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PHONETIC AND PHONEMIC PRINCIPLES

for the study of

SLAVO-RUMANIAN LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP

Remarks on the:

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

II. PHONOLOGY

III. MORPHOLOGY AND DERIVATION

IV. VOCABULARY AND SYNTAX

I. — HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Dealing with the Slavo-Rumanian linguistic relationship, many scholars still proceed from the ethnographic picture of today's Central-Eastern Europe with little regard for the past changes. They consider a North Danubian Rumanian language surrounded by Slavs on three sides, and by Hungarians on the fourth, as a danger or drawback which acquire a ethno-political significance. This assumption is accompanied by an aggressive, offensive attitude on the part of some scholars, or by a stubborn defensive attitude on the part of others.

Our task, however, is a philological one, and the historical background is meant only to help in a better understanding of the linguistic developments in this area. Rumanian is the continuation of the Latin language in the Eastern Roman Empire, south and north of the Danube. The romanization of the Geto-Dacians (called by the Greeks: Getai, Dakes, Daoi), who represent a branch of the Thracians north of the Danube, had begun long before the conquest by Trajan (A.D. 101-107). Roman culture, technique, and trade penetrated earlier than the Roman legions to the fortress of the Carpathians, where the Dacians were defending their independence and the frontier of the Roman Empire against the invasions from the steppes. During the Roman domination the language of the higher civilization and administration became the means of communication in this province and replaced the Dacian language. Over twenty Roman Provinces sent their colonists to the newly conquered provinces of Dacia. Latin served as the *lingua franca*, and in less than 150 years the new province was denationalized (E. Gamillshegg, *Zur Herkunftfrage der Rumänen - Süd-Ost Forschungen*, V, 1940, p. 9; S. Pușcariu *Die rum. Spr.*, 1943, 429).

The problem of changing the language and the influence of the lost language on the new accepted one, has preoccupied the interest of linguistic theoreticians since the 19-th century. Otto Jespersen, (*Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Oxford, 1931, p. 35 sq.) applied the theory put forward by Win-disch (*Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter*. - Berichte über die Verh. der sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. XLIX, 1837, sq.) in order to explain the paucity of the Celtic element in English. In general, the acquired language enjoys a higher prestige being the language of a superior culture or of a powerful conqueror. We would add that this point is supported by the fact that the new language is a more practical means of communication. The denationalized community does not introduce elements of its own language into the acquired language. (Other bibliography quoted by Jespersen: G. Hempel, *Language. Rivalry and Speech differentiation in the case of racemixture*. Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Ass., XXIX, 1898, pp. 30 sq.; O. Jespersen, *Language*, London, 1922, Chapter XV).

South of the Danube, groups of Thracian speakers, the Bessi, survived until the 6-th century A.D. Between the North and the South of the Danube there was no prohibitive frontier; the Danube was a link and a defence line but not an ethnographic barrier. During the centuries of invasions and successive foreign dominations of Germanic or Turkish tribes, the habitats of the Thraco-Romans were developed in economically and politically more favourable regions. There was a continuous ebb and flow between the South and the North in the Carpatho-Balkan space. This ethnic fluidity lasted till late in the seventeenth century.

2. The historian of South-Eastern Europe, Silviu Dragomir, describes in his last study (*Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, Bucureşti, 1959), the ethnographic aspect of the region between the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea. He bases his argumentation on written documents and on toponymy. It is perhaps too categorically stated that all the Vlachs north of the Via Ignatia (Brindisi - Salonica), the latinized part of the Balkan Peninsula, were, in the Middle Ages, Daco-Rumanians and not Arumanians (Cutsovlahs). The toponymy alone is not

sufficient to trace a precise delimitation. It is true that the Arumanian and Megleno-Rumanian dialects do not show the same Slavonic influence as the Daco-Rumanian dialect. Further the Istro-Rumanians who, in Istria, south-east of Trieste, near Monte Maggiore, represent a wave of Vlachs pushed to the furthest West, show dialectal affinities with the North Danubian Rumanians. The Vegliots of the island of Krk (Veglia) represented another branch of the romanized Illyrium.

According to S. Dragomir, those South-Danubian Vlachs survived as a community until the 14-th century, enjoying an autonomic organization based on the *ius valahicum* and they were respected by the ruling princes because of their economic function. These Vlachs had the monopoly of the milk-products, they owned the transport animals, which assured communication on the routes between the Adriatic, the Black and the Aegean Seas; they produced fighting forces for the rulers of the region.

In the Ottoman Empire, until the 17-th century they assured the postal service. It is natural that some of these Vlachs had lost their national feeling by then, when they were detached from their community. In Mediaeval documents, these Vlachs are mentioned as soldiers in the armies of Ragusa, of Narenta, and in the armies of the Ban of Croatia. Their military chieftains were called *Voivods*, a translation of the German 'Herzog' = *dux*. The Croatian code of the *Lex valachica* gives details of their military organization and the privileges granted to the Vlachs. The brothers Assan, who created the second Bulgarian empire and founded the dynasty of the Assanides were such tribal chieftains of the Vlachs. They succeeded in attracting the whole population to their army because their revolt was directed against the heavy taxation imposed by the Byzantines. They imprisoned King Baudoin of the Crusaders who challenged their suzerainty.

The demographic movement of these Vlachs described by S. Dragomir was directed from the East to the West of the peninsula.

The work of the Czech scholar Karel Kadlec (*Valasi a Valašské právo*, Prague 1916), based on later documents, describes a demographic movement of the Vlachs, and of the Daco-Rumanians from Transylvania and from Pannonia, in the northerly direc-

tion until they reached the Pripet region, and westwards along the Carpathians to Silesia, and to the gates of Vienna, in the Little Carpathians. Certainly, several demographic movements must have taken place during the centuries. The Vlachs carried with them their way of life and organization, based on the *ius valahicum*, — traditional customary law, — which was certainly adopted also by non-Vlach rural settlers just as the *ius Magdeburgense* was the basis of organisation of the Polish city life. The *ius valahicum* granted to the settlers a certain autonomy on various estates of the state, of the church and of the nobility.

3. The history of the Vlachs is an important part of the mediaeval history of South-Eastern Europe. The explanation of the name itself posits and partly solves valuable problems connected with the kaleidoscopic changes of the East-European ethnographic area. Etymologically, the word 'Vlach' is cognate with Wales, Welsh, Cornwall, Walloon, Germ. Kauderwelsch 'gibberish', Germ. Wallache, middle-German (*Nibelungen-Saga*) Vlaktlant, Chaucer's Walakye (*The Book of the Duchesse*, verse 1024), According to more recent research by the German scholar Gerhard Rholf, also the form Gallia, Gaulle < *Wal- belongs to the same etymological group. Originally the word denominated the Celtic tribe of the Volci on the Lower Rhine.

The initial [g] represents a Germanic [w] as in other loanwords: Fr. guerre: Engl. war: Fr. garde: Engl. ward; Fr. garant: Engl. warrant; Guillaume: Wilhelm; Guildas: Walter, etc.

Already d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Introduction à l'étude de la littérature celtique*, Paris, 1883) identified the Celtic Volcae mentioned by Caesar (*De bello gallico*, VI, 24) as settlers of his time in the «loca circa Hercynam sylvam Volcae Tectosages»; Titus Livius (XXI, 26, 76) locates the Volcae in the Rhône basin, and Ptolemy (II, 10, 10) calls them Ouolkai. The name became for the Germans a generic denomination of the Celts who occupied the region west of the Rhine and south of the Danube. In the course of time the name was applied by the Germans, to their southern neighbours, the Latin speakers who replaced the Celts.

The Slavs took the word from the Germans in the old form

**Vlakh*, as it appears in the Nibelungen saga, and used it as a name for their southern Latin-speaking neighbours. In the South (Serbian, Bulgarian as well as in Czech) it has the form Vlah, according to the respective phonetic changes. In the east it has the pleophonic form Voloh (already in the Primary Chronicle). That means that in the 9-th century (whose ethnography is described by the Russian Chronicle) the Rumanians were known by the authors of the chronicle as settlers north of the Danube. When the Slavs arrived in the Balkans they knew of the Rumanians in the north of the Danube, because the two regions of Walahia, Vlaşca and Vlăşia, appear in a southern Slavonic form, like the name of the Rumanians south of the Danube.

A special problem is raised by the German form Wallache 'from the Walachei', and Wallach 'castrated horse'. The last word indicates the horse trade in the middle ages, just as the French *hongre*, having the same connotation, indicates the origin of the castrated horse from Hungary. From German the word 'Wallache' 'Rumanian' entered into the English language and is used by Chaucer, who was a great reader of mediaeval literature. However the origin of the German Wallache was not explained. As mentioned above, the Vlachs from the north of the Danube played a very important rôle in the history of this region. They were not Arumanians but part of the north Rumanian branch. In their wanderings as traders, shepherds, cattle breeders, inn keepers, and transport monopolists they reached as far as the Caspian Sea in the east and the Adriatic in the west. As military chieftains they led their contingents in various armies, among others, in the army of the Ban of Croatia, who at one time was in liege with Hungary. The language of the chancery was the Latin used in Hungary. According to the Hungarian phonology, a vowel was introduced into groups of consonants unusual in that phonological system: so the Slavonic *blato* became Balaton. Accordingly Vlah, Vlacus appears in the Latin-Hungarian documents as Valacus. From Hungarian, the word was borrowed by the Germans, who have the form Wallache.

4. A problem connected with the name of the Rumanians is whether the Slavs have known the word of *Rome* and the

derived forms *Romanus* etc. It is not without importance to mention that the Rumanians called themselves with the names of the regions they occupied (Munteni, Moldoveni, Transilvăneni etc.) However, at least in one large region north of the Danube they continued to call themselves with the name *Rumân*, the name of Rome. *Codex Supraliensis* presents the forms *ruminũ*, translating *Rumaios*, *rumi* (nom. pl.), *rumy* (instr. pl.) to which corresponds the OHG. form *rūmisc* < Germ. **rūmisks*. These *-u* forms are explained therefore as secondary Teutonic forms.

In view of the origin of the *Cod. Supr.* (East Bulgaria or North of the Danube) and considering the fact that the Ostrogoths borrowed Latin elements not only in the south of the Danube but also in Dacia, where they had settled for a while, it would not be without foundation to think that the form *ruminũ* of the *Cod. Supr.* reflects the *rumân* of Dacia.

Other words of Latin origin considered by A. Stender-Petersen as having entered through the Gothic, in the 3-rd — 4-th century, not only into the Slavonic but also into the west Germanic, and Baltic, and Finnish languages are: *Kaisar* < *Caesar*; *Kettel* < *catinus*; *Esel* < *asilus*; *Pflug* < **plōgs*; *Maut* < *mōta*; *Wein*: Sl. *vino*; OCS *mustũ*, R *must* < Latin **mustum*; Italian *mosto*, Fr. *moût*; OCS *vinogradũ* etc. < Goth. *weinagards*, etc.

These and other Latin words were introduced, at various periods, into the Slavonic languages, by the Goths who came into contact with the Roman civilization on the Black Sea, in Dacia, in Moesia, and in Transylvania (A. Stender-Petersen, *Slavish-Germanische Lehnwortkunde* 144, 365-368, 416). The Goths reached the shores of the Black Sea in the 2-nd — 3-rd century A.D. coming from the Baltic.

Perhaps the social degradation of the ethnical name *rumân* was preceded by a political one, far in the past, in the period of the Teutonic domination in Dacia. We have only indirect proofs in support of such an assumption. In the Western Roman Empire, in Italy, the Teutonic-Lombard invaders, — the same who had occupied a part of Dacia, — used the name *Roman* as a word of ethnical contempt. We hear from the bishop of Cremona Liutprand, himself apparently a Lombard, who was sent on an embassy to Constantinople, in the year 968, to ask in marriage a daughter of the emperor *Romanus* for the son of king *Otho*,

that the reigning emperor Nicephorus Phocas, in a conversation at the table, refused the title of *Romans* to the subjects of *Otho* whom he calls *Lombards* and *Barbarians*. The prelate Liutprand replied: « We Lombards can offer no greater insult to a man than to call him a *Roman*, a name which among us denotes whatever is base, cowardly, sordid, depraved, and knavish », (Cf. Thomas Thornton, *The present state of Turkey...* together with the geographical, political and civil state of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, from observations made during a residence of fifteen years in Constantinople and the Turkish provinces, Vol. II, London, 1809, p. 350).

Another example of semantic degradation of the name of a people is that of the *Slavs* who gave the word for *slave*. There is no need to go so far back in the past in order to find examples for this semantic category. The conquerors of our times use similar means to show their contempt for their victims.

The French *bougre* 'fellow, chap; blackguard' from *Bulgar*, and the *ogre* from the French *ogre* 'a wicked and cruel person; one who eats much' from *Hongrois* (perhaps through German intermediary) show the same semantic development.

In Rumanian the degradation of *rumân* 'peasant subject to bondage (in the Middle Ages)' is a semantic development, of foreign origin. Otherwise one could not explain its current use by the wives calling their husbands '*rumânul meu*' i.e. my husband; my man.

5. In view of the Germanic invasions, Aurelian evacuated the army and the administration of the north-Danubian part of the East Roman Empire with the intention of reoccupying it after the withdrawal or defeat of the invaders. He planned the building of a bridge across the Danube, but the Gepids had settled in the Dacian province and held the western part till the 7-th century when the Lombards drove them southwards into Italy where they were defeated in 774 by Charlemagne.

In the 3-rd century the Goths invaded Dacia. Because of the similarity of the names of the names of the Goth with that of the Getai (Greek name for Dacians) some confusion was produced in the old chronicles (e.g. Jordanis). The Visigoths branched off somewhere on the Dniester; they attacked Dacia first

in 214 A.D., and crossed the Lower Danube (238). Towards the end of the 3-rd century they were settled in Moldavia, Walachia and probably also in Transylvania. Here their neighbours in the north and in the west were the Gepids. From here the Visigoths invaded Europe, disappearing in Spain. The Ostro-Goths continued their invasion in Europe in 410. Daco-Latins, in Dacia, Thracio-Latins, and Illyrians remained in their respective regions north and south of the Danube. The Albanians are most probably survivors of the Illyrians, who were closely related to the Thracians. (On the Albano-Rumanian linguistic relationship one finds the latest information in: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Rumänisch, Romanisch, Albanesisch*. Mitteil. d. rum. Inst., Wien I, 1914; Al. Philippide, *Originea Românilor*, vol. II, Iaşi, 1927; S. Puşcariu, *Die rum. Sprache*, Leipzig 1943 I). For the above dates cf. Walter von Wartburg, *Les origines des peuples romans*, Paris, 1941).

It is inconceivable that the autochthonous population was destroyed or removed for the obvious reason that the newcomers needed food and services in a region not familiar to them. The taxation was often less heavy than in the Empire and people do not abandon easily old established homesteads and ways of life. History does not offer cases of total evacuations when the invaders came, nor total destruction by the invaders who have to live on the country occupied by them. The Turc (Uralo-Altaic) wave of invasion followed that of the Teutonic tribes. The arrival of the Slavs in the Carpatho-Danubian area was connected with the movement of the Avars, an Altaic tribe of the Turc (not Turkish-Osmanli) language, who used the Slavs as mercenaries.

The Turc tribes were masters of an empire which stretched from the borders of China to the steppes of the Euxine Pont (Black Sea). Today's Turkestan is a reminiscence of that empire.

6. In the last centuries B.C. the Slavs occupied the region between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea, where they arrived from their prehistorical habitat situated most probably north-eastwards in the Pripet Dvina region. During the Teutonic invasions they had not reached the sources of the Dniester, as shown by the Germanic toponymy of Eastern Galicia.

In 558 A.D., the Avars were moved by other steppe nomads

westwards from the Euxine steppes where they lived a nomadic life. In 565 they penetrated through the Carpathians and settled in Pannonia where they felt more at home. The Pannonian steppe was sheltering the Lombards, who had defeated the Gepids, but under the pressure of the Avars they moved southwards into Italy. The Slavs, whom they met when they advanced westwards, as well as in Pannonia, became subject-allies of the Avars.

The Romans had not renounced the reconquest of their province of Dacia in the hope of stemming off these dangerous inroads from the steppes. The emperor Justinian was preparing an expedition, but his untimely death, in 565, frustrated the Roman plan. This indicates that the descendants of the Roman colonists were populating the province of Dacia. Fifteen years later, in 580, Justinian's nephew Justin II, had to fight against the Avars who besieged the city of Sirmium. His successor Tiberius II abandoned Sirmium after two years of siege by the Avaro-Slavs. The region south of the Danube was pillaged by the Avars and Slavs.

In 607 the Slavs had reached and destroyed the Roman-Greek city of Epidaurus (Tsaftat of today) which was rebuilt nearby to Ragusa, Dubrovnik of today.

In 617 the Slavs and the Avars advanced as far as Constantinople. The metropolis resisted and the invaders withdrew, taking prisoners with them. In 629 the same invaders besieged Constantinople for eleven days. This time their failure to take Byzance was due to quarrels between themselves. The Avars withdrew to the Pannonian steppe. Most of the Slavs remained behind and mixed with the Latin population of Moesia and Illyrium. These inroads, pillages and settlements of the Avars and Slavs in the south-Danubian area no doubt displaced some of the old settlers of the Latin provinces of Moesia superior, Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia ripensis, Dardania. A part of them crossed the Danube into the former Dacia of Trajan, others migrated southwards. The Byzantine chronicler relates, in the 11-th century, that «the Vlachs of the Byzantine empire inhabited earlier the region on the Danube and Sava, where the Serbs are now. Fleeing from there they settled in the whole of Epirus and Macedonia. Most of them settled down in the Hellas» (ap. D. Onciul, *Români din Dacia Traiană*, Buc. 1902, pp. 32-33).

From the Euxine steppe came the invasion of the Turc tribe, the Bulgars, who crossed the Lower Danube, in 679, and settled in East Bulgaria of today as warriors of the Byzantine empire. In this vicinity they confronted the Slavs left here by the Avars. The Bulgars advanced southwards and subjugated them, but later the non Indo-European Bulgar conquerors were slavized; they gave their name to the Slavs, thus creating the Bulgarian people.

The Dutch slavist Nicolas van Wijk has stated, on the basis of historical dialectology, that between the Serb and Bulgarian linguistic territories, existed a region of Latin-Rumanian speakers which was an extension of the Latin-Rumanian of the Carpathian region (*Taalkundige en historische Gegevens betreffende the oudste Bedrekingen tussen Serven en Bulgaren*. Mededelingen ... of the Dutch Royal Academy, LV, Serie A., Nr. 3, Amsterdam, 1923).

The founder of the new Western Roman Empire, Charlemagne, destroyed in 795, the Pannonian State of the Avars. The Slavs who had been subjects of the Avars became now citizens of the new empire. They penetrated far to the West, up to Carinthia, where they were germanized. Slav toponyms are to be found up to the mountain chain of the Tauern. Charlemagne created the Ostmark (Ostariki, i.e. Austria) as a bulwark against these invasions.

One century after the destruction of the Avars in Pannonia, another nomad tribe arrived from Asia, the Magyars, invited by Arnulf, duke of Carinthia, to help him in his war against the Slavs. After helping the Germans against the Slavs, the Magyars undertook some invasions of their own into Italy and France reaching Provence, and to Germany itself. The emperor Otto the Great defeated them on the river Lech, near Augsburg, and they returned to Pannonia, where they destroyed the Slav states of Slovakia-Moravia and Pannonia (on the Balaton lake). They settled in Pannonia in 895 where the Slavs had founded their own states. This put an end also to the Cyrillo-Methodian culture transplanted here from Byzance; it continued for a while in Bohemia, but the greater part of its monuments and the representatives of this culture emigrated

eastwards, towards Byzance, and most probably along the Carpathian hill-lands, as far as Transylvania.

One assumes that from these troubled times the word Slav acquired the connotation of «slave», or with an inserted consonant *k* from the Balkan-Latin (Rumanian): Germ. Sklave, Ital. Schiavo, Rumanian Şcheu (plur. Şchei, Şcheia-locality), Fr. esclave, Sp. esclavo, Port. escravo. In Venice exists still today Molo dei Schiavoni, where tradition says, was a slave-market. In Venetian *ciao* means «servant» and serves as a greetings formula, corresponding to «servus»-greeting in Central Europe, meaning «I am your servant». The Magyars in Pannonia settled in the steppe and by embracing Catholicism saved themselves from being destroyed by the Western Roman Empire. In the year 1000 the Pope granted them the title of a king, which Boris-Michael of Bulgaria, had refused to accept, and they assumed the rôle of crusaders against the Eastern nations to bring them under the Pope's suzerainty (cf. W.D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, London, 1960, p. 573 sq.).

7. Other invaders from the east, occupied the plain between the Dniester river and the Carpathian mountains. These were the Patchenegs and the Cumans. They spread southwards through the Carpathian passes and reached the Magyars in Pannonia where they disappeared. In the 13-th century the great Mongolian invasion, which advanced up into Silesia, took place.

In this period of the invasions there were no Slavs in the plains east of the Carpathians, or in the Euxine steppes. In the 14-th century Rumanians from Maramureş (northern Transylvania) organized the Moldavian state on the river Moldova (1463), between the Carpathians and the river Dniester, where pioneering settlers had prepared this political foundation, created by the armed expedition of Dragoş, followed by that of Bogdan Voivod. They were in Maramureş local feudal noblemen of the Hungarian king. The successors of Bogdan, founder of the Muşat dynasty, extend the frontiers of the country to the Dniester and the Black Sea. The trade from the Baltic to the Black Sea and Byzance favoured the economic development of Moldavia. Among the settlers there may have been some eastern Slavs displaced by the invasions or migrants in search of peaceful life, or pri-

soners of war in the later period, but they were absorbed by the steady influx of Transylvanian Rumanians into the newly organized state.

For many centuries to follow, the lands east of the Dniester were a kind of no-man's land under the nominal domination of Lithuania, with the Crimean Tartars and Moscovite Russians as neighbours in the north. In the Bugeac (southern Bessarabia) existed, till late, a camp of the Tartars who lived from the neighbouring lands where they were called as mercenaries, in internal troubles, or as allies in the wars between the neighbouring states. The Cossacks of the Lower Dnieper who had also a similar existence at a certain period (17-th century) reached menacing fighting power and they were called upon by rival parties to help. The pay received, the booty plundered, the prisoners who had to be redeemed, allowed them to build up a rich settlement in the fastnesses of the Dnieper.

In the north, however, the state of Kiev developed into a great power and created a flourishing culture a Byzantium of the north till it was destroyed by the eastern invaders and rose again to fall under Lithuano-Polish suzerainty. In the east Moscow took its place and its heritage, amalgamating it with Asiatic elements. Another East Slavonic state was the principality of Halich in Red-Ruś, south of the White Russian community of the Eastern Slavs. In the Lithuanian state, which was associated with Poland since the 14-th century, lived large communities of Eastern Slavs, called Ruthenians, Malorussians and, since the 19-th century, Ukrainians.

The Bielorrussians, calling themselves also Krivitchane, developed, after the 12-th century, like the Ruthenians and Moscovite Russians on their own dialectal lines. The Bielo-Russians had, in the 17-th century, their own literary language based on a spoken dialect, whereas the Russians and the Ruthenians struggled to form a literary language based on Church Slavonic.

A great ethnographic confusion was created in the East Slav area because the name Ruś, a word of Scandinavian origin was applied to all three East Slav languages. When Russia rose to political power and conquered these territories the situation was more confounded by the intentional ethnographic misrepresentation.

One usually imagines that the Eastern Slavs have been since protohistory neighbours of the Rumanians in Transylvania and in Moldavia.

Historians and philologists look for a Slavonic substratum and symbiosis in Moldavia and in Transylvania. There is no doubt during the perpetual wars and invasions whole villages were displaced reciprocally, as war prisoners by Poland and Moldavia, from one side to the other; economic advantages also attracted the population from the east across the Dniester, as well as Rumanians from the west across that river. In the course of time, Rumanians in great number reached as far as the Dnieper and shepherds, in search for pastures for their herds, penetrated into the Caucasus. Agricultural settlements of Rumanians exist in great numbers as far as the Don and Dnieper. This however is far from justifying the fantastic theories of a *Slavonic* substratum in Dacia.

The colonisation with Rumanians in the New Russia took place also under the Czarist regime which on the other hand brought Germans, French, Bulgarians into Southern Bessarabia. Today, the Rumanian Soviet state, called by the Russians, Moldavia, includes the greater part of Bessarabia, as well as large stretches on the eastern side of the river Dniester.

From a point of view of ethnography (material civilization: clothing, building of the houses and homesteads), it is worth noting that the territory north of the Black Sea up till north of Kiev shows great similarities with that of Rumania, Slovakia, Serbia and Bulgaria. That may be due to the similar economic conditions, but as well it may be an echo of the common Thracoscythian relations which interpenetrated each other in Dacia.

8. To complete this historical background, necessary for a better understanding of the Slavo-Rumanian linguistic relationship, an ethnographical survey of the North-Carpathian region would be welcome. Today, starting from Bucovina where, between the two world wars, the frontiers of Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia met (the territory on the northern side of the Carpathians is inhabited by Ruthenian (Ukrainian) mountaineers, up to the eastern Besskides. In the mountains of Eastern Galicia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania — at the sources of the

rivers Ceremuş and Prut — live the Hutsuls, called by their Rumanian neighbours *Huțani*. These mountaineers — regarded as an ethnological riddle — who now speak a Ruthenian dialect with a rich Rumanian admixture, are most probably a Cumanic tribe which took shelter in the mountains. Their name contains the form of a widespread Turc tribe (*uz, uts*) found also in the name of another enigmatic population the *Gagauts* of southern Bessarabia and Bulgaria. The form *huț-ul* has the usual prothetic *h* of Slav dialects and the Rumanian suffixed article. Further, on the northern Carpathian slopes, live the Boiki and next to them the Lemki. On the southern side of the mountain chain live the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians who are contiguous with the Slovaks in the west. The heights of the mountains are sparsely inhabited by the Verkhovnici. West of the Beskides are the Polish Gurals, separated by mountain chains and rivers from the other world. These mountaineers are regarded by many scholars as an ethnographic survival of the Rumanian shepherds.

Gustave Le Bon, who undertook anthropological research on these mountaineers stated, as early as 1881, that their anthropological features differ from those of the Slavs and that they never intermarry nor mix with the Slavs which surround them (*De Moscou aux Monts Tatras, étude sur la formation actuelle d'une race par le docteur Gustave Le Bon. - Communication adressée à la Société de Géographie dans sa Séance du 21 janvier 1881. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Septième Série. Tome second, 1881 juillet-décembre, pp. 98-122, avec une carte de Tatras et du Podhale, plus un panorama géométrique du massif des Tatras, pp. 219-251*).

The same study appeared in German in an abbreviated form (Dr. Gustave Le Bon, *Ein anthropologischer Ausflug in die Tatra - Globus 40, 1881, Nr. 14, pp. 209-214; Nr. 15 pp. 225-231, Nr. 15 pp. 225-231, Nr. 16 pp. 241-247*).

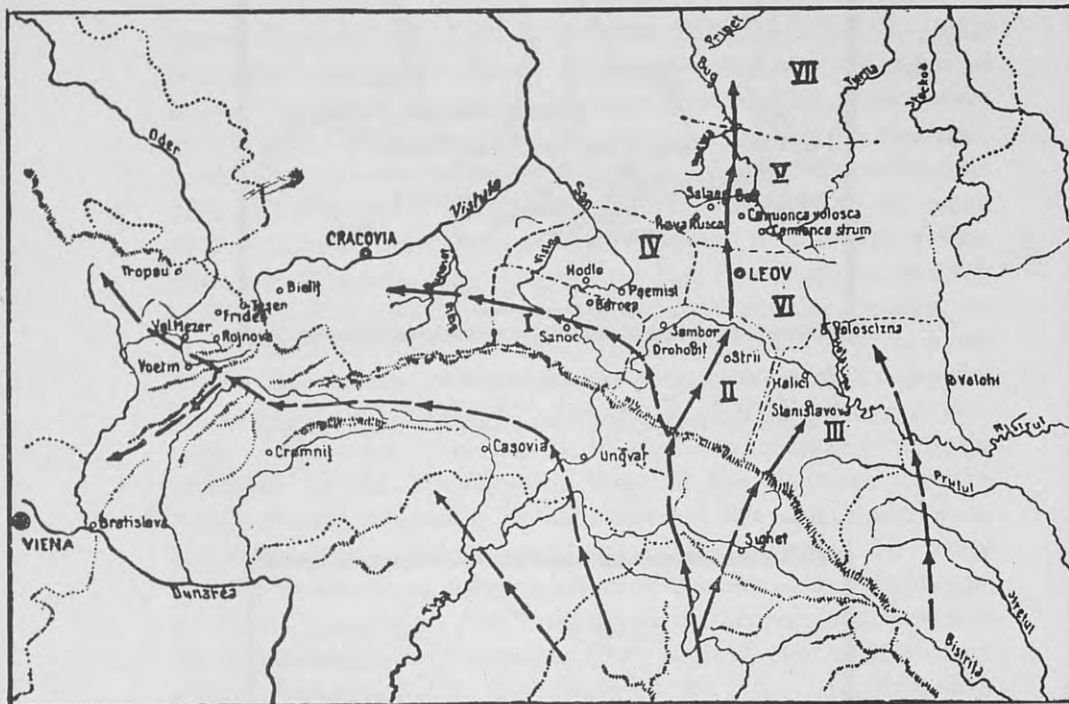
The French philosopher treated the problem from an anthropological point of view with the method of his time. His commonsense observations are as valuable as his anthropological measurements. He proclaims the principle that not all populations of Europe which speak a Slavonic language are Slavs (p. 224). So he draws the line between language and race, so often confused today.



Rumanians outside the northern frontier of their country. Map by Professor I. Lupaş published in *Țara Noastră* by Professor I. Simionescu, București, 1940, p. 232).



Rumanians outside the western political frontier of their country (By I. Manciulea published in *Țara Noastră* by professor I. Simionescu, București 1940, p. 282).



Medieval migrations of Rumanian shepherds and agricultural settlers in the Carpathians. The centres of displacement were Transylvania and Pannonia. From here the migratory waves reached Moravia, Silesia, the Sudeten Mountains, and the Little Carpathians in the west, and moved northwards so far as the Pripet region.

This map is based on the documents published by Karel Kadlec (*Valaši a valašské právo v zemích slovanských a uherských*, Praha, 1916), and on the place-names and ethnography of the region. The number of the Vlah settlements historically recorded, as instituted on the *Ius Valachicum*, is accordingly in the regions on this map: I. Sanok region shows 93 settlements; II. Sambor region shows 82 settlements; III. Halič region shows 18 settlements; IV. Przemyśl region shows 33 settlements; V. Belts region shows 21 settlements; VI. Lvov region shows 30 settlements; VII. Pripet; and in the west Carpathians, the migratory waves are testified by the toponymy and by the ethnography of those regions.

(G. Nandriș, *Migrațiuni românești în Carpații Galitiei și ai Moraviei*. - In *Graul Românesc*, I, 5, pp. 99-104, Bucuresti, 1947; G. Nandriș, *O wedrówce Rumunów na terenie zachodnio-Słowiańskim* - In *Slavia Occidentalis*, XII, Poznań, 1934; G. Nandriș, *Păstoritul românesc în Carpații poloni în lumina Atlasului Lingvistic al Poloniei Subcarpatine* de K. Nitsch i M. Małecky / *Atlas Językowy Polskiego Podkarpacia*, Kraków, 1934 / published in *Daco-Romania* VIII, Cluj, 1936).

Documents beginning with the 14-th century testify to the movements of the Rumanians in this area. The toponymy, all along the Carpathian area, is predominantly Rumanian. Rumanian toponymy is met with only as high as the pastures reach. The high mountains are partly of Germanic origin: Giewont, Beskid. The shepherd's terminology today is still Rumanian; in some regions the sheep are counted by means of Rumanian numerals.

This shows that the Slavs crossed the Northern Carpathians at a late date and the conception of the Slavs invading this area from the north does not seem to be justified. The philological support of the problem is being supplied by the linguistic atlas of the Polish Sub-Carpathian region (K. Nitsch - M. Małecky, *Atlas językowy Polskiego Podkarpacia*, Kraków, 1934; cf. the maps reproduced in G. Nandriș, *Păstoritul românesc în Carpați în lumina Atlasului lingvistic al Poloniei subcarpatine*. *Dacoromania*, VIII, Cluj, 1936 and in S. Pușcariu, *Die rum. Sprache*, 1943).

The toponymic arguments are exposed in a rich bibliography. A summary of the problem is given by Jan Rozwadowski (*O nazwach geograficznych Podhala*. *Pamiętnik Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie*, 1914, pp. 1-7; reproduced in his *Wybór pism*, I, Warszawa, 1959, pp. 20 sq.) in the following passage: «Not in the high Tatras but lower down, in the Beskids and pasture clearings, everywhere where shepherds arrived with their sheep, we have in the placenames numerous proofs of the presence of the Rumanians, or Walachs. They wandered through the Carpathians from Transylvania to Moravia, grazing their herds, preparing the cheese, etc.; they founded settlements, mainly in the 14-th—16-th century; in the regions of Sandec, Spisz, and further in the west, especially in the 16-th century. From their language spread the very numerous *Magura*, *Magury*: Rum. *măgură* 'a lower isolated mountain, mountain in general, hill', *Kiczery*, *Kiczory* 'mountain covered with forest', *Grunie*, *Gronie* used also as appellative to express 'hillock': Rum. *grui* 'hillock', *Sihly* *Sihlce*, *Syhla*, *Zasihle* used also as a common noun: Rum. *sihla* 'thicket'. Place names of the same origin: *Munczel* 'mountain': *muncel* < Latin *monticellum*, *Arseczny* 'place in the mountains': Rum. *Arșița* < a *arde* 'to burn', *Lunga* (river):

Rum. *lung* 'long', *Strymba* (river): Rum. *strâmb* 'crooked, twisted', *Akra*, *Akrezora*, *Akryn* (river): Rum. *acru* 'sour', *Serata*, *Sarata* (brook): Rum. *sârat* 'salted', *Ardželuža* (mountain): Rum. *argilos*, *argilă* 'clay, earth', *Tsapul* (mountain): Rum. *șap* 'he-goat', *Gorgan* (mountain): Rum. *gorgan* 'barrow': Russ. *Kurgan*: Persian *gur-hane*, *Homul* (mountain): Rum. *omul* 'the man, the human being', *Kurmatura* (place-name): *a curma* 'to cut', *Funtyrat*: Rum. *fântână* 'fountain', *Brebenieskul*: Rum. *brebene* (a plant), *Sekatura*: Rum. *a seca* 'to dry up', *Budieskul*; Rum. *budă* 'hut', *Lupinka*; *lup* 'wolf', *Puczoza*: Rum. *pucioasă* 'sulfur', *Weklisz*; Rum. *vechi* 'old' < Lat. *vetulus* > **veclus* > *vecliu*, *Plai* (also appellative) 'footpath in the mountains, mountain slope': Rum. *plai* 'id.', *Dzarapa*, *žeńepyn* (place name and appellative): Rum. *jneapăn* < *iuniperus*, *afina*, *afira*, *dafina*, *jafira* (appellative): Rum. *afină* 'bilberry', *Pisk* (mountain): Rum. *pisc* 'top of the mountain, plisc bird's beak', *Lac*: Rum. *lac* 'lake', *Staul*: Rum. *staul* 'stable', and many other geographical names of which some are used also as appellatives. Very numerous are the common nouns mainly referring to shepherd-life. Many of these names and expressions were borrowed sometimes by the Rumanians from the Slavs, but this does not alter the problem. «The whole Carpathian and Sub-Carpathian region from Transylvania to the so-called region of Valašsko in Moravia is full with such Rumanian names», (J. Rozwadowski, *ibid.*).

An extensive survey of the place-names in those regions is provided by N. Drăganu's study (*Români în veacurile IX-XIV, pe baza toponimiei și onomasticeii*, București, 1933, pp. 682; cf. Fr. Miklosich — E. Kałużniacki, *Über die Wanderungen der Rumänen in den Dalmatinischen Alpen und den Karpaten*. — *Denkschriften der Akad. d. Wiss.; phil.-hist. Classe*, XXX, Wien, 1879).

The anthropological enigma of Podhale, i.e. the Gurals, the mountaineers of the northern Carpathians who have lived for centuries isolated on their «mountain island» attracted the attention of many scholars. In the west the Gurals are separated from the Slovaks by the deep valleys of the Black Dunajec, in the south by the inaccessible heights of the Tatras. In the east, separated by the wild valleys of the river Bialka, live the Germans and Slovaks (in the region of Käsmark, Poprad, Lenschan,

Zips, Liptau). In the north-east from Szczawnica on the river Ruska, tributary of the Dunajec, eastwards, are Ruthenian settlers, but the Polish element goes further east to the San river. The isolation is not only geographical but even more deeply ethnographical and anthropological: way of life, folklore, behaviour, spiritual abilities.

My personal wanderings in various regions of the Carpathians brought me in contact also with the shepherds' life of the Gurals, high up in the Tatras, not far from the Morskie Oko, in the Zakopane region. One summer day was not enough to collect much material concerning the language of the shepherds who received me with the same joy as do shepherds everywhere else. Their language is a Polish dialect, but I was struck by the similarity of their shepherd-household, which transferred me over the linguistic barriers into the Eastern Carpathians. The whole technical terminology was identical with that known to me from the Rumanian shepherds: *Strunga* «narrow passage in a covered fence through which sheep pass to be milked», *mutatore*: Rum. *a muta* 'to change' means here shepherd's hut changed from place to place, *bryndza* 'cheese': Rum. *brânză*, *žetica* 'first whey': Rum. *jintiță*, *hurda*, *urda* 'whey-cheese': Rum. *urdă*, *geletka* «wooden bucket»: Rum. *găleată*, *merynda* 'food': Rum. *merinde* 'aliments', *rumigo*, *rumegat*, 'to chew': Rum. *a rumega* 'to chew, tu ruminate', *putyra* 'wooden barrel': Rum. *putină*, *kurnuta* 'horned sheep' Rum. *cornută*, *șuta* 'sheep with small ears' Rum. *șută*, *byrka* 'kind of sheep': Rum. *bârcă* 'sheep', *pistrula* 'speckled sheep': Rum. *pistru* 'freckles', *vetula*: Rum. *vătui* 'young animal, a year old' < Lat. *vituleus* < *vitulus* 'calf', etc.

Many historical documents on the subject have been published by Karel Kadlec (*Valasi a Valašske právo, v zemích slovanských a uherských*, Praha, 1916, Acad. Boem.).

9. The spreading of the Slavs southwards over the mountains must have been provoked by the Mongolian invasion of the 13-th century (1241) which pushed them over the mountains from their settlements between the Baltic and the Carpathians. Also late in the 13-th century — as mentioned above — from the south into Transylvania small Bulgarian groups migrated and

settled a few villages (Bongrad, Rosenbach, etc.). The language of these south Slavs is known in its form of the 18-th century, when they were absorbed by the Rumanian population. It was first Miklosich, the pioneer and founder of comparative Slavonic philology, who studied it in a corrupted orthography, and he created the phantom of the Slav substratum in Transylvania. This illusion was embraced with gusto by historians, even after the master abandoned it.

The hypothesis of a migration of Slavs from the west after their states and cultures were destroyed in Moravia, Slovakia and Pannonia (on the lake Balaton) by the Magyar invaders, after the defeat of the latter in western Europe, may have more reality. We have no documents for this political migration of the Cyrillo-Methodian period. However it is not impossible that those Slavs, defeated in their struggle for political independence against the Frankish rulers, and being threatened to be annihilated by the Magyars in their struggle for religious autonomy against Rome, migrated with their aristocracy and retinues and found a *modus vivendi* with the Rumanian Voevods and Knezs of Transylvania, who had to fight against the same threatening danger.

This assumption would give an explanation of the permanent thrust of the Magyars into Transylvania, travestied as crusaders of Christianity. The hypothesis could find confirmation in the relation of the Notarius Anonymus, the Chronicler of whatever King Bela he was: Bela II (1131-1141), Bela III (1174-1196) or Bela IV (1235-1270). He relates traditions, legends, perhaps echoes of some documents (Anonymus Belae regis notarius. *Gesta Hungarorum*, Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Vindobonae, 1766-1768, I). The recension is of the 14-th century and has to be accepted with the same critical caution as that of any chronicler of the Middle Ages. He writes about the penetration of the Magyars in Transylvania: «on the territory from the river Mureş till Orşova ruled the duke Glad, who had come from Vidin and, with the help of the Cumans, occupied that territory. In Transylvania ruled a Vlah, Gelou, over the Vlachs and the Slavs, peoples not experienced in warfare who suffered much from the invasions of the Cumans and of the Petchenegs. The Magyars subjugated all these princes.

Especially Tuhutum defeated Gelou and subjected Transylvania where his family ruled till Stephen the Saint, in the year 1000». One does not need a speculative mind to see that the Notarius mixes periods and confuses historical events intentionally or by ignorance. The fact remains that his relation echoes a tradition concerning the ethnographic situation in Transylvania, and in Pannonia, where the Hungarians, on their arrival, found Rumanian and Slav political organizations.

Also the allusion to the Slavs from Vidin conquering some territory north of the Danube may contain some confused echoes of a tradition referring to the Serbo-Rumanian relations. The names of the earliest recorded Rumanian rulers in the Carpathians of Oltenia and Wallachia are Slavonic: Seneslav, Tihomir, Litovoi (= *ljutŭ* «powerful, terrible, violent, wild» + *voj* «fighter»). It does not mean that they were necessarily Slavs, but family and dynasty Serbo-Rumanian links are of a long standing date. The feudal institutions of the *Knezat* and *Voivodat*, came from the Serbs who in their turn took them from the Franks. The Rumanians had a social life based on the customary law - *ius valahicum*, *lex valahica* - derived probably from the Roman agricultural manor-organization, on which the military organisation was superimposed.

The south Slavonic (Serbian from Vidin) alluded to by the Notarius Anonymus may be, on the other hand, a *pro domo sua* justification of the coveting by Magyar kings of the territory of Banat-Severin.

In the same chronicle the Notarius relates about the Rumanians in Pannonia: «The inhabitants of the towns in Pannonia, Pamfilia, Macedonia, Dalmatia and Frigia could not support the numerous attacks and devastations by the Huns and, with the permission of Attila crossed the Adriatic Sea into Apulia. The Vlaha alone, who were their sheep-growers and soil-toilers (*qui ipsorum fuere pastores et coloni*), remained of their own will in Pannonia». Again it is hardly possible to disentangle facts from legends, but the presence of the Rumanians (Vlachs) could not be denied, as some historians try to do. More recent studies seem to confirm this presence (Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice in Evul Mediu*, Bucureşti, 1959;

N. Drăganu, *Ancienneté et expansion des Roumains d'après la toponymie, l'onomastique et la langue, Balcania VI, 1944.*

10. It appears, in the light of this background, that the substratum theory of the Slavonic element in Transylvania and elsewhere cannot be maintained. Further, the long debated continuity of the Latin element — more correctly of the Thraco-Latin population — in Dacia after the military evacuation by Aurelian in 272, cannot be denied. The appearance of a Rumanian population creating political organizations and spreading in all directions in the early Middle Ages cannot be explained like a *deus ex machina*, considering that its expansion centre is Transylvania and Pannonia. If a conclusion based on common sense, good faith and unprejudiced scholarly research is to be reached, I take the liberty of quoting by anticipation that of the two English scholars A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson (*The Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 272):

« When the Romans left Dacia it is most improbable that all the Roman settlers and romanized tribes withdrew also, and on the other hand it is most probable that the factors that romanized Dacia were also operative in the Balkans, and the Rumanians in Rumania are in the main indigenous though at different periods the centre of the race has shifted. Today it is north of the Danube, in the middle ages it was to the south, and earlier still it may have been nearer its present position. We may therefore conclude that the Vlachs are for the most part the romanized tribes of the Balkan peninsula, re-inforced perhaps at times by tribes from over the Danube ».

II. — PHONOLOGY

11. This topic has been much discussed in the course of the last century. It came recently to the forefront of philological preoccupations behind the Iron Curtain, and it has been often abused for other than scholarly purposes; than for the search for truth, from a linguistic point of view. I shall make an attempt to present the Slavo-Rumanian phonologic relationship from a synchronical and diachronical point of view, limiting its purpose to the enunciation of principles applied to phonological approach in general.

If a language is a *system of signs*, in which everything is kept together (according to Meillet's definition), and, at the same time, this system is a *social institution*, accepted by members of a linguistic community, by common consent, as something which unites them, then Rumanian and Slavonic, in this context, are to be considered as two entirely autonomous linguistic systems which developed independently and exercised their influences on each other, in space and time, determined by historical circumstances. This relationship is — qualitatively — not different from that between other European languages.

In view of the present-day confusion of terms referring to linguistic concepts, it does not seem trivial to define these terms.

Rumanian represents the Latin of the Eastern Roman Empire imposed by the Roman administration and by the Latin rural civilisation on the autochthonous Thraco-Dacians of the conquered provinces north of the Danube (101-105 A.D.) and on the Thracians and Illyrians south of the Danube in the preceding period. Rumanian is the only survivor of the Vulgar Latin language spoken in the Eastern Roman Empire. The Rumanian language is an evolved form of Eastern Latin, which includes

also South Italy, with the changes and influences it has experienced during twenty centuries. Whereas Western Romania is represented by eight languages (French; Spanish; Portuguese; Catalan; Rheto-Romance; Frioulan*, in the province of Udine; Rumantsch, in the Rhine and Engadine Valleys and Ladin, in the Dolomites), Eastern Romania has one single language, Rumanian, which occupies numerically the fourth place among the Romance languages and the ninth place among the one hundred and twenty languages spoken in Europe. It consists of four dialects:

1. Rumanian of the Carpatho-Danubian region called Daco-Rumanian.

2. Arumanian (Armân, Kutsovlah, Fărşerot) or Macedo-Rumanian of the Balkans, called also Vlah, Tsintsar, mainly in Macedonia, Thessaly, Pindus, Epirus.

During the Middle Ages, and up till present times, these Arumanians spread with their trades and skilled craftsmanship all over central Europe. They were builders, merchants, bankers of reputation, and founders of cultural institutions as far as Vienna, Poznan, Budapest. In their native lands, they contributed, in a large measure, to creating a middle class for the countries of South-Eastern Europe. They were great fighters for Greece's independence, and founded the more important cultural institutions of Athens. The first Greek battle-ship was built with Arumanian money.

A recent study discovered them in the wilderness of the desert of Mount Sinai, metamorphosed in a Beduin tribe, the Jebelia (*God's Wilderness. Discoveries in Sinai*. Translated from Hebrew. Photographs by Beno Rollenberg. No Author. London 1961, Thames & Hudson, p. 160). The photograph of a Beduin girl of the tribe Jebelia has the caption: «The Jebelia are one of the most interesting of the Sinai Beduin tribes». They are said, plausibly enough, to be descended from Wallachian and Egyptian slaves settled here by Justinian in the 6th century, to guard the monastery and act as servants to the monks. They are formerly Christians». This legend may be the historical

* Frioulan in the province of Udine; before the rise of Venice, it stretched to the area of Istro-Rumanian, south of Trieste.

echo of some transfer of population in the Eastern Roman Empire. Justinian himself originates from a Balkan-(Illyrian) - Latin speaking peasant family.

3. Megleno-Rumanian, spoken in a region of seven villages north-east of Salonica.

The group of seven villages inhabited by these Megleno-Rumanians found itself, in the first world-war, on the battlefield and suffered severe destructions (Cf. Th. Capidan, *Megleno-Românii*, I, 1925 II, 1928. Academia Română).

4. Istro-Rumanian, reduced to a few thousand speakers, inhabiting the Istrian Peninsula, south of Trieste, near Montemaggiore (Cf. Sextil Puşcariu, *Studi istro-române*, I-II (1926), Academia Română). The numerous Vlachs of the Middle Ages who occupied wide stretches south of the Danube, from the Lower Danube to the Adriatic and Bosnia are not to be identified with the Arumanians.

A Moldavian language, advertised by Russian and Rumanian philologists for reasons which are not philological, does not exist. Moldavia is a geographical term which designates the province between the Eastern Carpathians and the River Dniester, so-called after the Carpathian river, Moldova which, most probably, is the Flutausis of Iordanis - a word of Celto-Germanic origin given to the river of Moldavia and to that of Bohemia. Linguistically, the Moldavian area is not covered by one and the same Rumanian, in general very little differentiated from any other North Danubian, Rumanian, dialect. The literary language is uniform for the whole country.

12. By the retreat of the Roman legions and administration from Dacia (272 A.D.); by the subsequent dominations by the Teutonic Goths and Gepids from the third century, and by the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkano-Danubian region in the 5th-7th centuries, the Roman civilisation here changed into an agricultural-pastoral one. It was cut off from the metropolitan civilisation and developed on the local rural conditions. The Eastern Latins separated from the Western Latin area and developed their language independently of the other Romance languages on a different substratum and influenced by different cultures.

This evolution was not influenced by mediaeval Latin and so Rumanian remained in some ways more conservative, i.e. nearer to vulgar Latin than the Western Romance languages.

In the 14th century the Rumanians created their own political organization; in the 15th-16th centuries they evolved a literary language and created a flourishing cultural life based on Byzantine civilization. In this situation, the East Roman Latin language was influenced by the Slavonic languages and the new states used Slavonic as an administrative and ecclesiastical means of civilization on a common South-East European cultural background; this is reflected in the history of these languages. To a certain degree also Greek, Albanian and Hungarian suffered the same influences through Byzance and later through the Ottoman Empire.

The general questions which arise when we study the Slavo-Rumanian linguistic relationship are: *which* Slav language comes under consideration? *When* does this relationship begin? *Where* did this process take place? Under what historical and cultural conditions did the reciprocal influence take place?

In reply to the last question, I should like to deal with these linguistic relationships on the basis of the loan-words theory. I consider this more satisfactory than to introduce the *stratum* theory with its corollaries *superstratum* and *adstratum*, the *symbiosis* theory with its corresponding *bilingualism* which terms are much used and abused when dealing with this linguistic area than when we study the same relationship of any other European region, as if the general linguistic theory could not be applied here as it does elsewhere. To explain linguistic features and changes in South-Eastern Europe through the *stratum* of Thracian, Illyrian, Phrygian, Scythian, Pannonian, through the *bilingualism* and *symbiosis* of Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat, Arumanian, Macedo-Slavonic, seems as if philological metaphysics were being introduced into the discussion. Without denying the linguistic value of these concepts, their function has yet to be defined and their rôle (mainly prosodic) subordinated to the general linguistic theory of loan-words. The rôle of the *stratum* (symbiosis) has been confounded by the anthropological approach to linguistic studies.

Proceeding from the principles which were formulated by

Bloomfield in defining the loan-words, we shall distinguish between (1) *intimate borrowings* which occur when two (or more) languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. This situation arises for the most part by conquest, less often in the way of peaceful migration. Intimate borrowing is onesided: we distinguish between the *upper* or *dominant* language, spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group, and *lower* language, spoken by the subject people, or as in the United States, by humble immigrants». «... it is the lower language which borrows predominantly from the upper». (L. Bloomfield, *Language*, 458).

(2) «*Dialect borrowings*. Every speaker, and on a larger scale, every local or social group acts as an imitator and as a model — as an agent in the levelling process. No person and no group acts always in one or the other capacity, but the privileged castes and the central and dominating communities act more often as models, and the humblest classes and most remote localities more often as imitator». (L. Bloomfield, 477). This category of loan-words covers too the borrowings from the languages of different trades, as well as the learned words which enter into the lexical treasury of a language, and are called cultural loans.

13. These principles have been verified in philological research and they are satisfactory as a working basis for the question as to how lexical influences take place.

The break-up of the Roman Empire produced the ruralization of the Latin civilization in the East (as well as in the West), and the borrowings from other languages show this trend in the growth of their vocabulary.

To the question *when* and *where* the Slavo-Rumanian reciprocal linguistic influences took place, we have to reply that *theoretically* this took place on the territory of the Eastern Roman Empire, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea and from the Northern Carpathians to Greece far in the South, beginning from the period of the settlement of the Slavs here in the 5th-7th centuries (i.e. the Common Slavonic linguistic period) until modern times. Practically, our task is to deal with the relationship between Daco-Rumanian and the Slavonic language or language

ges, which influenced (or were influenced by) the Romanian language. The borrowings from the modern Slavonic languages are easily recognised and they will not be considered here. The term Daco-Slavonic is of little use in the study of this linguistic problem because we do not know anything of this language. The Transylvanian Slavs studied by Miklosich, which were assimilated in modern times, have proved to be late Bulgarian settlers of the 13th-14th centuries (in *Bongard, Rosenbach, etc.*). Since the discovery of the Transylvanian Slavs by Miklosich (*Beiträge zur Lautlehre der rumunischen Dialekte, Vokalismus III, p. 22 etc., Wien, 1882*) many scholars are haunted by the Slav substratum and symbiosis in Dacia, though Miklosich's Slavs were late Bulgarian settlers of the 13th-14th century and were non-existent in the 18th century when Miklosich got information about them. This did not prevent modern scholars from operating on the basis of a Daco-Slavonic language. Cvijić writes about these Slavs: «One knows of a Bulgarian migration towards Transylvania in the 13th century. It is probable that small groups of Bulgarians crossed the Danube during the following centuries». Miklosich himself, a great pioneer in Slavo-Rumanian linguistic researches, frequently changed his opinion concerning the Slavo-Rumanian linguistic relationship.

In studying the Slavonic element in Rumanian, we are faced with the facts: the great majority of the borrowings is of written Slavonic origin; the Slavonic influence in Rumanian is not homogeneous, geographically or chronologically — it represents a variety of dialects and entered Rumanian at various periods; it is mainly of literary, bookish origin, i.e. we have late cultural borrowings.

Hungarian, whose Slavonic loan-words posit the same problems as the Slav loan-words in Rumanian, is of great importance in these border-line studies. We shall try to illustrate the principles enunciated by examples referring mainly to the phonological system.

14. In the *phonological system*, Rumanian has been assumed to show a Slavonic influence in the iotization of initial front vowels (in the word and in the syllable): *el(iel) < *illu-, era (iera) < erat, este (ieste) < est* a development parallel to Slavic *ego*

(*iego*). (*Al. Rosetti, Istoria Limbii Române, III, 1940, p. 41, after O. Densusianu, Histoire de la langue roumaine, I, 1901, p. 73*). This, according to various linguistic schools, would be a phonetic feature of Slavonic origin.

However, this phonetic tendency is part of the general process of palatalization in the Rumanian phonological system and it is not of Slavonic origin. The tendency appears in Latin already in the 3rd century A.D. and is attested in other Romance dialects. A Latin *herbam* gave Rumanian *ierbă > iarbă*, Spanish *yerba*, Friulan *ierbe*, Lotharingian *yerb*; **mēlem > Rum. miere, Italian miele, Spanish miel*.

The tendency to palatalization (and the softening of the dentals) — contrary to the accepted view (V. Pisani, *Geolinguistica e Indoeuropeo, 1940*; S. Puşcariu, *Die rum. Sprache, 1943, p. 366, note 3*) — is not of Slavonic origin. We have here a general phonetic tendency operative in various languages independently. The Slavonic element adapted its phonetic structure to the Rumanian phonological system. The Slavonic element did not influence or change the Rumanian phonological system; it fitted into this system. When a phonetic tendency ceased to be operative, it did not affect the Slavonic borrowings. So are palatalized dentals in Latin *decem > Rumanian zece*, Latin *dico > Rumanian zic*, Latin *medius > Rumanian miez*; Latin *terra > Rumanian țeară, țară*; Latin *tenet > Rumanian ține, etc.*, but Rumanian *grădină* (not ** gradzină*) < Sl. *grad-ina*; Rumanian *scutit* < Bulgarian *skut* (but *ascuțit* Lat. ** excotio, cos*) are of Slavonic and not of Latin origins. In Latin elements, the dentals are assibilized: *amuțit, amuțesc, amuț* «to become dumb»: Latin *mutesco, *-ire*, Spanish *mudecer*, Provençal *mudir*.

