіе сътворимъ силою| своею дѣлающе доброє въ
 І жити|| семь малѣмъ и прѣжде| съмършимъ дѣло наше о|тъ всакого
 А жи^т семь малѣмъ| и прѣжѣе съвршимъ дѣло наше ѿ всако|го
 Б¹ жи^т семь ма|лѣмъ и прѣжѣе съвршимъ дѣло наше| ѿ всако^г
 І дѣланиа зъ|ла огрѣбающе са:|
 А зла огрѣбающе се
 Б¹ зла огрѣбающе с^а

i → *b*: мзи оубо → мы, дѣланиа → о.

9:79

І Некъли како възможемъ| спѣти са отъ зълыхъ и| отъ гредоущихъ на
 А некли како възмо|жемъ спѣти се ѿ злыхъ и гредоущихъ на| на!
 Б¹ некли како въз^ѡ|можемъ спѣти се ѿ злыхъ и гредѡщихъ на
 І ны| оузрѣтъ бо ны вса вещи и| въззицють всакого дѣла
 А ны оузрѣтъ бо ны въ всакои вещи и въ|зыцють всакого дѣла
 Б¹ ны оузрѣтъ бо ны въ всакои вещи и възыцють|тъ всакого дѣла
 І нашего зъли бо соутъ| и немлостиви:
 А нашего злы бо| соутъ и немлостиви
 Б¹ нашего злы бо соутъ и| немлостиви

k → *i*: зъльзиѡхъ градѡциѡхъ → зъльзиѡхъ и (1 + отъ) градѡциѡхъ; *i* → *b*: оузъратъ → оузритъ.

9:80

I Бл̄женъ оубо естъ иже оубрѣ|те са· не имыи ничѣсоже|| отъ нихъ· нъ

A бл̄женъ оубо еѣ иже| вбрѣте се· не имы ничѣсоже ѿ нихъ· нъ|

Б¹ блаженъ оубо еѣ иже в|брѣте се· и не имы ничѣсоже ѿ нихъ· нъ

I истиньны|имь покаѡаниемь оцѣвсти| себе зане радостъ немюу | вѣць и

A истиньнымь покаѡаниемь оцѣвсти себе·| зане радѡс̄ немюу и вѣньць· и

Б¹ |истиньнымь покаѡаниемь оцѣвсти себе·|| зане радѡс̄ немюу и вѣньць· и

I покои вес коньца| боудеть·|

A покои вес ко|ньца боудеть·

Б¹ покои вес коньца| боудеть·

k → *i*: истъимь → истиньнымь, сътворитъ → сътвори; *i* → *b*: ничесоже → ничѣсоже.

A and Б¹ could have been copied from one another, but A does not qualify as source for its spellings *title* мѡуѡсеѡ, 77 на на, nor does Б¹ for its spellings *title* скидѣнина, 80 и не. They are independent copies of one and the same Cyrillic antigraph with some alterations to that text of which I is another copy. This antigraph was in turn copied from a Glagolitic antigraph, as betrayed by the confusion of ѡ and ѣ (г → к) in 79 негъли → некъли, ѡ and ѡ (и → з) in 79 зъли → злы, and ѣ and ѣ (ж → л) in 77 борѣтъ → бореть, as well as simple transliteration of Glagolitic spellings in *title* ѡѡѡѡѡѡ → мѡуѡсеѡ, 77 ѡѡѡѡѡѡ → добрад, 77–79 ѡѡѡѡѡѡ → въсѡдк-, 77 79 ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ → зълихъ, 80 ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ → истиньнымь. The overlay of Serbian spelling over the Slavonic Glagolitic text belongs to *b* exclusively, A and Б¹ merely copy it faithfully.

I differs from *k* in some alterations to the text, but most conspicuously in accidents,¹¹ which must be considered within the context of transcribing from a Glagolitic antigraph, as betrayed by the confusion of ѡ and ѣ (г → к) in 79 негъли → некли, ѡ and ѡ (в → м) in 78 съврѣшимъ → съмьршимъ, ѡ and ѡ (т → д) in 77 та → да, and ѡ and ѡ (ѣ → з) in 80 ничесоже → ничѣсоже, as well as simple transliteration of the Glagolitic spelling in 77 ѡѡѡѡѡѡ → борѣтъ; here, too, belong the mistransliteration 77 ѡѡѡѡѡѡ → ѡѡѡѡѡѡ, and the two tautograms 77 тогда → то тьгда. There are two accidents which are traditionally labelled Russian accents: 77 ицюѡе and огорожаютъ.¹²

4 The Colophon of Tudor the Monk

Athanasius of Alexandria's *Homilies against the Arians*,¹³ translated by Constantine of Preslav in 906, were written in fair¹⁴ by the monk Tudor at Preslav before 2 May 907. He preserved date and location in an extensive colophon, which I present in collation of five copies (in the notes, I show the spellings I consider to have diagnostic value in establishing the antigraphs of the copies):

A¹ Moskva RGB F.113 nr. 437/I (dated 1488), f.218 (descr. Iosif 1881: nr. 115).

A² S.–Pb. RNB Pogodin 968 (dated 1489), f.202v (Popkonstantinov 1984: 107).

A³ Moskva RGB F.199 nr. 59 (1400–1500), f.297 (Popkonstantinov 1984: 110, 113).

A⁴ Moskva GIM Sin. 20 (1400–1500), f.212v (Gorskij–Nevostruev 1859: 32–33).

A⁷ S.–Pb. RNB Sofijsk. 1321 (1529–1541; Popkonstantinov 1984: 109).

1

A¹ Сѣа книги бѣгоучестныа· наричѣмыа аѣданаѣи· повелѣнїемъ кнѣза нѣшего

A² Сиа книги благаучѣстныа наричѣмыа аѣданаѣъ· повелѣнїемъ кназа нашего

A³ Сѣа книги· бѣгоучѣтныа· наричѣмыа аѣдана· повелѣнїемъ кнѣза

A⁴ Сѣа книги бѣгоучестныа· наричѣмыа аѣданаѣи· повелѣнїемъ кназа нашего

A⁷ Сѣа книги бѣгоучестныа· наричѣмыа аѣданаѣи· повелѣнїемъ кназа нашего

A¹³⁴⁷ сѣа, A³ бѣгоучѣтныа наричѣмыа, A²³ аѣданаѣъ, A³ нашего, именемъ → о, A¹³⁴⁷ болгар·.

2

A¹ болгарска· именемъ сїмеона· преложи иѣ епископ константинъ· въ словенскъ

A² блзгарьска именемъ сїмеона прѣложи а епѣкп константинъ въ словѣнскы

A³ сїмеона блзгарьскаго· преложи а епѣпъ константинъ в словѣнскїи

A⁴ болгарска· именемъ сїмеона· преложи иѣ епископ константинъ· въ словенскъ

A⁷ болгарска· именемъ сїмеона· преложи иѣ епископ константинъ· въ словенскъ

A²³ сїмеона, A³ преложи а, A¹⁴⁷ иѣ, A² словѣнскы, A³ словѣнскїи.

3

A¹ ѣзыкѣ· ѿ гречьска· в лѣто ѿ начала мира· ѣсѣ· ѣд· индиктїонъ· ꙗ· ѣѣнкъ сы

A² азыкѣ отъ грѣчьска· въ лѣто ѿ начала мироу· ѣсѣ· дѣ· индѣк· ꙗ· оученикъ сы

A³ ѣзыкѣ отъ гречьска· в лѣтѣ· ѣс· ѣ· дѣ· индикта· ꙗ·

A⁴ ѣзыкѣ· ѿ гречьска· в лѣто ѿ начала мира· ѣс· ѣ· ѣд· индѣ· ꙗ· ѣѣнкъ сы

A⁷ ѣзыкѣ· ѿ гречьска· в лѣто ѿ начала мира· ѣс· ѣ· ѣд· индѣ· ꙗ· ѣѣнкъ сы

A³ ѣзыкѣ, A¹³⁴⁷ гречьска, A³ отъ начала мироу → о, A¹⁴⁷ мироу, A²³ дѣ, A³ оученикъ... моравѣ → о.

4

A¹ медодѣвъ· архїепископа моравѣ· напса же иѣ тѣдѣоръ ѣрноризецъ дохѣвъ·

A² медодѣвъ· архїепископа моравѣ· напса же а тѣдѣоръ ѣрноризецъ дохѣвъ·

A³ напса же тѣдѣоръ ѣрноризецъ·

A⁴ ДНЬ· ВЪ СЪБОТНЪИ¹¹ ВЕЧЕР· СЕИ ЖЕ ВОРИСЪ БОЛГАРЫ КРЪТИЛЪ Е⁶ В ЛЪТ⁷ ЕТХЪ ВЕХТИ·
 A⁷ ДНЬ· ВЪ СЪБОТНЪИ¹¹ ВЕЧЕР· СЕИ ЖЕ ВОРИСЪ БОЛГАРЫ КРЪТИЛЪ Е⁶· ВЪ ЛЪТ⁷ ЕТХЪ ВЕХТИ·
 A² СЪБОТНЫ, A¹⁴⁷ СЕИ, A¹²⁴⁷ БОЛГАР-, A¹⁴⁷ ЕТХЪ.

II

A¹ ВЪ ИМА ВЦА И СНА И СЪАГО ДХА АМИНЪ·
 A² ВО ИМА ОЦА И СНА И СЪГО ДХА· АМИНЬ·
 A⁴ ВЪ ИМА ВЦА И СНА И СЪГО ДХА· АМИНЪ·
 A⁷ ВЪ ИМА ВЦА И СНА И СЪГО ДХА· АМИН·

All copies degrade the references to the indiction: 6414 = 906 was its ninth year and 6415 = 907, when 2 May fell on a Saturday, was its tenth (Gorskij–Nevostruev 1859: 33). Discrepancies in numbers 2–9 and 20–90 definitely stem from their notation in Glagolitic: if 3 ѿ (9) leaned left or had a blot left of its top, it could well have been read ѿ or ѿ (10); in 5 the impossible doublet ѿ (10) then had to be updated, the preceding desinence –а providing a perfect fit for ѿ (11) and the initial letters of the following word for ѿ (14).¹⁵

Independent diagnostic spellings in the copies are few: A¹ besides the omission 5 ЗЛАТАА has one mistranscription 9 ИМЕНЕМЪ, of the others 4 are shared by A³⁴⁷ and 13 by A⁴⁷; A² besides the additions б и ЧТНАА and се + же has confusion ѿ ↔ ѿ (к ↔ х) in 4 ДОХЪСОВЪ and 9 КРЪТЪАНОЕ, ѿ → ѿ (о → е) in 4 МЕРДОДЕВЪ, and transliterated Glagolitic spelling in 10 СЪБОТНЫ (in 2 СЛОВЪНЬСКИ, 8 БЛГВЪРНЪИ, 9 ВЛЪГАРЪСКИ the final и/1 can have been added in the copy), the other 6 are shared by A³; A³ besides abridging the text transliterates Glagolitic spelling in 1 БЛГОУЧЪТНЫА НАРИЧЕМА, 2 ПРЕЛОЖИ А, 3 ЯЗЫКЪ, the other 6 are shared by A²; A⁴ transliterates Glagolitic spelling in 6 ЗЛАТАА, of the others 4 are shared by A¹³⁷, 13 by A¹⁷, and 1 by A⁷. Do the 17 spellings A¹ and A⁴ have in common mean that they are not independent of one another? No: the lack in A¹ of the confusion ѿ → ѿ (и → л) in 5 ПОВЕЛЪНЪ → ПОВЕЛЪДЪ and the presence in A⁴ of 5 ЗЛАТАА shows theirs to be a case of coincidental variation, highly prominent in copying from Glagolitic. The only dependence that can be established unequivocally is that the Cyrillic A⁴ served as antigraph for A⁷ (all spellings of A⁴, save 5 ЗЛАТАА).

Russian spellings in the four independent copies are few: 2 9 БОЛГАР- (A¹⁴), 4 ЧЕРНОРИЗЕЦЬ (A¹³⁴), 10 БОЛГАР- (A¹²⁴).

Conclusions

- 1 Collations 1–4 show that Glagolitic → Cyrillic copying generated features different from those of Cyrillic → Cyrillic copying; they include:
 - a high amplitude of variation,
 - b a panoply of accidents, patterned in relation to Glagolitic graphics and spelling,¹⁶ (some of these accidents can be interpreted as features of regional dialects, but whether they should be dissociated from **b** as effects of a different cause is questionable),
 - c high incidence of coincidental variation.
- 2 These features indicate that Glagolitic → Cyrillic copying was first and foremost a visual process.
- 3 Collation 1 shows a Serbian copy from Glagolitic and Russian copies from Cyrillic, collations 2–3 Serbian copies from Cyrillic and Russian copies from Glagolitic. Twofold transmission was not a feature of any specific area: it was a feature of the *Slavia slavonica*¹⁷ as a whole.
- 4 Collation 1 shows a 13th century Cyrillic apograph of a 9th century Glagolitic antigraph and 14–16th century apographs of a 10th century Cyrillic antigraph; collations 2–3 14th century apographs of earlier Cyrillic antigraphs and 11–16th century apographs of earlier Glagolitic antigraphs. Twofold transmission was not a feature of any specific period: it must have been operational from the time the first Cyrillic manuscript books appeared in the 10th century until Glagolitic manuscript books succumbed to wear and tear from copying in the 17–18th centuries.¹⁸
- 5 The text-centred approach of the collations reveals features of text transmission that remain undetected in the manuscript-centred approach favoured by our teachers and that contradict some of their assumptions. Conflicting conclusions of both approaches must be contrastively evaluated.

Notes

- 1 On the Ohrid edition, see Gergova 2009. The text remains unpublished, but a collation and a text synthesised from the four copies can be requested from <hilandar@osu.edu>.
- 2 Ed. Veder 2012a: 656–657. Full collation of all witnesses in *Polata knjigopisnaja* 36(2006) @ <kb.osu.edu/handle/1811/6426>.

- 3 The variety of spellings is minimal: C¹ introduces jotation of є, C⁴ ꙗ for *u* and *ju* as well as ĭ for tense *ь*, C³ extends digraphic оу to non-initial position; C¹³⁴ mark initial *o* with a distinctive sign, C¹²³ write the prefix прѣ- → прѣ-, C²³ write ѝ → ѝ.
- 4 It can be established that the antigraph of C¹²³⁴ wrote Cyrillic є without jotation, *u* as a monograph, did not use either љ or ѡ, wrote *y* as ѣ, *o* as ѹ and *ε* as Ѧ.
- 5 To the three shown in the notes are to be added *I* ИНОГДА → ИВКОГДА, ІАСТИ → ІАСТЬ, 2 ТРЕТНАГА → ТРЕТНА, 4 СЪДАЪ → СЪДАѢ, 5 АЛЪКОТА → АЛЪКАНИЕ.
- 6 W² writes оутр- 26 times vs. ютр- 9, but also оуже 14 times vs. юже 6.
- 7 See Veder 2012b (where witness O is still considered an individual excerpt from the full text). A full collation of the witnesses can be requested from <hilandar@osu.edu>.
- 8 Ed. Veder 2005: 200–215.
- 9 Accidents are 403 ДЪЛАША → ДЪЛАИША, НАОУЧИША СА ИМЪ → ИЗЪЧИША^с, ОКЪЗНИХЪ → ВИКОУЦИ; 409 ТРОУДЪ → ТРОУДРЕЪ.
- 10 Ed. Veder 2008/II: 142–143.
- 11 Accidents are *tiile* ИИИИИ → МОСЪІА; 77 ОУБО → БО, СЪ НЕИѢ → add и, и ВЪСАКО → ВЪСАКО; 78 ДА → preferred; 79 ОТЪ → repeated, ВЪ ВЪСАКОИ → ВЪСА; 80 ВЪНЬЦЪ → ВЪЦЪ.
- 12 The accident in ИЦЮУЕ is caused by confusion ш → ѡ, that in -ѡѡѡѡ- → -ГОРОЖ- by the dual problem of where to write the vowel with *r* between consonants and how to transcribe monographic ѡ; these accidents acquire the status of accent only in second instance.
- 13 Ed. Vaillant 1954, Penkova 2015, 2016.
- 14 The ubiquity of wax-styluses in the 10–11th c. scriptorium at Ravna suggests that Tudor would have worked from an antigraph on wax tablets.
- 15 In Glagolitic, Ionic notation of numerals of the second decade (with ten preceding the units) is well attested (best preserved in the *Simeonov Izbornik*, ed. Janeva 2015). Note that both in 3 and 5 A²³ exchange it for the Byzantine notation (with ten following the units).
- 16 For a survey of eight standard pitfalls in Glagolitic → Cyrillic copying, see Veder 2017.
- 17 The long overdue reformulation of the dichotomy *Slavia romana* ~ *Slavia orthodoxa* in non-confessional terms as *Slavia latina* ~ *Slavia slavonica* belongs to Graciotti 2006.
- 18 For the case of a 9–10th c. Glagolitic manuscript falling apart after 1600, see Veder 2015.

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INFORMAL NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF NOVI VINODOLSKI AS SPOKEN IN 1973

Willem Vermeer

1.1 Background

In April and May 1973 I spent four weeks in Novi Vinodolski in Croatia collecting material for a master's thesis. The initiative for this came from the late Carl Ebeling (1924-2017), at the time professor of Slavic linguistics in Amsterdam. He was looking for ways to continue work on the accentology of Čakavian dialects that had recently been done by Hein Steinhauer (e.g. 1973a, 1973b), who was leaving Slavic for Austronesian linguistics, where he proceeded to make a career. Steinhauer had been to Novi shortly before and had made some tape recordings, which I eagerly studied before leaving for the field, or, more accurately: for the attractive seaside resort Novi was beginning to develop into back in Belić's time already and which was positively booming in the 1970s.

One may wonder why it was deemed desirable to document a dialect that had been the subject of a description that had become a classic of Slavic accentology (Belić's 'Zametki ...' of 1909). There were at least two reasons.

Several scholars had voiced doubts about Belić's reliability, most insistently and stridently Josip Hamm, who at one point exclaims: "[...] when will the Serbocroatian dialectologists stop quoting Belić's 'Zametki' of 1909 (with their notorious inadequacy concerning some prosodical patterns) for the dialect of Novi" (Hamm 1964: 125n., cf. also Hamm 1956: 382 and Hamm's observations in Hamm, Hraste and Guberina 1956: 93). Given the importance of the Novi dialect in Slavic accentology, this could not help alarming even those who suspected that Hamm might be exaggerating, purely on the principle that there is no smoke without fire.

Informative as Belić's work is, it is not without unclarities, gaps, inconsistencies and minor mistakes, which cumulatively create an impression that

all is not well and that it might be a good idea to take a closer look (cf., e.g., Steinhauer 1973a: 139-148).

The pages that follow contain an informal discussion of some of the results reported in my master's thesis (1973). Very briefly put, the principal conclusion was that there are no good reasons to doubt that Belić's findings conform in most respects to the facts of the dialect as spoken in his time. But things are not as simple as that sounds and quite a few issues require discussion.

1.2 Consultants and other native speakers

Where I lived, opportunities for preparing to do linguistic fieldwork in a professionally responsible way were lacking. Accordingly things had to be improvised on the spot, but happily not entirely from scratch because Steinhauer had made a start by getting acquainted with a few local people and making some recordings.

Among the speakers Steinhauer had recorded, the one that stood out was Ivan Piškulić ("Brezar", b. appr. 1907). His role needs some background. In most coastal areas of Croatia, carnival is a big thing. In Novi, celebrations include a complicated ceremony ("mesopust"), during which at some point a man-sized doll representing the past year is buried. As part of the ceremony a lengthy poem in octosyllabic verse called 'Žitak' is recited, in which the past year is critically reviewed. Traditionally the language of the 'Žitak' is a playful mixture containing a large component of dialect. For information on the carnival ceremony I refer to Blažević (2002). Unfortunately I have not seen Blažević's comprehensive edition of specimens of the Novi 'Žitak' and other relevant texts (1997).

One of Steinhauer's recordings featured Piškulić reciting a 'Žitak' he wrote for the 1970 carnival. Since Piškulić's phonetics and phonology as displayed by the recording proved to be identical to what is described in the 'Zametki', the first thing I did in Novi was contact him. Understandably, however, he did not relish the idea of yet another ill-informed whippersnapper wasting his time with vapid questions, so he directed me to Tomislav Karlović (b. 1935). Karlović was to play a central role in the project, to which we'll be returning in section 3.2.

A second important acquaintance Steinhauer made in Novi was Bojan Zoričić, a man my age (i.e. born approximately in 1947). He seemed to know everybody, and everybody seemed to like him. He would occasionally share fascinating snippets of information on sociolinguistic and other important subjects. Thanks to Bojan Zoričić I came to interact with quite a few other people and make recordings of their speech. Apart from Fedor Mudrovčić, who was my age, most of them were born before appr. 1920, notably Marija Zoričić (Bojan Zoričić's grandmother), Ivan and Marija Sokolić, and Marija Sokolić "Švabovica". Plus two formidable women who were already in their twenties when Belić was in town and who for all we know may even have provided him with information. Those were Anđelika Deranja and Julijana Sokolić ("Ulka Vlašika").

And finally there were the people I just met fleetingly or overheard while roaming the streets or waiting for buses.

1.3 Acknowledgments

To the extent that any valid results were obtained, that is largely due to the speakers of the dialect enumerated just now, all of whom went out of their way to be helpful, understanding, constructive, forgiving, and more. Among them, Tomislav Karlović and Bojan Zoričić need singling out for special thanks.

Furthermore I would like to thank Hein Steinhauer for giving me, back in 1973, the recordings he had made in Novi, and Frits Kortlandt for his encouragement and guidance in connection with the project.

Finally I would like to thank Peter Houtzagers for locating a copy of my master's thesis among his effects in July 2017. Though apparently not complete – it lacks a title page and may well lack more – it is informative enough to provide a basis for this contribution.

1.4 Notational conventions etc.

In accordance with the informal character of the discussion that follows, examples will be presented as much as possible in standard orthography. Accentuation will be marked with the diacritics that have become standard in Čakavian

dialectology, irrespective of the source, hence *kōnj* when adducing Belić's *kóni* (1909: 214).

Examples that are not explicitly attributed to a specific person or source were produced by Tomislav Karlović.

References to Belić's 'Zametki' will be to the pages of the 1909 edition – as distinct from the separate edition that appeared in 1910, which has a different pagination –, preceded by "Zam", as in: *kōnj* (Zam 214).

2.1 Phonetics and phonology

I forget who it was, but most likely Bojan Zoričić, who told me that what is nice about being a native speaker of the Novi dialect is that its pronunciation does not unduly impede learning to pronounce the standard language acceptably and does not sound silly to urban speakers.

There is much truth in this. Speakers are not confused by the exotic reflexes some related dialects display, e.g. **ɸ* in Istria or the jers on the nearby islands (Krk, Cres, ...). All vowels and nearly all consonants sound quite average and unremarkable. Voiced stops and fricatives are possible in word-final position. The voiced velar obstruent *g* is a stop rather than a fricative, although it does display a very modest degree of friction very occasionally (cf. Zam 192). The contrast of *j* and *lj*, which is absent in many coastal dialects and which people do not always find it easy to acquire, is present just as unambiguously as in standard speech. There is more along the same lines. And yet there are some awkward differences as well.

Like most of the Croatian west and north-west, speakers of the Novi dialect have a stop reflex of **tj*, as in the canonical example *kūća* 'house'. As Belić notes (Zam 188), there is a parallel voiced stop in secondary formations, as in the non-dialectal greeting *do vidēnjā*, which is used all the time (note here, by the way, the long posttonic *-ā*, corresponding to Belić's Gsg *zēljā*, Zam 191). The stops famously contrast with the affricates of the standard language and most dialects. Speakers get around the difference either by doing nothing or by substituting *č* and *dž*. Neither option is painless and it was my impression some speakers resent the way this complicates their lives.

Vowels are strongly nasalized when followed by tautosyllabic nasal consonants, particularly when stressed, as in the final syllable of *va Novôn* ‘in Novi’. Similarly *n* nasalizes a following *lj*, e.g. in *zemlja*, pres3sg *zîmlje* ‘takes’, *počîmlje* ‘begins’ (cf. Belić’s discussion, Zam 195).

Belić observes that the reflex of **v* is voiceless – yielding *f* – before voiceless obstruents, as in *ofcã* ‘sheep’ (Zam 226), where most dialects have *ovca*. Some of my speakers do this, notably Marija Sokolić “Švabovica” (NApl *krãljêfčãnke* ‘women from Kraljevica’) and Fedor Mudrovčić (*ofcã, dofci* ‘widowers’, *ôf kãmîk* ‘this stone’, also *Mudrôfcić*). Others do not, such as Karlović (NApl *ôvce*, Isg *trgôvcên* ‘tradesman’), Marija Sokolić (*ôvcu, ovčica*) and Marija Zoričić (*ovčica, žîdovka* ‘Jewess’, GAsg *Mudrôvčica*). So with respect to this feature there are two kinds of speakers. Presumably sociolinguistic pressures favour the standard option. Fedor Mudrovčić told me he was unhappy with his inability to pronounce *v* in such cases. In Karlović’s pronunciation the *v* differs from a regular *v* (or *f*) in being bilabial, which sounds – and looks – unusual and which I have always suspected of having been produced by conscious attempts to get around the problem.

Finally, there is the prosodic system. Even in the youngest speakers I got to know in 1973 it proved to be identical to the one described by Belić: the place of the stress is contrastive, vowel length is contrastive not only in stressed and pretonic syllables, but also posttonically, tone – rising vs. falling – is contrastive in stressed syllables containing a long vowel. Some of the details are intricate and/or contentious, so some discussion is unavoidable here.

2.2 Rising and falling

Most of the time the difference between the rising and the falling tone proved fairly easy to hear, at least when compared with some other dialects, such as Houtzagers’s Orlec (1985: 30-31). But one has to be aware of certain complications, most importantly the fact that various types of cues have to be taken into account in addition to pitch, as follows:

Pitch (melody). The falling tone usually starts falling as soon as it is possible for it to do so, producing an effect that resembles what I had heard from speakers

with Neoštokavian tones, though often sounding more abrupt. The rising tone can rise suddenly some time appreciably after the beginning of the vowel on which it is realized, followed by an equally rapid fall. The interval can vary and the rise can even be absent, particularly in final syllables of sentences uttered with the intonation that goes with a simple statement. However, even in such cases the position of the fall usually suffices to exclude a falling tone.

Loudness. In the case of the falling accent the loudest stretch comes early and in that of the rising tone it comes appreciably later. This effect remains present in sentence-final position.

