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Five Newly Discovered Galician Ukrainian Charters and Their Language

MICHAEL A. MOSER

IN 2000 ALEKSANDR MOLDOVAN published five newly found Galician charters from the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, briefly analyzing their language and adding photographs of all five documents.¹ These charters—identified in Moldovan’s study as A16, A27, A28, A29, and A43—had been bought in 1982 by the well-known collector Tomasz Niewodniczański at auction in London together with other parchment documents in Latin that had once belonged to the archive of Count Alfred Potocki (Moldovan 2000, 261–62).

All five charters were written in and around Lviv and were intended to confirm the possessions of their owners, who would transmit them to their heirs. Their owners were, in order: Xodko Lojevyc̣; Jaško Kljus and his descendants; the Kmitas, who resided at the castle of Wiśnicz near Cracow; the Barzas; the Lubomirskis; and finally, in the seventeenth century, the Potockis. At the end of World War I, Alfred Potocki took the documents from his archive to Germany, and then to Liechtenstein. After his death they were sold at the London auction.

Apart from Moldovan (2000), no one has analyzed these charters within the framework of Slavonic and Ukrainian philology. Whereas his focus was on problems of general East Slavic interest, the aim of the present study is to draw attention to the precious evidence of Early Middle Ukrainian linguistic data found in the texts. Moldovan discusses some questions of graphemics, in particular the writing of *o* instead of *ъ* (листо instead of листъ, оуцьмо instead of оуцьмъ) and vice versa (цьбѣ) as well of *и* instead of *ь* (e.g., дѣдичи instead of дѣдичь), as is typical of the so-called *bytovye gramoty* in all parts of East Slavic linguistic territory. In addition to specifically Ukrainian forms with the new *ѣ* and its reflexes (e.g., нарожѣнии, прилѣтьоуль, чѣтюнѣ in A28), one also finds, among others, examples of *и* for etymological *ѣ* (e.g., прииѣалѣ, шѣвизды in A27), reflexes of strong *o* in syllables before lost jers (e.g., правнѣчѣтѣмѣ

in A27), and the confusion of *и* and *ы* (e.g., *приѣтели, оумолвны* in A28). Apart from such analyses, he correlates the names of persons mentioned in these charters with those mentioned in texts already known. In the present study I will build upon Moldovan's observations by concentrating first on the initial formulae and then on some morphological, lexical, phraseological, and syntactical peculiarities of these texts.

1. THE INITIAL FORMULAE

The first and oldest of the five charters, A16, dates from 1382 and begins as follows: “*Во има ѿца и сѣна и сѣто дѣха • аминь • сталаса добрага торгова • межн паномъ худкомъ локвичемъ • съ клишкомъ голничвичемъ.*” The initial invocation fits well into the framework of fourteenth-century Galician private charters. It can already be found in the well-known Galician charter of 1370 (Rozov 1917, 16) or 1371 (Peščak 1974, 42), which confirms that Pan Vjaclav Dmytrovs'kyj bought a plot of land from the brothers Vasyl' and Henka Skybyč and begins with the words “*Во има ѿца и сѣна и сѣто дѣха. бѣжимъ истепрѣнѣемъ. оу вѣки. аминь. и сталосѣ [...] оже кѣпилъ [...]*” (Peščak 1974, 42–44; Rozov 1917, 16–18).² And the same invocation appears, although with a rather unusual asyndeton, in the charter of 1388 (A27), which begins “*Во има ѿца ѣна ѣто дѣха аминь • а се ѣ панъ глѣвъъ • сворськовичъ • продавъ ксмъ [...]*” Finally, we find the invocation in the charter of 1393 (A28), where we encounter the form *ѿца*. The form with a prothetic *v* is typical of the Ukrainian vernacular and can be found sporadically in old Galician charters as well (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 105–6). Nonetheless, one would not expect to see it in a nomen sacrum like this: “*Во има ѿца и сѣна и сѣто дѣха • амни [sic] • ѣ панъ • ѣнъ • дѣдичи • тарнавскии [...] познавамъ то • тымъ • своимъ • листъмъ • предо кимъ • коли • бѣде чѣюнь • тонъ • листъ • иже [...]*” The invocation is contained in the charter of 1413 (A43) as well, but in an essentially shortened version as seems typical of starosta Ivan Srěms'kyj's scribe: “*Во има бѣже мы па ѣ ива ѣ срѣмскии староста рускии визнавамъ то си ѣ своимъ листомъ каждому доброму иже пришедъ предъ на ѣ панъ глѣвъъ дѣдковичъ учивисте доброволне и позна ѣ оже продавъ [...]*” cf. the charter of 1414 from Rozov (1917, 85): “*Во има божье мы па ѣ ива ѣ срѣмскии староста рускии визнава ѣ то си ѣ наши ѣ листомъ [...]*”