Nor does the secondary softening of the dentals in Daco-Rumanian dialects of Northern Transylvania and elsewhere in words like *d'int'e* «tooth», *lap't'e* (*lapc'e*) need a Slavonic substratum in order to be explained, because in the same region Rumanian words which were borrowed by the Slavs from the Rumanian, do not show an altered dental. I have in mind a word like *putină* «small barrel» which appears in Carpatho-Ruthenian as *putyra*, Polish *pućira* (with changed dental adapted to the Polish phonological system) (cf. K. Nitsch - M. Maćecki, *Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia, 1934, map 24*).

15. In the same way, the morphonem *soft/hard*, which appears in Rumanian morphology, has been regarded as being of Slavonic origin. In Rumanian, the nom. masc. sing. is distinguished from the nom. masc. pl. by the phonological contrast *hard-soft*: *bun* ~ *buni* (*buń*); *an* ~ *ani* (*ań*), *ai*; *văr* ~ *veri* (*veř*), etc.; in the morphology of the verb this contrast distinguishes the 1st. sing. pres. from the 2nd: *plimb* ~ *plimbi* (*plimb'*) etc. A parallel development in Rumanian shows the final *-u* in the masc. sing. It was reduced and disappeared: *lupu* > *lup*. It is not necessary to assume here the influence of the hard *yer* of the Slavonic phonological system.

The parallelism between phonologic opposites in the morphology of the Rumanian and of the Russian verb (*govorit/govorít'*) does not support the Slavonic origin of this feature in Rumanian. The palatalization in the Latin dialects appears as early as the 3rd century A.D.

There are other morphological similarities which are independent in Slavonic and in Rumanian, e.g. the formation of one future form in Rumanian by means of the verb «*to will, to wish*» does not indicate a Bulgarian or Serbian origin of this form. It represents rather a Greek influence and a general linguistic tendency which appears also in English and — I am told — in Chinese. Far-reaching historical conclusions have been drawn from the phonological contrast *soft/hard*, as defined above, in Rumanian. One linguistic school assumed that the Slavs, who exercised this influence, disappeared after a period of symbiosis (coexistence) and the Rumanians could have acquired this phonetic feature only from the Slavs. So the great scholar S. Pușcariu (*Pe marginea cărților*, Daco-Romania, VI, 1931, 520) tells us. Another authority had considered this phonetic feature as being of Slavonic origin in Rumanian, but does not assume an ethnical merger, (O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, I, Paris, 1901, 237).

After the second World War, the linguistic school in Rumania proceeds from this phonological feature and endows the Rumanian language with a consonant system of 71 consonants, arriving at the extraordinary conclusion that Rumanian has a Slavonic phonological system and a Latin morphological one. See p. 32. As a reviewer remarks: «*This figure could have easily been dou-*

bled or trebled if the author had also borne in mind the 'combinatory variants' which are due to the consonant following the phoneme as well as the vowel which precedes it. Even such classification would not be exhaustive, because we are taught by general linguistics that one and the same speaker hardly ever pronounces the same phoneme in the same way». (Octave Nandriș, *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXVI, Nr. 87, London, 1958, p. 539).

Palatalization (based on the principle *hard soft* consonants) is a general phonetic process, which is linguistically operative in various languages independently from each other. So, in Italian, Rhetoroman and Rumanian, a dental alveolar palatalization appears, under certain phonetic conditions; and an apical palatalization: *k, g* > *č, ĝ* (is a dental alveolar palatalization). In English: *k, g* > *č, ž* (soft apical elements in words which are not of Danish origin); in Swedish: *k* > *k(j) = c, ś*, in many regions; Norwegian has *x'*, i.e. an intermediary dorsal palatalization; Latvian changes *k, g* > *c, dz* or *č, dž*.

French and Spanish seem to show the same tendency as Latvian. The Slavonic languages made full use of this process in the apical and in the dorsal directions. (R. Ekblom, *Die Palatalisierung von k, g, ch im Slavischen*, Uppsala, 1935). By disregarding the general character of this phonetic change and by comparing Rumanian with the Slavonic languages many scholars have fallen into the trap of the *petitio principii*, considering as proved what they were searching for.

So, we hear that the Italian scholar, V. Pisani (*Geolinguistica e Indoeuropeo*), 1940, and the Rumanian slavist E. Petrovici (*Transilvania*, Vol. 73, pp. 149-156; cf. also *Dacoromania*, Vol. 10, 1941) reached the same results independently in their study of Daco-Slavonic, namely that: «*Since the 15th century, the whole Western and North-Eastern region of the Rumanian language shows palatalization (softening) of the dental consonants followed by the front vowels e and i under Slavonic influence. This process must have started even earlier; perhaps the influence comes from the Slovak region because neither the neighbouring South-Slavs (nor the South-Danubian Rumanians) nor the Ruthenians in the North did change their dentals*» (Cf. A. Kuhn, *Die romanischen Sprachen*, p. 128). We think that instead of looking for outside

influences on a phonological system and before explaining this process of palatalization by another unknown language, e.g. the imaginary Daco-Slavonic, one should attempt to explain this change within the Rumanian phonological system itself. The linguistic influences should not be considered as bacteria carried by winds from one language to another, or as infections left in them by unknown dead substratum languages.

16. Even more surprising are the historical and linguistic-geographical conclusions reached by the same linguistic school, e.g. that Rumanian has a Slavonic phonological and a Romance morphological system, and, in order to prove, that, examples are furnished from Russian! It is hardly necessary to refute such a non-scholarly approach to the study of the Rumanian language. I shall only remark that geographically, the Rumanian linguistic area was never contiguous with the Russian. It was only in 1792 that the administrations of the two States met on the Dniester, and linguistically the two areas have always been separated. Up till the end of the 18th century, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the large Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian space separated the two areas. (The relevant studies which put forward the above philological views are reviewed in the already quoted *Slavonic and East European Review*. They are by E. Petrovici: 1. *Kann das Phonemsystem einer Sprache durch fremden Einfluss umgestaltet werden? Zum slavischen Einfluss auf das rumänische Lautsystem*. The Hague, 1957, 44 pp.; 2. *Esquisse du système phonologique du roumain*, in: *For Roman Jakobson*, the Hague, 1956, pp. 382-9; 3. *Interpretation d'une phonologie slave et d'une morphologie romane*, in: *Mélanges linguistiques, publiées à l'occasion du VIII^e Congrès international de linguistique à Oslo*, 5 août 1957, pp. 81-9).

The Slavonic element in Rumanian is mainly of Southern Slavonic (literary) origin and phonetically it adapts itself to the Rumanian phonological system.

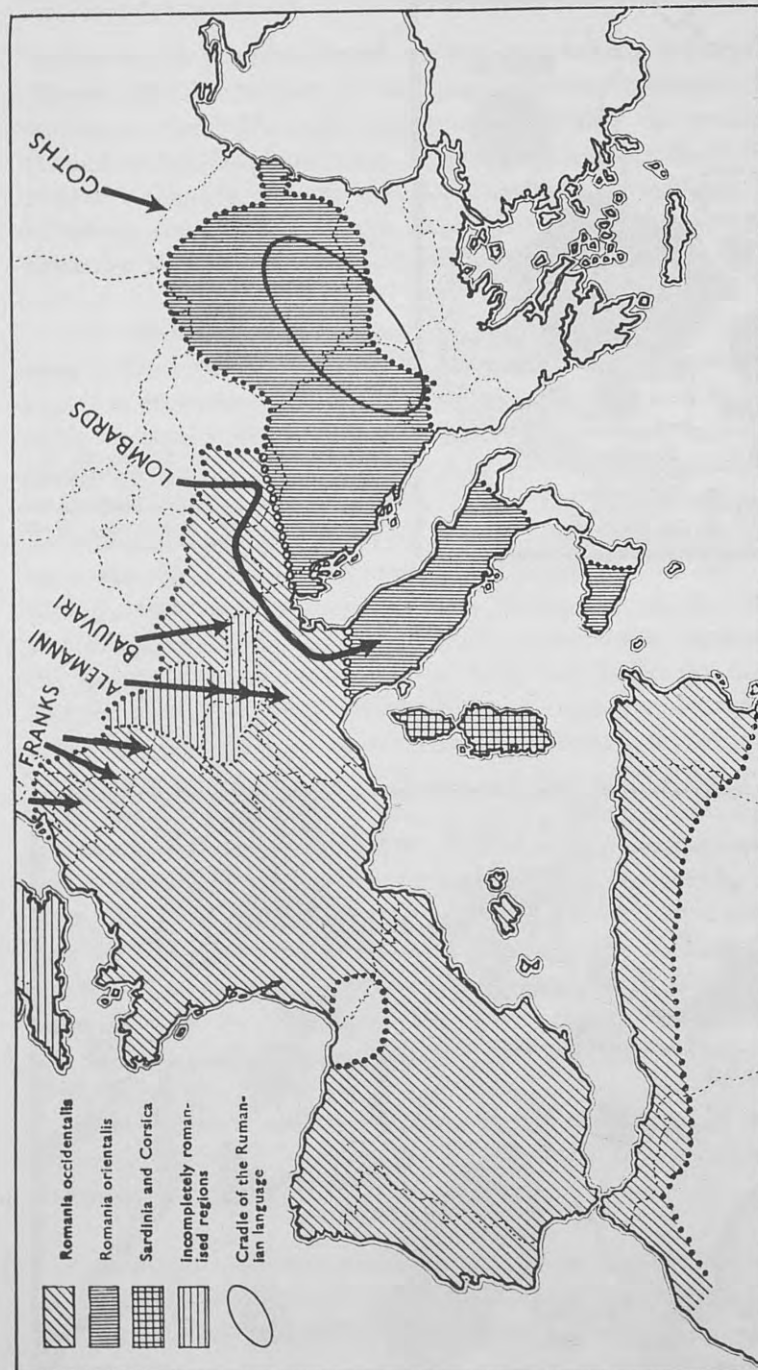
17. To give another example of the way in which the Slavonic element adapts itself to the Rumanian phonological system, without introducing new phonemes into it, I shall deal with some lexical elements which contained a nasal in their Slavonic pho-



Epitome-map by Dr Sabin Manuilă representing the relative number of the Rumanians in the neighbouring countries (*Țara Noastră* p. 280).



The Rumanians in the Balkan Peninsula. The dotted region north of Salonic, on the river Vardar, represents the Megleno-Rumanian dialect. By Professor Th. Capidan, reproduced in I. Simionescu, (*Țara Noastră*, București, 1940, p. 287).



EXTENSION OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE BEFORE THE GERMANIC INVASIONS.
 (Map drawn after W. v. Wartburg, *Les origines des peuples romans*, Paris, 1941)

netical structure. A Slavonic back nasal [ɔ] changed in Rumanian borrowings into *um, un*; and a Slavonic front nasal [ɛ] changed into *îm, în, im, in*. This change of [ɔ] into *um, un* and [ɛ] into *îm, în, im, in* is apparent: Sl. *skopŭ* > R. *scump*, Sl. *doğa* > Rum. *dungă*, Sl. *mōka* > Rum. *muncă*, Sl. *zobŭ* > a *zâmbi, zâmbri*, Sl. *mōdrŭ* > *mândru*; Sl. *ređŭ* > Rum. *rând*, Sl. **sebrŭ* > Rum. *sâmbră, sâmbrie*, Sl. *opetiti* > Rum. (a se) *opinti*, etc.

18. The Latin element too presents us with a double reflex of the nasal in the same stem (if the following etymology given by S. Pșcariu, *Et. Wb.* is correct):

Lat. *lōngu-* > Rum. *lung*, It. *lungo*, etc.

Lat. *lōngu- ad* > Rum. *lângă*, It. *lungo*, etc.

Parallel substitutions appear also in the Hungarian loanwords of Slavonic origin: Hung. *rënd* < OCS *ređŭ*, Hung. *cimborra, szimbora* < OCS **sebrŭ*, Hung. *munka* < OCS *mōka*, Hung. *szombat*: Rum. *sâmbătă*: Sl. *sobota* < *Sambatium, Sabatum*, Hung. *lanka, lonka* < OCS *lōka* > Sl. *loka*, B. *lăka*, Ukr. *luká*: Rum. *luncă*. All these changes are adaptations to the Hungarian phonological system. Old Church Slavonic stands for Common Slavonic.

The Slavonic nasals were still pronounced as such, when these words entered the vocabulary of the Rumanian language, in the dialect from which they were borrowed, i.e. from Bulgarian and from Serbian dialects. When a word was borrowed from a dialect without nasals it appears so in the Rumanian loanword. This is illustrated also by secondary loanwords (borrowed in the area where the Rumanian language meets the Bulgarian), as e.g. the Southern - Rumanian has the form *gâscă* «goose», *gâscan* «gander», compared with the Northern more archaic form *gânscă, gânsac*. In the same manner, the Slavonic front nasal phonemes fitted into the Latin-Rumanian phonological system of the Latin element: *ventu-* > *vânt, tendo* > *tind, tinzi, tinde, timp* < *tempu* - etc.

We have in Hungarian a loanword problem similar to that of the Slavonic loanwords in Rumanian, and no one has yet put forward the theory that Hungarian has a Slavonic phonological system. In view of the fact that in Hungarian as in Rumanian, the

nasal [ɔ] is represented by *on* or *un*, the history of the Rumanian *dâmb* 'hillock', *Dâmbovița*, name of a river, cannot be solved by declaring it to be of Hungarian origin, because the same Slavonic stem appears in Rumanian with *um* in *dumbravă* 'oak forest' *archaic*; grove, copse' Sl. *dǫbrava*, B. *dǎbrovka*. Even in Rumanian, we have the derived word appearing as *dâmbet* and *dumbet*. Each word has its formal and semantic history and the phonetic correspondences are not imposed by mechanical laws.

The word *lȃka* occurs frequently in the toponymy of the old Noricum (Salzburg) and its Slavonic nasal is rendered up till to-day by phonological variants: Lantsch-Lansch-(feld), a brook, *loŋka*, a marshy field, *Longaw*, *Lungew*, *Lungach*, *Lunngow*, *Longew*, *Longa*, etc. The literary form is *Lungau* which is explained by popular etymology as *Lange Aue*. The Slavonic word appears in Rumanian as *luncă* with the connotation that it has in the Austrian toponymy of Slavonic origin, which are very numerous up to the Tauern Mountains. Nearby from Mautern-dorf in the Lungau region the round old church of Mariapfarr (Althofen) is associated by history or by legend with the activity of the teacher of the Slavs - Methodius. It is historically known that the Slav missionaries of the ninth century extended their activity to the diocese of Salzburg to which this region belongs. History may be obscured by legend, but the Slavonic place-names are there till to-day, very numerous. Those containing nasals like *Lungau* posit the same phonological problem as the loanwords in Hungarian or in Rumanian.

The loanwords adapt their phonemes to those of the language which absorbs them. They do not introduce new phonemes into the phonological system of the borrowing language.

It happens that loanwords of the same language participate or do not participate in the phonological tendencies of the language which borrows them. This depends on a multitude of conditions specific to each case. The Latin element of the Rumanian language nasalizes the vowels followed by a nasal consonant: L. **mana*, *manu-* > R. *mână*, L. *ventu-* > R. *vânt*, L. *venosu-* > R. *vânos*, L. *stringo* > R. *strâng*, L. **strinctus* > R. *strâmt*, L. *cantu-* > R. *cânt*, L. *cane-* > R. *câne*, L. *lana-* > R. *lână*. The Slavonic element does not participate as a rule in this change: Sl. *rana* > R. *rană*, Sl. *hrana* > R. *hrană*, not only be-

cause the phonetic situation is different (*a* is in open syllable, heterosyllabic position) but because the Slavonic words are of a later period and are treated as neologisms, as in *strangulez*, *straniu*, *catană*, etc. For the same chronological reason in R. *poclon*: Sl. *poklonŭ*, R. *pogon*: Sl. *pogonŭ*, the *o* in nasal position has not been changed, as it was changed in L. *pontem* > R. *punte*. There are however, five words in Rumanian which nasalize the vowel followed by a nasal consonant as do the Latin elements; the origin of those five words is, however, doubtful and has to be treated individually.

A word like *juþân*, 'master, sir' considered by P. Skok and S. Pușcariu (*Die rum. Spr.* 319) as being of Avar origin because of the change *an* > *în* and of the old Rumanian form with rhotacism *giupâr*, in Church Slavonic *županŭ*, Sl. *župan*. Cz. *župan*. Perhaps we have here a superposition, i.e. the word was borrowed twice. For *smântână* 'cream' Pușcariu proposes a **mantana* from a vulg. Latin *mantum* instead of a Sl. **sumętati* 'to mix' (*Die rum. Spr.* 359); the word *stăþân* 'master' is non-existent in Slavonic. Pușcariu explains this Balkanic word through Latin **stepanus* < Gr. *stefanós*, *stefanofóros archôn*; *stână* 'sheep-fold' is explained by Pușcariu through a Daco-Thracian **stana* (*Die rum. Spr.* 359), *stâncă* 'rock', the older form *stinca* shows that the word cannot be associated with Slavonic *stanŭ* (S. Pușcariu, *Die rum. Spr.* 359) SCr. *stânac*, *stijěna*, *stjenjâk*, Cz. *stěna*, *stěnka*, R. *stená*.

Other scholars consider these words as being of Slavonic origin and representing an older period. (A. Rosetti, *Ist. limbii române. Limbile slave meridionale*. — București, 1940, p. 53; idem *Grai și Suflet*, V.1., București, 1931, pp. 158-172. A southern Slavonic (West Bulg., East Serbian) *stena* < *stěna* is a regular form. By adding a *-k-* suffix, one obtains **sten-ka* which can be the prototype of Rumanian *stâncă*. The existence of an old Rumanian *stinca* given by S. Pușcariu could be explained as a secondary form representing an *i* of the dialectal form.

The word *juþân* 'master, patron, boss', because of its social importance, is of great value for the historians. Already Kopitar, in a letter to Grimm (20 Apr. 1836) uses it as an argument in support of his Pannonian theory of Old Church Slavonic against Dobrovský: « Why should we look in Thracia for what we already

found in Pannonia and Noricum? ». Kopitar had found a *župan* (jupanus) in Bavaria.

The Danish scholar Wilh. Thomsen finds the word spelt *zoapan* (Sl. *župan*) in the Turc inscription on a golden cup, dating from the beginning of the 9th century, excavated at Miclăușul Mare. (*Une inscription de la trouvaille d'or de Nagy-Szent-Miklos*. Det. Kgl. danske Videns-Kabernes selskabs. Hist.-fil. Meddelelser I.1. Copenhagen, 1917). In the Greek rendering of the Slavonic word *župan*, Mikkola finds an argument in favour of his opinion that the Common Slavonic [i], and [u] were diphthongs: [ie, ou, ua] (*La question des syllabes ouvertes en slave commun*. Rev. Et. Sl., I).

I quote these instances only to show the importance of the Slavonic loanwords for comparative philology and for history. But the question whether the *zoapan* of the Turc inscription is the same word as the Slavonic *župan* remains open. As we are concerned here only with a linguistic approach to words, we are satisfied to state that the Rumanian form *jupân* like *stăpân*, *smântână*, *stâncă*, *stână* are loanwords from Slavonic. In Slavonic, the word *župan* may be of Avar or Cumanic origin. (Cf. P. Skook, *Slovenski i turski narodi* published in *Yugoslavenski Istoriski Časopis*, 1936; ap. S. Pușcariu, *Die rumänische Sprache*, 1943, p. 349; cf. A. Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române*, III, 1940, p. 53). This Slavo-Rumanian phonetic parallelism represents two independent developments of denasalization. In Common Slavonic the originally Indo-European vowels followed by a nasal consonant were nasalized, due to the change in the syllabic structure of the word. These nasalized vowels were of relatively short duration because an inverse process of denasalization reduced the nasal vowels to the Polish language and to dialectal survival in Macedo-Slav. Phonetically, the Slav nasals are not complete as, say in French; the nasalization in Slavonic is produced after the completion of the oral emission: in a word like [rɔka = roⁿka] after the nasal[ɔ] a consonantic element is perceptible. Although the nasalization in old Rumanian followed the same line of development, it has no genetic connection with the Slavonic. Rumanian nasalization is entirely independent from the Slavonic from a phonological point of view.

It lacks methodical precision to state that the Slavonic nasals

are rendered in the Rumanian loan-words: [ɔ] > Rumanian[un] e.g. *muncă* < mɔka 'labour', and [ɛ] > Rumanian (*în, in*) e.g. *pinten* 'spur' < pɛtino, *rând* 'row' < rɛdŭ. Rumanian did not borrow the Common Slavonic phonemes; it borrowed words from various Slavonic sources. The Slavonic phonemes were adapted to the Rumanian phonological system.

19. The same methodological confusion should be avoided when dealing with loan-words which contained a reduced vowel in Common Slavonic (up to the ninth century) or in the individual Slavonic languages. Rumanian borrowed the word *dobitoc* from East Bulgarian *dobitokŭ* < dobytŭkŭ. It is a mistaken definition of phonetic changes, considered diacronically and synchronically, to state that Common Slavonic [y] developed into Rumanian [i] in words of Slavonic origin.

One semantic confusion makes this principle clear: the Rumanian word for *honour* is *cinste*, to which the Slavonic *čestŭ* corresponds. The meaning of the Slavonic word is, however, 'part'. The word for *honour* in Slavonic is *čistŭ*. It is clearly a confusion between two similar words, but the confusion was not made in Rumanian, because some Serbo-Croat dictionaries gloss: *čast* < 'honour, feast'; *čest* < *čestŭ* = 'part, honour'. Rumanian borrowed the word from Serbian, where the two words and meanings were confused. Its literary origin is obvious.

20. We are faced with a similar phonetic inconsistency in the structure of the Slavonic loan-words in Rumanian when we analyse those (Slavonic loan) words (in Rumanian) which contained a liquid diphthong in Common Slavonic. As a rule such loan-words appear in Rumanian in their southern Slavonic form: OCS *gradina*, OCS *graždŭ*: Rum. *grădină*, R. *grajd*; OCS *ograda*: Rum. *ogradă*; B. SCr. *plaz*: Rum. *plaz*; OCS *pragŭ*: Rum. *prag*; the Albanian seems to show the same tendency: Alb. *ograjë*, *ugrajë*: Sl. *ograda*, Alb. *branë*: SCr. *brana*. The term OCS is being used here in a loose sense.

Four words, however, appear in Rumanian without metathesis of the liquids: Rum., Arum. *baltă* 'pool', 'lake': OCS *blato*, Rum. *gard*, 'fence', Arum. *gardu*: OCS *gradŭ*, Rum. *daltă* 'chisel': B *dlato*, Rum. *scovardă* 'pancake', *scoveardă*, *scobeardă*:

OCS skovrada (Supr.), Russian skovorodá 'frying-pan'. In its initial position, the original (Common Slavonic) *olt- appears in Rumanian as alt-iță 'embroidery on the shoulder of a woman's smock-sleeve'. This form has been identified with the Serbo-Croat lática, which is explained by Karadžić as 'Armzwickel'; 'cuneus tunicae'; 'Klin u košule'. In Russian, láta 'Flick, Lappen', (Vasmer, *Russ. Etym. Wb. s.v.*) is considered as belonging to the same root; cf. A. Vaillant, *Gram. comp. des langues slaves*, I, 1950, p. 162). The meanings of the Serbian and of the Rumanian word are not identical, though the words refer to the same object — the sleeve of a blouse in general. The Serbian term klin exists also in Rumanian and designates a small rectangular piece of linen under the arm-pit which forms a gusset. The meaning 'embroidery of a special kind', the altiță, presents us with a semantic change which shows how loan-words can be misunderstood and acquire another connotation in the borrowing language.

The metathesis and lengthening of the initial diphthong with liquid (olt- > lat-) or the lengthening of the vowel (*ólt- > alt-) could be due to a phonetic substitution within the phonological system of each language. In Rumanian e.g. appears a word lacră 'box, lacriță which is recorded also raclă 'coffin' and is considered a Slavonic loanword: O. Bulg., O. Russ. raka which is Lat. Goth. arka. The English adaptation of the name Ragusa offers an instructive parallelism: Argosy 'carrick', Argouse, Argusa, Aragosa. The correspondence ra-: ar- does not express a Slavonic dialectal variety. The Slavs, under Avar leadership, pillaged the Greco-Roman settlement Epidaurus (Ragusa) in the seventh century, but the Slavonic name of the town, Dubrovnik, is of later date. The metathesis of liquids is a very frequent general phonetic change. It takes place over the whole area of South-Eastern Europe, covering the East Mediterranean islands, and is not a peculiarity of Slavonic only. The history of each word, therefore, should be treated individually. A hesitation on the position of liquids could be observed in Rumanian doubles of this kind: Probota-Pobrata, a locality. Albanian shows parallel developments by lengthening the vowel without metathesis: bal'të 'pool', dal(l)të 'chisel', garth (gardhi) 'fence': Rum. baltă, daltă, gard.

The Greek borrowings from Slavonic present the same instability of the liquids: Garditsa (locality): CS*gordŭ > OCS

*gardiči, OCS slama: Gr. sálma, 'cereal straw', Sl. *borna: Gr. svarna; Gr. Dargómesto place name in Etolia, Dargomērós (Dragomir, name): OCS dragŭ (cf. Vasmer, *RS. Cracow*, VI, 181). On the other hand South Slavonic texts present us too with forms like: baltiny, maldičije, mladić, paltŭ 'side' (cf. V. Vijk, *Gesch. d. aks. Spr.* I. 55 sq.). The forms without metathesis in Casubian and other Lekhitic dialects are generally known. (I dealt with this problem of the Slavonic loan-words in Rumanian in an essay published in 1925: G. Nandriș, *Les diphtongues à liquides dans les éléments slaves du roumain*, Mélanges de l'école Roumaine en France II. 2, Paris, 1925, pp. 3-25, and again in an article published in 1931 in *Daco-Romania*, VI, Cluj, 1931, pp. 350-357: *Despre metateza lichidelor în elementele slave din limba română*. In general the interplay of stress and intonation is disregarded in these changes because they are irrelevant for the Rumanian loanwards. Considering that the Common Slavonic period extends up to the time of Charlemagne, I explained these Slavonic loan-words as representing early Slavonic dialectal forms without metathesis, such as those which appear also on west Slavonic territory, in Polabian and Casubian, isolated also in Polish. In spite of the fact that similar forms without metathesis appear in Finnish and are explained by V. Kiparsky (*Sur la chronologie de quelques altérations phonétiques en slave*, — *Scandinavo-Slavica*, I, 1954, 19. R. Ekblom, *Die Ostslavische Pleophonie*, — *Zeitschr. f. sl. Phil.*, XXV, Heidelberg, 1956; Tschernych, *Hist. Gram. d. russ. Spr.*, 1957, p. 307), as representing older dialectal Slavonic forms in Finnish and in the Baltic languages, the Rumanian forms are adaptations to the Rumanian phonological system which admits forms with or without metathesis. In other words, a new metathesis took place according to the tendency of the Rumanian phonological system.

Kiparsky deals with the Finnish dialectal form vārtsi 'bag' (Fr. sac) in which. Mikkola, already in 1894, recognized a Proto-Russian *berča < *vertja, OCS. vrěšta, vratište, SCr. vreća, etc. Ekblom adds to the above vārtsi the forms karsta 'Fr. suie' and parha. Tschernych compares Baltic and Finnish: artti 'Streit' (quarrel) with Russian rat', varpu- 'Sperling' (sparrow) with Russian vorobej and talkoo 'Viehweide' with Russian toloká

'gemeinsame Arbeit der Bauern; Viehweide', cf. Rum. *toloacă* 'communal grazing place'.

In dealing with these Slavonic loan-words in Rumanian, we are faced with a problem of general linguistic theory. If we abandon the *historical* (diachronic) point of view and satisfy ourselves with the *descriptive* (synchronic) solution of the problem, our knowledge remains partial. Only the combined historical (diachronical) and descriptive (synchronical) methods assure a fuller understanding of linguistic facts and processes. I shall limit myself to the Rumanian and Slavonic fields of this problem. The metathesis of liquids is a well known general phonetic process, dealt with by competent phoneticians like Grammont. If we look at the Rumanian words without metathesis for Common Slavonic T-OR-T, T-OL-T, they have in their phonetic structure two common features: the stress on the syllable representing the liquid diphthong, and the sonority of the initial consonant. These two elements played a rôle in producing the metathesis in Rumanian, i.e. to change *blato* into *baltă*, *grad* into *gard* (but *îngrădesc*), *dlato* into *daltă*.

The interference of other factors, like superposition of the Slavonic word on an existing, prehistoric word, is not to be eliminated. Especially in cases of words with a wide circulation outside the Slavo-Rumanian linguistic area, e.g. *balta* which appears in Lombard as *palta*, Piemont *panta*, Emil. *pälta*, Provençal *pauto*, Mediaeval Greek *báltē*, New Greek *báltos*. For this reason the word has been considered by some authorities as Illyrian survival. The same applies to Rum. *gard*, which, compared with the Albanian *garth*, *gardhi*, is considered as a Thracian word (S. Puşcariu, *Die Rum. Spr.*, 1943, 207).

This explanation is the more probable because the Rumanian phonological system not only admits the groups TALT and TLAT, but shows a tendency to metathesis in the second group: Lat. **platinus* < *platanus* > Rum. *paltin* 'plane tree' with suffix adaptation on *carpinus*, *fraxinus* > *carpân* 'hornbeam', *frasin* 'ash-tree'. (S. Puşcariu, E.W., s.v.). The instability of the liquids is frequent in many Rumanian words: *Trotuş* (river), *Totruş* (D. Cantemir); *Pobrata*, *Probata*; (name of a monastery); *batârn* (dial.) < *batrân* 'old'; *Carciun* (dial.) < *Crăciun* 'Christmas';

cârciumă, *cârşmă*, *crâşmă* 'public house'; *castravete* 'cucumber', *crastavete* (regional); *farmason* (popular) < *francmason*.

Such a secondary metathesis appears also in Slavonic: A Slovene form *Valduh* for *Vladuh* is a form with new metathesis as the context shows: «V osmem stoletju so imeli Slovenci v Karantaniji že svojo urejeno vojvodino v kateri je vladal Valduh ali Vladuh (Dr. Jak. Sket, in S. Rutarj, *Iz zgodovine Slovencev*, ap. V. Hruby, *Vgl. Gr. der sl. Spr.*, p. 138).

21. The Slavonic loan-words in Rumanian fitted into the phonological system of this language. They did not introduce new phonemes in the Rumanian phonological system. The metathesis took place within the Rumanian phonological system. Slavonic influences on the Rumanian phonological system do not exist. To assume the borrowing of a phoneme is as erroneous as to devise a common phonological system for the languages of South-Eastern Europe (Balkans). This attempt has been proved to be a utopian enterprise because: «Language is probably the most self-contained, the most massively resistant of all social phenomena. It is easier to kill it off than to disintegrate its individual form (E. Sapir, *Language*, 1921, p. 220).

I assume that the two representatives of Common Slavonic liquid diphthongs (*tort-*, *tolt-*) in the middle of a word, or initially, (*ort-* *olt-*), when stressed, were adapted within the Rumanian phonological system and are not chronologically different Slavonic dialectal forms. One of the factors which dominates the metathesis is the stress. Metathesis of liquids occurs in various phonological systems and is a general phonetic change. This change appears in the synchrony and in the diachrony of the Rumanian phonological system. In other words, metathesis, or lack of metathesis in these Slavonic loan-words does not define their origin from a chronological or from a dialectal point of view.

Here is a series of examples which shows that the Rumanian phonological system admits and admitted (historically) both forms of vowel and liquid under stress:

Lat. *alt-* 'another': Lat. *lat-* 'broad', Sl. *altiŭa* 'part of the embroidery on a woman's sleeve': Lat. *latera* 'side'; Sl. *baltă* 'pool, lake': Lat. *calco* 'I tread': Sl. *clacă* 'help, service', Lat. *plat-* 'platan': Rum. *paltin* 'platan'; Rum. *salcie* 'willow',

Lat. *salt-* 'I jump': Slav. *slatină* 'salt water'; Lat. *ard-* 'I burn': Lat. *rad-* 'I scrape'; Lat. *barbă* 'beard'; Rum. *braţ* 'arm, hand'; Rum. *îmbrac* 'I dress': *îmbarc* 'I embark'; Rum. *carpăn* 'hornbeam': Rum. *crap-* 'I burst'; *Carpaţi* 'Carpathians': Rum. *crăpaţi* 'you burst (plur.)'; *targă* 'stretcher': Rum. *sparg* 'I break'; Rum. *trag* 'I pull', Sl. *prag* 'doorstep', *gard* 'fence', SCr. *giardin* 'garden', SCr. *garda, zagarda* 'fence', *gardun*: Rum. *grădină* (Engl. garden), *a îngrădi* 'to fence', *zgardă* 'necklace', Arum. *gărdina, gărdinar*, Istrorm. *ingardesc*, Rum. *bardă* 'kind of axe'; Russ. *bradva* < Sl. *brady*, -*üve*. A historically more recent word like = SCr. *breskva* 'peach': Rum. *piersică* illustrates the same instability of the liquids.

Neither chronology nor dialectology can give a satisfactory explanation to these forms as a whole. Each word demands a historical monograph, but they show that the Rumanian phonological system, all along its history, has contained forms with metathesis of liquids (displaced liquids) alongside forms without metathesis.

It is wrong to assume that in the above phonetic parallelism we have Slavonic phonological influences on the Rumanian language. The theoretical aspect of such developments was expressed by Bloomfield:

«In phonetic substitutions the speakers replace the foreign sounds by the phonemes of their own language. In so far as the phonetic systems are parallel, this involves only the ignoring of minor differences». (*Language*, 446). «The borrowed form is subject to the phonetic changes that occur after its adaptation». (id. *ib.*, p. 450). «... a new borrowing... could be adapted to the model of the older loans. Thus the discrepancy between French *préciosité* and English *preciosity* is not due to sound changes that occurred after the time of borrowing, but merely reflects a usual relationship between French and English types — a relationship which has accustomed English-speakers who know French to adapt forms along certain lines». (id., *ib.*, p. 450).

Bloomfield does not distinguish between phonetic and phonological concepts. The phoneme (phonological sign) is not changed or borrowed, but some phonetic aspects of the original are neglected when the phoneme substitution takes place (as in a spoken foreign language).

The Slavonic influence on Rumanian should be explained along these lines of thinking. Slavonic did not introduce new phonemes into Rumanian. It is absurd to speak of Slavonic phonological influence on Rumanian.

An attempt to construct a phonological system common to all Balkanic languages failed. There are reciprocal cultural influences, especially influences of the dominating cultural language of the region, but there does not exist a common phonological system in the sense defined by the principles of the school of Prague and applied by B. Havránek (*Zur phonologischen Geographie. Das Vokalsystem des balkanischen Sprachbundes* — Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Expérimentale, VIII-IX, 1933, pp. 119-125. Proceedings of the International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, La Haye, 1933). This attempt was rejected by M. Małecki (*Systemy wokalne języków bałkańskich* — Sprawozdania P. A. N., 1933, vol. 38, nr. 8, pp. 3-7).

22. In the search for a common phonological system in the so-called Balkan languages much use has been made of the obscure vowels represented in Albanian by *ë* (*bukë* 'bread, meal'); in Rumanian by *ă* (*călare* 'on horseback') and *î* (*â*) (*câmp* 'field', *mână* 'hand'), Bulgarian *ă* (*răka* 'hand').

Among the many attempted explanations, that of the substratum is perhaps the most popular (cf. Gamillsheg, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.* 48, p. 480). Proceeding from the premise that the obscure vowels are absent in Latin and are present in Rumanian and Albanian, they are derived from the common Thracian-Illyrian substratum; more precisely, they were borrowed by one language from another language. Anyhow, they are corner-stones to build up a common phonological system for the whole region, for all the languages which form a linguistic alliance, according to that school.

Let us observe that similar phonemes occur also in the Polish and in the Russian phonological systems, to consider only adjacent areas. Phonetically, these phonemes are not identical. Historically, they are even more distant from each other, though the diachronic consideration is of no concern for the phonologist, but the two approaches cannot be entirely separated for a clearer understanding of linguistic phenomena.

The Rumanian phoneme *ă* occurs in stressed and in unstressed syllables (*lăudăm, tărie, cărare, cântăm; laud, tare, cărăm, cântăre*). In Moldavia and Transylvania *a* is not changed into *ă* (*bărbă; barbăt*). Arumanian and Istrorumanian present quite a different picture.

The Bulgarian changes regularly *a* into *ă* in the eastern dialect only (*răka*); in other regions we have different vowels (*raka, roka*).

In Albanian *ë* appears, only in Tosque, in stressed and unstressed syllables, whereas in Guegue it appears only in unstressed syllables. Unstressed *a* is kept, however, in unstressed syllables (as in Rum. dialects): Lat. *placere* > Rum.(a) *plăceá* (dial. a *plácé*): Alb. *pëlquej*; Lat. *caballu-* > Rum. *cal călare* 'on horseback': Alb. *kal* 'horse': *kalúar* 'rider'; Lat. *pac-em* > Alb. *paq*, Rum. *páce*: Alb. *paquoj* 'to reconcile', Rum. *impăcáre* 'conciliation'.

This summary survey shows that the stress accounts for the changes. Moreover, the phoneme is not identical phonetically when stressed or unstressed.

Concerning the Rumanian phoneme *î* (*â*), it is not identical either with the Polish [*y*], or with the Russian *jery*, or with the Turkish [*i*] (R. *mână* 'hand', P. *syny* 'son', R. *syn* 'son', T. *kadân* 'woman'). One could call them variants of a phoneme, but are not the same phonemes. Their identification, even from a synchronic point of view, and the attempt to build them on a common phonological basis, is a methodological error.

The Rumanian vowels can be explained within the Rumanian phonological system. Sound change takes place in their relation to each other. When the basis of articulation changes partially or integrally, the change of a sound affects the position of other sounds. If we consider the Rumanian phonological system as a whole in its relationship to the Latin, we observe that the Rumanian basis of articulation of consonants was advanced from the back to the front: Lat. *aquam* > R. *apă* 'water', Lat. *linguam* > R. *limbă* 'tongue', Lat. *signum* > R. *semn* 'mark', Lat. *leporem* > R. *iepure* 'hare', Lat. *agnellum* > R. *miel* 'lamb', Lat. *herbam* > R. **ierbă, iarbă* 'grass', etc.

By the displacement of the consonants from the back to the front, the vowels followed this trend. Thus, the obscure

vowel *ă* is, in relation to the back *a*, a middle-front vowel; the *î(â)* vowel which occurs in nasal position is a front (middle) vowel: Lat. *camp-um* > *câmp* 'field', Lat. **man-am* > *mână* 'hand'. It is not necessary to look for these phonemes in the substratum. The possibility of an influence of the basis of articulation by the substratum is not being denied, especially through the dynamic stress, the intonation and through the structure of the syllable, but the explanation of the genesis of each phoneme in the phonological frame of each language does not demand the speculative intervention of an unknown factor. Perhaps in support of the influence of the substratum or adstratum, one could mention the fact that there is a greater similarity between the Serbo-Croat and Italian vocalic systems than between the same language and the Slavonic sister-languages. In conclusion, one cannot support the thesis that a group of languages has a common phonological system.

Phonology, as practised by phonologists, became a linguistic doctrine which, according to its hierarchs, solves all problems of the study of language. It quickly developed other doctrinaire schools. As such, this philological doctrine is the most sterile, according to the Norwegian phonetician and slavist Olaf Broch. The linguistic research method based on the phoneme added a great contribution to the study of human speech.

23. The study of the *phoneme*, as initiated by Jan Baudouin de Courtenay at the end of the 19th century in Kazan and continued in Warsaw, where the Polish scholar went to live, is an attempt to continue Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistic thinking on the synchronic, descriptive line which had been neglected in favour of the diachronic approach. Many scholars of our century overlooked the wise old adage that any exaggeration, any one-sidedness, any fanaticism, is wrong in life as well as in science, though linguists of great authority raise their voices against the peril. O. Jespersen, in 1923, (in a paper read before the *British Association* and published as S.P.E. Tract No. 1924), recommends good sense as opposed to both determinists and nihilists among grammarians. W.v. Wartburg expresses the opinion that: The attempt to eliminate the diachronic point of view in the study of language, means to separate what is inseparable, because syn-

chronism and diachronism interpenetrate each other and together make linguistic facts clear. (*Das Ineinandergreifen von deskriptiver und historischer Sprachwissenschaft* — Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächs. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-Hist. Cl., 83 Bd., I, Heft, 1931). Unfortunately, such clear common-sense advice is disregarded particularly by those who continue to whip the dead neo-grammarians which gave us, at least, the necessary fiction of law and order dominating linguistic changes. Against those philologists A. Meillet rose angrily at the above mentioned Congress and declared emphatically: «I am a comparatist».

The positive results of the phonological method initiated by Jan Baudouin de Courtenay at Kazan has been continued by valuable monographs in Prague. Unfortunately it developed some personal schools which proved sterile and had a precarious end in Europe. Some of the best and most exhaustive studies on the phoneme have been produced by the British scholar Daniel Jones (*The Phoneme*) and by the outstanding American philologist Twaddell (*On defining the phoneme*, Language Monograph XVI, 1935, 10). Most of the so-called new schools are creating new terms in the conviction of having discovered new methods and formulated progressive linguistic doctrines. The mania for new terminology, which makes the study of language for the new generation abstruse and confused, has necessitated new dictionaries of terminology. This is the more paradoxical because nearly a century ago, the creator of the phonological method warned scholars against the mania of creating new terms. He condemned himself for this aberration, though the term 'phoneme' (speech sound with a psychological function) is the creation of an insignificant Russian philosopher of the Kazan University, Kruszewski, a pupil of J. Baudouin de Courtenay. The term was necessary and Baudouin de Courtenay adopted it, not without misgiving. Here are his own words: «Kruszewski's terminology is not satisfactory and could not be justified to-day. His essays (1879, 1881) and his *magisterium* thesis «On sound changes» belong to a period when, among the Kazan philologists, a terminological morbidity (for terminology) raged, a real mania dominated them urging them to find out entirely new and unusual *termini technici*. In this respect however, Kruszewski imposed some restraint and

observed certain measure in his works. In my own works, however, this disease reached pathological dimensions as in *Nekotoryje otdeły sravitel'noj gramatiki*. (Russkij Fil. Vestnik V, 265-344, Varšava, 1881), where terms like the following only damage the reading of the small essay: *Coherents, Homogenes, Heterogenes, Monogenesis, Polygenes, Amorphity, Secondary Heterogeneity of the Morphemes, Amorphous Correlative, Divergence and Anthropomorphic Coherence, movable correlation, Morphological coincidence, Coincidente Correlative, Coexistent Correlative etc.*» (I. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Versuch einer Theorie phonetischer Alternation; ein Capitel aus der Psychophonetik*, Strasbourg, 1895).

For such terminology, the great scholar condemns himself, though he had to break entirely new ground and needed new instruments. If we open a present-day dictionary of linguistic terms, we find an entirely new language on which new schools have been built up. As a rule, the new forms have no new contents and are meaningless, except perhaps for their creators.

Such scholarly products based only on a new, misty terminology and often confuted with logic, aesthetics, psychology, anthropology evoke Mophistopheles precept recommended to Faust disciple: «Nur muss man sich nicht allzuängstlich quälen, Denn eben wo Begriffe fehlen, Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein. Mit Worten lässt sich trefflich streiten».

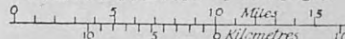
III. — MORPHOLOGY AND DERIVATION

24. Just as in the *phonology*, so also in the *morphology* and *derivation*, the Slavonic element was fitted into the Latin frame. As a new expressive element, it rejuvenated the literary language; it did not create new, inexistent functions. Properly speaking, the Rumanian morphological system has not been influenced by the Slavonic. What is usually considered as morphological influences in Rumanian, are lexical borrowings. *Suffixation*, which is a very productive process in Rumanian word formation, should be treated in the same way, whereas *prefixation* has remained at its Latin stage. (cf. O. Nandriş, *Le substrat dans la structure phonétique du roumain*, Bul. de la Soc. de Ling., Tome 50, Paris, 1954; S. Puşcariu, *Die rumänische Sprache*, Leipzig, 1943, p. 33). Rumanian has about 165 simple suffixes (cf. G. Pascu, *Sufixele româneşti*, Buc., 1961, p. 424; cf. A. Rosetti, *Ist. limbii române*, III, 1940, pp. 69-80). A comparison between the functions of the Latin and of the Slavonic suffixes is instructive. A Rumanian suffix *-ar* is of Slavonic origin, but the same *-ar* may be of Latin origin. Among the Slavonic suffixes we have *-eţ* as in *drumeţ* 'wanderer', *cântăreţ* 'singer', representing the Slavonic *-iči*, but the same suffixes appear also among the Latin *-aricius*: *cântăreţ* (!) 'singer', *lungăreţ* 'longish', etc. (cf. A. Rosetti *ib.*, I, p. 119, III, p. 75). These Slavonic suffixes are either superposed on original Latin ones or took over existing suffixal functions in the language, and added an expressive literary value to the word. Both Latin and Slavonic had this linguistic feature of increasing the vocabulary by suffixal formations and some Slavonic derivative elements replaced the Latin suffixes in Rumanian word formations.

In the field of derivation, the Slavonic suffixes play an important rôle, especially in creating diminutives and endearing



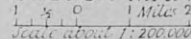
NORTHERN PINDUS



Scale about 1:600,000

Vlach Villages thus SMIKSI
Kupatshari " " Mavranei
Valakhadhes " " Vriashtero
Former Greco-Turkish Frontier thus - - -

THE TERRITORY OF SAMARINA, SKETCH MAP



Scale about 1:200,000



and other kinds of words. This is, however, not a morphological influence, but a process of lexical borrowings (cf. Sapir, *Language*, p. 215).

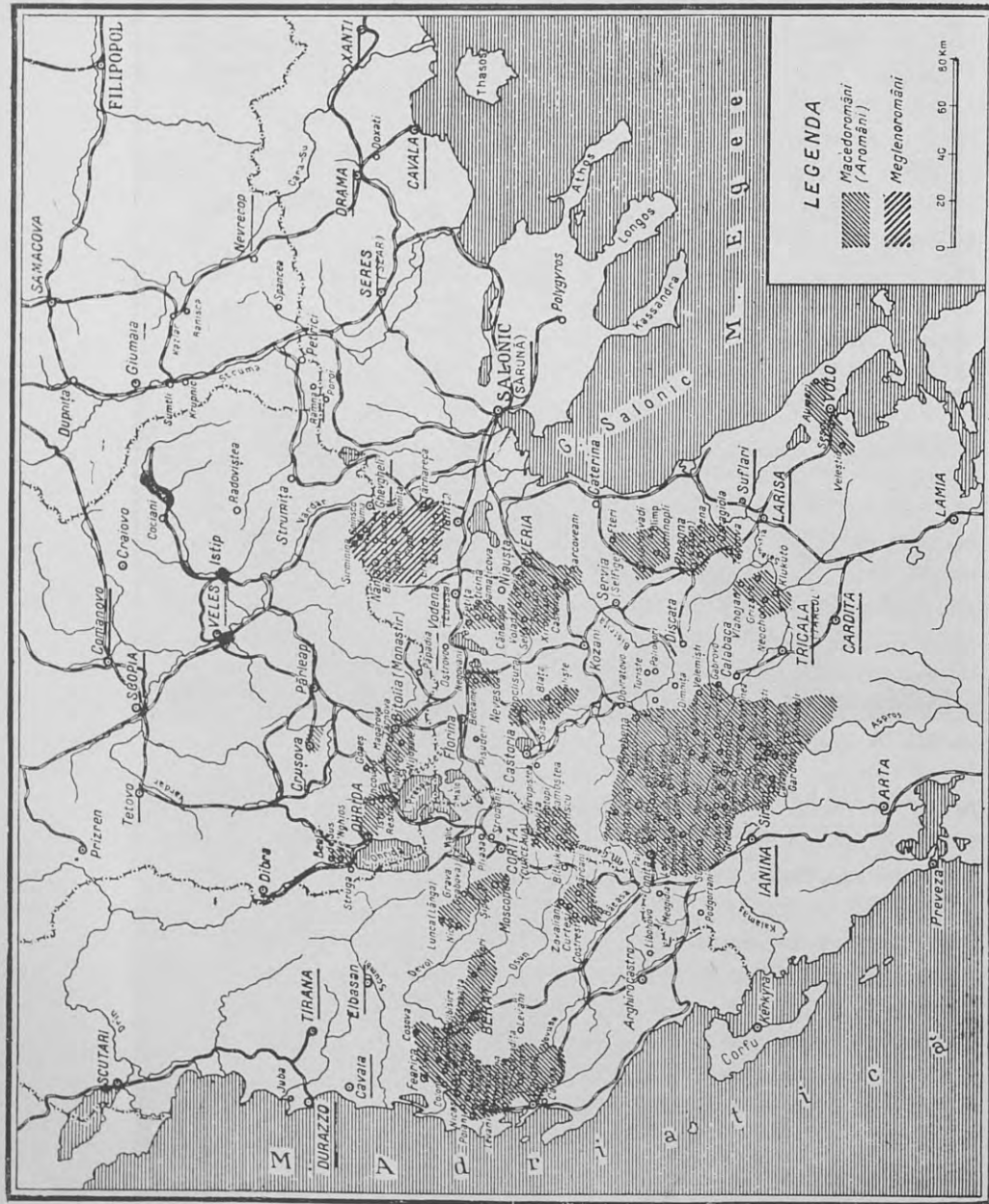
It is hardly possible to draw a demarcation line between the phonological and the morphological systems of a language, except by laboratory procedure, by a grammatical, logical analysis. Therefore the term *morphoneme* was adopted. The morphology of a language is a closed system developed in the respective language and is not composed of heterogeneous pieces. A statement that Rumanian has a Latin morphology and a Slavonic phonological system is an absurdity contradicted by linguistic theory and by common sense.

Already in 1868, the outstanding philologist Whitney (*Language and the study of language*, London, 1868, p. 199) remarks: « Such a thing as a language with a mixed grammatical apparatus has never come under the cognizance of linguistic students: it would be to them a monstrosity; it seems an impossibility ». It is true that O. Jespersen tries to attenuate this categorical statement, but the examples quoted by him do not appear convincing from the point of view of linguistic theory. (O. Jespersen, *Language*, p. 215).

Nor could the view be supported that the diminutive-affective function has been a Slavonic characteristic feature which influenced the Rumanian creations, because in Italian, in Catalan, in Spanish, in Portuguese, in Provençal, one finds the same use of suffixes to enrich the vocabulary (S. Pușcariu, *Die rum. Spr.*, p. 54).

The number of Slavonic suffixes in Rumanian is small; they took over multiple functions in Rumanian and are used with stems of Latin origin, whereas the few Turkish suffixes are used almost exclusively with their Turkish stems: *cafe-giu* 'coffee-merchant', *samsar-lâc* 'middleman', etc.

In some cases a suffix entered by various ways and at different periods into the language. Such is the case of the Lat. *-arius*, mentioned above, which was carried by the Roman artisans where Latin civilisation penetrated. A. Meillet considers this kind of influence as a « *fait de civilisation plutôt qu'un fait linguistique* » (*Études* II, p. 212). Too often, one disregards the social, cultural and historical backgrounds in the study of linguistic facts.



Les régions roumaines du Sud de la Péninsule Balkanique.
(Th. Capidan, *Les Macédo-Roumains*, București 1943)

The Latin *-arius* entered the Slavonic languages (*-arĭ*) through the intermediary of the Gothic *-areis* < Lat. *arius*. According to A. Stender-Petersen (*Germanische Entlehnungen im Slavischen*, p. 416 sq.), the Goths came into contact with the Romans in the Pontic-Danubian region and learnt from them a higher technique which created in their language, words like *motareis* (from *mōta*) on the pattern of Lat. *tolonearius*. They passed the word to the Slavs in the form *mytarĭ*; Goth. *bokareis* 'writer' > Sl. *bukarĭ*; Goth. **lekareis* (Swedish *läkare*) > Sl. *lekarĭ*, etc.

The Latin suffix entered a second time into the Russian language before Peter the Great, through the Polish intermediary: *aptekar'*, *komisar'*, *marinar'*, *počtar'*, *puškar'*, *volentar'*, etc. All these words appear also in Rumanian: *aptecar*, *comisar*, *marinar*, *poștar*, *pușcari*, (n. pl.) *voluntar*. But in Rumanian the suffix is used also with Latin words and is very productive: *pietrar*, *tâmplar*, *fierar*, *văcar*, *porcar*, etc. There are cases in which one cannot decide whether it did not come directly from Latin: *amnar*, 'firestone-handle': Lat. *manuarium* > Rum. *măner*, 'handle', Arum. *mănar* «id.» The Latin suffix *-arius*, as A. Meillet observed, is rather a cultural than a linguistic fact. In the advanced society of Rome, the professional differentiation took place much earlier than elsewhere. From Latin, the ending was carried by a wave of civilization into the Germanic — and from there, into the Slavonic — languages. It could have entered Rumanian from the Latin and also from the Slavonic. In a word like *pușcari* 'artillery-man', it seems to have entered Rumanian from Slavonic as a technical term; in *potlogari* 'miserable' — originally a 'cobbler' — it is more likely to have been used in Rumanian as a derivative element to form a new word. *Pușcărie* means 'prison', because an old artillery barracks near Bucarest was used once as a prison, *pușcăriaș* = prisoner. (Cf. G. Nandriş, *The Development and Structure of Rumanian*, 1951, pp. 32-33).

25. The derivative verbal suffix *-ui* is very productive in Rumanian. It represents the Old Slavonic *-ui* of the verbs in *-ovati*, 1st pers. sing. pres. *-ujŭ*, 2nd *-uješi*, etc. This verbal category is extremely numerous in the late period of Common Slavonic. In Rumanian, the *-ui* became a very convenient derivative

element and, combined with the Latin personal ending *-esc*, created a verbal category. This category contains verbs with stems of Slavonic, Latin, Hungarian and other origins: *a trebuí*, *trébuie*, 'to need; one must': noun *treábă*, 'dealing, affair'; *leac*, 'cure', 'medicine', *a lecuí*, *lecuiesc*, 'I cure, thou curest'; *práznic*, 'commemoration of the dead', *práznuiesc*, *práznuiești*, 'I celebrate, thou celebratest'; *a povătuí*, 'to teach', *povătuiesc*, *povătuiești*, 'I teach, thou teachest'; Lat. *palma*, 'palm of the hand', *a pălmuí*, *pălmuím*, 'to slap, we slap the face'; *păcăt* 'sin', *a păcătui* 'to sin'; *piatră* 'stone'; *a pietruí* 'to pave with stones', *mână* 'hand', *a mânui* 'to handle'; *șerpe*, 'serpent', *a șerpuí* 'to wind'; Slavo-Greek: *mir* 'liturgical oil', *a miruí* 'to anoint'; *aghiázmă* 'holy water', *a aghezmui* 'to sprinkle with'. With stems of other origins: *var* 'whitewash', *a vărui*, *văruiesc*; *vămă* 'customs', *a vămui* *vămuiesc* 'to tax'; *hărță* 'quarrel', *a hărțui*, *hărțuiesc*, etc.