Length. Under certain conditions, the falling tone sounds shorter than the rising tone, notably in open final syllables in sentence-final position. But it never sounds like a short vowel.

Voice timbre. In sentence-final position, the rising tone is often accompanied by a change in voice timbre I am going to refer to – not without some hesitation – as “creaky voice”. The fact that a change in voice timbre takes place in these cases is beyond doubt, but the question how that change is produced and what it consists of has to be left to more qualified scholars to determine.

It follows that at least four types of cues have to be taken into account: melody, loudness, length and voice colour. This cannot come as a surprise to those who recall Belić’s observation that loudness “выступает и тогда очень ярко, когда восходящее ударение, въ особенности въ концѣ словъ и въ быстрой рѣчи, произносится съ музыкальной стороны, почти ровнымъ голосомъ” (Zam 204).

By the way, it is quite possible that the pitch level of the onset relative to the preceding syllable is informative too, as it is in Kalsbeek’s Orbaníci (1998: 39). Since in 1973 I was not aware that this might play a role, I paid no attention to it.

If one decides to limit attention to the tonal melody of the rising tone to the exclusion of everything else, one is faced with the fact that it is falling in sentence-final position. And if in addition one chooses to ignore the fact that even in those cases the position of the fall – late versus early – usually suffices to exclude a falling tone, one risks concluding that there is no tone contrast in sentence-final position.

I suspect that this is where Hamm went wrong. Although the melody is falling, this has no implications for our understanding of the prosodic inventory of the dialect, because the contrast remains present. The crucial point is that what counts here is contrastiveness rather than simply the way things sound. After all, when it is said that such-and-such system has tones, what is meant is that it has a tone contrast rather than that certain tonal movements occur in it.

Realizations of the rising tone with creaky voice are not limited to Novi. I have heard them in neighbouring Selce – many times, always in informal settings –, and once in Senj during the few minutes I had the opportunity to observe the dialect there. The specific example was Isg *kosōn* ‘scythe’, used sentence-finally. However, it would be wrong to infer that creaky voice is a universal feature of the Čakavian rising tone, which, after all, has been known for more than a century to show non-trivial local differences. See, for instance, the overview of earlier accounts in Vermeer (1982: 306-307) and the observations by Houtzagers (1982, 1985: 29-31) on Orlec (Cres) and by Kalsbeek (1998: 39) on Orbanići in Central Istria.

2.3 Vowel length

The difference between long and short vowels is less striking posttonically than it is in other positions, but it is easy to catch all the same unless people are speaking very fast or mumbling. During my first days in Novi I was strongly reminded of Czech. It was unlike any Croatian I had ever been exposed to.

In unstressed syllables, Belić differentiates between long and half-long vowels and provides rules for the distribution of the two possibilities, e.g.:

Когда рядомъ съ долготой, въ послѣдующемъ или предшествующемъ слогѣ, находится одно изъ двухъ долгихъ удареній, или еще одна долгота, обыкновенно долгота одного слога становится полудолготой [...], а въ очень рѣдкихъ случаяхъ, находясь въ зависимости отъ темпа рѣчи, и полной краткостью; или же остается полной долготой: напр. *vláših*, *gòlúbih*, *lūdòst*, *jákī* и *jākī*, *gīnĕn*, *brīšš*, *korājŕ* и под. (Belić 1909: 205).

Belić's words leave no doubt that the difference he perceived between length (as in *ī*) and half length (as in *ĭ*) is allophonic. To avoid unnecessary typographic

clutter in what follows, vowels that are marked as half long in the ‘Zametki’ will be marked as just long, e.g. pres3pl *kopâju* ‘dig’, where Belić has *kopâju̇*.

Etymologically short vowels are usually lengthened when followed by syllable-final *j*, *r*, *l*, *lj*, *n*, and *nj*, and also *m* in all positions save word-finally, for which cf. *sědam* ‘seven’, as pronounced by Karlović, Marija Zoričić and Anđelika Deranja (likewise Zam 194). Note that Novi has no lengthening before *v*, unlike many dialects.

Under the stress and posttonically, short vowels appear to be impossible and lengthening is automatic. Faced with an imported word like *hotel*, speakers have no choice but to lengthen the *e* and say *hotěl*.

In pretonic syllables, however, vowel length is lexically conditioned and obviously contrastive, cf., e.g., the short vowel of *ondi* ‘over there’ (likewise Zam 186). Nearly all examples of short vowels in pretonic position are transparent loans, like *parkět* or *barkāča* (cf. Italian *barcaccia*). The exception is *ondi*, presumably with secondary reintroduction of the brevity that is regular in *ovdi* ‘here’ because vowels are not lengthened by a following *v*.

As is almost too well known to require retelling, short stressed vowels when lengthened by a syllable-final *j* etc. receive a rising tone, as in *kōnj* quoted earlier. The only exception to this rule involves the postvocalic pres3sg of the verb meaning ‘be’, which is *j*, where lengthening yields a falling tone. For instance, if the final vowel of *dobrō* ‘good’ is lengthened by following *j* ‘is’, what one expects on the basis of the general rule is ***dobrōj*, but what is said is *dobrōj* (also Marija Zoričić) ‘it is good, it’s OK’, cf. *sě* ‘everything’, but *sěj* (Marija Sokolić “Švabovica”) ‘everything is’. The point is not explicitly treated by Belić (Zam 252), but his texts contain examples, most clearly *va peći* ‘it is in the oven’, explained – rightly – as ‘peći je’ (Zam 257-258).

2.4 Trubetzkoy on vowel length

Trubetzkoy observes: “im čakavisch-kroatischen Dialekt von Novi dürfen vor einer Silbe mit langem fallenden Akzent *nur kurze* Vokale stehen” (1967: 175, originally 1939, emphasis Trubetzkoy’s, cf. similarly p. 216).

It is hard to reconcile this with Trubetzkoy's source. Belić, who was no rookie, would very likely have mentioned the phenomenon in or near the passage on the realization of vowel length that was quoted in the previous section (2.3), and which shows that he was alive to the possibility that elements of the prosodic system can influence one another.

Even more importantly, Belić gives examples of length in the position where it should be impossible if the rule were correct, e.g. *jākī* (205, 232), Gpl *prōgôn* (213). Although such examples are few, Trubetzkoy has not shown that they can be brushed aside. The reason that they are few is that falling tones are rare in non-initial syllables for historical reasons that are basically well understood. There are four important sources for falling tones in that position.

First, the definite form of the adjective, as in *Novi* 'Novi'. Judging by the examples Belić enumerates (Zam 232-234), stress on the ending is uncommon and most often there are competing forms with stem stress, as in *bōsī* 'barefoot' or *čīstī* 'clean' alongside *bosī* and *čīstī* (Zam 232). If the stem vowel is long, stress on the ending is highly exceptional. Note that *jākī*, too, has a doublet with stem stress (Zam 205, 232).

Second, the present tense of *aje*-verbs, as in pres3sg *kopā* 'dig' (Zam 246). If the stem vowel is long, however, stem stress is mandatory, e.g. inf *prekāpāt* 'dig, rummage', pres1sg *prekāpān* (Zam 248), unless the stem vowel is followed by a tautosyllabic sonant, which is limited to loans like *lārmāt*, 3sg *lārmā*, presumably 'make noise' or 'sound the alarm' (Zam 246), cf. also *šūndrāt* 'break, destroy', pres3sg *šūndrā*, or *kāntāt* 'sing', pres3sg *kāntā*, cf. Marija Zoričić pres3pl *kāntājū* (also Zam 246). Strictly speaking, these are counterexamples to Trubetzkoy's rule (see also section 2.3).

Third, endingless genitive plurals, as in *prōgôn*.

And fourth, loans, e.g. *vapōr* 'steamship', Asg *butīgu* 'shop' (Italian *vapore*, *bottega*), cf. Belić's examples (Zam 213, 225).

It follows that Trubetzkoy's rule accounts for a non-existing effect. To the extent that the effect exists, it is better explained by historical accident, which provides a way to take care of the counterexamples.

2.5 Lengthening of unstressed vowels before a pause

Occasionally unstressed short vowels are lengthened before a pause, as in Npl *novljāni* (Karlović) ‘inhabitants of Novi’ instead of normal *novljāni*, or perhaps more appropriately: something that to me sounds like *novljānī*.

Generally speaking the effect is rare, so it is striking that Ivan Piškulić produced several attestations in barely 250 words of text spoken spontaneously while explaining to me the intricacies of the ceremony annually performed at carnival: Npl *uškocī*, Lsg *na Travīcī*, Nsg *Travīcā*, possibly also Nsg *vōjskā*, Asg *vōjskū*, depending on whether that word does or does not inflect like the definite form of an adjective.

These lengths suggest that speakers like Piškulić, who clearly have a length contrast in word-final position, can override it if they want to impart authority to their speech.

At the risk of sounding alarmist, there is no denying that the point has ominous implications. An investigator hearing such examples as Piškulić’s *Travīcā* might be inclined to assume that they provide prima facie evidence for an *o*-stem Npl ending ***-ī* or an *ā*-stem Nsg ending ***-ā*. However, any investigator with some background in Croatian dialectology would realize how unusual that would be, hence that it would not do to report such forms as authentic without first making sure they are genuine, particularly because the same investigator’s material would have attestations of short vowels in those very same endings. And upon looking into the matter, it would turn out that the length of ***-ī* and ***-ā* is the product of a certain style of speaking and has no bearing on the items themselves.

Understandably, our imaginary investigator would be less likely to smell a rat in the case of endings in which both long and short vowels are solidly attested in Croatian dialects, e.g. the Ipl in *-i* or the pres3sg in *-e*. That would increase the risk of reporting spurious attestations of *-ī* and *-ē* in such cases.

Against this background one cannot help wondering if the effect may not be responsible for some, or even all, cases of anomalous length in unstressed attestations of the pres3sg *-e* that have been reported for NW Čakavian dialects with Novi-like prosodic systems, notably Kastav (for examples see Vermeer 1982: 329n16). If it is, those examples are spurious. Which is not nice.

2.6 Phonetic differences among individual speakers

A priori it is not to be expected that all speakers are identical, all the more so in view of the situation in which urban speech is a constant reality for all.

The younger people are, the longer their short stressed vowels tend to be. Nothing I had heard among speakers born in the 20th century had quite prepared me for the Czech-like crispness of the short stressed vowels as realized by the daunting octogenarians Anđelika Deranja and Julijana Sokolić. Some years later I encountered the same effect in Omišalj on Krk.

More generally, differences between adjacent elements of the prosodic system are most pronounced among the oldest speakers, although the effect is not strong enough – by a long stretch – to endanger any of the phonological contrasts involved. Individual exceptions to the trend occur. Fedor Mudrovčić, for instance, sounds appreciably more archaic than Tomislav Karlović, despite being ten years younger. There may well be a pattern here. We saw earlier (section 2.1) that the treatment of **v* followed by a voiceless obstruent is archaic in Mudrovčić's language as well.

3.1 Inflexional morphology: the problem

Accentologists are interested in the role and behaviour of prosodic features in inflexional morphology, for instance: what accentual paradigms are there and which words inflect according to which of the accentual paradigms? Such questions differ from the type of questions typically posed in dialectology, which tend to favour phonetics, historical phonology and lexicon. Happily, however, native scholars have always been aware of the challenge. One shudders to think where Slavic accentology would be without Đuro Daničić (1825-1882). Closer to home – in the sense of Novi Vinodolski –, Antun Mažuranić's passages on prosodic matters manage to describe in few words some of the most important local varieties with respect to accent that are found in the language, including a compelling account of the Neoštokavian stress retraction (1859: 8-26).

In the 'Zametki', Belić provides nominal paradigms followed by lists of words that are inflected according to the paradigm concerned. Although this looks straightforward enough, it immediately raises all kinds of questions. For instance,

did Belić really hear real people utter such vocatives and dative plurals as *čäse/čäsōn, vläse/vlāsōn, göro/gorān*, and *liho/lihān* (Zam 208-209, 226-228)? Since none of these words refer to people, opportunities for using the vocative or the dative – let alone the dative plural – are limited, so the likelihood that an investigator staying in Novi for, say, a month will actually hear speakers using them spontaneously is negligible. We cannot avoid concluding that Belić either elicited these forms artificially or reconstructed them by extrapolating from attested words referring to persons or animals. In the case of Belić's paradigms, readers are not in a position to tell what was heard in spontaneous speech, what was elicited and what was reconstructed. Anyhow the idea that a clear-headed and experienced dialectologist like Belić would proceed to actively elicit vocatives or dative plurals of words meaning 'hair' or 'strip of land' strikes me as unlikely. Unfortunately the celebrated letter to Jan Baudouin de Courtenay in which he describes his dialectological *modus operandi* just stops short of being helpful here (Belić 1926-1927).

The problem of the paradigms is rendered more acute by the fact that material actually reported in the 'Zametki' shows that some of them are incomplete or otherwise misleading.

An example is provided by the very first paradigm Belić gives, which is the one of monosyllabic (a)-stressed msc *o*-stems (*čäs*). As it happens, the Novi dialect has two Gpl formations, an archaic one in zero and an innovating one in *-ih*, which are distributed according to intricate rules and often occur side by side in the same word. In Belić's paradigm only the endingless form is given (*čäs*), implying that that is the only possibility. But the innovating ending is possible as well, as is shown by *brätih* in one of the riddles (Zam 265), the reality of which is confirmed by *kmetih* in Mažuranić (1843: 90).

In the second paradigm Belić gives, which is the one of monosyllabic (c)-stressed msc *o*-stems (*vläs*), something similar happens. In the Ipl Belić indicates a falling tone (*vläsi*, Zam 209), but a rising tone also occurs, as shown by *ljūdi* (Zam 238).

What are we to think?

3.2 Inflexional morphology: the accentologist's dilemma

I decided that the only way to be sure was to elicit all forms of all words listed by Belić. Tomislav Karlović proved willing to play along.

In retrospect my approach was not only mind-numbingly laborious, but also naïve along several dimensions and unlikely to produce consistently reliable results. There is no guarantee that the artificial conditions of an elicitation session will not bring consultants to condemn forms they would gladly use or produce forms they would never utter in the wild, for instance because of normative considerations or just being confused. Dialect speakers have norms too. More than once people have welcomed me with words along the lines of “So you want me to help you with the dialect? That’s OK with me, but please don’t think that I’m one of those who still say *štat* [‘read’] or *crīki* [‘church’]”. While pulling a face that is more eloquent than mere words would be. And as is the case with norms everywhere, people can be misguided here too.

In addition I should have realized that an older consultant than Karlović would have been preferable. Like most speakers of his generation he lived for extended periods outside Novi, interacting with people of widely varying linguistic and social backgrounds. That cannot have failed to impact his knowledge of the dialect.

I was seduced, however, by the fact that his dialect was closer to that of the ‘Zametki’ than we had been expecting on the basis of Hamm’s and other observers’ alarmist talk, and that he was downright fantastic to work with. He understood what I was trying to do, never hesitated to admit mistakes or point out mistakes in what I was saying, and much more along those lines. Although most of the time I worked with him (appr. 25 hours) was spent in direct elicitation, other activities took place too, such as listening to reminiscences.

The sessions with Karlović were instructive not only from a dialectological and accentological point of view, but also methodologically. As they progressed, it became clearer what could and what could not be asked realistically and where Karlović was and was not certain of his ground. Dative plurals, for instance, just proved too hard to elicit to produce credible examples, partly because I did not manage to come up with a brief and sufficiently unambiguous context for

elicitation, but also because it is an infrequent case form to begin with and vulnerable to the eroding effect the standard language has on the dialect as used by younger speakers.

In what follows, wherever dialectal material uttered by Karlović during our sessions is quoted as evidence, it will be limited to points where there was no uncertainty or wavering on his part, where possible supported by evidence from older speakers. In all this I have done my best to err on the side of caution.

3.3 Nominal inflexion

In the dialect as described by Belić, part of the inflexion of masculine and neuter nouns appears to be in flux, as is suggested by the presence of numerous alternative possibilities. We saw just now that in the Gpl of masculine *o*-stems, innovating *-ih* often occurs alongside archaic zero, as in *susëdih/susêd* ‘neighbour’ (Zam 212). Similarly in the msc NApl, for instance, innovating *-a* is frequent alongside archaic *-i* (*kôsca/kosci* ‘mower – in the sense of a person mowing –’, Zam 214). Accentual doublets are particularly numerous, e.g. end stress alongside stem stress in the Gpl in zero (*stârâc/starâc* ‘old man’, Zam 211), in the Gpl or Lpl in *-ih* (*krövih/krovih* ‘roof’, Zam 213), and in the Ipl in *-i* (*krövî/krövi*, Zam 213).

By 1973 some shifts had occurred or were occurring.

The Gpl in zero, for instance, had clearly lost some ground. Monosyllabic masculine nouns with a short stem vowel (*čäs*) now turned out to have *-ih*, e.g. *dëd* ‘grandfather’ Gpl *dëdih*. Endingless forms (**dëd*) were consistently and convincingly rejected. Bisyllabic examples are slightly different. Although Karlović interpreted *susêd* as feminine (contrasting with masculine *susëdih*), he did produce or accept occasional endingless forms here, e.g. *poplât* ‘sole (of a shoe)’ (a word that is frequent in the plural). Marija Zoričić spontaneously came up with *medvid* ‘bear’ (which was rejected by Karlović).

In Belić’s time, the GLpl ending *-ih* could be either stressed or unstressed, just like most endings (Zam 209, 213). However, the examples in the ‘Zametki’ strongly suggest that wherever the ending occurred stressed, stem stress was always possible as well. Karlović never produced end stress and consistently rejected it, nor have I noted attestations of end stress in utterances by older speakers.

However, given the low textual frequency of the Gpl and the ever-present possibility of stem stress, the latter result probably should not be interpreted as meaning that end stress definitely does not exist in the language of those speakers.

In monosyllabic (c)-stressed nouns with a long stem vowel, Belić's paradigm has a falling tone on the stem in the Ipl (*vlâsi*, Zam 209). However, as we saw just now (section 3.1), Ipl *ljūdi* (Zam 238) suggests that a rising tone is possible as well. As for a.p. (b), its Ipl alternated between end stress (*brēsti*) and stem stress with a rising tone (*brēsti*) (Zam 213). Karlović conformed to Belić here in all respects, clearly preferring, however, a rising tone (as in *ljūdi*) over a falling tone (as in *vlâsi*) in the case of (c)-stress.

Karlović and other younger speakers often add *-mi* to the Ipl ending *-i*, resulting in forms like *šînimi/sînimi*, alongside more archaic *šîni/sîni*. One day the subject came up while chatting with Bojan Zoričić somewhere on the street, and I asked if he agreed with my impression that the cut-off point for the introduction of *-mi* was the generation that were forty to fifty years old at the time. At that point a slightly older gentleman I'd never met butted in, confirming that that was his impression too, simultaneously conveying the idea that he took a dim view of it.

In the language of the 'Zametki', the msc/neut *o*-stem Lsg ends in *-i*. In that context Belić mentions a Lsg *u mîrû* (presumably 'in peace', Zam 210), observing quite reasonably that the borrowed preposition *u* – instead of native *va* – suffices to show that it is not authentic. It turned out in 1973 that people born after appr. 1925 use *-u* alongside *-i*, although even the youngest speakers I met have *-i* from time to time.

Despite some change between 1909 and 1973 and some unclarity about peripheral parts of paradigms, notably the oblique cases of the plural, no discrepancies turned out to involve the most central and crucial issues, such as the specific accentuation of the nouns listed by Belić and the accentual paradigms to which they are attributed. Some unusual forms reported by Belić, and which one might be inclined to be sceptical about, conform to what I found.

In the Vsg of two important (a)-stressed and (b)-stressed nouns, for instance, Belić reports lengthening of the stem vowel and a falling tone, as in *bâbo* alongside

bäbo ‘grandmother’ (Zam 223), *könje* alongside *könju* and *könje* ‘horse’ (Zam 214). The form *bäbo* was much in evidence (Karlović spontaneously, Anđelika Deranja, Marija Zoričić). The phenomenon also turned out to occur in the word meaning ‘grandfather’: *dêde*. The effect is not limited to Novi.

The NApl of *o*-stem nouns ends in *-i* and sometimes in *-a* (cf. the beginning of this section). Strangely, Belić gives *-e* in the case of *postōl* ‘shoe’, Gsg *postolä*, NApl *postolë* (Zam 216). Although this looks like a potential mistake, *postolë* conforms to present-day usage (also Marija Zoričić).

A second noun with a NApl in *-e* mentioned by Belić is *nōvce* ‘money’, cf. Gpl *nōvāc* (Zam 215). Contrary to *postōl*, however, this is unlikely to be a local word. As was noted earlier (section 2.3), vowels are not lengthened before syllable-final *v* (so we expect ***nōvce* or ***nōfce*, as in Gsg *trgōfca* ‘tradesman’, Zam 196) and vowels that are lengthened by syllable-final sonants get a rising tone, which would have produced ***nōvce* or ***nōfce*. Among my speakers the word for ‘money’ was *sōldi*, which, as is well known, is the normal word in the entire area.

3.4 Verbal inflexion

Taken as a whole, Karlović’s verbs appear to depart only minimally from what Belić describes. And yet several issues require discussion.

In the present tense of three irregular verbs Belić gives alternative 2pl forms in *-ste* alongside regular *-te*, e.g. *dāstë* ‘give’, *jīstë* ‘eat’, *povīstë* ‘tell’, alongside *dātë*, *jītë*, *povītë* (Zam 252-253). Karlović rejects forms in **-ste*. The discrepancy is easy to understand: *-ste* is synchronically exceptional and was on its way out in Belić’s time already, judging by the fact that even at that stage the regular ending was possible as well.

But in some cases it is as if Karlović is more archaic than the ‘Zametki’.

In the pres3pl of ‘eat’ and ‘tell’, Belić gives doublets (*jīdū/jidū*, *povidū/povīdū*, Zam 153), but Karlović consistently has a short vowel, as in *jidū* and *povidū*, cf. also *dajū* ‘give’, *gredū* ‘go’, where Belić does not add alternative forms with length (Zam 252, 239).

In the gerund of *aje*-presents, Belić gives concurrent forms, e.g. *rešetājūc*, which is obviously innovating, alongside more archaic *rešetājūc* (Zam 246). Karlović

readily produces forms with a short vowel (e.g. *peljājūc* ‘bring, lead’), while rejecting length as in ***peljājūc*. By the way, this verb, which is very common, does not mean ‘гнать’ (Belić’s gloss, Zam 246), as witnessed also by the way it is used in one of the stories: [...] *jednú škúlju kâ peljâ va susêdovu konôbu* ‘a hole (Asg) that leads to the neighbour’s cellar’ (Zam 257).

And then there is the accentuation of polysyllabic *l*-participles from (b)- or (c)-stressed verbs. Unfortunately some introduction cannot be avoided here.

In two bisyllabic *l*-participles derived from (c)-stressed *-iti* verbs, Belić gives a mobile accentuation which is obviously archaic: pres3sg *rodī* ‘give birth’, *l*-participle *rōdīl*, *rodīlā*, *rōdīlo* (Zam 249). The verb *zvonīt* ‘ring (a bell)’ is similar, but has the regular pattern alongside mobile accentuation, as shown by the plural form *zvonēli* (ibid.). There may well be more verbs with such mobile *l*-participles, as is suggested by the plural form *zbrōjīli* ‘count’ (Zam 249), and possibly also by *gōstīl* ‘entertain as a guest’ (Zam 249) and *lōmil* ‘break’, used alongside regular *gostīl* and *lomīl* (Zam 250).

In the msc sg of trisyllabic *l*-participles with a short vowel in the final syllable, Belić often gives initial stress, usually alongside stress on the final syllable, e.g. *prěskočil/preskočil* ‘jump (over)’ (Zam 250), *kūpovāl/kupovāl* ‘buy’, *ōtrovāl/otrovāl* ‘poison’ (Zam 245). The impression one gets from the examples Belić gives, is that initial stress is always possible if the necessary conditions are met, hence irrespective of the conjugation and/or accentuation of the present tense. This is in accordance with what I found in 1973.

As a result, the accentuation of the msc sg of *l*-participles can be different in compounds from the same form in the simple verb. Whereas *pripeljāl* freely occurs alongside *pripeljāl*, the evidence indicates that a hypothetical ***pěljāl* is impossible.

Initial stress does not occur if the final stem vowel is long. Alongside *l*-participles with the prosodic structure of *polūdīl* (Zam 249) ‘go insane’, alternative forms along the lines of ***pōlūdīl* are not attested in any shape or form. But in one exceptional verb a long stem vowel is unexpectedly shortened, making initial stress possible after all. That verb is *načīnīt* ‘make’, which has *načīnīl*, with regular length and final stress, but also *nāčīnīl*, with irregular brevity, and with the

initial stress made possible by brevity (Zam 250). This verb is exceptional also in that it has end stress in the past passive participle, as in *načinjena* (Zam *ibid.*) or *načinjeno* (Marija Zoričić), alongside expected stem stress.

In 1973 a shortening of the stem vowel reminiscent of the one found in *nāčinil* turned up in an irregularity that happens not to be mentioned by Belić, but may well be old. In several (b)-stressed *i*-verbs with a long stem vowel the msc sg of the *l*-participle turned out to receive stem stress with shortening of the stem vowel. The clearest example is *kūpīt* ‘buy’, pres3sg *kūpī*, *l*-participle pl *kūpīli*, but msc sg *kūpīl* (also Marija Zoričić), instead of expected **kūpīl*, which is given by Belić (Zam 250), but consistently rejected by Karlović as being completely out of the question. The verb *zgūbīt* ‘lose’, pres3sg *zgūbī* behaves similarly, but here Karlović accepts the regular form, hence *zgūbīl* (as in Zam 250) alongside *zgūbil*.

We are faced here with members of a small group of *i*-verbs that combine characteristics of a.p. (b) and (c) in much of Čakavian. Details differ strikingly from dialect to dialect and discussion would go beyond the scope of this contribution. As far as I can tell, the first to draw attention to the point in a comparative accentological context, was Steinhauer, starting from a hint by Belić (Zam 251) and using evidence from Senj, Vrgada and Novi (1973a: 433-434, 502-503).

It may seem odd to encounter *kupiti* among verbs displaying features of a.p. (c), but there is a suggestive parallel in the Omišalj past passive participle Nsg fem *kupjēnā* (Vermeer 1980: 460), a frequent word often used with a value of ‘bought as distinct from homemade’. There can be no doubt that it is authentic.