The invocation is lacking in only one of the five charters, that of 1396 (A29) that begins with the following formula: “*Ѧ се мы • па ѣ гнѣвъшь • староста галицки • тревовельски • зѣдечевски • свѣдчю то • своимъ листъмъ • каждому доброму • передъ кимъ • сесъ листъ • бѣде ѣ чѣенъ • пришедъ передъ на ѣ • па ѣ • ключъ • выкупѣтъ • весь • оу своеѣ тещѣ [...]*”

It is well known that the initial formula “(Ѧ) се,” borrowed from Byzantine

private charters (Zoltán 1987, 9–10) and contained already in A27 (but after the invocation), finds its correspondence already in the oldest East Slavic charters. Yet, these charters usually begin with “**СѢ азъ**,” “**СѢ азъ**,” “**СѢ я**,” and not with “**СѢ мы**”; see the Mstyslav charter (c. 1130) and many other charters from all parts of East Slavic territory (Zoltán 1987, 9; as regards the initial formulae in general, see also Zoltán 1987 and Macůrek 1958,³ Zoltán 1988). For example, this standard incipit appears in a Galician charter from Kolomyja dating from 1398: “А се а панъ. бенко староста галицькїи. и снатињскїи свѣдчю то своймъ. листомъ. каждому доброму кто на сей листъ оузритъ. или перед кымъ будетъ. чтюнъ. иже пришедъ. передъ насъ. панъ. гервасъ. и вѣноваль. и оправиль. своєю женѣ варварѣ сто гривень [...]” (Peščak 1974, 133; cf. Rozov 1917, 56–58).

The *pluralis majestatis*, as it appears in A29 (1396), is a clear loan from Latin, and/or Czech or German charters; as such it appears in several other Ruthenian charters beginning from the late fourteenth century (Zoltán 1987, 14–17; Moser 1997, 127). However, as a rule it is used without “(А) сѣ” and applies only to princes and kings, cf. the Belarusian charter confirming peace between Jurij Svjatoslavič and Jogaila, i.e., Władysław, king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania: “Мы Юрьи Сватъслави(ч). кнзъ великий смоленський. даемъ ведомо [...]” (1386), or a charter by Vytautas dating from 1382: “Мы Великий Князь Витовтъ чинимъ знаемо симъ нашимъ листомъ, кто на него узритъ или услышитъ чтучи [...]” (1382) (Peščak 1974, 70, 61).

The lowest rank usually honored with the *pluralis majestatis* was apparently the voivode of Moldavia, but he did not use it consistently.⁴ The *pluralis majestatis* for a *starosta*, who was only a representative of the king in a certain region, is still a surprising peculiarity of A29. It is interesting in this respect that it is again a Galician charter, dating from 1422, where we find the *pluralis majestatis* used with a bishop’s name: “Мл̄(с)тїю бжїєю мл̄твами прч(с) тыа є(г)[о] бг̄вмтре стго и сла(в)нв(г)[о] прр(о)ка [пр(а)тчѣ] и кр(с)тла г̄(с)на і̄в̄а(н). мы смирены(и) иліа еп̄(с)п̄ пре(м)скыи. визнаває(м) то си(м) наши(м) листв(м) каждому доброму кому будє(т) того потреба нн̄ѣ и пото(м) будучи(м). прише(а)ши пре(а) на(с) школь ис кондратв(м) повѣдаючи и(ж) торгъ mezi собою вчинили ш тоє дворище и прода(а) шко(а) дворище кондратови [...]” (Rusanivš ‘kyj 1965, 66). Thus it seems that, apart from the situation in Moldavia, the use of the *pluralis majestatis* for persons of a rank lower than that of a king or a prince or, perhaps, an archbishop, can be considered typical of the southern regions of Ruthenian (that is, Belarusian and Ukrainian) language territory, namely, Galicia. Nonetheless, the fact that the plural **мы** is used in A29 (1396) in connection with the clear singular form **свѣдчю** indicates that the *pluralis majestatis* was still not considered a completely expected form in this specific context. Another Galician charter, dating from 1391, could possibly demonstrate a similar case, although just the

other way round: András Zoltán (1987, 16) cites a charter written by the former princely scribe Kost'ko, who had become a judge in Przemyśl and who used to combine Old East Slavic and new, borrowed elements of the charter formulae. Kost'ko wrote in 1391: “Во има ѿца и сна и стго дха. Аминь. А се знаменито будь. и свѣдочно всѣмъ добрымъ людемъ што на тотъ листъ оузодрать. А се ꙗ Фебрунь воєвода перемышльскый. познавамъ то нашимъ листъ [*sic*]. доброю волею своєю. и добрымъ оумышлѣньемъ своємъ. пришедши. пере [*sic*] наше о'бличью. и передъ земланы. Фанасии влѣдка [...]” (Peščak 1974, 106). Zoltán (1987, 16) interprets познавамъ as a 1st person plural form, which would mean that ꙗ and познавамъ would be incongruent in a similar way as мы and свѣдочно. Yet, as we shall see, познавамъ could be explained as a 1st person singular form as well. Contrary to this, the incongruency of свѣдочно with мы in A29 holds true without a doubt.