This verbal category is very productive and next — in the derivation system of the weak verbs — only to the *-i* verbs category which produces a verb from almost any noun and from many adjectives. No doubt that the *-i* verbs favoured the productivity of the *-ui* verbs by an phonetic and psychological association. One cannot regard all these verbs in *-ui* as being Slavonic influences. The suffix became a Rumanian element of the derivative system. Moreover an analysis of this verbal category shows that originally it was used in the «high style», i.e. it is of literary origin. From here it penetrated into the popular speech.

A number of Hungarian verbs enter this category of the *-ui* verbs: *a alcătui* < Hung. *alkotni*; *a bănuí* 'to regret; to suspect' < Hung. *bánni*; *a băntui* 'to rage (a disease)' < Hung. *bantani*; *a biruí* 'to conquer' < Hung. *birni*; *a făgăduí* 'to promise' < Hung. *fogadni*; *a mântui* 'to save' < Hung. *mantani*.

To explain these Hungarian loanwords, many studies have been produced. Some scholars have sought a solution in a symbiosis of Slavs and Hungarians in North-Eastern Hungary and in Transylvania. Here the *-ui* ending entered into Rumanian where it became a productive verbal morphoneme. However, in North-Western Transylvania, there were no Slavs before the Mongolian invasion. (G. Reichenkron, *Ztschr. f. sl. Phil.*, 17, 1940; id. *Die Bedeutung des rum. Sprachatlases für die ung. und türkische*

Philologie. Ung. Jahrb. 20, 1940, p. 11). The explanation of the *-ui* verbs does not require any speculation regarding symbiosis or substratum. It would be more to the point to think of a literary influence, considering that the first translation of biblical texts into Rumanian originated in Maramureş, northern Transylvania and that some of these texts show a Hungarian influence. Linguistic processes are not to be elucidated by ethnological arguments which, in this case, are purely speculative.

The character of these Hungarian loanwords shows clearly that they are learned, literary forms. They were borrowed from Hungarian and were treated in Rumanian like the Latin, Greek and other verbal stems.

26. An instructive example of the phonetic adaptation of the derivative elements of foreign origin to the Rumanian phonological system are the suffixes *-ău*, *-ăuți* used mainly in proper names, but also in appellatives: *Rar-ău*, *Ceahl-ău*, *Bacău*, *Buzău*, etc. *flacău*, *zmău*, (*zméu*), *ciucălău*, etc.; *Cernăuți*, *Rădăuți*, *Po-păuți*, *Șerbăuți*, etc. Many learned studies have been produced during this century by serious scholars, but even more by would-be scholars, to prove the Ukrainian origin of these suffixes and to discover, in the ethnic substratum, a support for their theories. The idea was first put forward by H. Brüske (*Die russischen und polnischen Elemente im Rumänischen*, Jahresb. Inst. rum. Spr., XXIV-XXIX, pp. 1-69), taken up by D. Scheludko, (*Nord-slavische Elemente im Rumänischen*, (Balkan-Archiv, I, 1925, pp. 153-172), dogmatically popularized by (Miss) M.C. Ștefănescu, (*Elemente rusești-rutene din limba românească și vechimea lor*, Iași, 1925). It is surprising that the idea is repeated by the Croat scholar, Petar Skok (*Noms d'origine ukrainienne en Roumanie*, Zbirnek Zachodoznaustva, II, pp. 71-77, Vseukrainska Akad. Nauk u Kievi, 1930; the article was reproduced in *Onomastica* No. 13, Winnipeg, 1957), when he makes an attempt to explain the ancient name of Buzău, which he considers as having entered Rumanian through Ukrainian just as he seeks to explain *Giurgiu* by a Ukrainian substratum. I have dealt with this problem elsewhere and a repetition of the argument would be out of place here, (cf. G. Nandriş, *The relationship between toponymy and ethnology in northern Rumania*, Proceedings and Transactions,

Fifth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Vol. I, Salamanca, 1958; id. *Notes on East European Toponymy and Some Reminiscences of Petar Skok*, The Slavonic and East European Review, XXXVI, No. 87, 1958).

This theory had even greater success among the Rumanian historians, between the two wars, in their writings about the Slavs and the Rumanians. They divided the territory of Rumania on the basis of these suffixes, endeavouring to locate the Slav tribes which once inhabited parts of the territory; they defined the historical relationship between Slavs and Rumanians, basing their theories on philological data, simply taken, without criticism, from philological literature.

Concerning the two derivative elements, the first remark that should be made is that the diphthong [ău] is part of the Rumanian phonological system, as frequent as any other phoneme of this system in Latin and in non-Latin elements. In the two suffixes *-ău* represents the adaptation to that system of Cuman or Hungarian *-ó*, and of the Slavonic *-ov* (as in *Krakow* > *Cracău*); *-ăuți* represents an *-ovice* adapted to the Rumanian phonology. It appears in place-names and is of bookish origin: *Cernăuți* derived from a name *Cerna* (surely not Ukrainian), *Rădăuț* = *Radu* + *ăuți*, *Șerb-ăuți* = *Șerb* + *ăuți*, *Brosc-ăuți* = *Broască* (frog) + *ăuți*, *Frăt-ăuți* = *frate* + *ăuți*, etc. Scholarly adaptations and corrections with political aims appear in modern times: *Cernăuți* became under the Habsburg rule *Czernowitz*, because it was the capital in which the newcomers settled, while *Rădăuți* advanced only to *Radautz*, because it is situated more to the south and has remained a provincial Rumanian town. When the Russians invaded Northern Bucovina, in 1940, and incorporated it into a geographical region called Western Ukraine, they did not baptize the new acquisition in a Ukrainian garment [*Cerniuci*] *Cherniuci* as the Ukrainians would have liked, but called it *Chernovce*. Instead, the Ukrainians, in their own writings, changed the localities nearby: *Mămăești* into *Mamiuci*, *Barbești* into *Barbiuci*, while the poor founder of the village of *Broscăuți*, *Broască* ('frog'), would not recognize his name in *Brosciuci*. The whole region of Moldavia (north-eastern Rumania) is full of such learned toponyms due to the influence of the cultural fashions or of intentional confusion for the ignoramus. The Ukrainian suffix [*-iuci*]

representing the regular development of the Slavonic [-ovice] appears in place-names further to the east on Ukrainian territory of Podolia and Galicia. The Rumanian [-ău, -ăuți] cannot and does not need a forced explanation through Ukrainian. To add to this the theory of ethnic substratum is rather ludicrous. Other place-names too, of the region, are only deceptively East Slavonic. Horodiște, Horodniceni, is a translation of Grădiște, Dorohoi is a Drăgoi (a name which appears also in Drăgoești, etc.); Storojiet (the local people say Strojineț) is a translation of Straja; Dragomirna is a literary creation from Dragomirești, the original name of the village of the famous 17th century monastery. One could multiply the examples of such toponyms which have to be treated linguistically like any other word. It does not imply that Eastern Slavs (Ukrainians) did not infiltrate into this territory at different periods of history, but philology should not be confounded with ethnology or anthropology and racial theories.

27. The Slavonic prefixes played a less important role in the Rumanian derivation. Perhaps the negation *ne-* is the more conspicuous formative element prefixed to words of Latin and non-Latin origin. In a word like *năzdrăvan* 'miraculous' (Sl. *ne-sūdravīnū*), its negative function is not recognizable. We have a clear lexical borrowing in *nebun* 'mad': *bun*, *netrebnic* 'naughty (child)': *trebuitor*, *treabă*, *trebnic*, etc., its function is negation, but surely it was superimposed on the Latin negation: *nu* 'not' as in *nimene*: *neminem*, etc.

In some cases Latin and Slavonic prefixes are distinguished only by a philological analysis: *a răsbuna* 'to revenge' < *re-ex-bonareg a răsbate* 'to penetrate' < Sl. *raz-* (*raz-bitī*) + Lat. *batto*.

In conclusion, with regard to derivation we can speak of a lexical influence in Rumanian, not of a grammatical one. The suffixes were adapted phonologically and morphologically and they take over the function of other suffixes which existed in the language. They renew the vocabulary of the literary language. (cf. Sapir, *Language*, p. 115).

28. For the study of the relationship between two languages, the manner of borrowing the *compound words* is important. On

should distinguish between cases when the two respective languages are in close relationship, i.e. when the speakers of the borrowing language know well the language from which the compound words are borrowed as two elements, and cases when the speakers do not know well the language from which they borrow and they consider the borrowed compounds as one single element. A. Stender-Petersen (*Slav.-Germ. Lehnw.*, p. 511) who formulated this principle, applying it to the Gothic compound words borrowed by the Slavs, shows that the Gothic compound loanwords receive, between the component parts, the same vowel that in Slav is used in autochthonous compounds: Goth. *aurti-gards* > Slav *irtogradŭ*, (Sl. *poŭevoždī*, Sl. *zverovīdīnī*); Goth. **ausihrrings* > Sl. **useregŭ*. This means the borrowers were aware that they were dealing with compounds; they knew the lending language. The last word entered into Rumanian, even if only regionally, and received the form *sârghii*, i.e. a kind of earrings consisting of two decorated plates to which metal fringes were attached. These two earrings were secured by a cord round the woman's neck; they were worn only with their best dresses and seem to have had a ceremonial significance.

The number of compound Slavonic loanwords in Rumanian are very limited, because in Rumanian, this category is not alive. The existent Rumanian compounds are metaphorical expressions condensed into one single word where each element keeps its original meaning: *Făt-Frumos*, *Sfarmă-Piatră*, *burtă-verde*, *zgârie-brânză*. They may be traditional religious compounds like *cășlegi* = carnival, *cârneleagă* = beginning of a period of fasting, *Sân-zâieni* = Sanct(us) Joannes, *miezul păreților* (medium quadragesima; distorted by popular etymology) = the middle of the Quadragesima.

From Slavonic, Rumanian has archaisms like *Blagoveștenie* = *Buna Vestire* = Annunciation, *a blagoslovi*, *a bagoslovi* = to bless. The Greek corresponding compounds in religious terminology supported these Slavonic loanwords which have now practically disappeared from the language. The enigmatic *Bobotează* 'Christ's baptism' is still alive but its first part is not clear. According to some opinions, it represents *bog*, according to others, *apă* (according to O. Densusianu). Apparently we have a popular etymology. The compounds *Atotputernic*, *Înainte-Mergă-*

torul, are Greco-Slavonic religious terms. The *voivod* was introduced with the institution and through the chanceries in the political hierarchy. It represents the Slavonic loan translation of the German *Herzog*.

This category of loanwords shows clearly that the people did not know the language from which the words were borrowed. They are cultural words, introduced through the Church or through the chanceries. Words like *samoderžatelī* 'autokratos', *Christoliubivij* 'religious, lover of Christ', *blagočestivij* 'pious' (Greek *eusebetes*), passed from the Greek into the formulae of the Slavonic chanceries and when translated into Rumanian, they were either analysed in both their parts or kept in their Slavonic form.

To infer from such 'influences' however, that the Rumanian upper class spoke Slavonic is at least absurd. The bookish Slavonic — in its various recensions — caused trouble even to the Slavs in their countries until it was replaced by the national languages. It is obvious that cultured Rumanians often mastered that Slavonic language better than the Slavs themselves. History gives us examples of Rumanian master writers of Slavonic, e.g. the Spatharius Nicolas Milescu or the theologian metropolitan Dositheus, not to mention Antioh Cantemir who founded the Russian literary language and liberated it from the age-old bonds of the dead Slavonic language, by pruning drastically the slavonisms.

29. In the field of *morphology*, Rumanian did not continue the Latin nominal category of masculine *-a nouns* of the type *agricola, nauta, poeta*, but the *-a* ending as a masculine sign was not opposed to the linguistic feeling of the Rumanian speaker. The language has masculine *-a nouns* of non-Latin origin: *popă* 'priest', *vlădică* 'bishop', *călăuză* 'guide', *slugă* 'servant', *sentinelă*, 'sentry', *cătană* 'soldier', *bădiță* 'elder brother'. The linguistic feeling did not oppose the masc. *-a* function of such loanwords. A masculine *-a* category of nouns appears also in other Romance languages. In Italian we have *la guida*, in old French, *la guide* (used by La Fontaine) which became in modern French *le guide*. French *la recrue*, conceived as a collective noun, designating the contingent as a whole, became in literary French *le*

recru. *La sentinelle* is in French originally an abstract feminine, like in German *die Wache*. In Rumanian the new *-a nouns* take the adjective either in a feminine form (*o călăuză bună*) or in the masculine, (*un tată bun*), according to the history of the word. This new morphological category cannot be regarded as a Slavonic influence on the Rumanian morphology. We have here, not a morphological influence, but lexical borrowings.

A principle of linguistic theory, defined by A. Stender-Petersen (*Slav. Germ. Lehnw.*, pp. 512-518), is « that a language maintains the original final phonemes of a loanword, if at the time of borrowing it, that language had lexical categories ending with the same, or with a similar phoneme. If the language had not such categories, then various psychological circumstances intervened which influenced the lending process. This is valid also with regard to the grammatical gender ».

Among the Slavonic languages, Bulgarian has changed the original analytic declension into a system of declension based on two cases. However, the syncretism of the cases in Bulgarian declension and the reduction of the Latin cases in Rumanian are independent linguistic processes.

30. The Latin synthetic declension has been replaced by an analytical one in Rumanian, leaving only two cases for singular and two for plural. Even these two cases survived due to the suffixed article — a morphological feature created by a syntactical need, i.e. the free order of words (nouns and epithets). In Latin, the four phrases: *homo videt lupum, lupum videt homo, videt homo lupum, homo lupum videt*, convey the same meaning. In Rumanian, the ending disappeared, and other means were created to convey the correct syntactic meaning. Otherwise the distinction between subject and object would be confused.

This refers especially to the accusative case. Only after the written language was formed and even then, not generally and not in all dialects, a Latin preposition was introduced for the accusative case, as in other Romance languages, for the sake of syntactical clarity and expressivity. But neither chronologically nor geographically has one part of the Romance languages influenced the other part. Bertoni (*Italia dialettale*, 1916, p. 178) delimits the area of the use of the preposition *ad* which divides

the Romance area into two parts: Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Calabria, Puglia, part of Abruzzi, Rome, Elba, Corsica use *ad* whereas Rumanian uses *p(r)e* < Lat. *per*. The Spanish *á*, (*al*) appears in the oldest texts. In Rumanian, the *pe* (*pre*) appears sporadically in the texts of the 16th century, in the dialects (Arumanian, Meglenorumanian, Istrorumanian) (S. Pușcariu, *Meglenoromâni*, I, 203; S. Pușcariu, *Istrorom.* I, 243; Th. Capidan, *Dialectul aromân*, 1932, p. 530) *pe* does not appear. It does not appear either in the 16th century texts, Psaltirea Șcheiană and Codicele Voronețean. Even Coresi seems to avoid the innovation. In the Gospels of 1574, the preposition *pe* appears as an isolated example: *de va goni dracul pe drac* (Matt. 12, 26) - «if the devil will drive out the devil». But it is not established in the language, for in the Gospels we read: «*Nimenea nu poate a doi domni lucra: sau amu unul va iubi, iar altul va urî, și amu unul va ținea, iar altul nu-l socoti va înceape; nu poate Dumnezeu lucra și lui Mamon* (Matt. VI, 24) which in modern Rumanian is rendered: «*Nimeni nu poate sluji la doi stăpâni. Căci sau va urî pe unul și va iubi pe celalt, sau va ținea la unul și va nesocoti pe celalt. Nu puteți sluji lui Dumnezeu și lui Mamona*».

This verse shows clearly how the translator is struggling to render a clear meaning. He uses «*a doi domni*, i.e. *la, pentru*»; he avoids, not intentionally, the *pe* in the accusative. The preposition *a* < *ad* was already overcharged with functions. Further, the use of *pe* in Rumanian is not identical with its function in the other Romance languages. Reading the old Rumanian texts, one sees clearly how the syntactical use of this preposition is developing from a concrete (local) to an abstract meaning, until it becomes a grammatical empty word.

31. Proceeding from the old Rumanian texts which do not use *pe* to indicate the accusative, W. Meyer-Lübke raised the question as to whether this lack of the preposition in the Old Rumanian accusative is not due to an imitation of Slavonic prototypes which had no preposition in the accusative (*Gramm. d. rom. Spr.*, III, 1899, p. 374). This hesitant opinion was accepted by S. Pușcariu, (*Études*, 447-450). Such a hypothesis however, is not supported by the Rumanian dialects. In Slavonic texts and dialects however, the preposition *nad* 'on' meaning *pe*, *spre* is exten-

sively used in the same function. I maintain the opinion expressed in a short article *Sur l'accusatif prépositionnel en roumain* (un calque slave). — (Homage-Mario Roques, III, Paris, 1952, pp. 159-165), which so profoundly offended the patriotic feeling and the Latinist zeal of some learned young scholars, who identify the use of the accusative preposition in Spanish and Italian dialects with the Rumanian accusative preposition *pe*.

The lack of the preposition *pe* in Old Rumanian texts — which surprises W. Meyer-Lübke — continues the Latin construction. In Latin, the ending indicates the case and the necessity of avoiding confusion does not arise: *canis videt lupum* or *lupum videt canis* or *videt canis lupum* or *videt lupum canis* clearly express the same thing. In Rumanian, *cânele vede lupul* clearly expresses the meaning by the order of the words: subject-verb-object; if the word-order is changed, a confusion arises. The preposition *pe* was a stylistic instrument used to avoid this confusion. Its correspondent *na* fulfilled the same function in Slavonic.

This construction is a loan translation of the same kind as the formation of the numerals from eleven to nineteen and the multiples from twenty to ninety. The Latin numerals have been replaced by joining the units to ten: *unsprezece*, Alb. *nji më dhit* = 11, *jedinû na desete*; *două zeci* = 20, Alb. *tridzit* < *triginta*, OCS *dŭva desete*, But Arum, has *yingit* *vinginti*, etc. One has tried to explain this feature by substratum. Of course the substratum could be invoked, but metaphysics is not very helpful in philology. The analysis of a language as a system of signs has to be exhausted first and the explanation should be based on linguistic reasoning.

32. The numerals posit insoluble and complicated problems in many languages. It is hardly possible to explain why the Latin numeral system has been renewed in Rumanian. I assume it is for the sake of clarity, very much needed, especially in this field. The Latin *vinginti* has survived in Arumanian, but in Gilliéron's terms, it suffered in Daco-Rumanian a phonetic exhaustion and — by a linguistic *therapeutic device* — it was replaced by the clearer *douăzeci* on the pattern of other surrounding languages. The same thing happened to *undecim* etc. which was replaced by a clearer *unus-super-decem*, etc. Only a comparative monograph

could perhaps throw more light on the problem. It would be not surprising to consider also this change as a literary, cultural creation. Such changes appear in every field of the language and gain general acceptance more quickly than one would imagine.

The Lord's Prayer, which by its religious character would have been considered unchangeable, offers us an example. In spite of that, changes have been introduced in the course of the centuries, which have altered the original meaning of this biblical prayer. Rumanian Christianity is of apostolic origin. It penetrated even north of the Danube in the first centuries A.D.; there is therefore, no fixed date of a historic conversion of the Rumanians. The first form under which Christianity was preached in that part of the Eastern Empire was Latin. The phrase «our daily bread» is now rendered in Rumanian as in the Western languages «*pânea noastră cea de toate zilele*», but other more archaic versions render this phrase by «*pânea cea spre ființă*» or «*pânea cea de-apururea*». This last two renderings correspond to the original Greek text which has here the word *hyperusian* literally 'over the being' i.e. '*spre(super)ființă*' or '*de-apururea*' i.e. 'eternal'. The Vulgate has in one Gospel (L. 11.3) '*panem super-substantialem*'; in the other (Mt. 6.11) '*panem quotidianum*'. Without entering into a discussion with the theologians, who have decided to accept the latter rendering as a standard translation for Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants, I think that Christ did not promise bread and butter to save humanity, but that it was a question of that spiritual nourishment about which he spoke to the woman of Samaria at the well. Here also, scholarship has intervened to make the text «clearer» for the masses.

This example shows how linguistic innovations, in any field, are accepted and penetrate to the whole community for the sake of clarity, when the innovations come from the cultured upper class.

The explanation of the prepositional accusative in the Romance languages has been attempted by many philologists. A Vulgar Latin origin has been suggested; a substratum and adstratum theory has its followers and adversaries; a Basco-Iberian origin has been proposed in the case of the Spanish accusative, and it was rejected. (cf. Harri Heier, *Origines do acusativo prepositional*, p. 144, sq. - *Ensaio de filologia romanica*, Lisboa, 1948.

See also G. Reichenkron, *Das präpositionale Akkusativ - Objekt im ältesten Spanisch*, Rom. Forsch., Frankfurt, 1951, pp. 342-397). Even if we accept that the procedure is beyond doubt intra-Romance, (though it appears also outside the Romance languages), two questions remain to be clarified: 1. Is the procedure in each Latin language the same? 2. Is there any relationship between the Spanish construction with *ad* and the Rumanian construction with *per*, or are these two independent, parallel solutions as Scholz affirms? (*Rumänisch und Spanisch*, 1929, p. 24).

33. Each language is an independently creative system of signs, and the innovations and conservations are to be considered first within that system. It is for the sake of this point of methodology that I emphasize this case. The prepositional accusative is not a morphological influence; it is a lexical, phraseological-syntactical creation with Latin material imitating the Slavonic literary and dialectal procedure. The texts and the dialectal facts seem to support this kind of loan-translation.

The same explanation applies to the fem. vocative in -o, of restricted use, of the type *soro!* 'sister', *iubito!* 'dear'. The vocative is not a case, it is a phrase, an expression of a condensed (shortened) thought. A case in point is *dragă* 'dear' in the vocative, used with both the masculine and the feminine nouns: *dragă amice!* = *dragul meu amic!*; *soră dragă!* = *draga mea soră!* These are literary stylistic expressions due to cultural relations. This example illustrates the character of the Slavonic influence in Rumanian. It is for the most part of literary origin due to cultural relationships. Cases of the last type are lexical or borrowings and not morphological.

35. An important feature of the morphology of the noun in Rumanian is the suffixed article in this language. The peculiarity of suffixing the definite article in Rumanian, Bulgarian and Albanian is perhaps the basis of a new branch of linguistics, called balkanology. The Austrian (Slovene) scholar Kopitar started the ball rolling at the beginning of the 19th century, by his statement: «... north of the Danube: in the Bucovina, in Moldavia, in Transylvania, in Hungary; further south of the Danube, in the mountain-chain of the Haemus, in the largest area of this

mountain region, from one sea to the other; in the mountains of Macedonia, in Pindus and in the whole of Albania, exists one single linguistic form (*Sprach-form*) covering three linguistic substances (*Sprach-materie*), (Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur, Vol. 46, 1829, p. 86).

Another Slovene, Miklosich, the founder of comparative Slavonic Philology, made the first attempt to analyse linguistically the features common to the languages of South-Eastern Europe: Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek, Serbo-Croat. Miklosich calls these common features « autochthonous » and explains them through the substratum (Illyrian, Thracian). (*Die slav. Elem. im Rum.* Denkschr. der Wien. Ak., Phil. Classe 12). His substratum theory was adopted by Schuchardt (*Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, vol. 3, 1868, p. 49) though later Miklosich modified his view.

Our knowledge of language in general and of each of the so called Balkan languages, has increased in the last century and a half of research, as did linguistic theory, but the concept of balkanology (*linguistique balkanique*) has remained and still has its adepts after the recapitulative study of the eminent Danish scholar, Kristian Sandfeld-Jensen, who warns us against some scholars who are still inclined to support their assumptions by the old concept « that these languages are animated by the same spirit ». (*Linguistique balkanique. Problèmes et résultats*, Paris, 1930, p. 7). The author of the term 'balkanology' is not known. It came into use at the beginning of this century, in Germany, then in Denmark, France and Italy. It was intended to cover not only linguistics but also folklore, popular literature, culture in general, thus giving the term a similar content as in classical philology. However, philologists gave to the term a linguistic meaning comparable to Romance philology, etc. and considered the languages of South-Eastern Europe as a unity. (cf. *Linguistique Balkanique* I-II, 1959-60, edited by V. Georgiev, with contributions by various authors). New terms were proposed to satisfy linguistic theory: *linguistic union* (Sprachbund) by N. Trubetskoy; *linguistic unity* by Jokl. The diachronical approach to the study of these languages has been neglected and the study was based on the synchronic-descriptive principles, in an attempt to show that phonological affinities cut across genetic

language families. In other words, the speculative theory was created that in South-Eastern Europe, though we have languages superimposed on several prehistoric families of languages (Thraco-Dacian, Thracian, Scythian, Illyrian, Moesian, Slavonic, Turc), there are phonological features common to all present-day languages. This view generated other favoured terms: *substratum*, *adstratum*, *bilingualism*, whose role in the linguistic changes remain to be proved. No one can deny the existence of these concepts, which express social-historical and cultural processes, no less psychological, but the changes which support these cultural processes do not support a specific regional development qualitatively different from that in the languages of Western Europe.

It is true that in South-Eastern Europe, the common cultural influences penetrated deeper into the masses and the effect of this penetration is shown in the vocabulary and phraseology. In the study of the linguistic relationships between these languages, another attractive term was abused, i.e. *symbiosis*. In reality symbiosis and bilingualism are identical in their linguistic effects. Communities which change their language live together for a long time with the community whose language they adopt, because the adopted language has a greater prestige or is a more practical means of communication than the language which they themselves speak. However, bilingualism and symbiosis may last for centuries without mixing the two systems of signs, if they fulfil a practical aim. An instance of this is the case of some English gypsies, who till to-day speak Rumanian between themselves, after having wandered from Rumania into Yugoslavia, then to America wherefrom they returned to Europe, into Spain or Ireland and Scotland, before settling in England near London. They use hardly any English words (except technical ones) in their conversation in Rumanian and even fewer Rumanian words in their English conversation.

35. Concerning the article, in three of these languages there is no reason to recur to a substratum theory, because we do not know whether any of the prehistoric languages of the respective area had a post-positive article, and genetically, each language belongs to another family of languages. The function of the article is not the same in all three languages. Further, in Russian

and in the nordic languages, we find the same feature, which has not been explained by any substratum theory. Each linguistic change has to be explained within the system of the respective language. The suffixed article in Rumanian can be explained as a development in this language. However the term *Balkanic will haunt for a long time the minds of scholars, historians, economists, sociologists* because it is very useful to cover every thing that they do not know.

The other main features common to some of the South-East European languages which have been considered as the basis of linguistic balkanology, could be schematically represented as follows:

Alb., Bulg., Rum.:
Suffixed article:
A. njeri-u, 'the man'.
B. čověk-ät, 'id'.
R. om.-ul, 'id'.

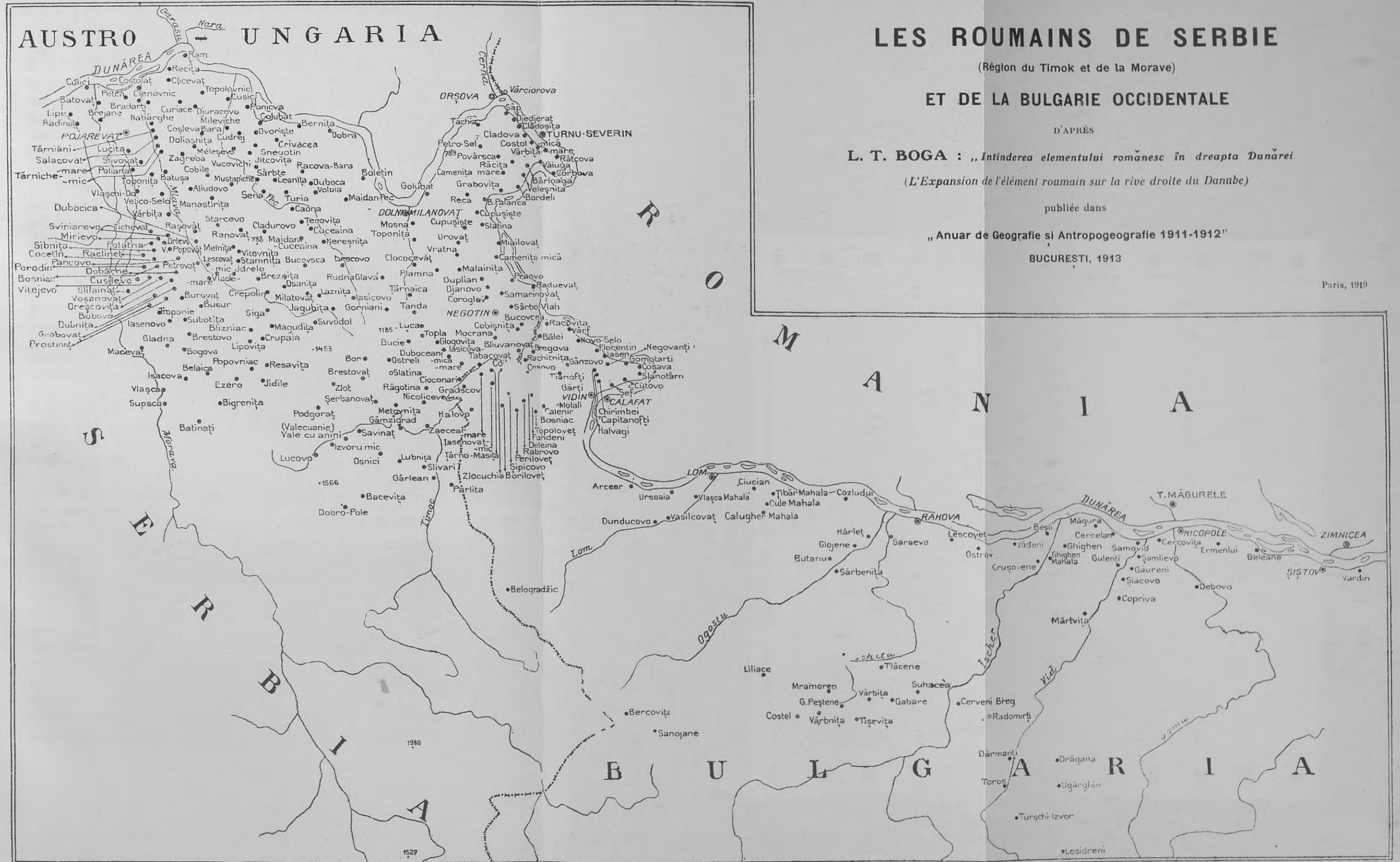
Alb., Rum., All Slav languages:
The numerals 11-19 are formed by means of a preposition:
Alb., një mbë(më) dhjete, 'eleven'.
Rum. unsprezece (spre <super>), 'id'.
Bulg., dvanadeset, 'id'.
CSr., jedanaest, 'id'.
OCS jedinü na desete, 'id'.

Alb., Bulg., Greek, Rum., SCr.:
Infinitive replaced by conjunctive:
A. a-më të pi, 'give me to drink'.
B. daj mi da pijä, 'id'.
G. dós mu na pió, 'id'.
R. dä-mi sä beau, 'id'.
S. Cr. daj mi da pijem, 'id'.
E. give me to drink, 'id'.
F. donnez moi à boire, 'id'.
G. geben sie mir zu trinken, 'id'.

Alb., Bulg., Gr., Rum.:
Stressed personal pronoun used in association with an unstressed pronominal form:
A. mëmma më kjertoj mua, the 'mother scolds me'.
B. menë mi se struva, 'it seems to me'.
R. mie mi se pare, 'it seems to me'.
Gr. eména me fainetai 'id'.

Each of these features, however, can be explained as independent developments which took place in the respective language, but they are of no greater linguistic importance for the above mentioned languages than the influence of the Latin syntax on the structure of the West European syntax.

A prominent place has been attributed to the Albano-Rumanian relationship in this «linguistic commonwealth». There is a very close connection between the two languages, of which Albanian is Illyrian, strongly influenced by Latin (half-romanized) with a rich Slavonic influence; Rumanian is the *entirely latinized* Traco-Dacian, showing a similar absorption of Slavonic elements.



LES ROUMAINS DE SERBIE

(Région du Timok et de la Morave)

ET DE LA BULGARIE OCCIDENTALE

D'APRÈS

L. T. BOGA : „Intinderea elementului românesc în dreapta Dunărei

(L'Expansion de l'élément roumain sur la rive droite du Danube)

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A Bulgarian scholar, Tsoneff, writes with great sorrow in his main work on the history of the Bulgarian language that each Slavonic word in Rumanian is a Slav soul drowned in the Latin ocean. This conception is a result of the confusion made between linguistics and anthropology during the Romantic period of philology.

If however one analyses linguistically the Albano-Rumanian relationship there remain only two rather remote phonetic links, which seem to be common to the two languages. Namely, both Albanian and Rumanian have the nasalization as an effect of the [n] on the preceeding vowel, but also in this respect each went its own way and arrived at the same result: Lat. *conventu-* > R. *cuvent* > *cuvânt* 'word': Lat. *conventum* > Alb. *kuvënt*; Lat. *argentum* > R. *argint*: Lat. *argentum* > Alb.-Tosc *ërgént*, Gueg. *argánt*. This nasalization process is valid for the old period of both languages. Secondly, Albanian and Rumanian, of the old period, had a similar falling rhythm. Rumanian inherited this from the Latin; in Albanian, it is secondary. We do not know whether it is here of Latin origin. W. Meyer-Lübke is doubtful about this and thinks that it is due to the Albanian accent and intonation rules, as inherited from Indo-European. (*Rumänisch, Romanisch, Albanisch*. — *Mitteilungen d. rum. Inst. Wien*, I, p. 39).

36. From a point of view of methodology, in the study of the Albano-Rumanian relationship (as well as of others), one has to consider not only the phonetic, morphologic, lexical or syntactic *concordances*, but also the *differences* which exist between the systems of the two languages, synchronically and diachronically. A study based only on the emphasis of one or more genealogical or other concordances, disregarding the fundamental differences, is not complete and is often misleading. Further, if some tendencies common to two (Rumanian and Albanian) or more languages exist also in other West European languages, such tendencies have no specific importance for e.g. the Albano-Rumanian linguistic relationship. (cf. S. Puşcariu, *Die rumänische Sprache*, I, 1943, p. 327). In order to obtain a general view of the development of a language, we are not obliged to describe each transformation in detail: « we must recognize the tenden-

cies which dominate the development of the language... to find the effective forces which accompanied or still are accompanying the final results » in the development of that language. (W. Meyer-Lübke, *Rumänisch, Romanisch, Albanisch*. Mitteil. d. rum. Inst., I, i, Wien, 1914; valuable informative studies on the Albano-Rumanian linguistic relationship: Th. Capidan, *Raporturile albano-române*. Dacoromania, II, Cluj; Al. Philippide, *Originea Românilor II*, Iași, 1927, pp. 571-802).

IV. — VOCABULARY AND SYNTAX

37. The loan translations are numerous in the South-East European languages. They are considered by the balkanologists as an argument in support of the linguistic union of the region. These reciprocal borrowings, however, — properly speaking: the calques — are cultural and not linguistic facts. Historical events changed the Eastern Roman Empire into an ethnic and linguistic mosaic, whose *lingua franca* was the Latin-Rumanian of the region. To the question: since when can one speak of a Rumanian language (called for the earliest period: Balkan-Latin), one could reply that theoretically we can use the term 'Proto-Rumanian' (Urrumänisch) since this region was politically and culturally cut off from the Western Roman Empire, since the arrival and definitive settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans, in the 6th-7th centuries. Latin continued for a short period to be the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire, but its influence did not reach the rural masses of the region, where urban Latin civilization was replaced by a rural local culture, contrary to the case of Latin influence on the West European countries. The Danish scholar, Otto Jespersen, answers the question concerning the beginning of the English language in a similar way: it is the period when the Teutonic tribes lost the contact with the European Teutonic language. (*Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Oxford, 1935, p. 17).

The loan translations show this difference and similarity between the two regions: West and East. Words like « expression », « Ausdruck », « impression », 'Eindruck', 'print', 'press', are translations from Latin in the Western languages, from which they passed into many other languages. Such loan translations are qualitatively not different from those of the «Balkan» lan-

guages. They show, however, that in the South-Eastern languages they have a more popular character; they are due to a cultural-literary — and to a direct — penetration into the rural masses. The loan translations presuppose bilingualism, which existed in that region; just as in our days, bilingualism makes its way in spite of the resistance from official and academic authorities. In assessing the linguistic value of these loanwords, one should consider not only the personal contact between speakers, but also the popular literature which circulated widely among the masses in South-Eastern Europe.

P. Papahagi (*Parallele Ausdrücke und Redensarten im Rumänischen, Albanischen, Neugriechischen und Bulgarischen*. — Leipzig Jahresbericht, XIV, 1908, pp. 113-170) compiles a list of 451 loan-translations which appear in that area, but certainly this number is not exhaustive and Serbian is not being considered in this study. In his conclusion, he writes: «this presupposes extensive relationships between the peoples of the Balkans. They lived for a long time in the same cultural community». From a historical and cultural point of view. The Serbian area is part of this territory showing many concordances with Rumanian: S sveda = R. cu toate că; S. pošto = R. de ce; S. eto! = R. iată!; S. hajde, hajdeme, ajdmo = R. haide, haidem, haideti, etc.

Of a similar kind are parallel *loan-translations* of the type: the concept of 'crooked (material), unjust' = R. strâmb: B. SCr. kriv 'crooked, false'; the concept of 'frog; lock' = R. broască 'frog; lock': B. žabka = 'frog'; 'hinge of a door'; etc.

Great emphasis has been laid on some common constructions like the replacement of the infinitive by a subordinate clause in constructions of the kind (see p. 64): Engl. give me to drink; Fr. donnez moi à boire, Germ. geben sie mir zu trinken, to which, in the South-East European languages correspond: Alb. a-më të pi, B. daj mi da pijă, Gr. dós mu na piō, R. dă-mi să beau. SCr. daj mi da pijem. (K. Sandfeld-Jensen, *Ling. Balk.* p. 7). It has been emphasized in this syntactical feature the opposition between these languages and the Western languages. However, this syntactical feature is neither archaic nor to be found in all of the languages of that region, and the infinitive construction is alive alongside the final clause by which it was replaced in the South-East European languages.

One can speak of a Romance, Germanic, Slavonic philology, but the term Balkan philology has not an identical genetic meaning. Perhaps one could trace a common physiological link in the basis of articulation and in the syllabic rhythm of some of these languages. The structural *differences* between these languages are deeper and by far more organic, than the *similarities*.

«Identical local surroundings, identical cultural influences, the same religion and habits, but most of all, the same social structure produced a uniform attitude of mind. This created a uniform way of linguistic representation and identical linguistic needs. This shows clearly why the same loanwords are to be found in the languages of the Balkan peoples. These loanwords penetrated across the Danube into Rumanian and Hungarian. Most of the concordances are to be found in phraseology and in metaphorical expressions». (S. Puşcariu, *Die rum. Spr.*, 1943, p. 200). These loanwords and loan-translations do not require a symbiosis or a bilingualism. They can be explained as literary, cultural elements which penetrated into each language by the intermediary of a cultured class, which knew or understood other languages. Similar interpenetrations of borrowings are very numerous in the Western European languages.

38. The study of the Slavonic loanwords in Rumanian cannot be dealt with here except by pointing out the main principles on which this extensive part of the language should be based. The history of the vocabulary is, properly speaking, the history of the culture and civilization of the people; of the social and political trends during the centuries; of the whole spiritual and material life of a people. Nobody has ever known the whole lexical treasury of a language; each knows a section, larger or smaller, of the sphere of activity more or less familiar to his way of life. Moreover, in the course of time, the vocabulary changes in the measure of a recognizable continuity accepted by the community. The changes of the vocabulary could be compared with the changes of the leaves of a tree. The new ones have always the shape of the old ones, whatever the kind of soil which nourishes the roots.

«Loan-words have been called the milestones of philology, because in a great many instances they permit us to fix approx-

imatively the dates of linguistic changes. But they might with just as much right be termed some of the milestones of general history, because they show us the course of civilization and the wanderings of inventions and institutions, and in many cases give us valuable information as to the inner life of nations when dry annals tell us nothing but the dates of the deaths of kings and bishops». (Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Oxford, 1935, p. 27).

The English language contains more non-Germanic elements than Germanic ones. In spite of that, no one has denied the Germanic character of the English language from a genetic point of view.

The premises of the loan-word studies are the ever-changing ethnographic, cultural and historical circumstances of a people. (cf. A. Stender-Petersen, *Slavonisch-Germanische Lehwortkunde*. Kungl. Vetensk och Vitterhats-Saushölles Handlingen, Band 31, No. 4, Göttenburg, 1926). «The solution of any loan-word-question depends essentially on all kinds of archaeological and historical circumstances and on the data of the history of the culture, however important the rules of phonetic correspondences may be for their (loan-words) study». (Sobolevskij, Arch. sl. Ph. XXXIII, p. 413; ap. A. Stender-Petersen, *o.c.*, p. 52).

39. The first approach to the study of the Slavonic lexical element in Rumanian was a statistical and static one. It disregarded the chronology, the cultural background, the way of penetration, the circulation of the words and accepted the dead facts of the statistics, which considered the derivations and word formation with Slavonic elements also as loan-words. Until now, in the opinion of certain philologists, the Slavonic influence in Rumanian is considered as a catastrophe, while by others, it is thought to be a triumph. This conception, inherited from Romanticism, has other than linguistic foundations. One hears scholars quoting with satisfaction or dismay, the statistics of a Czech (Cihac *Dictionnaire d'étymologie daco-roumaine*, Frankfort, 1870-1879) who compiled in the first volume 5,765 Rumanian words and defined their origin: 2,361 (i.e. 2/5) are considered to be of Slavonic origin, 1,165 (i.e. 1/5) of Latin origin. The remainder are probably of various other origins. If

Disraeli had been a philologist, he might have found a fourth degree in the valuation of statistics. According to his opinion, there are ordinary lies, damned lies and statistics. The philological statistics, as practised in the time of Romanticism, would represent a fourth category: misleading aberrations.

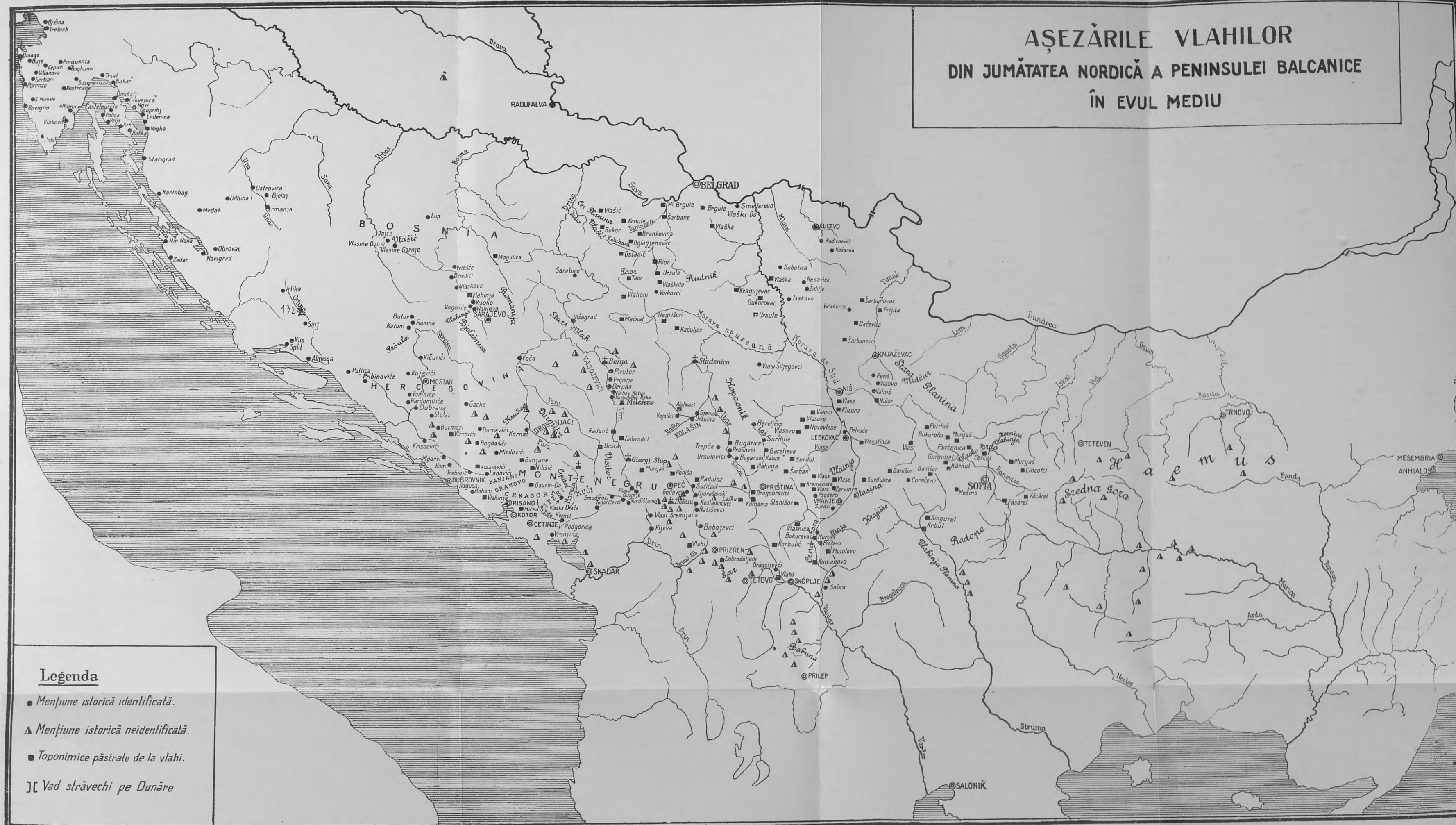
The frequency of the circulation of the words is disregarded. A word known in the past century is regarded as of the same importance as the most essential words, without which no expression can be constructed; and whole poems can be found without any Slavonic elements, which are not intentionally eliminated. On the contrary, they are often used to renew the style. Although a dead, old form of the Cyrillo-Slavonic language was, from the 14th century, the language of the Rumanian Church, alone or alongside the Greek and, from the 15th century, along with Rumanian, the Lord's Prayer contains only two words of Slavonic origin, of which one is interchangeable with a Latin one: *ispită* 'temptation', *greșală* 'error': *păcat* 'sin'. Two other Latin words were phonetically influenced by the Slavonic correspondents: *sânt* < sanctus > *sfânt* < *sfetū* 'sacred' and *voia* < Lat. *a voi* < **voleo* + Sl. *volja*. Christianity did penetrate into the Carpatho-Danubian region from apostolic times onwards. The official language and the language of communication being Latin, Christianity was introduced in the Latin form. The Slavonic and Greek elements are of later date and refer to the external organization and to the material terminology of the organized Church. Slavonic was introduced into the Rumanian Church and administration for political reasons. South of the Danube, earlier political organizations existed, which gravitated towards Byzance and had Slavonic chanceries organized on the Byzantine pattern. The struggle for independence, the intermarriage among the rulers and the political alliances favoured the introduction of Byzantine civilization, in Slavonic form, in the Rumanian states. Latin, on the other hand, was the language of the Hungarian and Polish states which rivalled each other for suzerainty over the newly-created Rumanian states ever since their foundation in the fourteenth century. Slavonic was, for the Rumanian states, a means of political differentiation and a vehicle for Byzantine civilization (cf. G. Nandriș, *The beginnings of Slavonic culture*

in the Roumanian countries. — The Slavonic and East European Review, vol. XXIV, N. 63, 1946).

However, the statistical approach to the study of the Rumanian vocabulary has improved in the same measure as linguistic theory has changed. Sextil Pușcariu (Die rum. Sprache, 1943, pp. 228 sq.) gives the following statistics, after D. Mazilu's study, of Eminescu's lyric-poem Luceafărul: this long poem contains 1685 words of Latin origin, i.e. 88.6%. The neologism are not included. This figure shows that the Latin elements are eleven times more numerous than the Slav ones, and eight times more than all non-Latin elements taken together. Thirteen stanzas are formed only with Latin elements, and the stanzas which represent the apogee of the poem contain 95% of words of Latin origin. Eminescu was not a Latinist purist.

40. The changes in the vocabulary of Rumanian are determined by cultural trends. An eloquent instance is offered by the French neologism. In Candrea's Lexicon of the Rumanian Language, the French neologisms amount to 33%, the Latin element is only 21% of the vocabulary. For one old non-Latin, there are up to 17 neo-Latin loanwords in the Rumanian of to-day. (cf. Alwin Kuhn, Die romanischen Sprachen, 1951, p. 119).

Before the Rumanians reentered Western civilization, the Slavonic, Greek and other languages with which they were in contact, supplied the necessary terms for various new concepts. The fact that nearly all these terms were replaced by Western terms, especially French and Italian, shows that the Slavonic loanwords were mostly of literary origin, and only relatively few became part of the Rumanian vocabulary. The Latin structure of the language made this process of lexical rejuvenation possible. One cannot form the simplest phrase without Latin elements, and one could find entire poems without any Slavonic word. Eminescu, a poet of wide European culture, uses 83% of Latin elements in his writings. Creangă, who never left his country, did not know any foreign language, uses, on a page of 300 words of his prose, 22 words of Slav origin, (i.e. ca. 7%), two of Turkish origin, one Albano-Rumanian, three of unknown origin, ten proper names, 252 words of Latin origin, i.e. 84%. It should be emphasized that these writers are far from being Latin purists.



These Vlachs should not be identified with the Arumanian - Vlachs

Silviu DRAGOMIR, Vlăhii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice Evul Mediu, București, 1959.

The same process of innovation and conservation reduced the Greek element in Rumanian. «The Greek influence was important because it penetrated various cultural fields of Rumanian (church, administration, spiritual life). From a social point of view, however, it was limited to a small section of the community and with the disappearance of this Turko-Greek administration, this influence dwindled continuously. To-day, the Greek influence on the Rumanian language is reduced to less than fifty loan-words». (A. Kuhn, *Die rum. Spr.*, p. 131). The destiny of the Slav element is similar, and this continuous rejuvenation of the vocabulary is a general linguistic process. In Rumanian, the Slavonic element is still frequent due to the fact that Slavonic was the vehicle of Byzantine civilization. «The Turkish element hardly touched the structure of the Balkan languages, in spite of the fact that the Ottoman Empire dominated that region for centuries. There are Turkish expressions and a few syntactic constructions, most of them common to all Balkan languages» (G. Reichenkron, *Die Bedeutung des rumänischen Sprachatlases*. Ung. Jahrb., 20, 1940, p. 22).

41. Language being a continuous *ergon* and *energeia* of the human mind, one can never record all its changing signs, just as one cannot count the changing leaves on a tree. Linguistics long ago superceded the old method of the botanist who used to study nature in his herbarium. This method, as well as the dictionaries, is useful, but not sufficient. Language is history, literature, philosophy; it is the mirror of the whole human knowledge in general.

Concerning the Slavonic element in Rumanian, it is not a disgrace to this language — as some linguists regarded it — nor is it a conquest by the Slavs, as considered by others. To call Rumanian, with Gustav Weigand, for personal reasons, «a kind of Romano-Slavonic language» is a philological aberration. In the same way, it is a mistake to affirm, with Ovid Densusianu, that the Rumanian language begins only after the Slavonic influence and that the «Rumanians, without the Slavonic infiltration, would speak a kind of Latin dialect». Linguistically speaking, Rumanian is a Latin dialect, just like Italian; Latin is an Indo-European dialect. The statement (O. Densusianu) is true only in so

far as Eastern Romania was cut off from West Romania by the settlement of the Slavs when they settled in South-Eastern Europe. From that time Eastern Latin civilization and language developed independently. A false conception of linguistic theory misled Gamillscheg to state that «Rumanian is Vulgar Latin adapted to the internal and external linguistic form of the Slavs (Über die Herkunft der Rumänen. Jahrb. d. Preuss. Ak. 1940, p. 134); cf. A. Kuhn, *Die rum. Spr.*, p. 136). These are rearguard reactions against the misconceptions of the Latinist school, which was a religious-literary movement, not a philological school, and affirmed in its first writings that Rumanian is a continuation of classical Latin.

According to Gamillscheg, (*Über die Herkunft der Rumänen. Jahrb. d. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1940, pp. 118-134), the formation of the Rumanian language took place in three successive chronological stages: «the basis is Latin, then, from the 6th-11th centuries followed the Slav and Hungarian superstratum; in the end (came) Rumanian which covers the whole area, (p. 124). Some scholars like to create imaginary problems for whose solution they show great inventiveness and hard work. We hear further, that Rumanian was carried by a wandering population all over the place and so it became a means of communication «though earlier than the above mentioned third stage of stratification began... Rumanians were living as minorities under the Slavs (id., ib. p. 125). It would be interesting to know on what this theory is based; it would surely be a unique case in history if a wandering minority population were to impose a *lingua franca* on a settled majority population. The problem is apparently of great interest because it created a vast bibliography, which continues to multiply and fire the imaginations of historians (cf. Gamillscheg, *Zur Herkunft der Rumänen — Südost-Forschungen*, 5, 1940 pp. 1-21; id. *Despre originea Românilor. — Rev. Fundațiilor Regale*, 5, 1940, pp. 251-271; Tamas, *Randbemerkungen zu einer Rezension von Gamillscheg. Arch. Europae Centro-Orientalis*, 6, 1940, pp. 340-347; F. Herdnbeti, *Die Deutschen über die Herkunft der Rumänen, von Thunman bis E. Gamillscheg. Diss. Breslau*, 1943, 80 pp.; cf. A. Kuhn, *Die rom. Spr.*, 1951, p. 133). It looks as if scholars will have to occupy their time for another century with

a new debate on continuity, more to inflate their own task than to study the form and meaning of the language.

42. In general, we know very little of the permanently changing meaning of a word in the context. It is only the context which defines vaguely the content of any phonetic creation. Rumanian, for example, has several words for the concept of 'snow'. In the West, in Transylvania, one finds the Latin *nea* < *nive-*, in other parts, especially in the South, one calls snow 'zăpadă', in the North-east, in Moldavia, snow is called 'omăt'. The last two forms are apparently new borrowings and represent more expressive creations — *zăpada* means 'snowfall' etymologically. However, in no Slavonic language has a derivation from 'to fall', meaning 'snow', been asserted, but some of the Slavs express the 'west' by a word derived from the verb 'to fall'. The philologist, S. Pușcariu (*Die rum. Spr.*, 1943, p. 210) and Jokl (*Indogerm. Forsch.*, 43, p. 61) did observe that in Albanian and in Hungarian, the concept 'it snows' is associated with 'to fall' and, on this basis, assumed that the Rumanian *zăpadă* should be explained by a Slav substratum, namely, by the 'autochthonous' Daco-Slavs—whose existence was never proved—which gave a Slavonic form to a Dacian content that would be an example of a substratum loan-translation (*calque*). Firstly, the Daco-Slavonic language is not known. The Slavonic which was spoken in Transylvania, was a Bulgarian dialect of a small group settled there in the 13th-14th century. The coincidence with Albanian does not mean anything, as, e.g. there is not any association whatever between the Balkan languages and Rumanian on the one hand, and English and Chinese on the other, because in all these languages, the future can be expressed by means of the auxiliary «to will». This shows that the human mind has common ways of working and creating. It is not necessary to operate with unknown 'facts' in order to explain unknown linguistic changes.

Moreover, in the case of *zăpadă*, B.O. Unbegaun (*Orbis*, II, 2, Louvain, 1953, p. 348) has shown that in the Slavonic languages the connotation of 'snow' is often expressed by forms derived from the verb *zapasti*. We have to deal with a metaphor and any language enriches and rejuvenates its vocabulary by metaphors.

Historically, the loan-words testify to the ability of the borrowing community to absorb and assimilate foreign concepts; to the mobility of its mind, its way of life, and of its changes of spiritual and material goods.