Despite some discrepancies and open questions, nearly everything I found turned out to conform to the information provided by Belić, even in some cases where it is unusual enough to inspire some scepticism.

Who would expect, for instance, the verbs ‘like’ and ‘must’ to have a fixed long falling tone on the stem vowel, as in *vōlit* (Zam 251) and pres2sg *mōrāš* (Zam 248)? And yet that is the way they are accented. Doubt is excluded because they are among the most frequent words in the language and one is constantly bombarded with them. A year later I started work in Omišalj on Krk and was shocked by the consistently stem-stressed short vowel of *vōlit* and *mōrat*, and

shocked even more when it turned out that the vowel of the suffix is long in the *l*-participle, contrary to the short vowel that is regular: *vòlèla, mòrāli* (Vermeer 1980: 453). The whole thing looks like a joke. Stang is stirring in his grave. Where are the accentologists when you need them?

In Belić, the modal auxiliary *bīn* has an interrogative paradigm, as follows: *bīmīl, bīšīl, bīl, bīmōl, bītēl, bīl* (Zam 252). Interrogative forms also occur in the present tense, as suggested by *vòliš-il* 'do you like/prefer' in a story appended to the description (Zam 255). Even before Belić, the phenomenon had been reported by Antun Mažuranić, e.g. *pišel Petar?* 'Is Peter writing?', *vidimol* 'do we see it?' (see Mažuranić 1843: 88-89 for more examples). In 1973 such forms turned out to be quite common in living speech, e.g. *razumītēl?* 'do you understand?' (Marija Zoričić), *čētēl* 'do you want/are you going to ...' (Anđelika Deranja), or, for instance, *bīl* and *smōl* in dependent questions in spontaneous speech by Karlović. Indeed, Karlović proved able to produce entire paradigms at the drop of a hat, e.g. *mòremīl, mòrešīl, mòrēl, mòremōl, mòretēl, mòrūl*. Note here, by the way, the *-m-* in the 1sg (*bīmīl, mòremīl*), which suggests that univertation preceded the familiar change of word-final *-m* to *-n*, as in pres1sg *bīn, mòrēn*. I have often heard similar forms – or rather: the very same forms – in neighbouring Selce.

Uncharacteristically, while describing the inflexion of verbs in *-nut*, Belić neglects to tell us what the past passive participle looks like. He gives *potēgnūt* 'pull', pres3sg *potēgne* etc., but no PPP (Zam 242). In accordance with what we now know is general in NW Čakavian, the participle turned out to end in *-njen-*, e.g. pres3sg *potēgne*, PPP *potēgnjēn, potēgnjeno*.

4 Results

It follows from the above that there are no substantive differences between the Novi dialect as recorded by Belić and as carried in 1973 by members of various generations whose language I had the privilege to observe and study in various ways. Reports suggesting or implying that the prosodic system was starting to disintegrate as early as the mid 1950s and/or was inadequately reported by Belić (Hamm) are not in conformity with the facts and look like the fruits of a sloppy

methodology that fails to distinguish between allophonic and contrastive phenomena (see section 2.2).

Nevertheless discrepancies of detail where the inflexional system is concerned proved to be fairly numerous. They have various sources, and it is not always possible to tell what is going on in what specific case.

To begin with there is the inherent variability of the dialect.

Then there is the likelihood that some genuine change occurred between the beginning of the century and the 1970s. An example is the addition of *-mi* to the inherited instrumental plural ending *-i* found in speakers born after appr. 1930, and which looks like a symptom of a more general weakening of the system of oblique cases in the plural.

Finally there is the possibility of mistakes on Belić's or my part.

In the above, I have limited myself to facts that seem to be solidly and indisputably attested, taking care to avoid material that might be dodgy for one reason or another. But there is no guarantee that that succeeded in every single case.

And Belić was fallible as well. It is clear on internal grounds that he sometimes reported things in ways that were bound to mislead readers. We have seen, for instance, that in the type *čās* he fails to report the Gpl ending *-ih*, which we can be confident existed in his time, both on his own evidence (*brātih*) and on that of Antun Mažuranić several generations earlier (*kmetih*). In such cases the internal evidence of the 'Zametki' suffices to show that what Belić was reporting did not conform in all respects to the facts of the dialect he was describing. He went occasionally astray in non-accentological matters as well, e.g. by adducing *nôvce* as if it is a dialectal word (section 3.3) or glossing *peljät* as 'гнать' (section 3.4).

In other cases of discrepancy, however, we have no direct way of knowing what to think. How are we to explain that Belić gives innovating *rešetäjūc* alongside *rešetäjūc*, whereas Karlović accepts only the more archaic accentuation (section 3.4)?

Happily, however, uncertainty is largely limited to non-central parts of paradigms, say oblique plural cases of nouns, or gerunds or past passive participles in the case of verbs, i.e. areas where speakers themselves tended to have doublets in

Belić's time already, hence to be uncertain of their ground. Where more central parts of the system are concerned, nothing I found in 1973 would indicate, or even suggest, that the accentological information contained in the 'Zametki' is not worth its weight in gold.

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ARHAIČNO I INOVATIVNO U SINTAKSI GLAVNIH BROJEVA OD PET DO DESET U HRVATSKOGLAGOLJSKIM PISANIM SPOMENICIMA

Jasna Vince

– τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων οὓς εἶδες ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας τὰς χρυσᾶς · οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες ἄγγελοι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσιν καὶ αἱ λυχνίαί αἱ ἑπτὰ ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν (Septuaginta)

– *sacramentum septem stellarum quas vidisti in dextera mea et septem candelabra aurea septem stellae angeli sunt septem ecclesiarum et candelabra septem septem ecclesiae sunt* (Vulgata)

– *taen'stvie sed'mih' zvězd eže viděl' esi v desnici moei · i sed'mb' světilnik' zlatih' · si sedm' zvězdb' anj(e)li sut' sedmih' cr(ě)k(a)v' i 7 světilnik' zlatih' 7 cr(ě)k(a)vb' sut'* (BrVO 265d)

Otkrivenje 1,20

1 Uvod

Poznato je da jednostavni (neizvedeni, osnovni)¹ glavni brojevi u starocrkvenoslavenskom jeziku po svojim morfosintaktičkim obilježjima nisu homogena skupina.² Samo oni manji od pet razlikuju gramatički rod: glavni broj '1' sva tri (*edinъ, edina, edino*), a brojevi '2', '3' i '4' muški rod suprotstavljaju ženskomu i srednjemu (*dъva ~ dъvě, trije ~ tri, četyre ~ četyri*). U akuzativu muškoga roda broja '1' živo se može, ali i ne mora razlikovati od neživoga. Brojevi '1' i '2' osobiti su po tome što se sklanjaju kao zamjenice, prvi u jednini, drugi u dvojini, dok su svi ostali glavni brojevi imenice. Brojevi '3' i '4' množinski su oblici imenica, prvi *i*-osnova muškoga roda za muški rod i ženskoga za ženski i srednji, a drugi *r*-osnova. Oveću grupu čine brojevi od '5' do '10': *pětъ, šestъ, sedmъ, osmъ, devětъ* i *desětъ*, koji su imenice ženskoga roda s *i*-osnovom. Na

posljednjoj se naziru tragovi pripadnosti *n*-osnovama. Uz to je '10' baza za izvođenje brojeva, jednako kao i ostali brojevi desetičnoga sustava, a to su imenica srednjega roda s *o*-osnovom *soto* '100' i imenica ženskoga roda s *ja*-osnovom *tyspšta* '1000'. U toj će se službi oni redovito pojavljivati u dvojini i množini.

Glavni se brojevi dijele i s obzirom na vrstu sintaktičke veze s obrojčanim predmetom. Dok jednostavni glavni brojevi iznad četiri upravljaju genitivom množine brojive imenice, prva četiri broja slažu se s njome u rodu, (broj '1' u akuzativu muškoga roda i u živosti), broju i padežu, pri čemu je broj '1' uvijek u jednini, '2' u dvojini, a brojevi '3' i '4' u množini.

Hrvatskoglagoljski tekstovi, posebno liturgijski, u velikoj mjeri čuvaju stanje zatečeno u starocrkvenoslavenskom jeziku, ali se u njima mogu zamijetiti i novine kako na morfološkom, tako i na sintaktičkom planu. Promjene u glasovnom ustroju samorazumljive su. Inovativni zahvati ujednačuju sintaksu prvotno različitih jednostavnih glavnih brojeva istodobno uvodeći u sustav nove obrasce.

Evo prvo nekoliko zapažanja o brojevima '1', '2', '3' i '4' u hrvatskom crkvenoslavenskom jeziku.³ U sklonidbu brojeva '1' i '2' kadšto prodiru pridjevski oblici (usp. genitiv *edinogo* ~ *edinago*), ali to je sintaktički irelevantno.⁴ U promatranoj građi dvojina je u brojevnom izrazu tek iznimno ustuknula pred množinom, što se očituje na dva načina. U prvom slučaju, u nominativu/akuzativu broj '2' upravlja genitivom množine obrojčenoga pojma, onako kako to čine brojevne imenice: *on'dže eda si dvě l(ě)tv prebi* (BrN₂ 428d)⁵, a u drugom broj '2' u kosim padežima poprima oblik sročan s imenicom u množini; usp. I mn. *kada se zn(a)m(e)nanь d'vimi meči evi* (BrBar 422b). Izvan brojevnoga izraza zamjena dvojine množinom provodi se u skladu s ljestvicom sročnosti. Odnosna zamjenica podložnija joj je od predikata, a ovaj od atributa (Corbett 2000: 190). Brojevne imenice '3' i '4' također su potpale pod utjecaj zamjeničke i pridjevske sklonidbe. Budući da glavni brojevi '3' i '4' i kao imenice u svim padežima iskazuju sročnost s obrojčanim pojmom, to je tek morfološka pojava bez ikakva sintaktičkog učinka (usp. genitiv *tri* ~ *trihь*, *četirь* ~ *četirihь*). Najzanimljivije što se na našem tlu zbilo u morfologiji, a posljedično i u sintaksi spomenutih dvaju brojeva, promjena je odnosa među rodovima. Nestankom oblika *trie* za nominativ muškoga roda taj se rod posve izjednačio sa ženskim i

srednjim, a oblici *četire* i *četiri* ravnopravno se rabe u nominativu i akuzativu muškoga i ženskoga roda. Najveća je morfološka novina uvođenje nastavka *-a* u nominativ, akuzativ i vokativ srednjega roda⁶ uz čuvanje staroga nastavka *-i*. Kada se pak obrojčeni predmet uz nominativ/akuzativ broja '4' izrazi genitivom množine, to je jasan pokazatelj da je sročnost zamijenjena upravljanjem, što znači da se broj '4' sintaktički prilagodio većim brojevima: *4 životnih* (MOxf₂ 231c) ~ *4 životna* (MOxf₁ 154a).⁷

U daljnjem izlaganju usredotočit ćemo se na glavne brojeve hrvatskoga crkvenoslavenskog jezika od '5' do '10'. U njih su otkloni od kanonskoga sustava česti i raznoliki. Pratićemo što je arhaično, a što inovativno u njihovoj morfologiji i sintaksi. Rješenja iz naših starih tekstova usporedit ćemo s onima iz kasnijih razdoblja hrvatskoga jezika, uključujući i suvremeni. U temu nas uvode tri inačice genitivnoga prijedložnoga izraza: *ot peti hlěbb* (MVat₄ 54a) ~ *ot pet' hlěbb* (BrVO 199c) ~ *ot 5-h' hlěbb* (MHrv 51c). U njima je glavni broj '5' redom imenica, prilog i pridjev.

2 Glavni brojevi od '5' do '10' kao imenice

Svoju pripadnost imenicama brojevi odaju ponajprije imeničkom sklonidbom. U ovom slučaju riječ je o *i*-deklinaciji ženskoga roda; usp. nominativ *sedm'* (1), genitiv *sedmi* (2), akuzativ *pet'* (3), 7 (4), *sedьmbь* (5) i *sedmbь* (7), lokativ *deseti* (6) i instrumental *7-miû* (7). Brojevine imenice upravljaju genitivom množine kao i izrazi za neobrojčenu količinu:⁸ *zvězdbь* (1), *pečat'* (2), *talanat'* (3), *hlěbbь* (4), *lět'* (5), *plemenь* (6), *volьbь* (7) (sa sročnim atributima *tučьbnь* i *krasnьbь*) i *vol'* (sa sročnim atributom *hudьbь*). Odrednica se s brojevnom imenicom slaže u rodu i broju, koji su zadani (jednina, ženski rod) te u padežu; usp. nominativ *si* (1), akuzativ *drugou* (3), *tu* (4), *drugou* (5) i instrumental *drugou* (7).

- (1) si sedm' zvězdbь anj(e)li sut' sedmih' cr(ě)k(a)v' (BrVO 265d)
- (2) otvr'ze agnъc' edin' ot sedmi pečat' (BrVO 269d)⁹
- (3) pet' talant' esi předal' i se drugu pet' priobrět imi (MVat₄ 190c)
- (4) tu 7 hlěbbь (MKop 135b)¹⁰
- (5) drugu sedьmbь lět' (BrVO 168b)

- (6) v deseti plemenъ (BrVO 468b)
 (7) viděhъ volъ sedmъ tučъnъ i krasnъ drugou 7-miû hudъ vol' požiraemi
 (BrN₁ 93a)¹¹

Sve navedeno: sklonidba, upravljanje genitivom množine i sročnost odrednice s brojevnom imenicom svojstveno je i brojevnim imenicama u suvremenom hrvatskom jeziku, tj. imenicama *stotina*, *tisuća*, *bilijada*, *milijun*, *milijarda* i sl. Dva se idioma razlikuju po tome što su u potpunosti one promjenjive i s obzirom na gramatički broj;¹² usp. I mn. *Kamo bismo s tim stotinama otpuštenih novinara, urednika, producenata, itd.?* (www.jutarnji.hr/globus/arhiva/ucijenjena-sefica-bmw-a/4093200/).¹³

Potvrde iz hrvatskoglagolskih rukopisa mogu na više načina odudarati od kanonskih primjera s brojivim predmetom u genitivu množine,¹⁴ a da pritom glavni broj ipak ostane imenica. Prvi se otklon od opisanoga tiče obrojčenoga predmeta. On se u množini može naći u padežu sročnom s brojevnom imenicom, primjerice u instrumentalu množine *gradi* (8), umjesto u očekivanom genitivu množine.¹⁵ Isti postupak prepoznajemo u primjerima 9 i 10, samo što je u njima na mjestu množine jednina. Razlog jednini valja tražiti u tome što je *bratiě* zbirna imenica, a i deset zapovijedi lako je zamisliti kao skupni pojam, materijaliziran u ploči.¹⁶ Atribut *svoeû* (9) slaže se sa svojom imenicom u rodu, broju i padežu.¹⁷

- (8) nad' desetiû gradi ... nad' petiû gradi (MVat₄ 247d, 248a)¹⁸
 (9) svoeû br[a]tiû s devetiû (Baščanska ploča, r.10-11)
 (10) desetiû z(a)p(o)v(ě)diû uk'rěp'leno (PsFr 31a)

Promjena obrasca pogađa nadalje odrednicu glavnoga broja. Svijest da je riječ o mnoštvu volova nagnala je pisara Vida Omišljanina da odrednicu sročnu s brojevnom imenicom u jednini, kako je potvrđena u *drugou 7-miû* (7), stavi u množinu *drugimi sedmiû* (11). Znakovito je, međutim, da u nastavku perikope takvo zadiranje u tekst izostaje, ali je instrumental jednine *drugou* postao *drugui* (12)¹⁹

- (11) viděhъ volъ 7 tučъnъ i krasnъ drugimi sedmiû hudъ volъ požiraemi (BrVO 178d)

- (12) viděhъ ... i klasъ takozde 7 dobroobraznъ druguû 7-miû hudъ klasъ požiraemi (BrVO 178d)

3 Glavni brojevi od ‘5’ do ‘10’ kao prilozni

Kada se akuzativ jednine brojevnice imenice okameni zadržavši ulogu glavnoga broja, taj se broj preobražava u prilog. I on upravlja genitivom množine. Iz rečenoga proizlazi da se brojevni prilog i brojevnica u akuzativu ne razlikuju.²⁰ Pokazatelj priloznosti glavnoga broja okamenjeni je akuzativ jednine srednjega roda kao njegova odrednica: *to* (14) i *drugoe* (15). Uz broj kao imenicu te bi odrednice glasile, dakako, *tu* i *druguu*. U promatranom jezičnom sustavu takve nesklonjive odrednice u kosim padežima nisu pronađene, ali ih ima ne samo u starijim razdobljima hrvatskoga jezika, nego i u novijem.²¹ U kosom padežu dobro se i bez pomoći odrednice razaznaje razlika između (sklonjive) brojevnice i (nesklonjivoga) brojevnoga priloga, posvjedočenoga iza prijedloga koji traži genitiv (13). Srednji rod u jednini zadani je oblik odrednice u okolini koja ne omogućuje sročnost – a takva je okolina nesklonjivi brojevni prilog.

- (13) ot sedm’ d(u)hъ sučih’ před přestolom’ ego (MVat₄ 215b)
 (14) to sedm’ hlěbъ (MVat₄ 139a)
 (15) črěsъ drugoe 7 dni (MVat₄ 101c)

Daljnji je znak priloznosti glavnoga broja njegova odrednica u genitivu množine *pročih’* (16), *iněh’* (17).

- (16) vtoroe lěto gradъ est’ na z(e)mli i oče pročih’ pet’ lětъ (BrVO 180b)
 (17) poimet’ sь sobou iněh’ d(u)hъ gorših’ sebe sed’m’ (MVat₄ 45a)

Dok je u promatranim hrvatskoglagoljskim tekstovima taj obrat rijetkost, u suvremenom je jeziku upravo takvo izricanje odrednice uobičajeno.

4 Glavni brojevi od ‘5’ do ‘10’ kao nesklonjivi pridjevi

Kako bi se gubitkom sklonidbe brojevnice riječi obavijest o padežu ipak prenijela, pisari katkada zamjenjuju genitiv množine obrojčenog predmeta padežom koji bi ona imala da broja nema. Navedeni su primjeri za nominativ (18), dativ (19) i

akuzativ (20). Za obrojčnim predmetom povodi se i odrednica *sie* (18), koja se s njime slaže u rodu, broju i padežu. U takvim izmijenjenim okolnostima, kada prethodi padežnim izrazima (a ne genitivu množine) – drugim riječima, kada ne upravlja dopunom – okamenjeni akuzativ više ne možemo smatrati prilogom, nego pridjevom koji kao nesklonjiv ne može iskazati sročnost s obrojčnim predmetom. I za to ima paralela u starijoj i novijoj hrvatskoj jezičnoj povijesti,²² ali, što je mnogo značajnije, i u klasičnim jezicima s kojih se prevodilo na starocrkvenoslavenski jezik i njegovu hrvatsku redakciju.²³ To pokazuju i naši uvodni odlomci iz *Otkrivenja*. Nepromjenjivi pridjevi strani su hrvatskomu crkvenoslavenskom jeziku,²⁴ kao i hrvatskim idiomima uopće.²⁵

- (18) sie petь i petь d(ě)vi vse ubo sutь d(u)še h(гьst)ьčens'kie (BrN₂ 349c)
 (19) podob'no e(stь) c(ěsa)rstvo n(e)b(e)skoe desetь d(ě)vamь (BrN₂ 347d)
 (20) imuči pet' gradi (BrVO 140c)

5 Glavni brojevi od '5' do '10' kao sklonjivi pridjevi

Glavni broj (imenica) izvorno upravlja genitivom množine obrojčenoga predmeta, a sam se sklanja. Prestavši se mijenjati po padežima taj broj postaje (nepromjenjivi) prilog koji upravlja genitivom množine. Razlikovanje padeža ponovno se uspostavlja kada se uz nepromjenjivi broj obrojčeni predmet stane sklanjati, kao u primjerima 18, 19 i 20. Time se utire put ponovnom sklanjanju glavnoga broja, ali ovaj put ne više kao imenice, nego kao pridjeva, koji je oblikom izjednačen s rednim brojem. Brojevni pridjev obilno je potvrđen u kosim padežima: genitivu (21), dativu (22), lokativu (23) i instrumentalu (24), sa sročnim atributima *buiмь*, *mudrimь* (22), *preobraženihь* (23), *različnimi* (24) ili bez njih.²⁶

- (21) danie petihь umovь (BrN₂ 341b)
 (22) togo radi mira sego cr(ě)ki desetimь d(ě)vamь petimь buimь i petimь mudrimь podobna biti praviti se (BrN₂ 348b), ěk(o) dana bis(i) sed'mimь m(u)žem (BrN₂ 222c)
 (23) v' petihь ubo čuvstvihь (BrN₂ 348b), v šestihь skr'běhь izb(a)vit' te (BrN₂ 207b), v sedmih' dneh' (BrLab₁ 176d), nь sed'mih' korablilhь priplu v' er(u)s(oli)mь (BrLab₁ 49b), po osmih' dneh' (MVat₄ 171d)

- (24) petimi knjigami (BrVO 424b), šestimi krelûti različnimi okrilensь (BrBar 422b), sedmimi obrazi (MRoč 229c), s devetimi čteni (BrN₂ 370d), s desetimi činmi (BrVat₆ 79b)

Takav morfosintaktički obrat ne pogađa nominativ i akuzativ. Izravni padeži čuvaju upravljanje glavnoga broja obrojčeni predmetom i onda kada je u neposrednom susjedstvu u kosom padežu (genitivu) potvrđen brojevni pridjev, kao u *sed'mь svѣtilnik' zlatih' ~ sed'mih' zvězd* (25).

- (25) taen'stvie sed'mih' zvězd eže viděl' esi v desnici moei i sed'mь svѣtilnik' zlatih' (BrVO 265d)

6 Sročnost na rečeničnoj razini

Velika je šarolikost sintaktičkih odnosa između glavnoga broja od '5' do '10' i obrojčenog pojma, a pridonose joj i odrednice uz broj. Širenjem obzora na čitavu rečenicu, broj mogućih i stvarnih sintaktičkih rješenja dodatno raste. Izbor se otvara između jednine i množine glagola kojim se izriče predikat. U pridjeva i participa u imenskom predikatu i predikatnom proširku, kao i u odnosnih zamjenica te ličnih za treće lice kolebljiv je i rod, a ne samo broj.

U rečenicama 26-28 te 7, 11 i 12 na djelu je slaganje prema smislu. O anđelima, djevicama, crkvama, volovima i klasovima pripovijeda se u množini: N mn. m. *iže ... stoěhu* (26), *priěše* (27), N mn. ž. *eže sut'* (28), A mn. m. *požiraemi* (7, 11, 12). Brojevni izraz ostvaren je kao količinski genitiv, tj. brojeva imenica/brojevni prilog + G mn., pa on nije mogao poslužiti kao uzorak za spomenute oblike glagola, participa i zamjenica. Oblici s mocijom izriču i rod: muški *iže* (26), *požiraemi* (7, 11, 12)²⁷ i ženski *eže* (28).²⁸

- (26) i viděhь sedm' anj(e)l' iže přědь b(ogo)mь stoěhu (BrVO 270d)
 (27) pet' mudrih' d(ě)vь priěše olěi v sьsuděh' svoih' (MVat₄ 173c)
 (28) pošli e v sedьm cr(ě)k(a)v' eže sut' v' asii (BrVO 265b)

Rečenice 29 i 30 s brojevnim priložima ustrojene su prema drukčijem obrascu, onom koji prepoznajemo u 14 i 15. I tu je najmanje obilježen srednji rod u jednini

kao zadani oblik (*default form*),²⁹ ali ne više u brojevnom izrazu, kao u 14 *to* i 15 *drugoe*, nego u predikatu *spaseno* i *izagnano*.³⁰

(29) osmъ d(u)šъ sp(a)seno bist' vodoû (MVat₄ 115d)

(30) sedam' bês' izagnano (BrLab₁ 176d)

U našim tekstovima izostaje tip slaganja u kojem bi brojevnice imenice određivale rod (ženski) i broj (jedinu) predikatnih riječi i/ili zamjenica (odnosnih i mocijskih ličnih). U takvom bi obratu naš primjer 26 izgledao kao **i viděhbъ sedm' anj(e)l' ēže³¹ prědbъ b(ogo)mъ stoše*.³² Dok je u izvornom primjeru nemoguće odrediti je li glavni broj imenica ili prilog, u ovom preudešenom on, dakako, mora biti imenica. To je još jasnije kada se brojevnoj imenici doda odrednica **i viděhbъ drugu sedm' anj(e)l' ēže prědbъ b(ogo)mъ stoše*. Po istom obrascu mogu se ustrojiti i ostali primjeri tako da glavni broj u njima postane brojevnica imenica.

Kada je i sam obročeni predmet u nominativu množine *děvi* (18), a ne u genitivu množine, kako je uobičajeno u glavnih brojeva kojih sintaksu promatramo, nije neočekivano što je u istom padežu i broju te u odgovarajućem rodu i odrednica *sie*. Jednako je tako pretkažljiva i množina za predikat *sutbъ*. Broj *petbъ* nema tu dakle nikakva utjecaja na sročnost, bila ona atributna ili predikatna. Ulogu kontrolora sročnosti u oba je slučaja preuzeo obročeni predmet *děvi*.

7 Dodatna zapažanja

U prethodnim poglavljima predstavljani su glavni brojevi u svojoj osnovnoj službi, a ta je obročenje predmeta u širokom smislu riječi: *petbъ knjigъ*. Kada ti brojevi stoje sami, bez imenice, riječ je o apstraktnom brojenju³³ u kojem se pojavljuju isti oblici nominativa/akuzativa: *petbъ, šestbъ* itd. kao i u konkretnom obročanju. Tako je i u suvremenom hrvatskom jeziku.³⁴ Za nas je zanimljivija treća uloga glavnih brojeva, kojom crkvenoslavenski odudara od hrvatskoga, ali nasljeđuje grčki (οἱ δέκα) i latinski (*decem*) jezik:

(31) i slišavše deset' negodovaše o oboû bratu (MVat₄ 73c)

Prema *deset'* u suvremenom hrvatskom prijevodu retka 20,24 iz *Matejeva evanđelja* stoji riječ *desetorica*, uvrštena u posljednju od triju skupina u koje su

razvrstani zbirni kvantifikatori.³⁵ Oba leksema, *deset* i *desetorica*, služe za brojenje muških osoba, ali je samo posljednji sklonjiv (doduše, samo u jednini).³⁶

Kada je riječ o zbirnim kvantifikatorima, valja obratiti pozornost i na brojevine pridjeve prema kojima u istom kontekstu stoje zbirni brojevni pridjevi:

(32) v šestiḥ preobraženiḥ knjigaḥ (BrN₂ 414a) ~ v šesteriḥ (BrVat₁₉ 208a)

Sklona sam tumačenju koje je ponuđeno za identičnu pojavu u suvremenom hrvatskom jeziku, a prema kojem se u drugom slučaju ne govori o šest skupina knjiga, nego o šest pojedinačnih knjiga.³⁷ Drugim riječima, dva su oblika brojevnih pridjeva u primjeru 31 dublete.