2. LEXICAL, SYNTACTIC, AND MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The five Galician charters contain some morphological, lexical, phraseological, syntactical, and phonological material of particular interest. We shall analyze them for each charter separately and according to the order of their appearance.

2.1. *Text A16, Lviv (?)*,⁵ 17 March 1382 (*Moldovan 2000, 263*)

A16.1 (4):⁶ **за даръ ѿтдати**: The *Slovník staroukrajins' koji movy XIV–XV st.*, hereafter SSUM (1977–1978), notes only two examples of this phrase. The first is contained in the well-known charter by Kazimierz III for his servant Ivan, dated by Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj and Vladimir Rozov to the first years after 1349, but now redated by Moldovan (2000, 274) to “at least the end of the fifties” of the fourteenth century. The second one is taken from a charter from Luc'k of 1445. SSUM (1977–1978) does not consider the predicative use of *za* s.v. **за**, and Slyn'ko (1973, 61) mentions only that predicative **за** occasionally appears in Old Ukrainian charters, but without examples. The *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka XI–XIV vv.*, hereafter SDR (1988–, s.v. **даръ**), cites **за даръ**, but the only example is Kazimierz III's charter. Thus A16 seems to contain the second oldest examples of this phrase in which the function of *za* can be described as somewhere between final and purely predicative (see Moser 1998, 223–32).

A16.2 (5) has **што коли прислушало к тому селу извѣка**: the German loan translation (при)слоушати к comes into Ukrainian via Czech and Polish and is preserved in modern Ukrainian only in the derivation *слушний, слушно* (Bulaxovs'kyj 1956, 33), and seems to have been used in the beginning only in those Ukrainian charters originating from Galicia; see the data of SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **прислушати**). We find it in a charter from Przemyśl (1359),

from Lviv (1378), from Przemyśl (1391), all of which are written by Kost'ko (cf. Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 6–7, nos. 5, 13, 24), and from Halyč (1418) (cf. also s.v. **слѹшатн**: only Galician charters contain it in the meaning 'belong to'). The only non-Galician charter in which it appears originates from Smotryč (1375), yet this document is probably not authentic (Rozov 1917, 19).

A16.3 (6): **ХОДКОВИ**: As regards the earlier charters, we find this dative form ending in **-ОВИ** only in Galicia and Moldavia, especially for persons (see Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 108–10; see also Moldovan 2000, 264). All five charters show examples of the dative ending in **-ОВИ**.

A16.4 (6–7): **ОУЗДАЛЬ • ХОДКОВИ • ЗДОРОВЫМЪ ЖИВОТОМЪ • И СВОИМЪ ДОБРЫМЪ ОУМЫШЛѢНЬЕМЪ**: The word **ОУМЫШЛѢНЬЕ**, typical of the Old Church Slavonic Codex Suprasliensis (Cejtlin, Večerka, and Blagova 1994, s.v. **ОУМЫШЛЕННИКЪ, ОУМЫСЛИТИ**),⁷ appears in three other fourteenth-century Ukrainian charters (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **ОУМЫШЛѢНЬЕ**), usually within the formula (**СВОИМЪ, НАШИМЪ**) **ДОБРЫМЪ ОУМЫШЛѢНЬЕМЪ**. Consider the passages cited by Rozov (1917, 24, 26, 45; from the years 1377, 1378, and 1391 respectively): “нашею доброю волею. и нашимъ добрымъ. оумышлѣнѣемъ [*sic*]”; “доброю волею своєю и добрымъ умышлѣнѣемъ своємъ. а никоторою силою”; “доброю волею своєю и добрымъ оумышлѣнѣемъ своємъ.” A16 shows another context of **ОУМЫШЛѢНЬЕ** within this formula. All four charters were written by Kost'ko (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 6–7, nos. 12, 13, 24).

A16.5 (6–7): **ЗДОРОВЫМЪ ЖИВОТОМЪ** from the same formula has been attested up to now only in one Lviv charter of 1400 belonging to the scribe Maloxij (**Малоухѣи**), who comes from the south, i.e., from Galicia, as well (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **ЗДОРОВЪ**). This older example from A16 confirms the phraseological, formulaic character of the expression. SDR (1988–, s.v. **животъ**) cites the phrase (reconstructed as **съДОРОВЫМЪ ЖИВОТЪМЪ**) and gives only one example, that from the above-mentioned Lviv charter of 1400. “S dobrým rozmyslem a s zdravým životem” (1439) or “dobrým rozmyslem, zdravým životem” (1443) can also be found in Old Czech charters (Macůrek 1958, 56).