43. The conjunction *da* has in SCr. the meaning of 'that, in order that, to, if, and yes'. In Russian and Rumanian it serves as an affirmation. However, this function is neither general nor ancient. It is a new literary loan-word. The SCr. *sveda* has been translated into Rumanian 'cu toate că'. To explain the change of the function of this word, and others similar, is a problem of syntax, semantics and style — first in the Slav and then in the Rumanian language. One could begin with Common Slavonic where this particle seems to have been a noun. In the compound *tūgda*, the second part could represent a zero degree to *godŭ*, *goda* 'time, date, years'. The *da* < *gda had a temporal meaning: 'then, when, in that case'. From the temporal adverb a more abstract conjunction was obtained by a process which could be called progress in a language. The history of this word (noun, adverb, affirmation) on these lines would require a monograph. In Old Rumanian, this affirmation did not exist.

44. A conjunction like *dacă* is a newcomer which has replaced the Latin *să* < *si* charged with another function. The history of the *dacă*, which is most probably SCr. *kao da* 'as if', is a problem of syntax. *Aşişderea* 'also' shows another hybrid formation from Rumanian *aşa* 'so' and the SCr. *ždere*, *takoždere* = **takožde-že*. A word overburdened by its function or abused is replaced by linguistic therapy, for the sake of clarity and style. (Cf. J. Gilliéron, *Pathologie et thérapeutique verbales*, I-II, Neuville, 1915).

Syntax, semantics, style are means of continuous changes in the structure of any linguistic system. The syntax can be analysed; semantic and style however, are individual creations which escape analysis. One could consider these disciplines as part of the language in so far as they are expression and means of communication. One could stretch the point and treat any kind of vocal expression — literature, philosophy, history — as one philological discipline. This would invert Benedetto Croce's philo-

sophy that language is aesthetics in the sense that aesthetics is language, expression, linguistics. Even psychology, logic, economics — in so far as they transgress the line of the unconscious and become knowledge with the help of linguistic expression — could be considered as philology. That would remind us of Socrates' *Kratylos* arguing whether the words are *fysei* (by nature) or *thesei* (by convention), without solving the problem of the meaning of a 'word'. When we deal with the loan of words from one language into another, we are all the more aware that we try to solve insoluble problems: to catch the river in our scholarly net.

The study of the Slav element in the Rumanian language will not profit by imaginative theories of logic-choppers. In any research, the sound common sense and the intuition are the starting point on the path to new vistas. The observation, the comparison of the facts are the guiding principles. Neither determinism nor arbitrariness are recommendable on this path. The speculation and the mechanical instruments in philological research are good servants but dangerous masters. (Cf. Otto Jespersen, *Logic and Grammar*. A paper read before the British Association in Sept. 1923 and published as S.P.E. Tract Nr. XIV, 1924).

«For the progress of historical linguistics, it is important to expand the research by a precise and systematic method. The theories are based on incomplete, vague facts found more often by chance than by selection. It is necessary to make always a more precise observation of the facts: every time one has surveyed the facts with more precision, one has obtained new results. It is not enough to observe the facts such as they are at a certain moment» (A. Meillet, *La méthode comparative en linguistique historique*; id., *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 1926, sezione neolatina, p. 149).

Synchronism and diachronism are inseparable in the linguistic studies. Any exaggeration, any one-sidedness, any fanaticism is wrong in life and false in science.

Grigore Nandriş

ПОЭТЫ-ЛЮБОМУДРЫ
И ФИЛОСОФСКОЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЕ
В РУССКОЙ ЛИРИКЕ 20-30-х гг. 19-го ВЕКА

Термин « философская лирика » не имеет устойчивого содержания и, взятый сам по себе, вне исторического контекста, в достаточной мере условен. В разные времена и разные люди вкладывали в него не одинаковый смысл. Философские стихи, по понятиям одних, могли казаться другим далеко не философскими — и наоборот. И все-таки термин этот в плане историко-литературном имеет право на существование. Во всяком случае для России 20-30-х гг. 19-го столетия он был понятием живым и в большой степени определял содержание поэтической жизни той эпохи.

Дело совсем не в том, что лирика тех или иных русских поэтов 20-30-х гг. полностью и во всем объеме соответствовала тому, что могло быть подведено под понятие « философская лирика ». Этого могло и не быть. Но была в это время установка на « философскую » лирику, и эта установка во многом определяла современную поэтику, живые поэтические тенденции, определяла самую жизнь стиха и особенности его восприятия. Так называемая поэзия мысли в 20-30-ые годы была и реальной действительностью и — еще больше — поэтической программой, желаемой целью; это находило отражение и в том, что именно писали поэты и как, под каким углом зрения они прочитывались.

Попытка создания в России в начале 19-го века философской поэзии связана прежде всего с именами Веневитинова и поэтов его кружка. В 1823 г. группа молодых людей, учившихся в Московском университете, а затем служивших в Московском архиве Коллегии Иностранных дел, образо-

вали кружок любителей философии, т. н. «общество любомудрия». Один из членов этого кружка А. И. Кошелев впоследствии писал в своих Записках: «Всего более занимали нас немецкие философские сочинения. Около этого времени мы познакомились с даровитым, весьма умным и развитым Д. В. Веневитиновым, к прискорбию, рано умершим. Немецкая философия и в особенности творения Шеллинга нас всех так к себе приковывали, что изучение всего остального шло у нас довольно небрежно, и все наше время мы посвящали немецким любомудрам. В это время бывали у нас вечерние беседы, продолжавшиеся далеко за полночь, и они оказывались для нас много плодотворнее всех уроков, которые мы брали у профессоров. Наш кружок все более и более разрастался и сплотнялся. Главными, самыми деятельными участниками в нем были Ив. Киреевский, Дм. Веневитинов, Рожалин, кн. Одоевский, Титов, Шевырев, Мельгунов и я»¹.

Формально общество любомудрия просуществовало до 1825 г., до декабрьского восстания. Но с распадом общества не распались дружеские связи, не исчезли общие надежды и общие искания. Именно в это время, в последекабрьские годы, в среде бывших любомудров остро ставится вопрос о поэзии мысли — о необходимости объединения поэтического творчества с философским идеализмом. Философские проблемы теперь рассматриваются в тесной связи с поэтическими, задачи русской философии — в связи с задачами русской поэзии. И один из первых и наиболее крупных представителей этого направления — поэт Дмитрий Веневитинов. Как отмечает Л. Гинзбург, «Веневитинов предложил программу, а друзья выдвинули его в качестве программно поэта и потребовали от читающей публики признания Веневитинова поэтом мысли, первым философским лириком в русской литературе»². Уже после смерти Веневитинова его друг и во многом единомышленник И. Киреевский писал о нем: «Но среди молодых поэтов,

¹ Записки Александра Ивановича Кошелева (1812-1883 годы), Berlin, 1884, стр. 8-9.

² Лидия Гинзбург. Опыт философской лирики - Поэтика, Сборник статей, т. V, Л., «Academia», 1829, с. 79.

напитанных великими писателями Германии, более всех блистал и отличался покойный Д. В. Веневитинов... Веневитинов создан был действовать сильно на просвещение своего отечества, быть украшением его поэзии и, может быть, создателем его философии. Кто вдумается с любовью в сочинения Веневитинова..., тот узнает философа, проникнутого откровением своего века; тот узнает поэта глубокого, самобытного, которого каждое чувство освещено мыслью, каждая мысль согрета сердцем...»³.

Веневитинов был одновременно и идеологом направления, и его практиком. Теоретическое обоснование философскому направлению в поэзии он выдвинул в своих статьях. Он писал в статье «О состоянии просвещения в России»: «Первое никогда не творит и не может творить, потому что оно всегда представляет согласие. Чувство только порождает мысль, которая развивается в борьбе и тогда уже, снова обратившись в чувство, является в произведении. И потому истинные поэты всех народов, всех веков были глубокими мыслителями, были философами и, так сказать, венцом просвещения»⁴. Таково исходное положение Веневитинова. Оно определяет его понимание современной ему поэзии и из него вытекают для Веневитинова те цели, которые должна поэзия перед собою ставить. «У нас язык поэзии, — пишет Веневитинов, — превращается в механизм; он делается орудием бессилия, которое не может себе дать отчета в своих чувствах и потому чуждается определительного языка рассудка. Скажу более: у нас чувство некоторым образом освобождает от обязанности мыслить и, прельщая легкостью безотчетного наслаждения, отвлекает от высокой цели усовершенствования. При сем нравственном положении России одно только средство представляется тому, кто пользу ее избрет целью своих действий. Надобно бы совершенно остановить нынешний ход её словесности и заставить её более думать, нежели производить». И далее: «...Философия и применение оной ко всем эпохам наук

³ Полное собр. соч. И. В. Киреевского, М., 1911, т. 2, стр. 26-27.

⁴ Д. В. Веневитинов. Избранное, изд. Худож. литературы, М., 1956, стр. 212.

и искусств — вот предметы, заслуживающие особенное наше внимание, предметы, тем более необходимые для России, что она еще нуждается в твердом основании изящных наук и найдет свое основание, сей залог к своей самобытности и, следственно, своей нравственной свободы в литературе в одной философии, которая заставит ее развить свои силы и образовать систему мышления»⁵.

Для Веневитинова философия теснейшим образом связана с поэзией. В конечном счете у них одни и те же задачи. Природа и человек, познание человеком загадок и тайн природы, природа и ум в их соотношении, в их согласии — вот что, по Веневитинову, является главным предметом философии. Но это «согласование природы с умом» и есть как раз то, что более всего доступно поэту. Поэт, как говорил Баратынский, «нежданный сын последних лет природы». В поэзии и через поэзию происходит приобщение человека к первоначальному, к природе, выражается и осознается первичная неразрывность человека и космоса. Поэзия, искусство вообще «открывает философу первоначальную связь природы и истории, жизни и деятельности, действительного и идеального». Это слова Шеллинга, учителя Веневитинова в любомудрии. Отсюда и происходит высокое назначение поэта в деле человеческого познания, отсюда следует не только желательность, но и необходимость соединения философии и поэзии.

Как видим, философская лирика была не отвлеченным, а живым понятием — понятием, существующим как определенная потребность для русского сознания 20-30-х гг. 19-го столетия. Притом не только для литературного сознания, но и для общественного сознания в целом. Поэзия мысли, как и всякое литературное направление, не была и не могла быть чисто литературной по происхождению. Ее истоки в общем движении общественных идей, а в конечном счете — в движении самой русской жизни.

Разумеется, не один Веневитинов проповедовал необходимость объединения поэзии и философии. К тому же

⁵ Д. В. Веневитинов. *Избранное*, изд. Худож. литературы, М., 1956, стр. 212-213.

стремились и о том же писали Шевырев и Хомяков, В. Одоевский и И. Киреевский и многие другие. И. Киреевский, например, писал в своем «Обзрении русской словесности за 1829 г.»: «Нам необходима философия: все развитие нашего ума требует её. Ею одною живет и дышит наша поэзия...»⁶. Веневитинов, таким образом, не был единственным, кто призывал к философской лирике. Но он был одним из первых, кто заговорил об этом и кто пытался претворить это в своей поэтической практике.

Впрочем, и это последнее утверждение требует известных оговорок. Существовала ли философская лирика до Веневитинова? Положительный ответ на этот вопрос не вызывает сомнений. Достаточно вспомнить при этом отдельные — а их не так уж мало — стихотворения Державина, Жуковского, Пушкина. Несомненно во всяком случае, что и до Веневитинова были лирические произведения в стихах, которые по своему внутреннему содержанию с достаточным основанием — иногда даже большим основанием, чем стихи самого Веневитинова — могли быть причислены к разряду философской лирики. Однако философский характер этих произведений далеко не всегда и не всеми воспринимался в полной мере. И не воспринимался прежде всего потому, что такое восприятие не было должным образом подготовлено, не было еще общественной установки на поэзию мысли. Нужны были новые поэтические требования и цели, чтобы изменилось поэтическое восприятие. Нужна была открыто и широко декларированная программа философской лирики, чтобы даже внешне традиционные лирические формы прочитывались по-новому, под философским углом зрения. Это очень важно. Этого нельзя не учитывать, говоря о поэтической деятельности Веневитинова и ее значении.

Жизнь и тем более литературная деятельность Веневитинова была очень короткой. Это не помешало уже современникам чрезвычайно высоко оценить значение Веневитинова. Мы уже знаем ту восторженную оценку, которую

⁶ *Полное собрание соч. И. В. Киреевского*, М., т. 2, 1911, стр. 27.

дал Веневитинову И. Киреевский. Не меньше, чем Киреевский, ценили его Шевырев, Хомяков, Кошелев, А. Одоевский и другие. В «Литературных мечтаниях» Белинский писал о нем: «Один только Веневитинов мог согласить мысль с чувством, идею с формой, ибо, изо всех молодых поэтов Пушкинского периода, он один обнимал природу не холодным умом, а пламенным сочувствием и, силою любви, мог проникать в ее святилище...» И далее: «Веневитинов есть единственный у нас поэт, который даже современниками был понят и оценен по достоинству. Это была прекрасная утренняя заря, преддрекавшая прекрасный день; в этом согласились все партии»⁷. Интересно, что позднее, в 1845 году, Белинский скажет о Веневитинове осторожнее и в чем-то точнее: «Веневитинов умер во цвете лет, оставив книжечку стихов и книжечку прозы; в той и другой видны прекрасные надежды, какие подавал этот юноша на свое будущее, та и другая юношески прекрасны; но ничего определенного не представляет ни та, ни другая»⁸.

На характере восприятия и оценке поэзии Веневитинова его современниками не могли не отразиться обаяние его личности и трагизм его судьбы. В нем долго видели не только бывшее, но и несбывшееся тоже. И это было естественно. Это тем более выглядит естественным и в известном смысле даже закономерным, если учесть программный характер поэзии Веневитинова.

На первый взгляд стихи Веневитинова даже последних лет производят впечатление достаточно традиционных. И это первое впечатление не так уж обманчиво. У Веневитинова — знакомые жанры (элегии, послания), знакомые темы (любовь, поэзия, природа), привычная, устоявшаяся образность (поэт — «любимец муз и вдохновенья», жизнь — «море», «океан безбрежный» и пр.), привычная для поэтического словаря лексика («чело таинственной при-

⁷ В. Г. Белинский. *Полное собр. сочинений*, изд. АН СССР, т. I, М., 1953, стр. 78.

⁸ В. Г. Белинский. *Русская литература в 1844 году - Полное собр. соч.*, т. 8, стр. 446 (Разрядка в тексте цитаты моя - Е. М.).

роды», «пылающие ланиты», «волшебные часы мечтаний», «хладный мрак могил», «ветреная младость» и т.д., и т.п.). Традиционна у него и стиховая форма: в его метрике абсолютно преобладают ямбы, притом чаще всего четырехстопные ямбы, его композиции, как правило, свободные, из строфических композиций встречаются только сонеты. Все это совсем не ново, все это весьма типично для пушкинского периода в истории русской поэзии. И только в немногих своих стихотворениях, не разрушая, впрочем, и в них внешней традиционности формы, Веневитинов словно вырывается из замкнутого круга поэтических условностей, преодолевает инерцию готового стиля и поражает читателя свежестью и силой мысли и выражения. Но по этим немногим лучшим стихотворениям Веневитинова только и следует судить. И судить не о том лишь, что в них есть, но и о том, что в них намечено. В оценке поэзии Веневитинова особенно необходима проекция в будущее. Ведь перед нами только начало пути, по которому не суждено было пройти до конца самому Веневитинову, но по которому позднее пойдут многие русские поэты.

Основной круг тем зрелых произведений Веневитинова — природа и человек, бытие человека, и поэт как тот единственный среди людей, кому доступны тайны и человека, и природы. Стихи Веневитинова о жизни, о человеческом существовании исполнены глубокого пессимизма. Они в меру субъективны, субъективны настолько, чтобы волновать нас, но в них всегда есть философская, обобщенная мысль. В них не столько решение личной, сколько общей загадки, их герой не Я, а МЫ, не человек, а человечество.

Сначала жизнь пленяет нас;
В ней все тепло, все сердце греет
И, как заманчивый рассказ,
Наш ум причудливый лелеет.
Кой-что страшит издалика, —
Но в этом страхе наслажденье:
Он веселит воображенье,
Как о волшебном приключенье
Ночная повесть старика.
Но кончится обман игривой!

Мы привыкаем к чудесам —
 Потом на все глядим лениво,
 Потом и жизнь постыла нам:
 Её загадка и завязка
 Уже длинна, стара, скучна,
 Как пересказанная сказка
 Усталому пред часом сна.

(« Жизнь », 1826 г.)

Здесь не случайное настроение, даже не мысль о жизни, а цельная философия жизни. Стихотворение производит впечатление очень искреннего, согретоного подлинным чувством, но оно и концепционно. Отсюда его необычайная стройность, завершенность, логическая выдержанность. Это поэзия мысли в самом точном значении этого слова.

Философская концепция жизни Веневитинова получает свое развитие в другом его стихотворении — « Жертвоприношение »:

О жизнь, коварная сирена,
 Как сильно ты к себе влечешь!
 Ты из цветов блестящих вьешь
 Оковы гибельного плена.
 Ты кубок счастья подаешь
 И песни радости поешь;
 Но в кубке счастья — лишь измена,
 И в песнях радости — лишь ложь.

Основные мотивы стихотворения « Жизнь » в этом стихотворении усилены, элегическое заменяется здесь подчеркнuto острым, трагическим чувством. Но в стихотворении « Жертвоприношение » мотивы не только усиливаются и заостряются, но происходит и дальнейшее развертывание темы. Жизнь, по Веневитинову, — ложь, обман. Но человеку дано то, что помогает ему и преодолеть эту ложь, и бросить ей вызов. Это высокий человеческий мир мечты, фантазии, идеальный мир поэта. Человечество духовно не обречено на безысходность, потому что у него есть поэзия.

Меня не тешит ложный сон.
 Тебе мои скупые длани
 Не принесут покорной дани,
 Нет, я тебе не обречен.
 Твоей пленительной изменой

Ты можешь в сердце поселить
 Минутный огонь, раздор мгновенный,
 Ланиты бледностью покрыть
 И осенить печалью младость,
 Отнять покой, беспечность, радость,
 Но не отымешь ты, поверь,
 Любви, надежды, вдохновений!
 Нет! их спасет мой добрый гений,
 И не мои они теперь.
 Я посвящаю их отныне
 Навек поэзии святой...

Философски понятая и решенная тема жизни сливается у Веневитинова с темой поэта и поэзии. В поэзии для Веневитинова и вызов трагедийности жизни и решение острейших ее проблем. Тема поэта, философски повернутая, ставшая органической частью общего мирозерцания, делается одной из основных тем как в творчестве Веневитинова, так и в творчестве других поэтов философского направления. Интересно, что в конце 20-х и в начале 30-х годов Баратынский создает на ту же тему свои стихотворения « Подражателям », « В дни безграничных увлечений », « Болящий дух врачует песнопенье », « Когда исчезнет омраченье » и др.⁹

У Веневитинова поэт становится не только темой его произведений, но и их центральным, положительным героем. О поэте и поэзии Веневитиновым написаны стихотворения « К. И. Герке », « Сонет » (« Спокойно дни мои цвели в долине жизни »), « Поэт », « Три участи », « К Пушкину », « Утешение », « Италия », « Я чувствую, во мне горит... », « Поэт и друг » и т. д. В последнем из перечисленных стихотворений эта тема выступает с особенной полнотой и определенностью.

Поэт, по Веневитинову, это тот, кому доступны доподлинные тайны природы и жизни:

Природа не для всех очей
 Покров свой тайный подымает:

⁹ См. об этом в статье Е. Н. Купреяновой « Баратынский » - *История русской литературы*, т. 6, изд. АН СССР, М.-Л., 1953, стр. 422-423.

Мы все равно читаем в ней,
 Но кто, читая, понимает?
 Лишь тот, кто с юношеских дней
 Был пламенным жрецом искусства,
 Кто жизни не щадил для чувства,
 Венец мученьями купил,
 Над суетой вознесся духом
 И сердца трепет жадным слухом,
 Как вещей голос, изловил...

Для Веневитинова в поэзии проявляется вершина человеческого духа и высшие человеческие потенции. Поэт — вполне человек, и он по сути своей философ, которому доступны самые сокровенные тайны. Ведь это ему, «пламенному жрецу искусства», природа «покров свой тайный подымает». Вот что прежде всего определяет высокое назначение поэта в жизни и что делает его первым и всегда положительным героем поэзии мысли. Шеллинг писал в «Философских исследованиях о сущности человеческой свободы»: «Мы обладаем откровением более древним, чем все писанные откровения; это — природа. Она содержит в себе прообразы, не истолкованные еще ни одним человеком, тогда как прообразы писаного откровения давно уже исполнены и разъяснены. Если бы открылось понимание этого неписаного откровения, истинная — единственно истинная — система религии и философии явилась бы не в форме кое-как подобранной коллекции философских и критических понятий, а в совершенном сиянии как истины, так и природы»¹⁰. Эта мысль Шеллинга оказалась особенно привлекательной для поэтов философской школы. Они ее восприняли очень по-своему, они постарались применить ее к своему делу — и не только применить, но и утвердить ею свое дело — поэзию. Ход их рассуждений сводился примерно к следующему. То необходимое для человека и человечества, что не может постичь чисто философская мысль — неписанные откровения природы, — может и должна сделать мысль поэтическая.

¹⁰ Шеллинг. *Философские исследования о сущности человеческой свободы...* С-Петербург, 1908, стр. 74.

Поэтическое чувство одно только и способно проникнуть в сокровеннейшие природные тайны. Поэтому одно из главнейших назначений поэзии заключается в человеческом — а это значит и поэтическом — прочтении книги природы. Это не всегда и не обязательно познание тайны в ее целом и во всех ее связях, но это прорывы в тайну, это всегда озарения, которые сродни философии, потому что они открывают широкую дорогу логической мысли, вызывая множество ассоциаций. Поэзия в этом смысле и меньше философии, и больше её. Она не само откровение, а путь к откровению, и именно потому что путь, а не завершение, в чем-то важнее и плодотворнее всякой системы, всякого конечного результата. Ибо поэтическая мудрость по самой природе своей лишена какой-либо обязательности, категоричности, она открывает перспективу, а не закрывает её.

Эта концепция поэзии и поэтического творчества находит весьма оригинальное и любопытное преломление в одном из стихотворений Баратынского 1840 г. — «Приметы». В стихотворении этом, как и в большинстве философских стихотворений, — стройный ряд идей, в нем проверенная и продуманная поэтическая мысль. К чему же она сводится? Единственно возможное для человека знание природы — это знание непосредственное, являющееся человеку как прямое откровение, как результат любовного общения. Это познание поэтическое, и оно противопоставляется познанию рациональному, систематическому, в чем-то обманчивому и суетному:

Пока человек естества не пытал
 Горнилом, весами и мерой,
 Но детски вещаньям природы внимал,
 Ловил ее знаменья с верой;
 Покуда природу любил он, она
 Любовью ему отвечала:
 О нем дружелюбной заботы полна,
 Язык для него обретала.

Язык поэзии — это язык чувств, и это же язык человечества в его младенчестве. Но только этим языком человек способен общаться с природой, только чувством, т. е. поэтически, он способен воспринимать природу не как нечто

стороннее, чуждое, а как близкое, родственное и потому понятное:

Чета голубиная, вея над ним,
Блаженство любви прорицала.
В пустыне безлюдной он не был одним,
Нечуждая жизнь в ней дышала.
Но чувство презрев, он доверил уму;
Вдался в суету изысканий...
И сердце природы закрылось ему,
И нет на земле прорицаний.

В стихотворении Баратынского концепция поэтического познания мира, характерная для поэтов философского направления, выражена не прямо и отчасти в негативном плане. Но в основе своей, в своих исходных положениях она несомненно близка к тому, что об этом думали и Веневитинов, и Хомяков, и Шевырев. При всем существенном отличии названных поэтов, при всей неоднородности поэтического направления в целом, была у поэтов мысли 20-30-х гг. несомненная близость как тематическая, так и в поэтическом строе идей.

Веневитинов писал в статье «О состоянии просвещения в России»: «Художник одушевляет холст и мрамор для того только, чтобы осуществить свое чувство, чтоб убедиться в его силе; поэт искусственным образом переносит себя в борьбу с природою, с судьбою, чтоб в сем противоречии испытать дух свой и гордо провозгласить торжество ума»¹¹. Веневитинов был признанным теоретиком направления, и его мысли, высказанные в статьях, могут служить своеобразным комментарием — и не только к его собственным стихам. Приведенное его высказывание особенно для нас интересно. В свете его, тема поэзии и поэта в творчестве поэтов мысли оборачивается еще и новой своей стороной. Она оказывается одновременно и космической и очень злободневной. В ней вызов не миру вообще, а миру современному, в ней отрицается бесчеловечность и

¹¹ Д. В. Веневитинов. *Избранное*, изд. «Художест. литература», М., 1956, стр. 209 (разрядка в тексте цитаты моя — Е. М.).

бездушность не абстрактного, а вполне конкретного порядка вещей. Поэт — это тот, кто вступает «в борьбу с судьбою», с фатально-неодолимым, с самой историей и кто через свое искусство в этой борьбе способен «гордо провозгласить торжество ума». Утверждение поэзии в жизни — и личности поэта как начала высокого и героического никогда не было у поэтов мысли только отвлеченно-философским. Внутренне оно порождалось отрицанием мира сего, отрицанием действительности, живой, реально существующей. В творчестве Веневитинова, еще больше в творчестве Баратынского 30-х годов, это особенно заметно¹². Но в какой-то мере, пусть ограниченно, это свойственно было и другим поэтам мысли. В этом общественный, политический смысл позиции представителей философского направления в русской поэзии. Ведь не нужно забывать, что расцвет творчества всех этих поэтов падает на последекабрьскую эпоху.

Уже отмечалось, что в творчестве Веневитинова, в его стихах и теоретических высказываниях, были во многом намечены пути философской лирики. Среди тех, кто пошел по этому пути, не последним был А. С. Хомяков.

В истории русской мысли Хомяков больше известен как вождь славянофилов, блестящий полемист, реакционный идеолог. Хомяков — поэт остался в тени и вспоминается главным образом по насмешливым отзывам Белинского и Добролюбова. Между тем это не вполне справедливо. Тем более, что отзывы и Белинского, и Добролюбова относятся почти исключительно к поздним стихам Хомякова и во многом объясняются общими идеологическими разногласиями. Показательно, что в одной из своих статей 1840 года тот же Белинский причисляет Хомякова к числу «более или менее блестящих и сильных талантов», — наряду с Ломоносовым, Карамзиным, Дмитриевым, Вяземским, Баратынским, Языковым, Полежаевым, Кольцовым, Дельвигом¹³.

¹² Как отмечает Е. К. Купреянова в своей статье о Баратынском, «его поздняя философская лирика явилась прямым и страстным откликом на современность». (Е. А. Баратынский. *Полное собр. стихотворений*, 33).

¹³ В. Г. Белинский. *Полное собрание сочинений А. Марлинского*, — *Полное собр. соч.*, АН СССР, М., 1954, т. 4, стр. 26.

Поэзия Хомякова в плане историческом — явление если и не крупное, то весьма характерное. И характерное прежде всего своей подчеркнутой и сознательной установкой на поэзию мысли. Еще в 20-ые годы, в статье «Обозрение русской словесности за 1829 год» И. Киреевский, весьма сочувственно отметив поэтическое дарование Хомякова, причисляет его, наряду с Шевыревым и Тютчевым, к «немецкой школе» поэтов. В терминологии 20-х годов «немецкая школа» была синонимом философского, романтического направления в поэзии.

Характеризуя поэзию Хомякова, И. Киреевский пишет, что его стихи «всегда дышат мыслью и чувством»¹⁴. В 1830 году, рецензируя названную статью Киреевского, Пушкин вполне присоединяется к его мнению о Хомякове. Пушкин пишет: «Из молодых поэтов немецкой школы г. Киреевский упоминает о Шевыреве, Хомякове и Тютчеве. Истинный талант двух первых неоспорим»¹⁵. Позднее, в предисловии к «Путешествию в Арзрум» Пушкин подтвердит свое высокое мнение о стихах Хомякова: «Из поэтов, бывших в турецком походе, знал я только об А. С. Хомякове и об А. Н. Муравьеве. Оба находились в армии графа Дибича. Первый написал в то время несколько прекрасных лирических стихотворений»¹⁶. И отзыв Киреевского, и отзывы Пушкина относятся к раннему периоду поэтической деятельности Хомякова (к периоду, который в основном нас и интересует), и с ними нельзя не считаться.

Начало творческого пути Хомякова было несомненно обещающим. Его стихи 20-х- начала 30-х годов привлекали ясностью и прозрачностью поэтического замысла. В них недоставало порой лиризма, не хватало увлеченности чувством, но этот недостаток отчасти искупался строгой выдержанностью мысли. Интересно, что это хорошо осознавал сам Хомяков. Он говорил о своих стихах: «Без притворного смирения я знаю про себя, что мои стихи, когда хороши, держат-

¹⁴ Полное собр. сочинений И. В. Киреевского, М., 1911, т. 2, стр. 25.

¹⁵ А. С. Пушкин. Денница, — Полное собр. соч. в десяти томах, т. 7, М.-Л., 1951, стр. 118.

¹⁶ А. С. Пушкин. Полное собрание сочинений в десяти томах, т. 6, стр. 639.

ся мыслью, т. е. прозатор везде проглядывает...»¹⁷. С первых же своих поэтических опытов Хомяков выступает как поэт мысли по преимуществу. Не удивительно, что круг его тем в основном тот же, что у других поэтов философского направления. Да и не один круг тем. Самые приемы, принципы построения, наконец, язык поэзии выказывают значительную общность.

В ранних стихах Хомякова очень часты пантеистические мотивы: изображение человека и вселенной, воспринимаемых как единство, как неразрывное. Пантеизм — характерная черта всех поэтов мысли. Это не случайно. Пантеистами по своим философским взглядам были не только Спасского и Шеллинг, которыми так увлекались русские любомудры в 20-30-ые годы 19-го столетия; пантеистами были Гегель и Шиллер. Пантеизм по сути своей близок поэтическому видению мира, и потому он так часто становился философией поэтов. По отношению к поэтам-философам это, разумеется, особенно понятно и естественно.

Одно из первых пантеистических стихотворений Хомякова — его стихотворение 1827 года «Желание»:

Хотел бы я разлиться в мире,
Хотел бы с солнцем в небе течь,
Звездой, в сумрачном эфире,
Ночной светильник свой зажечь.

Хотел бы зыбью стеклянной
Играть в бездонной глубине,
Или лучом зари румяной
Скользить по плещущей волне...

Как и большинство стихотворений подобного рода, пантеистических по своему характеру, и это стихотворение Хомякова поддается двойному осмыслению. Прямой смысл — человек хочет слиться с природой, жить с нею и в ней. Но, помимо этого прямого осмысления, возможно и другое, метафорическое, основанное на скрытом, хотя и привычном значении образа. «Хотел бы... звездой, в сумрачном эфире, ночной светильник свой зажечь» — это и желание быть звездой, и быть в жизни как звезда, как горящий

¹⁷ См. Русский вестник, 1904, май, стр. 200.

во мраке светильник. Наличие второго, внутреннего плана делает стихотворение емким, глубокомысленным: мысль человека о слиянии с космосом, мысль «космическая» становится в нем одновременно и конкретной, живой, поэтической мыслью о человеке.

Речь здесь идет не столько о художественных достоинствах стихотворения, сколько о его возможностях — о художественных возможностях всякого стихотворения, написанного в таком роде и таком ключе. Конечно, Тютчеву подобные поэтические опыты удавались больше, но это не отменяет того факта, что в своих опытах Тютчев мог основываться на тех же, что и Хомяков, структурных принципах и соответственно вызывать тот же механизм двойственного восприятия слова. Чтобы убедиться в этом, стоит только вспомнить превосходное стихотворение Тютчева, впервые опубликованное в 1836 году в пушкинском «Современнике»:

Душа хотела б быть звездой,
Но не тогда, как с неба полуночи
Сии светила, как живые очи,
Глядят на сонный мир земной, —
Но днем, когда, сокрытые как дымом
Палящих солнечных лучей,
Они, как божества, горят светлей
В эфире чистом и незримом.

Стихотворение «Желание» у Хомякова далеко не единственное его пантеистическое стихотворение. Типологически к нему примыкают многие стихи Хомякова, притом разных лет: 1826 года — «Заря», 1840 года — «Видение», 1841 — «Nachtstück», «Сумрак вечерний тихо взошел...» и т. д. Все они более или менее сходны по своей структуре: они строятся на параллелизме внешнего, природного и внутреннего, человеческого. Это подобие, сопоставление, лежащее в основе стихотворения, и является смысловым, композиционным, стилистическим его ключом. Стихотворение чаще всего представляет собою одну развернутую метафору, один образ, и вся композиция стиха есть развитие, движение этого единого и многозначного образа. В результате, достигается необыкновенная цельность произведения, образуется

особенно тесное словесное единство, слова утяжеляются, делаются весомее, значительнее — и значительнее потому именно, что они воспринимаются в тесном ряду других слов. Стихотворение в целом производит впечатление предельно полновесного и очень насыщенного — насыщенного мыслью, высказанной и недосказанной. У Хомякова это очень похоже на Тютчева. Хомяков — поэт вообще многим Тютчева напоминает. У них в чем-то близкая поэтика, у них особенно часто встречаются более или менее прямые тематические и даже фразеологические дублеты. При всей своей неповторимости, при всем своем подчеркнутым «дилетантизмом», Тютчев не стоял особняком в русской поэтической культуре. Он поэт мысли не только сам по себе, но и потому что его поэзия во многом идет в русле поэтического направления, называемого философским.

Подобно тому, как мы это видели у Веневитинова и Баратынского, и у Хомякова тоже с темой пантеистической — духовного единства человека и природы — оказывается теснейшим образом связанной тема поэта. Поэт для Хомякова — тот, кто призван вдохнуть жизнь в мертвую природу:

... Кто даст ей голос?... Луч небесный
На перси смертного упал,
И смертного покров телесный
Жильца бессмертного приял.

Он к небу взор возвел спокойный,
И богу гимн в душе возник;
И дал земле он голос стройный,
Творенью метвому язык.

(«Поэт», 1827 г.)

Тема поэта у Хомякова одна из главных, ведущих тем — и это на протяжении всего его творческого пути. Ей посвящены полное задушевного чувства стихотворение «Сон» («Я видел сон, что будто я певец...»), «Жаворонок, орел и поэт», «Вдохновение», «Видение» и т. д. Стихи, посвященные поэту и поэзии, при том что в основе имеют единую концепцию, характерную в целом для философской лирики 20-30-х годов, у Хомякова, тем не менее, достаточно оригинальны и разнообразны по своим мотивам. Для Хомякова

поэт бессмертен, поэт божественен, но он в то же время и трагичен. Его бессмертие в способности творить жизнь, его трагедия — в невозможности всякий раз материально воплотить тот мир, который живет в его воображении. Таков основной мотив прекрасного стихотворения « Два часа »:

... Но есть поэту час страданья,
Когда восстанет в тьме ночной
Вся роскошь дивная созданья
Перед задумчивой душой,
Когда в груди его сберется
Мир целый образов и снов
И новый мир сей жизни рвется,
Стремится к звукам, просит слов.

Но звуков нет в устах поэта,
Молчит окованный язык,
И луч божественного света
В его виденья не проник.
Вотще он стонет исступленный:
Ему не внемлет Феб скупой,
И гибнет мир новорожденный
В груди бессильной и немой.

Стихи эти исполнены поэтической силы. Как и во всех произведениях Хомякова, в основе их лежит прямая мысль, но мысль эта сама по себе уже есть поэзия.

Среди стихотворений Хомякова особой известностью — в частности, и в негативном плане¹⁸ — пользуются так называемые славянофильские стихи. Это прежде всего стихи о России. Оставляя в стороне их политический смысл — который к тому же очевиден, — нужно сказать, что и эти стихи по своему жанру, по общему характеру своему примыкают к философской лирике. Это все философские стихи, потому что в них не столько сама Россия, сколько мысль о России — в них то самое, что позднее, уже в 60-ые годы,

¹⁸ Всегда с насмешкой говорили о « славянских » стихах Хомякова Белинский и Добролюбов. Белинский, например, писал в рецензии « Провинциальная жизнь »: « На г. Хомякова друзья его смотрят, как на представителя в поэзии славянского элемента... Стихи г. Хомякова... столько хороши, сколько могут быть хороши славянские стихи... » (В. Г. Белинский. Полное собр. соч., т. 7, стр. 636-637).

чуть по-своему и сильнее выскажет Достоевский » и что он назовет « русской мыслью »¹⁹.

И вот за то, что ты смиренна,
Что в чувстве детской простоты,
В молчанье сердца сокровенна,
Глагол Творца прияла ты, —
Тебе Он дал свое призванье,
Тебе Он светлый дал удел:
Хранить для мира достоянье
Высоких жертв и чистых дел;
Хранить племен святое братство,
Любви живительный сосуд,
И веры пламенной богатство,
И правду, и бескровный суд.

(« России », 1840 г.)

Мысль, лежащая в основе этого стихотворения, типично славянофильская, она достаточно реакционна, хотя и не в грубом, плоском смысле этого слова. Но для нас сейчас особенно важно, что это не просто мысль, тем более не случайная мысль, а целая философская концепция. Это вообще характерная особенность философской лирики. Концепционность, устойчивость и тесная связь — одна из существеннейших примет направления, которое поставило себе целью создание в России поэзии мысли.

Философский характер стихотворений Хомякова о России проявляется не только в их концепционности. Он сказывается и в стилистике этих стихотворений, в особенностях словоупотребления, в частности. У Хомякова — явное и сознательное тяготение к словесной архаике, которая сама по себе уже настраивает читателя на возвышенный лад, выводит читательское восприятие за рамки обыденного: « Услышь же глас судьбы, воспрянь в сияньи новом » (« Мечта »), « пробудися, Киев, снова, падших чад своих зови » (« Киев »), « мысленные моря », « новой мысли эмпирей » (« И. В. Киреевскому ») и пр., и пр. Как и в других отношениях, и здесь наблюдается близость Хомякова к Тютчеву. У них обоих особый язык, который Тынников, го-

¹⁹ См. Критическое обозрение в журнале « Время », Пбг, 1861, т. I, стр. 18, 34.

воря об одном Тютчеве, называет «изысканно архаическим».

Интересно у Хомякова употребление и соответственно восприятие отдельных фразеологизмов. Он, естественно, не только пользуется привычными, готовыми словесными формулами, принятыми в философской лирике, но и употребляет фразеологизмы, которые характерны прежде всего для него самого, для собственного строя мыслей. Таково, например, его выражение «жизнь духа» и «дух жизни»²⁰. В связи с мыслью о России оно у Хомякова встречается довольно часто: в стихотворении «России» — «И в нем сокрытого глубоко ты духа жизни допроси...»; в стих. «Киев» — «...потекут они толпой, к жизни духа, к духу жизни возрожденные тобой!»; в стихотворении «В альбом В. В. Ганке» — «Не дай ей рабского смиренья, не дай ей гордости слепой, и дух мертвящий, дух сомненья в нем духом жизни успокой». В каждом из приведенных стихотворных кусков выражение «дух жизни» звучит достаточно неопределенно и многосмысленно — как, впрочем, это и бывает сплошь и рядом в лирических стихотворениях. Но в целом у Хомякова выражение это, неоднократно повторенное в близких контекстах, в разных произведениях, но в связи с одной темой, приобретает вместе с тем и особую значительность, какой-то хотя и таинственный, но постоянный смысл. Оно само по себе уже напоминает о Хомякове и о его славянофильской концепции России. Фразеологизм становится своеобразным стилистическим спутником, стилистической приметой философской поэзии Хомякова. И так не в одном только этом примере. Когда мы определяем лирику Хомякова как философскую по преимуществу, мы имеем в виду не только тематические, идеологические и структурные ее особенности, но особенности ее стилистики — чешской системы.

Наряду с Веневитиновым и Хомяковым, к видным пред-

²⁰ Это выражение Хомякова не раз иронически обыгрывалось в полемике, которую вели революционные демократы со славянофилами. Это сделал Щедрин в сказке «Коняга». Добролюбов обыграл фразеологизм в специальной пародии на Хомякова: «Но не поддадимся мы слепой рутине: мы дадим дух жизни и самой машине».

ставителям раннего периода «поэзии мысли» в России относится и Шевырев. Его поэтическая деятельность падает главным образом на конец 20-х начало 30-х гг. 19-го столетия. Его стихи более позднего времени немногочисленны, да и по значению своему уступают его более ранним произведениям. Шевырев — поэт почти целиком укладывается в эпоху, когда философское направление в русской поэзии делало еще только первые шаги.

Как и Хомяков, Шевырев был встречен большими надеждами. Его ранние опыты приветствовали Пушкин, Баратынский, И. Киреевский, Крылов. Очевидно, не из одной только любезности Пушкин пишет Шевыреву в Рим в письме от 29 апреля 1830 года: «Возвратитесь обогащенные воспоминаниями, новым знанием, вдохновениями, возвратитесь и оживите нашу дремлющую северную литературу»²¹.

С другой стороны, в глазах бывших «любомудров» Шевырев был достаточно крупной фигурой, чтобы его можно было противопоставить пушкинскому направлению и пушкинским эпигонам²². В письме к нему в Италию в 1831 г. Мельгунов писал: «Приезжай, будь корифеем новой школы... положи основание литературе ученой, в противоположность прежней беллетристике, и тебя подхватит дюжий хор, и наши соловьи Хомяков, Языков к тебе пристанут...»²³.

Когда Мельгунов говорит о «новой школе», он явно имеет в виду философскую школу в поэзии, и среди поэтов этой школы он видит и Шевырева. В этом по крайней мере Мельгунов не ошибался.

Одно из самых первых произведений Шевырева — его стихотворение «Я есмь». Оно написано в 1825 году восемнадцатилетним поэтом и получило одобрение Баратынского. Баратынский писал о нем Пушкину: «Однакожь позволь тебе указать на пьесу под заглавием «Я есмь». Сочинитель мальчик лет осмнадцати и, кажется, подает надежду. Слог

²¹ А. С. Пушкин. Полное собр. соч. в десяти томах, т. Ю, М.-Л., 1951, стр. 284.

²² См. об этом в статье М. Аронсона - Д. Веневитинов, С. Шевырев, А. Хомяков. Стихотворения, Советский писатель, 1937, с. 109-110.

²³ Цитируется по статье М. Аронсона, там же.

не всегда точен, но есть поэзия, особенно сначала. На конце метафизика, слишком темная для стихов»²⁴. Стихотворение «Я есмь» несет на себе несомненные следы ученичества. Но оно имеет для нас определенный интерес, потому что в нем уже есть то, что получит свое развитие в более зрелых произведениях Шевырева: установка на поэзию мысли во всем и, в частности, характерная для поэзии мысли композиция, основанная на строго логическом сцеплении понятий, на строгой расчлененности, подчеркивающей основные узлы мысли, основные ее ходы.

Стихотворение интересно и тем, что оно наглядно показывает, у кого именно учился Шевырев, за кем он следует. Бросается в глаза прямая зависимость раннего поэтического опыта Шевырева от поэзии Державина. Это сказывается и в жанре стихотворения: особая, чисто «державинская» разновидность оды, без строгой выдержанности, с принципиальным отказом от одической нормативности. Она проявляется и в близости мотивов, словаря, ритма. Чтобы убедиться в этом, сравним два отрывка соответственно из стихотворения Шевырева «Я есмь» и стихотворения Державина «Бог».

У Шевырева:

Да будет! — был глагол творящий
Средь бездн ничтожества немых,
Из мрака смерти — свет живящий
Ответствует на глас — и вмиг
Из волн ожившего эфира
Согласные светила мира
По гласу времени летят,
.

Я есмь! — и в сей глагол единый совершенной
Слился нестройный тварей хор,
И глас гармонии был отзыв во вселенной,
И примирен стихий раздор...

У Державина:

... Ты есть! — природы чин вещает,
Гласит мое мне сердце то,

²⁴ Е. А. Баратынский. *Стихотворения, поэмы, проза, письма*, М., 1951, стр. 486.

Меня мой разум уверяет,
Ты есть! — и я уж не ничто.
Частица целой я вселенной,
Поставлен, мнится мне, в почтенной
Средине естества я той... и пр., и пр.

Связь Шевырева — и не только раннего — с Державиным очевидна, и она дополнительно проясняет общую зависимость, которая существует между философским направлением в русской лирике и державинской поэтикой. Тьнянов писал в статье «Вопрос о Тютчеве»: «Имя Державина, конечно, должно быть особо выделено в вопросе о Тютчеве. Державин — это была та монументальная форма философской лирики, от которой он отправляется»²⁵. Слова Тьнянова в равной мере могли бы быть отнесены и к Шевыреву. У Шевырева, быть может, даже заметнее эта зависимость от Державина.

Философское направление поэзии Шевырева проявляется прежде всего в выборе тематики: у него это все знакомые уже нам и характерные для всей поэзии темы природы в ее единстве с человеком и его духовной жизнью, темы поэта и поэзии как посредника между человеком и природой. В своих стихотворениях Шевырев, подобно Веневитинову и Хомякову, Баратынскому и Тютчеву, пантеист. Но его пантеистические стихи — это не только прорывы в тайны космические, но и главным образом в тайны человеческие. И в этом тоже он близок к поэтам философской школы. Он пишет в стихотворении «Стансы» (1826 г.):

Когда безмолствуешь, природа,
И дремлет шумный твой язык,
Тогда душе моей свобода,
Я слышу в ней призывный клик.
Живее сердца наслажденья,
И мысль возвышенна, светла;
Как будто в мир преображенья
Душа из тела перешла.
.

Когда же мрачного покрова
Ты сбросишь девственную тень

²⁵ Юрий Тьнянов. *Архаисты и новаторы*, Л., Прибой, 1929, стр. 382.

И загремит живое слово,
И яркий загорится день:
Тогда заботы докучают
И гонит труд души покой,
И песни сердца умолкают,
Когда я слышу голос твой.

Природа в стихотворении Шевырева не просто тесно связана с человеком; она как будто и существует главным образом для того, чтобы объяснить человека. Ее тайны — это и человеческие тайны. Само обращение поэта к природе вызвано стремлением глубже проникнуть в эти тайны и найти для них единственно возможные человеческие слова. Пантеистическая лирика оказывается на поверку глубоко психологической. И это важнейшая особенность поэзии мысли в целом и, может быть, самое большое ее достижение.

Среди излюбленных мотивов пантеистической лирики Шевырева одно из первых мест занимают мотивы ночи. Это же мы наблюдаем и в лирике Тютчева. Откуда такое пристрастие, чем оно объясняется? В стихотворении Шевырева 1829 года «Ночь» читаем:

Немая ночь! прими меня,
Укрой испуганную думу;
Боюсь рассеянного дня,
Его бессмысленного шуму.
Там дремлют праздные умы,
Лепечут ветреные люди,
И свет их пуст, как пусты груди.
Бегу его в твои потьмы,
Где смело думы пробегают,
Не сторожит их чуждый зрак,
Где искры мыслей освещают
Кипящий призраками мрак.
Как все в тебе согласно, стройно!
Как ты велика и спокойна!
И скольких тайн твоя полна
Пророческая тишина!
Какие думы и порывы
Ты в недрах зачала святых,
И сколько подвигов твоих
Присвоил день самолюбивый!

Главный смысловой план здесь — человек и его психология, душевный мир человека. И здесь все тайны, сгущенные до предела — ночные тайны. Одно с другим не может не быть связанным. Без тайн нет подлинной психологии, она не нужна и ее не бывает там, где все понятно. Тема ночи в поэзии философской школы существует не самоцельно, а как средство к поэтическому постижению самых заповедных человеческих глубин.

Для поэта в ночи все загадочно и все сосредоточено на внутреннем, все существует не внешне, а в самом себе. В ночи, таким образом, заключена природа всего, и только там она и постигается. Это-то и близко поэту, и особенно поэту-мыслителю. Ночь — это заповедное, непоказанное и потому особенно привлекательное. Это в равной мере верно и в прямом и в метафорическом смысле, это одинаково справедливо и для природы и для человека. Мотивы ночи оказываются необычайно органичными для поэзии, внутренне они обуславливаются всей ее поэтикой, ее поэтическими и идеологическими целями.

Еще в 1826 году Веневитинов писал в своей статье «О состоянии просвещения в России»: «У нас язык поэзии превращается в механизм; он делается орудием бессилия, которое не может себе дать отчета в своих чувствах...»²⁶.

В этих словах Веневитинова заключена уже мысль о необходимости для русской поэзии обновления не только тематического, не только в ее содержании, но и обновления ее языка и стиха. Мысль эта, естественно, была близка всем поэтам философской школы: те, кто видели в себе создателей нового направления в поэзии, не могли не думать о таком языке и о таких стиховых формах, которые отвечали бы новым важным поэтическим задачам. Попытку осуществить эту мысль на практике и сделал в 30-ые годы Шевырев.

В своем известном «Послании к А. С. Пушкину» Шевырев впервые намечает и развивает свою программу будущего языка русской поэзии. Он утверждает

²⁶ Д. В. Веневитинов. *Избранное*, изд. Художественная литература, М., 1956, стр., 212.

необходимость поэзии мысли, и он выступает против приглаженного, стертого языка, лишённого силы и потому неспособного выразить мысль. Мысль не может выражаться вялыми и осторожными словами, языком, который не допускает свободного с собой обращения. А именно таким представляется Шевыреву язык современной ему поэзии:

Что ж ныне стал наш мощный богатырь?
Он, гальскою диетой замучен,
Весь испитой, стал бледен, вял и скучен,
И прихотлив, как лакомый визирь,
Иль сибарит, на розах почивавший,
Недужные стенанья издававший,
Когда под ним сминался лепесток.
Так наш язык: от слова ль праздный слог
Чуть отогнешь, небрежно ли вынешь,
Теснее ль в речь мысль новую водвинешь, —
Уж болен он, не вынесет, кряхтит,
И мысль на нем как груз какой лежит!
Лишь песенки ему да брани милы;
Лишь только б ум был тихо усыплен
Под рифменный отборный пустозвон.

Язык русской поэзии, каков он есть, явно не удовлетворяет Шевырева, несмотря на то даже, что за ним стоит имя Пушкина. В своем послании Пушкину — не случайно именно Пушкину — он высказывает резко критические суждения о языке и провозглашает свою языковую программу. Он идет дальше: он не только на практике — как мы увидим, не очень удачно — старается освежить поэтический стиль, но и делает попытку общей реформы традиционного русского стихосложения. Эта попытка реформы, введение на русской почве итальянской октавы, которая должна была заменить привычные ямбы и хорей, была осуществлена им в переводе седьмой песни «Освобожденного Иерусалима» Торквато Тассо. В предисловии к переводу Шевырев так обосновывал свой опыт: «Эти октавы, где нарушались все условные правила нашей просодии, где объявлялся совершенный развод мужским и женским рифмам, где хорей впутывался в ямб, где две гласные принимались за один слог, — эти октавы, пугающие всею резкостью нововведений, могли ли быть кстати

в то время, когда слух наш лелеяла какая-то нега однообразных звуков, когда мысль спокойно дремала под эту мелодию и язык превращал слова в одни звуки?...²⁷ И далее: «Стихи мои слишком резки, часто жестки и даже грубы. Но этому есть причины. Первая та, что резкость есть неизбежная черта всякого нововведения в языке. Усилие должно быть резко — даже до грубости, а без усилия невозможно ничто новое — даже творческое, не только переводное, где вдохновение всегда уступает половину места труду. Вторая причина состояла в том, что я утомлен и раздражен был изнеженностью отечественного стиха и хотел этому противодействовать, сколько слабые силы мне позволяли, и, может быть, впал в крайность. С последними звуками нашей монотонной музыки в ушах я уехал в Италию... Обратился к нашим первым мастерам — нашел в них силу... устыдился изнеженности, слабости и скудости нашего современного языка русского... Все свои чувства и мысли об этом я выразил тогда в моем послании к А. С. Пушкину, как представителю нашей поэзии...»²⁸.

Если вчитаться в то, о чем пишет Шевырев, то нельзя не признать основательности многих его суждений. Это относится прежде всего к требованию Шевырева раскрепостить русский стих и русский язык, дать им больше свободы. В этом требовании нет ничего одиозного; больше того, оно постоянно заявляет о себе на протяжении всей истории русской поэзии, составляя одну из самых живых ее тенденций. Цели Шевырева сами по себе заслуживают всяческого внимания. Его беда, его неудача не от плохих целей, а от негодности средств. Борясь за свободу языка, он готов был пренебречь его законами. Стремясь раскрепостить русский стих, он предлагал заменить утвердившуюся со времен Тредиаковского и Ломоносова силлабо-тонику итальянским силлабическим стихом, который чужд самой природе русского языка.

Чтобы вводить новое, нужно иметь чувство соразмер-

²⁷ С. П. Шевырев. *Стихотворения*, Л., Советский писатель, 1939, стр. 148-149.

²⁸ С. П. Шевырев. *Стихотворения*, Л., Советский писатель, 1939, стр. 149.

ности, художественный такт и безупречный вкус. К тому же подлинный реформатор должен быть отважен не только в замысле, но и в исполнении. Всего этого Шевыреву явно не доставало. Он и в нововведениях своих был более смел в теории, нежели на практике. Его оригинальные стихи выглядят в общем достаточно традиционными. Правда, в языке его стихов обнаруживаются порой неожиданные прозаизмы, например: слова ломбард, капитал, мусор, сравнение сердца девушки с туалетной комнатой и т. д. Но, во-первых, таких примеров у Шевырева не так уж много, а во-вторых, подобное мы можем встретить и у других поэтов, его предшественников и современников — поэтов, которые вовсе не претендовали на роль реформаторов. В поэзии Шевырева наблюдается принципиальное отталкивание от жестких норм в метрике, встречаются в стихах ритмические перебои, стяжения и пр. Но и это не только не всегда удачно у Шевырева, но и не очень ново. Несомненно, что Шевырев — поэт пикогда не поднимался до идеалов своей поэтической программы. И мы уже знаем, что это относится, в известной мере и по разным основаниям, и к Веневитинову, и к Хомякову.

Ни Веневитинов, ни Хомяков, ни тем более Шевырев не были перворазрядными явлениями в русской поэзии. Для поэзии иногда более важными были их поэтические декларации, чем то, как они воплощались ими на практике. И тем не менее без знания этих поэтов и их творчества нельзя знать сколько-нибудь полно и основательно историю русской поэзии. Они не были перворазрядным явлением в поэзии, но они несомненно явление значительное. Не говоря уже о том, что у каждого из названных поэтов можно найти несколько образцовых лирических стихотворений — а это и само по себе не так уж мало, — поэты эти намечали и прокладывали в поэзии важные пути, они искали и шли в том направлении, где другими после них и вместе с ними были открыты большие поэтические ценности. Среди этих других на первом плане имена Баратынского и Тютчева — поэтов, которым вполне удалось осуществить то, к чему только стремились Веневитинов, Хомяков и Шевырев.