Zaključno valja još jedanput istaknuti bogatstvo sintaktičkih i morfoloških obrazaca, arhaičnih i inovativnih, u brojeva za koje to na prvi pogled nikako ne bismo očekivali.

Kratice izvora³⁸

BrBar	Baromićev brevijar, 1561.
BrLab ₁	I. ljubljanski (beramski) brevijar, kraj 14. st.
BrN ₁	I. novljanski brevijar, 1459.
BrN ₂	II. novljanski brevijar, 1495.
BrVat ₆	Vatikanski brevijar <i>Illirico 6</i> , treća četvrt 14. st.
BrVat ₁₉	Vatikanski brevijar <i>Vat. Slav. 19</i> , 1465.
BrVb ₄	IV. vrbnički brevijar, 14. st.
BrVO	Brevijar Vida Omišljanina, 1396.
MHrv	Hrvojev misal, 1404.
MKop	Kopenhagenski misal, kraj 14. st.
MOxf ₁	I. oxfordski misal, <i>Ms. Canon. Lit. 373.</i> , 15. st.
MOxf ₂	II. oxfordski misal
MRoč	Ročki misal, 1420.
MVat ₄	Vatikanski misal <i>Illirico 4</i> , 14. st.
PsFr	Frašćićev psaltir, 1463.

Bilješke

- 1 Za terminologiju vidi Marković (2012: 469).
- 2 Ukratko o brojevima vidi Damjanović (2005: 114-116).
- 3 Istraživanje se najvećim dijelom temelji na građi za *Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije* što ga izdaje Staroslavenski institut u Zagrebu. Primjeri su često preuzimani iz Reinhart (1993), Vince (2014) i (2015).
- 4 Novina je i to što se u A jd. živo suprotstavlja neživomu mnogo dosljednije nego u kanonskom starocrkvenoslavenskom jeziku: *edinogo* ~ *ediṇ*.

- 5 Takvi su primjeri iznimke i pripadaju kategoriji pogrešaka. Običniji su za broj '12', izveden dodavanjem broja '2' izrazu *na desete* (Večerka 1971), iako i tu dvojnina prevladava: *12 ap(usto)lu* (MRoč 3d) ~ *12 ap(usto)l'* (MVar4 4c); usp. Vince (2015: 602).
- 6 O tome posebno Reinhart (2008: 178).
- 7 Primjeri su iz Reinhart (1993: 326).
- 8 Ovisno o značenju mjerena pojma, neobrojčena količina izriče se genitivom množine (brojivi predmeti) ili množine (nebrojivi, tj. tvarni, apstraktni i sl.). Vidi Kovačević (2016: 123).
- 9 Zamijenimo li broj '7' brojem '1000', naš će primjer (2) u suvremenom jeziku biti pomalo neobičan, ali upotpunjen odrednicom postat će nam bliskiji: *Otvori jaganjac jedan od te tisuće pečata*. Usp. bilj. 32.
- 10 Primjer je preuzet iz Reinhart (1993: 326).
- 11 Primjer je preuzet iz Mihaljević (2015: 555).
- 12 Sve su te brojne imenice baze za izvođenje većih brojeva u desetičnom sustavu. O sklonidbi brojeva *deset* i *sto* ne može biti govora, jer su se njihovi oblici pri izvođenju stopili s jedinicama i okamenili.
- 13 Usp. Vince (2016: 103-104).
- 14 "U starocrkvenoslavnskom je imenica koja je bila ovisna o brojevnoj riječi uvijek bila u genitivu množine, čak i onda kada je brojna riječ bila u kojem drugom kosom padežu. To se pravilo kao arhaizam čuva i u hrvatskim crkvenoslavenskim tekstovima" (Reinhart 2014: 342).
- 15 "Najčešće je ipak regirana imenica iza broja u kojem od kosih padeža, što se povremeno može uočiti i u starocrkvenoslavenskim tekstovima" (Reinhart 2014: 342).
- 16 O tome svjedoči i smjenjivanje naziva *Deset Božjih zapovijedi* i *Dekalog*.
- 17 Primjer u kojem je autor posegnuo za istim sintaktičkim sredstvom, a ne pripada hrvatskomu crkvenoslavenskom jeziku potječe iz 1838. godine: *Zanešeni i zadubljeni u tih mislih nepadoše im na oči lépi brežuljci zelenimi maramami pokriveni, i nakitjeni tisućom i tisućom različitim cvětjem* (<https://books.google.hr/books?id=op1bAAAACAAJ>). Usp. Vince (2016: 105).
- 18 Primjer je preuzet iz Reinhart (1993: 321).
- 19 Oblik *drugú* objašnjava put kojim je krenulo kvarenje teksta u *Drugom vrbničkom brevijaru*, u kojem stoji: *drugú že sedmь hudь volь požiraemi* (55c). Usp. Mihaljević (2015: 555).
- 20 Bez znakova koji upućuju na imenicu ili prilog nemoguće je dokučiti o kojem je od tog dvoga u pojedinom slučaju riječ: *suprug' volovnih' kupihь pet'* (MVar4 135d), *naměri šestь měrь eč' mene* (BrVO 46c), *stvari u sedmь' stran' razděti pisci* (BrVb4 91d), *pisahu na har'tiěh' deset' zapovědi mosěověh'* (BrVO 172b).
- 21 Dokaz je tomu rečenica *Sedam putnika od ono deset, koji su se ukrcali u Barceloni, odvukoše odmah do barkase*. www.paluba.info/smf/index.php?topic=27726.30;imode. Vidi i Vince (2016: 109).
- 22 Usp. Zima (1880: 78), Florschütz (1940: 66), Ivšić (1970: 293), Jonke (1964: 123), Vince (2016: 107). U svojoj gramatici Florschütz (1940: 66) takvim primjerima začudo daje puni legitimitet: *Pokloniše se deset gradovima, Gospoduje pet stotinama vojnika, Izmučih se sedam poslovima, Podaj onim šest konjima zobi*.
- 23 Usp. pravilo: "Brojni predmet uz glavne brojeve stoji u onom padežu, u kojem bi bio, da za nj nema broja" (Gortan, Gorski, Pauš 1954: 75) i njegovo ostvarenje uz nesklonjivi broj u latinskoj inačici primjera (19) *decem virginibus*, te isto u grčkom *δέκα παρθένοις*.
- 24 Prema saznanjima Sandre Požar, rijetki su starocrkvenoslavenski nepromjenjivi pridjevi ostali takvi i u našim spomenicima (kao *isplьnь, svobodь*), a i tada samo u onim konzervativnijima. Češće su opremljeni sufiksima ili su postali prilozima. Vidi Požar (2014: 174).

- 25 Na margini svoje teme napominjem da u najnovije doba svjedočimo poplavi pomodnih nesklonjivih pridjeva u niskom funkcionalnom stilu hrvatskoga jezika, mahom pod utjecajem leksika američke popularne kulture. Vidi Marković (2012: 313-314).
- 26 Takvu sklonidbu u čakavskim i kajkavskim govorima spominje već Zima (1880: 73-74). Za stanje u hvatskom crkvenoslavenskom jeziku usp. Tandarić (1993: 101), Reinhart (1993: 318-328), Vince (2015: 600-601). Znakovito je da se tom sintaktičkom rješenju utječu i naši suvremenici, pa pišu primjerice *Promovirajte vašu tvrtku tisućim potencijalnim kupcima*. (Vince 2016: 106).
- 27 To što su oblici za muški i ženski rod u akuzativu množine izjednačeni ne umanjuju vjerodostojnost rečenoga.
- 28 Hrvatska inačica našega primjera s brojem '1000' glasi: *Vidjeh tisuću anđela koji stajahu pred Bogom*.
- 29 Corbett (2006: 96-97). Usp. Kovačević (2016: 125) za neobročenu kvantifikaciju.
- 30 I to je sintaktičko rješenje zastupljeno u suvremenomu jeziku, kako se vidi iz parafraze primjera: *Osam duša spašeno je ...*
- 31 Odnosna zamjenica *ēže* (glasovno *jaže*) sročna je s brojevnom imenicom *sedm'* u rodu (ženskom), broju (jednini) i padežu (nominativu).
- 32 U suvremenom hrvatskom jeziku takav je sintaktički obrat stilski obilježen: *Vidjeh tisuću anđela koja je stajala pred Bogom*. Odrednica uz *tisuću* povećava njegovu prihvatljivost: *Vidjeh drugu tisuću anđela koja je stajala pred Bogom*. Usp. bilj. 9.
- 33 Takav "čisti broj" znači "glavni broj, i to kad stoji samostalno označujući apstraktnu količinu: *dva i dva su četiri*" (Tafra 2005: 39).
- 34 Za brojeve '1' i '2' to ne stoji. Kako se vidi iz prethodne bilješke, oni u posljednjem slučaju gube mociju: "Pri apstraktnome brojenju, primjerice u brojalicama ili kad uz broj nije imenica, također se rabi nepromjenljivo *jedan* (*jedan, dva, tri...*), što na neki način potvrđuje da je riječ o drugome nizu brojeva od onih koje rabimo pri brojenju predmeta" (Marković 2012: 485).
- 35 "My classification of collective quantifiers consists of three groups: (a) 'collective numerals', (b) 'numerical adjectives', and (c) 'numerical nouns'" (Lučić 2015: 4).
- 36 Tako i prema *petu* u hrvatskoglagoljskim misalima u suvremenom prijevodu stoji *petorica*, a parimejna inačica retka 26,8 *Levitikoga zakona* glasi *petina* (Reinhart 1993: 324).
- 37 Vidi Jonke (1964: 123) i Lučić (2015: 13). Obojica autora obrazlažu uvođenje brojevnih pridjeva potrebom za sklanjanjem, koju glavni brojevi od pet nadalje ne mogu zadovoljiti. Iz primjera (32) razvidno je da hrvatskom crkvenoslavenskom jeziku za to stoje na raspolaganju dva tipa brojevnih pridjeva.
- 38 Za podrobnije podatke o izvorima vidi Šimić (2014: 23-48).

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MORFOLOGIJA PRIDJEVA U GOVORU KOSTRENE¹

Silvana Vranić

1 Uvod

Govor Kostrene jedini je od govora primorskoga poddijalekta ekavskoga dijalekta čakavskoga narječja barem dijelom opisan na svim jezičnim razinama. Kostrena Sv. Lucija (sa zaseocima: Martinšćica, Vrh Martinšćice, Žurkova, Mažeri, Glavani, Suzanići, Šodići, Žuknica, Rožići, Doričići, Šubati, Sv. Lucija, Plešići, Rožmanići, Dujmići, Paveki, Perovići i Maračići) zastupljena je osnovnim fonološkim² i morfološkim podacima prikupljenim od govornika Vrh Martinšćice, a Kostrena Sv. Barbara (sa zaseocima: Sv. Barbara, Urinj, Randići i Šoići) ovjerama stanovnika Urinja u sintetskoj raspravi *Trsatsko-bakarska i crikvenička čakavština* iz 1996. Ive Lukežić (preuzetim i u knjizi *Čakavski ekavski dijalekt: sustav i podsustavi* Silvine Vranić iz 2005.). U doktorskoj je disertaciji *Akcenatski tipovi imenica i glagola u sjeverozapadnim čakavskim govorima (dijakronijski i sinkronijski aspekt)* (2006: 120, 182, 187, 190, 191, 194, 198, 200) i u knjizi *Neocirkumfleks u čakavskim govorima* (2017: 99, 134, 148) Sanja Zubčić priključila taj idiom sjeverozapadnim čakavskim govorima³ zbog potvrda neocirkumfleksa u prezentu *e*-tipa glagola osnova kojih završava na sonant ili na šumnik, *je*-tipa i *ne*-tipa koji su danas dijelom naglasnoga tipa *a* (Zubčić 2017: 96) i u određenih pridjeva “koji su u psl. jeziku bili dijelom n. t. *a* ili *b* i kojima je silina na zadnjem ili jedinom vokalu osnove“ (2017: 131).⁴ U pojedinačnim su raspravama zastupljeni elementi kostrenskoga govora: naglasna tipologija imenica (Zubčić 2007), naglasni tipovi pridjeva (Vranić 2016), odnos infinitiva i prezenta (Vranić 2016a), neke frazeološke potvrde (Vranić 2005a), romanizmi u leksičkomu polju kuhinje (Spicijarić 2016), sintaktičke značajke padeža (Crnić, Nežić 2011), a analiziran je i udio značajki kostrenskoga govora u pjesmama kostrenske poetese Katje Šepić Usmiani (Vranić 2007). U tim je radovima uočeno da se lucijanski i barbaranski

govori u prvom redu razlikuju svedenošću na nastavke negdašnje palatalne deklinacije u G jd., NAV mn. imenica ž. r. u govoru Sv. Lucije (-e), a na nastavke nepalatalne varijante u govoru Sv. Barbare (-i) (Vranić 2005, 2007; Zubčić 2007), nekim ikavizmima i nekim leksemima. U pridjevskoj sklonidbi u dosadašnjim radovima o kostrenskoj čakavštini na razini sustava nisu uočene razlike, pa se primjeri pridjeva navedeni u ovom članku drže reprezentativnim za govore lucijanskih i barbaranskih zaselaka.

Cilj je ovoga rada opisati terenskim istraživanjem utvrđene osnove i nastavke pozitiva, komparativa i superlativa pridjeva, uporabu određenih i neodređenih likova pozitiva, morfonološke i prozodijske alternacije u pozitiva i komparativa, kao i komparative s različitim osnovama u govoru Kostrene.

Primijenjena je metodologija motivirana pristupom morfologiji pridjeva u knjizi *The Čakavian Dialect of Orbanici near Žminj in Istria* nizozemske slavistice Janneke Kalsbeek koja je tom knjigom ne samo slijedila svoje prethodnike već u mnogočemu i inovirala monografski pristup opisu kojega čakavskoga mjesnoga govora i postavila visoke standarde u analizi čakavskih, ali i ostalih slavenskih organskih idioma.

2 Pridjevi u govoru Kostrene

Pridjevi se u mjesnom govoru Kostrene tradicionalno dijele na opisne, posvojne i gradivne ili na opisne i odnosne. Pokazuju gramatičke kategorije uobičajene u organskim idiomima hrvatskoga jezika: kategoriju roda (muški, srednji i ženski), broja (jedinu i množinu), padeža te kategoriju ‘živo’ – ‘neživo’ u jedini m. r. Usto, u pozitiv je opisnih i gradivnih pridjeva uključena i gramatička kategorija određenosti, a jedino se opisni pridjevi stupnjuju.

Neki su pridjevi zabilježeni u imeničkoj funkciji: *Bônitevo*, *Bôniteva* G jd; *Márošinovo*, *va Márošinovu* L jd; *Mätešičevo*, *Šikičevo*, a samo u najstarijih govornika i s naglašenim nastavkom u primjeru *muški* ‘muškarac’.

Posvojno se, odnosno i gradivno značenje osim pridjevom izriče i sintagmom ‘od + imenica u G’: *od mōrsheh* (*pužiti*), *orēhova* (*grāna*), *na svīlnen* (*kušīnu*), *zlātan* (*přsten*); *od brāta*, *od sestře*, *od nōne/nōni*, *od staklā*, *od zemljē*, *od štērne*/*od štērni*, ali i bez prijedloga *od*: (*na stānice*) *ljubāvi*, *kljūč* (*rāja*).

Rijetki su pridjevi nepromjenjivi, npr. *bordò* ('tamnocrven'), *celëste* ('nebeskoplav'), *kafë* ('smeđ'). Nisu zabilježeni komparativ i superlativ pridjeva *kapâc* ('sposoban, snažan'). Pridjev je *mâta* ('luda') zabilježen samo u oblicima ž. r. (*Marija Mâta*, *Marije Mâte* G jd., *Mariji Mâtoj* D jd., *Marijun Mâtun* I jd.), pa i kao dio predikata (*Bâš si mâta.*), ali i kada se odnosi na drugi rod (*Susëd ti je mâta.*).

2.1 Pozitiv

Pridjevi su u govoru Kostrene tvoreni od osnove, tj. korijena i sufiksa/sufikasa, i nastavka. Osnova se određuje izostavljanjem nastavka bilo kojega oblika, pa i -*o* nastavka u N jd. m. r. neodređenoga lika.

U NA jd. pridjeva s. r. osnove koje završavaju palatalnim konsonantom imaju nastavak -*e*: *divlje*, *dôlnje*, *domâte*, a osnove koje završavaju nepalatalnim konsonantom dobivaju nastavak -*o*: *dròbno* ('sićušno, nježno, krhko'), *mřzlo*, *mûtno*, *pâmetno*, *rêtko*.

Nepostojano -*a*- u nekih je pridjeva između dvaju posljednjih konsonanata osnove neodređenoga lika N i A ('za neživo') jd. m. r., npr. *bezobrâzan* : *bezobrazn-*, *bîstar* : *bistr-*, *blâtan* : *blatn-*, *bôlan* : *boln-*, *bûdan* : *budn-*, *čûdan* : *čudn-*, *dôbar* : *dobr-*, *dròban* : *drobn-*, *frîžak* ('svjež') : *frišk-*, *gòrak* : *gork-*, *kuntënat* ('zadovoljan') : *kuntent-*, *lâčan* ('gladan') : *lačn-/lašn-*, *lâgak* : *lahk-*, *mëhak* : *mehk-*, *mîran* : *mirn-*, *mrtâv* : *mrtv-*, *môdar* : *modr-*, *modëran* : *modern-*, *mòkar* : *mokr-*, *mřzal* : *mrzl-*, *mûčan* : *mučn-*, *mûdar* : *mudr-*, *mûtan* : *mutn-*, *nâgal* : *nagl-*, *nîzak* : *nisk-*, *ôštar* : *oštr-*, *pâmetan* : *pametn-*, *plîtak* : *plitk-*, *râvan* : *ravn-*, *rëdak* : *retk-*, *sîlan* : *siln-*, *siromâšan* : *siromašn-*, *srdâšan* : *srdâšn-*, *supërab* ('umišljen, ohol, tašt') : *superb-*, *špòrak* ('prljav') : *špork-*, *štûfan* ('prezasićen od dosade, rada') : *štufn-*, *tânak* : *tank-*, *tëpal* : *tepl-*, *tëžak* : *tešk-*, *trëzan* : *trezn-*,⁵ *ûzak* : *usk-*, *vrëdan* : *uredn-*, *žâlôstan* : *žalosn-*, *žëlëzan* : *železn-*.

2.2 Određeni lik

Sklonidba je pridjeva određenoga lika ovjerena u pozitiva, u nekih kao jedina. U korpusu istraživanja za ovaj rad tako je s odnosnim (relativnim) pridjevima na -*sk-i* (-*šk-i*, -*ck-i*), -*nj-i*, -*ašnj-i* i -*ji*: *va kapitânskoj*, *kostrënski*, *kraljëvski*,

mediterānski, mōrska jd. ž. r., porculānski, starīnski, talijānski, venecijānski, žēnski, muški, hrvāški/hrvāčki, dōlnji, gōrnji, danāšnji, lētnji, nekadāšnji, zādnji, Božji, kao i s nekim drugim pridjevima: *dēsni, domāti, gorūti, līvi, mīti/mīti, pepēlni, pokōjni, svilni, tūji* itd.

Samo određene nastavke imaju komparativ i superlativ, npr. *bōlji, brži, dēblji/debelēji, dūlji/dūži, hūji/gōri* ('gori'), *jači, krāti, līpsi, mānji, mēksi, mlāji/mlādi, rēji, šri, tānji, težī, vēti; bedastēji, blatnēji, oštrēji, starēji, vrednēji; nājdeblji/nājdeblji/najdebelēji, nājhuji/nājhūji/najzločestēji, nājmlaji/nājmlāji, nājpravnēji/nājpravneji, nājstareji/nājstarēji, nājzadnji/nājzādnji.*

	m. r. jd.	s. r. jd.	ž. r. jd.	m. r. mn.	s. r. mn.	ž. r. mn.
N	-i/-î, -ø	-o/-ô, -e	-a/-â	-i/-î	-a/â ⁶	-e/-ê
G	-og(a)/-ôg(a)/-eg(a)		-e/-ê	-eh/-êh		-eh/-êh
D	-omu/-ômu/-emu		-oj/-ôj	-en/-ên		-emi(n) ⁷ / -ëmi(n)
A	=N/G	=N	-u/-ü	=N	=N	=N
V	=N		=N	=N	=N	=N
L	-en/-ên		=D	=G	=G	=G
I	=L		-un/-ün	-emi(n)/-ëmi(n)		=D

Kao i u ostalim trsatsko-bakarskim govorima (Lukežić 1996: 122)⁸ i u govoru je Kostrene funkcionalna jedino određena sklonidba, odnosno i neodređeni se likovi, osim u N jd. m. r., sklanjaju prema zamjeničko-pridjevskoj, a ne imeničkoj promjeni.

Određeni se od neodređenih oblika pritom formalno razlikuju *-i* nastavkom u određenom liku N jd. m. r. u odnosu na *-ø* nastavak u neodređenom liku, a u s. r. i ž. r. u nekih pridjeva razlikovnu ulogu ima naglasak. S obzirom na to da su u kostrenskom govoru utrnute zanaglasne dužine,⁹ to je teže, ponekad i nemoguće bez konteksta, u ostalim oblicima odrediti neodređenost/određenost pridjeva. Razlikovanje kategorije određenosti omogućuju neki naglasni mehanizmi: pojava neocirkumfleksa u određenom obliku u odnosu na kratki naglasak u

neodređenom obliku, npr. *siromâšni* : *siromâšan*, *siromâšna*, -o; akuta u određenom obliku u odnosu na dugi silazni u neodređenom obliku, izuzev u onih s akutom uvjetovanim duljenjem pred sonantom, npr. *sûbi* : *sûb*, -a, -o, ali *škûri* ('mračni, tamni') : *škûr*, *škûra*, -o¹⁰, i u sasvim malom broju primjera dugi silazni naglasak na vokalu nastavka u N određenoga lika svih triju rodova u odnosu na kratki naglasak na vokalu nastavka N neodređenih likova izuzev N jd. m. r., npr. *dobrî*, -â, -ô : *dôbar*, *dobrâ*, *dobrô*, ali *golî*, -â, -ô : *gôl*, *golâ*, *golô*. Određenost se ili neodređenost oblika u nekim primjerima iščitava iz konteksta.

Nastavci su u N određene sklonidbe samo iznimno naglašeni: *dobrî*,¹¹ *golî*, *bistrî*/*bîstri*, *blatnî*/*blâtni*, *čistî*/*čîsti*, *slabî*/*slâbi*, a u deklinaciji su nekih pridjeva u kosim padežima jednine (i u D mn. m. i s. roda) zastupljeni dugi nastavci.¹² Riječ je o pridjevima koji su pripadali različitim praslavenskim tipovima.¹³

Primjeri određenih oblika:

m. r. *bôsi*, *bedâsti*, *črljêni*,¹⁴ *dûpli*, *gôrki*, *gřdi*, *lâčni*/*lâšni*, *mûški*, *pâmetni*, *pijâni*, *pljêšnjivi*, *rôzi*, *špôrki* ('prljavi'), *zvônki*, *želêzni*; *bîstri*/*bistrî*, *blâtni*/*blatnî*, *čîsti*/*čîstî*, *slâbi*/*slabî*; G jd. *bîstrog(a)*, *črljêneg(a)*, *kostrênskog(a)*, *mûškog(a)*, *poštênog(a)*/*poštênog(a)*/*pôštênog(a)*, *stârog(a)*, *sûhog(a)*, *talijânskog(a)*, *trêznog(a)*, *tûjeg(a)*, *visôkog(a)*, *zâdnjeg(a)*; *dobrôg(a)*, *blatnôg(a)*/*blâtnog(a)*; *bedastêjeg(a)*, *kasnêjeg(a)*, *veselêjeg(a)*; *nâjmlajeg(a)*/*nâjmlâjeg(a)*, *nâjstarejeg(a)*/*nâjstarêjeg(a)*; D jd. *porculânskomu*, *trêznomu*, *tûjemu*, *visôkomu*; *dobrômu*; *blatnêjemu*, *drâžemu*, *veselêjemu*; A jd. za 'živo' *bôljega*, *visôkog(a)*; *dobrôg(a)*, *golôg(a)*; *vrednêjeg(a)*, za 'neživo' *dobrî*, *tânji*, *mediterânski*; V jd. *lîpi*, *žâlosni*; LI jd. *bîstren*, *črljênen*, *škûren*, *trêznen*, *visôken*; *dobrên*, *golên*; *oštřêjen*; NA mn. *kraljêvski*, *nagrišpâni*, *têpli*; *dobrî*, *golî*; *cenêji*, *hûji*/*gôri* ('gori'), *blêji*/*blêdi*/*bledêji*, *vêti*; GL mn. *trêzneh*, *vêseleh*, *visôkeh*, *krâteh*; *dobrêh*, *golêh*; *mirnêjeh*, *pametnêjeh*; D mn. *trêznen*; *dobrên*; *jâčen*; I mn. *lîpemi(n)*, *trêznemi(n)*, *visôkemi(n)*, *stâremi(n)*; *dobrêmi(n)*, *golêmi(n)*, *vêtemi(n)*

s. r. NA jd. *bêlo*; *dobrô*; *cenêje*, *dûblje*, *jâče*, *tûplje*, *ûže*, *nâjvete*; G jd. *slâbog(a)*, *bêlog(a)*, *dunbôkog(a)*/*dubôkog(a)*, *visôkog(a)*; *dobrôg(a)*; *bôljeg(a)*; D jd. *bîstremu*, *Bôžjemu*, *črljênomu*, *škûromu*; *golômu*; V jd. *lîpo*, *pâmetno*; LI jd. *danâšnjen*, *lêtnjen*, *slâben*, *starînsken*; *dobrên*; *krâten*, *novêjen*, *škurêjen*, *veselêjen*; NA mn.

pepělina, tvrđda; dobrâ, golâ; nâjdeblja/nâjdejblja/najdebelēja, nâjstareja/nâjstarēja; GL mn. dēsneh, līveh, gorūteh; golēh; višljeh, rējeh; D mn. visōken; golēn; I mn. slâbemi(n); golēmi(n); tãnjemi(n), starējemi(n), līpšemi(n), mãnjemi(n), mēkšemi(n)

ž. r. līpa; dobrâ, golâ; slâja; Gjd. dubōke, mūške, poštēne, trēzne, visōke; dobrē; starēja, pokōjne; DL jd. kapitãnskoj, mōrskoj, visōkoj, žēnskoj, žūtoj; dobroj, golōj; bōljoj, břžoj; A jd. hrvãšku/hrvãcku, svīlnu, trēznu, visōku; dobrū, golū; dēblju/debelēju; V jd. līpa, pãmetna; I jd. dōlnjun, gōrnjun, trēznun, visōkun; dobrūn, golūn; dūljun/dūžun; N mn. golē, dobrē; cenēja, nãjmlaje/nãjmlãje; GL mn. žūteh, čsteh; šřeh, nãjhujeh/nãjhūjeh/najzločestějeh, nãjrvnējeh/nãjrvnejeheb; V mn. līpe, pãmetne; DI mn. domãtemi(n), tūjemi(n); golēmi(n); mlãjemi(n)/mlãdemi(n), nãjzadnjemi(n)/nãjžãdnjemi(n), slīpemi(n), stãremi(n)

2.3 Neodređeni lik

Samo neodređeni oblik u N jd. m. r. i određene u ostalim padežima imaju posvojni pridjevi sa sufiksom *-ov-, -ev-, -in-* (često oni kojima se iskazuju porodični odnosi): *kujīnov, mãterin, nōnin, očev, prijateljēv*, ali G jd. m. i s. r. *mãterinog(a), nōninog(a)*, D jd. m. i s. r. *kujīnovomu, prijateljēvomu* itd.; posvojni pridjevi tvoreni od vlastitih imena sufiksima *-ov-, -ev-, -in-*: *Jēla Pērlova, Mīma Fīlova, Mīma Ğrřčeva, Mīma Ūtina, Īvov, Mãrinov, Žēlimirov, Jōžev, Tōnītev, Vrãnītev, Īvičin, Mãričin*, ali G jd. m. i s. r. *Mãrinovog(a), Žēlimirovog(a), Vrãnītevog(a)*, D jd. m. r. *Mãričinomu, Tōnītevomu* itd.; iznimno pridjevi sa sufiksima *-iv-* i *-av-*: *boležljīv, mrtãv*, ali G jd. m. i s. r. *boležljīvog(a), mřtvog(a)*, D jd. m. i s. r. *boležljīvomu, mřtvomu* itd.