2.2. Text A27, Lviv, 15 (?) April 1388 (Moldovan 2000, 264–65)

A27.1 (1–4): **ПРОДАЛЪ ЕСМЪ НА ИМА • СЕЛО КО<РОСТ>ОНО • ПЕТРОВИ • АНДРЕѢВОИ [sic] • СНУ [sic] • И ПРИНУАЛЪ Е⁸ • ДО ПАНА СТАРОСТЫ • АШКА • ТАРНАВЬСКОГО • И ПЕРЕДЪ ЗЕМЛАНЫ • ОУЗДАЛЪ ЕСМЪ • МОЕ СЕЛО КОРОСТНО • ПЕТРОВИ И ЖЕНѢ ЕГО ОУ ВѢКНИ**: This sentence can be added to the earliest certain examples of *do* + genitive in a nonlimitative function, as a substitute for older *kъ* + dative (see Moser 1998, 260–64).

A27.2 (2): **ПЕТРОВИ • АНДРЕѢВОИ [sic]**: see A16.3.

A27.3 (5): **А ДАЛЪ ЕСМЪ ЕМУ. СО ВСѢМИ • ПРАВОМЪ • ЯКО ЕСМЪ ѿ • САМЪ ИМѢЛЪ**: The phrase **СО ВСѢМЪ ПРАВОМЪ** meaning ‘with full power of law’ is

obviously part of Early Middle Ukrainian juridical terminology. According to SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ПРАВО**), we find it, for example, in a charter from Smotryč (1375), which is probably not authentic (Rozov 1917, 19), but we find it as well in a Lviv charter of 1399 (Rozov 1917, 59) written by Maloxij (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 32) and in a charter from Halyč of 1409 (Rozov 1917, 74). A27 seems to contain the earliest Ukrainian example of this phrase. Cf. also Czech “se všiem panstvím, právem a příslušenstvím” from a Czech charter of 1398 and “se všim pravem” from a Czech charter of 1444 (Macůrek 1958, 56).

A27.4 (5): **ІАКО**: SSUM (1977–1978) counts hundreds of examples of the conjunction, but nearly all of them date from the second half of the fifteenth century or are contained in late copies of fourteenth-century charters. Rare exceptions are charters from Bachorz (1377; Rozov 1917, 24) and Przemyśl (1391; Rozov 1917, 45), both of which were written by Kost’ko (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, nos. 12, 24); a charter from Cracow (1394; Rozov 1917, 54), which was written by a scribe of Belarusian origin (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7); and a charter from Łęczycza (1433; Rozov 1917, 124)—i.e., all originating from today’s Poland. Thus A27 (1388) contains one of the oldest examples of the conjunction **ІАКО** instead of **КАКО** or **КАКЪ** in a clearly Polish, not Church Slavonic, context.

A27.5 (7): **СО ВЗОРЫ**: Moldovan’s (2000, 265) view that this form reflects a phonetic development *e > o* cannot be accepted. The Ukrainian dialects, and the Galician ones as well, do not show such a development; therefore most probably this is a scribal error, which could be explained as motivated by a repetition of preceding *o* and *w*, respectively.

A27.6 (7): **СО ВСѢМЪ ПРАВОМЪ** (cf. A27.3).

A27.7 (7–8): **ШТОЖЬ • К ТОМУ • СЕЛУ • ПРИСЛУШАЕТЬ** (cf. A16.2).

A27.8 (8): **СВѢДОСТВО**: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **СВИДОЧСТВО**) cites several various forms of this often-used word, though **СВѢДОСТВО** is not found among them. The form could be explained as a scribal error (**-СТВО** instead of **-ЦСТВО**, for instance, as in **СВѢДОЦСТВОМЪ** from A29 (13); see Moldovan 2000, 270), and by more evidence that the scribe was obviously not very well trained (see his mistakes listed in Moldovan 2000, 265). Yet it is much more probable that we find here another variant of the simplification of the consonant cluster *-čstv-*, as reflected in the Old Polish forms *świadestwo*, *świadziestwo*, and *świedestwo* (SStP 1953–2002, s.v. *świadectwo*). At any rate, **СВѢДОСТВО** has to be added to the many forms of the word cited by SSUM (1977–1978).