В научной литературе широко бытует мнение, по которому русская поэзия мысли находится в зависимости от натурфилософии Шеллинга. Для такого мнения как будто есть все основания. Во всяком случае влияние Шеллинга на русскую интеллигенцию 20-30 годов 19-го века, и главным образом интеллигенцию московскую и литературную, подтверждается многими фактами и документами. Баратынский писал в письме Пушкину в январе 1826 года: «Надо тебе сказать, что московская молодежь помешана на трансцендентальной философии»²⁹. Говоря о «трансцендентальной философии», Баратынский явно имеет в виду Шеллинга. Несколькою годами спустя И. Киреевский, один из крупнейших представителей «московской молодежи», утверждал в своей статье: «Натуральная философия, названная так по случайной особенности своего происхождения, была последней ступенью, до которой возвысилось новейшее любомудрие. Идеализм Фихте и реализм Спинозы, догматизм схоластики и критицизм Канта, предустановленная гармония Лейбница и вещественная последовательность английского и французского материализма, одним словом, все развитие новейшего мышления от Декарта до Шеллинга совместились в системе сего последнего и нашло в ней свое окончательное развитие, дополнение и оправдание»³⁰. В. Одоевский, другой представитель московских любомудров, признается: «Моя юность протекала в ту эпоху, когда метафизика была такою же общею атмосферою, как ныне политические науки»³¹. К этим свидетельствам добавим факты. В 1822 году Тютчев поселяется в Мюнхене, где только что был открыт университет и куда пригласили для чтения лекций Шеллинга. «Тютчев ревностно изучал немецкую философию, часто водился с знаменитостями немецкой науки, между прочим с Шеллингом...»³². В 1826 году Баратынский шутливо пишет:

²⁹ Е. А. Баратынский. Стихотворения, поэмы, проза, письма. М., 1951, стр. 486.

³⁰ И. В. Киреевский. Деятельный век, - Полное собрание сочинений И. В. Киреевского, т. I, М., 1911, стр. 92.

³¹ Цит. по книге И. И. Замойкина Романтизм двадцатых годов 19-го столетия в русской литературе, т. 2, СПб.-М., 1913, стр. 383.

³² И. С. Аксаков. Биография Ф. И. Тютчева, М., 1886, стр. 42.

книгу по эстетике, составленную Галичем, одним из первых русских шеллингианцев. В 1830 году в Мюнхене слушали лекции Шеллинга Петр и Иван Киреевские и т. д. и т. п. Если при этом вспомнить все те видимые параллели с отдельными положениями шеллингианской философии, которые встречаются в стихотворениях Веневитинова, Хомякова, Шевырева, Баратынского, Тютчева, то картина станет совсем ясной. Сам по себе факт зависимости русских поэтов мысли от Шеллинга не может вызывать сомнений. Однако все дело в характере этой зависимости, в том, что именно и как брали поэты у Шеллинга.

Большинство ученых, и весьма авторитетных, считают, что философское направление в русской поэзии первой половины 19-го века находилось в прямой и полной зависимости от натурфилософских идей Шеллинга. В статье «Опыт философской лирики» Л. Я. Гинзбург писала: «Шеллингианцы, требующие от литературы «отечественных идей» — это противоречие, характерное и для всей дальнейшей судьбы группировки, с ее славянофильством, заквашенным на немецкой философии»³³. Н. И. Мордовченко, говоря о Шевыреве, отмечал: «В стихах Шевырева, воскрешающих одические принципы, ярко отразились идеи и эмоции натурфилософской эстетики Шеллинга; по-шеллингиански Шевырев пытался философски раскрывать явления природы как символы духа». И далее Н. И. Мордовченко проводит прямую нить от Шевырева к Тютчеву: «Образы и идеи таких стихотворений Шевырева, как «Стансы», «Ночь», «Сон» и др. в своей философской основе во многом сходны с соответствующими образами лирики Тютчева»³⁴. Еще более определенно в отношении Тютчева заявляет в своей интересной работе Л. В. Пумпянский: у Тютчева «центральные циклы: ночь, хаос и сумерки, в которых полнее всего изложено шеллингианское учение о двусмысленности природы и человека». И

³³ Лидия Гинзбург. *Опыт философской лирики (Веневитинов)*, Поэтика, Сборник статей, т. У, Л., 1929, стр. 76.

³⁴ *История русской литературы*, т. 6, АН СССР, М.-Л., 1953, стр. 452-453.

еще: «В том, что вообще поэзия Тютчева есть шеллингианская поэзия, Трудно сомневаться...»³⁵.

Итак, поэты философского направления — шеллингианцы, и не только по своим философским взглядам, но и в своем творчестве, в поэзии. В стихах крупнейших и даровитейших представителей этого направления изложено шеллингианское учение... В какой мере все это справедливо? Чтобы решить этот вопрос, остановимся на нескольких конкретных примерах, где сходство образов и идей поэтов с Шеллингом кажется особенно очевидным.

У Хомякова есть стихотворение «Заря»:

... Когда ты в небе голубом
Сияешь, тихо догорая,
Я мыслю, на тебя взирая:
Заря, тебе подобны мы —
Смешенье пламени и хлада,
Смещение небес и ада,
Слияние лучей и тьмы.

Концепция этого стихотворения несомненно близка Шеллингу. Шеллинг утверждал в «философских исследованиях о сущности человеческой свободы»: в человеке вся мощь темного начала, и в нем же вся сила света. «В нем оба сосредоточения: и крайняя глубь бездны и высший предел неба»³⁶. И поэт и философ говорят как будто бы об одном и том же. Но у философа это часть его понимания мира, неотделимая от всей системы его общих взглядов на природу и человека; у поэта это звучит как психологическое, человеческое открытие, понятное и вне всякой умозрительной системы. Мотивы оказываются одновременно и общими, и в чем-то совсем не общими, различными.

Широко известно превосходное стихотворение Тютчева,

³⁵ Л. В. Пумпянский. *Поэзия Ф. И. Тютчева - Уралия. Тютчевский альманах*. Ленинград, Прибой, 1928, стр. 16, 27 (Разрядка в тексте этой и предыдущей цитаты моя - Е. М.).

³⁶ Шеллинг. *Философские исследования о сущности человеческой свободы*. СПб, 1908, стр. 30.

пантеистическое по своему характеру и уже этим близкое философии Шеллинга:

Тени сизые смешались,
Цвет поблекнул, звук уснул —
Жизнь, движенье разрешились
В сумрак зыбкий, в дальний гул...
Мотылька полет незримый
Слышен в воздухе ночном...
Час тоски невыразимой!...
Все во мне, и я во всем...

Последние слова приведенного отрывка могли бы послужить эпиграфом к натурфилософской, пантеистической системе Шеллинга. И все-таки основная мысль стихотворения Тютчева, его внутренний пафос далеко выходит за пределы просто тезиса шеллинговой философии. У Тютчева не философский взгляд на первом плане, а сильное человеческое, поэтическое переживание, не мировой порядок, а откровение человеческой души. И опять-таки у Тютчева то же что и у Шеллинга, и в чем-то очень важном — совсем не то.

Еще заметнее это отличие при видимом сходстве на другом примере — так же из Тютчева. В цитированной уже нами работе о сущности человеческой свободы Шеллинг писал: «... в мире, каким мы теперь его видим, все порядок, норма и форма; и все же в основе по-прежнему еще лежит хаотическое и, кажется, будто оно может когда-нибудь прорваться снова; ничто в мире не производит на нас впечатления изначальности порядка и формы, но, напротив, все наводит на мысль о некотором *изначально — хаотическом*, введенном в рамки порядка. Это — непостижимая основа реальности вещей, неразложимый и, несмотря ни на какие усилия, несводимый к разуму остаток, вечно остающийся в основе вещей»³⁷. Сравним это со стихотворением Тютчева «О чем ты воешь ветр ночной?»:

О, страшных песен сих не пой
Про древний хаос, про родимый!

³⁷ Шеллинг. *Философские исследования о сущности человеческой свободы*, СПб, 1908, стр. 27 (Разрядка в тексте цитаты моя-Е.М.).

Как жадно мир души ночной
Внимает повести любимой!
Из смертной рвется он груди,
Он с беспредельным жаждет слиться!...
О, бурь заснувших не буди —
Под ними хаос шевелится!...

Изначальный хаос лежит в основе философских представлений Шеллинга, хаос — ключевой, композиционно и тематически решающий образ у Тютчева. Но у Шеллинга хаос — космическое понятие, некое предмирие, начало всех начал; у Тютчева это метафора, и она осмысливается как метафора, за нею читатель видит тайные и темные глубины человеческого духа, сильное подсознательное начало в человеке. Для Тютчева интересен только самый образ, лежащий в основе философского тезиса. При этом исходные логические связи его не интересуют. Ему важна не философская концепция в ее завершенности, не суждения в их строгой логической взаимозависимости и потому поданные как истина, а один лишь образ — образ, который был бы созвучен поэту и который помог бы проникнуть в заповедные человеческие глубины.

И Тютчев, и другие представители философского направления в русской поэзии брали у Шеллинга то, что им казалось нужным и близким, но они не излагали, да и не могли излагать стихами его учение. Умозрительная философия по самой сути своей не может быть переведена на язык поэзии. Односторонняя стройность логических построений противоречит особенностям поэтического мышления. Как справедливо заметил Белинский, «искусство не допускает к себе отвлеченных философских, а тем менее рассудочных идей: оно допускает только идеи поэтические»³⁸. В философии поэта может привлечь не система мирового порядка, — какой бы законченной и убедительной она не казалась, — а полная и впечатляющая картина мира.

И. Киреевский писал: «... когда к достоинству логическому присоединяется достоинство изящное, или нравственное, то уже этим соединением сил сам разум возвращается

³⁸ В. Г. Белинский. *Сочинения Александра Пушкина*, статья пятая - *Полное собрание сочинений*, т. 7, изд. АН СССР, М., 1955, стр. 312.

более или менее к своей первобытной полноте и потому приближается к истине»³⁹. Шеллинг русским поэтам потому и казался истинным, что они в его философии находили достоинство изящного, в его системе — поэтические красоты и поэтические образы. «Сам Шеллинг, — писал тот же И. Киреевский, — поэт там, где дает волю естественному стремлению своего ума»⁴⁰. Философию Шеллинга русские поэты-любомудры воспринимали не столько с точки зрения познавательной, сколько эстетически. И не одни только любомудры.

Аполлон Григорьев так вспоминал о Московском университете эпохи 20-30-х годов: «... университет весь полный трагических веяний недавней катастрофы и страшно отзывчивый на все тревожное и головокружительное, что носилось в воздухе под общими именами шеллингизма в мысли и романтизма в литературе...»⁴¹. Для Аполлона Григорьева философия Шеллинга есть нечто «головакружительное», и в этой оценке элемент эстетический явно преобладает. Еще показательнее в этом смысле признание Баратынского из его письма к Пушкину: «... я очень обрадовался случаю познакомиться с немецкой эстетикой. Нравится в ней собственная ее поэзия, но начала ее, мне кажется, можно опровергнуть философически»⁴².

Не одному Баратынскому, но и другим поэтам философского направления нравилась в Шеллинге больше всего «собственная его поэзия». И еще то у Шеллинга, что способно было питать поэзию. Натурфилософия для них была и очень поэтическим общим представлением о мире, и некой новой мифологией, кладовой готовых и очень емких образов⁴³. У Шеллинга поэты «заимствовали» не только поэти-

³⁹ И. Киреевский. *О характере просвещения Европы и о его отношении к просвещению России* - Полное собр. соч., т. I, М., 1911, стр. 197.

⁴⁰ И. Киреевский. Письмо А.И. Кошелеву, 1828 г., 1 октября - там же, стр. 14.

⁴¹ Аполлон Григорьев. *Воспоминания*. М., «Academia», 1930.

⁴² Е.А. Баратынский. Письмо А.С. Пушкину от 5-20 января 1826 г. - Е.А. Баратынский. *Стихотворения, поэмы, проза, письма*, М., 1951, стр. 486.

⁴³ Впервые мысль о философии как о «простой мифологии природы в модернизированной форме» высказана Л.В. Пумпянским - см.

ческую картину мироздания, но и отдельные поэтические образы-символы. Причем заимствование это было особого рода. То, что у Шеллинга существовало как одна из деталей общей, цельной системы мирового порядка, то у поэтов получало осмысление главным образом в связи с человеком, способствуя проникновению в человеческую сущность. Это не было слепым следованием за Шеллингом; это было использованием его мысли, его образа по-новому и по-своему, для человеческого самопознания — т. е. для того самого, что является первейшим предметом поэзии. Философская, обобщенная, космическая мысль в поэтическом контексте сужалась, выпадала из привычных логических связей, изменяла часто свое первоначальное содержание — и вместе с тем конкретизировалась, предельно очеловечивалась, делалась осязательнее, «личнее» и в чем-то нужнее.

Стихи Веневитинова, Хомякова, Тютчева, Баратынского живут, художественно воздействуют и вне осмысленной связи с философией Шеллинга. Можно не знать последнего и понимать, тем не менее, стихи этих поэтов, понимать в них образы, обязанные своим происхождением Шеллингу. И главное — понимать правильно, вполне, и совсем не обязательно в шеллинговском смысле. Все это лишнее доказательство далеко не простой, далеко не прямолинейной зависимости, которая существовала между немецкой натурфилософией и русской поэзией мысли. Параллели между философской лирикой первой половины 19-го века и Шеллингом весьма соблазнительны, но параллели эти, близость эта скорее все-таки внешняя, чем по существу, она в значительной мере кажущаяся. И в этом своеобразии взаимоотношений не только русских поэтов с немецкой философией, но, может быть, и вообще всякого поэта и философа. Настоящая поэзия не может строиться на метафизике, хотя и пользуется ею, когда это для нее удобно и полезно. Метафизика может служить арсеналом для поэзии, но она не может стать внутренним содержанием поэтического творчества.

Урания. *Тютчевский альманах. 1803-1928*. Ленинград, Прибой, 1928, стр. 21. Статья Пумпянского, *Поэзия ф. И. Тютчева*.

В своей работе «Опыт философской лирики» Л. Я. Гинзбург писала: «...любомудры 20-х гг... выступили не столько в качестве школы, сколько в качестве кружка, представлявшего интересы определенного поколения». Если это и справедливо в какой-то мере в отношении «любомудров» 20-х годов, то это никак нельзя отнести ко всей философской поэзии. Поэзия мысли, возникнув — а главное, осознав себя — первоначально в недрах сравнительно узкого литературного кружка, с течением времени становилась все более важным явлением в русской поэзии, становилась одним из значительнейших и основных ее направлений. При этом она нашла свое полное выражение не только в творчестве поэтов московской школы, не только у Баратынского и Тютчева, но и у раннего Лермонтова, и в поэзии Пушкина последнего периода: в его философских элегиях и — не в последнюю очередь — в его философических «маленьких трагедиях» с их принципиальной установкой на углубленный психологизм.

Утверждение философского направления в русской поэзии — это закономерный и важный шаг в ее развитии. Это установка на все больший психологизм в поэзии, установка на интенсивность (вместо прежней экстенсивности) поэтического познания мира. Поэзия проникает все больше внутрь, в ней все больше проявляется далеко не праздный интерес к непоказанным человеческим глубинам, к сложнейшей «диалектике души человека». И это было в полном соответствии с духом времени, с потребностями жизни; это было тем самым, что отвечало новой ступени художественного познания, познания человека. Замечательно, что тот же самый процесс, что и в поэзии, наблюдался — и даже неизмеримо больше — в русской прозе. То, что было у Баратынского, у Тютчева, — естественно, несколько по-другому, но в том же направлении — было и в прозе Лермонтова, у Толстого и Достоевского.

Философское направление в русской поэзии значительно не только для истории литературы, но и в известной степени для истории русской мысли. Оригинальная философская мысль, воплощенная в поэзии, едва ли не предшествовала в России оригинальной чисто умозритель-

ной философии. Русская мысль всегда отличалась непосредственностью и импульсивностью, и не удивительно, что голой схеме она часто предпочитала живую плоть поэтического образа. Готовые системы, философские построения западных мыслителей в России первой половины 19-го века воспринимались по-своему и в соответствии с собственным пониманием жизни и человека. Вместе с тем они сплошь и рядом разбирались поэтами по частям для выражения не отвлеченной, а конкретной и всегда неповторимой мысли через образ. Таким путем философия проникала в поэзию, через поэзию, главным образом через нее она доходила до широкой общественной аудитории. В России создавалась философская поэзия и одновременно своя, оригинальная поэтическая философия. И в этом не было ничего ни странного, ни исключительного.

Поэзия в известном смысле и при известных условиях тоже может стать философией. Для России 20-30-х годов 19-го века она определенно была ею. Поэзия тоже может быть мудростью. «Мудрецом» называл Тургенев Тютчева⁴⁴. Но поэзия не просто мудрость, она еще и запечатленная мудрость — во образе запечатленная. И в этом ее особенная сила. Не случайно и Тургенев, и Добролюбов, и Лев Толстой, и Блок проверяли свои раздумья не Шеллингом и Гегелем, а Тютчевым и Баратынским.

Евг. Маймин

⁴⁴ Тургенев писал А. А. Фету в письме от 16 июля 1860 г.: «Не хлопочи», — сказал мудрец Тютчев, — «безумство ищет». (И. С. Тургенев. Полное собрание сочинений и писем в двадцати восьми томах. Письма. Том четвертый. Издательство АН СССР, М.-Л., 1962, стр. 109).

GIBT ES URSLAVISCHE AUSLAUTGESETZE?

Wer im Inhaltsverzeichnis einer sogenannten historischen Grammatik des Germanischen, Slavischen oder Litauischen blättert, trifft dort hinter «Vokalismus» und «Konsonantismus» oder zwischen beiden auf eine Rubrik «Auslautgesetze». In dem betreffenden Kapitel findet er solche Lautgesetze zusammengefaßt, die — auch unter sonst gleichen Bedingungen — nicht in jeder beliebigen Stellung, sondern nur in der (Wort-) Auslautsilbe gelten. Das ist eine bemerkenswerte Erscheinung: sie findet sich (im Gegensatz etwa zum Griechischen und Lateinischen) zwar gleichermassen im Germanischen, Slavischen und Litauischen, jedoch mit einem auffälligen Unterschied: es handelt sich nämlich «bei dem, was man unter dem Begriff 'Germanische Auslautgesetze' zusammenfasst, fast ausschliesslich um Verlust von Konsonanten und Vokalen oder zum wenigsten (bei den Vokalen) um Quantitätsminderung» [Sperrungen von mir]¹; für das Litauische gilt dasselbe². Anders im Slavischen: wenn man dem Consensus der Handbücher glauben wollte, dann gäbe es bei der Entwicklung vom Indogermanischen zum Urslavischen nicht nur — wie im Germanischen und Litauischen — quantitative, sondern auch qualitative Auslautgesetze, d.h. Entwicklungen in der Auslautsilbe, die den für alle übrigen Stellungen geltenden Lautgesetzen widersprechen³.

¹ H. Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft I* (Sammlung Göschen 238), Berlin 1942, S. 115.

² A. Leskien, *Litauisches Lesebuch mit Grammatik und Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1919, S. 138 f.; J. Kuryłowicz, *L'accentuation des langues indo-européennes*, Krakau² 1958, S. 206.

³ Beispiele: idg. /āō/ā/ō/ > aksl. /a/ bzw. /o/, in der Auslautsilbe auch /ъ/; idg. aī/oī/ > aksl. /ě/, in der Auslautsilbe auch /i/; idg. /a/o/ + /m/n/ > aksl. /q/, in der Auslautsilbe auch /y/ъ/. Vgl. T. Milewski, *Rozwój fonetyczny wygłosu prastowiańskiego*, Slavia XI (1932), S. 1-32,

Dass es in der urslavischen Lautentwicklung quantitative Auslautgesetze gibt, wie Schwund von Konsonanten und Vokalen, Entnasalisierung, Vokalkürzung, — wird man mit Fug und Recht nicht bestreiten dürfen. Dagegen erscheint mir die Annahme qualitativer Auslautgesetze nicht nur methodisch bedenklich⁴, sondern auch — wie ich im folgenden zeigen möchte — zur diachronischen Herleitung des urslavischen Laut- und Formensystems überflüssig.

Ich gehe aus von einer Untersuchung der altkirchenslavischen Nominalflexion (vornehmlich der Substantive der *o*- und *a*-Klasse) und versuche die Beziehungen zu ermitteln, die zwischen der Gestalt der vokalischen Endungen im Aksl. und den Wandlungen des Vokalsystems vom Idg. zum Aksl. bestehen. Dabei wende ich — im Gegensatz zur (pseudo-)historischen Grammatik, die grundsätzlich mit nur zwei Zeitebenen (Idg. als Ausgang, Aksl. als Ziel) operiert — eine diachronische⁵ Methode an, die darin besteht, dass zwischen Ausgang und Ziel eine (prinzipiell unbegrenzte) Anzahl von Betrachtungsebenen (Etappen) eingeschoben wird; dabei erscheinen die Lautgesetze als diachronische Faktoren, deren Wirksamkeit jeweils zwischen zwei Etappen liegt; Analogie hingegen erscheint als synchronischer (monochronischer) Faktor jeweils einer bestimmten Etappe. Auf diese Art wird es möglich, das komplizierte Nacheinander innerhalb einer über mehr als ein Jahrtausend reichenden Entwicklungskette genauer zu erfassen, als die klassische Methode es vermochte.

225-264; J. J. Mikkola, *Urslavische Grammatik II*, §§ 167-173; J. M. Kořínek, *Od indoeuroopského prajazyka k praslovančine* (Bratislava 1948), S. 40-45; A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves I*, §§ 86-89; K. Horálek, *Úvod do studia slovanských jazyků*, Prag 1955, S. 121 f.; F. Liewehr, *Einiges über slavische Flexionsendungen*, *Z f Slav I* (1956), S. 10-21.

⁴ Mit Reduktionserscheinungen, z. B. Vokalkürzung, können qualitative Veränderungen einhergehen (H. Krahe, *op. cit.*, §§ 117 ff.). Das ist jedoch etwas grundsätzlich anderes als die postulierten rein qualitativen Auslautgesetze.

⁵ Anstelle der einfachen Unterscheidung von Syn- und Diachronie sollte man — mit Fourquet (*Annales de l'Université de Paris* 27/1 [1957], S. 23 ff.) — genauer von Mono- (Di-, Poly-) und Diachronie sprechen. Die Beschreibung eines Sprachzustandes ist monochronisch, die sogenannte historische Grammatik dichronisch, bestenfalls polychronisch; es fehlt ihr jedoch das Prinzip der zeitlichen Perspektive oder Diachronie.

Lautgesetzliche Entwicklung der Flexionsendungen

Der bedeutendste synchronische Wirkfaktor in der Geschichte der urslavischen Nominalflexion ist die Umgestaltung des Vokalismus der Endung bei vorausgehendem /j/ oder Palatalkonsonanten:

o - e			ъ - ѣ		
I. Sg.	rabomъ	konjemъ	N. A. Sg.	rabъ	konjъ
D. I. Du.	raboma	konjema	G. Pl.	rabъ	konjъ
D. Pl.	rabomъ	konjemъ	G. Pl.	glavъ	dušъ
N. A. Sg.	lěto	polje			
V. Sg.	glavo	duše		y - i	
I. Sg.	glavojō	dušejō	I. Pl.	raby	konji
y - ē			ě - i		
A. Pl.	raby	konjē	L. Sg.	rabě	konji
G. Sg.	glavy	dušē	L. Pl.	raběxъ	konjixъ
N. A. Pl.	glavy	dušē	N. A. Du.	lětě	polji
			D. L. Sg.	glavě	duši
			N. A. Du.	glavě	duši

Von den zusammen 37 Endungen in der *o*- und *a*-Klasse werden 22 von der Umgestaltung in der Stellung nach /j/ oder Palatalkonsonant betroffen⁶.

Es ist klar, daß dieser Vorgang nicht auf der Zeitebene des Aksl. liegt und deshalb nicht durch die Formel /o > e/ъ > ѣ/y > i/y > ē/ě > i/ dargestellt werden kann. Aber auch bei einer Projektion in die Zeitebene des Idg. (wie wir sie in den Handbüchern finden, z. B.: N. Sg. *-os/-ios > ...; A. Pl. *-āns/-iāns > ... usw.) begeben wir uns der wertvollen Möglichkeit, auf der Grundlage jener Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus eine zeitliche Zwischenebene (Etappe) für die diachronische Darstellung des Vokalsystems zu gewinnen. Eine solche Möglichkeit ist gegeben, wenn es uns — ohne rabulistische Kunstgriffe — ge-

⁶ Die Bedeutung dieser Erscheinung für die interne Rekonstruktion ist noch größer als es in der zahlenmäßigen Relation zum Ausdruck kommt, denn «evidence from alternating morphemes (...) has precedence over data from non-alternating morphemes» (H. M. Hoenigswald, *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction*, Chicago 1960, S. 111; vgl. auch S. 132).

lingt, die Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus als einen in sich einheitlichen Vorgang nachzuweisen. Bekanntlich macht das keine Schwierigkeiten: während vom Standpunkt des Aksl. immerhin vier der fünf Umgestaltungsformeln (o - e/ɤ - ɤ/y - i/y - ē) sich auf den Generalnenner *velar* ~ *palatal* bringen lassen, passt vom Standpunkt des Idg. auch die fünfte (ě - i) in dieses Schema: /ě/ < */oi/ ai/, also /ě - i/ < */oi - ei/. Was die mangelnde Parallelstellung von /y/ und /ē/ betrifft (angesichts /o - e/ɤ - ɤ/*oi - *ei/), so erweist sich diese bei diachronischer Betrachtung als gestörte Parallelstellung, die ehemals bestanden hat: /y/ < */on(s)/ān(s)/, also */ō - ē/. Wenn wir weiterhin für aksl. /y/ɤ/ɤ/ die aufgrund historischer Zeugnisse (Lehnbeziehungen)⁷ sicheren Vorstufen /ū/ū/ī/ einsetzen, so ergeben sich für die Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus folgende Formeln:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \bar{u} \rightarrow \bar{i} & \bar{u} \rightarrow \bar{i} & & \\ & \bar{o} \rightarrow \bar{e} & \bar{o} \rightarrow \bar{e} & oi \rightarrow ei \end{array}$$

Alle diese Formeln werden als einheitlicher Gesamtvorgang verständlich, wenn wir annehmen, daß dieser zu einer Zeit stattfand, als /oi/ (> ě) und /ei/ (> i) noch diphthongisch waren. Hieraus ergibt sich nun eine chronologische Beziehung zu den beiden ersten Palatalisierungen im Konsonantismus: da die zweite Palatalisierung die vollzogene oder doch wenigstens sich anbahnende Monophthongierung von /oi/ und /ei/ voraussetzt, die erste Palatalisierung hingegen eine Voraussetzung für die Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus bildet, kann man nachstehende Reihenfolge aufstellen:

- I) 1. Palatalisierung
- II) Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus
- III) Monophthongierung von /oi/ und /ei/
- IV) 2. Palatalisierung

Daraus wiederum ergibt sich ein chronologisches Gerippe für die Etappen des Vokalismus: wir können bestimmen, welche

⁷ M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse [1941-42]), S. 277-286; J. Kalima, *Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Ostseefinnischen*, Berlin 1955, S. 28 f., 41; Gy. Décsy, *Die Entsprechungen der gemeinslavischen Halbvokale im Finnischen und Ungarischen*, «Welt der Slaven» III (1958), 369-387.

Vokalphoneme zur Zeit der 1. Palatalisierung *palatal* waren, welche zur Zeit der 2. Palatalisierung *palatal* und welche zur Zeit der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus *velar* waren⁸.

Zu dem letzten Punkt bedarf es noch einer Präzisierung: es bleibt festzustellen, ob schlechthin alle *velaren* Vokale — unter den angegebenen Bedingungen — durch die entsprechenden *palatalen*, oder ob nur die *velar-gerundeten* durch die entsprechenden *palatal-ungerundeten* Vokale ersetzt wurden. In dieses Problem hinein spielt auch die Frage nach der Realisation der Fortsetzer von idg. /ā/ō/ā/ō/.

Wenn wir zunächst davon ausgehen, dass der baltoslavische Zusammenfall von idg. /ǎ/ und /ǒ/ früher liegt als die slavische Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus, so muss auffallen, dass an dieser Umgestaltung wohl der in Frage kommende Kurzvokal (idg. /ā/ō/ > aksl. /o/), nicht aber der entsprechende Langvokal (idg. /ā/ō/ > aksl. /a/) teilnimmt: *raba - konja / glava - duša*. Da nun in allen slavischen Sprachen als Fortsetzer des idg. Kurzvokals ein gerundeter (o), als Fortsetzer des idg. Langvokals ein ungerundeter Velarvokal (a) erscheint, wird man nicht zögern, dieses Verhältnis in die Zeitebene der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus zurückzuprojizieren und auch für sie ein Realisationsverhältnis /ā - ō/ anzunehmen (wobei natürlich über den Öffnungsgrad des /ō/ nichts ausgesagt, sondern nur seine Labialisierung postuliert wird)⁹. Dann ergibt sich für die Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus, dass von ihr nur die *velar-gerundeten*, nicht die *velar-ungerundeten* (und natürlich auch nicht die *palatalen*) Vokale betroffen wurden.

Wir gehen noch einen Schritt weiter und stellen die Hypo-

⁸ Weitere relativ-chronologische Anhaltspunkte lassen sich aus den Beziehungen des Slavischen mit den Nachbarsprachen gewinnen, und zwar für die Zeit vor I aus der indogermanischen Rekonstruktion, für die Zeit nach III und nach IV aus den Lehnbeziehungen mit dem Ostseefinnischen, Gotischen, Griechischen, Albanesischen usw. - Vgl. dazu auch Ch. E. Bidwell, *The Chronology of Certain Sound Changes in Common Slavic as Evidenced by Loans from Vulgar Latin* «Word», XVII (1961), 105-127, wo absolutchronologische Angaben versucht werden. Dazu neuerdings G. Y. Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic*, Heidelberg 1964, Kap. 1, 3-5.

⁹ Eine einstmals sehr offene Realisation des /o/ wird durch verschiedene übereinstimmende Zeugnisse nahegelegt; vgl. F. Liewehr, *Einführung in die historische Grammatik der tschechischen Sprache*, Brünn 1933, §§ 3-10; F. V. Mareš, *Vznik slovanského fonologického systému a jeho vývoj*, «Slavia» XXV (1956) (vgl. S. 446 f.); Shevelov, *op. cit.*, Kap. 10,5.

these auf, dass von der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus alle velar-gerundeten Vokale betroffen, und zwar in der Weise betroffen wurden, dass an ihre Stelle die hinsichtlich Öffnungsgrad, Quantität und Artikulationsart (oral ~ nasal) entsprechenden palatal-ungerundeten Vokale traten. Aufgrund dieser Ausnahmslosigkeitshypothese läßt sich das zu jener Zeit bestehende Vokalsystem mit einer Einteilung der Phoneme in drei Kategorien (velar-gerundete [+], palatal-ungerundete mit velar-gerundeter Entsprechung [—] und rundungsneutrale [O]) rekonstruieren, indem man neben den umgestalteten (vgl. S. 9a) auch die nicht betroffenen Flexionsendungen untersucht; es sind dies:

	a			e	
G. Sg.	raba	konja	V. Sg.	rabe	otъče ¹⁰
N. A. Du.	raba	konja			
N. A. Pl.	lěta	polja		u	
N. Sg.	glava	duša			
D. Pl.	glavamъ	dušamъ	D. Sg.	rabu	konju
L. Pl.	glavaxъ	dušaxъ	G. L. Du.	rabu	konju
I. Pl.	glavami	dušami	G. L. Du.	glavu	dušu
	ō			i	
A. Sg.	glavō	dušō	N. Pl.	rabi	konji

Sofern unsere Hypothese zutrifft, müssen alle diese Endungsvokale zur Zeit der Umgestaltung der anderen Endungen entweder palatal-ungerundet (—) oder aber rundungsneutral (O) gewesen sein. Dass für /a/ (O) gilt, haben wir oben schon als durchaus wahrscheinlich nachgewiesen; für /e/ des V. Sg. Mask. gilt (—) aufgrund seiner Herkunft aus idg. /ē/; bleiben also noch /u/i/ō/ zu untersuchen.

Aksl. /u/ geht auf idg. /au/ou/eu/ zurück, die im Baltoslavischen zusammengefallen sind. Als wahrscheinliche Realisation zur Zeit der Endungsumgestaltung können wir — aufgrund unserer Hypothese — [au] ansehen, vielleicht auch mit einem

¹⁰ Das aus idg. /ē/ stammende urslav. /e/ bewirkt 1. Palatalisierung, im Gegensatz zu dem später durch Endungsumgestaltung aus /o/ entstandenen urslav. /e/.

etwas geschlosseneren ersten Laut [əu], jedoch ohne Lippenrundung des ersten Lautes.

Aksl. /i/ des N.Pl. Mask. (< idg. -oi) bewirkt « zweite Palatalisierung » der vorangehenden Konsonanz, muss also auf einen Diphthong mit /i/ als zweitem und einem nicht-palatalen Vokal als erstem Glied zurückgehen. Eine Realisation [oi] kann aufgrund unserer Hypothese — wegen Nichtbeteiligung an der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus — ausgeschlossen werden; es bleiben also als Möglichkeiten [ai/əi]. Eine beweiskräftige Entscheidung ist nicht möglich; aufgrund des späteren Ergebnisses /i/ erscheint [əi] am wahrscheinlichsten.

Damit kommen wir zu einem der schwierigsten Probleme des urslavischen Endungsvokalismus, nämlich den verschiedenen Ergebnissen von idg. /oi/ai/: N.Pl. Mask. *rabi - konji* // L. Sg. Mask. *rabě - konji* / L. Sg. Fem. *glavě - duši* / N.A. Du. Fem. Neutr. *glavě - duši, lětě - polji*/. Solange man an eine idg. Intonationskorrelation glaubte, konnte man den Unterschied auf diese zurückführen; durch die Forschungen von Kuryłowicz ist diese Hypothese widerlegt worden¹¹. Bei unserer Darstellung ergibt sich insofern eine Schwierigkeit, als wir — wenn wir uns streng an unsere Grundhypothese von der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus halten wollen — mit zwei verschiedenen Diphthongen /oi/ und /əi/ (o.ä.) operieren müssen, was scheinbar nicht zu dem bisher allgemein angenommenen frühen baltoslavischen Zusammenfall von idg. /ā/ und /ō/ in allen Stellungen passt.

Dennoch läßt sich beides miteinander vereinen, nämlich unter der Voraussetzung, daß die zur Zeit der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus vorhandenen /oi/ und /ei/ Varianten (Allophone) waren, deren Auftreten kombinatorisch (und zwar phonologisch-kombinatorisch, nicht morphologisch!) geregelt war. Nun lehrt die Geschichte der slavischen Akzentuierung, daß in den Paradigmata mit beweglichem Akzent gerade der N. Pl. Mask. auf -oi (> aksl. -i) [*rabi - konji*] stammbetont, der L. Sg. und L. Pl. Mask. auf -oi(su)/-ei(su) > aksl. -ě(xb)/-i(xb), [*rabě(xb) - konji(xb)*] sowie der D. L. Sg. Fem. auf. oi/

¹¹ J. Kuryłowicz, *Le problème des intonations balto-slaves*, RS X (1931), S. 1-80; *On the Development of the Greek Intonation*, Language VIII (1932), S. 200-210; *Intonation et morphologie en slave commun*, RS XIV (1933), 1-66; *L'accentuation des langues indo-européennes*, Krau² 1958.

-e_i > aksl. -ě/-i [glavě - duši] endungsbetont waren¹². Dieser Akzentstellenunterschied lässt sich teilweise bis heute — trotz Analogieerscheinungen zwischen den Deklinationsklassen — im Serbokroatischen nachweisen: N. Pl. *stvâri, dâri* ~ L. Sg. *stvâri, dâru*¹³; D. L. Sg. *glâvi, rûci* (gegenüber Formen wie *glâvu, glâve / rûku, rûke*)¹⁴. Der Ansatz einer ursprünglich rein lautlich bedingten Variation (Allophonie) /-ə_i/-ô_i/ ist also durchaus gerechtfertigt. Dass durch morphologischen Ausgleich dann auch betontes /ə_i/ und unbetontes /o_i/ entstanden, sich also eine Opposition /ə_i:o_i/ herausbildete, ist möglich: so erklärt sich am ehesten die getrennte Weiterentwicklung /ə_i > i/, /o_i > ě/.

Aus diesen Ausführungen ergibt sich, dass an dem frühen baltoslavischen Phonemzusammenfall /ǎ = ǒ/ nicht gerüttelt zu werden braucht.

Bleibt als letzte noch aus dem Wege zu räumende Schwierigkeit das Phonem /ǒ/ (*glavǒ - dušǒ*). Zweierlei ist in dieser Hinsicht zu beachten: einerseits zwingt unsere Grundhypothese dazu, eine einstige Realisation [ǎ] zu postulieren, was angesichts der Herkunft aus idg. *-ām* durchaus plausibel ist; andererseits ist zu begründen, warum dieses /ǎ/ nicht mit dem in anderen Endungen vorkommenden, aus idg. *-ōns/-āns* hervorgegangenen, später zu aksl. /y/ gewordenen, von uns aufgrund der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus als /ǒ/ (*raby - konjē / glavy - dušē*) angesetzten Phonem zusammengefallen ist: wieder stehen ein o- und ein a-Phonem ähnlicher Herkunft — hier als Nasalvokale — nebeneinander.

Die Lösung des Problems sieht anders aus als bei /o_i:ə_i/. Es handelt sich um zwei von vornherein verschiedene Phoneme, von denen eines auf idg. /a=o/ + Nasal (baltoslavischer Zusammenfall) zurückgeht, während das andere erst innerhalb

¹² J. Kuryłowicz, *L'accentuation*, S. 201 u. 222; L. Sadnik, *Slavische Akzentuation*, Wiesbaden 1959, S. 75.

¹³ Vgl. auch die griechische Parallele οἴκοι (D. Sg.): οἴκοι (N. Pl.): J. J. Mikkola, *Urslavische Grammatik III*, S. 31; Kuryłowicz, *L'accentuation*, S. 112.

¹⁴ Der L. Pl. ist im Serbokroatischen nicht mehr erhalten. Der N. A. Du. auf /-ě/-i/, der nach Kuryłowicz, *L'accentuation*, S. 201, stammbetont war, weist im Slovenischen Formen auf, die auf alte Endungsbetonung deuten: *góri* < **gori* (neben *gorē*); Vgl. G. Svane, *Grammatik der slowenischen Schriftsprache*, § 36; A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparés I*, § 99.

des Urslavischen durch eine morphologische Reaktion (Analogie) entstanden ist, wie nachstehend gezeigt werden soll.

Für die Verbindungen *Vokal + Nasal* gilt im Urslavischen folgendes (quantitatives) Auslautgesetz: a) *Kurzvokal + Nasal* (ohne Deckung durch einen weiteren Konsonanten) verliert das nasale Element; b) *Langvokal + Nasal* (oder *Kurzvokal + Nasal*, gedeckt durch einen weiteren Konsonanten) > *Nasalvokal*¹⁵. In schematischer Darstellung:

(ǎ)ǒ + N	>	ǒ	ě	<	ě + N
ū + N	>	ū(ъ)	ĩ(ъ)	<	ĩ + N
(ǎ)ǒ + N	>	ǒ	ē	<	ē + N
ū + N	>	*ū	*ĩ	<	ĩ + N

Unter der Voraussetzung, dass der Schwund des auslautenden /s/ und die Nasalierung der Langvokale dem Verlust des nasalen Elementes bei den Kurzvokalen vorausgegangen war, erklärt sich die Sonderstellung des -ǎ im A. Sg. Fem. als Reaktion auf die gestörte morphologische Beziehung zwischen N. Sg. und A. Sg.:

	u-Klasse	o-Klasse (Mask.)	i-Klasse	a-Klasse
N. Sg.	-ū (ъ)	-ǒ ¹⁶	-ĩ (ъ)	-ǎ
N. Sg.	-ū N	-ǒN ¹⁶	-ĩN	-ǒ

Die Reaktion lautete: A. Sg. -ǒ → āN. Der für das Thema der a-Klasse charakteristische Langvokal wurde also vom Nominativ auf den Akkusativ übertragen. Die Verbindung /ā + + N/ wurde dann später (d. h. nachdem das -N der Kurzvokalthemata geschwunden war) zum Nasalvokal /ǎ/, der sich durch seine Qualität von /ǒ/ abhob und naturgemäß nicht von der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus betroffen wurde (*glavǒ - dušǒ*).

Von den oben postulierten fünf Auslaut-Nasalvokalen sind */ū/ und */ĩ/ bedingungslos mit /ū/ bzw. /ĩ/ zusammengefallen. Ihre Nasalität hat keine Spuren hinterlassen und ist nur aufgrund der Parallele zu den anderen Vokalen angenommen

¹⁵ Vgl. unten S. 22a.

¹⁶ Das Jer im N. A. Sg. der Maskulina der o-Klasse ist erst viel später entstanden, und zwar auf analogischem Wege, nicht aus lautgesetzlicher Entwicklung; vgl. H. Lüdtke, *Phonetica IV* (1959), Suppl. S. 143 ff.; ferner unten S. 22a. ff.

worden. Die verbleibenden /ō - ā - ē/ haben eine Entwicklung eingeschlagen, wie sie auch sonst zu beobachten ist, und zwar sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb des Bereiches der slavischen Sprachen: velare Nasalvokale tendieren zur Schliessung, palatale eher zur Öffnung, offene palatale zur Velarisierung (Schema: $\bar{i} \rightarrow \bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{o} \rightarrow \bar{u}$)¹⁷. Im Urslavischen finden wir

$$\begin{aligned} \bar{a} &\rightarrow \bar{o} \\ \bar{o} &\rightarrow * \bar{u} \rightarrow \bar{u} \end{aligned}$$

[Zusammenfall mit /ū/ aus idg. /ū/ (> aksl. /y/)]. Die Stufe */ū/ ist hypothetisch, die Stufe /ō/ erschlossen aus dem Wechsel mit /ē/: *raby - konjē*.

Dass die Entwicklung im Auslaut anders verlief als im Inlaut, erklärt sich dadurch, dass im Auslaut ein Nasalvokal mehr entstanden war (ō - ā - ē gegenüber ō - ē im Inlaut)¹⁸. Die Identifizierung von Auslaut- und Inlaut-Nasalvokalen erfolgte in der Weise, dass /-ā/ (< -āN) nach seiner Labialisierung mit /-ō-/ gleichgesetzt wurde (entsprechend /-ē/ = /-ē-/), während der Fortsetzer des alten /-ō-/ isoliert blieb, ein Umstand, der mit zur Entnasalierung (> ū > aksl. y) beigetragen haben dürfte.

Obige Erklärung des /ā/ aus altem /ā/ unter Hinzutritt eines analogischen Nasalkonsonanten wird bestätigt durch eine andere Flexionsendung /-ā/, und zwar im Verbalsystem, die auf dieselbe Art entstanden ist: die I. Sg. Präs. der thematischen Verben mit idg. /-ō/ (lat. *lēgō*, gr. *λέγω*) hätte urslav. /-ā/ ergeben müssen. Daran ist dann nachträglich das /-m/ der sekundären Endungen angefügt worden¹⁹; /ā + m/ aber ergibt /ā/, d.h. ein aksl. /-ō/, das von der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus nicht betroffen wird (*plovō - dušō*), genau wie das /-ō/ des A. Sg. Fem. (*glavō - dušō*).

¹⁷ Germ. *brāhta > engl. brought; lat. dentem > frz. dent (ē > ā > ō); urslav. *pētī > r. p'at'; urslav. *pōtī > r. put', skr. pūt (ō > *ū > u); lat. bōnum (offenes /o/) > frz. bon (geschlossenes, dem /ū/ nahes /ō/). Vgl. H. Lüdtke, *Phonetica* I (1957), 178 f.

¹⁸ Es handelt sich in diesem Falle also nicht um ein Auslautgesetz, sondern um das Gegenteil: der Auslaut ist hier — was wohl nur in einer Sprache mit völlig freiem oder mit Endsilbenakzent vorkommen dürfte — die Stellung maximaler Phonemunterscheidung. Die Entwicklung im Inlaut, wo es nur zwei Nasalvokalphoneme gab, stellt demgegenüber einen Sonderfall dar.

¹⁹ F. Liewehr, *Z f Slaw* I (1956), 20 f.

Lautlich divergierende Flexionsendungen

Nach den Ausführungen des vorigen Kapitels bleiben nur noch wenige Flexionsendungen der o- und a-Klasse unerklärt. Unter diesen nehmen zwei eine Sonderstellung ein: a) der D. Sg. Mask. (und Neutr.) auf aksl. /-u/, insofern er auch in den baltischen Sprachen eine u-haltige Endung aufweist und seine Unregelmäßigkeit somit keine urslavische, sondern eine baltoslavische Angelegenheit ist; b) der N. A. Sg. Mask. auf aksl. /-ъ/-ь/, dessen Form erst spät in Analogie zur u- und i-Klasse aus älterem regelmäßig entwickeltem */-o/-e/ entstanden ist, wie man am Verhalten der Jer bei der Metatonie erkennt²⁰. Sieht man von diesen beiden Sonderfällen ab, so bleiben als unregelmäßig übrig:

- 1) der G. Pl. aller Genera und Klassen (aksl. -ъ/-ь)
- 2) der G. Sg. Fem. (aksl. -y)
- 3) der I. Pl. Mask. (aksl. -y)

Bei regelmäßiger Lautentwicklung (ohne die angeblichen qualitativen Auslautgesetze!) hätte man erwartet:

- 1) idg. -ōm > aksl. *-y [= A. Pl.]
- 2) idg. ās > aksl. *-a [= N. Sg.]
- 3) idg. -ōis > aksl. *-ě [= L. Sg.]

In allen drei Fällen können wir — wie man sieht — die Tatsache der Abweichung aus das Konto der Homonymie setzen. Folglich wäre es methodisch falsch, nur wegen dieser drei Endungen besondere qualitative Auslautgesetze anzunehmen oder Ausnahmen von dem generellen frühen baltoslavischen Zusammenfall /ā = ō/ zu postulieren.

Was die Erklärung der Endungen im einzelnen anbelangt, so scheint mir am durchsichtigsten der Fall 2: der G. Sg. Fem. (aksl. -y, bei den weichen Stämmen -ē) geht — gemäß der ansprechenden Erklärung von J.F. Lohmann²¹ — auf indoger-

²⁰ E. Koschmieder, *N. van Wijks Einwand gegen die 2. Metatonie*, Festschrift M. Vasmer, Wiesbaden 1956, S. 235 ff.; H. Lüdtke, *Das prosodische System des Urslavischen und seine Weiterentwicklung im Serbokroatischen*, *Phonetica* IV (1959), Suppl., S. 125-156. Vgl. auch unten S. 22a. ff.

²¹ J. F. Lohmann, *Zum slavischen Gen. Sing. der ā-Deklination*, *Z sl Phil* VII (1930), 372 ff.

manische r/n-Heteroklitika wie *uodōr* - *uodons* (vgl. got. *watō* - *watins*), das ganz regelrecht aksl. *voda* - *vody* ergibt, zurück. Daß von diesen wenigen Wörtern her die Endung auf die ganze a-Klasse ausgedehnt wurde, erklärt sich aus der durch Homonymie eingetretenen Notlage; außerdem ist 'Wasser' ein nicht gerade seltenes Wort.

Die von A. Vaillant vertretene Erklärung, wonach die schon vorher bestehende Gleichheit der Endungen des G. Sg. und des N. Pl. die entscheidende Rolle gespielt hätte²², erscheint mir zwar nicht abwegig, aber weniger wahrscheinlich. Im übrigen schließen beide Erklärungen — auf das richtige Maß gebracht — einander nicht kategorisch aus²³.

Für den I. Pl. Mask. erscheint mir am wahrscheinlichsten die Erklärung durch Analogie nach den weichen Stämmen, deren aksl. /-i/ durchaus den Lautgesetzen entspricht: idg./-óis/ ergab zunächst /-oi/-ei/, woraus */-ě/-i/; da /i/ auch als palatales Korrelat von /ū/ aufgefaßt werden konnte, entsprechend /ū - ĭ/, wurde */-ě/ durch /-ū/ (> aksl. -y) ersetzt²⁴.

Die Form des G. Pl. (aksl. -ѣ/-ѣ) muß ihren nicht lautgerechten Eingriff bereits vor der Zeit der Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus erfahren haben, wie die Alternanz /ū - ĭ/ zeigt²⁵. Das eigentlich zu erwartende */-ō/ muß schon auf dieser Stufe durch /-ū/ ersetzt worden sein, sonst wäre in den weichen Stämmen */-ē/ entstanden. Warum gerade /ū/ als Ersatzvokal für /ō/ eintrat, ist schwer zu sagen; nachstehende Erklärungsmöglichkeit sei hier zur Diskussion gestellt: wenn man untersucht, welche Vokalphoneme (Kürzen, Längen, Nasale, Diphthonge) in den Flexionsendungen der o- und a-Klasse noch nicht «vergeben» waren, so kommt man — übereinstimmend in beiden Klassen — bei den Velarvokalen nur auf /ū/ und /ū/. Daß die Wahl auf den Kurzvokal fiel, mag mit dem häufigen

²² A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée* II/1, § 150.

²³ Eine Übersicht über die bisher vorgebrachten Erklärungen gibt H. Schelesniker, *Beiträge zur historischen Kasusentwicklung des Slavischen* (Ergänzungsband 5 zum Wiener Slavistischen Jahrbuch, Graz 1964), S. 22 ff. — Die abweichende Endung des Altrussischen bleibt als Einzelproblem bestehen, bietet jedoch — entgegen Schelesniker — m. E. keine Handhabe, die obigen Erklärungen abzulehnen.

²⁴ Diese Erklärung stammt von O. Hujer; vgl. G. Nandriš, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*, London 1959, § 46.

²⁵ F. Liewehr, *Slavische Sprachwissenschaft in Einzeldarstellungen*, Wien 1955, S. 31 f.

Gebrauch des G. Pl. (z. B. nach «Mengenwörtern», wie Zahlen, Verneinungspartikeln u.a.) zusammenhängen.

Flexionsendungen außerhalb der Nomina der a- und o-Klasse

Die oben dargelegte Theorie wird nur dann überzeugen können, wenn sich in ihrem Rahmen für alle problematischen Endungen die Möglichkeit einer Erklärung bietet²⁶; nur dann wird man die im Titel gestellte Frage schlüssig beantworten können. Sieht man ab von den enklitischen Dativpronomina *mi*, *ti*, *si*, die nicht wie gr. *μοι*, *τοι*, *οι* auf Formen mit idg. /-oi/ sondern auf entsprechende Ablautformen mit /-ei/ zurückgehen²⁷, sieht man ferner ab von dem N. Sg. der beiden weiblichen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen aksl. *mati*, *dъšti*, der sich — statt direkt aus idg. /-ē(r)/ — genau so gut als Analogiebildung zu den ebenfalls weibliche Personen bezeichnenden Wörtern auf *-yni* (*bogyni*, *gospodyni* usw.) verstehen läßt²⁸, so bleiben noch folgende strittigen Fälle zu klären: 1) Imperativ mit Sg. /-i/, Du. Pl. /-ě-/ aus idg. /oi/ (Optativ); 2) N. Sg. Mask. des Part. Präs. Akt. auf /-y/-ō/-ē/, sowie überhaupt die Entwicklung der gedeckten nasalhaltigen Auslautsilben; 3) I. Sg. Aorist auf /-ѣ/, im Zusammenhang mit unserer Deutung des N. A. Sg. Mask. der o-Klasse (aksl. -ѣ/-ѣ).

Beginnen wir mit dem Imperativ. Da die heutigen Formen des Plurals — außer im Bulgarischen — überall analog nach denen des Singulars mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-te* gebildet sind (unter Aufgabe der Alternation /i-ě/), können wir von dieser Seite her keinerlei Aufschlüsse erwarten. Als indogermanische Grundlage ist unbestritten der Optativ anzusehen, dessen /oi/ offensichtlich — ähnlich wie bei den Nomina der a- und o-Klasse — bald /ě/ bald /i/ ergeben hat. Dieser Unterschied aber ist — auch von denjenigen Forschern, die mit indogermanischen Intonationen operierten — bisher nicht überzeugend motiviert worden²⁹.

²⁶ Die Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit einer derartigen Erweiterung meiner Darstellung verdanke ich freundlichen Hinweisen von M. Woltner (Bonn) und P. Brang (Zürich).

²⁷ A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée* II/2, § 249.

²⁸ F. Liewehr, *Einführung in die hist. Gramm.*, S. 61; *Slavische Sprachwiss.*, S. 72; Shevelov, *A Prehistory*, Kap. 11, 1.

²⁹ P. Diels, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1932, § 110; L. Sadnik, *Slav. Akzent.*, § 49.

Für das Indogermanische lassen sich zwei verschiedene Optativformantien rekonstruieren, ein älteres /iē/i/ der athematischen, ein jüngeres /oi/ der thematischen Verben⁵⁰. Auf das letztere geht aksl. /i - ě/ zurück, während von dem ersteren nur Reste vorhanden sind: aksl. *daždь, věždь*, usw., mit den zugehörigen Dual- und Pluralformen *dadivě, dadita, dadimь, dadite / vědivě* usw. Wie sich die Endung von *daždь, věždь* (< idg. *dād/iī-, *uoid/iī-) zu idg. /iē/i/ verhält, ist unklar⁵¹, während das /i/ des Duals und Plurals sich ohne Schwierigkeiten aus idg. /ī/ herleiten läßt.

Zusammenhänge zwischen der Entwicklung des thematischen und des athematischen Optativs hat man bereits vermutet⁵². Auch die Ansicht, daß die unregelmäßigen Intonationsverhältnisse am besten mit dem Funktionswechsel *Optativ* → *Imperativ* begründet werden könnten, ist schon von Anderen vertreten worden⁵³. Unter Zugrundelegung dieser Versuche und unter Berücksichtigung des Umstandes, daß eine befriedigende Lösung bisher nicht geboten worden ist, sei es erlaubt, nachstehende Hypothese zur Diskussion zu stellen:

Hand in Hand mit dem Funktionswechsel *Optativ* → *Imperativ* wurde eine engere Beziehung zwischen dem athematischen Optativ-Imperativ und dem zugehörigen Präsens hergestellt, indem ersterer das Akzentschema des letzteren übernahm, nämlich Stammbetonung des Singulars ~ Endungsbetonung des Plurals: /dādī-dādī-/; /uoidī-uoidī-/ usw.⁵⁴. Mit dieser veränderten Akzentuierung dürfte auch die unregelmäßige Behandlung des Modusformans im Singular zusammenhängen.

Nach dem Akzentschema der athematischen wurden auch die thematischen Optativ-Imperative ausgerichtet: /pékoī-/

⁵⁰ E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I, München 1939, S. 793 ff.; A. Meillet, BSL XXXII (1931), 199.

⁵¹ J. J. Mikkola, *Urslav. Gramm.* III, § 278.

⁵² L. Sadnik, *Slav. Akzent.*, § 49.

⁵³ F. Liewehr, *Slavische Sprachwiss.*, S. 7; G. Y. Shevelov, *A Prehistory*, Kap. 20, 4.

⁵⁴ Wo heute der Imp. Pl. eine Ausnahmestellung einnimmt, wie z. B. in čak. *pečì - pečite* bei sonst durchgehender marginaler Oxytonie (*pečè - pečemò* usw.: vgl. A. Belić, *Zametki po čakavskim govorom*, in: *Izvestija otdel. ruskogo jazyka i slov.* 14/2, Leningrad 1909, S. 239; Ch. S. Stang, *Slavonic Accentuation*, Oslo 1957, S. 118 f. u. 137; L. Sadnik, *Slav. Akzent.*, §§ 45-47 u. 49), handelt es sich um rezente Umbildung des Imp. Pl. nach dem Imp. Sg.

pekóī-/. Die lautliche Entwicklung des Formans /-oi-/ verläuft dann entsprechend der Entwicklung der Endung /-oi/ in den Nomina der a- und o-Klasse, d.h. nach palatalem Konsonanten, nach /i/ und nach thematischem /i/ erfolgt Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus /oi → ei/; nach hartem Konsonanten ergibt sich Allophonie /-əi/ói/. Aus /ei/ und /əi/ entsteht aksl. /i/, aus /oi/ askl. /ě/ (vgl. S. 13_a f.).