Relikti su sklonidbe neodređenih pridjeva za ovoga istraživanja zabilježeni u frazeologiziranim izrazima:¹⁵ *G do kãsna (do kãsna je dēlal), do sīta (īst/jīst)*.

N jd. m. r.	N jd. s. r.	N jd. ž. r.	N mn. m. r.	N mn. s. r.	N mn. ž. r.
-ø	-o/ō, -e	-a/-ã	-i/-ī	-a/-ã	-e/-ě

Primjeri oblika pridjeva s N jd. neodređenoga lika:

N jd. *dōbar, kapãc* (‘sposoban, snažan’), *ponosīt*; G jd. *mōkrog(a), prãvog(a), pūstog(a); dobrōg(a), golōg(a)*; D jd. *lōšemu; dobrōmu, golōmu*; A jd. za ‘živo’

müškoga, za ‘neživo’ *črljēn*; LI jd. *bodljāsten*, *škūren*; NA mn. *gotōvi*, *kapāci*, *sritni*, *vēseli*; GL mn. *vēslehb*, *žūteh*; D mn. *mökren*, *vēselen*; *dobrēn*; I mn. *lipemi(n)*, *golēmi(n)*

s. r. *māmino*, *cēno*; *dobrō*, *golō*; G jd. *gotōvog(a)*, *slābog(a)*, *trēznog(a)*; *golōg(a)*; D jd. *kafēnemu*, *mökremu*; A jd. *gotōvo*, *ōčevo*, *pūsto*, *Tōnitevo*; LI jd. *kafēnen*, *mökren*; NA mn. *lōša*, *māmina*, *prāva*, *golā*; GL mn. *bēleh*, *nōveh*, *mlādehb*; D mn. *mūdren*, *pijānen*, *žālosnen*; I mn. *bīstremi(n)*, *bogātemi(n)*, *dubōkemi(n)*, *dūgemi(n)*

ž. r. *cēna*, *dobrā*, *paklēna*, *stāra*, *tēpla*; G jd. *līpe*, *žūte*; *dobrē*, *golē*; DL jd. *nōninoj*; *golōj*; A jd. *cēnu*, *zdrāvu*; I jd. *bēlun*, *mřzłun*, *slānun*; *dobrūn*, *golūn*; NA mn. *līpe*, *prāve*, *tēple*, *vēle*; GL mn. *līpehb*, *mūškehb*, *visōkehb*; DI mn. *Mārinovemi(n)*, *stāremi(n)*

2.4 Uporaba određenih i neodređenih pridjeva

U atributnoj su funkciji ovjereni određeni i neodređeni pridjevi (uz iznimke, neodređeni se oblik odnosi na imenicu koja označuje sugovornicima nepoznat predmet, a određeni na sugovornicima u komunikaciji poznat predmet, Silić, Pranjaković, 2005: 134), a u predikatnoj funkciji pretežiti su neodređeni oblici kada postoje: *Tēško mu je bīt dōbar*, *Ōn je blātan*. (usp. *Dohāja ōn gřdi mladit.*).

2.5 Morfonološke alternacije u pozitivu

Osnove nekih neodređenih pridjeva koje završavaju skupinom konsonanata, izuzev među zabilježenim primjerima skupinom *-st*¹⁶ (*gūst*, *tūst*, *pūst*), i *-ō* nastavkom u N i A jd. (za ‘neživo’) m. r. imaju nepostojano *-a-*: *blātan* : *blātna*, *čūdān* : *čūdna*, *frīžak* : *frīška*, *lāčan* : *lāčna/lāšna*, *mēhak* : *mēhka*, *mōdar* : *mōdra*, *mōkar* : *mōkra*, *mřzal* : *mřzla*, *ōštar* : *ōštra*.

Kada osnova završava tročlanom skupinom *-stn*, osnova je oblika bez nepostojanog *-a-* okrnjena: *žālostan* : *žālosna*, *rādostan* : *rādosna*.

Konsonanti se nejednake zvučnosti izjednačuju u oblicima određenih likova pridjeva: *slātki*, *tēški*, *ūski*, ali i u oblicima neodređenoga lika izuzev u N i A (za ‘neživo’) jd. m. r: *frīžak* : *frīška*, *frīško*; *nīžak* : *nīška*, *nīsko*.

Provodi se i disimilacija u konsonantskoj skupini: zatvorni velar ispred nepostojanog *-a-* alternira s tjesnačnim velarom ispred drugoga zatvornoga velara: *lågak : lāhka, lāhko, lāhki*; ali *mēhak : mēhka, mēhko, mēhki*.

2.6 Prozodijske alternacije u pozitiva

Kratki naglasak na vokalu osnove alternira s akutom u slogu zatvorenu sonantom: u unutrašnjemu slogu, npr. *bōlan : bōlna, bōlno, bōlni*; *gōrak : gōrka, gōrko, gōrki*; *modēran : modērna, modērno, modērni*; *supērab : supērba, supērbo, supērbi*; *sīlan : sīlna, sīlno, sīlni*; *špōrak : špōrka, špōrko, špōrki*; *tānak : tānka, tānko, tānki*; i u jedinom ili dočetnom slogu: *nōv : nōva, nōvo, nōvi*; *pūn : pūna, pūno, pūni*; *štānj : štānja, štānjo, štānji*; *zdrāv : zdrāva, zdrāvo, zdrāvi*.

Dugi silazni naglasak na istome mjestu osnove u jedninskim oblicima ž. i s. r. (u dijelu pridjeva i u m. r.) i u množinskim oblicima svih triju rodova neodređenoga lika alternira s akutom u slogu zatvorenu sonantom u neodređenog lika m. r. i s tim naglaskom na istome mjestu osnove u svim oblicima određenoga lika:¹⁷ *ankorān : ancorāna, ancorāno : ancorāni*; *bēl : bēla, bēlo : bēli*; *blēd, -a, -o : blēdi*; *cēl : cēla, cēlo : cēli*; *cēn : cēna, cēno : cēni*; *drāg, -a, -o : drāgi*; *gūst, -a, -o : gūsti*; *lēn : lēna, lēno : lēni*; *līp, -a, -o : līpi*; *mlād, -a, -o : mlādi*; *mūtan, mūtna, mūtno : mūtni*; *nagrišpān : nagrišpāna, nagrišpāno : nagrišpāni*; *slān : slāna, slāno : slāni*; *slīp, -a, -o : slīpi*; *sūh, -a, -o : sūhi*; *šēnpijān : šēnpijāna, šēnpijāno : šēnpijāni*; *škūr : škūra, škūro : škūri*; *šūp, -a, -o : šūpi*; *tūp, -a, -o : tūpi*; *žūt, -a, -o : žūti*; *zbaškotān : zbaškotāna, zbaškotāno : zbaškotāni*.

U pridjevu *bōs*: *bōsa* ovjerava se alternacija kratkoga naglaska na vokalu osnove u otvorenom slogu ostalih oblika i dugoga silaznoga naglaska na vokalu osnove pridjeva s nastavkom *-ø* u N jd. m. r. u slogu zatvorenu šumnikom.

U odnosu na primarno kratki naglasak na vokalu osnove u sklonidbi neodređenih pridjeva zabilježena je pojava neocirkumfleksa na vokalu osnove u određenih pridjeva:¹⁸ *bezobrāzan, bezobrāzna, bezobrāzno : bezobrāzni*; *bogāt, -a, -o : bogāti*; *dubōk, -a, -o : dubōki*; *kosmāt, -a, -o : kosmāti*; *nebōg, -a, -o : nebōgi*; *siromāšan, siromāšna, siromāšno : siromāšni*; *širōk, -a, -o : širōki*; *trbušāt/trbušāst, -a, -o : trbušāti/trbušāsti*; *visōk, -a, -o : visōki*; *želēzan, želēzna, želēzno : želēzni*, pa i u pridjeva naglasnoga tipa *b*: *dubōk, dubokā, dubokò : dubōki*; *visōk, visokā, visokò :*

visôki, ali i s *ã* uvjetovanim čakavskim slogom zatvorenim sonantom na vokalu osnove u N jd. m. r. neodređenih pridjeva: *deběl* : *deběla*, *debělo* : *deběli*; *dešpetljīv* : *dešpetljīva*, *dešpetljīvo* : *dešpetljīvi*; *gotōv* : *gotōva*, *gotōvo* : *gotōvi*; *jebežljīv* : *jebežljīva*, *jebežljīvo* : *jebežljīvi*; *krmežljīv* : *krmežljīva*, *krmežljīvo* : *krmežljīvi*; *lažljīv* : *lažljīva*, *lažljīvo* : *lažljīvi*; *pijān* : *pijāna*, *pijāno* : *pijāni*; *smrdljīv* : *smrdljīva*, *smrdljīvo* : *smrdljīvi*; *zaštrigān* : *zaštrigāna*, *zaštrigāno* : *zaštrigāni*, pa i kada je riječ o pridjevima naglasnoga tipa *b*: *poštēn* : *poštenā*, *poštenō* : *poštēni*; *trezān* : *treznā*, *treznō* : *trēzni*.

Kratki naglasak na nastavku N jd. ž. i s. roda i N mn. svih triju rodova neodređenoga lika (u N jd. m. r. neodređenoga lika na vokalu je osnove kratak naglasak ili akut pred sonantom) alternira s dugim silaznim naglaskom na vokalu nastavka N svih rodova određenoga lika u pridjeva koji pripadaju naglasnomu tipu *b* i naglasnomu tipu *a/c*: *dōbar*, *dobrā*, *dobrō* : *dobri*; *gōl* : *golā*, *golō* (kratki nenaglašeni vokal osnove) : *golī*; *bīstar*, *bīstra*, *bīstro* : *bistri*; *blātan*, *blātna*, *blātno* : *blatni*; *čīst*, *-a*, *-o* : *čisti*; *slāb*, *-a*, *-o* : *slabi*.

2.7 Komparativ i superlativ

Komparativ se tvori tako da se osnovi pozitivna ispred nastavaka *-i* (jd. m. r.), *-e* (jd. s. r.), *-a* (jd. ž. r.), *-i* (mn. m. r.), *-a* (mn. s. r.) i *-e* (mn. ž. r.) umetnu sufiksi *-ø-/-j-* (uglavnom u jednosložnih osnova pozitivna s dugim vokalom i u osnova koje sadrže sufikse *-ok-* i *-(a)k-*, a odbacuju ih u komparativu) nakon dočetnoga konsonanta osnove pozitivna, npr. *šīri*, *tēža* jd. ž. r.; *blēji/blēdi*, *mlāji/mlādi*, *rēji*, *slāja/slāda* jd. ž. r., *tvrje* jd. s. r., *drāži*, *sūši*, *jāči*, *tānji*, *krāti*, *bṛži*, *nīži*, *ūži*, *čīšti*, *gūšti*, *tūplji*, *dūblji/dūnblji*, *višlji*, *grūblji*;¹⁹ sufiks *-ěj-* (u jednosložnih i višesložnih osnova koje završavaju konsonantom ili skupinom konsonanata u oblicima bez nepostojanog *-a-*): *bedastēji*, *blatnēji*, *bledēji*, *čistēji*, *debelēji*, *grubēji*, *mirnēji*, *novēji*, *ostrēji*, *pametnēji*, *ravnēji*, *starēji*, *škureji*, *teplēji*, *tvrdēji*, *veselēji*, *vrednēji*, *zločestēji*;²⁰ sufiks *-š-* (rijetko): *līpsi*, *mēksi*.

Dio se komparativa tvori izvan pravila ili ima supletivnu osnovu: *bōlji* (poz. *dōbar*), *dēblji* (poz. *deběl*), *dūlji* (poz. *dūg*), *gōri* (poz. *lōš*), *hūji* (poz. *lōš*, *slāb*), *mānji* (poz. *mīti/mīti*), *vēti* (poz. *vēli*).

Superlativ se tvori prefiksom *naj-* od komparativa: *nājdeblji/nājđēblji/najdebelēji; nājstareja/nājstarēja* ž. r.; *nājmlaje/nājmlāje* s. r.; L mn. *nājhujeb/nājhūjeb/najzločestējeb, nājpravnejeb/nājpravnejeb*,²¹ ali i od pozitivna koji imaju komparativno značenje, npr. *nājzadnjemi(n)/nājžadnjemi(n)* I mn.

2.8 Morfonološke alternacije u komparativa

U komparativu se sufiks *-ok-* i *-(a)k-* odbacuju, a dodaje se komparativni sufiks *-ø-/-j-*: *širøk : šir-* u *širi*, *těžak : tež-* u *tēži*, *slādak : slad-* u *slāji/slādi*, *tānak : tan-* u *tānji*, *dubøk/dunbøk : dub-/dunb-* u *dūblji/dūnblji*, *frižak : friž-* u *friži*, *krātak : krat-* u *krāti*, *lāgak : lag-* u *lāglji*, *rētki : red-* u *rēji*, *ūzak : uz-* u *ūži*, *visøk : vis-* u *višlji*.

Dočetni se konsonanti osnova jotiraju (u dijelu njih nakon prethodnoga odbacivanja sufiksa *-ok*): *t > ṭ* (i s ispred *t > š*): *čišti, gūšti, krāti*; *d > j/ḍ*: *mlāji/mlādi, rēji, slāji/slādi, tvrji*; *g > ž*: *drāži*; *h > š*: *sūši*; *k > č*: *jāči*; *n > nj*: *tānji*; *z > ž*: *brži, ūži*; *b > blj*: *dūblji, dēblji, grūblji*; *s > šlj*: *višlji*; *p > plj*: *tūplje*, ali i *g > glj*: *lāglji*.

2.9 Prozodijske alternacije u komparativa

Dugi naglasak na vokalu osnove u pozitivna²² alternira s kratkim naglaskom na vokalu osnove u komparativa: *dūg : dūlji, grūb : grūblji, jāk : jāči*.

U pridjeva kojima je u pozitivu naglasak na vokalu sufiksa, u komparativu je naglašen korijenski vokal: *dubøk/dunbøk : dūblji/dūnblji, širøk : širi, visøk : višlji*.

3 Zaključak

U kostrenskom su govoru zabilježena kolebanja naveska *-n* u L mn. svih triju rodova i u D mn. ž. r. određene sklonidbe pridjeva. U odnosu je na ranije zapise ovjera u trsatsko-bakarskim govorima izmijenjen i nastavak N mn. pridjeva s. r. u *-a*. U ovom se govoru, kao i u drugim čakavskim sjeverozapadnim govorima u kojima su u dosadašnjoj literaturi također analizirane osobitosti te vrste riječi, u razlikovanju određenih od neodređenih pridjeva osim nastavaka N m. r. jd. koriste prozodijski mehanizmi: različitost mjesta naglaska (odnos koji je danas znatno oslabljen – dugi silazni naglasak na vokalu nastavka u N određenoga lika svih triju rodova u odnosu na kratki naglasak na vokalu nastavka N neodređenih likova

izuzev N jd. m. r.), ali i vrsta naglaska (pojava neocirkumfleksa u određenom obliku prema kratkomu naglasku u neodređenom obliku i akuta u određenom obliku prema dugom silaznom u neodređenom obliku, izuzev u onih s akutom uvjetovanim duljenjem pred sonantom). Nefunkcionalan je mehanizam zanaglasnih dužina jer su sve nenaglašene dužine u ovom govoru utrnute.

Odsjek za kroatistiku – Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci

Bilješke

- 1 Istraživanje je za ovaj rad provedeno u okviru znanstvene potpore *Prilozi za istraživanje čakavskih dijalekata na području zapadne Hrvatske* Sveučilišta u Rijeci.
- 2 Prvi se kratko na naglasni sustav trsatsko-bakarskih govora, pa time i kostrenskoga govora, osvrnuo A. Belić. Istaknuo je konzervativnost naglasnoga inventara i distribucije i uočio nepostojanje nenaglašenih dužina (1912: 359).
- 3 O terminu v. npr. Vermeer 1982; Langston 2006; Zubčić 2006; Lukežić 2012; Lukežić 2015; Kapović 2015; Zubčić 2017.
- 4 U jedinstvenu ih pridjevsku kategoriju s neocirkumfleksom uključuje s obzirom na suvremenu situaciju bez obzira na podrijetlo (npr. kao ista se kategorija broji i tip primjera poput *bezobrazan*, *bezobrazna*, *-o* (*bezobrazni*), koji su bili dijelom naglasnoga tipa *a* i tip primjera poput *visók*, *-a*, *-o* (*visóki*), koji su bili dijelom praslavenskoga naglasnoga tipa *b* (Zubčić 2017: 125).
- 5 Ovaj je pridjev zabilježen i kao dio naglasnoga tipa *b*.
- 6 V. Bujan za govor Praputnjaka piše *-e*, kao što je u mnogim čakavskim govorima (1937: 31).
- 7 U starijim tekstovima navezak *-n* nije zabilježen, npr. u tekstu 'Naše gromače' Jure Suzanića: I mn. *pravemi*, *punemi* (2005: 159-167). V. Bujan u govoru je Praputnjaka i u D mn. pridjeva ž. r. zabilježio *-en* (1937: 31).
- 8 U primorskom je poddijalektu ekavskoga dijalekta funkcionirala i neodređena jedninska deklinacija u opisnih i građivnih pridjeva (prema Mikuličićevim i Bujanovim tekstovima, Lukežić 1996: 122).
- 9 U određenim su oblicima pridjevske deklinacije u mnogim sjeverozapadnim čakavskim govorima ovjereni dugi nastavci u oba broja, a u neodređenoj sklonidbi dio nastavaka nosi zanaglasnu dužinu. Tako je, primjerice, u kraćim nastavcima L jd. m. i s. r. i u nastavcima DL jd. ž. r. (zbog položajnoga duljenja pred sonantom), u G jd. ž. r. i u GDLI mn. svih triju rodova pridjeva u grobničkom govoru (Lukežić, Zubčić 2007: 92).
- 10 Usp. i K. Langston (2006: 182).
- 11 Često se u kontekstu u kojemu se očekuje određeni oblik uz N jd. *dobri* (*-ā*, *-ō*) rabi i neodređeni lik, a u nekim je dijelovima Kostrene danas potonji jedini u uporabi (npr. *Kadē je nestāl onāj tvój dōbar susēd?*).
- 12 Prema ovoj se promjeni mijenjaju i druge vrste riječi, npr. redni brojevi (*prvi*, *drugi* itd.), pridjevske neodređene zamjenice (*sāki*, *nēki* itd.), zamjenica *kīz*, a nastavak neodređene sklonidbe imaju posvojne zamjenice (npr. *mojē* N jd. s. r., *tvójā* N. jd. ž. r.), povratno-posvojna zamjenica *svōj*, neke neodređene i pokazne zamjenice (*nīčigov*, *sākakov*, *onakōv*, *takōv* itd.) i upitne zamjenice (*kakōv*, *čigōv* itd.). Neke od tih vrsta imaju kratak naglasak na nastavku *-ega* u G jd. m. r., npr. *svojēga*, *tvójēga*, *mojēga* i *-emu* u D jd. m. r., npr. *mojēmu*, *svojēmu*, *tvójēmu*.

13 Prva su tri primjera pripadala praslavenskomu tipu *b*, pridjevi kojega su s naglašenim nastavkom opstali u sasvim malom broju u kostrenskom govoru. Potonja su četiri pridjeva uključena u mješoviti *a/c* tip jer je ovjeren i stalni naglasak na vokalu osnove (danas u svih govornika sve češći, a u mlađih govornika i jedini), pa su dijelom i naglasnoga tipa *a* (Vranić 2016: 419). U kosim padežima određene deklinacije ovih pridjeva govornici rijetko naglašavaju nastavak, npr. *blatnôg(a)*, češće *blâtnog(a)* G jd. m. r., a za ovoga je istraživanja potvrđeno samo *bîstrog(a)* G jd. m. r., *bîstromu* D jd. m. r., *slâbog(a)* G jd. m. r., *slâbomu* D jd. m. r., *čîstog(a)* G jd. m. r., *čîstomu* D jd. m. r. Neki su pridjevi uključeni i u naglasni tip *a* i u naglasni tip *b* (npr. *visôk*, *dunbôk/dubôk*, Vranić 2016: 418). U ovjerenim se pridjevima koji su danas dijelom toga naglasnoga tipa neodređenim likom (*trezân*, *treznâ*, *treznô*) u određenom liku javlja neocirkumfleks na mjestu regresivnoga pomaka siline (*trêzni*), kao što je primjerice i u grobničkom, kastavskom ili rjeđe u novljanskom tipu (usp. Zubčić 2004: 624; Zubčić 2006: 117-122; Lukežić, Zubčić 2007: 102; Zubčić, Sanković 2008: 57). Pridjevi su poput *poštên*, *poštênâ*, *poštênô*, *poštêni* u kosim padežima češće ovjereni s kratkom osnovom (*poštênog(a)* G jd. m. i s. r.), a dio ih govornika, posebice naselja Vrh Martinšćice, danas ovjerava kao pridjev naglasnoga tipa *a* (*pôšten*, *-a*, *-o*, *-i*) (iako se sjećaju da su taj pridjev njihovi stariji naglašavali prema prethodnom obrascu), pa je i u kosim padežima silina na prvom slogu osnove (*pôštenog(a)* G jd. m. i s. r.).

14 Za istraživanja je naglasnih tipova pridjeva u govoru Kostrene zabilježen određeni lik *črljêni*, pa je taj pridjev uključen u naglasni tip *a* i podtip *a1* s *â* naglaskom na vokalu osnove u svim oblicima obaju likova izuzet u N jd. m. r. neodređenoga lika u kojem je *â* naglasak uvjetovan slogom zatvorenim sonantom (Vranić 2016: 416). Za ovoga su istraživanja informanti ovjerali određeni lik s neocirkumfleksom, pa bi ovaj pridjev trebao biti uključen u isti naglasni tip, ali podtip *a2*, što ga čine pridjevi s kratkim naglaskom na vokalu osnove u sklonidbi neodređenih pridjeva i s neocirkumfleksom na vokalu osnove u određenih pridjeva.

15 Usp. Houtzagers 1985: 127; Kalsbeek 1998: 131; Langston 2006: 175; Zubčić, Sanković 2008: 52.

16 Za ovoga istraživanja nisu ovjereni primjeri s dočetnom skupinom *-št* koja je potvrđena u nekim drugim čakavskim govorima (usp. npr. Kalsbeek 1998: 136).

17 Tako je u mnogim sjevernočakavskim govorima (Langston 2006: 182), ali ne u svim (primjerice u govoru Grobnika u svim je određenim oblicima svih triju rodova dugi silazni naglasak na vokalu osnove, Lukežić, Zubčić 2007: 106).

18 Jednako je u mnogim sjeverozapadnim čakavskim govorima (usp. Zubčić 2004: 624; Zubčić 2006: 117-122; Lukežić, Zubčić 2007: 102; Zubčić, Sanković 2008: 57).

19 Dio komparativa ima paralelne oblike sa sufiksom *-ěj*.

20 U ovom se govoru komparativi neodređenoga i određenoga lika ne razlikuju ni naglaskom na vokalu sufiksa *-ej-*, kao što je zabilježeno u nekim sjeverozapadnim čakavskim govorima, primjerice u grobničkom (Lukežić, Zubčić 2007). No i u govoru je Praputnjaka V. Bujan zapisao da se komparativ tvori s *-eji* ili *-ji*: *beleji*, *črneji*, *jačeji*, *mehkeji*, *lahkeji*, *lipji*, pa i *najnovеji*, *najbogateji*, *najmarljiveji*, *najšegaveji* (1937: 4).

21 Jednako piše i V. Bujan za govor Praputnjaka: *dobar* – *bolji* – *najbolji*, *loš* – *huji* – *najhuji*, *mići* – *manji* – *najmanji*, *veli* – *veći* – *najveći* (1937: 4).