2.3. Text A28, Lviv, 28 March 1393 (Moldovan 2000, 266–67)

A28.1 (1–3): **А ПАНЪ • АНЪ • ТАРНАВСКИИ • И ВОКВОДА • СҮДОМИРСКИИ • СТАРОСТА • РОҮСКОЇ • ЗЕМЛѢ • ПОЗНАВАМЪ ТО • ТЫМЪ • СВОИМЪ • ЛИСТЪМЪ • КАЖДЪМУ • ПРЕДО КИМЪ • КОЛИ • БҮДЕ • ЧТЮНЪ • ТОНЪ • ЛИСТЪ • ИЖЕ [...]**: This example is very similar to the one cited by Zoltán (1987, 16; see above). Might one assume that we see a 1st person plural in association with the pronoun

▲? But SSUM (1977–1978) is surely correct in interpreting **ПОЗНАВАМЪ** from the charter of 1391 as a form of the 1st person singular, not plural, which must hold true for this example as well. It is true that the form *poznawam* is common for the 1st person plural in Old Polish (SStP 1953–2002, s.v. *poznawać*), whereas Modern Polish shows *poznaje* instead. Old Czech, where *poznávati* was also part of the charter formula (see the examples in Macûrek 1958, 54), had *poznávám* for the first person singular as well. As for Middle Ukrainian, a form like **ПОЗНАВАМЪ** could appear only in charters written in a heavily Polonized language. As regards A28 (1393), this is exactly the case, and the same holds true for the charter of 1391, which was written by Kost'ko. It is, for example, exactly there that we also find **ШТО М҃ ПРИСЛУША** with the enclitic form of the personal pronoun in the dative case and with the Polish ending of the 3rd person singular present tense form, the latter of which can be found, as we shall see, in A28 as well. It is in the same charter of 1391 where we also find the dative ending **-ОВИ** in the (semantically) inanimate noun **ЛИСТОВИ** (in fact, **ЛИСТЪ** might be an exceptional case; see its contemporary morphosyntactic behavior as an animate noun). According to SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ПОЗНАВАТИ**), **ПОЗНАВАМЪ** appears in two fifteenth-century charters as well (1404, 1424)—both of them originate from Halyč (Rozov 1917, 67, 106). The *Istorija ukrajins'koji movy: Morfolohija*, hereafter IUMM (1978, 313), confirms that “афікс **-мъ** (**-мь**, **-м**) зрідка виступає також у тематичних дієсловах, зокрема в формах 1-ої ос. одн., утворених від дієслів із суфіксом **-ва-**” and refers to **познавамъ**, **вызнавамъ**, and **имамъ** (in contemporary Ukrainian only some Carpathian dialects show forms of the type *співам*, *думам*, *слухам*; IUMM 1978, 318).

A28.2: **КАЖДЪМ҃У • ПРЕДО КИМЪ • КОЛИ • Б҃ДЕ • ЧТ҃ЮНЪ • ТОНЪ • ЛИСТЪ**: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **КТО КОЛИ**, **ХТО КОЛИ**) cites many examples of this generalizing relative pronoun and points to its origin from Old Czech *ktokoli*, Old Polish *ktokoli*. The first examples from Ukrainian (not Belarusian) charters preserved in originals come from a charter from Przemyśl written by Kost'ko in 1378 (Rozov 1917, 26; Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 13)—it reads, “хто коли его купилъ тому слушати къ ст̄му Ивану”—and from a Lviv charter of 1400 (Rozov 1917, 60–61), which is quite similar to the context of A28: “[...] освѣдчаю ть тымъ листомъ каждому доброму передъ кымъ коли буде тьтъ листъ чт҃юнъ аже [...]” **ГДЕ КОЛИ**, **КОТОРИН КОЛИ**, **КТОРЫ КОЛИ** and the like are attested only from the fifteenth century on; as regards **ШТО КОЛИ**, see A43.10. SDR (1988–, s.v. **КОЛИ**) clearly fails to differentiate between **КОЛИ** as an indefinite pronoun and **КОЛИ** as a generalizing particle. All examples in this latter meaning come from Ukrainian and Belarusian charters.

A28.3 (3): **Б҃ДЕ ЧТ҃ЮНЪ**: IUMM (1978, 314) states: “Афікс 3-ої ос. одн. представлений чотирма варіантами: **-ть**, **-тѣ**, **-т**, **-∅**. Останній уживається дуже рідко і виступає тільки після варіантів теперішнього часу афіксів основи **-е-**, **-ае-**, **-вае-**, **-ывае-** (**-ивае-**), **-уе-**, **-ѣе-**” and cites examples from

a Lviv charter of 1370 (Rozov 1917, 18: “а што може причинити”) and from another Lviv charter of 1400 in nearly the same context as in A28 (Rozov 1917, 60–61: “ОСВѢДАЮ ТЪ. ТЫМЪ ЛИСТОМЪ. КАЖДОМУ ДОБРОМУ. ПЕРЕДЪ КЫМЪ КОЛИ БУДЕ. ТЪТЪ ЛИСТЪ ЧТЮНЪ. АЖЕ [...]”). Kuraszkiewicz (1934, 123–24) does not cite any examples of the ending -Ø. Although some sporadic cases of -Ø in the 3rd person singular already appear in Old Ukrainian texts (IUMM 1978, 312, 314, 319–20), the example from A28—as one of the oldest—is of significant importance for Ukrainian language history.