Durch morphologischen Ausgleich wurde die Allophonie /əi ~ oi/ zu einer relevanten Opposition, genau wie bei den Nomina der a- und o-Klasse. Was den Imperativ betrifft, so trat dieser, wie oben ausgeführt, immer mehr in den Bannkreis der Präsensformen und wurde in der Akzentuierung diesen angegliedert.

Der zweite der drei umstrittenen Fälle betrifft den N. Sg. Mask. des Part. Präs. Akt. mit den Endungen aksl. *-y/-ě* (*nesy - glagoljě*), die auf eine Vorstufe mit /ō/ (idg. *-onts*) weisen. Wenn bei den harten Stämmen statt /y/ auch /ō/ erscheint (*syjь, sōjь* zu *jesmь*), und zwar im allgemeinen *nur in der zusammengesetzten Form*⁵⁵, so liegt das ganz einfach daran, daß /ō/ hier als inlautend behandelt und dementsprechend nicht entnasaliert wurde.

Einen ganz ähnlichen Fall finden wir im N.A. Sg. Mask. der Nomina der o-Klasse: während die Endung (bei den harten Stämmen) normalerweise /-ь/ lautet, taucht daneben — in der Zusammensetzung mit *ь* oder *ть* — auch /o/ auf (*rodь - rodosь; rabь - rabotь*)⁵⁶. Hier ist lautgesetzlich entstandenes /o/⁵⁶ bewahrt geblieben, weil es sich nicht im Auslaut befand; /-o/ hingegen wurde durch /-ь/ ersetzt⁵⁷.

Schwieriger ist die Frage, wie sich die Endung idg. *-onts* in ihrer urslavischen Behandlung zu idg. *-ont* (3. Pl. Aorist und Imperfekt) einerseits und zu idg. *-ons* (A. Pl. der Nomina der o-Klasse) andererseits verhält. Unsere Formulierung (S. 15_a), wonach die Verbindung Kurzvokal + Nasal, wenn ungedeckt, zu einfachem Kurzvokal, wenn hingegen durch einen weiteren Konsonanten gedeckt, zu Nasalvokal wird (also /-on/ > /-o/;

⁵⁵ P. Diels, *Aksl. Gramm.*, § 111 Anm. 3; hinsichtlich des daneben auftretenden /ē/ vgl. F. Liewehr, *Slavische Sprachwiss.*, S. 65 ff.

⁵⁶ P. Diels, *op. cit.*, § 62 Anm. 1.

⁵⁷ Vgl. das folgende Kapitel.

/-ont/-ons/ > /ō/), kann aufrechterhalten bleiben, sofern man folgende differenzierte Behandlung der deckenden Auslautkonsonanten annimmt: /-nts/ > /-ns/; /-s/ schwindet eher als /-t/; /-t/ schwindet erst, nachdem /-ō/ den Weg über */ū/ zu /ū/ beschritten hat. Es ergibt sich dann nachstehende Entwicklungsreihe, die allen in Frage kommenden Fakten des Altkirchenslavischen gerecht wird:

idg. -ōn	> -on	> -o	> -o	> aksl. -o	(-ъ) ³⁸
		-e ³⁹	> -e	> aksl. -e	(-ѣ) ³⁸
idg. -ōns	> -ōs	> -ō	> -ū	> aksl. -y	
idg. -ōnts		-ē ³⁹	> -ē	> aksl. -ē	
			[-ě] ⁴⁰		
idg. -ōnt	> -ōt	> -ōt	> -ō	> aksl. -ō	
		-ēt ³⁹	> -ē	> aksl. -ē	

Der dritte und letzte der umstrittenen Fälle betrifft die Endung /-ъ/ der 1. Sg. Aorist, für die infolge unserer Ablehnung des Ansatzes /-ōn > -ъ/ eine neue Erklärung nötig wird. Hier ergeben sich jedoch keine Schwierigkeiten, denn aksl. /-ъ/ (*nesъ, jvdъ, rekoъ*) läßt sich selbstverständlich auf die mit /-ōn/ konkurrierende Endung /-n/ zurückführen, die lautgerecht im Griechischen |-α| (*ἐγραψα, ἔδωκα, ἔπα*)⁴¹, im Urslavischen /-ūm > -ū > ъ/ergab⁴². Aufgrund dieser Endung erwächst also keine Notwendigkeit, qualitative Auslautgesetze zu postulieren. Ebenso wenig bietet die Endung /-ъ/-ѣ/ des N. A. Sg. Mask. der o-Klasse, deren Probleme nachstehend behandelt werden, zu einem derartigen Postulat Anlaß.

Der N. A. Sg. der o-Klasse

In keinem Kapitel der slavistischen Handbücher wuchert das Hypothesengestrüpp in gleicher Üppigkeit wie anlässlich der

³⁹ Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus nach /j/ und Palatalkonsonanten; vgl. G. Y. Shevelov, *A Prehistory*, Kap. 18.

³⁸ Zu /-o → -ъ/ und /-e → -ѣ/ vgl. das folgende Kapitel.

⁴⁰ Vgl. S. 28a Anm. 58.

⁴¹ A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, Paris 1934, § 349; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Gram.* I, S. 744 u. 750.

⁴² Gr. *ἔφωσα* entspricht genau aksl. *byxъ*; zugrunde liegt idg. *[e]-bhū-s-n̥ (J. M. Kořinek, *Od indoeurospkého prajaz.*, S. 51).

Erklärung der Endungen des N. A. Sg. der Maskulina und Neutra. Um die einander widersprechenden Entwicklungen

idg. -ōs	>	aksl. -ъ		[-ъ]
idg. -ōN	>	aksl. -ъ	(Mask.)	[-ъ]
idg. -ōN	>	aksl. -o	(Neutr.)	[-e]

mitsamt den aus der sogenannten 2. Metatonie sowie aus der 3. Palatalisierung resultierenden Komplikationen⁴³ schlecht und recht zu begründen, muß die herrschende Lehre nicht weniger als fünf *ad hoc* konstruierte Hypothesen aufbieten⁴⁴. So wird zunächst ein qualitatives Auslautgesetz idg. *ōN* > urslav. *-ū* (im Widerspruch zum baltoslavischen allgemeinen Zusammenfall /ō = ā/) postuliert; es folgen zwei verschiedene Endungssubstitutionen, nämlich *-ъ* → *-o* im N. A. Sg. der Neutra (*igo* nach *slovo*) und *-o* → *-ъ* im N. Sg. der Maskulina (*rabъ* nach *synъ*), sowie die Übertragung des Akzentschemas des N. Sg. auf den A. Sg. bei den Maskulina (letzte Annahme dient zur Erklärung der Ergebnisse der sogenannten 2. Metatonie); als fünfte und letzte Hypothese muß schließlich noch postuliert werden, daß die *ū*-Endung der Maskulina eine Zwischenstufe /ə/ durchlaufen habe, weil zu klären bleibt, warum ausgerechnet dieses /ū/ im Gegensatz zu allen sonstigen /ū/ und /ū/ nicht die 3. Palatalisierung verhindert (**ātikū* > *otъ*; **jounikū* > *junъ*)⁴⁵.

Es liegt hier geradezu ein Paradefall vor, an dem sich zeigen läßt, in welchem Maße die in den vorangehenden Kapiteln von mir entwickelte Theorie die Darstellung der diachronischen Laut- und Formenlehre des Urslavischen plausibel zu vereinfachen vermag. In der Tat sind vier der fünf oben dargelegten Hypothesen überflüssig. Bei Anwendung der normalen Lautgesetze ergibt sich:

idg. -ōs	>	urslav. -ā	(> -o)
idg. -ōN	>	urslav. -ā	(> -o)

⁴³ Vgl. E. Koschmieder, *N. van Wijks Einwand gegen die 2. Metatonie*, Festschrift für Max Vasmer, Wiesbaden 1956, S. 235-244; H. Lüdtke, *Das prosodische System des Urslavischen und seine Weiterentwicklung im Serbokroatischen*, *Phonetica* IV (1959), Suppl., S. 125-156, bes. S. 143-150.

⁴⁴ Keine der bisherigen Darstellungen erklärt alle Phänomene. Man kann jedoch die Ausführungen E. Koschmieders (*op. cit.*; vgl. H. Lüdtke, *op. cit.*, S. 144) mit denen von A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée* I, S. 54, 210, 217 (vgl. auch G. Y. Shevelov, *op. cit.*, Kap. 23, 5) derart kombinieren, daß ein lückenloses System entsteht.

⁴⁵ A. Vaillant, *op. cit.* I, 54; G. Y. Shevelov, *loc. cit.*

Weiterhin folgt: 1. urslav. /-o/ verhindert ebenso wenig wie sonstiges urslav. /o/ die « dritte Palatalisierung »; 2. urslav. /-o/ bewirkt keine « zweite Metatonie », denn diese wird nur durch auslautendes Jer hervorgerufen; so erklärt sich zwanglos der Unterschied zwischen dem N. A. Sg. und dem G. Pl. (čak. čās : čās; štok. čās : čāsā)⁴⁶. Als einzige Hypothese bleibt die Übertragung der Endungen /-ъ/-ь/ aus der u- und i-Klasse auf die Nomina der o-Klasse (anstelle von /-o/-e/): *rabo → rabъ / *konje → konjъ im N. und A. Sg., ein Vorgang, der zu einer Zeit erfolgt sein muß, als die Metatoniewirkung der primären Jer bereits vorbei war⁴⁷.

Diese einzige Hypothese wird durch drei Argumente gestützt: 1) Die Endungen /-ъ/-ь/ im N. A. Sg. Mask. der o-Klasse stehen im Widerspruch zur allgemeinen lautgesetzlichen Entwicklung; 2) in den genannten Formen tritt keine « zweite Metatonie » auf; 3) in vielen Ortsnamen lateinischen Ursprungs auf dem Balkan erscheint lat. /-a/ als /-ъ/-ь/, nicht — wie man erwarten sollte — als /-o/-e/. Der letztere Punkt wird im folgenden näher erläutert.

Die Ergebnisse der Auslautsilben lateinischer Lehnwörter im Slavischen sind insofern mit Vorsicht zu beurteilen, als die möglichen Lautentwicklungen innerhalb des Lateinisch-Romanischen stets mit in Betracht gezogen werden müssen. Wenn als slavisches Auslautergebnis /-O/ bzw. (in älterer Orthographie) /-ъ/-ь/ erscheint, so ist bei allen lateinischen Vokalen außer /-a/ mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, daß der Schwund auf romanischer Lautentwicklung beruht, also bereits vor der Übernahme der betreffenden Wörter ins Slavische vollzogen war. Eine Ausnahme macht lat. /-a/: nirgends in der heutigen Romania war vor dem Jahre 1000 dieser Vokal in unbetonter Auslautsilbe geschwunden, und wir haben keinen Grund zur Annahme, daß das in den im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert von Slaven besetzten Gebieten der Fall gewesen sei. Folglich können die slavischen Ergebnisse von lat. /-a/ Aufschluß geben über die slavische Lautentwicklung.

In der ältesten Lehnsschicht erscheint lat. betontes /a/ in

⁴⁶ H. Lüdtke, *op. cit.*, S. 143.

⁴⁷ H. Lüdtke, *op. cit.*, S. 151.

Paroxytona als slav. /a/, lat. betontes /a/ in Proparoxytona sowie vertoniges /a/ hingegen als slav. /o/ (*Pagus* > *Pag*, *Dravus* > *Drava* — aber *Apsarum* > *Osor*, *Catarus* > *Kotor*, *Massarum* > *Mosor*, *Salona* > *Solin*). Die Erklärung fällt nicht schwer: lat. /a/ wurde auf dem Balkan — ähnlich wie noch heute in Süditalien — nur in der Tonsilbe der Paroxytona lang, in allen übrigen Stellungen hingegen kurz ausgesprochen und demgemäß im ersteren Fall mit urslav. /ā (> a)/, im letzteren mit urslav. /ā (> o)/ wiedergegeben.

Im Auslaut war lat. /a/ ebenfalls kurz, und man sollte deshalb im Slavischen Wiedergabe durch /ā (> o)/ erwarten. Das ist jedoch nicht der Fall, sondern wir finden — in der Zusammenstellung von Ch. E. Bidwell⁴⁸ — als Ergebnisse 1. /-ъ/-ь/; 2. /-a/; Beispiele:

1) *ad Portulam* > *Oprtalj*, *Aenona* > *Nin*, *Albona* > *Labin*, *Aquileia* > *Oglej*, *Arba* > *Rab*, *Bergona* > *Brgin*, *Bononia* > *Bdin*, *Glemona* > *Humin*, *Corcyra* > *Krkar*, *Melita* > *Mljet*, *Pola* > *Pulj*, *Roma* > *Rim* (*Rymъ*), *Salona* > *Solin*, *Scardona* > *Skradin*, *Scodra* > *Skadar*, *Senia* > *Senj*, *Serdica* > *Srēdъcbъ*, *Solenta* > *Sulet*, *Stelpona*, > *Stupin*, *Ulpiana* > *Lipljan*, *Vegia* > *Bag*.

2) *Doclea* > *Duklja*, *Genta* > *Zeta*; entsprechend in Appellativen *aurata* > *ovrata*, *arena* > *jarina* u. a.⁴⁹

Dieses doppelte Ergebnis ist folgendermaßen zu deuten: bei später Übernahme, d. h. zu einer Zeit, nachdem urslav. /ā/ (unter bestimmten Bedingungen) zu /ā/ gekürzt worden war, wurde lat. (roman.) /-ā/ selbstverständlich durch jenes slavische /a/ wiedergegeben; dasselbe gilt auch noch für die Entlehnungen aus dem Venezianischen; dagegen wurde in der ältesten Lehnsschicht lat. /-ā/ durch urslav. /ā (> o)/ wiedergegeben; Städtenamen mit solchem /-ā/ wurden (wohl in Anlehnung an das Appellativum *gārdā) als Maskulina der o-Klasse behandelt und nahmen als solche an der Endungssubstitution /o → ъ/e → ъ/ teil.

⁴⁸ Ch. E. Bidwell, *The Chronology of Certain Sound Changes in Common Slavic as Evidenced by Loans from Vulgar Latin*, Word XVII (1961), S. 105-127.

⁴⁹ Vgl. die einschlägigen Beispiele bei V. Vinja, *Contributions dalmates au « Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch » de W. Meyer-Lübke*, *Revue de ling. romane* XXI (1957), S. 249-269; *Nouvelles contributions...*, *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagabriensia* VII (1959), S. 17-34.

Die hier gegebene Erklärung⁵⁰ setzt voraus, daß die Städtenamen mit lat. /-a/ > /ъ/ъ/ sämtlich zur ältesten Lehnsschicht gehören. Demnach muß *Pulj* (> *Pola*) älter sein als *Pula*, *Sulet* (> *Solenta*) älter als *Šolta*, *Krkar* (> *Corcyra*) älter als *Korčula*; daß das tatsächlich der Fall ist, ergibt sich einerseits aus der Übereinstimmung zwischen den Wörtern mit skr. /-a/ und den italienischen Entsprechungen *Pola*, *Solta*, *Curzola*, — andererseits aus der Tatsache, daß nur die Beispiele mit /ъ/ъ/ für lat. /-a/ auch späterslavische Veränderungen wie Liquidametathese, /ū > y/, /-ū- > ъ/, /ūr > r/ usw. mitmachen. Somit erklären sich die oben behandelten Ortsnamen lateinischen Ursprungs ohne Schwierigkeit mit Hilfe unserer Theorie des urslavischen Auslautvokalismus.

Einen weiteren Prüfstein für diese Theorie bilden griechisch-slavische Ortsnamenentsprechungen im einst teilweise slavisierten Hellas. Die Lehnbeziehung verläuft hier zwar in umgekehrter Richtung, insofern es sich um Namengut slavischen Ursprungs handelt, das in gräzisierten Form fortlebt, — aber es liegt hier ebenso wie bei den lateinisch-slavischen Entlehnungen relativ früher Kontakt vor (6.-7. Jahrhundert), so daß in beiden Fällen mit der gleichen Entwicklungsphase des Slavischen gerechnet werden kann⁵¹. Das ist insofern wichtig, als andere Lehnbeziehungen, wie z. B. die slavisch-ungarischen und slavisch-rumänischen, einer späteren Epoche angehören (in der die Slaven bereits das mittelmeeerische Kulturgut aufgenommen hatten und als dessen Vermittler fungieren konnten).

Die slavischen Ortsnamen in Griechenland sind von M. Vasmer zusammengestellt und analysiert worden⁵². Nachstehend seien einige Beispiele (mit Angabe der Seitenzahl bei Vasmer)

⁵⁰ Die seinerzeit von G. Reichenkron in *Beiträge zur romanischen Lautlehre* (Berliner Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie X/1-2, Jena - Leipzig 1939, S. 157 ff.) versuchte Erklärung geht von einem hypothetischen Lokativ Plural auf /-is/ aus. Einem solchen Ansatz, der in bestimmten Einzelfällen (z. B. *Aquis*) gerechtfertigt wäre, fehlt für die Masse der Ortsnamen auf /-a/ die überzeugende Motivierung. Reichenkrons Hypothese wird durch das Gegenbeispiel *ad Portulam* (Akkusativ!) > *Opřtalj* widerlegt.

⁵¹ Zum archaischen Charakter des slavischen Sprachgutes in Griechenland vgl. M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jg. 1941, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 12, Berlin 1941), S. 318 f.

⁵² M. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, passim.

angeführt, in denen gr. -a einem slavischen auslautenden Jer (bezw. -O) entspricht: 40 Λωζανά skr. *Lozan*, *Lozanj*; 41 Μοντσάλα skr. *Mōčao*; 47 Πράδαλλα bulg. *Prědělъ*, sloven. *Predel*, rum. *Predeal*; 60 Πράμαντα poln. *Przemęt*; 62 Ζέμελια sloven. *Zemelj*; 77 Γαρούνα poln. *Goryń*; 92 Κόζιακας skr. *Kōzjak*; 98 Τύρνα skr. *Trn*, bulg. *trsn*; 102 Ρεβέννια skr. *Ravanj*; 107 Ραβέννικα sloven. *Gradnik*; 110 Μπεστωνίκα skr. *Pečnik*; 111 Βίρα skr. *Vir*; 146 Γαρδίτσα aksl. *gradbъcъ*; 153 Ζάτονα skr. poln. *Zaton*; 166 Γαρδενίικα sloven. *Gradnik*; 181 Γρεβενά bulg. skr. *Greben*; 199 Μόγλαινα maked. *Mγglen*; 210 Πρόβλακα(s) bulg. *provlak*; 214 Χωροῦδα bulg. *Chorut*; 218 Κότσανα bulg. *Kočan*; 221 Πριλλάπεια bulg. *Prilěp*.

Daß die angeführten Formen mit gr. -a nicht auf slavische Nominative auf /-ъ/-ъ/ zurückgehen können, liegt auf der Hand. Vasmer wollte deshalb (S. 308) von der Genetivform auf /-a/ ausgehen, aber das ist natürlich eine Konstruktion *ad hoc*, zumal nicht einzusehen ist, warum gerade dieser Kasus eine bevorzugte Stellung gehabt haben soll, denn im allgemeinen pflegen Ortsnamenentlehnungen aus dem Nominativ oder dem Lokativ zu erfolgen. Auch in diesem Falle ergibt sich eine plausible Erklärung aus unserer Theorie des urslavischen Auslautvokalismus: es liegt ein Nominativ auf urslav. /-ǎ (> -o)/ zugrunde, dessen Endung zur Zeit der ältesten Kontakte des Slavischen mit dem Griechischen⁵³ und Lateinischen (6.-7. Jahrhundert) noch nicht durch /-ъ/-ъ/ ersetzt worden war.

Als dritter und letzter Fall einer häufigen oder regelmäßigen Entsprechung von slavischem auslautendem Jer (bezw. -O) und nicht-slavischem /-a/ seien die slavisch-ostseefinnischen Lehnbeziehungen angeführt⁵⁴. Die (zum Teil schon in sehr früher Zeit) ins Finnische entlehnten Substantive der a- und o-Dekli-

⁵³ Es gibt noch mancherlei andere Beispiele für die Entsprechung /-a/ : /-ъ/ bzw. /O/. So wird z. B. bei dem alexandrinischen Geographen Ptolemäus (2. Jh.) ein slavischer Ortsname *Kalisia* überliefert, der nach V. Falkenhahn, *Z f Slawistik* I/2 (1956), 56 wohl mit poln. *Kalisz* identisch ist. — In *Časopis za slovenski jezik, kniževnost in zgodovino* 3, 151; 4, 40 leitet P. Skok den sloven. Namen *Mohor* aus *Hermagoras* her. — H. und R. Kahane und A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (Urbana 1958), Nr. 829 führen «Oslav. *pramü* and corresponding forms in the other Slavic languages» auf gr. *πέραμα* «Fähre» zurück. — Es wäre gewiß nicht uninteressant, weitere Beispiele im Hinblick auf unsere Theorie zusammenzustellen.

⁵⁴ Die im folgenden gegebenen Beispiele sind entnommen aus J. Kalima, *Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Ostseefinnischen*, Berlin 1955, passim.

nation werden — in Bezug auf den Auslautvokal — mehrheitlich nach folgenden Regeln behandelt:

- a) urslav. /-ā/ der Feminina erscheint als finn. /-ä/;
- b) urslav. /-ā (> -o)/ der Neutra erscheint als finn. /-ä/;
- c) urslav. /-ā (> -o) → -ū (> -у)/ der Maskulina erscheint als finn. /-ä/, /-ö/ oder /-ü/.

Als Beispiele für die drei Gruppen seien folgende finnisch-russische Entsprechungen angeführt:

a) *nassakka* ~ *nasádka*; *putka* ~ *búdka*; *sarkka* ~ *čárka*; *luosa* ~ *lúža*; *lusikka* ~ *ložka* (< лѡжка); *luokka* ~ *luká*; *kassa* ~ *kosá*;

b) *taltta* ~ *dolotó*; *akkuna* ~ *oknó*; *palttina* ~ *polotnó*; *kuomina* ~ *gumnó*; *luota* ~ *bl'údo*; *talkkuna* ~ *toloknó*; *paasma* ~ *pásmo*;

c1) *aprakka* ~ *obrók*; *urakka* ~ *urók*; *kasukka* ~ *kožúch*; *katitsa* ~ *kotéc*; *pakana* ~ *pogán*; *tappara* ~ *topór*; *tensikka* ~ *denščik*; *raja* ~ *kraj*; *kapakka* ~ *kabák*; *majakka* ~ *maják*; *patukka* ~ *batóg*; *puuta* ~ *puđ*; *kuoma* ~ *kum*; *pulkka* ~ *polk* (< полкѡ); *porkkana* ~ *borkán*; *purakka* ~ *burák*; *kupitsa* ~ *kupéc*; *pokka* ~ *bok*; *kusakka* ~ *kušák*; *saakkuna* ~ *zakón*; *rutnikka* ~ *rudník*; *retukka* ~ *reptúk*; *pohatta* ~ *bogát*; *porohka* ~ *póroch*; *sissikka* ~ *sýščik*; *tavara* ~ *továr*; *tarakka* ~ *tórok*; *parissa* ~ *barýš*

c2) *suvalkko* ~ *svólok*; *miero* ~ *mir*; *karmano* ~ *karmán*; *kuomikko* ~ *kumík*;

c3) *turku* ~ *torg* (< *tъrgѡ); *tolkku* ~ *tolk*; *papu* ~ *bob*; *laatu* ~ *lad*; *rotu* ~ *rod*.

Daß auch die Erforscher der slavisch-ostseefinnischen Lehnbeziehungen bei der Erklärung des Auslautvokalismus der oben angeführten Wörter seltsame Wege eingeschlagen haben, wird nach unseren Darlegungen über die lateinisch-slavischen und die slavisch-griechischen Auslautentsprechungen niemanden mehr verwundern. So operierte Kalima⁵⁵ für finn. /-a/ bei slavischen Maskulina mit dem G. Sg., eine Annahme *ad hoc*, für die jegliche

⁵⁵ Ibid. S. 60.

Begründung fehlt, da er gleichzeitig zugeben mußte⁵⁶, daß die i-Stämme «bei Entlehnung ins Ostseefinnische fast immer auf *i* ausgehen» (vgl. *pätsi* ~ *peč'*; *populi* ~ *bobyl'* u. a.)⁵⁷ und hier folglich ebenso der N. Sg. zugrunde liegt wie bei den femininen a-Stämmen (*lusikka* ~ *ložka*) und den Neutra auf /-o/ (*akkuna* ~ *oknó*) < urslav. /-ā/. Warum also bei den Maskulina eine Ausnahme?

Die Erklärung ist auch in diesem Falle ziemlich einfach. Wie in allen anderen Stellungen, spiegelt das Finnische auch in der Auslautsilbe den Vokalismus der slavischen Wörter zur Zeit ihrer Entlehnung recht genau wieder. Daß freilich zwischen urslav. /-ā/ und /-ā̄/ kein Unterschied gemacht wird, erklärt sich ohne weiteres daraus, daß im Finnischen die Opposition von kurzem zu langem Vokal bereits in morphologischen Alternanzen Verwendung fand (z. B.: N. Sg. *kirja* «Buch» — Illativ *kirjaan*) und die kurzvokalige Endung einfach für den N. Sg. den Normalfall darstellte. Da andererseits das finnische Substantiv in seinem ganzen Flexionsparadigma keine qualitativen Vokalalternanzen, sondern nur Vokal- und Konsonantendehnung sowie Suffigierung kennt und im übrigen im N. Sg. einheimischer Wörter jeder beliebige Vokal als Stammauslaut stehen kann, lag kein Grund dafür vor, die qualitativen Unterschiede in den Auslautvokalen der slavischen Lehnwörter nicht in der Regel zu bewahren. Wenn man von den leicht überschaubaren Auswirkungen der Vokalharmonie (z. B. finn. /-ä/ statt /-a/, wie in *määrä* ~ *mëra*, *tyrmä* ~ *t'ur'má*) absieht, wird die einzige zahlenmäßig ins Gewicht fallende Gruppe von Ausnahmen (gemäß der klassischen Auslauttheorie, auf der Kalimas Darlegungen fußen) ausgerechnet von den Maskulina der o-Klasse mit finn. /-a/ gebildet (c1: *tappara* ~ *topór* usw.). Niemand wird nun erklären können, warum die Finnen, die doch über ein hinreichend kompliziertes Deklinationssystem verfügen und dementsprechend bei den i-Stämmen sowie bei den Feminina der a- und den Neutra der o-Deklination richtig den N. Sg. der Entlehnung zugrunde legten, sich gerade bei den Maskulina auf den G. Sg. kapriziert hätten. Legt man jedoch statt der klassischen die von

⁵⁶ Ibid. S. 57 f.

⁵⁷ Ibid. S. 58 f.

uns entwickelte Theorie über den urslavischen Auslautvokalismus zugrunde, so ergibt sich weitgehende Regelmäßigkeit: die slavischen Maskulina, die im Finnischen mit /-a/ erscheinen, gehen ebenso wie die übrigen Substantive auf den N. Sg. zurück; dieser lautete im Urslavischen zunächst auf /-ǎ/ (< idg. /-ōs/) aus, das später durch /-ǔ (> -ь)/ ersetzt wurde. Auf die ältere Endung gehen finn. /-a/ (c 1) und /-o/ (c 2), auf die jüngere finn. /-u/ (c 3: *papu* ~ *bob* usw.) zurück.

Hypothesenbilanz

Vergleichen wir unsere oben entwickelte Theorie mit der bislang herrschenden Lehre (soweit sich eine solche aus dem Consensus der neueren Handbücher ermitteln läßt), so ergeben sich einige wichtige Unterschiede. Es entfallen folgende Hypothesen:

- 1) Die bisherige Annahme von Intonationsgegensätzen im Indogermanischen (von Kuryłowicz widerlegt; vgl. S. 13_a).
- 2) Die Annahme unterschiedlicher Entwicklung von idg. /ǎ/ und /ǔ/ entgegen dem baltoslavischen Zusammenfall beider Phomene.
- 3) Das Postulat qualitativer Auslautgesetze.

An ihre Stelle treten zwei andere Hypothesen, nämlich:

- I) Die Annahme eines strengen Prinzips für die urslavische Umgestaltung des Endungsvokalismus nach /j/ und Palatalkonsonanten (bisher m. W. weder bestritten noch mit Konsequenz verfochten).
- II) Die Annahme qualitativer Variation (Allophonie) des aus idg. /ǎ = ǔ/ entstandenen urslavischen Vokalphonems.

Im Gegensatz zu den qualitativen werden quantitative (d. h. reduktive) Auslautgesetze nach wie vor beibehalten: Schwund auslautender Konsonanten, Entnasalisierung⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ Auf solch einem reduktiven Vorgang dürfte die Differenzierung der Endung im N.A.Pl. Fem. und A.Pl. Mask. (südslav. /-ě/ ~ nordslav. /-ě/) beruhen, die für die Gliederung des slavischen Sprachgebietes eine Rolle spielt (N. Trubetzkoy, RESI II (1922), S. 233 f.; P.S. Kuznecov, VJa

Auch wird Homonymie weiterhin als wichtiger Faktor zur Erklärung lautlicher Divergenz bei Flexionsendungen gewertet. An Detailunterschieden ist noch zu nennen, daß die Annahme gegenseitiger Beeinflussung der Deklinationsklassen als Erklärungsfaktor mit strengerer methodischer Konsequenz gehandhabt wird als bisher: eine Klasse wie die konsonantische, die sich in eindeutig rückläufiger Entwicklung befindet, wird nicht mehr als produktiv hingestellt (Erklärung des G. Pl.); dagegen wird dem Einfluß der *u*-Klasse, die nachweislich auf die *o*-Klasse eingewirkt hat, ein noch größeres Gewicht als bislang beigemessen (Erklärung des N. A. Sg. Mask.). Ferner ist zu erwähnen, daß in unserer Darstellung die idg. Unterschiede zwischen Kurz- und Langdiphthongen (besonders bei /ai/ und /oi/) keine Rolle mehr spielen.

Schluß

Wir sind davon ausgegangen, daß die Annahme qualitativer Auslautgesetze vom methodologischen Standpunkt suspekt ist und daß man nachprüfen sollte, ob die Geschichte der urslavischen Flexion nicht auch ohne eine solche *a priori* unwahrscheinliche Annahme dargestellt werden kann. Wir haben uns im wesentlichen auf die *o*- und *a*-Klasse der Nomina beschränkt, weil hier das Gros der Probleme lag. Unsere Vermutung hat sich bestätigt: alle diese Probleme lassen sich auch ohne Rückgriff auf qualitative Auslautgesetze lösen.

Helmut Lüdtke

I (1952-55), S. 43; K. Horálek, *Úvod*, S. 57; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Szkic dziejów języka prasłowiańskiego*, *Studia z fil. polsk. i słow.* III (1958), S. 264; A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée* II/1, § 151; die Entnasalisierung des /-ě/ zu /ě/ vollzog sich vielleicht parallel zu der des */ū/ (idg. -ōns/āns > -ō > *-ū > -ū > aksl. y), wiewgleich ihr geographischer Geltungsbereich geringer ist. — Auch das Nebeneinander nasaler und nicht-nasaler Endung im N. Sg. Mask. des Part. Präs. Aktiv sollte in diesem Sinne untersucht werden.

PRINCE ANDREI BOLKONSKI¹

Of the male characters in *War and Peace* Prince Andrei is not the one who interested Tolstoy most, but there is a case for saying he is the most interesting historically (i.e. psychologically and sociologically). Nikolai is too ordinary, Pierre is too untypical by comparison. Andrei embodies much of the ethos — of the strengths and the weaknesses — of the generation which, tempered in the wars against Napoleon, went on to provide the inspiration and leadership of the Decembrist movement. A recent Soviet article² has suggested as one of the prototypes of Andrei, the historian A.I. Mihailovski-Danilevski as presented in Brant's biography³. The similarities in external appearance and biographical detail were certainly worth noting; but, as the author of the article admits, they do not involve the *inner content* of the two men. In terms of the inner being one would evoke rather such a representative of the *men of 1812* as Chaadaev; but Andrei was 16 or 17 years older than Chaadaev, and this explains, at least in part, the significant differences against which their resemblances are set.

Andrei Bolkonski was born in or about 1778. We meet him for the first time in 1805, when he is 27, and of the preceding 27 years of his life we are told — in accordance with Tolstoy's usual practice in regard to the antecedents of his personages — almost nothing. He had lost his mother long before the story

¹ References to *War and Peace* in this article are to vols. 4-7 of the 14-volume edition (Moscow 1951-53) of Tolstoy's *Collected Works*. The Arabic figures indicate the page, but the Roman figures indicate the volume of the novel itself, not of this edition. Thus I, 131 means p. 131 of vol. I of *War and Peace* - vol. 4 of the 1951-53 edition.

² N. Torchkova, «K voprosu o prototipakh obraza kniazia Andrei» in *L.N. Tolstoi, Sbornik statei o tvorchestve* (ed. N.K. Gudzii), Moscow, 1959.

³ L. Brant in vol. I of Mihailovski-Danilevski's *Collected Works* (1849).

opens⁴ and married less than a year before. He had already attracted some attention in society and on the basis of influential family connections seemed marked out for a brilliant, if conventional, career.

What is quite plain is that the most important person in his life so far has been his father. Old Prince Bolkonsky is much the most impressive figure among the older generation in the novel — a formidable personality, whose tragedy prefigures — as it no doubt prepared — that of his gifted son. Tolstoy traces out in heartrending detail what might be designated *The Decline and Fall of a Superfluous Man* (for there is force in Kliuchevsky's contention⁵ that, though the term *superfluous man* may not have been invented till the middle of the 19th century, the socio-psychological complex to which the name was attached can claim a history extending back far behind the generation of Onegin and Chatski to the time of Peter or further). Like his nineteenth-century successors, old Prince Bolkonsky is ground between conflicting forces on both the external, social plane and on the internal, psychological plane. Socially (or politically) he has been debarred for years from any adequate exercise of his abilities and energies. And this, if it has not caused, has powerfully reinforced the unbalance between his head and heart. The frustrations of his enforced retirement have made him a martinet and domestic tyrant. He tyrannises over himself and all who find themselves within his orbit, but most intensively and to the point of cruelty over those he cares for most — his children. As a rationalist, he must not admit to himself that he loves his daughter and could not live without her: so he bullies the life out of her *for her own good*. And it is precisely through his love for his children — of which he will not recognise the force and scope — that he comes to grief. When we first meet him, he is on the threshold of old age, but active, shrewd, hale: still fully in command of himself and the situation. However, he is in for a series of shocks. His son goes off to the war; his daughter receives a proposal of marriage;

⁴ Probably as a very small child, to judge by the fact that it is his nurse, not his mother, who figures in the scenes from his childhood which float before him in the field hospital at Borodino.

⁵ V.O. Kliuchevski, «Evgeni Onegin i ego predki», published as an appendix to vol. V of his *Kurs russkoi istorii*, Moscow, 1937 (appeared originally in *Russkaia Mysl'*, 2, 1887).

his son is posted missing; his daughter-in-law dies in childbirth. In less than a year he has become an old man. There is a brief rally when his son returns as if from the dead and he himself is appointed to direct the raising of the militia. But such processes, though they may be protracted, are irreversible. A second, ultimately fatal, series of shocks is ushered in by Andrei's request for his permission to re-marry; continues through his crazy attacks on his daughter; culminates in his quarrel with Andrei over Bourienne — so that he is in effect incapable of taking in the catastrophe of the French invasion which (*pace Andrei*) is the occasion rather than cause of his death. The decline — physical, intellectual and moral — of those last years has been played out before our eyes too explicitly and painfully for us to deceive ourselves on that score.

From his father Andrei has inherited besides his physique, together with such physical peculiarities as the cold, jarring tones of his voice and laughter when he is hurt, one half of his character and view of life: his pride, ambition and thirst for action; his patriotism; and, in part at least, his cult of reason, his fear of sentiment, his contempt for women. But whereas in the father the *Voltairean* elements were not only dominant but (except in relation to his children) in complete control, in the son they are not so much balanced by, as locked in a deadly struggle with, what might be conveniently, if loosely, called the *heritage of Rousseau*. To the world, to society, to those he dislikes or despises Andrei shows his father's face; to those he loves, he shows (at least sometimes) what may well have been his mother's — at any rate a face of which the essential attributes are *childlike*.

His sister remembers him (I, 131) as a slim, playful boy; and elsewhere (II, 236) as a child-kind, tender, with a heart of gold such as she has not met in anyone else. His childhood had been visited by intense happiness—a «tenfold joy in life»—but it had been followed by long years unlit by any such happiness: not till after his baptism of fire did he experience it again (I, 194). Thereafter the *motif* of childhood tends to recur in many of the happiest and best moments of Andrei's life. When he rallies the fleeing soldiers at Austerlitz, it is in the high-pitched tones of a child (I, 345) As he recovers consciousness in the field hospital after Borodino, memories of his early childhood flood in on him

ousting the wounds and sufferings of the present, presenting themselves in the stead and guise of reality (III, 267).

Whether by inherited temperament, or owing to the constant tension between the Voltairean and Rousseauist halves of his personality, or—very probably—due to the exacerbation of such a temperament by such tensions, Andrei strikes us as far too highly-strung for his own or anyone else's peace of mind. He winces at Pierre's touch (I, 20) as he winces at the sentimental effusions of his wife and his sister (I, 121-2). « C'est un sujet nerveux et bilieux », opines Napoleon's physician when he examines Andrei among the wounded after Austerlitz, and adds his grimly perspicacious, if still somewhat premature prognosis: « il n'en réchappera pas ».

Spleen and nerves are indeed keynotes of Andrei's temperament and attitude. In Bagration's tent after Schöngraben Andrei sits « pale, with compressed lips and feverishly blazing eyes ». Though he rides his temper on a tight rein, there is no one who does not instinctively recognise the danger of standing up to him: when he chooses to let himself go, it is not only Zherkov who is made to quail (I, 157), not only the drunken, raging officer in charge of the convoy on the road to Znaim who is routed (I, 205)—the powerful Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Adam Czartoryski, himself flinches from a head-on collision with Andrei and sidles past him with averted face down the palace corridor at Olmütz.

Insolence Andrei meets with rage; other kinds of shock to his sensibilities, with tears. It is with tears of rage and shame that he intervenes to check and lead the fleeing men at Austerlitz. It is with tears he greets the birth of his son. In the field hospital after Borodino he weeps tears of tenderness and love « for men, for himself, and for their errors and his own ». The word *нервический* (and cognate words) runs like a refrain through the descriptions of Andrei's expressions and attitudes, from Pierre's first dinner at his house onward. Again one thinks of Chaadaev: « Мое нервическое расположение, je le dis en rougissant, всякую мысль превращает в ощущение, si bien qu'au lieu de l'expression je ne trouve jamais qu'un rire, qu'une larme ou qu'un geste! »⁶. Of

⁶ Letter of Chaadaev to his brother, 20th November 1823.

course this was not how Chaadaev will have appeared in the field in 1812 or later in the drawing-rooms of Petersburg; nor was it how Andrei appeared to his fellow-officers or to high society: but one should not lose sight of the sentimental (romantic or pre-romantic) shadow-side of the *superfluous men* of that generation.

Like his father before him, like the Onegin and Chatskis after him, Andrei is to be disabled and destroyed between the warring halves of his nature. Pride is challenged by a sense of guilt and by self-doubt; ambition by an exasperated squeamishness; the cult of reason alternately by scepticism and by romantic idealism; the thirst for action by sentiment, either tender or gloomy.

Andrei's pride is untainted by vanity. It is a relentless taskmaster, to satisfy whom he must continually require of himself more than anyone else could require of him. He enjoys patronising young men like Boris Drubetskoi: because this enables him to demonstrate that he has the ear of the mighty and can have their favours for the asking but disdains to ask for his personal advantage. « I cannot be afraid », he tells himself when he feels a nervous shiver run down his spine as he rides up under heavy French fire to order the withdrawal of Tushin's battery (I, 238). He cannot: it is not only impermissible but impossible! And he stays, quite unnecessarily, to supervise the withdrawal himself.

This pride feeds and is fed on fantasies of Napoleonic splendour. He goes through the campaign of 1805 buoyed up by expectation that his hour will strike, that he will come to *his Toulon*. And when, in the spring of 1809, his heart awakes from its long years of suspended animation, though it no longer thrills to the call of martial glory, it demands once more that his life shall be known to, reflected in, shared by all men.

A corollary of such pride, with its stern requirement of greatness or perfection is inability to forgive oneself for any falling short of the ideal. Andrei cannot forgive himself for having married Lise—perhaps more exactly, he cannot forgive himself for not having ceased to love her as soon as he has ceased to respect her. That he has not ceased to love her is evidenced by his near-jealousy of Hippolyte and, to some extent, by his concern that she shall have the best of care in her confinement, and by an occasional, half involuntary gesture of tenderness; while the cold-

ness and unkindness of his habitual behaviour to her expresses primarily anger against himself. Similarly, when she dies, he cannot forgive himself for having failed her and, to punish himself, turns his back on life and the great world and his ambitious dreams, to shut himself up for three years at Bogucharovo, far from friendship, love and hope. The abruptness and completeness of his later revulsions—in 1809 against the creed by which he had been living since 1806, in 1810 against his belief in Speranski, in 1811 against his love for Natasha—are to be explained on the same basis. In each case he has (he thinks) been mistaken; but to be mistaken is to fall short of that perfection which Andrei Bolkonski owes to himself; so the mistake must needs be utterly condemned. Thus his pride combines with fantasy to develop a kind of romantic idealism; it combines with this idealism to quicken urges to self-punishment, self-torment, a sense of guilt. It is late in the book when Tolstoy lets slip the revealing phrase: с свойственным ему желанием растравить свое горе (III, 125); but we have only to look back to recognise the same tendency in command in the opening chapters, again in the long, sour seclusion after Lise's death, more grimly and restlessly after the break with Natasha. The sense of guilt which calls for comment is not that of his Bogucharovo period: at that time it is objectively justified. More surprising, but still quite understandable, is his defensiveness, before Austerlitz, in regard to his ambition: it is not his fault, he is not guilty (he insists) if glory is what he wants above all, is in the last resort all he wants (I, 326). But what gives him away—what reveals this sense of guilt as only ostensibly justifiable but basically unsound (hypertrophied) is the recurrence of exactly the same attitude and even formula in relation to his love for Natasha five years later: « I cannot help loving the light: it is not my fault ». (II, 225). To apologise for loving Natasha is much the same as apologising for loving life!

This sense of guilt is one of the three faces of his squeamishness (of which pride is the obverse), the other two being self-doubt and contempt for others. As a symptom of his pride he faces life with (so to speak) one skin less than normal, so that he winces and shrinks from the common air of which ordinary mortals are hardly conscious. In the moral sphere this involves constant self-dissatisfaction or a sense of guilt; in the intellec-

tual sphere scepticism or self-doubt (« the doubt that everything I think and believe in may be nonsense », II, 172); in the social sphere, a chilling contempt which, whether masked by the dandy's pose of *ennui*, or mediated by the dandy's wit, feathered with amiability while tipped with venom (« je suis très aimable et très caustique », I, 37)—is yet felt for what it is by its objects and evokes their answering hostility and denigration.

The underlying link between Andrei's pride, his squeamishness and his steely contempt for whoever presents a challenge to either, is indicated by Tolstoy in a couple of sentences at the moment of Andrei's arrival at the Austrian Court. He had been sent post-haste from Krems by Kutuzov to report the reverse inflicted on the French and arrived glowing with patriotic and personal satisfaction, to be received with a polite lack of enthusiasm which cut him to the quick. « He felt affronted, and this feeling of wounded pride instantly and without his noticing it changed into a feeling of disdain for which there was no foundation. His fertile brain at the same moment suggested to him a point of view which would give him the right to despise both the adjutant and the Minister of War »⁷. The coolness of his reception hurts Andrei both in his pride and in his feelings. But instead of reacting with disappointment, which would put him in a position of inferiority, or with anger, which would admit the offenders to be his equals, he avoids the issue and sublimates his pain by withdrawing to a position of assumed superiority.

Thus Andrei's relations with other people fall under one of three heads. There are the people who are obviously his inferiors, who recognise the disparity and look up to him with admiration (and even affection); with these Andrei is both kind and gentle, prepared to go to any amount of trouble to protect or advance their interests. This is notably the character of the relations between him and *his* regiment in 1812 (III, 125). Then there is the world of his social equals and superiors, the vast majority of whom he dismisses as contemptible and worthless (II, 170). Finally, there is the small group of those for whom he feels personal affection, comprising his father and sister, Pierre, Na-

⁷ Borrowed from Rosemary Edmonds' translation of *War and Peace*, Penguin Classics, 1961, vol. I, p. 173.

tasha and, each on a somewhat different plane, Lise and Kutuzov. In relation to Lise and Pierre Andrei never loses his sense of superiority. An element of faintly condescending indulgence is recognisable throughout his relation with Marya. For his father and Kutuzov he feels a deep respect; but not only does he remain critically alive to their weaknesses—the differences of age and rank and outlook, his father's and his own fear of sentiment rule out true mutuality and the more human kinds of intimacy. Father and son understand each other profoundly, each is intensely concerned for the other's welfare, but it cannot in the nature of things be an equal relationship. As for Natasha, when his relation with her passes from the poetic to the personal, the keynote of his attitude becomes «pity for her weakness as child and woman», «fear at her devotion and trustfulness, an oppressive yet at the same time glad awareness of the duty by which he was bound to her forever» (II, 229). In fine, the relations between Andrei and other people are all unequal—and not merely as a matter of fact: both he and the others are acutely conscious of the disparities. It takes a foreigner to look down on Prince Andrei («ce petit officier qui se donne des airs de prince régnant», I 31); no Russian could be quite so obtuse. At the other end of the scale are the pæans of Pierre and Marya (I, 38; II, 236). In the army (as earlier in Petersburg society) Andrei enjoyed two contrary reputations. The minority regarded him as «very special», expected great achievements from him, admired and imitated him (these people Andrei treated simply and pleasantly); the majority considered him puffed-up, cold and disagreeable (these Andrei treated in such a way as compelled their respect or even made them afraid of him)⁸.

Intellectually Andrei is distinguished by superior intelligence and impressive culture. He not only reads: he writes (a critical account of the campaigns of 1805-7, and a project for army reform, which earns him a place on the committee appointed to consider and report on such reform when he returns to the capital in 1809). One thinks again of Chaadaev—and of the criticism he levels at the best thinkers produced by Russia up to that

⁸ Cp. Nikolai's highly ambivalent reactions at their first meeting (I 299-300).

time: they all lack «un certain aplomb, une certaine méthode dans l'esprit, une certaine logique». Andrei is perfectly capable of critical and balanced analysis, as in his remarks on Napoleon in Anna Scherer's drawing-room or his appraisal of Barklai de Tolly on the eve of Borodino. But this is when he is aiming to impress an audience or when his heart is not too deeply involved. His writings at Bogucharovo may well have maintained these standards. But when he feels strongly, critical balance is thrown to the winds. Discarding fairness and logic, he showers his unfortunate interlocutor with paradoxes, whose one-sidedness or extremism is matched by the wicked zest with which he drives them home. Examples which every reader of the novel will recall include: his diatribe against women (I, 37); his *demonstration* that efforts to educate the peasant, to improve his health, to lighten his labours—that the very abolition of serfdom will worsen rather than better the peasant's lot and can be defended, if at all, only in the interests of the serf-owners (II, 114-117); and the philosophy of war with which he rejoins the army in 1812 (III, 42, 55-6, 212 and *passim*). These intellectual sprees may be compared with his infatuations with the idea (or dream) of military glory and power personified by Napoleon and that of rational and virtuous civic reform personified by Speranski. Just as he does not seek, or come, to see these idols in perspective but turns violently against them, tearing them down from the thrones where he had placed them to spurn and cast them, shattered, into outer darkness—so he does not seek, or come, to modify his polemical theories but abandons and reverses them, intellectually and/or in practice (except the philosophy of war: whether because he does not live long enough or because there he has been saddled with a theory of Tolstoy himself).

To such polar swings of thought, attitude, feeling corresponds the series of reversals in the field of action which form the zigzag of Andrei's half-run course. When we first see him through Pierre's eyes, our attention is focussed on the fact that «Andrei combined in the highest degree all the qualities... which can most nearly be expressed by the concept of will-power». When, seven years later, from the quiet room in Yaroslavl where the remains of Andrei lie «washed and clothed... in the coffin on the table» we look back across the smoking fields of war and

the changeful seasons of peace to that faraway July evening, can we fail to ask ourselves: What, after all, has been effected by that extraordinary will-power? The magnitude of the discrepancy between will and achievement lies like the shadow of a great question-mark over Andrei Bolkonski as it will lie later over a Pechorin or a Stavrogin. But there is one cardinal difference. Neither Pechorin nor Stavrogin can find a commensurate objective for his will: they can exercise and test its power only in a series of petty clashes or manufactured crises in which the hero himself does not believe. Andrei, living in a more heroic (as opposed to: tragic) age, has no difficulty in finding a succession of goals worthy of his best efforts. In his private sphere: he marries (which neither Pechorin nor Stavrogin dares to do⁹, he begets a son (which neither of them wants to do); he wins the love and hand of a Natasha Rostova (as against the adulteries and seductions with which his successors content themselves). In the social field Andrei is a leader of the movement towards the emancipation of the peasants: he frees the serfs on one of his estates and revolutionises the condition of the peasants at Bogucharovo. In the sphere of public life: he distinguishes himself in three campaigns both at staff headquarters and in the field, and he takes an honourable place in the committees charged with the planning of army reform and the codification of the laws. But in all these activities we are struck by one and the same recurring pattern. Andrei takes just a few steps along each path—advances just far enough to prove that he could command success; but then throws up the enterprise, withdraws in disgust from the hurly-burly, condemns the activity itself as futile or mischievous. He marries—and within a few months has left his wife, after a withering indictment of women and marriage; he produces a son—but leaves him to be brought up by his aunt and grandfather; he reorganises his estates—but then abandons them to return to State service, which he throws over in turn, with contumely, after only a few months. He punctuates his staff work with forays into the front line till he succeeds in getting himself wounded and almost killed; his second spell at Headquarters he terminates by insisting on transfer to a fighting unit. Thus he success-

⁹ Of course Stavrogin's marriage to Marya Timofeevna is purely nominal.

ively turns his back on four fields of personal endeavour (marriage, fatherhood, serf-ownership and his engagement to Natasha) and casts away the prospects of four public careers (as his uncle's adjutant, on Kutuzov's staff, in the civil service, at Alexander's Court). Once more we seem to hear the voice of Chaadaev explaining to his family why he had chosen to resign his commission at the very time when he was expected to be named A.D.C. to the Emperor: «J'ai trouvé plus amusant de dédaigner cette faveur que de l'obtenir. Je me suis amusé à montrer mon mépris à des gens qui méprisent tout le monde»¹⁰.

This will to failure—because success can only be a caricature of the ideal—is only one of the attributes which differentiate Andrei from both Pierre and Nikolai. Physically his slightness, elegance and largely nervous resilience (I, 185) contrasts with Nikolai's normal youthful health and strength and, even more sharply, with Pierre's abnormal strength and awkward bulk. Whereas Nikolai enjoys life with the abandon and occasional intensity of his years, and whereas Pierre eats a lot, drinks a lot and indulges in a considerable amount of dissipation without getting any commensurable enjoyment out of it (it is as if he did these things compulsively or by way of drugging himself), Andrei sets little store by physical pleasures, verging indeed on an austerity which accords well with his general fastidiousness. All three heroes are liable to flashes of violent, not to say dangerous rage; but whereas Nikolai allows his a free rein and does not even suspect till after his marriage that there could be anything reprehensible in it, and whereas Pierre is afraid of what rage may drive him to and therefore gives way to it only in a crisis—because he is, and knows himself to be, incapable of fighting coolly—Andrei seems always to retain control and to be using his rage rather than allowing it to use him.

Neither Pierre nor Nikolai shares such characteristics of Andrei as his presence of mind, sense of form, strength of character or ability to deal with people (Pierre is good at dealing only with people he is fond of). Unlike Nikolai, who is suspicious or afraid of intellectual activity, and unlike Pierre, whose cerebration tends to the abstract and the abstruse, Andrei's thinking

¹⁰ Letter from Chaadaev to his aunt, 2nd January 1821.

is essentially practical, as is made clear no less from the subjects of his writings than from his masterly running, first, of his estates and, later, of his regiment—or, for that matter, from the philosophy of life he evolves after 1806 or the philosophy of war with which he returns to active service in 1812. Even his infatuations have a pragmatic root: he is not disposed to fall childishly in love with his heroes as Nikolai does with Alexander; he does not prostrate himself before them uncritically, as Pierre originally does before Napoleon: rather he studies them with a view to entering into practical rivalry with them.

Emotionally, the contrasts between the three heroes go to the core of their personalities. As compared with the rugged narrowness of Nikolai and Pierre's rather amorphous pliancy and elasticity, Andrei's brittleness implies a lack of vitality, almost of viability: one wonders how, if there had been no war and no wounds, Andrei would have managed to reconcile his soaring aspirations with his own emotional fragility and inhibitedness. From the clash of emotional inhibitions with a far-ranging imagination issues disenchantment; and whenever enchantment fails, he is quick to punish the source of the enchantment—and himself—by bespattering it with his disgust. That is how he reacts to his marriage when his wife reveals herself only a very ordinary young woman; that is how he reacts to the defection of Natasha. Whereas Pierre and Nikolai both manage, after a false start (with Hélène and Sonia respectively), to achieve a normal kind of happiness, Andrei proves incapable alike of achieving happiness himself and of giving it to either of the women he loves. While Nikolai and Andrei are both egotists in love, Nikolai is basically humble (for all his gusts of youthful vanity), Andrei is proud. So if Nikolai sacrifices Sonia, it is ingenuously to his immediate needs and desires, while with Marya he attains to a sort of organic symbiosis in which he looks up to his wife as to a moral superior while at the same time equating her with one of his fingers. Pierre is humble without egoism: he lets himself be sacrificed to Hélène but finds in Natasha a love to match and validate his own. Andrei sacrifices, first, Lise, and then—in a different sense—Natasha—to a pride which to Pierre would seem alien and senseless, but also to ideals too sophisticated, too recondite for Nikolai to conceive.

Lastly, the three heroes differ in what might be called their *style of life*. In Pierre's life the events are extraordinary; and he does not so much do things—things happen to him. His style of life is characterised by his passive subjection to a singularly novelettish succession of events. Nikolai's style of life consists in doing ordinary things in an ordinary way. Unlike Pierre, who has no practical ability, and Andrei, whose practical ability is of a very high order—distinguished by individuality of approach and judgment, resolute initiative and effective drive—Nikolai is capable of playing a perfectly adequate part in a traditional pattern of activity in which his rôle is more or less fixed by custom and an established nexus of personal relations within the organisation; but affairs requiring independent exploration or intellectual penetration are beyond him, as witness his inglorious encounter with his father's steward in 1810. As against both these, Andrei's style of life consists in doing ordinary things in an extraordinary way. He marries, and his marriage is unhappy—though not for any of the more usual reasons. He goes into the army, but not to make it his spiritual home like Nikolai (nor to make it his career like Boris), but to learn wisdom sitting at Kutuzov's feet and to advance *down* from the empty shows and prestige of staff headquarters to the unconsidered but capital functions of regimental commander. He gets engaged to Natasha, but insists on leaving her free and then breaks with her for no better reasons than those of Chatski's break with Sofia (but without the excuse of Chatski's youth and inexperience)¹¹. Finally he dies; and again, contrary to what is usual, his death becomes the most important thing in his life: its consummation and validation.