22 U nekim se čakavskim ekavskim govorima može potvrditi i prozodijska alternacija u pridjeva s dugim naglaskom na vokalu osnove pozitiva u odnosu na komparativ sa sufiksom *-ěj* i prednaglasnom kraćinom. Međutim, u ovom je govoru, kao i u ostalim trsatsko-bakarskim govorima, taj odnos uvjetovan utrnućem nenaglašenih dužina, npr. *bêli* : *belěji*.

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THE LYRIC ‘I’ IN VASKO POPA’S *KORA*

Willem G. Weststeijn

Poet, speaker and lyric ‘I’

Handbooks on lyric poetry and analyses of poetry are usually concentrating on features that, traditionally, seem to be typical of the genre: metre and rhythm, rhyme, sound and sound repetition, verse forms, syntactic and prosodic structures, metaphor, simile and other figures of speech. Much has been written also on the ‘essence’ of poetry and on the differences between poetry and prose.¹

In most of these studies scant attention is paid to the structure of communication in the lyric, particularly the role of the speaker and the addressee. The reason for this ‘neglect’ seems to be that, generally, the speaker in the poem is identified with the poet himself and, accordingly, does not need any further analysis. Even when an author who is discussing poetry is aware of the fact that the poet sometimes does not speak in his own voice, but hides himself behind a *persona*, this does not lead to a thorough investigation of the problem of lyric communication. A typical case in this respect is Wolfgang Kayser, who in his influential *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* (‘The Verbal Work of Art’) devotes some hundred pages to the ‘traditional’ aspects of lyric poetry, and only a few pages to what he calls the ‘Rollengedicht’ (‘role poem’).

Die Lyrik gibt sich als monologische Aussprache eines Ich. Dabei hat sich der Autor nun zu entscheiden, ob er die lyrische Rede als Ausdruck seines eigenen bzw. eines unbestimmten “Ich” erscheinen lassen will oder ob er sie einer bestimmten Figur in den Mund legt. Man nennt solche Gedichte, die sich als Aussprache einer bestimmten Gestalt geben, ROLLENGEDICHTE. (Kayser 1975: 191)

(The lyric presents itself as the monological utterance of an ‘I’. With that the author has to decide whether he wants to let it appear that the utterance is the expression of his own, respectively that of an indefinite ‘I’, or that he speaks in the name of another

person. Such poems, that present themselves as the utterance of a particular person, are called ROLE POEMS.)

In the short chapter ‘Darbietungsprobleme der Lyrik’ (‘Problems of presentation of the lyric’) in *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* Kayser observes that the ‘Rollengedicht’ was rather common in the poetry of the Middle Ages, but can hardly be found in Romantic poetry, which is generally considered as the utterance of the poet himself. He does not mention modernist poetry (T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and others), into which often speakers are introduced who are evidently not the poets themselves.²

In the age of Structuralism, roughly the 60s and 70s of the twentieth century, there arose, partly under the influence of Russian Formalism, a great interest in the formal aspects of the literary work. This interest was almost exclusively directed at literary prose and led to a new development in literary theory: narratology, which still attracts a great number of researchers.³

With the exception of some scholars (Yuri Lotman, Roman Jakobson, Michael Riffaterre) the structuralists were not interested in poetry, so that a new ‘lyricology’, comparable with the new narratology, did not come into being. Lately, however, critical interest seems to be changing and is – again – directed at the lyric. Again: in 1975 Norman Friedman in his book *Form and Meaning in Fiction* wrote:

It is a commonplace of modern criticism that fiction theory and analysis have begun catching up with poetic theory and analysis only lately, and that they have done so largely in terms of the same definitions and principles. This similarity is not strange, since most modern critics have been concerned with a unitary or monistic notion of literature, and to apply the same methods of fiction as to poetry is quite consistent with the nature of their characteristic theory. (1975: 3)

At the present time the tables seem to have been turned, lyric theory becoming popular again and, in trying to catch up with narratology, often using its definitions and methods. A sign of this changing interest is the recent study *Theory of the Lyric* (2015) by the well-known American scholar Jonathan Culler. At the heyday of structuralism and semiology Culler wrote *Structuralist Poetics*:

Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature (1975), the first book in English on the French structuralists; in 1982 followed *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*, and now, after many publications that kept abreast of the new developments in literary theory, he directed his attention to the lyric.

In his book on lyric theory Culler discusses traditional aspects of lyric poetry, but also has useful chapters on the speaker (lyric subject, lyric 'I') in the poem and the addressee. Similar aspects of the structure of communication in the literary work have been extensively studied in recent narrative theory, in which the narrator (as the speaker of the text) has a prominent place. Models of the structure of communication in the narrative were developed after Roman Jakobson's seminal contribution to *Style in Language* (1960): 'Concluding Statements: Linguistics and Poetics'. In this article Jakobson presented his scheme of verbal communication that consisted of six factors: addresser, message, addressee, context, contact and code, each factor determining a different function of language. In Slavic literary theory Jakobson's scheme has been employed by, amongst others, Okopień-Sławińska (1971) and Schmid (1973).

Schmid designed his model of communication explicitly for the narrative text. In this model he distinguishes various instances: the concrete author and concrete reader outside the text; inside the text are the abstract author (implied author), who does not utter any words, and the abstract reader, next the speaker of the text, the narrator, who by his telling the story creates the narrated world, in which characters occur who, in their turn, can tell a story or are just saying something to each other; the narrator addresses himself directly or indirectly to the fictive reader.

Schmid's model of communication for the narrative text has been applied to the lyric poem by Seemann (1984). Like Schmid he distinguishes three intratextual levels: implied author and implied reader, secondly the narrator or lyric subject and the addressee and, on the third level, the characters as addressers and addressees. According to Seemann, this third level is mostly absent in a lyric poem. Seemann's model is not quite convincing, as the communication situation on the second level in literary prose: narrator / fictive reader is essentially different

from that in lyric poetry. In narrative prose the fictive reader exists outside the narrated world, in poetry the addressee belongs to this world, although he (or it: many addressees in poetry are not persons, but objects or abstract notions) is not physically present, as is generally the case in, for instance, love poetry. In my opinion the speaker of the poem is on the same (second) level as the narrator and also is, generally the main and only, 'character' on the third level.⁴

The application of narrative theory to lyric poetry has led to more interest among theorists of the lyric in what can be considered the counterpart of the narrator in prose fiction: the speaker or lyric subject. Although many critics are still using the term 'the poet' when they are referring to the speaker in the poem, there is a growing awareness of the fact that the intratextual instance of the speaker, just as the narrator in prose fiction, cannot be identified with the author. We find this opinion already with the New Critics, who emphasized the fictionality of the poem,⁵ including its speaker, but did not extensively theorize on this subject. In German literary criticism there has been much discussion on *das lyrische Ich* (the lyric 'I'), which was influenced by the prominent work of Käte Hamburger *Die Logik der Dichtung* (The Logic of Literature, 1957). Hamburger denies the fictionality of the speaker in the poem and considers the poem as the direct utterance of the poet. Contrary to her view Kaspar Spinner (1975) describes the lyric 'I' as a *Leerstelle* (empty place), which has to be filled in by the reader in the course of his reading of the poem.⁶

It is undoubtedly easier to separate the author of a narrative text from the narrator than the author of a lyric poem from the speaker or lyric 'I'. Even in the case of an I-narrator it is often clear that the narrator is not the author himself. When Melville begins his novel *Moby-Dick* with the sentence 'Call me Ishmael', there will hardly be any reader who will think that it is the author speaking about himself. Soon the author gives so much information about this 'Ishmael' that the possible link between himself and the I-narrator is definitely severed. In lyric poetry the situation is different. Generally, there is a speaker or lyric 'I' about whom we do not receive any information. There are only his words: a statement, an observation, a declaration of love etc., on the basis of which we may form an image of him. This scarcity of information and the often very 'personal' utterance

makes it not only tempting, but almost 'natural', to identify the speaker in the poem with the poet.

Despite the difficulty in distinguishing the poet outside the poem from the speaker in the text, I am convinced that in principle we have to separate them. Just as the narrator in a story or a novel is a construction by the author exclusively created for a particular text, the speaker or lyric 'I' of a poem is a constructed instance that belongs to the particular poetical text. This does not mean that there should be great differences between the various speakers in the poems of a poet, nor that there are no links between the poet and the lyric subject, but in principle the lyric subject (speaker or lyric 'I') is a fictional construct, created for and introduced into a particular poem. Such a fictional construct (narrator or lyric subject) differs from the pragmatic speaker in a scholarly article or travel story, the aim and essence of an aesthetic object being different from that of a pragmatic one.

Vasko Popa

Vasko Popa (1922-1991) is possibly the best and anyhow the internationally best known Yugoslav poet of the twentieth century. His works have been widely translated; an English translation of his entire poetical oeuvre: the eight volumes of poetry that he published during his life and the poems of his ninth, unpublished volume, appeared in 1997.

Popa was born in Grebenac, a small village near the Yugoslav-Romanian border. He went to school in a small city in Vojvodina and moved to Belgrade in 1940 to study Romance languages and literatures. The war interrupted his studies – Popa spent some time in a concentration camp – but after the war he continued them and graduated in 1949. For some years Popa worked as a journalist; in 1954 he became an editor at the publishing house Nolit in Belgrade, a position he would hold until his retirement.

Popa's first collection of poetry, *Kora* ('Bark') appeared in 1953. It met with much criticism, as it entirely deviated from the then dominant socialist realism. One critic, however, Zoran Mišić, realized the importance of his poetry and wrote a review⁷ that can be considered the first serious study of Popa's work and greatly

stimulated the interest of the public in the new poet. After *Kora* Popa published, sometimes at long intervals, seven collections: *Nepočin-polje* ('Unrest-field', 1956), *Sporedno nebo* ('Secondary Heaven', 1968), *Uspravna zemlja* ('Earth Erect', 1972), *Vučja so* ('Wolf Salt', 1975), *Živo meso* ('Raw Flesh', 1975), *Kuća nasred drumu* ('The House on the Highroad', 1975) and *Rez* ('The Cut', 1981). His ninth collection, under the provisional title *Gvozdeni sad* ('Iron Garden'), remained unfinished.

Popa can be marked as a Serbian poet, not so much because he was born in the Serbian part of Yugoslavia, but because Serbian folklore and Serbian history play a prominent role in his work. This particularly holds true for the collections he published in the 1970s. *Uspravna zemlja* can be read as a journey through Serbian history, from its mythical beginning to the battle of Kosovo of 1389, the struggle for liberation of the Turks in the nineteenth century and, in the end, the arrival in the 'white town' of Belgrade. In *Vučja so* 'all the characters are wolves, each representing a different aspect of Serbian cultural and spiritual heritage.'⁸

Popa's dominant themes: myth, history, folklore and the even more general situation of man in the world, make him an 'objective' poet, in the sense that he does not seem to be interested in expressing his personal emotions and feelings. In many of his poems there is no lyric 'I', the speaker being a rather anonymous voice. When an 'I' occurs, it is generally a *persona*, for instance the pilgrim in the first poem of *Uspravna zemlja*, or the wolf pack that is addressing the wolf shepherd in *Vučja so*. Popa's first collection, *Kora*, stands apart from his work in this respect. In many of the poems of *Kora* the speaker presents himself as 'I' (sometimes as 'we'). How can this lyric 'I' be characterized, and would it be possible, and if so in what way and to what extent, to connect the lyric 'I' to the poet himself?

The lyric 'I' in *Kora*

Kora consists of four cycles.⁹ The first one, 'Opsednuta vedrina' ('Besieged Serenity') has six poems, the second one, 'Predeli' ('Landscapes') nine, the third one, 'Spisak' ('List') fifteen and the fourth one, 'Daleko u nama' ('Far Within Us') thirty. Poems with a lyric 'I' occur only in the first and the last cycle. In the two

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other cycles the speaker does not appear in the first person, but remains an anonymous speaking voice. The poems in these cycles can be characterized, as titles of the cycles already suggest, as 'descriptive'. 'Predeli' has a number of poems the titles of which refer to aspects of the poet's world, such as 'S pepeljari' ('In the ashtray') or 'Na stolu' ('On the table'), which are, however described in landscape terms.

NA DLANU

Na živome pesku

Neme raskrsnice

U nedoumici

Na svakoj raskrsnici

Radoznao pogled

U stanac kamen pretvoren

Pustinja rumena

Ali sve što u nju dospe

Smislom propupi

Nadom procveta

Proleće izuzetno

Ili blagodatna opsena

(Popa 1969: 68)

ON THE HAND

On the quicksand

Dumb crossroads

Hesitating

At each crossroad

An inquisitive glance

Changed to a pillar of stone

Rosy desert

But all that comes to it

Bursts into bud with sense

Bursts into flower with hope

A unique spring

Or a blessed mirage

(Popa 1978: 23)

'Spisak', as Alexander (1985: 29) notes, consists of poems patterned after Serbian folk riddles. Popa, however, has changed the usual order: the title of the poem gives the answer to the riddle, the riddle itself is the text of the poem. 'Kromper' ('Potato'), for example, begins as follows: 'Zagonetno mrko / Lice zemlje' (Popa 1969: 83) ('Mysterious murky / Face of earth' [Popa 1978: 29]).

In the first cycle, 'Opsednuta vedrina', the lyric 'I' has a prominent place. The poems of this cycle were written during the war (1943-1951), approximately ten

years before their publication in *Kora*. Critics have noted the influence of surrealism on Popa's early poetry, but if it is surrealism, it is surrealism of a particular kind, without the 'sense of surrender to the dream flow for its own sake' (Hughes 1978: 7) and without its 'exuberance and impassioned revolt' (Lekić 1993: 8). Surrealistic are, perhaps, only some of the images, and the way the images are combined; the influence of avant-garde poetry in general can be detected in Popa's predilection for free verse, which is, for that matter, not only characteristic for his first collection, but for his entire oeuvre.

Rather than surrealistic, the poems in *Kora*, and especially the poems in its first cycle, can be called existentialist. The lyric 'I' finds itself in a frightening, terrifying world. The fear of the 'I' is not expressed directly and emotionally, but almost objectively, by means of images with motives from fairy tales and folklore.¹⁰ The very first poem, 'Poznanstvo' ('acquaintance') sets the tone:

Ne zavodi me modri svode	Don't try to seduce me blue vault
Ne igram	I'm not playing
Ti si svod žednih nepaca	You are the vault of the thirsty palate
Nad mojom glavom	Over my head
Trako prostranstva	Ribbon of space
Ne obavijaj mi se oko nogu	Don't wind round my legs
Ne zanosi me	Don't try to entrance me
Ti si budan jezik	You are a wakeful tongue
Sedmokraki jezik	A seven-forked tongue
Pod mojim stopalima	Beneath my steps
Ne idem	I'm not coming
Disanje moje bezazleno	My ingenious breathing
Disanje moje zadihano	My breathless breathing
Ne opijaj me	Don't try to intoxicate me
Slutim dah zverke	I sense the breath of the beast
Ne igram	I'm not playing
Čujem poznati pseći udar	I hear the familiar clash of dogs

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Udar zuba o zube	The clash of teeth on teeth
Osećam mrak čeljusti	I feel the dark of the jaws
Koji mi oči otvara	That opens my eyes
Vidim	I see
Vidim ne sanjam.	I see I'm not dreaming
(Popa 1969: 51)	(Popa 1978: 15)

In the second poem, 'Razgovor' ('Conversation') the 'I' addresses his own blood, which, as the blue vault in 'Poznanstvo', is compared to a dragon. Images of fear and violence are continued in the next poems, 'Gvozdena jabuka' ('The Iron Apple') and 'Odjekivanje' ('Echo'):

Gvozdena jabuka	The iron apple
Teme mi je stablom probila	Has pierced my skull with its stalk
Glodem ga	I gnaw at it
Vilice sam oglodao	I have gnawed away my jaws
(Popa 1969: 53)	(Popa 1978: 16)
Jedan zid stane da laje	One wall begins to bark
I njemu hitnem jednu kost	To it I fling a bone
I drugi i treći i četvrti zid	And the second and third and fourth walls
Stane da laje	Begin to bark
Hitnem svakom po jednu kost	I fling each one a bone
(Popa 1969: 55)	(Popa 1978: 17)

In the last poem of the cycle, 'Putovanje' ('Journey') (written after the war?), the mood is somewhat lighter. The lyric 'I' has no time for sighing and thinking and is journeying: 'Ne spotičem se više / O usnulo kamenje na drumu / Putujem lakši' (Popa 1969: 57) ('No longer stumbling / Over sleeping stones on the highway / I journey lighter' [Popa 1978: 19]).

The fourth and last cycle of *Kora*, 'Daleko u nama' ('Far Within Us') differs in many respects from the first one. The (fifteen) poems do not have any titles and the lyric 'I' does not address an element of nature or a part of himself, but another person, a 'you'. Feeling closely connected with the you the speaker of the poem sometimes manifests himself as 'we', in this way including the addressee in his actions and observations. The lyric 'I' does not only speak for himself, but for the addressee as well. In its entirety the cycle can be considered a collection of love poems. This does not mean that the images expressing fear and threat have disappeared, but in this cycle the 'I' is not alone in and against a hostile world, but has a companion. Even the everyday, familiar and normally peaceful world, expressed by the images of drinking tea and walking on the street in the evening, is threatening.

Jeza je na pučini čaja u šolji	Horror on the ocean of tea in the cup
Rđa što se hvata	Rust taking a hold
Na rubovima našega smeha	On the edges of our laughter
Zmija sklupčana u dnu ogledala	A snake coiled in the depths of the mirror

(Popa 1969: 92)

(Popa 1978: 32)

Duž naših rebara	Along our ribs
Ulične svetiljke	The street lamps
Svlače haljine krvave	Take off their bloodstained frocks

Dva smo lista novina	We are two sheets of newspaper
Surovo zalepljena	Crudely pasted
Na ranu večeri	Over the evening's wound

(Popa 1969: 101)

(Popa 1978: 35)

Not all the poems in 'Daleko u nama' are concerned with the outside world. In some of them the 'I' is only concerned with the 'you' and addresses and praises her in words and images that reminds one of the biblical Song of Solomon.

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Ulice tvojih pogleda Nemaju kraja	The streets of your glances Have no ending
Laste iz tvojih zenica Na jug se ne sele	The swallows from your eyes Do not migrate south
Sa jasika u grudima tvojim Lišće ne opada	From the aspens in your breasts The leaves do not fall
Na nebu tvojih reči Sunce ne zalazi	In the sky of your words The sun does not set
(Popa 1969: 105)	(Popa 1978: 36-37)
U moru bih spavao U zenice ti ronim	I would sleep in the sea I plunge into the pupils of your eyes
Na pločniku bih cvetao U hodu ti leje crtam	I would blossom on the pavement I trace the drills where you walk
Na nebu bih se budio U smehu tvom ležaj spremam	I would wake up in heaven I spread a couch in your laughter
Igrao bih nevidljiv U srce ti se zatvaram	I would dance invisible I lock myself in your heart
Tišini bih te oteo U pesmu te oblačim	I would steal you from silence I clothe you in song
(Popa 1969: 107)	(Popa 1978: 37)

The love lyrics in 'Daleko u nama' stand apart in Popa's poetry and do not find a continuation in his later work. The question arises: were these poems addressed to a real woman the young poet – Popa was in his twenties when he wrote them – knew and was in love with? In some cases, particularly when a poet introduces aspects of his own biography into a poem, it may be relevant for the interpretation of the poem to know the poet's biographical background. Generally, however, the interpretation is not significantly enlarged by means of the biographical context. Extensive biographies have been written on famous poets such as Goethe and

Puškin, and critics have tried to connect particular poems with particular events or particular persons in the poet's life, but often this connection does not give any surplus value to the poem. Even if we would know the 'real' addressee in Puškin's famous love lyric 'Ja vas ljubil, ljubov' ešče, byt' možet...' – and the critics have various candidates for her – we do not read or interpret the poem in a different way or appreciate it more highly. The poem is, in the first place, an autonomous artistic object. The connection between the poet and his work may be obvious, but this does not mean that we need the poet's biography in order to deepen the interpretation of the poem. Likewise, there is no point in establishing biographical facts on the basis of the literary work: an author does not necessarily speak the 'truth' about himself in his work and is free to do as he pleases, even making up facts of his own life if they fit in the poem or story he is creating. I have never read any biography of Vasko Popa and I do not feel any need to do so: his poetry is aesthetically convincing and impressive enough without knowledge of these 'external' facts.

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Notes

- 1 See, for instance, Vestdijk 1975 [1950], Kayser 1973 [1948], Lotman 1968, Burnshaw ed. 1964 [1960].
- 2 Sometimes the title of a poem indicates already that the speaker is not the poet, as in Eliot's 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'. In 'Gerontion', written in 1920, when Eliot was 32, the speaker is an old man: 'Here I am, an old man in a dry mouth, / Being read to by a boy, waiting for rain.' (Eliot 1969: 37)
- 3 The French Structuralists: Roland Barthes, Claude Bremond, Algirdas Greimas, Tvetan Todorov and Gérard Genette laid the basis of this new development. Very influential was the American Wayne C. Booth, who in his *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (1961) introduced the term 'implied author'. The results of half a century of narratology research can be found in the recent *Handbook of Narratology* (2014).
- 4 See also Weststeijn 1991; forthcoming.
- 5 See, for instance, Brooks 1947.
- 6 A fairly recent discussion of *das lyrische Ich* in the German theory of literature can be found in Martínez 2002. See also Schönert 1999.
- 7 See Mišić 1953.
- 8 Alexander 1985: 40. Her study of Popa's poetry is for the greater part devoted to an analysis of the collection *Vučja so*.
- 9 I am using the definitive edition of the text (Popa 1969), which in some respects differs from the first one. The 1953 edition had five cycles (parts of the fifth cycle were used for later collections)

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and a different order of the cycles: the first one in the 1953 edition, 'Daleko u nama' ('Far Within Us'), became the last one in the definitive edition.

10 For a more extensive analysis of the cycle, see Cidilko 1987: 16-21; Lekić 1993: 19-24.

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O NEKADAŠNJEM ČAKAVSKOM GOVORU MALOGA LOŠINJA

Sanja Zubčić

1 Uvod

Jedan je od osnovnih ciljeva dijalektologije opisivanje i klasificiranje idioma. Pritom se najčešće opisuju oni idiomi koji su sinkronijska činjenica i čija uporabna vrijednost ide od one općeuporabne s tendencijom širenja i na neke inoidiomske govornike do one da i izvorni govornici zapostavljaju i zaboravljaju vlastiti idiom. U rasponu između tih dviju potpunih krajnosti, sve su druge mogućnosti, a svima im je zajedničko to što ćemo uvijek naći najmanje jednoga živućega govornika koji još komunicira tim idiomom ili ima svijest o njemu. Postoje međutim idiomi koji su se potpuno zatrli kao lingvistička specifičnost i koji pripadaju dijakronijskoj dijalekatskoj slici. I takve je idiome potrebno popisati jer se iz njih iščitava stara dijalekatska slika, ali se na temelju pravaca njegova razvoja može pretpostaviti i razvojni pravac odumiranja drugih idioma kao i granice protezanja zajedničkih snopova izoglosa. Dakle, oni idiomi koji su danas nepostojeći, mogu se opisati rekonstrukcijom njihovih jezičnih značajki.

2 Cilj i metodologija istraživanja

Cilj je ovoga istraživanja dvojak: 1. utvrditi suvremeno stanje u govoru Maloga Lošinja, i 2. na temelju građe prikupljene terenskim radom i ekscerpiranjem iz dostupne građe dati prilog rekonstrukciji govora Maloga Lošinja na fonološkoj, morfološkoj i leksičkoj razini te isti usporediti s drugim govorima na Lošinju (primarno s govorima Ćunskoga i Veloga Lošinja jer pripadaju istom, ikavsko-ekavskom dijalektu), radi usporedbe i klasifikacije.

Prvi će se cilj ostvariti tako da će se na temelju dostupne literature pratiti bilješke o statusu čakavskih govornika u Malom Lošinju i usporedit će se s vlastitim suvremenim terenskim nalazima.

Tijekom terenskoga rada u Lošinj u dobila sam ondje vrijednoga dijalektološkoga materijala, prije svega od gospodina Julijana Sokolića koji, premda rođenjem nije iz Maloga Lošinja, ima vrlo izraženu svijest o potrebi očuvanja i isticanja zavičajnih vrednota. Glavnina je ovoga rada nastala na njegovim materijalima na čemu mu od srca zahvaljujem. Radi se o dvama izvorima: 1. neobjavljenom i akcentuiranom popisu pomorskih toponima Nerezinjanina Valentina Žuklića iz 1950. godine na 41 stranici, kojemu su dodani ogleđi govora s temama iz pomorstva (vrste plovila, dijelovi plovila, gradnja broda, alatke za gradnju broda, ribarstvo i dr.) na 19 stranica, 2. o pripovijetci Klaudija Martinolića objavljenoj 1983. o uplovljavanju talijanske torpiljarke *Orsini* u malološinjku luku i razvijanju talijanske zastave na hrvatskom tlu u jesen 1918. godine. Nastojeći čim vjernije prenijeti govor onodobnih Lošinjana, tada mladi autor konzultirao se s jednom od rijetkih govornica toga idioma Anom Kozulić. Iz toga će se materijala ekscerpirati oni jezični podatci koji su prilog rekonstrukciji govora Maloga Lošinja.¹ V. Žuklić intervjuirao je u kolovozu 1950. godine ukupno 16 ispitanika iz Nerezina, Maloga i Veloga Lošinja, Suska i Ilovika, od čega ih je pet bilo iz Maloga Lošinja. To su: Ante Kukljić, rođ. 1873.; Ante Poljanić, rođ. 1889.; Josip Picinich, rođ. 1877.; Jerko Rizzi, rođ. 1884. i Šime Skopinić, rođ. 1905. godine. Podatci dobiveni ekscerpisanjem iz te građe upotpunit će se s podacima iz malobrojne literature o govoru Lošinja, a oni će se usporediti s dostupnim podacima iz literature o govorima Nerezina, Svetoga Jakova, Čunskoga i Veloga Lošinja te s podacima prikupljenim vlastitim terenskim istraživanjem u Velom Lošinj u 2003. godine.

Potreba je za ovim poslom tim veća što su radovi malobrojni, a broj opisanih značajki u njima znatno reduciran prvenstveno zbog vrlo slaboga sociolingvističkoga statusa čakavštine u tom mjestu već od vremena prvih istraživača, što dalje nosi problem pronalaska obavjesnika i rezultira konačno manjim brojem zabilježenih i analiziranih jezičnih činjenica.