A28.4 (3): **ТОНЪ**: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ТОНЪ**) notes **ТОНЪ** in order to refer to another form, **ТЕНЪ**, which is clearly Polish and figures as the entry form in the dictionary, although it is not attested, but reconstructed. The form **ТОНЪ** is cited with an exclamation mark: it is contained in a charter from Łęczycza of 1388 and in a Lviv charter of 1421 (Rozov 1917, 39, 92). The other cited forms are clear Polonisms formed instead from the unattested form **ТЕНЪ**: *оу те(м)* from a Volhynian charter from Luc'k of 1490 and *с тего* from a Moldavian charter from Hyrlov of 1499. The form **ТОНЪ** in A28 is the third one from the Ukrainian charters known up to now and the second oldest of them. It confirms that the form **ТОНЪ**, which seems to be an exclusively Galician adaptation of Polish *ten*, has to be added to the data of Ukrainian historical morphology, whereas so far among the substitutes of older **ТЪ** only the extended form **ТОН** and the reduplicated form **ТОТЪ** are cited in the scholarly literature (IUMM 1978, 157–62).

A28.5 (4–5): **ПАНЪ • ХОДКО • ЛОКВИЧИ • ЗА СВОЕГО • ЗДОРОВОГО • ЖИВОТА • И • ДОБРЫМЪ • ОУМЫСЛОМЪ ПОЗНАЛЪ ТО • ПРЕДО НАМИ • ЕЖИ [...]**: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ЗА**) does in fact cite examples of **ЗА** + genitive case in a temporal meaning, but the first of them, originating from Medyka, dates only from 1415, and the second one, originating from Ostrih, dates from 1458. SDR (1988–, s.v. **ЗА**) cites three fourteenth-century examples of **ЗА** + genitive case in temporal meaning. A28 contains one of the first certain Ukrainian examples of this construction at all.

A28.6 (5): **ДОБРЫМЪ • ОУМЫСЛОМЪ**: The word is attested in an East Slavic copy of the Bulgarian Church Slavonic “Besědy” by Gregory of Nazianzus dating from the fourteenth century. Otherwise it seems to be rarely used or absent in Old East Slavic texts (Sreznevskij 1893–1903). Here we find it in a variant of the phrase **ЗДОРОВЫМЪ ЖИВОТОМЪ • И СВОИМЪ ДОБРЫМЪ ОУМЫШЛѢНЬЕМЪ** discussed in A16.4. Czech charters show *s dobrým rozmyslem* here, instead (Macůrek 1958, 56).

A28.7 (5–7): **ПРЕСО ПРОСВУ • ПРИАТЮЛЪ • ПА" ІА"КОВХЪ • КЛЮСОВЫХО • ОУМОЛВИЛЪ • И НАМѢНИЛЪ • СВОЮ ДѢВКУ • НА ИМА • МАРЕНУ ДАТИ • ЗА АШКА • ЗА КЛЮСА**: The first example of the Polish loan **ПРЕЗЪ** in the Ukrainian charters is found in a document from Sučeava of 1393, and most other examples for the word cited in SSUM (1977–1978) originate in Moldavia, where the word

could be a Bulgarism as well as a Polonism. The first non-Moldavian example is contained in a Halyč charter dating from 1407 (Rozov 1917, 68); thus the example from A28 is probably the oldest known from today's Ukraine.

A28.8 (6, 10–11, 11, 11–12, 12): **ОУМОЛВИЛЪ**, **ОУМЪЛЛЫ** [*sic*], **ОУМОЛВИЛИ**, **ОУМОЛВУ**, **ОУМОЛВИЛЫ**: According to SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ОУМОЛВИТИ**, **ОУМОЛВА**) this Polonism (**ОУМОВИТИ** and **ОУМОВА** are attested as well; see SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **ОУМОВИТИ**, **ОУМОВА**) is found almost exclusively in fifteenth-century documents, the only exception being a charter of uncertain provenance written by a scribe of Belarusian origin. The noun **ОУМОЛВА** is also attested only in a fifteenth-century document. Thus A28 contains the oldest Ukrainian examples of the verb as well as of the noun known up to now.

A28.9 (6): **НАМЪНИЛЪ**: This word is otherwise attested only in Church Slavonic texts or in fifteenth-century charters (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **НАМЪНИТИ**); the oldest example known up to now shows the noun form **НАМЪНЕНЪМЪ** in a charter from Medyka dating from 1404 (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **НАМЪНЕНЕ**; Rozov 1917, 70).