Andrei is born to die—not merely in the sense that we all are, but because (as Tolstoy himself tells us) he was originally called into being for the purpose of being killed at Austerlitz. The decision to prolong his life by seven years created problems of two sorts. First, the «brilliant» but not altogether likeable

¹¹ For further traits shared by Andrei with the dandies of the 1820's see section II of my «The Heyday of the 'Superfluous Man' in Russia», *Slavonic and East European Review*, No. 76, 1952. It is worth noting that though he shares to the full their fear of ridicule, Andrei shows in his rescue of the army doctor's wife (I, 204-5) that in him this fear is subject to *instinct*. Does he owe this to a whim of his author's or to the fact that he was born 15-20 years before the generation of Chaadaev and Onegin?

young man of 1805 had to be *groomed* for the quite different and more exacting parts of Natasha's fiancé and hero in the *Great Patriotic War*. Secondly, he had to be provided with a history of seven years' instead of seven months' duration. Of course, 1805 could not be rewritten as a whole, and this set limits to the *grooming*, and so to the kind of history which would fit him. In the outcome, Tolstoy has, wisely, made of the seven years a re-play with variations of the themes of the first seven months. This is not obvious on casual reading because the order of introduction of the themes and their weighting in different, and because the major themes are now separated by long periods of *business* (the organisation of Bogucharovo, the running of the regiment). In 1805 the order is: love (Lise)—glory (Napoleon)—death (Austerlitz), and the love-theme has in effect reached its dying close when the story opens. In the later period the order is: glory (Speranski)—love (Natasha)—death (Borodino); and whereas in 1805 Andrei's relation to Lise is tenuous and his relation to Napoleon notional, yet the latter is more important than the former: later, on the contrary, Natasha is far more important than Speranski, and both themes (unlike their 1805 analogues) are given the full orchestra and the centre of the stage.

The first *death*, at Austerlitz, is a *peripeteia*. Less than twelve hours and twenty pages earlier Andrei was savouring the full intoxication of his dream of meteoric triumph. Brushing aside the possibility of wounds and death, he saw himself as a new god of victory. That was between midnight and dawn. Before midday Andrei was lying bleeding to death on the field, which was to be hopelessly lost, and disowning the dreams and values which had ruled his heart for months or years and had brought him to where he lay. «Yes, everything is futile, everything is illusion except that infinite sky. There is nothing, nothing except that. Or not even that—nothing except the stillness and peace. And God be praised!».

But this time death had not struck home. And there begins the long and careful preparation for its second coming. First, Andrei buries himself alive for three years at Bogucharovo. He is too civilised to let himself go to pieces, to give up washing like Pierre. «On the contrary, one must try to make one's life as pleasant as possible. I am alive—and that is not my fault; so I

must live on somehow, as best I can, without being a nuisance to anyone, till I do die» (II, 115). But this is as yet only a penance he has imposed on himself: so that, on the one hand, he remains resentful that the war is being waged successfully without him (II, 95, 98) while, on the other, he continues feverishly active in both the intellectual and the practical fields. And after three years the call of life proves too strong. At 31 he is not finished: he can and will still make something great and beautiful of his life. First, he enrolls under the banner of a *completely rational and virtuous* Russian: in piquant contrast to the doubtfully rational and anything but virtuous foreigner whom he had formerly sought to emulate from afar. But complete rationality and virtue are, of course, only figments of the romantic imagination; and no sooner does love beckon than Andrei realises his error and shrugs off Speranski as he had once shrugged off Napoleon. Unfortunately, love, too, proves imperfect.

There is a delicious irony in the fact that Andrei with his hatred and contempt for the Germans is afflicted with a yearning for the infinite which is particularly characteristic of German Romanticism. From the mirage of Napoleon's limitless ambitions and triumphs he turns to the vision of the infinite sky high above him. And when Natasha sings to him, he feels moved to weep: Главное, о чем ему хотелось плакать, была вдруг живо сознаваемая им страшная противоположность между чем-то бесконечно великим и неопределимым, бывшим в нем, и чем-то узким и телесным, чем он был сам и даже была она. Thus glory, love and death have all been brought under the sign of the infinite; and one is bound to suspect that—quite apart from any particular checks or reverses encountered—all Andrei's enthusiasms would in any case wreck themselves upon the contrast between finite realities and the infinite of his desires.

The call of life, as represented by Speranski, then by Natasha, fails to hold Andrei; he resumes his march towards death. As after the loss of Lise, he takes refuge in hard work and a sort of paralysis of feeling: when in 1812 he stops at Lysye Gory on his way from the Turkish to the French front, he finds himself unable to summon up any feeling for either his father or his son. It seems to him that his world has fallen apart—has lost its centre and its structure too. So he reaches the eve of Borodino.

Here begins the last stage of his journey. The night before Austerlitz had been lit up by the golden glow of his triumphal visions; the night before Borodino is rent and ravaged by the « cold, white light » of the thought of death which shows him his life and all its values stripped of shading, perspective and modelling like crudely daubed magic lantern slides viewed in daylight. « Yes, yes, there they are, those false images which excited, enthralled and tormented me... There they are, those crudely daubed figures which appeared as things of beauty and mystery. Glory, the common weal, the love of woman, my country itself—how great those pictures seemed to me, how full of deep import they seemed! And all that is so simple, colourless and crude in the cold white light of the morning which I feel is about to break for me ».

This last stage of the journey has four turning-points: the first on this night before the battle; the second in the field hospital afterwards when Andrei recognises and in this heart forgives his enemy, Anatole; the third, his reunion with Natasha, which rekindles in him the love of life and seems for a moment as if it might actually win him back from the grave; the fourth, marked by his dream two days before the arrival of his sister and his son, which ushers in the ultimate « consciousness of his estrangement from all earthly things and a glad, strange lightness of being ». So the first phase in dying is the jettisoning of all positive goals and values: fame, love, country, common weal are stripped of all semblance of the significance and greatness with which life has endowed them and to which it owed its magic. The second phase is the rejection of negative values—of hate and hostility; this is experienced as a love for those who hate us and for those who love us—a divine love which, loving all, loves none and is not of this earth. The third and final phase is the transcending of the love of life and the fear of death in the realisation that death is an awakening: which would imply that « our life is but a sleep and a forgetting ».

There are, of course, a great number of deaths in *War and Peace*¹²; most take place off-stage or are passed off in a sentence

¹² For a conspectus of the treatment, of death in Tolstoy's work see Jacqueline de Proyart de Baillescourt, « La représentation de la mort dans

or two. Those which, apart from Andrei's, are most amply described are those of the two old men—Count Bezuhov, Pierre's father, in 1805, and Andrei's father, Prince Bolkonski, in 1812. Both are described from the outside, in terms of what can be seen and heard and of the effect produced on others. They differ in that old Bezuhov is already dead to the world when we see him, while old Bolkonski is allowed a last moment of articulateness and humanity in which to make his peace with his deeply wronged daughter. Andrei's death is the only one which is recounted from within, and one is struck by the presentation of death as a *moment of truth* and of *truth* as the crumbling of all that by which and for which a man has lived. At Andrei's death it is his own values and systems which dissolve; at some of the other deaths the *moment of truth* is experienced not by the dying person but by one of the survivors. For instance, at Lise's death it is Andrei's whole outlook which undergoes a temporary disintegration¹³.

Death and the fear of death were always gnawing at the roots of Tolstoy's love of life. In Andrei Bolkonski's protracted apprenticeship to death and in his triumphant graduation—a primal wish-fulfilment has been transmuted by the wand of art into « something rich and strange ».

Frank Friedeberg Seeley

l'oeuvre littéraire de Tolstoï » in (ed. M. Halle et al.) *For Roman Jakobson Essays on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, The Hague, 1956.

¹³ More startling is the similar—though literally only momentary—effect of old Bezuhov's death on Prince Vasilii Kuragin. (I, 106).

THE POEMS «GLUHOTE» AND «REČI U KAMENU» BY
MOMČILO NASTASIJEVIĆ

I.

Momčilo Nastasijević (1894-1938) was the author of stories (*Iz tamnog vilajeta*), dramas and librettos of which perhaps the most famous is his «*Medjuluško blago*», as well as some of the most original poetry written in Serbian between the two world wars. It is his poetry that has rightly remained important both as an influence on modern Serbian poets and as poetry in its own right. His «*Pet lirskih krugova*» was published in 1932 and it is with the last two cycles of these poems, «*Gluhote*» and «*Reči u kamenu*» that this article is concerned.

Nastasijević has remained a poet whose appeal is for a limited reading public. His works, during his life, were understood and appreciated only by a small circle of friends and other writers¹. His early poetry followed, as did that of so many other poets of the period, the works of Rakić and Dučić, but it quickly broke with all earlier traditions of Serbian poetry to return to the source of folk poetry in a new and original manner. Among the modern poets of Yugoslavia between the two world wars Nastasijević stands out as belonging to none of the groups of more narrow imitators of foreign literary schools, such as was the Belgrade school of Surrealists. His «*Pet lirskih krugova*» represents a continuous development and it is the final two cycles of these poems—really single poems composed of several parts or stanzas—in which Nastasijević attained the culmination of his poetic expression. Miodrag Popović has called

¹ M. M. Pešić, «Momčilo Nastasijević», *Srpski Književni Glasnik*. Jan-April, 1938, p. 329.

«*Gluhote*» Nastasijević's most difficult poem and «*Reči u kamenu*» his best². Certainly both poems represent Nastasijević's most profound achievement both poetically in the fullest sense and in the narrower realm of poetic style and language. That they are «difficult» is without question, a fact that may explain in part the lack of detailed exegesis, despite such excellent articles as Muharem Pervić's introduction to his collection of Nastasijević's poetry (Nolit, Beograd, 1963) and Slobodan Popović's «*Misli Momčila Nastasijevića o književnom stvaranju*», (Srp. Knj. Glas. Jan-April, 1937, p. 427). In all Nastasijević's work it is these poems that represent the power and, perhaps, also the weaknesses of his achievement. A mathematician and musician as well as a poet, Nastasijević's thought cannot be wholly separated from his poetry. Influenced in many ways by the contemporary French poets, he turned to the traditional language of the folk songs in order to create a new vehicle of poetic expression. In a certain sense his work may be seen as a return to the original sources of nineteenth century Serbian poetry, but in a new way.

On the writer's death in 1938, a group of his friends, among them the critic and writer Stanislav Vinaver, published a three-volume edition of his works containing various of his essays on art and the problems of style and poetry. As M. Popović has pointed out³, these essays were largely little more than notes unprepared for publication, although his essay «*Za narodnu melodiju*» appeared in *Srpski Književni Glasnik* in 1927. (Sep-Dec. p. 514). Before approaching his poetry it is of interest to examine some of Nastasijević's views regarding art, being, style and language, rhythm and tone, since they will throw light on the essential aims behind his poetry and expression.

Popović considers that Nastasijević differs from such poets as Yeats and Eliot by the fact that he is ahistorical. Essentially

² M. Popović, «*Momčilo Nastasijević*», *Let. Mat. Srpsk.* March 1963, p. 215.

A further example of the way in which Nastasijević and poetry in general between the two world wars has tended to be neglected in Yugoslavia of recent years is given by Z. Gavrilović in his introduction to Rastko Petrović's «*Burleska gospodina Boga Peruna boga groma*» Belgrade 1955 in which he states; «*Još uvek naši mladi ljudi daleko više poznaju Rakića nego Drainca i Petrovića, više Lazarevića i Rankovića, nego Crnjanškoga i Nastasijevića.*

³ M. Popović. *Op. cit.* p. 239.

an existential writer, he wrote only what he felt on his own skin⁴. For Nastasijević art was the expression of reality, but of a reality that lay behind the objective reality of daily life. The Oneness of all things was for him the starting point for the artist who, he considered, was the supreme prophet and High-priest⁵. For Nastasijević reality or, as he came to speak of it, *Surreality, lies in the essential oneness of all being.*

«*I feel the deepest gratitude to the man whose thoughts in conversation have led me to personal discovery. I feel a type of fetishism towards things that have awakened in me a new thought, so that by this gratitude I am bound not just to one or two, but to all things, thus becoming a fetishist of all things*»⁶.

Reality is this unity of all things, however small. History and being itself is a flux in which the beginning is ever present as also is the end. Time and space, individuality, the one and the many, belong to the world of illusion. It is the work of the artist to portray this reality behind the external reality of life. The logic of the scholar is impotent when faced with the questions of ultimate reality. Man has thought of the world in terms of logic, analysed it, and it is only the senses that can still view it in its primitive meaning. Poetry is thus a paradox. It is at once an act of liberation, cathartic, and an imprisonment of being in form. Utterance is itself paradoxical, for being is silence rather than expression. For Nastasijević this oneness is the central fact of being.

«*Reality is incomprehensible to me except it be in essence a flux and an incomprehensible flux unless in all its phases it reveals its source*»⁷.

All is one. To gain freedom is thus to enter slavery, for freedom is to cease to belong to oneself, but to the flux, which means a spiritual experience. To be truly aware is to forget oneself⁸.

For this reason Nastasijević sees poetry as being the opposite of the rational. The *ratio* is dangerous since it destroys intuition.

⁴ Popović, *ibid.* p. 224.

⁵ Nastasijević, *Nekoliko refleksija o umetnosti, Celokupna dela*, Knj. VII. p. 22.

⁶ Nastasijević, «*Oko Umetničkog stvaranja*» *ibid.* p. 26.

⁷ Nastasijević, *Beleške za stvarnu misao*, *ibid.* p. 99.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 105.

Being personified in awareness, man is an innate unbalance that strives to balance himself, a separation from the whole that feels a desire to ease his unrest in a return to the oneness of being. In this process, art is a saving force⁹. Above all, it is the expression of joy in existence. It reveals the link of the one with the many. Even the tiniest detail is universal in importance, since it is one with the whole and this link Nastasijević calls *Nadstvarnost*, surrealism. This surrealism is clearly not that of the sub-conscious world of dreams, as is the case with the majority of surrealists. The true artist is surrealist in the sense that he goes beyond ordinary reality.

« They do not go into the transcendental, but rather lay it bare within the reality »¹⁰.

The sub-conscious element in art, according to Nastasijević, is the communication that passes from artist to receiver through the general impact and the essential vehicle of this impact is what he calls tone. The tone in which anything is said dominates its meaning. For this reason Nastasijević concludes (perhaps mistakenly) that music is the purest of all the arts because of its reliance on tone and melody. Yet also he links the poetic word with this same element. In writing of his opera *Medju-luško Blago*, Nastasijević wrote;

« Departing from the basis that the spoken expression, as a whole and indivisible missile from the soul, is in essence melody which, with more melodious impulse from within, grows ever clearer and arranges the words in rhythm »¹¹.

Poetic expression is complete only when it is spoken in the degree of its melody. Therefore it is better merely to speak a poem than to declaim it, for any stylised declamation will kill its significance. The tone is more important than the meaning of a word, for the word is only a materialisation of a tremour that touches the nerve and passes from one sub-conscious to another¹². Such a view of tone is, of course, linked with Nastasijević's concept of poetry as a whole. It is the means of a higher

⁹ Nastasijević, *U odbranu čoveka*, *ibid.* p. 76.

¹⁰ Nastasijević, *Nekoliko refleksija iz umetnosti*. *Ibid.* p. 23.

¹¹ Nastasijević, *Za narodnu melodiju*, *Srp, Knj. Glas.* Vol. XXII, 1927, p. 514.

¹² Nastasijević, *Ibid.*

communication not dependent on logic. Poetry begins with the inexpressible, the silent. It is firstly an experience of the poet's joy in being that transcends the suffering from which it often stems and, secondly, it is an expression of the inexpressible wholeness of being. For this reason art cannot be either optimistic or pessimistic. It reaches from beyond the ego of the artist himself.

« While I am organically linked to the world, I feel I fulfill a purpose far beyond my own being. When I am end in myself I know I am a superfluous member »¹³.

True art, then, is beyond or above the divisions of style and content, of schools and method. Poetry is an entity that cannot be divided or analysed¹⁴. It expresses beauty and the beauty of a thing is its mystery. To the artist beauty is everywhere and in everything, because all things are one. Beauty is the surrealism of being and thus all true art is surrealist.

It is easy, after this, to understand how Nastasijević can deny the analysis of style as opposed to the content of a poem. To speak of style without content is to speak a lie. *L'art pour l'art* is the refuge of a bankrupt artist and critic. It is the essence of a work that is all-important and this cannot be analysed. For the poet to become romantic or classicist is to embrace theory to the detriment of art. Poetry is an intimation of super-reality. For this reason description is an impoverishment of art.

« Description is always feminine gender. It is the inability to create, a building without mortar, at the very best a mere *strikerei* ».

The greatest impact tends to come from what is suggested rather than described. Poetry is a living experience, a revelation of the truth, the beauty behind reality. Style, as a separate entity, can exist only artificially. It tends to pre-exist the act rather than to be the act. Because all true style is the act, it is inseparable and, for this reason, to speak of art as morality is to state only a small part of the truth. The *essence* of poetry is the potentiality, the suggestion lying behind words rather than the words themselves servings as description.

¹³ Nastasijević, *Za stvarnu reč, Celokupna dela*, *op. cit.* p. 123.

¹⁴ Nastasijević, *Ibid.* p. 26.

¹⁵ Nastasijević, *Ibid.* p. 134.

«Form is an expression of being-and perfection of form is, at the same time, a perfection of being»¹⁶.

Thus poetry cannot be divided. There are many poetics but only one poetry¹⁷.

The essential in all poetry, then, is tone. Poetry is potential suggestion, intimation. This, however, still leaves us with the need to be certain what it is that Nastasijević means by tone. It is certainly not merely rhythm or accent. Vinaver stated that Nastasijević had returned Serbian poetry to its natural accent after the long domination of the alexandrine¹⁸. Tone is inseparable from words and the form of words. Nastasijević's ideas of poetry are perfectly suited to the poems he himself wrote. Above all tone, for him, is the essential characteristic of true art. Human speech is itself melody. For this reason no poetry can be translated. Speech is also an integral part of a man. No man can express himself truly in any but his native speech which is also his own true melody. For this reason Nastasijević regretted the tendency of so many Serbian writers to follow foreign poetry and called for a return to the true nature of the Serbian language which was contained in its folk songs. The only way to revitalise what Nastasijević called the *maternja melodija* is to steep oneself in the melodies of folk poetry. But this did not mean a *pastiche* of folk poetry such as was produced by the romantic poets of the nineteenth century. For Nastasijević it meant turning to the folk language for the material, the tone, to express the inexpressible. It meant the development of language along its natural channels of idiom, of syntax and vocabulary. More thoroughly than any other poet of his time, Nastasijević strove to liberate poetry from the straightjacket imposed on it by Dučić and Rakić. (Far more so than the uncultivated talent of Dis). His rhythms are accentual and idiomatic. Their intonation, the way they are uttered, the «turn of phrase», the exploitation of the natural flexibilities of the language—all this is included in Nastasijević's concept of tone.

Tone, according to Nastasijević, can only be in the character and idiom of an individual language or music. His essays on

¹⁶ Nastasijević, *ibid.* p. 18.

¹⁷ Nastasijević, *ibid.* p. 137.

¹⁸ Vinaver, Introduction to Vol. 1. *Celokupna dela Nastasijevića.*

music make it quite clear that he saw the same need in this sphere as in poetry. Writing of the French moderns Proust, Cocteau, Nastasijević stressed that, no matter how far they may go in experiment, they never undermine the basis of the French language. They respect the long tradition of a language which can absorb experiment without sacrificing its national individuality¹⁹. Nastasijević certainly approached the folk-lore element of the Serbian language in a completely new and positive manner. Hitherto the Serbian poets of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had produced largely *pastiche* of the *narodne pesme* in those instances when they had employed them. Nastasijević is, perhaps, the first to use rather than to ape the folk poems. In his work they appear not so much directly and obviously as tacitly through the syntactical structure, the «turn of phrase», the analogy. Naturally, his insistence on tone demands that this tone element can only be achieved in the scale of one's own language. Only the innate inflexion of a language, its innate and characteristic idiom can provide a vehicle for the expression or intimation of uttermost being. Hence Nastasijević's obvious respect for tradition and for the past of his language. For this reason he stated that to import Western techniques and to neglect one's own people is to commit suicide²⁰. For the same reason Nastasijević turned also to the medieval Serbian language. He translated Stefan Lazarević's «*Slovo ljubavi*»²¹. This return to traditional language is not so much a return to the traditions of Vuk Karadžić and his followers as a revolt against them²². In a period when Serbian poetry had turned increasingly to foreign models, Nastasijević stressed that it was only by a turning in upon the essential nature of one's own language, its innate character and past traditions, that a step toward true art could be made.

Before returning to the concept of *tone* in Nastasijević's poetry, it is, perhaps, necessary to emphasise two points in general. Firstly, for Nastasijević, poetry (and indeed art as a

¹⁹ Nastasijević, *Beleške sa boravka u Parizu*, *Ibid.* p. 135. 1923.

²⁰ Nastasijević, *Za humanizaciju muzike*, *ibid.* p. 56.

²¹ M. Popović, *op. cit.* p. 215. I have been unable to consult Dj. Trifunović's «*Rečnik akaizama Nastasijevića*» quoted by Popović *Ibid.* p. 225.

²² It was seen thus by Dragutin Kostić in his article «*Kvari li se naš književni jezik?*», *Srp. Knj. Glas.* Jan-April, 1932, p. 40.

whole) meant a specific and unique form of experience outside the realm of the rational, the analysis, the division between style and content. Poetry is the linking of oneself with everything. Pure lyricism desires to serve neither thought, portrayal nor feeling, but to remain, as it is in essence, a phenomenon in itself²³. In art man discovers his final integrity. Expression and the artist's experience are identical. Art is a means to enable man to discover and build his own existence²⁴.

Secondly Nastasijević's term *nadstvarnost* is perhaps better translated super-reality than surrealism, despite the use of the same term to translate surrealism in Serbian. The sphere of automatic writing and the stubborn flirtation with the sub-conscious appeared to Nastasijević to denote only the loss of contact with the reader, of that impact which Tolstoy referred to as infectiousness²⁵. The poet stands in relation to his readers as a priest to his congregation. He must communicate, though not through the medium of direct logical speech, but through atmosphere, tone, suggestion. Poetry is essentially a link. As Nastasijević said of Dostoevsky, a writer who moved him more than any other, the only way to comprehend him was to lose oneself in his work²⁶. The surrealist who gives rein to his sub-conscious too often merely portrays the echo, obscure and indefinite, of quite everyday things, his work thus becoming not a heightening of reality but an expression of banality. Ultimately the purely personal of the surrealist is all too often just that separation of the ego from the whole that Nastasijević sought to avoid and which he saw as the besetting sin of much of Serbian modern poetry²⁷. The sense of *nadstvarnost* as Nastasijević employs it is very different. It means firstly that art begins where the essence of existence becomes inexpressible in terms of the rational, in terms of description. It cannot be rational in the sense of clear, logical description because it transcends this area of

²³ Vide. Slobodan Popović, *Misli M. Nastasijevića o književnom stvaranju*, Srp. Knj. Glas. Jan-April, 1937, p. 427.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Nastasijević, *Nekoliko beležke o Dostojevskom*, op. cit. knj. VII. p. 114.

²⁷ Vide Nastasijević, *O našoj savremenoj poeziji*, op. cit. p. 120, in which he characterises much new writing as the cries of a hurt ego.

experience²⁸. Such experience can only be intimated. But the process of intimation is a conscious act, an act of thought (in the use of language) as well as of emotion (in the evocation of emotional, sensual awareness). The purely personal of surrealism is thus absent. Nastasijević's poetry in *Gluhote* and *Reči u kamenu* is not purely personal poetry. The purely personal, the purely lyrical would be, for Nastasijević, just that separation of the being from the whole which he saw as degeneration and despair. It thus becomes clear that his use of the term *nadstvarnost* requires a specific understanding.

Before making any closer examination of *Gluhote* and *Reči u kamenu* it is necessary to add something more in general about Nastasijević's concept of tone, if only to avoid merely ignoring his statement that poetry is better left alone by the critic. His specific belief in the saying *Style est l'homme* and therefore inseparable and impossible of analysis may serve as a starting point. His preference for music as pure tone does not seem to me to call for a narrow, formalist, phonetic approach to his poetry. Indeed such an approach would appear to approximate to the very type of analysis Nastasijević feared. His poetry is free of the set forms of poetics for this very reason, neither insisting on them nor making any great effort to avoid them. S. Vinaver's insistence on the importance of tonic accent in Nastasijević's poetry scarcely seems to cover the point at issue although his remarks on the affect of stylised form on content are interesting²⁹. What Nastasijević would seem to mean by tone is at once simpler and more complex. If one utters a sentence, its meaning may be apparent firstly in the significance of the words themselves, their association, their imagery, their syntactical relation one to another. At the same time this meaning will be influenced also by the *tone* in which these words

²⁸ Vide. Nastasijević, *Beleške za stvarnu reč*, op. cit. p. 109, 1931, «... where speech is not essential, better be silent, where silence appears to be essential by all conditions, only then should one speak».

Or earlier in the same essay; «Why put into rhyme or prose what even to oneself is no discovery. For thought is most often merely a pale reflection of true thought. For mood is but an obscure echo of true being; but the smoke from the real fire».

²⁹ Vide Vinaver, introduction to vol. 1. Nastasijević, *Celokupna dela*.

are uttered. (Nastasijević always liked to read his poetry aloud). But this is not to speak of a domination of sound as sound. Rather it suggests that tone is an inseparable and essential part of a poem—surely a truism in relation to all speech. A written poem, however, not being read aloud by the author, suggests this tone through its syntax and imagery, through the sum of its components. Were this not so, it would be impossible to write a sarcastic letter. Tone, as Nastasijević employs it, does not refer to the narrow field of those critics who base themselves on phonetics, on tonic accent and metre. Rather it is the suggestive force of the over-all atmosphere of a poem inherent in its verbal structure and meaning. (Hence Nastasijević's preference for merely reading a poem rather than scanning it in accordance with some stereotyped system of prosody). In a letter we have no difficulty in recognising sarcasm or irony, even though we have not heard the live voice of the writer. We may reproduce this for ourselves, but only after having received intimations from the written word that such a tone is present. The live tone of the author is thus syntactically suggested.

Tone, then, for Nastasijević, meant something more than pure sound. Sound is also meaning. Hence his insistence on the inseparability of style. With this in mind, his view of music as the highest form of art becomes more readily comprehensible. In music, one imagines, he would have applied the same rules. No narrow analysis of rhythm, harmony, counter-point etc could serve as an exegesis of a piece of music. It would remain just what it was, a piece of music, a single expressive act. Although he is nowhere explicit on this point, Nastasijević would not seem to have raised music to pure sound, but would more likely have protested that it was nothing of the kind. Yet music, lacking the precision of the word, is less subject to the facile demarcation between style and content than is poetry. There comes a point at which the very fact that words possess an everyday meaning hinders their significance in poetry. A musical note, not possessing a precise meaning as does a word, may intimate its sense more truly, with less distraction, than language. Hence language in poetry must always be suggestive rather than descriptive. Description is always feminine gender,

it always falls short. Much experience of vital importance to human existence can be expressed only by a direct evocation of that very experience in words rather than through words. Nastasijević remarked that «Where poetry says its final word, music strikes its first chord»³⁰. Yet his opinion appears to rest on something less naive than the usual statements about the so-called spirituality of music. Rather it is that music, being more primitive than language, incorporates sound and significance more intimately than the word³¹.

If beauty, being the mystery of things and the link or union of all things in Oneness, is the essence of art, then it cannot be spoken in terms of everyday speech. Poetry cannot be governed by science and economics, for it is outside their sphere. A poetic statement can only be the evocation of an experience, a «Here it is!», a «This!». Therefore it is a single impact, an entity inseparable from its parts.

In approaching Nastasijević's poetry this must be kept in mind. Criticism does, indeed, imply an element of dissection. In this Nastasijević was correct. Yet without some sort of critical (in the sense of attentive) reading, it would seem likely that his poetry will remain the property of only a small esoteric circle. The integrity of a poem does not exclude the need to understand it. Such understanding must of course be recognised as referring back to the original entity. Nor is it my purpose to deny that a purely accentual study of the poems by some Yugoslav competent to do so would be of both interest and value. Nonetheless, what we possess is the written word (no recordings of Nastasijević's reading having, to my knowledge, been made), and thus it is through the syntax and imagery that the poems may be studied to good effect³². For Nastasijević poetic language is a special use of language. Thus, no matter how far rationalism is absent from the poems themselves, clearly a measure of ratiocination, as a primary move towards an intuitive understanding, is required of the reader, even perhaps the native reader, if the poems are to achieve their full impact. If this

³⁰ Nastasijević, *Oko umetničkog stvaranja*, op. cit. p. 30.

³¹ Nastasijević, *Za narodnu melodiju*, Srp. Knj. Glas. Sep.-Dec. 1927, p. 514. «Primitivity means that words and *melos* are one».

³² M. Popović, op. cit. «Poems are entire metaphors».

statement goes beyond the truth, at least it remains valid for the foreign reader of Serbo-Croatian poetry and it is for this purpose that the approach to these two cycles of poems is made in the ensuing sections.

II.

Nastasijević employs both archaic forms and those of dialect and of the folk poems, regularly extemporizing on them. This is to be seen in the group of ten poems entitled *Gluhote*. The title indicates the subject. *Gluhote* suggests silence in the sense of voicelessness, unutterability. The first poem expresses this in the relation of the heart to itself and the world.

O ne,
Šapata nespokoju ovom,
Vapaja ne.

I do neba kad,
I pakla,
Teži tim srcu muk.

O miruj,
Preteško moje,
Kami kamena mene,
Mukla steno.

Nastasijević's idea of tone appears immediately in his use of *ne* in the sense of *nema*, with its increased emphasis. The punctuation of the poem serves rather to mark a pause than to serve any syntactical purpose. To read it any other way would make for obscurity. The awareness of paradox in the body of existence is present in the contrast of *šapat* and *nespokoj* with *vapaj*. The silence is unrest or rather the unrest is silence for it has not a whisper. Yet it is more; a suggestion of the violence of a shriek, a scream trying to get out. The same use of opposites follows in the juxtapositioning of *nebo* and *paklo*. It is this silence that reaches to heaven and hell, that breeds the heart's greatest inspiration and despair. *Muk* is different from *ćutnja*, it is the Russian *tiš'*, *bezmolvie* as distinct from *molchanie*. The final four lines exemplify Nastasijević's frequent use of the vocative, a usage common in the folk poetry. *Preteško*

moje relates, of course, to *srce*, which in turn is *mukla stena*³³, a silent rock. But the exact tonic sense of the lines is born by the exclamation *kami kamena mene*. This clearly bears an analogy to such exclamations common in folk poetry as *Kam da mi je*. The word *kam-a* stone here signifies sorrow or the avoidance of it by the deadening of the heart. Here, however, Nastasijević uses the accusative *mene* instead of the dative. A parallel usage can be found in Nastasijević's poem *Izvoru* in his cycle of poems *Jutarnje* where we find *Jad jadani me*. Mr. Svetomir Nastasijević, the poet's brother, has suggested that the sense of this is « make me still more a stone, oh silent rock! »³⁴. Such a translation would suggest a verb *kamiti* (Nastasijević was not averse to coining words) and a second imperative in addition to *miruj*. Certainly this would seem the closest approximation to the general tone of the poem. The heart as stone suggests its silence, its motionlessness. Yet this is a paradox for its stoniness is also unrest, its silence the urge to utter, even to scream. Yet clearly the emphatic tone contained in the inversions, the vocatives and imperatives and in the dense syntax suggests predicament.

This predicament is developed in the second poem.

Otvrdnulo je,
Uzdrhti čudno,
Prevršiće.

I za kap samo,
I za kap,
Neizrečje ovo u reč
Smakom potopilo bi stvora,
Smakom tvar.

O miruj, miruj.
Šapata nespokoju ovom,
Vapaja ne.

The style takes on the compactness of a telegram. The subject of *otvrdnulo* is clearly still *srce*, forming a clear enjamb-

³³ For some explanations of this and other points which stem directly from the author vide M. M. Pešić, op. cit. Srp. Knj. Glas. Jan.-April 1938.

³⁴ I am particularly grateful to Mr Nastasijević for much advice regarding the interpretation of his brother's poems, advice which I shall refer to throughout this article.

ment of sense from the first poem. The restatement of the stony quality of the heart is further contrasted with the following verbs, *uzdrhti*, *prevršiće*, the three together being past, present and future. The solidified heart which perhaps also suggests separation, the thing turned in on itself, suffers from its very nature-it trembles strangely. The verb *prevršiti* means a going beyond itself, breaking the bounds of its nature. The heart is thus divided against itself. Yet to speak, to express involves yet another crisis. The repeated *I za kap samo*, *i za kap*, suggesting the dripping of inexpressibility into speech would destroy all people and things. *Smak* as in *smak sveta* has the association with the end of the world. *Neizrečje* suggests what cannot be expressed, the essence of the heart in its desire to go beyond itself. The suggestion being that in the light of such expression (or realisation) the normal world of the senses and of separate entity would vanish or, equally, that the individuality of the heart would be destroyed. Thus the yearning to speak the unspeakable is a risk. (In poem six we again meet the statement-*jer smakom do u korem smem*). With this assertion the appeal to the heart to be still is repeated.

The immediate affect of these two poems is to suggest an emotional and sensual condition. Their basis is metaphoric, the stone, the rock, hardness, trembling, expression a dripping into speech. Their significance also seems to lie in the suggested intensity of tone. Typical of Nastasijević's use of Serbian syntax is his ethical dative which is common throughout his poetry. Stanislav Vinaver noted this and its affect³⁵. He appears to recognise the greater immediacy and intensity of the dative over the genitive. (There is no escaping it.) It is such examples of usage (his inversion is surely another) that give a clue to Nastasijević's meaning when he stated that tone is something that goes beyond the mere semantic nature of words, something that is more purely present in music.

The following three poems present considerable difficulty and are typical of the impossibility to paraphrase Nastasijević. All are governed, by the assertion *Znam*.

³⁵ S. Vinaver, op. cit. p. 24. «Naročito okreni u kružni dativ, od koga nema begstva».

Znam,
Po strelicom je tame,
Te i u kamenu razdani.

I zamuknuv li,
Zrakom to neznani
Zavedri dan.

I znam,
Veliko, mukom jedno,
Tu kuca srce.

Uvoru gde izviralo,
Klici utaman biljka
tvrdom neznanja zrnju,
Gde se znalo.

I znam,
Veliko, tamon jedno,
Rodjaju zahodi sunce.

I ustav li
Gde igda palo,
Smiraj u rodjaju to
Nadje svoj mir.

All three poems are thus governed by the assertive *I know*. They are linked as a statement: *i znam*. The syntax is compact to a point of obscurity, although again the tone and the imagery produce a clear, yet not readily paraphraseable impact. *Po strelicom je tame* suggests the use of *po* meaning merely a, or one, (*Uzmite i Vi po jednu*) rather than the sense of *each*. *Tama* refers to the inexpressibility of the poet's heart, its obscurity, the predicament expressed in the first two poems. Again there is the same urgent condition as in *I za kap samo*. Let there be but a shaft of this obscurity (the stone that yet trembles strangely) and even in a stone day shall break. The word *neznan* suggests the universal unknowable, in contrast to the *tama* of the heart. Thus, even in its silence (*I zamuknuv li*) the day shall be lit by the light of the unknown, suggesting surely the spiritualisation of things. The paradox has intensified with the imagery. The very darkness involves a great light. The fourth poem introduces a new and broader image *veliko, mukom, jedno tu kuca srce*. The inversion of the last four lines again presents difficulties. Certainly the *gde* in the first and last lines modifies

the statement *klici utaman biljka, trvdom neznanja zrnu* being in apposition to *klica*. Where it has flowed into the sea, where all is known, then the plant is vain in relation to the bud (or comes vainly from the bud) that is but a hard kernal of ignorance. (We may note the use of *neznanje* in contrast to *neznan*). Both the fourth and fifth poems begin with a parallel statement: *Veliko mukom jedno/veliko tamom jedno*. The heart is thus associated also with the sun. Its predicament is expanded to an image of the whole of nature, just as the sun too is involved in the paradox of going down to its birth. The final lines further emphasise the oneness of birth and death. They are illusory in that one leads to the other.

To attempt any more than an approximate approach to the literal sense of these poems is both a vain undertaking and perhaps against the very nature of the poetry. They are not open to paraphrase. What faces the reader is an expansion of imagery from the heart outward to nature itself. The expression that by a single drop would involve all things in a flood of destruction, the risk, is now seen in terms of a deeper reality. Where self-knowledge is attained the individual life loses its meaning. Moreover the *tama*, the *muk*, the two dominating states of the heart, now also become the sun, the predicament of all being. And with the expanding imagery there is also a sense of increasingly suggestive tone. The inversion, especially in the fourth and fifth poems seems to suggest the inextricably interwoven nature of the paradox. (*Smiraj u rodjaju to-nadje svoj mir*. Even the *to* is important, for the statement has the force of the indicative). To read these poems is to clarify what Nastasijević means when he states that description is less than art and when he considers music superior because of the absence of exact meaning. The essential character of this poetry is suggestion (*nagoveštavanje*). More perhaps than rhythm or accent, the vehicle of this suggestion is the bald impact of metaphor.

The sixth poem introduces a new element. The author addresses a thou, the thou of beauty. He further specifies the paradoxical urge to express that is the being of the stony, silent heart. The first poems maintain a balance of imagery between the abstract and the concrete-*neizrečje*, *muk*, *nepokoj* and *kamen*,

stena, sunce. The sixth poem refers back again to the tragic situation of the heart.

Lepota jer
Zaslepi me,
I nem,

Dublje to,
Bolnije tim,
Životom bih te,
Muklim ovim nespokojem reći,

Jer smakom do u koren smem.
Al' muk tobom sam sve veći.
Gluho te u noći ove,
U dnevi bdim.

I na stopu mi,
Tobom zamukne hod,
I muklu putanju grem.

The situation is thus further clarified. It is beauty that now the poet addresses as a thou-it is the motive force involving the heart in its fatal contradiction. The tone of the poem is now personal. It refers, however, directly to the second poem and through it to the first. The first lines with their almost telegraphic syntax amplify the tragic significance of the will to express, to utter what in the state of solidified isolation is unutterable. Beauty (the mystery of things, as Nastasijević called it elsewhere) is the force that leads ever more profoundly and painfully to the risk of expression, of identity beyond self. (The fact that beauty blinds me, though dumb, makes me that I would yet more deeply, more painfully speak you through my life, through this unrest). The reference to the risk in the second poem now takes on a special meaning, for, despite it, *Smakom do u koren smem*. The risk is thus in the nature of being. It must be taken. Yet the paradoxical existence is, as a result of this, emphasised still further as torment, for thus the nights and days are spent waking and the road, by the very fact of beauty, is silent. The rhyme *nem*, *smem* and the archaic *grem* seems more importance emotionally than formalistically. Again there is the travelling along the scale from the abstract beauty and silence to the objective here and now of watching through

nights and days and of travelling a silent path. *Putanja* is a path rather than the common way-*put*, suggesting rather the orbit of fate. *Putanja* may also mean the astronomical term orbit). It is also of interest to note that the dominant word in all these first six poems of the cycle is the word *muk* which occurs in all but two of them. The theme of beauty also relates back to that of light proceeding out of darkness. The tone has become intensely personal. The line *Smakom bi potopilo stvor* is answered by *smakom do u koren smem*. The paradoxical situation is now complete. Though the poet must express beauty even at the cost of life itself, yet this very beauty intensifies the silence of his being before what cannot be expressed. The stone must yet burst its bounds which grow ever more solid and distinct.

With the seventh poem yet another element is introduced. The theme is no longer *muk*, no longer the call to peace, but something else; the attitude of being to the situation with which it is faced, in which it is.

Lek si,
A gnijem u srcu.

Krotinom ćuv to
Mrzli razjede kam.

I jer lek si,
Jer topolo bude svima,
Čudno me u prolet ovoj zima.

Lek si,
Bolujem te sam.

Again the thou would appear to be the beauty which was addressed in the sixth poem. Beauty is a cure but, because of the paradox, it still involves the being in protest and suffering. The breeze with its gentleness (surely that of beauty) corrodes even the stone of the heart, yet this fact does not avoid suffering-*zima u proleti*. Beauty is thus only part of a paradox, not its resolution. The use of the future exact-*bude*-in this context sounds almost ironical. Balancing the *ako bude toplo svima*; the quality of life as beauty, the poet's conclusion is one of resignation-*Bolujem te sam*. The poem is thus constructed on contradiction and again its dominant tone is personal.

The eighth poem, however, returns to the theme of beauty as a panacea with a renewed emphasis. The contradiction now becomes a single, healing entity. The paradox is itself of the nature of reality.

Lek si,
Dublje time leka mi ne.

I lepoti li
Muk ovaj rastočenja,
Krotini tvojoj vrelo.

Tajnije iz mutnje me to
Na bistrinu te
Zabistri tama,

Na rodjaj opelo.

The irony and protest are here overcome. The first lines reassert the statement of the seventh poem with greater force. This silence of waste is the very source of beauty. The silence that seems the enemy is now seen as the source of light. The inversion of syntax further suggests this oneness of opposites. The obscurity of the heart will lighten the speaker from yet more mysterious depths into the clarity of beauty itself. His darkness, the inexpressible sub-conscious will grow light and birth and death will be harmonised. The idea is still inherent in metaphor. *Na rodjaj opelo* -a hymn for the dead at birth- the order is expressive. The conclusion is that the silence of prodigality (and also *rastočenje* in the sense of pouring out-the process of repeated nature,) is the very source of the beauty and gentleness that inspire the heart from its separateness, from its self-confining nature of a stone. In the unrest that the heart suffers, so that it would almost wish to be entirely itself, entirely a stone, lies the very blessedness it seeks.

The final two poems, nine and ten, return to the predicament of the heart and may be taken together. M. M. Pešić quotes Nastasijević's own interpretation of the poems. «Nastasijević interpreted it (*Gluhote*) through the ninth poem that only great sufferings are the source of the beauty that is peace. Gentleness can only liberate (*krotinom ćuv razjede kam*) but this is no more than a consolation, for pain has turned to stone and grown

black while he (the poet) still desires a living wound, a ray of paradise from out of this hell »³⁶.

This paraphrase, however, would seem to suffer the fate of all such paraphrases of Nastasijević's poetry, even though the source is the author himself. It cannot be complete. (We need only appreciate the image of *krotinom čuv...*, the gentle wafting breeze...) The impact of the poems seems to lie in the imagery and the tone conveyed in the syntax.

Črč utrobi je,
Nemjlje tim,
Korenu premiranje,

Nevinije iz biljke čim
Progledava cvet.

I belinom krila kad
Radosno zamahne
U let.

Bol i to je,
I zacrnelo.

Again the structure is inverted. It is the *premiranje*-the dying away, the swooning-that is governed by *tim* and *čim*. The imagery too has changed drastically. It is lyrical white wings spread joyously in flight, the plant bursting into flower. Yet all this is governed by the first statement that it is a spasm of pain within. The pain that has been affirmed as the source of beauty is now presented as beauty itself in the image. The emphasis of the final lines is inescapable-*Bol i to je, i zacrnelo*. The last word seems to hammer home the contrast to the whiteness of flower and wing. The personal tone beginning with the affirmation *i znam* has now resolved into a climax in which the negative and positive are one, pictured and grasped in imagery.

The last poem takes up the statement once more;

Bol,
I zacrnelo. (The pause is implicit and important).

³⁶ M. M. Pešić, op. cit. «Nastasijević tumači devetom pesmom» da su jedina velika stradanja izvor lepote koja je mirna; krotost može samo da oslobodi (*krotinom čuv to razjede kam*); ali da je to samo uteha, jer bol se pretvorio u kamen i zacrneo, a on hoće ipak živu ranu, hoće iz pakla ovog zraku raja ».

Al' hoću, jer biva,
Rana li-
Duboko da je živa.

Iz pakla ovog
Za zraku nekud raja.

Iz greha
Da je neko svet.

I muku ovom
I mutnji,
Da nije kraja.

blagoslov
Za taj
Na vek, na vek klet.

The climax of the ninth poem is now rounded off in a personal tone, a tone that dismisses the first prayer to the heart to be a stone, to remain at peace. The repeated statement-*bol, i zacrnelo*- is in contrast to the new embracing of pain and suffering. The emphasis is in the jerky rhythm, the interjected *jer biva*. The tone is almost that of prayer, the last line suggesting this clearly. To achieve blessedness, to achieve a resolution, the predicament must be deeply accepted. The wound must be profoundly real, not merely the being of stone, of separateness, of the individual turned in on itself. So let the paradox go on, for its silence and obscurity are the very conditions of blessedness which is itself damned. The negative of the situation in the first poems is thus transcended into something different, something that cannot be expressed directly because it consists of a union beyond ordinary rational sense, the simultaneous oneness of the negative and positive.

Even to attempt so approximate an appreciation of these poems as the above is fraught with difficulty. Nastasijević relies so much on tone and imagery that the direct experience of the reader is of absolute importance. Nastasijević is aiming to suggest (*nagoveštavati*) what is not readily expressible. He aims at a direct emotional and sensual relationship with his reader through tone suggested through his syntax and through his imagery. In *Gluhote* one cannot speak of symbol in the ordinary sense because no image is merely a symbol. It is rather an im-

pact, a sensation suggested to the reader which has wider meanings than its immediate one which occur through the suggestion.

Nastasijević's poems in *Reči u kamenu* follow *Gluhote* and, as their title suggests, are a continuation of it. Having spoken of the predicament of the heart as stone with the urge to warmth and expressiveness, Nastasijević now speaks the words within the stone. The result is poetically somewhat different. The result is not so much an intensification of his style as a turning towards symbolism. The task he has set himself is clear; to express the inexpressible. The poet leaves the essence of existence for an approach to life as such with some suggestion of reference to the social life of his day. Nonetheless the poems are possessed of their own depth and interest.

III.

The fourteen poems that comprise *Reči u kamenu* employ metaphor to suggest an experience that lies behind the developing imagery of the poems. In this way they are perhaps more symbolic than those of *Gluhote*. The combination of imagery with Nastasijević's syntactical tone presents something which is intellectual and at the same time lyrical and emotional. The first poem, suggesting the language of Genesis, introduces a cycle that certainly speaks of being and becoming as they act and interact in the state of existence.

I bude,
Na vodi čudu,
Gojazna glad,
Beskrajem nebo,
Nebo zar?
Teško priklopi svarenje.

I jeste,
Tma kotlova u kotlu.
Boga li radi pristavi vrag,
Vraga li bog?

Nastasijević's punctuation is here, as in general, more an indication of pause than of the syntactical sense. Thus the first

four lines must be read with pauses as tone rather than interpreted strictly according to punctuation. The comma between *bude* and *na vodi čudu* is thus merely a pause of emphasis. The syntax of these lines presents a problem, though perhaps no problem if the reader is carried by the suggested tone with its pauses. Nastasijević would seem to have taken the Slavonic construction *byt čemu* (Russian *byt pogode*, for example) in its sense of something being fated to be, will be emphatically. The use of the exact form *bude* is in the spirit of Serbian. It may mean both future and emphatic present. The lines thus suggest a translation along the lines of «And there shall be a miracle on the waters». And the miracle, with all its dative essence, is the antithesis *gojazna glad*, a well-fed hunger³⁷. Such a paradox is the miracle of life contained by the over-hanging endlessness of sky that heavily covers, as a lid, the seething of life. (*Svarenje* has its association with *variti*, to boil, developed in the following image, *tma kotlova*, as also the sense of digestion, of a process). Yet there remains the question, *nebo zar* which is surely suggestive of more than merely a comment on the sky itself. The second part of the poem balances the *bude with jeste*, a straight affirmation of being. The emotional statement of the first part now becomes a clear affirmation. Indeed it is *tma kotlova u kotlu*, a metaphor that involves a recession both inwards, within the bounds contained by the sky, and outwards, a sphere within a sphere etc. (The archaic use of *tma* with its rich associations; multitude, darkness, its medieval and biblical associations). The question, *nebo zar?* is balanced by the final tone of doubt in the last lines. Judgement is thus withheld. What is certain is the inter-acting process, but this is certain.

Compared with *Gluhote*, *Reči u kamenu* employs a more concrete imagery. Poems two and three develop the statement in the first, the *gojazna glad*. The image of devouring, digesting

³⁷ Mr Svetomir Nastasijević suggests that the image was inspired by the idea of a town upon a great river. Certainly such an interpretation is supported directly by the heavy sky and the question, whether it be a sky indeed. Such a view does not much alter the sense of the poem, but the reader is more likely to feel the wider implications and associations of the image within the whole cycle of poems which leaves such a town as merely a symbol within symbols. A town as *gojazna glad*, as *svarenje*, *tma kotlova u kotlu* relates it thus directly to life itself and particularly human life as a seething.

is expanded. The second poem is a contrast in tone. Its unusually conventional rhythm, its somewhat naively ironical note, suggesting more the mass of humanity, of being, rather than the heart, seems at first a digression.

Živome živo krvavi dug,
Brat brata jede,
Druga drug.

Jede a pojedene
Nemanska utroba ih vari
Zle u goru krv.

The question regarding God and the devil has receded, for here the tone is condemnatory. The fact of cannibalistic strife is resolved into a unifying state, but this state is now the somewhat naive image of the *nemanska utroba*. Digestion is more than a devouring of one entity by another. The One devours itself and the process continues. With the new image the tone has become more emotional admitting a sense of cynicism, of predicament (*zle u goru krv*). But the process is sustained by its own nature, *gojazna glad*. The antithesis is further developed in the third poem.

To tma kad muva pauku,
Presitosti je
Ogladneti za gladju.

I pohoti to
Bolovati za skrnavljenjem.

Zadnju jer ne dovariv
Čistote kap,
Lazi nemoćna, plazi
Niz brda ova,
Niz trbuhe,
U mlaka svanuća.

The poem returns to the first, the *tma kotlova*. But the nature of hunger is now further specified. The use of the dative *presitosti*, *pohoti*, suggest Vinaver's inescapable quality. Hunger is the hunger of satiety, the hunger to hunger. Lust is to be sick for defilement. Hunger is thus joined by sex, the final six lines suggesting a sensual experience, their obscurity resolving in

the impact of *mlaka svanuća*. The element of irony is surely still there; *lazi nemoćna, plazi... u mlaka svanuća*. (Crawls, sprawls... into luke-warm dawns). The process is thus self-motivated. Lust and hunger are turned in on themselves. The lust to lust and the hunger to hunger. And this process involves *čistota*, purity, as impurity.

The fourth poem introduces a completely new set of imagery. The syntax again becomes tightly contracted. The tone is strain, frustration.

Stameno
Izmedju životâ po zid.

Kameno
Za hleb se svaki
Stontao na dlanu
Po žulj.

I brava,
I mimo brava
Ključ ključa u vratima vrata.

Izdaji to,
Muklije se uvuče.

The expression of process as one and self-motivated, i.e. it is what it is, is now replaced by the opposite of the unifying *tma kotlova*. The imagery is that of separation, of friction. The heavily stressed *kameno*, *stameno*, with their sense of hardness, impenetrability, introduce an imagery of locks, doors, keys. The image of labour would seem also one of separation, that of friction rather than union. Thus for every loaf or ear of wheat a callouse is raised on the palm³⁸. The use again of *po* further emphasises the apartness of individuality.

Yet this stress on apartness is now expressed again in a receding and therefore insoluble process. *Ključ ključa u vratima vrata*, keys lead to keys and doors to yet more doors. The experience aroused is surely one of confinement, of being shut in. Finally

³⁸ The rare word *stontati* suggests various possible meanings. Various people have been consulted including Mr. Ž. Mladenović, Mr. B. Knežević and Mr Svetomir Nastasijević. All seem agreed on a meaning to do with piling up, the hardening of an excrescence. *Natrontan čovek* means a man muffled in heavy, coarse clothing.

the poem again ends on a problem. Again the lines are difficult. *Izdaji* is a dative denoting this time direction. The subject of the verb is *to*, the emphatic indicative so much used by Nastasijević and here referring to the whole of the foregoing. Thus what has been expressed, insoluble as it is, remains a betrayal. A betrayal of what? We are returned, surely, to the heart, the essence of conscient being whose words these are, the stone. The very impossibility of union, the exclusion that is embodied in the very fact of friction, all this is but an insinuating treason; the return to the heart and its protest yet further emphasised by the comparative *muklije*.

The fifth poem intensifies this by turning openly to the person, the heart.

Zakiti, namerniče,
Pest okrvavi,
Bravama ovim po krvavu ružu.

Negostoprimlju
Krvlju nek' zapečati rdju
Sustali bog.

Široko nebo umoru,
Daljina blaga skapanju,
Topla li zemlja majka.

Nastasijević returns to the vocative. What arises now from the preceding poem is an exhortation. The title *namernik*, one who chances by, suggests now the predicament of the human heart. It is a chance comer, locked out of the One. The image is that of beating a fist on locks, a fist that will be bloody and leave a bloody rose as a decoration. The imagery of the first lines is thus clear. The fatalistic certainty of the earlier poems is now assaulted by this call to violent, if vain, action. The blood is a rose. The *sustali bog*, the tired god, here apparently referring again to man, the heart, may thus seal off the spreading rust (ergot) of inhospitality. The word *negostoprimlje* is a noun analogous to *neizrečje* and here in the ethic dative. Its reference to the exclusiveness of being suggests at once that this is something morally unacceptable, as is inhospitality. The final lines suggest a resignation, a consolation of space, of the sky, of the

mother earth with its emphatic *li*. (Here *li* may possibly be in its secondary sense of emphasis, similar to the Russian *zhe*).

The sixth poem moves away to reported speech. It is thus in the nature of a comment on a comment.

I kažu,
Za kap dve
Mirisnog ulja po telu
Tovar je potrgano ruža.

I što
U plemenitoj larvi
Gine leptirak,
Tmolini ložnica je,
Puti njinoj.

Pa ne užegne u ljubav
Ovu laž.

It is once again the theme of the first poems, the process, the devouring of one by another. Yet now the statement (ostensibly a saying of people rather than a statement by the heart, the poet) that for a drop of perfume a cartload of roses is plucked, is developed into the more definite image of the sacrifice of a living being. The image presents difficulties. It would appear at first sight to be the opposite of the usual image wherein it is the caterpillar that perishes to produce the butterfly. Here it is the butterfly that perishes for its flesh is but the couch for the darkness of its larva, the cocoon as the darkness of the grave. This is perhaps clarified by the term *plemenita larva* followed in the seventh poem by the line *puti za svilu*. The image refers to the silkworm. Again the conclusion is a protest against this saying. The subject of the verb *užegne* is probably the word *to*, here understood again referring to the entire saying. The statement *ne užegne u ljubav* at once justifies the arbitrary assertion that this is a lie. To the heart, the seat of love, as distinct from process and separation, this must be a lie.

The seventh poem seems to confirm this by placing love, recreation, joy firmly in the system of being.

Puti za svilu.
Blud bludu
Svilom u netrag to.

Truleži trulež
Na nesatrulimu vlat.

I zaturajući,
Gle, istina bude,
I začnu plod.

Jer u podrumu memli
Bleda se gljiva
Čedo nasmeši.

Pa Isaije likuj,
Čemerom kad neželjeni rod
Roditelja prostreli.