3 Dosadašnja istraživanja

Koliko je poznato, prve je zabilješke o govoru Maloga Lošinja ponudio Ivan Milčetić u svojem radu *Čakavština Kvarnerskih otoka* upućujući na realizaciju

dugoga *a* kao diftonga *ua*² (*zaboduâski*,³ *juâje*, *zuâc*, *Kuâte*, *haruâski*, *Vela Struâza*, *mortuâr*) i dugoga *o* koje “glasi nekako između *o* i *u*” (1895: 100,102). Bilježi i da se vokal *e* kadšto ostvaruje kao *je* i to u romanizmima *kon'jêstra* i *kon'jêrica* (prema rom. *canestra*), ali i u etniku *Malosjêlci* (1895: 103). Slogotvorno se *r* realizira u sekvenciji *ar*, s time da je popratni vokal “obično vrlo slab, no ipak se razbira:” *parn'jêst*, *parnesal*, *ûmar - umârla - umârlo*, *koludarc* (1895: 105). Od morfoloških opaski bilježi samo oblik vokativne konstrukcije *sveta Marijo* (1895: 116).

Koncem 19. stoljeća, u dva je navrata, 1897./1898. i 1900. godine, malološinjski govor istraživao češki slavist Josef Karásek. Planirao je o tome objaviti veću raspravu no nažalost sve je ostalo samo na izvješću objavljenju 1900. godine.⁴ Prikaz toga izvješća napisao je iste godine u *Viesniku* Ivan Milčetić osvrćuju se primarno na Karásekovo tumačenje kako je cakavizam nastao pod utjecajem talijanskoga jezika ističući da “to nalazimo i drugdje po hrvatskom primorju i po Dalmaciji, onda u Baški (na Krku), gdje je teško misliti na utjecanje talijanskog jezika” (1900: 694). I ostali su se autori s rezervom odnosili prema Karásekovu radu. Tako mu J. Hamm (1956: 188-189) zamjera odabir starijega Suščana za obavjesnika te njegovu kćer koja je, premda nedvojbeno rođena u Malom Lošinju, govornica mlađe generacije; usto upućuje i na neke neutemeljene teze no navodi da su “glasovno njegova bilježenja uglavnom dobra, samo su mu tumačenja subjektivna i iskrivljena” (1956: 189). I sam je Karásek primijetio, koncem 19. st. snažnu talijanizaciju govornika koji zaboravljaju materinski idiom i koji sami za sebe kažu da *diskureju bastoardo* (1900: 102). O sociolingvističkoj situaciji u Malom Lošinju progovara u uvodnom dijelu studije te navodi neke romanske elemente, a cakavizam, sukladno znanjima onoga vremena, određuje kao pojavu potaknutu romanskim utjecajem (1900: 103). Od vokalizma bilježi diftongaciju pa kaže da se dugo *a* ostvaruje kao *oa* u primjerima *bakaloar*, *zidoar*, *doal*, *znoate* i kao *ua* u primjeru *tovuar* (1900: 104); dugo *e* neovisno o podrijetlu ostvaruje se kao *i^{je}* u primjerima *s^{i^{je}}st*, *m^{i^{je}}so*, *v^{i^{je}}zan* i dr.; dugo se *o* ostvaruje kao *uo* ili se artikulacijski potpuno zatvara do *u*, u mogućnost čega J. Hamm sumnja ironično navodeći da mu takav ostvaraj diktira “njegovo češko uho” (1956: 189). Zanimljivo je da Karásek diftongaciju određuje kao mlađu jezičnu pojavu jer je ne

bilježi kod svoga najstarijega informanta (rođenjem Sušćanina) dok je u mlađe generacije govornika (mladih od 50 godina) ona po Karáseku sustavna (1900: 101). Tu mu tezu zamjera i J. Hamm (1956: 188). Konsonantske su mu primjedbe uglavnom u redu. U dijelu rasprave o morfologiji dio potvrda preuzima iz pisanoga korpusa koji su predstavljale matične knjige (1596.-1674.) te matične knjige vjenčanih (1622.-1666.) pa taj dio rasprave ima dijakronijski karakter. Daje kratak pregled paradigmi imenica spominjući morfem *-i* u I jd. imenica m. r.; oblike I jd.; G jd. ž. r.; G mn. svih triju rodova te nesinkretiziranih oblika D, L, I mn. Znatna je pogreška navođenje oblika G mn. s morfemom *-a* u brojevno-imenskim sintagmama tipa *sedan popova* (Karásek 1900: 110). Nabraja zamjenice i brojeve dok se u glagola zadržava na apokopiranom infinitivu, imperativu te prezentu dijela glagola. Na koncu izvješća bilježi narodnu pjesmu. Drugi je dio Karásekova izvješća (115-117) zanimljiv jezičnopovijesno jer bilježi crticu o supostojanju dvaju pisama i dvaju jezika na lošinjskom prostoru.

Pola stoljeća kasnije, J. Hamm u prilogu naslovljenu *Zaleđe Suska - danas* poznatom radu *Govor otoka Suska* (Hamm, Hraste, Guberina 1956) popisuje jezične značajke govora na otocima Lošinju, Iloviku i Unijama. U dvama izvješćima iz 1955. Hamm spominje J. Karáseka, a u studiji o čakavskom imperfektu (Hamm 1963: 116) relativizira njegov nalaz. U radu *Izveštaj o naučnom putovanju na Lošinj i susjedne otočiće* J. Hamm na temelju zajedničkih jezičnih značajki razlikuje sjeverni dio otoka koji čine naselja Sv. Jakov i Nerezine i koje povezuje sa sjevernijim creskim govorima, te južni kojemu je središnji govor govor Veloga Lošinja koji se veže s jedne strane s Ilovikom, a s druge s Malim Lošinjem, Čunskim, Unijama i Srakanama (1955a: 329). Nešto iscrpnije o govoru Maloga Lošinja piše u drugom izvješću naslovljenu *Izveštaj o naučnom putovanju na Olib, Silbu, Ist, Premudu i Pag* (1955b) spominjući diftongaciju dugih vokala *a*, *o* i *e* s time što ne navodi eksplicitan ostvaraj već bilježi sve koje je čuo; prelazak dočetnoga nastavačnoga *m* u *n*; tipične čakavske ostvaraje jotacija skupina *skj*, *stj*, *zdj* te *tj* i *dj*; neizmijenjeno dočetno slogovno *l*; supstituciju fonema *l̃* fonemom *j* te refleksi *al* od slogotvornoga *l* (1955b: 336-337). Spominje samo dvije morfološke značajke i to morfem *-u* u I jd. *e*-promjene imenica ženskoga roda te ostatke čakavskoga imperfekta i aorista (1955b: 338). Hammov je prikaz govora

Lošinja (1956) mnogo iscrpniji i opisuje vokalizam, akcentuaciju, konsonantizam i oblike. U kontekstu je ovoga rada izuzetno bitan uvodni dio ovomu dijelu studije u kojem J. Hamm ističe da je gubljenje hrvatskoga jezika među domicilnim stanovništvom Maloga Lošinja uvjetovano prije svega talijanizacijom što je još 1929. primijetio i M. Maček pišući o čakavizmu u govoru Maloga Lošinja.

Na *Karti čakavskoga narječja* M. Moguš i B. Finke (Moguš 1977) mjesni je govor Maloga Lošinja svrstan u grupu govora u kojima su potvrđene sve jezične značajke što ih M. Moguš određuje čakavskima (Moguš 1977: 100-102). Isto je potvrdila i I. Lukežić⁵ (1990: 114) određujući preciznije da mjesni govor Maloga Lošinja pripada rubnomu poddijalektu ikavsko-ekavskoga dijalekta čakavskoga narječja.

4 Rasprava

A) Suvremeno stanje (sinkronijski aspekt)⁶

U sklopu opsežnijega istraživanja, u ožujku 2003. godine boravila sam u Malom Lošinj i utvrdila da ondje više nema izvornih govornika toga primarno čakavskoga idioma. Mali Lošinj danas jest čakavski punkt, no ne radi se o jedinstvenom čakavskom idiomu već o ukupnosti različitih čakavskih idioma koje sa sobom donose govornici najčešće iz mjesta koja administrativno gravitiraju Malomu Lošinj, a u kojima je još uvijek očuvan primaran čakavski idiom, poput govora Ustrina i Beleja s Cresa; Nerezina, Sv. Jakova, Čunskoga i Veloga Lošinja te otoka Suska, Unija, Ilovika, Srakana i dr. Razumljivo je da danas mjesni govor Maloga Lošinja čine i svi ostali nečakavski govornici kojih ima sve više. Jednaka je i percepcija lokalnoga stanovništva koji tvrde da autohtonih Malološnjana ima vrlo malo, oni su svi starije generacije i međusobno govore isključio talijanskim jezikom, dok ostatak čine doseljenici. O supostojanju talijanskoga i hrvatskoga - čakavskoga idioma pisao je još J. Karásek (1900). Vrlo je izvjesno da bi se u brojnim iseljeničkim zajednicama u svijetu⁷ našlo još autohtonih govornika koji u inojezičnim okolnostima zbog izoliranosti dugo vremena uspijevaju zadržati neizmijenjenima jezične značajke materinskoga idioma. Takvi govornici nisu pronađeni za ovoga istraživanja, ali metodološki model može biti poticajan.

B) Analiza korpusa (dijakronijski aspekt)

U nastavku će se rada izložiti neke fonološke, morfološke i leksičke značajke koje je bilo moguće ekscerpirati iz materijala koji nam je poslužio kao korpus za ovo istraživanje.

1 Fonološke značajke**1.1 Vokalizam**

Prema istraženom materijalu vokalski trokuti malološinjskoga govora izgledaju ovako:

Dugi vokali

i u
 ie uo
 ua

Kratki vokali

i u
 e o
 a

ā > ua: LŠ: *struaha, pitual, jua, kuoā, muoala stvuoar, dvua (ali kvintala), druago, kua, smužunuani, gluadi G jd., Talijuancići, znuam, luacni, sruam, pjažua, zajual, znuam, znuaš, šoportual, puast, pjažua, nuam, kua, vluast, Karvuati, karvuasku, znuaj, karvuaska, znuaš, ćapuam, pjažuam, njejua, duan, arivual, suama, zluatnog, skužuaj, žual, deliberual, zuanj ‘za nj’, stuari, ali Talijani, Karvuati, struahom, struah, skužuaj, buandu, fualša;* PT: *Muāle Baldārke, I Balduārkan, Javornuā, Pūnta òt Juāmne*

ē > ie: LŠ: *njie, nijeće, zvijet ‘uzeti’, rijekla, grijesh, bandijeru, nijećeju, grijem, gvijere, nijeće, zvijel, bandieru;* PT: *Pliêski, Vālica Sviêtoga Gaudiênta, Mûl òt Roviênske, Velosiêlka*

ō > uo: LŠ: *puoć, buog, stuo, mouj, fažuola, uon, tvuoj, tvuoga, poul, uov, nuos, Buoh, tuo, muog, znuaš, muore, nemuoj, Buog;* PT: *Vālica òt Cikāta sa smuôrca, Muòst, Trasuôrka, I Artuôn (Arat), Buòk òt Prìvlake.*

S obzirom na sustavnost diftongacije u analiziranim tekstovima, sigurno je da je Karásekova primjedba o tome da bi to mogla biti novija jezična značajka pogrešna te se stoga slažemo s Hammovom primjedbom (1956: 188).

Ista je pojava diftongacije dugih naglašenih vokala zabilježena i u ekavskim lošinjskim govorima (Vranić 2005: 208), te u govoru Čunskoga (Houtzagers 203: 35). U govoru Veloga Lošinja I. Lukežić (1990: Tablica 2) bilježila je diftonške ostvaraje dugih *e* i *o* dok se dugo naglašeno *a* realizira ili kao zatvoreno ili kao *o*. Isto sam sporadično zabilježila za svojega istraživanja (*fr̥ātar, zdr̥āvje, st̥āri*).

U obama analiziranim tekstovima slogotvorno *r* uvijek dolazi u sekvenciji *ar*: LŠ: *darhčes, parnesal, parnest, karvuaska, karv, barzo, marzit, skarcat*; PT: *Pūnta ōt Varhã, Arãt, Martvãska, Carjenica, vãrsa, varsic̃en, karmũ*, a isto je i u govoru Čunskoga (Houtzagers 2003: 46) i Veloga Lošinja (*sekãrva, tarpit̃*) te u ekavskim govorima Nerezina i Svetoga Jakova (Vranić 2005: 208).

Primjeri slogotvornoga *l* potvrđeni su u PT: *Malzevãcina, Dãlga Lôza*, dok je u LŠ: *muči*. I u govoru Čunskoga zabilježena su oba ostvaraja (Houtzagers 2003: 46). U sjevernije smještenim govorima Nerezina i Svetoga Jakova (Vranić 2005: 197) refleks *al* je gotovo sustavan (*sãlza, tarpit̃*). U govoru Veloga Lošinja prevladava *u* (*sũza, stũp*). Radi se o izoglosi koja se na sjeveru otoka ostvaruje kao *al*, u središnjoj zoni koju čine govori Čunskoga i Maloga Lošinja su *al* i *u*, a u najjužnijem punktu, Velom Lošinju, prevladava *u*.

Dočetno je slogovno *l* zadržano sustavno u muškom rodu jednine glagolskoga pridjeva radnoga: LŠ: *parnesal, čul, finil, vratil, kupil, prišal, otil, prišel, zajual, otil, šoportual, obisil, dvigal, zabral, otil, udelal, rekal, otil*, te u imenica u unutrašnjim slogovima: PT: *Delnik* što je česta značajka čakavskih govora.

Refleks jata slijedi pravilo Jakubinskoga i Meyera pa se realiziraju sljedeći ostvaraji s ekavskim refleksom: LŠ: *delate, imela, dve besede, smejući se, mesto* ‘umjesto’, *mesto* ‘mjesto’, *delat, vremenu, delate, ovde*; i sljedeći primjeri s ikavskim: LŠ: *crikvu, potribu, čovik, lipi, lip, lipo, imit, vrimenta, otil, živila*; PT: *mrize*.

Potvrde za refleks prednjega nazala ispred palatala uvijek su malobrojne, a u istraženim je tekstovima samo jedna potvrda: LŠ: *zajual* ‘posudio’, ali i *jezik*.

Refleks poluglasa je *a*: LŠ: *otac, vazmi, va*; PT: *Bocãc, Krajêvac, konãc*. Zabilježen je i toponim *Põt Målin*. U zamjenici *ce* i oblicima izvedenim od nje (*cegot*) te u nesvršenim oblicima glagola *bit* epentetski se poluglas uvijek realizira kao *e*: LŠ: *sem, nisen, sen, nisem*. Potpuno je jednako potvrđeno u govoru Veloga Lošinja i Ćunskoga (Houtzagers 2003: 40). Hamm, Hraste, Guberina (1956: 191) bilježe da je taj ostvaraj tipičan za sve govore na Lošinju, ali ga ne tumače kao *e*-refleks poluglasa već kao posebnu realizaciju koja se razlikuje od etimološkoga *e* ili *e* nastaloga kao refleks prednjega nazala ili ekavskoga refleksa jata.

Iz ovoga kratkoga prikaza temeljnih vokalskih značejki zaključuje se da je govor Maloga Lošinja pripadao ikavsko-ekavskomu dijalektu čakavskoga narječja i da je po dijelu vokalskih značajki, primarno po sustavnoj diftongaciji vokala, refleksima slogotvornih sonanata i vokala on najbliži govoru Ćunskoga.

1.2 Konsonantizam

Konsonantski inventar malološinjskoga govor činili su sljedeći konsonanti: *p, b, v, f, t, d, z, s, c, ð, k, g, h, m, n, ñ j, l, r, (č, ž, š, ř)*.

Glas *ð* ima tipičan čakavski alveolarni izgovor.

Status je glasa *ř* nestabilan pa se u dijelu primjera zadržava (LŠ: *prijateljã, uljã, žmulj, prokljeti*), a u dijelu je primjera delateraliziran (LŠ: *lagjã, postiju, pogjedaj, prokjeto, gjedaš, boje, pogjedat, škoi*). Iz popisa je primjera razvidno da realizacija ne ovisi o unutarjezičnim čimbenicima jer se u dijelu primljenica ostvaruje, a u dijelu ne (*žmulj : postiju*), nije povezan niti pozicijom jer se u istom primjeru jednom ostvaruje, a drugi put ne (*prokljeti : prokjeto*). Sustav je u previranju što je potvrđeno i u ostalim otočnim govorima. Prema mojim istraživanjima, jednako je u govoru Dubašnice, a za govor Ćunskoga Houtzagers (2003: 48) bilježi samo *ř*. U PT znatno je veći broj primjera s *j* (*Pojãna, Jãkovjã, Krajêvac*, ali i *Poljãna*), a budući da prema načelu relativne kronologije toponimi čuvaju viši stupanj jezične starije, moguće je pretpostaviti da su ti ostvaraju stariji. Sustavnu zamjenu s *j* opservira i Karásek (1900: 108).

Potvrđena je pojava protetskoga *j* ispred riječi koje počinju vokalom *i* (*jima* LŠ, *jřma* PT), ali uvijek supostoje i primjeri bez nje (*imit* LŠ). Ista je dvojnost

potvrđena i u govovima Veloga Lošinja i Ćunskoga (Houtzagers 2003: 48), a J. Karásek protezu sustavno bilježi (1900: 106).

J. Karásek (1900: 109) zabilježio je zamjenu x s γ (*hospodarica, mohli*). Isto je sporadično potvrđeno i u govoru Maloga Lošinja (LŠ: *Buob*, ali *Buog*).

Houtzagers (2003: 47) opservira obezvučenje dočetnih konsonanata, a isto je vrlo rijetko potvrđeno i u govoru Maloga Lošinja (*cegot, hot* imperativ gl. *hoditi*, ali i *hod*) i Veloga Lošinja (*grât*). Mnogo je češća zamjena v s f na kraju riječi: PT: *súvrof* (Gmn. od *súvar*), *oluôf* (Gmn. od *ôlovo*); LŠ: *vaf* ‘u’, ili pak ispred bezvučnih glasova: LŠ: *fčijer* ‘jučer’. Isto je zabilježeno u svim govovima na Lošinju.

Tragovi svjedoče o tome da je govor Maloga Lošinja bio čakavski, kako piše i Malecki (1929): LŠ: *ce ću onda reć, a ce je?, ce, cegot, cekate, Talijuancići, luacni, pocekat*. Potvrđeni su i primjeru u kojima unutar iste rečenice postoje ostvaraju s *č* i *c*: *si ćul ce ti je?, Muć, Mare, ce ti znuoš*, ili su alternacije u istoj riječi (*bacvu*, ali gore i *bačvu*) ili primjeri u kojima nema čakavizma (*ćeš ćapat žlepu, počne*). U toponimima je čakavizam gotovo sustavan, ali su potvrđeni i primjeri s palatalima:

č > c: *Bocina, Cikât, Carjenica, Bocãc, Malzevâcina, Smuôrci bocič ot Zaboječ, ôbruc*, ali i *Pûnta ôt Koromuâčne*

ž > z: *Veli Zuâl, Zalîć, Muâli Zalîć, ozenî, mrîze*, ali i *Potžupâni, Pûntin ôt Pojâne jûžni*

š > s: *Puntîn ôt Javornîe, smôrasnji, Martvâska, Pristânisće, Varôs, vârsa, varsićen*, ali i *smôrašnja*.

Čakavizam je u govoru Maloga Lošinja opservirao i Karásek (1900: 104). Houtzagers (2003: 47) ga ne bilježi u govou Ćunskoga, a nije potvrđen ni u dvama ekavskim lošinjskim govovima. Naprotiv, u govoru je Veloga Lošinja potvrđen.

U dočetnom pojasu zatvorenoga sloga zabilježene su promjene pa se u priloga *kod* dočetno *d* zamjenjuje glasom manje napetosti *l*: LŠ: *kol don Giovannnija, kol buanji*. Zabilježena je i pojava ispadanja glasova: LŠ: *karvuasku, karvuaska, jena, jeni*; PT: *jenîn*. Ta je pojava zabilježena i u brojnim drugim čakavskim govovima, osobito jugoistočnim čakavskim otočnim govovima (usp. Šimunović 1977: 19-23).

Svaki se dočetni *m* zamjenjuje s *n*, a to karakterizira čakavsko narječje u cjelini (iznimka je samo mjesni govor Omišlja (Vermeer 1980: 4)): PT: *varsīćen*, *Baldārkan*, *jenīn*. U LŠ oblici se pretežno navode s dočetnim *m*: *čapuum*, *pjažuam*, *struahom*, *sem*, ali i *sen*, pa je to očito samo grafijski uzus i ne upućuje na konkretnu realizaciju. J. Karásek bilježi samo oblike s *n* te navodi da je ta zamjena potvrđena i u tekstu iz 1644.: *v seli ćunskon*.

Refleks primarne jotacije dentala *d* očekivano je *j*: LŠ: *mej*, a skupine stj *šč*: *godišća*; PT: *Mezozjôrno*. Taj je primjer potvrđuje J. Karásek (1900: 104) bilježeći primjere iz diskursa jezika onih Lošinjana koji govore talijanskim jezikom. Oni naime, talijansko /dʒ/ u primjerima tipa *giorno* ili *Muggia* čitaju kao *jorno* i *Muja* što se može interpretirati i kao utjecaj čakavskoga idioma u kojem takav glas ne postoji. To pak nedvojbeno upućuje na dvojezičnost govornika.

1.3 Akcentuacija

Inventar i realizacija

Budući da je jedini akcentuiran tekst onaj V. Žuklića, zaključci se o tom sustavu izvode isključivo na temelju njega. Radi se o sustavu u kojem je dokinuta opreka po intonaciji, a nenaglašeni slogovi mogu biti samo kratki, kakav je potvrđen i u ostalim govorima na Lošinju, neovisno o pripadnosti dijalektu (usp. Houtzagers 2003 za Ćunski; Vranić 2005 za govor Nerezina i Sv. Jakova, Lukežić 1990: Tablica 2 za govor Veloga Lošinja). Oba se naglasaka mogu naći u svim trima položajima u riječi:

	Početni slog	Središnji slog	Dočetni slog
Kratki naglasak	<i>jūga</i>	<i>Bocīna</i>	<i>Mostā</i>
Dugi naglasak	<i>Pliēski</i>	<i>Sunfarnuōga</i>	<i>Javornuā</i>

U govoru je Maloga Lošinja dokinuta opreka po kvantiteti na nenaglašenim vokalima, odnosno, oni su uvijek kratki: *Krizā*; *Velopīnjen*.

Iz dostupnoga je materijala razvidno da su potvrđena različita duljenja naglašenih primarno kratkih vokala. Ona se razlikuju s obzirom na realizaciju produljenih vokala i s obzirom na to što ih uvjetuje. S obzirom na realizaciju produljenih vokala razlikuju se dva tipa duljenja: ono rezultat kojega je dugi vokal

koji je artikulacijskim svojstvima identičan primarno dugim vokalima (tipa *duan* : *arivual*; *muôre* : *smuôrca*) i ona u kojima se sekundarno produljeni vokal artikulacijski ne podudara s primarno dugim (*Muâle* : *Vâlica*; *nuos* : *ôbruc*). Prvoga je tipa duljenje u slogu zatvorenu sonantom koje karakterizira cijelo čakavsko narječje (Langston 2006: 108). U govoru Maloga Lošinja potvrđeno je u dočetnom slogu, najčešće u glagolskom pridjevu radnom jednine muškoga roda: *zajual*, *uon*, *muoj*, ali i u unutarnjim slogovima: *smuôrca*, *Velosiêlka*, *vârsa* i dr.

U drugi tip duljenja ulazi duljenje vokala u nefinalnim otvorenim slogovima: *Vâlica*, *Cikâta* (prema *Cikât*), *Potžupâni*, *Malzevâcina*, *Krajêvac*, *telêgrafa*, *Pôrat*, ali i *Mâlin*, *Poljâna*, *Čareva*, *Vâlica*. Ovomu su duljenju podložni samo vokali *a*, *e*, *o*, dok vokali *i* i *u* ostaju neizmijenjeni (*Ivanïcu*, *Bocïna*, *Kûćicu*, *jûga*). Ovo je duljenje najčešće u središnjim čakavskim govorima (Langston 2006: 124), a potvrđeno je i u govorima Svetoga Jakova i Nerezina, u svim creskim govorima (Houtzagers 1984-85) i na Susku (Vermeer 1975: 175-176). Prema mojim istraživanjima, isto je i u govoru Veloga Lošinja (*pitâla*, *brâta*, *susêda*, *polnôćica*). U govoru Maloga Lošinja nije bilo potvrđeno duljenjeu zatvorenim dočetnim slogovima: *Cikât*, *Bocâc*, *Varôs*, jednako kao ni u unutarnjim slogovima iza kojih slijedi niz od najmanje dva konsonanta: *Martvâska*, *Kândija*, *Zâdnja Vâla*, ali i *mâslina*. Zanimljivo je da u govoru Ćunskoga H. P. Houtzagers (2003: 39) bilježi primjere u kojima se ne provodi ovo duljenje i među njima navodi primjere tipa *mêtla*, *zèmlja*, *têško*, *zabâjka* koji se možda mogu jednako objasniti, s time da je u primjerima *mêtla* i *zèmlja* pomaknuta silina.

U govoru Maloga Lošinja, kao i u govorima Ćunskoga (Houtzagers 2003: 34) i Veloga Lošinja (*lâje*, *plâce*), nema neocirkumfleksa u prezentu glagola (*plaçeš*). U dvama ekavskim govorima taj je naglasak potvrđen (Nerezine: *šîje*, *loâje*, *pluâće*; Sv. Jakov: *luâje*, *zašîje*, *čûjen*, *pluâće*, *odrêžen*, *kûje*).

Akcenatska tipologija imenica i pridjeva

Budući da je analizirani akcentuiran materijal onomastičke prirode, iz njega je moguće ekscerpirati samo podatke o tipologiji imenica i pridjeva. Zbog istoga razloga navedeni su oblici najčešće jedninske, a rjeđe množinske paradigme pa je i stoga ovaj prikaz samo informativan.