A28.10 (6, 7–8, 13–14): **ДЪВКУ** (context in A28.6), **ПО СВОЮН ДЪВЦЪ** (2x): SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ДЪВКА**, **ДИВКА**, **ДЕВКА**) counts twelve examples of the word **ДЪВКА** in the meaning 'daughter', the oldest of which originates from the same charter from Medyka as mentioned in A28.9. A28 contains the oldest examples of the word in this meaning. SDR (1988–, s.v. **ДЪВЪВА**) cites three examples of **ДЪВЪКА** 'daughter'. Two of them, however, are not convincing; they show **ДЪВЪКА** rather in the meaning 'girl, unmarried woman'. The third example is taken from the Hypatian Codex, s.a. 1238, that is, from the Galician Chronicle. It reads: "король же не вдасть дѣвки своей Ростиславоу. и погна и прочь." A28 shows probably the oldest East Slavic example of **ДЪВКА** 'daughter'.

A28.11 (7): **ОБЪЦАЛЪ**: This phonetic Polonism (witnessing *c* < **tj*, which made its way into the Modern Ukrainian standard language) is attested elsewhere in a charter of uncertain provenance dating from 1411 in the form **ОБЪЦАЕМЪ**. SDR (1988–) does not contain an entry for **ОБЪЦАТИ**. A28 contains the oldest known example of **обицати** in Ukrainian.

A28.12 (9–12, 15): **ПРИЗВАЛЪ • К СОБЪ • СВОЪ • ПРИАТЕЛЫ • И СВОЮ • ЖЕНУ • ПАНЪ [...]** (the charter is damaged here; see Moldovan 2000, 267 and the photograph) **И ОУСКАЗАЛЪ • К НАМЪ • СВОИМИ ПРИАТЕЛЫ • И СВОЮ • ЖЕНОЮ • АБЫХУМЫ • ТЪЪ • ОУМЪЛЛЫ** [*sic*] **НЕ РУШЛИИ, ТАКО КСМЫ • ОУМОЛВИЛИ • АБЫХУМЫ ТУ ДЕРЖАЛИ • ТВЕРДО • ТОУ ОУМОЛВОУ**: Whereas **ПАНЪ** appears in many Galician charters of the fourteenth century, the feminine form **ПАНИ** is found only in a charter from Przemyśl from 1378, and in one from Vyšnja from 1393—both written by Kost'ko (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, nos. 18, 28); otherwise **ПАНИ** occurs only in the fifteenth century (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **ПАНИ**). SDR (1988–, s.v. **ПАНИ**) cites another example from "Гр. ок. 1350 (1, ю.-р.);" but this

is an error—a check in Peščak’s index reveals that in fact the example is taken from a nineteenth-century copy of a charter of uncertain date.⁹ A28 contains the second oldest examples of the word in Ukrainian, with **панѣ** standing for dative (A28.17) and accusative cases. As regards the accusative, **ѣ** stands clearly for [i].

A28.13 (9–10): **оуказалъ**: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **всказати** and **всказывати**) cites only two examples of the word that date from the fourteenth century; both are charters of uncertain provenance written by scribes of southern origin (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, nos. 15, 18). One of them dates from 1386; the other from between 1386 and 1418 was written by Kost’ko, probably in Przemyśl (see Rozov 1917, 30, 35). SDR (1988–, s.v. **вѣсказати**) cites only the first of these two hitherto known examples as a single entry. The word seems to be typical of Galician charters.

A28.14 (11): **ако**: see A27.4.

A28.15 (10, 11): **авыхмы**: The preterite forms of the type **выхмы** are usually explained as a contamination of the old aorist **выхомъ** and the Polish forms ending in *-śmy* (Bulyka, Žuraŭski, and Kramko 1979, 211–12, 284; see also IUMM 1978, 325–27, which states: “Вплив польської мови певною мірою відбиває морфологічний варіант *-хмы*, який зустрічається нерідко в тих самих текстах, що й *-смы*” [p. 306]). In A28 we find it as a component of the conjunction **авы** (regarding **выхмы** in the forms of the conditional, see Bulyka, Žuraŭski, and Kramko 1979, 284–86; IUMM 1978, 304–5). IUMM lists only rather late examples for the aorist in **-хмы** (p. 326), but cites some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century examples of **овыхмо** with **-хмо** (p. 303), another innovation usually considered an intermediate step between **-хомъ** and **-хмы**. The form **выхмы** in the conditional mood does not appear there. SSUM (1977–1978) records only the innovation **авыхмо**, not **авыхмы**, and among the forms of **быти** it cites the two forms **выхмы**, **внхмы** from two Moldavian charters dating from 1448 and 1459–1460, respectively. Because Moldovan’s reading **авыхмы** is clearly confirmed in the photograph provided, **авыхмы** in A28 (1393) is the oldest example of Ukrainian **-хмы** known up to now.