The process is re-affirmed—an endless exchange of flesh (here plural) for silk, decay following decay on an undecaying stem. Yet within this there comes the statement, with all its biblical poignancy, *And behold, concealing (zaturajući) there shall be truth and bring forth fruit.* There follows a reason and a conclusion. Even in a cellar the mushroom, the child, smiles forth. The continuation of life, the process which has been seen as something excluding the heart in separation, is now portrayed as giving birth again to things close to the heart, to *ljubav*, otherwise excluded by the view of a cycle of sacrifice and creation, of rising and falling, the subordination of being to a new substance, rather than its union. The imagery is on the level of life at its most basic, the dank cellar, the region of plant and fungoid growth. The last three lines return this to the sphere of the human heart with their evocation to Isiah, the bitterness cast by the children on the parents. («I have nourished and brought forth children and they have rebelled against me». Isiah 1.11). Nastasijević expresses something similar in an earlier cycle of poems where in *Roditelju* he wrote; *Plod ja bez ploda tvoj, i sudnja ovo u meni reč.* Here the sense of the reference is no more than suggested. Let Isiah rejoice even though his children transfix him with bitterness. The impact is «despite all this». The heart cannot be only stone. The little butterfly that perishes for the sake of the silk, the blood of the chance-comer, is not in vain. It is as much the truth as the unending process. Yet, if the truth shall be, then it is due to an inherent paradox in existence.

Dvojih
Pre sunca ukrštaj.

Sablasno
Noći u noć je taj bat.

Da prespava se,
Da pretegli u Boga dan.

Žedja jer noćniku
Ispiti sebi lik.

Nasušje daniku
U jaram vrat.

Doteturava
Noćna noga stan.

Krotina stari žulj
Teretu se potura.

Silazi niz prozora dan.

This poem expresses this inherent paradox in an immediate experience. Night and day each contain their own will towards their end. Night is a will towards day. Day is a will towards action. The image of thirst, *žedja je noćniku ispiti sebi lik*, reflects again an inherent contradiction unified by will. The leg of night staggers to its place and the day's rhythm is to labour. The final couplet returns the reader to the fourth poem, the separation of beings, the tension that raises callouses on the palm of the labourer. But here it is envisaged as an inherent will. (*Krotina stari žulj teretu se potura*). What has appeared as solidity and hardness is seen as the very nature of gentleness. Thus it is gentleness that turns the old callouse to its burden. It is one with the whole of being, just as out of the lie, the betrayal of repetition, truth comes and the child smiles even in the dank cellar in the form of fungus. The final line is thus of particular significance. «Day drops down the windows». The whole is no more than a common event, the dawning of day. Paradox exists in the everyday.

Thus the ninth poem returns to the theme of the second, only more dramatically and without its protest. We may note the telescoping of events in the syntax, reminiscent of the same affect in the folk poems.

Korak ih
 Povazda u lov.

 Zamka to zapinje ruka,
 Noga u zamci.

 Love,
 A ulovljeni.

 S večeri, tugo,
 Ko kome plen?

The tone here relates to the last line of the preceding poem. It speaks of the prosaic, externally real fact-*silazi niz prozora dan*. Now the poet relates this back to the hunter and hunted. The immediacy of the syntax is obvious. The *ih* whose step it is would seem to refer to night and day, the *dvojih* who interact, who cross before the sun rises. The tone is of urgency and vitality. It is a return to the activity of earlier poems. Again the last lines raise a problem. *S večeri, tugo, ko kome plen?* Who, then, is the prey of whom? The vocative, *tugo*, is once more a common emotional figure of the folk songs. Where, oh sadness, is your lament, for who is the prey of whom? Who then is the hunter and who the hunted? one might ask. The stark views of poems two and three are thus modified as are the protests contained in six and seven. This poem puts the situation *brat brata jede, druga drug* in a new way. It has thus changed, developed.

So far the imagery has been associated with plant life, with the hunter and hunted (the spider and the flies) and with day and night. Man has not entered directly onto the scene, save in the address to Isiah and to the chance-commer. In the tenth poem this is changed. The reference is to crucifixion and to Christ on the cross, the most human of symbols. Humanity is now the dominant referent of the poem.

Krst na raskršću
 Tu nauka.

 Sina ne raspeste Vi,
 Raspeo se sam.

 Ni nedra majci,
 Ni bedra.

U krstu kad nje
 Rodjaj vam i zadojenje,

 O zar za dalja raspeća
 Nevinoga ne.

 Sina ne raspeste Vi,
 Raspeo se sam.

Two facts are at once important. Firstly the opening lines are the expression of paradox-*krst na raskršću*-the cross on the cross-roads. The essence of tragedy; division, decision, the paradox that is symbolised in the very physical position of crucifixion. Secondly the tone is a continuation from the preceding poems. It addresses the reader or some third person. It is passionate. (*Sina ne raspeste Vi, raspeo se sam... O zar za dalja raspeća etc.*). We have lost the tone of the earlier *I bude, i kažu*. The essence of crucifixion is as inherent in man, in the heart, as is the contradiction already expressed in day and night, in hunger and lust. Again contraction produces obscurity. *Ni nedra majci, ni bedra* suggests a continuation from the *Vi*-neither you nor the womb and thighs of the mother, still more so when this is the very source of the son's birth and suckling. (The possible reference also to *krst* in the sense of the human fork makes this clear). There is always an innocent waiting for crucifixion, for it is inherent in being.

The following poem presents a quite new imagery. It is again night, but now suggesting some room, (possibly a *locale*).

Nisko se svetiljke upale,
 Goni noć.

 Nespokoj
 Zvezdaniz mir taj
 Njinom nespokojstvu.

 Na tavanicu
 Jer ne zasipe,
 Potajini o zidove
 Odbiju se šapati Boga.

 Sobe to ispuni,
 Sobičke,
 Čkilji iz kutija
 Njin dan.

The reference is one to be taken up in the following poem. People may, in their debauchery, find peace in the night, under the stars. Yet even here the whisper of God, the intimations of being, and its tragedy, do not rise to the ceiling thence gently to be scattered, but rather echo from wall to wall. (The verb *sipati* suggests a soft rain). Again it is the paradox, this time in human terms. The peace is still the echo of God's whisper, disquietude, that is still present. In the final lines this night's day flickers in a corner like a lamp dying, yet it is ever attendant on night. This imagery is developed still further in poem twelve where the image is now an old man and a girl, a figure that is familiar in the folk songs. It begins however with a re-statement of paradox.

Nisko i niže,
Boga dnom,
Naličje gde izvrne se u lik.

Starog modrokrvi
Naruči starac
Vina i devojku.

O, trikrat
Suva bi listala grana,
Trikrat biv

Oko trulog panja
Namotalo leta,
Koliko vina i njoj.

I samo i samo
Smežurava ruka o dojku.

Ne guknu, sejo,
Novorodjenče na njoj.

The intensification of the *niske svetiljke* by the *nisko i niže*, *Boga dnom* suggests the ultimate profundity. They affirm that the dual nature of things, the paradox, is the profoundest truth of God himself. The image of the old man and the maid, the leafing of the dry twig recall the apocrypha. At the same time the figure suggests the eternal desire for life and youth on the part of the individual. Here is the superficial appearance interpenetrated by the underlying reality. A wealth of research into association might be possible here. Yet the general sense seems clear. The old man calls for an old wine and a young girl.

The desire to live. The adjective *modrokrvi* refers of course to the blue veins of age and has no relation to the English blue-blooded. The desire is that the dry branch shall burst into leaf and twine thrice and thrice about its ancient rotted trunk as many years as the girl and the wine possess. One recalls the sinner who was forgiven only when a dried twig burst into leaf. It is the desire for life, and blessedness. The emphasis of the repetition—*O trikrat, trikrat bi...* is echoed by the *I samo, i samo...* The concluding lines are a rejection of this desire. The vocative *sejo* again bears an emotional intensity from the folk songs. (*Idem, sejo, na Kosovo ravno*). The verb *guknu* is an aorist and here is used as the past in the sense of the subjunctive. The final lines thus negate the entire image. The lasting desire for life is vain since it produces nothing. The individual's life urge alone is in vain. We may refer back to the reference to Isaiah. The thirteenth poem is linked to this by the word *a*—it refers to it.

A bludu pod prozorom,
Tik tu,
Vrta se malo začeprijalo.

Vonji na miris,
Mirisu na vonj.

I zamirišu li biljko,
Truleži dah to je iz tebe,
Na stabljiku na list.

The use of *vonj* and *miris* as distinctive opposites is again the plant, scent and decay. The old man's desire has become once more the mindless *blud*. The transition is achieved by the image—beneath the window of copulation. The poem is, again, suggestive rather than definite. *Vrta se malo začeprijalo*—a little of the garden is scratched up—has an ironic sound to it. The sense of *biljka* might be taken to refer to the *devojkica*, but not necessarily. The use of *vonj* and *miris* as distinctive opposites is again the process from life to decay, decay to life. The vocative *biljko* seems to balance *sejo* from the preceding poem while the subject of the plural *zamirišu* is unstated. Despite this the sense seems to be sufficiently clear. The leaf and the young plant bear already the stench of decay. Death and birth are one. The process, the copulation, is the vessel of the heart, (here alone is the garden

scratched up) though this will be so only in a tragic conflict. The heart has not found its way out of the labyrinth of separate being, nor is being itself an answer to its yearning. Thus the final poem in the cycle ends on a note of resignation. The eternal tragic paradox has to be accepted but with the realisation that out of it may come the moment of blessedness, the glimpse of sanctity.

I to pa to,
I sve to.
Na ku?no medje
Prečista bude,
Kad stala.
Nečisti kap
Čedno se otkinula
I pala.
S mesecem
To tiho tek
Izmili setna budala.
I to pa to,
I sve to.

The final resignation is forced upon the heart, the *kamen*, whose words these are. Yet it now contains hope instead of bare protest. It is born in on us by the first and final couplets, which serve as the frame-work of the poem. The intervening lines, however, suggest the moment of greatest degradation-*kužno medje*-where the feminine-*prečista* will be purified-the heart will find itself. It will do so only on the very frontiers of corruption and disease. And finally the moon, the *setna budala*, the holy fool, sad as the heart itself is sad, will appear¹⁹. Con-

¹⁹ Nastasijević used this same image of the moon, the old man and the girl in another poem, here meant rather as a symbol of sterility. The heart in its own yearnings is, of course, sterile in face of the life process. It is outside it. Thus the use of the same image is understandable.

Namirisani poljubac za aspru i vino
Pa mladost da se upali
U očima krezubih staraca
Pa da blaženo prevlače rukom
Niz kupljene grudi
Da novorodjenče nikad ne zaplače na njima
Odozgo svali se mrak
I nevidjeno setni mesec preplicava nebesa ».

Vide. M. Pervić, *M. Nastasijević*, Beograd, 1963, pp. 29-30.

fronted with being the heart may thus have only momentary and contradictory glimpses of itself and its true nature. The moon seems to symbolise the living soul with its contradiction of the nature in which and of which it is. M. Pešić concluded that this final poem means;

«The conclusion, experienced in itself, is that one remains alone with fate, with which one may say » Oh lady, my unfortunhate life is squandered in poetry ». In other words one remains with suffering and the poetry of fate, alone and ossified. *I to pa to i sve to*. And only occasionally, like a shadow, appears, painfully and ironically the moon-*s mesecem to tiho izmila setna budala* »⁴⁰.

But this conclusion has been reached in the poems only through a circuitous succession of moods and themes. The final statement may appear at first not to be so very far from the first, yet it is entirely different. The imagery has moved from the non-human to the utterly human, religious image. Yet any final paraphrase of the poems would be valueless, if even possible. Their essence lies in the suggestibility of the imagery and syntax. Nastasijević's views of music and suggestion (*nagoveštavanje*) seem to emerge clearly from a reading of these poems. They make their impact with imagery and sensation and avoid any definite, translateable statement. The entire cycle of *Reči u kamenu* is like a musical development of a theme. We have a repetition of the same thing, but developed, changed, until, finally, a synthesis is reached.

IV.

To choose these two cycles of poems from *Pet lirskih krugova* may, at first glance, seem arbitrary. Yet, although they are linked with the foregoing cycles of poems (as indeed with Nastasijević's later poetry) they seem to present the synthesis of his poetry in a single development as well as being the farthest stage reached by his use of his own particular imagery and syntactical method.

Nastasijević is perhaps a symbolist in a deeper sense than

⁴⁰ M. Pešić, op. cit. p. 335.

any other Serbian poets who have been given the name, for his suggestion through imagery in *Reči v kamenu* is often just this. At the same time he often uses the general atmosphere, the *ambience*, of the poem to suggest a state that is itself symbolic. In this examination rhythm, accent, form as such have been purposely left untouched. An attempt has been made to follow the suggestion of the syntax and imagery without any more definite attempt at paraphrase. To go further would be to invalidate the poetry. Though in one sense intellectual poetry, its impact relies so much upon the emotional appeal of image and tone, it can only really be seen as developing themes and images. In this way, there is no possible separation of style and content than there is in any poetry. The poetry flows out of experience and that experience is unspeakable save in the form in which it is. Seeking to express a profound awareness of the predicament of the heart, Nastasijević reaches into the extremes of the Serbian language, straining and shaping its syntax into a new instrument of expression. He is a deeply original poet and significant in a way that few Serbian poets of the period were. Naturally he does not stand apart from European poetry, despite his emphasis on national culture and its sources. He is as much related to Europe as any of his contemporaries. Yet at the same time he is as completely within the frame-work of his own language and tradition as was the early Branko Radičević. For this reason his influence on modern Serbian poetry has been of such importance. His *nadstvarnost* is both more individual and more significant than that of the Serbian surrealists themselves. His poetry is less a departure from than a return to the national language and culture. The historical conditions of contemporary Serbian literary life and taste as well as ensuing developments have tended to make of Nastasijević an esoteric poet, the poet of a small group of intellectuals. Such a judgement is clearly an error, an error witnessed by the whole trend of Serbian literature away from the merely social towards the existential through the works of such writers as Konstantinović, Bulatović, Popa, Isaković and many others.

E. D. Goy

ITALIAN WORDS IN PREPETRINE SOURCES

In the 17th century the Russian vocabulary was greatly expanded by borrowings direct and indirect from the Western European languages. Many of the borrowed words were of Latin origin; some ultimately of classical Latin origin. The neologisms also included words borrowed from the Romance vocabularies and amongst these Italian loanwords played a specific role.

Innovations in vocabulary were made in a number of definable contexts. The most numerous category is of words introduced in translations. Among the less productive contexts were the reports of ambassadors and other travellers; correspondence; interrogation of prisoners of war; original writings in Russian. Of these the last is obviously the most important providing as it does evidence for the absorption of a word into the active vocabulary.

Perhaps the first Italian loanword in Russian is *bašnja* 'a tower'!¹ This is based on It. *bastia* 'a fort or fortification'. It is possible that the word was introduced orally by Italian architects or builders for it exhibits features more typical of oral than literary borrowings: the primary borrowing was *bašta*²

¹ Russian words will be cited according to the British standard system of transliteration. Possible earlier Italian loanwords in Russian are *kardinal* — in the 13th or 14th century life of Alexander Nevsky, and *pancyr* — first in the translation of the book of Macchabees made for Gennadij's Bible, Novgorod, 1499, v. F. I. Buslajev, *Paleografičeskije i filologičeskije materialy dlja istorii pis'men slavjanskich*, Moscow, 1855, p. 52.

² *Bašta* occurs first as a representation of the Italian toponym *Bastia* in Simon of Suzdal's account of the Russian delegation to the Council of Florence — 1439, v. N. I. Novikov, *Drevnjaja rossijskija vivliofika*, Moscow, 1788-1791, vol. 6, p. 38. *Bašta* 'tower' is given the date 1470 by M. Vasmer, *Russisches etimologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1950-1958, s.v. *Bašnja* occurs in 16th century sources, e.g. Kurbsky's history of Muscovy and the first chronicle of Poskov, v. I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam*, Saint Petersburg, 1893-1912, vol. 3 (supplement), col. 8.

which agrees with the Czech and Polish forms but could be independent of them, — to the stem *bašt-* was added the suffix *-nja* seen in other words descriptive of buildings or parts of buildings e. g. *kuchnja*³, *papernja*⁴, *časovnja*⁵. Lapse of *-t-* between sibilant and nasal consonant is the normal Russian phonological development, cf. *čestnyj*, pronounced [tʃɛsnɨj].

Ambassadorial reports from Italy contain a number of words adapted from Italian, often because there was no precise equivalent for them in Russian. The gondola, a notable feature of the Venetian scene, retains its Italian name: *gundula*⁶. The furnishings of a gondola are described by a Russian ambassador by the adverbial phrase *po koretnomu*⁷ 'in the style of a carriage'. The adjective *koretnyj*⁸ is based on the 17th century loanword *koreta*⁹ 'a carriage' of frequent occurrence in accounts of the tsar's court; *-o-* here appears for *-a-* of It. *carretta* possibly by hypercorrection of *akan'je* in the pretonic syllable.

Other words which occur in ambassadorial reports include the names of wines: *alikant* / It. *alicante*¹⁰, *malvazija* / It. *malvasia* 'malmsey'¹¹; the title *kavaler* / It. *cavaliere*¹²; *barka* 'a vessel' / It. *barca*¹³; *škatula* 'a box' / It. *scatola*, probably via

³ 'Kitchen' — late 16th century in Kurbsky's description of the fort of Tallinn, v. *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, published by Archeografičeskaja kommissija, Saint Petersburg, 1872-1914, vol. 31 (1914), p. 259.

⁴ 'Paper-mill' — 1678, in translation from Polish, *Dvor cesarja tureckago, sočinenije Ksenza Simona Starovol'skago*, v. n. 42 of *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva*, published by Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti, Saint Petersburg, 1878-1925, p. 7.

⁵ 'Oratory' — 14th century, v. *Sreznevskij*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 1475.

⁶ In Čemodanov's account of an embassy to Venice, v. *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 142-339 (1657).

⁷ *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 164.

⁸ E. g., *koretnyje lošadi* 'coach horses' and *koretnyje masteri* 'coach-builders', v. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenii drevnej Rossii s deržavami inostrannymi*, Saint Petersburg, 1851, published by *Sobstvennaja jeho imperatorskago veličestva kanceljarija*, vol. 4, col. 404 (1662).

⁹ N. A. Popov (ed.), *Akty moskovskogo gosudarstva*, Moscow, 1890-1901, vol. 2, p. 188 (1648); *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenii*, vol. 4, p. 375 (1662) and p. 596 (1667). The word is used by Archpriest Avvakum in an attack on the ostentation of the Muscovite hierarchy, v. N. K. Gudzij (ed.), *Žitije protopopa Avvakuma im samim napisannoje i drugije jeho sočinenija*, Moscow, 1934, p. 220.

¹⁰ Lichačev's account of an embassy to Florence, *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 353.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 157 and 220 (1656); p. 343 (1659).

¹³ *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 153, 170, 202, 221, (1656, Venice).

Polish¹⁴; *dokutan* 'ducaton' / It. *ducatone*¹⁵; *gvardija* 'guard' / It. *guardia*¹⁶.

Many Italian words were introduced in translations of Polish works with a Mediterranean background such as M. Ch. Radziwiłł's account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land¹⁷ or Simon Starowolski's description of the Turkish court¹⁸. There appear to be no direct translations from Italian into Russian made during the prepetrine period. Translations were made of the Polish versions of some Italian works. Among these one of the most interesting from the point of view of a lexicologist is the geographical work of G. Botero, *Relationi universali*, one of the editions of which was printed in Venice in 1608¹⁹. Polish translations under the title *Relatiae powszechne* and *Theatrum wszytkiego świata* were published in Cracow, the former in 1609 and 1613, the latter in 1659²⁰. Surviving manuscripts of the Russian translation from Polish include the following items in the catalogue of the Lenin Library, Moscow: F. 236/10 and Rum. 20²¹; in the following paragraphs the former MS will be designated R1 and the latter R2, while the Italian edition of 1608 will be designated BR and the Polish edition of 1613 BRP²⁷.

Among the Italian words which survive in the Russian version there are certain identifiable semantic groups.

1. The names of unfamiliar zoological and botanical species:

pelligrinami, instr. pl., (R1, 244 verso) / Pol. *pelligrinami* (BRP, 154) cf. It. *pellegrini* (BR, 111), 'peregrine falcons'.

¹⁴ *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 339-359 (1659, Florence).

¹⁵ *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 358 (1659, Florence).

¹⁶ *Novikov*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 470, (1667, France).

¹⁷ P. A. Gil'tebrandt (ed.), *Pochoždenije v zemlju svjatuju knjazja Radivila Sirotki, 1582-1584*, Saint Petersburg, 1879. (Abbreviation: R. P.).

¹⁸ See footnote 4.

¹⁹ Earlier editions were published in 1592 (Rome), 1595 (Vicenza), 1596 (Venice), 1598 (Brescia), 1599 (Venice), 1602 (Venice).

²⁰ For full bibliographical details see K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, Cracow, 1870-1938, vol. 13 (1894), pp. 291-293.

²¹ For some bibliographical details see A. I. Sobolevskij, *Perevodnaja literatura moskovskoj rusi XIV-XVII vėkov*, Saint Petersburg, 1903; first published in *Sbornik otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, *Akademiya nauk*, Saint Petersburg, vol. 74, part 1, 1867.

²² Unless otherwise indicated the references are to the first part of the Italian and Polish versions.

grifalkove, nom. pl., (R1, 244 verso) / Pol. *gryfalkowie* (BRP, 154) cf. It. *grifalchi* (BR, 111), 'gerfalcons'.

onzy (R1, 247 recto) / Pol. *onze* (BRP, 175) cf. It. *onze* (BR, 127), 'lynxes'.

gejena (R1, 255 recto) / Pol. *hyena* (BRP, 209) cf. It. *hyena* (BR, 152) 'hyena'.

ziveto[v] (R2, 138 verso - the last letter in this MS appears to be *n*) / Pol. *zibetow* (BRP, 224) cf. It. *zibetto* (BR, 163) 'civet cat'.

marreli (R1, 234 recto) / Pol. *morreli* (BRP, 66) cf. It. *morelle* (BR, 47) 'Prunus armeniaca'.

spartov (R1, 229 recto) / Pol. *spartow* (BRP, 5) cf. It. *sparto* (BR, 3) 'esparto grass'.

benzujev (R1, 247 verso) / Pol. *benzuiow* (BRP, 177) cf. It. *di benzui* (BR, 129) 'of gum benjamin'.

Some of the exotic names were American in origin, for example

zvěr' tutasija kotorogo gišpany zovut armadilo (R1, 274, recto) / Pol. *Tatusia, ktore His panowie nazywaią armadilio* (BRP, 299) cf. It. *la Tatusia che gli Spagnuoli chiamano Armadiglio* (BR, 225). F. J. Santamaria, *Diccionario general de Americanismos*, Méjico, 1942, vol. 3, p. 144, derives *tatusia* from Guaraní Indian *tatú* and defines as « nombre genérico del armadillo de todas clases ».

t[l]akvacov (R2, 166 verso) / Pol. *Tlaquaciow* (BRP, 277) cf. It. *Tlaquaci* (BR, 208); Santamaria, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 183, derives *tlacuache* 'Didelphis virginiana' from Aztec *tlacuatzin* and defines as « nombre che se da en Méjico, a un marsupial didelfídeo, muy común ».

2. Commercial terms, installations, products:

milionov, gen. pl., (R1, 247 recto), *milion* (R2, 170 recto).

fabrika (R2, 14 verso) / Pol. *Fabrika* (BRP, 13) cf. It. *fabrica* (BR, 9).

²³ The usual prepetrine word for cinnamon was *korica*; L.F. Zmejjev, *Russkije vračebniki*, Saint Petersburg, 1895, attests *sinamomum*, *cinamomi*, *kinamon*, in 17th century Russian medical handbooks.

²⁴ Cf. *ulinar-* for Lat. *urinale* in a 17th century source cited by Zmejjev - MS n. 110 according to his numeration. Analogy with the suffix *-ar'* may have played some part in the metathesis.

porcelen, (R2, 106 recto), *pordelljan* (R1, 247 verso) / Pol.

porcellan, gen. pl., (BRP, 177) cf. It. *porcellane* (BR, 129).

canellja ili cinamon (R2, 245 recto) / Pol. *canella abo cinamon* (BRP, part 2, p. 45) cf. It. *la canella* (BR, part 1, vol. 2, p. 24).

minera (R2, 245 verso and elsewhere) cf. Pol. *minery*, nom. pl., (BRP, 177) for It. *minere* (BR, 129) 'mines'.

3. Military and naval terms:

kovalerii (R2, 132 recto) / Pol. *kawalleriey* (BRP, 215) cf. It. *di cavalleria* (BR, 157), 'of horsemanship'.

vloskije pektolary (R1, 249 verso) / Pol. *włoskie pektoraty* (BRP, 189), cf. It. *pettorali* (BR, 137) 'breastplates'; note metathesis of *r-l-* to *l-r-*.

galerii (R2, 246, verso), cf. Pol. *galerze* (BRP, part 2, p. 67), It. *galere* (BR, part 1, vol. 2, p. 42).

golějen ukrepleny s arliatoju (R2, 249 recto) cf. Pol. *galeony obwarowane armatą* (BRP, part 2, p. 67) It. *galeoni armati* (BR, part 1, vol. 2, p. 42).

4. Geographical terms:

archipelagu, gen. sing., (R1, 227 verso) / Pol. *arcypelagu* (BRP, 1) cf. It. *dall'arcipelago* (BR, 1) 'from the archipelago'; note the Greek form of the prefix restored at the Russian stage;

tropiki nazyvajem dva arcykulja (R2, 158 recto) cf. Pol. *tropiki zaś nazywamy dwa circuty* (BRP, 265), It. *tropici poi si chiamano due circoli* (BR, 197), 'we call the two [imaginary] circles [in the sky] the tropics'. Note analogy in *arcykulja* to the Pol. prefix seen in *arcybiskup*, etc.

to golfo kotoroje (R2, 168 recto) cf. Pol. *to golfo ktore* (BRP, 279), It. *questo golfo che* (BR, 209); note the interpretation in Polish and Russian of final It. *-o* as a neuter ending. Elsewhere

²⁵ *Golějen* has *-o-* by hypercorrection of *akan'je*, *-je-* stands for phonetic *-jo-*; *-li-* in *arliatoju* is a scribal error for *-m-*.

²⁶ If the Russian translator was familiar with Pol. *kula* 'a ball' the whole phrase *arcykulja* could represent an attempted rationalisation of the alien word.

the gen. sing. *golfy* occurs (R2, 176 verso) as it were from a feminine noun *golfa*.

puntoju, instr. sing., (R2, 168 recto) cf. Pol. *punta* (BRP, 279) It. *la punta* (BR, 209), 'point'.

torrida strana (R2, 158 recto) cf. Pol. *Zona Torrida* (BRP, 260) It. *Zona Torrida* (BR, 193) 'torrid zone'.

5. Architecture, monuments:

kvadrovatyja (R2, 133 verso) cf. Pol. *kwadratowego* (BRP, 216) It. *in quadro* (BR, 158) 'square'²⁷.

piramidami, instr. pl., (R1, 257 verso) / Pol. *pyramidami* (BRP, 215) cf. It. *piramidi* (BR, 157).

labyrintami, instr. pl., (R1, 257 verso) / Pol. *labyrintami* (BRP, 215) cf. It. *labirinti* (BR, 157).

odeliškami, instr. pl., (R1, 257 verso) / Pol. *obeliszkami* (BRP, 215) cf. It. *obelischi* (BR, 157); the word is translated in R2, 133 recto by (*domami celymi odnogo kameni*) *odelannymi*²⁸.

It is only by comparing the text of the Russian MS with the Polish version and the Italian original that a word may be identified as a new borrowing from Italian.

Sometimes an Italian word was translated into Polish by an earlier borrowing from Latin. For example *oglio* 'olive oil' (BR, 3) is translated by Polish *oliwa* (BRP, 4) and *oliue* (BR, 3) by Pol. *oliwkami* (BRP, 4)²⁹. Therefore *oliva* and *olivkami* in the Russian text (R2, 10 recto) are to be regarded as Polish-Latin loanwords. Italian *naranci* (BR, 3) and *melaranci* (BR, 36) are both replaced in the Polish translation by *pomarańcze* (BRP, 4 and 51) an earlier borrowing of It. *pomarancia*³⁰. For *di gesso* (BR, 6) the Polish version has *kreciane* (BRP, 9) an adjective based on Pol. *kreta* / Lat. *creta* 'chalk'³¹.

²⁷ There is possible analogy to the adjectival suffix *-ovatyj*.

²⁸ *Odelannymi* appears to be a misreading of *obeliszkami* in some earlier manuscript.

²⁹ *Oliwa* 'olive tree' occurs in Jan Stanko's *Antibolomenon* of 1472; *oliwa* 'olive oil' in the herbal of Marcin z Urzędowa of 1595; *oliwki* 'olives' occurs in the herbal of Marcin Siennik of 1568. v. J. Rostański, *Symbola ad historiam medii aevi*, Cracow, 1900.

³⁰ *Pomarańcze* in Siennik's herbal.

³¹ For Pol. *kreta* beside the more common *kreda* v. A. Bruckner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Warsaw, 1957, p. 265. Latin *creta*, Pol. *creyda* are recorded by Stanko (1472).

If a Slavonic synonym was available it was often introduced by the Polish translator. The names of known zoological species, for example, were translated by Polish words which sometimes survive in the Russian version. *Terzuoli*, *sparuieri*, *smeregli* (BR, 111) are translated by Pol. *sępów*, *białozorów*, *krogulców* (BRP, 154) a phrase which reappears in the Russian version as *sempy*³², *belozor*, *krogulcy* (R2, 90 verso); we may conclude that the Russian writer was entirely dependent upon the Polish version for his ornithological terms. The translation of It. *cefalo* 'mullet' (BR, 161) by Pol. *głowacz* 'bullhead' (BRP, 221) whence Russian *golovač* (R2, 136 verso) owes more to etymology than to ichthyology. None the less it indicates the Polish translator's readiness to replace Italian words by Polish synonyms when these were available.

It also happens that where in the Polish text an explanatory gloss has been inserted only the gloss survives in the Russian version. Thus It. *conserve* (BR, 32), Pol. *konserwy* *abo konfekty* (BRP, 45) R. *konfekt* (R1, 232 verso)³³.

Some Italian words adopted by the Polish translator were eliminated in the Russian version. *Termentina* 'turpentine' (BR, 3) survives in Polish as *termentyny*, gen. sing., (BRP, 5) but is replaced in Russian by *skipidar* (R2, 11 verso)³⁴. For It. *scudi* 'escudos' (BR, 9) the Polish version has *szkutów*, gen. pl., (BRP, 13) the Russian version *jefimkov*, gen. pl., (R2, 14 verso)³⁵.

Among the Italian words met in the translation of Radziwiłł's

³² Note the reflex of the Polish nasal vowel. One would have expected *supy*, cf. V. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar'*, vol. 4 (1882), p. 362.

³³ *Konfekt* occurs in Szymon Syreniusz, *Zielnik*, Cracow, 1613, and in a 17th century Russian medical handbook cited by Zmejjev, op. cit., n. 16 according to his numeration.

³⁴ *Skipidar*, with derived adjective *skipidarnyj*, a fairly common word in 17th century Russian may be a derivative of Lat. *spica nardi*. If *spika* were declined as a Russian *a*-stem noun its genitive singular, a case frequently used in medical prescriptions, would have the form *spiki*. From a gen. sing. *spiki-nardi* or with metathesis in the first part *skipi-nardi* a nominative singular *skipinarda* could evolve by back-formation. The final syllable of *skipidar* could be by analogy with the suffix *-ar*; *-n-* may have been lost by association with the adjectival suffix in *skipidarnyj*.

³⁵ *Jefimok* 'a dollar' based on the first part of Joachimsthal, with labialisation of *-ch-* to *-f-* and contraction of *-oa-*, is frequent in Russian from the late 16th century - first in the accounts of English merchants in Russia, v. *Sbornik imperatorskago russkago istoričeskago obščestva*, vol. 38, p. 220.

pilgrimage we may note the following: the names of winds — *levante sirokko* (RP, 206), *maestro* (RP, 114), *ponente maestro* (RP, 109), *syrokka artemon* (RP, 16), *tremontana* (RP, 173); naval terms - *artemon*, / *tercerola* (RP, 206); titles - *kamendant* (RP, 189), *gubernator* (RP, 56), *kvardian* (RP, 102).

A notable contribution to the military vocabulary was made by Italian during the 17th century. Among words met in active contexts we find the following:

formations: *škvadron* (1661)³⁶

firearms: *arkobuz* (1569)³⁷, *karabin* (1643)³⁸, with derived adjective *karabinnyj* (1657)³⁹, *mušket* (1631)⁴⁰, with derived adjective *mušketnyj* (1670)⁴¹, *pistolet* (1631 in translation of a letter from German⁴², 1661 in an active context)⁴³, *bandeler* (1638)⁴⁴.

artillery and explosives: *artillerijst* (1677, in an ambassador's report from Poland)⁴⁵, *inžener* (1655)⁴⁶, *volkonet* 'falconet' (1588)⁴⁷, *granat* (1656)⁴⁸, with derived adjective *granatnyj* (1659) in a context of interrogation of prisoners of war⁴⁹, 1661 in an active context)⁵⁰, *pinard* 1614 from It. *spingarda*⁵¹.

³⁶ Popov, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 68, 69, (1660), pp. 309, 314, 317, 423 (1661).

³⁷ P. I. Savvaitov, *Opisanije starinnych russkich utvarej i odežd*, Saint Petersburg, 1896, p. 122.

³⁸ *Akty sobrannyje v bibliotekach i archivach rossijskoj imperii*, published by Archeografičeskaja kommissija, Saint Petersburg, 1836-1838, vol. 3, n. 319, p. 468.

³⁹ E. V. Barsov ed., *Rospis vsjakim veščam, den'gam i zapasam, čto ostalos' po smerti bojarina Nikity Ivanoviča Romanova i dači po nem na pomín duši*, Moscow, 1887, p. 49.

⁴⁰ Ju. N. Ščerbačev (ed.), *Russkije akty kopengagenskago gosudarstvennago archiva*, Saint Petersburg, 1897, vol. 16 of *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, col. 637.

⁴¹ Recorded in the inventory of the military stores at Kiev, made in 1677, and published in *Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestvė istorii i drevnostej rossijskich pri moskovskom unversitetě*, Moscow, 1884, book 2, p. 13.

⁴² Popov, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 332.

⁴³ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 358.

⁴⁴ Popov, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 54.

⁴⁵ A. Popov, *Russkoje posol'stvo v Poľšěv 1673-1677 godach*, Saint Petersburg, 1854, p. 287.

⁴⁶ N. A. Popov, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 410.

⁴⁷ *Sbornik imperatorskago rossijskago istoričeskago obščestva*, vol. 38, p. 228.

⁴⁸ N. A. Popov, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 533.

⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 669.

⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 373.

⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 104; initial Italian *s-* was probably lost by association with the Slavonic preposition.

ranks - *želdak* (1655, in a context of interrogation)⁵², *kornet* (1662, in an order releasing Polish and Lithuanian prisoners)⁵³; *želdak* is for It. *soldato* with substitution of a Slavonic suffix *-ak* for It. *-at-*.

A significant and permanent contribution to the terminology of music was made by the Italian language in the period under review. In Mikołaj Dilecki's *Idea grammatikii musikijskoj* extant in a manuscript of 1679⁵⁴ we find a fully developed vocabulary of musical terms many of which are Italian in origin. As the author's autograph is in the Latin alphabet we may conclude that he was either a Pole or a polonised Ruthenian⁵⁵. This work is a translation into Russian Church Slavonic of a Polish original. The translation was made in Moscow by the author himself with the collaboration of one Vasilij Rezanec for the use of Russian students of polyphonic music which was introduced into Muscovy during the 17th century from Kiev and other Ruthenian cultural centres open to Polish and west European influences.

After a florid introduction dedicated to his patron Grigorij Dmitrijevič Stroganovič and written in the Church Slavonic high style demanded by the context Dilecki gives a full account of the art of polyphonic composition. He incorporates a complete technical vocabulary, sometimes explaining a neologism by a Russian gloss.

The notes are given their names according to the traditional gamut: *ut, re, mi, fa, sol', lja, ti*. Accidentals are denoted by the adjectives *bemmolljarnaja* 'flat', *dijezišovaja* 'sharp', cf. It. *bemolle* and *diesis*. A flat key is *bemmuljarnyj ključ*, a sharp key *dijezišovyj ključ* and a natural key *dural'nyj ključ*. The adjective *dural'nyj* is based on either Latin *durus* or It. *duro* with the addition of an adjectival suffix *-al'nyj* which is of frequent occurrence in Dilecki's terminology of music⁵⁶. The voices *alt,*

⁵² N. A. Popov, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 464.

⁵³ *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenii*, vol. 4, col. 391.

⁵⁴ MS Rum. (fund.) 107, of the Lenin Library, Moscow: the full title reads - *IDEA Grammatikii Musikijskoj sostavlena prežde Nikolajem Dileckim v Vilně. Posleždeže imže prevedena na slavenskij dialekt v carstvujuščem gradě MOSKVE* with date 1679.

⁵⁵ *Mikolaj Dilecki - Idea*, p. 233.

⁵⁶ Other examples from Dilecki: *kadencial'nyj, kvartal'nyj, kvintal'nyj, pjatal'nyj* (!), *oktaval'nyj, osmal'nyj* (!), *proporcional'nyj, sekstal'nyj,*

tenor, *bass* are probably from It. *alto*, *tenore*, *basso*; *diskant* may be from Latin *discantus*. *Bass gref* appears to be from It. *basso greve*; other voices are *alt vysokij* 'high alto' and *bass obyknovenyj* 'normal bass'. The term *altembass* could be from an Italian *alto e basso* or *altobasso*; the change in the second syllable could be morphological for if both parts of a compound noun *alt-bass* were declined in Polish the instrumental singular would have the form *altem-bassem*. If this form were used frequently enough it could lead to the formation of a new stem *altembass* with the case-ending of *altem* now functioning as one of the root syllables. Derived adjectives based on the names of the voices are *altovyj*, *tenorovyj*, *bassovyj*. On the evidence of *septimach* the other intervals *tercijach*, *kvartach*, *kvintach*, *sekundach* (all in the locative plural) are to be derived from Latin.

Polyphonic harmony or a polyphonic arrangement is termed *koncert*, cf. It. *concerto*. Dilecki gives the Russian gloss *glasasom borenije* 'striving of voice with voice'; clearly he favoured the derivation of *concerto* from Latin *concertare* 'to contend'. Derived forms are the adjective *koncertovyj* as in *koncertovago pėnija* 'polyphonic singing' and the verb *koncertstvovati*, as in the phrase *bas ... koncertstvujet so inymi glasami* 'the bass ... contends with the other voices'. This verb occurs also in the reflexive mood: *bass vo svoiem si stoit osnovanii, pročiiže glasy koncertstvujutsja* 'the bass stands in his own ground and the other voices contend'. A more colloquial form *koncertovati* also appears: *glasy koncertujutsja* 'the voices contend'. Here the suffix *-ovati*, *-uju* is added to the Latin stem instead of the high-style Church Slavonic *-stvovati*, *-stvuju*.

Other terms connected with composition are *kadencija*, cf. It. *cadenza*, *konkordancija*, cf. It. *concordanza*, *fantazija*, cf. It. *fantasia*; *partitura ili partimentum*, cf. It. *partitura*; the ornaments *mordent and trel'*, cf. It. *mordente* and *trillo*.

The 1681 versions of Dilecki's work⁵⁷ also have the following: *meljodija*, *germonija*, *koncenancija*, *mottetach* (locative

⁵⁷ *šestal'nyj*, *septimal'nyj*, *sekunda'nyj*, *tercial'nyj*; note the suffixes attached to Slavonic roots.

⁵⁷ S. V. Smolenskij (ed.), *Dilecki N., Musikija*, 1910, published by *Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti*, Saint Petersburg. Also N. Dilecki, *Musikija*, 1681, - MS OADR 146 of the Lenin Library, Moscow.

plural, probably from a nominative singulare masculine *mottet*, cf. It. *mottetto* 'motet'). This source also gives Italian terms for choral singing: *vsj kupno po vlosku glagoletsja tutti inako kapellja ili ripieni* 'all together is called in Italian tutti or capella or ripieni'; note the polonism *po vlosku*.

Terms denoting musical instruments occur not only in Dilecki's work but even in accounts of entertainments at the tsar's court. An Italian loanword which occurs fairly frequently in this context is *strament*, i. e. It. *stromento*⁵⁸ 'instrument' with reduction of *-o-* to *-a-* in the pretonic syllable. Musical instruments mentioned in an active Muscovite context include *fiola* 'violin', cf. It. *viola* and *organy* 'organ'. It is possible that the latter was introduced to the Muscovite court during the 16th century as there was an Italian organist among the entourage of Zoe Paleologus, wife of Ivan III. Her wedding or the subsequent festivities would have provided a suitable historical context for the introduction of the name of the musical instrument and of its player — *organista*. Dilecki has this word and also the names of two musical instruments which do not appear in court records: *kornety*, *lyry*, cf. It. *cornetto*, *lira*.

While the permanence of these musical terms in the Russian vocabulary has depended to some extent upon their fate in the international vocabulary it may still be said that the contribution of Latin and Italian to the Russian terminology of music made during the 17th century with the help of Polish and Ruthenian teachers is among the most stable categories of loanwords in Russian.

H. Leeming

⁵⁸ This form of the more usual *strumento* was current from the 13th to the 17th century, v. *Dizionario etimologico Italiano*, ed. Battisti and Alessio, Florence, 1957, vol. 5, p. 3659.

A CASE OF UNSUCCESSFUL CROSS-FERTILISATION

lunnik, a, m. (razg.) kosmičeskaja raketa,
napravlennaja na Lunu, v storonu Luny

S.I. Ožegov: Slovar' russkogo jazyka (4oe izd. Moskva, 1961)

lunik, n (aer) a lunar sputnik

The Penguin English Dictionary, compiled by G.N. Garmonsway
(London, 1965)

The successful launching, on 4 October 1957, of the first artificial Earth satellite was a triumph not only for Soviet science but for the Russian language. The Russian word *sputnik*, already in its metaphorical sense a technical term of astronomy as designating a natural satellite of a celestial body, was rapidly adopted by other languages in the more confined sense of 'artificial Earth satellite'¹. The fate of *lunnik* (*lunik* in most European languages other than Russian), coined to designate lunar rockets of the type initiated by the Soviet launching of 2 January 1959, has been altogether more complex. This article seeks, first, to trace briefly the development of the usage of the word in the context of space research and then to suggest reasons for its failure to establish itself either in Russian or in other languages.

A TASS statement published in the Soviet press on 3 January 1959 announced the launching in the direction of the Moon on the previous night of a 'multi-stage space rocket' (*mno-gostupenčataja kosmičeskaja raketa*)². By the following day the

¹ Western commentators soon found the Russian word a convenience: cf. *New York Herald Tribune*, 6 October 1957: «Russian scientists here said their 'sputnik', which is what they call an artificial moon, was the simpler of two globes they had planned to launch» and *Neues Deutschland* (of same date): «In der sowjetischen Hauptstadt gibt es heute nur ein Gesprächstema: der Sputnik, der künstliche Erdtrabant».

² *Pravda*, etc. for 3 January 1959. A leading scientist, Academician A. Topčiev, writing in *Pravda* of 5 January described the rocket also as 'the first space ship' (*pervyj kosmičeskij korabl'*).

world had learned that it had been christened *lunnik* (*lunik*). But by whom? Was the word — seemingly correctly formed from *luna* and *sputnik* — coined by Russians? The first Western correspondents' reports suggested that it was. Describing the popular reaction to the news of the launching of the space rocket — soon to bypass the Moon and become the first 'artificial planet' — the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*³ wrote: «The Russians had a word for it soon enough: Lunik. Unlike Sputnik, the word was not official. 'Luna' means moon in Russian. Some jokers toyed briefly with 'lunatik'... but 'lunik' was the preferred diminutive today...». The nickname was attributed more specifically by others to the students of Moscow University. Thus the Moscow correspondent of *Corriere della Sera* wrote⁴: «Gli studenti dell'Università di Mosca hanno dato il nome di 'Lunik' al primo razzo lunare sovietico fondendo 'Luna' con 'Sputnik'. Questa ingegnosa fusione ha avuto luogo questa mattina sulla piazza Rossa quando non era stato ancora annunciato che il razzo lunare avrebbe mancato il bersaglio per diventare un pianeta artificiale del nostro sistema solare...». However, no mention of the term *lunnik* appears in the accounts given by Polish and Bulgarian newspaper correspondents⁵ of the student and public response to the news. The Bulgarian correspondent, moreover, even suggests a non-Russian source in the following passage: «... This morning many citizens of the great capital jubilantly exchanged congratulations, employing however not the traditional popular greeting on the launching of the Soviet satellites 'S sputnikom!', but a new greeting 'S iskusstvennoj planetoj!' One of the British correspondents related how, when he addressed the old greeting 'S sputnikom!' to an American colleague of his this morning..., the latter remarked bitterly: 'I think the justest greeting on this occasion is «S lunnikom — udačnikom!» by contrast with our unsuccessful lunniks (*za razlika ot njakolkoto naši lunnici-neu-*

³ 4 January 1959 (reproduced in London *Daily Telegraph* of 5 January).

⁴ 4 January 1959. Similarly the *New York Times* of 6 January, quoting a correspondent who, however, erroneously asserted that «Lunik also means little moon in Russian».

⁵ *Trybuna Ludu, Robotničesko Delo*, 4 January 1959. Generally, the East European press followed Soviet practice in referring to 'space rocket' or 'moon rocket'.

dačnici)'». If the word was indeed coined by Russians, it is curious that it did not feature in the extensive accounts in the Soviet press of the public reaction to the event. Their first references to the term appear however to attribute it to American enthusiasts. Thus, a report from the *Pravda* correspondent in New York date-lined 6 January states: «Yesterday people here were still calling our space ship 'lunnik' and 'lunolet'⁶. Now that, after passing close to the Moon, it is going into orbit around the Sun, the newspaper *New York World Telegram and Sun* is hurriedly renaming it 'solnečnik'⁷.

On the next possible occasion, that of the landing on the Moon on 14 September 1959 of the 'second Soviet space rocket' (retrospectively designated Luna-2), a great opportunity to fix *lunnik* firmly in the Russian language was missed. For *Pravda* published a poem by Aleksandr Tvardovskij entitled «About a New Word», dedicated however not to *lunnik* but to the prosaic if useful *prilunenie* (moon-landing):

Sveršilsja v mire potrjasennom
Predvoschiščennyj mysl'ju mig.
I novym slovom, vdruk roždennym,
Obogaščen rodnoj jazyk.

Net, ne odin, chot' i mogučij,
A vse na svete jazyki.
I to skazať: ne pervyj slučaj,
I obrazcy nedaleki.

Zvučat vo vseh krajach planeta
Bez perevoda, kak Moskva,
Bol'sheviki, Oktjabr', Sovety,
Mir, Sputnik - russkie slova.

⁶ This interesting formation (on the analogy of *samolet*, *vertolet*, etc.) appears, however, to have been minted independently by the Soviet science-fiction writer, Aleksandr Kazantsev, in an article in *Pravda* of 5 January 1959. Following the soft landing on the Moon of 'Luna-9' in February 1966, it re-appeared in the somewhat different but more appropriate sense of a hypothetical passenger Moon-ship. cf. G.S. Titov in *Pravda* of 5 February 1966 and M. Vasin in *Pravda* of 7 February (the latter treats the word as established: «... o biletach na pervyj lunolet uže bespokojatsja i astronomy ... i fiziki, i biologii, i daže žurnalisty»).

⁷ *Pravda*, 7 January 1959. Similarly the Polish *Trybuna Ludu* of 4 January carried a press agency report from New York specifically ascribing 'Lunik' to American press headlines, while the Yugoslav *Borba* of 5 January printed an agency message from London referring to British scientists' discussions of 'prvi lunik'.

I eto slovo - prilunen'e -
 Ono uže v rodnoj sem'e,
 V rjadu tech slov,
 Čto imja Lenin
 Prizvalo k žizni na zemle⁸.

Less than a month later, the third Soviet space rocket, carrying on board an 'automatic interplanetary station' (*avtomatičeskaja mežplanetnaja stancija*) retrospectively numbered Luna-3, transmitted photographs of the 'hidden' side of the Moon. The Western press, in reports on these two achievements, continued to employ the term *lunik*, but for the most part as a proper name Lunik II⁹, Lunik III¹⁰. The term appeared, however, as a common noun in an American correspondent's report from Moscow¹¹ and, correspondingly, in the Soviet press, but principally in reports from the United States and Great Britain and with the clear implication that the word — for all its Russian form — was derivative, not native¹².

The usages noted evidently appeared sufficient to the lexicographers cited at the head of this article to warrant incorporating the word *lunnik/lunik* in dictionaries. Since 1959, however, use of the word has gradually dwindled¹³. This is due in part to adoption in the West of the convenient Soviet system of numeration — following the launching of Luna-4 (on 2 April 1963), the Soviet moon rockets have officially been designated as a

⁸ *Pravda*, 15 September 1959. *Prilunenie* and the corresponding verb *prilunít'sja/prilunját'sja*, formed by analogy with *prizemlenie* and *prizemlít'sja/prizemlját'sja*, are now firmly established as scientific and literary terms (cf. *Pravda*, 4 February 1966, etc.). A further interesting analogous formation — *privodnenie* ('splash-down') and *privodnit'sja* — has appeared in Soviet press reports of American space flights (e.g. *Pravda*, 23 July 1966).

⁹ e.g. *London Times*, *Le Monde*, 15 September 1959; *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 September.

¹⁰ e.g. *New York Times*, 5 October 1959; *Times*, 27 October.

¹¹ *New York Herald Tribune* (European edition), 5 October 1959: «Soviet scientists put forth various theories here today in radio and television broadcasts on what might happen to the *lunik*, with one speculating it might become an 'eternal' earth satellite».

¹² e.g. *Pravda*, 7 October 1959 (B. Strel'nikov, New York): «Vaš korrespondent obratilsja k predstaviteljam različnych sloev amerikanskoj obščestvennosti s pros'boj prokomentirovat' zapusk tret'ego lunnika».

¹³ A rare recurrence of the Russian word appeared in a message of congratulation on the soft landing of Luna-9 on the Moon received from the crew of a Soviet trawler (*Pravda*, 5 February 1966).

series in this way — in part to increasing acceptance, in literal translation, of the Soviet terms *kosmičeskaja stancija* and *mežplanetnaja stancija* and the original *kosmičeskaja raketa*¹⁴. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note a curious compromise solution which has appeared in a number of Western works of reference, namely, that of speaking of 'Lunik-I', etc.¹⁵.

From the evidence presented above the fact seems to emerge that, even if *lunnik* was coined in Moscow on the morning of 3 January 1959, it was simultaneously fabricated in the West — and with particular effect in the United States of America¹⁶. What are the reasons for the apparent failure of this crossfertilisation? First, *lunnik*, unlike *sputnik*, was a totally new term in the context of space research and not an application of an existing astronomical term¹⁷. Secondly, use of the suffix *-nik*, which most frequently — though not, of course, exclusively — forms *nomina*

¹⁴ *vide* Western press reports *passim* on the first soft landing on the Moon, by Luna-9, on 3 February 1966 and on the launching of the first Moon satellite (Luna-10) on 31 March 1966.

¹⁵ cf. article 'Space Exploration' in «*Britannica Book of the Year 1960*» (London, 1960) pp. 472-3;

article 'Lune' in «*Grand Larousse Encyclopédique*» tome 6e (Paris, 1962);

article 'Mond' in «*Der Grosse Brockhaus*», Zweiter Ergänzungsband (Wiesbaden, 1963).

An interesting reference to the ephemeral designation of Luna-3 as 'Orbitnik I' appears in article 'Luna' in the «*Enciclopedia Italiana*», Terza appendice 1949-1960 (Roma, 1961).

The designation 'Lunik-9' (in place of 'Luna-9') appeared also in messages of congratulation to Mr Brežnev from Signor Luigi Longo (*Pravda*, 6 February) and to Mr Kosygin from the British Prime Minister (*Pravda*, 7 February 1966).

¹⁶ The Slavonic suffix *-nik* is a productive one in colloquial American English, due to the influence of immigrants from Russia and Eastern Europe (and also, probably, through the mediation of Yiddish). *vide* H. L. Mencken: *The American Language* (4th ed. London, 1936), pp. 656 ff. For a parallel case, cf. the word *beatnik* (this use of *beat* has aroused much interest in the Soviet Union and has been discussed, for example, by R. Orlova and L. Kopelev in *Novyj Mir* 1959, No. 1, p. 220).

¹⁷ *lunnik* already existed, if obscurely, in the Russian language in certain specialised senses: thus, *Dal'* has it as the name of a flower — *lunnaja trava* (Latin *Lunaria*) — and as meaning *lunnyj krug* or *zolotoe čislo* s. v. *Luna* in *Tolkovyj slovar živogo velikorusskago jazyka* (3e izd. Sankt-Peterburg/Moskva, 1903-1909). As the Russian name of the flower *Lunaria*, the word appears also in N.N. Davydov: *Botaničeskij slovar'* (Moskva, 1962). There is no entry for *lunnik*, however, in the fundamental Dictionaries of Ušakov and of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, nor in the Russian etymological dictionaries compiled by A.G. Preobraženskij and Professor Max Vasmer.

*agentis*¹⁸, may in this case have been felt by Russians to be awkward and have militated against acceptance. In support of this argument, it may be noted that in 1959, at the height of the 'success' of *lunnik/lunik*, the Russian word was ephemerally used by Soviet writers to designate also:

- (i) 'a speculator in lunar territory'¹⁹
- (ii) 'an inhabitant of the Moon'²⁰.

Finally — without prejudice to the question whether the first coinage of the word to designate the Soviet moon rocket occurred in Moscow or in New York — it is evident, as has been suggested above, that this usage of *lunnik* came to be regarded in the Soviet Union as a foreign importation, superfluous as a scientific term and of doubtful value as a popular *kliška*.

It remains a curiosity that *lunik* in English and other languages has suffered a similar decline, although the above-mentioned grounds for inhibition were not applicable in the case of speakers of these languages, from which also the main impetus to adopt the word proceeded*.

Marcus Wheeler

¹⁸ cf., for relatively recent formations: *atomnik*, *železnodorožnik*, *meždunarodnik*. *Sputnik* itself presents no difficulty, since it was originally a legitimate metaphor.

¹⁹ N. Gribačev in *Pravda*, 20 September 1959: «Kogda-to v Amerike dotošnye del'cy prodavali za akr territoriju Luny, a nekotorye amerikanskije strategij, vooružas' teleskopami, podyskivali tam mesta dlja voennyh baz. Otrražaja, vidimo, bespokojstvo pogorevšich 'lunnikov' v pidžakach i general'skich mundirach, odin iz korrespondentov sprosil na press-konferencii v Vašingtone / N.S. Chruščev's press conference on 16 September 1959 - M. W./: ne sobiraetsja li Sovetskij Sojuz prisuoit' Lunu? ...».

²⁰ *Pravda*, 31 December 1959: «Ne za gorami to vremja, kogda noga človeka stupit na Lunu, na Mars, no my nikogda ne budem ni lunnikami, ni marsianami».

*) Press treatment of the second and third Soviet artificial Moon satellites - Luna-11, launched on 24 August 1966, and Luna-12, launched on 22 October 1966 - confirms in general the thesis of this article. A certain willingness may however be observed to use the word *lunnik* in a semi-poetic context or for heightened effect. Thus, in an article about Luna-11 entitled «Magellans of the Moon» published in *Pravda* of 31 August 1966, the leading scientific journalist Vladimir Orlov wrote: «Epoepa sovetskich sputnikov Zemli prodolžaetsja epopeey sovetskich lunnikov»; and on 18 October Moscow Radio announced that a committee on lunar nomenclature appointed by the Soviet Academy of Sciences proposed to designate the area of the point of impact of the first man-made object on the Moon «Zaliv lunnika».

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