Naglasni tip *a*

Imenice naglasnoga tipa *a* u svim oblicima imaju isti naglasak. U imenica s kratkom osnovom, zadnji se ili jedini vokal osnove produljuje u G mn.:

		Jednina		
		m. r.	s. r.	ž. r.
N	<i>Velop̃nj</i>	<i>kad̃n</i>	<i>Prist̃anis̃e</i>	<i>Kriṽica</i>
G	<i>Velop̃nja</i>	<i>kad̃n</i>	<i>Prist̃anis̃a</i>	<i>Kriṽice</i>
D L	<i>Velop̃nju</i>	<i>kad̃nu</i>	<i>Prist̃anis̃u</i>	<i>Kriṽici</i>
I	<i>Velop̃njen</i>	<i>kad̃non</i>	<i>Prist̃anis̃en</i>	<i>Kriṽicu</i>

Imenice m. r. n. t. *a* su i one tipa *Mart̃n* i *P̃rat*. U imenicama tipa *Mart̃n* kratki je naglasak koji se u N duži pred sonanton, a u ostalim je oblicima kratak (G *Mart̃na*, D L *Mart̃nu*, I *Mart̃non*). U imenici tipa *P̃rat* u N je izvorno kratki naglasak koji se sekundarno produljuje, dok je u ostalim potvrđenim oblicima dugi naglasak kao rezultat doljenja pred sonantom (G *Pũôrta*, D L *Pũôrta*, I *Pũôrton*). Od imenica ž. r. s kratkom osnovom koja je sekundarno produljena bilježimo: N *p̃unta*, G *p̃unte*, D L *p̃unte*, I *p̃unton* /*p̃untu*.

Množinski su oblici potvrđeni samo u imenica ženskoga roda:

		Množina	
		Ženski rod	
N	<i>Bald̃ârke</i>	<i>Posk̃äre</i>	
G	<i>Bald̃ârak</i>	<i>Poskũâr</i>	
D	<i>Bald̃ârkan</i>	<i>Posk̃äran</i>	
L	<i>Bald̃ârkah</i>	<i>Posk̃ärah</i>	
I	<i>Bald̃ârkan</i>	<i>Posk̃äre</i>	

U toponimu *Bald̃ârke* naglašeni je vokal sekundarno produljen.

Naglasni tip *b*

U imenica je ovoga tipa naglasak bio na nastavku (s mogućnošću povlačenja na osnovu u oblicima L i I mn.), a u analiziranom je korpusu potvrđena samo jednina imenica muškoga i srednjega roda:

	Jednina	
	Muški rod	Srednji rod
N	<i>Bocăc</i>	<i>selö</i>
G	<i>Boscă</i>	<i>selă</i>
D L	<i>Boscü</i>	<i>selü</i>
I	<i>Bosciên</i>	<i>seluôn</i>

U ovaj n. t. ulazi i imenica *Losinj* u kojoj je u N primarno kratak vokal produžen jer je slog zatvoren sonantom (L *Losinjĭ*, I *Losinjiên*).

Naglasni tip *c*

Nije potvrđen u korpusu.

Osobito su zanimljive one jednosložne imenice muškoga roda koje imaju miješane akcenatske značajke pa u N A jd. imaju značajke n. t. *c* i naglasak na osnovi, a ostalim padežima značajke n. t. *b* i naglasak na nastavku. Takve su paradigme u čakavskom, uz one u istočnoj slavenskoj zoni, preciznije u zapadnim dijalektima ukrajinskoga jezika i u krivičkim govorima u koje ulaze neki sjeverozapadni ruski i sjeveroistočni bjeloruski govori, navele dio istraživača (npr. Bulatova, Dybo i dr.) na misao da se ne radi o preklapanju dvaju naglasnih tipova već o kontinuantu praslavenskoga naglasnoga tipa *d*.⁸ Dio istraživača, poput K. Langstona (2007) i W. Vermeera (1984) tvrde da materijal iz čakavskoga nije reprezentativan jer nije kvalitetno snimljen ni interpretiran, misleći primarno na podatke iz studije Hamm, Hraste, Guberina (1956). Kako bi opovrgnula ili dokazala primjere iz te studije, M. Shragger poduzela je terensko istraživanje u brojnoj isljeničkoj zajednici Sušćana u New Jerseyju i u studiji iz 2011. pokazala brojne primjere imenica muškoga roda n. t. *d*, utvrdivši pritom i dio primjera s alternacijama.

U analiziranoj su toponimskoj građi malološinjskoga govora potvrđene sljedeće imenice u jednini:

N	<i>Mûl</i>	<i>Zuâl</i>	<i>Muôst</i>
G	<i>Mulà</i>	<i>Zalà</i>	<i>Mostà</i>
D L	<i>Mulù</i>		
I	<i>Muluôn</i>		<i>Mostiên</i>

Potvrđene imenice podupiru tezu M. Shrager i znatnije povezuju govor Suska i Maloga Lošinja.

Pridjevi

Naglasni tip a

U tu skupinu ulaze oni pridjevi koji u svim oblicima određenoga i neodređenoga lika imaju naglasak na osnovi.

	Jednina				
	m. r.	s. r.		ž. r.	
	Određeni lik	Neodređeni lik	Određeni lik	Neodređeni lik	Određeni lik
N	<i>Pliêski</i>	<i>Vinîkovo</i>	<i>Vêlo</i>	<i>Jâkovja</i>	<i>Martvâska</i>
G	<i>Pliêskoga</i>	<i>Vinîkova</i>	<i>Vêloga</i>	<i>Jâkovje</i>	<i>Martvâske</i>
DL	<i>Pliêskon</i>	<i>Vinîkovu</i>	<i>Vêlon</i>	<i>Jâkovji</i>	<i>Martvâskoj</i>
I	<i>Pliêskin</i>	<i>Vinîkovin</i>	<i>Vêlin</i>	<i>Jâkovju</i>	<i>Martvâsku</i>

Iako je izvorno bio dijelom n. t. *b* (*bělĭ, bĕlĕ, bĕlŏ*), u govoru je Maloga Lošinja u obliku ženskoga roda silina pomaknuta na dugu penultimu (N *Biĕla*, G *Biĕle*, D L *Biĕle*, I *Biĕlu*).

Naglasni tip c

Potvrđeni su samo oblici određenoga roda jednine ženskoga roda s dugim naglašenim nastavkom (N *Javornuâ, Pĕcnâ*, G *Javorniĕ*, D L *Javornuôj, Javornû*).

Zabilježeni su genitivni oblici *Sunfarnuôga*, *Cuanguskuôga* koji su bili dijelom istoga naglasnoga tipa.

Radi se o naglasnom tipu koji je sve rjeđi pa u suvremenim čakavskim govorima uglavnom postoje dubletni ostvaraji s kratkim naglaskom na osnovi (Langston 2006: 182). Budući da se ovdje radi o onomastičkoj građi, ona čuva starije naglasno stanje.

2 Osnovne morfološke značajke

Budući da se radi o zatvorenom korpusu, komentirat će se samo oblici koji su zabilježeni.

2.1 Morfologija imenica

U L jd. *a*-deklinacije imenica muškoga i srednjega roda potvrđen je samo nastavak *-u* PT: *Velopinju*, *Martinu*, *kadinu*, *Puôrtu*; LŠ: *rukavu*, *Lošinju*, *portu*. J. Karásek (1900: 110) u analiziranim lošinjskim glagoljskim matičnim knjigama bilježi sustavno *-i* (*Lošinji*, *seli*). U I jd. potvrđeni su alomorfi *-on/-en⁹* ovisno o dočetnom konsonantu osnove: PT: *Martĩnon*, *kadinon*, *Puôrton*, *Bokuôn*, *Muluôn*; *Velopinjen*, *Kriziẽn*. U PT I jd. Imenice *most* naveden je kao *Mostiẽn*. Potvrda za G mn. relativno je malo i one upućuju na dvojnosti pa su u LŠ zabilježeni oblici s nulnim morfemom (*stuo vraz*), ali i s nastavkom *-ov* (*sũvrof*). Isti je nastavak potvrđen i u srednjem rodu (*oluôf*). J. Karásek je uz oblike s nastavkom *-ov* (*soldov*, *tancov*) zabilježio i nastavak *-a* (*sedan popova*) što će vjerojatno biti izvanjezični utjecaj.

U imenica ženskoga roda *e*-deklinacije u G jd. alterniraju stari nastavci iz dviju deklinacija koje oponiraju po palatalnosti *-e* i *-i*. Još Karásek (1900: 100) ističe tu jezičnu značajku kao svojevrсну generacijsku razdjelnicu pa ističe da njegov najstariji govornik (78 godina star nono Morin) u G jd. imenica s nepalatalnom osnovicom ima nastavak *-i* (*nĩman vody*), a njegova četrdesetgodišnja kći Marija nastavak *-e* (*nĩmoan vòde*). U analiziranim matičnim knjigama iz 17. stoljeća J. Karásek nalazi nastavak *-i* u nepalatalnoj (*malo slamy panist*, *od piaci*, *pokojne Milerki brat*; *Frani* (G od *Frana*), *Kati* (od *Kata*)) i *-e* u palatalnoj deklinaciji (*kuće*). U obama kasnije nastalim tekstovima, bilježi samo nastavak palatalne

deklinacije, neovisno o dočetnom konsonantu osnove: LŠ: *mukè, besede, rakije*; PT: *pûnte, Balvanîde, Kofcânje, Pojâne, Prîvlake, Krivîce, Slâtine, Malzevâcine*. U D i L jd. alterniraju nastavci *-e* i *-i* (PT: *pûnte, Balvanîde, Kofcânje*; LŠ: *Amerike*, ali PT: *Pojâni, Krivîci, Slâtini, Malzevâcini*; LŠ: *kući*). Pretežu potvrde nastavka *-i*. Hamm; Hraste; Guberina (1956: 47) kažu da se nastavak *-e* (uz isti nastavak u G jd.) u D L jd. potvrđuje u prijelaznom pojasu Ćunski - Sveti Jakov - Nerezine. Ova potvrda svjedoči da je i govor Maloga Lošinja pripadao tom pojasu. U I jd. potvrđeni su nastavci *-on* i *-u* (PT: *pûnton, Pojânon*, ali: *pûntu, Prîvlaku, Malzevâcinu*). U tekstu LŠ naprotiv potvrđeni su samo oblici s nastavkom *-u* (z *Jelicu, z Tonicu*) koje kao pretežite bilježi i Karásek. U množinskoj su paradigmi očuvani stari nastavci, pa je u G mn. nulti morfem (PT: *Baldârak, Poskuâr*); u D mn. *-an* (*Baldârkan, Poskâran*); u L mn. *-ah* (*Baldârkah, Poskârah*). U I mn. zabilježeni su različiti ostvaraji. Navedeno je da je I mn. imenice *Baldârke Baldârkan*, jednak dativu. Imenica *Poskâre* ima I mn. *Poskâre*, što navodi na mogućnost ujednačavanja I i A koji je u literaturi opisan (Finka 1971: 45, 46; Šimunović 1977: 62; Lisac 2009: 28, 155), osobito za otočne govore.¹⁰ Potvrđen je i toponim u I mn. *Orjûlami* te opća imenica *ćakulami*.

2.2 Morfologija zamjenica i pridjeva

U LŠ potvrđeni su sljedeći oblici osobnih zamjenica:

N	<i>jua</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ona</i>
G	<i>mene</i>		
A			<i>je</i>
D L	<i>mene</i>		<i>je</i> (<i>Ma da sem je lipo rekaŀ</i>)
I	<i>manu</i>	<i>tobu</i>	<i>nju.</i>

Od množinskih oblika potvrđen je samo D *nuam*.

Prema Hamm; Hraste; Guberina (1956: 47) D zamjenice za 1. lice ima nastavak *-e* u ekavskim govorima u koje uz creske, ulaze i lošinjski govori Nerezina i Svetoga Jakova, dok je “na Lošinju (s Unijama i Suskom) *meni*.” Ovaj nalaz opovrgava tu tezu, makar za govor Maloga Lošinja.

Ostale se potvrđene zamjenice sklanjaju po pridjevsko-zamjениčkoj deklinaciji (I mn. *timi*).

Podatci o morfologiji pridjeva, najvećma su ekscerpirani iz Žukličeva popisa toponima i jasno se razlikuju paradigme pridjeva neodređenoga i određenoga pridjeva. Pridjevi neodređenoga lika sklanjaju se kao imenice. U pridjeva ženskoga roda oni se sklanjaju kao imenice *e*-deklinacije pa se čak u D L jd. potvrđuju dvojnosti kao i u imenica (*Jâkovji* i *Biêle*). U I jd. pridjeva ženskoga roda potvrđen je samo nastavak *-u* (*Jâkovju*, *Juâmnu*, *Biêlu*), za razliku od imenica u kojih su potvrđeni alomorfi u I jd. postoje alomorfi *-on* i *-u*. U potvrđenoj sklonidbi pridjeva srednjega roda jednine neodređenoga lika, oblici su podudarni s imenskima, osim u I jd. kojemu je nastavak *-in* iz pridjevsko-zamjениčke deklinacije (N *Vinîkovo*, G *Vinîkova*, D L *Vinîkovu*, I *Vinîkovin*).

Pridjevi određenoga lika sklanjaju se po pridjevsko-zamjениčkoj deklinaciji pa u jednini muškoga i srednjega roda imaju sljedeće nastavke: N \emptyset /o, G *-oga*,¹¹ D L *-on*, I *-in*. Izvornom nastavku *-omu* iz D jd. elidiran je dočetni vokal, čime je on izjednačen s oblikom lokativa. U ženskom rodu su nastavci jednine: N *-a*, G *-e*, D L *-oj*, I *-u*. Kao i u pridjeva neodređenoga lika, u I jd. potvrđen je samo nastavak *-u*. U množini su potvrđeni sljedeći oblici svih triju rodova: G L *-ih*, D *-in*, I *-imi* (G L *Vêlih*, D *Vêlin*, I *Vêlimi*). Budući da su potvrđeni samo pridjevi s nepalatalnim dočetakom osnove, nema materijala za zaključak o mogućim alomorfima.

2.3 Morfologija glagola

Podatci o morfologiji glagola ekscerpirani su najvećma iz LŠ i korpus je dosta ograničen.

Infinitiv je apokopiran (*imit*, *vit*, *pogjedat*, *marzit*, *udelat*, *robovat*, *dažjit*). Glagoli *bit* i *otit* dolaze samo u kraćim oblicima (*sen*, *smo*; *ću*, *ćemo*). Glagol *bit* (ostali glagoli nisu potvrđeni u tom obliku) u prezentu 3. l. mn. ima nastavak *-ju* (*ćeju*, *nijećeju*). U prezentskoj je osnovi glagola *moć* očekivani rotacizam (*morem*, *more*, *pomore*). Od oblika za izražavanje prošlosti, potvrđen je samo perfekt (*sam ustala*). U tvorbi kondicionala rabe se tipični čakavski oblici (*bin/bim*, *biš*).

3 Leksik

Leksik je primarno slavenski, ali obiluje primljenicama iz romanskoga. Pritom se pojam *romanski* podrazumijeva u najširem smislu te riječi, a ne ograničava se na suvremeni talijanski jezik ili na neki od dijalekata s kojim je malološinjski govor bio u kontaktu. To potvrđuju leksemi tipa: *diraju* ‘besciljno hodaju’, *šoto* ‘ispod’, *istešo* ‘isto’; također, *čo* uzvik dozivanja, *šubito* ‘brzo’, *propio tako* ‘upravo tako’, *deškurim* ‘govorim’, *kapila* ‘razumjela’, *cito* ‘tiho, šuti’, *šoldi* ‘novac’, *forši* ‘možda’, *pari* ‘čini se da’, *konfužjun* ‘zbrka’, *deliberual* ‘oslobodio’, *mona* ‘glup čovjek’, *kapim* ‘razumijem’, *deštin* ‘sudbina’, *speštate* ‘potučete’, *šinjorine* ‘gospođice’, *namoril* ‘zaljubio’ i dr. Zabilježen je i jedan sinonimski parnjak koji potvrđuje supostojanje romanskoga i slavenskoga: *kurba* - *putana*.

Zanimljivi su prijedlozi *vafi* i *zis* nastali udvajanjem, a činjenica su svih lošinjskih govora.

Zaključak

Terensko je istraživanje s početka 21. stoljeća pokazalo da u Malom Lošinj u više nema izvornih govornika. Dva su temeljna razloga tome. Gubljenju pozitivnoga odnosa prema svojemu jeziku, a onda i nastojanja da se njime govori primarno je doprinijela snažna talijanizacija od 1918. naovamo. U drugoj polovici 20. st. mjesto su zbog društvene važnosti i zaposlenja počeli naseljavati stanovnici iz okolnih mjesta cresko-lošinjskoga arhipelaga te doseljenici iz drugih sredina i ono je postupno gubilo svoj jezični identitet do njegova konačnoga nestanka.¹² Za razliku od malološinjske čakavštine koja je nestala, talijanskim jezikom u Malom Lošinj u još komuniciraju stariji govornici.

Prikupljeni su podatci iz literature te dvaju izvora pokazali da je mjesni govor M. Lošinja nekoć bio ikavsko-ekavski, s izrazirom diftongacijom vokala *e*, *o*, *a* i sekvencijama *ar* i *al* na mjestu slogotvornih sonanata. Reducirana je tonska opreka i dužine izvan naglašenih, a potvrđena su i duljena u slogu zatvorenu sonantu te u nefinalnim otvorenim slogovima, na vokalima *a*, *o*, *e*. Neocirkumfleks u prezentu glagola se ne potvrđuje. U konsonantizmu dominantna je razlikovna značajka cakavizam s dosljednom zamjenom *č*, *ž*, *š* glasovima *c*, *z*, *s*. Na morfološkoj razini očuvano je starije jezično stanje, a u leksiku, očekivano, mnogo romanizama.

Usporedbom jezičnih značajki nekadašnjega mjesnoga govora Maloga Lošinja s jezičnim značajkama ostalih četiriju lošinjskih mjesta, utvrđeno je znatno podudaranje s govorom Čunskoga od kojega se na fonološkoj razini, koja je ovdje temeljitije istražena, bitnije razlikuje samo po cakavizmu i dosljednijoj zamjeni *l̄* s *j*. Usprkos činjenici što pripadaju različitim dijalektima, mnoge su podudarnosti s dvama ekavskim mjestima, poput akcentuacije, zamjene *v* s *f*, a na morfološkoj razini nastavak *-e* u D L jd. imenica ž. r. *e*-deklinacije i D jd. osobne zamjenice za 1. lice: *mene*. S govorom Veloga Lošinja povezuje ga cakavizam.

Bilješke

- 1 Pri navođenju primjera ekscerpiranih iz te građe navodit će se njihove kratice. Kratica za popis toponima Valentina Žuklića jest PT, a za tekst Klaudija Martinolića LŠ. Naglašeni će biti samo oni primjeri iz PT jer tekst LŠ nije akcentuiran. Primjeri će se navoditi upravo onako kako stoje u izvorima.
- 2 Komentirat će se samo oni primjeri za koje je zapisano da su iz Maloga Lošinja. Uz veći broj primjera stoji samo opća odrednica *Lošinj*, a kako je bilježio i primjere iz svih ostalih mjesta na otoku, neprecizno bi bilo pretpostavljati jesu li ili nisu predmet našega interesa. Iz većega se broja njih dadne primijetiti kako se radi o primjerima zapisanim u dvama sjevernim lošinjskim naseljima Sv. Jakov i Nerezine (usp. primjerice *crĕkva*, *clovĕk*, *sĕ*, *nisĕn* i dr.) koji su dijelom ekavskoga čakavskoga dijalekta i po tome se bitno izdvajaju od ostalih govora. Isto je primijetio i J. Hamm u prilogu raspravi o govoru otoka Suska (Hamm; Hraste; Guberina 1956: 187).
- 3 Primjeri će se navoditi na način na kojih ih je navodio I. Milčetić s time da pri očitavanju akcenatskih znakova treba biti oprezan. I. Milčetić je naime bilježio samo dva znaka *ā* i *ā̄*, ističući da se treći naglasak (*ā̄*, op. S. Z.) ne usudi bilježiti jer ga ne „usisaše s materinim mlijekom“. Usto naglasak nije navodio sustavno. O tome vidi više u Bogović (2000: 62).
- 4 U dopisnici koju je 22. rujna 1919. godine I. Milčetić uputio V. Jagiću stoji da je dobio na čitanje Karásekov tekst o govoru Maloga Lošinja, a radi se o izvješću iz 1900. godine koje je I. Milčetiću poznato otprije i koje je iste godine i prikazao. Studiju je odlučio ponovno procijeniti na molbu prijateljā i Karásekove udovice te je procjenjuje kvalitetnom, smatrajući je najboljim dotadašnjim prilogom proučavanju malološinjskoga govora, a među povjerenim mu rukopisima ističe važnost jezične analize glagoljskih matičnih knjiga iz 16. i 17. stoljeća koja upućuje na slavenski kontinuitet u tom mjestu. Zbog svega toga on preporučuje Jugoslavenskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti da tekst Karásekova izvješća prevede i objavi, među inim i stoga „jer nam je sve mило, što se tiče Istre i Lošinja, što sve okupiraše gladni Talijani“ (Milčetić 1919: 5). Iz pisama predstavnika Akademije I. Milčetiću iščitava se interes Akademije za objavljivanje, ali tek nakon redakcije S. Ivšića. Čini se da taj rad nikad nije bio objavljen (Bogović 2000: 69, 70; Šabić 2010: 283, 284).
- 5 Zanimljivo je da je I. Lukežić terenski istraživala po Lošinju i u Velom Lošinju intervjuirala obitelj Stuparić dok potvrde za govor Maloga Lošinja u svojoj knjizi ekscerpira iz literature. Činjenica da u obama slučajevima, premda se radi o dvama susjednim mjestima, nije primijenjena ista metodologija može upućivati na to da je već osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, kada je ona terenski istraživala, bio problem naći izvorne govornike toga idioma.
- 6 O istraženosti malološinjskoga govora i suvremenom stanju vidjeti i u Vranić; Zubčić (2015).
- 7 Najbrojnija je iseljenička zajednica ljudi s Lošinja i Cresa ona u New Yorku i još uvijek pokazuje stanovitu vitalnost. O tome vidjeti više u Bozanić (1997).

- 8 Podatci o različitim stavovima o n. t. *d* preuzeti su iz Shrager (2011: 210).
 9 Ako su nastavci naglašeni i dugi, oni se realiziraju diftonški, kao *-ien* i *-uon*.
 10 B. Finka (1971: 45-46) ističe da je uobičajena u jugoistočnim čakavskim govorima dok je drugdje rijetka. Suvremenija istraživanja pokazuju da tomu nije tako (Zubčić, u tisku).
 11 Kada je ovaj nastavak naglašen i dug, on se realizira diftonški, kao *-uôga* (*Sunfarnuôga*, *Cuangskuôga*).
 12 O razlozima za gubitak jezičnoga identiteta u manjim urbanim središtima i gravitirajućim im dijalektološkim punktovima u sjevernom čakavskom arealu vidjeti više u Vranić, Zubčić (2015).

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Epilogue

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Ellen Rutten

Language and rhythm, Czech conjunctions, Russian suffixes, transnational language contact, and a tad of suržyk. A bit of Aleksandr Puškin, some Bohumil Hrabal (and some music, too), and a pinch of Vasko Popa. A close reading of Slovenian book spine poems. Historic Slavic language variation, Old Church Slavonic verses and declension, Glagolitic antigraphs, tell-tale transcription errors in the Zagreb manuscript, and ‘a cut of blue cloth’ on Novgorodian birch-bark document no. 263. The drop of intervocalic /j/’s among Russian babushka’s, Tundra Yukaghir vowels, the Novi Vinodolski dialect – and, of course, the ins and outs of that dialect which the addressee of this volume knows so well: (Istrian) Čakavian. The attentive reader of this volume can familiarize herself with these and the many, many other topics that crowd the preceding pages. Together, they offer a lovingly crafted and equally lovingly compiled treasury of insights into Slavic linguistics – but also into Slavic social, cultural, and literary history.

The breadth of this volume is no coincidence. *Definitely Perfect* pays tribute to a truly pan-Slavic scholar, in multiple meanings of the word. Forty-three years ago, the University of Amsterdam employed Janneke Kalsbeek with the aim to refine its expertise in Croatian and Serbian linguistics. In the years that followed, Janneke avidly taught and published on topics that ranged from her beloved dialectology to transliteration, and from accentology to verbal aspect – the topics that the linguists in this volume cover with such fervour. Our students also love her lectures in (pre-)historical linguistics – another topic that some contributors to this Festschrift for her scrutinize in detail.

What feeds Janneke’s lectures and writings in these different domains is a combination of intellectual devotion, scholarly erudition, and plain (and, in her case,

always tangible) professional joy. Not coincidentally Janneke has complemented her teaching and research with organizing a rich range of linguistic events. Even in the modest period of time that she and I cooperated at the University of Amsterdam, I witnessed her active (and often leading) role in hosting, say, a workshop on the 1150th birthday of the Slavic alphabet, or our unit's cherished 'Friday clubs' for linguists.

Janneke was and is cautious with excursions beyond her domains of formal expertise – but those who cooperated with her closely know that her knowledge far exceeds the downright linguistic domain, and that she is well at home in many other Slavic languages besides Croatian and Serbian. The literary-historical and cultural-historical contributions to this collection too had better been written with meticulous care: the expert of Russian, Czech, or Polish literature who miscites something or misrepresents a complex cultural transition inevitably meets Janneke's shrewd eye and ear. (The same shrewd ear has lived through many a tough moment during our infamous yearly Christmas get-togethers and at team dinners, where students and staff eagerly engage in singing. Part of the party, at these events, is Janneke's mild frown whenever she hears that someone strikes a wrong chord (especially when she suspects her own – more than fair – voice of being out of tune).) Janneke is, in short, a hard-boiled perfectionist, as the editors of this volume rightly claim. That her perfectionism is often a true pleasure has everything to do with her love for her profession. Her scholarly passion – never a longing to show off her learnedness – is what resonates when Janneke points out a subtlety that a colleague overlooked. Her desire to obtain the highest standards – never a wish to impress or intimidate – is what drives her to share her fear that a student's thesis is just not good enough. And her longing to simply get things right: that is what motivates her when she expresses concern for the future of that vulnerable area of expertise that Slavic studies today are.

In the years to come Janneke will undoubtedly enrich the field with new insights into and analytical overviews of comparative and historical Slavic linguistics, accentology, dialectology, language contact, definiteness, verbal aspect, and Croatian grammar (and, if we are lucky, a pinch of Popa). What we will have to

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miss, however, is the daily, close cooperation with a colleague with a warm heart for her profession. We will miss your teaching, Janneke, in an academic field that is as invaluable as it is undervalued. And we will miss the good dose of dark humour with which you pepper conversations. But your perfectionism is what we will, definitely, miss the most.

University of Amsterdam