A28.16 (14): **ключови**: see A16.3.

A28.17 (14–15): **а што ў дворѣ • выдла • имѣн(н)к [sic] • то оусе • панѣ • ходковон • и со кѣ • дѣтми • има быти • дѣлно • има быти части кднн • ако и дроугон • того выдла**: SSUM (1977–1978) cites only one example of the certain Polonism **выдла**, which, according to it, is contained in a “Luc’k charter of 1389.” But if we check this charter in Peščak’s edition (1974, 101–3), we find that in fact we are dealing with a 1547 document from Vilnius, clearly written in the heavily Polonized language of the mid-sixteenth century. Therefore SDR (1988–) is correct in having no entry for **выдла**. Thus the two examples

of **БЫДА** in A28 of 1393 seem to be the only ones from Early Middle Ukrainian charters known until now.

A28.18: **ИМА**: In the above cited example, the 3rd person singular present tense form **ИМА** appears twice. According to SSUM (1977–1978), the same form is recorded in a Galician charter of 1404, and this charter, which originates from Медука (Rozov 1917, 69–70), proves to be written in a heavily Polonized language as well. Along with **ИМА** there appear such forms as **СТРОНА**, **НИЖАН**, and the like (the example of **ИМА** reads: “а то тако. аже король. заплативъ. пал. сотъ. гривень. тымъ пана^м има вечисто. держа^т”). Looking through all examples from SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ИМАТИ**), we can add one more example of **ИМА** dating from 1399 (cf. Rozov 1917, 59; Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 32): “аж бы коли. нѣкотораа. пригода ему ста^а. тогды има то село замѣни^т. продати”). This charter was written in Lviv in the name of Jogaila by the scribe Maloxij (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 32). In the same text, we find the forms **ИМАКТЪ**, **ИМАЮТЬ**. Finally, there is another example dating from 1412, also contained in a charter from Lviv written by one of Ivan Srēms'kyj's scribes (Rozov 1917, 80–81; Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 44). So it seems obvious that in the beginning the word form **ИМА** can be considered a typically Galician morphological Polonism of Ukrainian. Contemporary Ukrainian dialect forms of the type *засніва*, *бажа* are typical of the southeastern dialects (IUMM 1978, 319), and thus of later origin, not relevant in this context.

A28.19 (16): **КДНОИ** (context in A28.17): SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ЄДЕН** [*sic*]) lists several examples of this Polish form of the numeral, however all of them belong to the fifteenth century (the same holds true for all derived forms of **КДН-** such as **КДНАТИ**, **КДНОТА**, and the like). SDR (1988–) does not contain any entry for **КДН-** or **КДН-**. A28 contains the oldest example of the Polonism, which made its way into several Western Ukrainian dialects.

A28.20 (16–17): **И А КСМО ТО ПРИЛЮБИЛО И ПОТВЕРДИЛО СВОИМИ ЛИСТЫ И ПЕЧАТИ**: According to SSUM (1977–1978), examples of the word **ПРИЛЮБИТИ** can be found only in a charter from Halyč dating from 1404 and in another Galician charter of uncertain provenance dating from 1419. Thus A28 seems to show the oldest record of this Polonism.

A28.21 (19): **ПРЕДО КВѢТНОЮ НДЛЮ**: The form **КВѢТ-** is not recorded in Old Ukrainian texts (Shevelov 1979, 57). In contemporary Ukrainian dialects

the *kv* and *cv* forms appear scattered and are sometimes used alongside each other. However, the material collected so far suggests the higher concentration of *kv*-forms in the northern and eastern part of the Ukraine, while the SW dialects more often have *cv*-; in the latter, where *kv*-forms do occur, parallel *cv*-forms are also usually found (e.g. near Drohobyč, Turka, Pidbuž, Sambir, Žovkva (Shevelov 1979, 56).

In SSUM (1977–1978) only **цвѣт-** (*cvethney*) can be found in one example from a late copy s.v. **понеѡѡлокъ**; SDR (1988–) does not contain an entry for **квѣт-**.

A28.22 (21): **арци•вискупо** (2x): This Polonism can be found elsewhere in a charter from Medyka of 1415 in the form **арцивискупъ**, and in Moldavian charters, e.g., from Suțeava of 1486 (SSUM 1977–1978). Other forms show a *j*-prothesis as well, cf. Rozov (1917, 122): **арцивискупъ** and **арцивискоупомъ** from a Moldavian charter of 1468. According to SSUM (1977–1978), the word **арцивискоупъ** is attested in Ukrainian charters only three times. We can now add two more examples, which are the oldest known up to now. SDR (1988–, s.v. **арцивискоупъ**) cites only three examples from the Hypatian Codex (written about 1425).

A28.23 (23): **пано•юско•вожвода•навовскии•пано•диниско•шюриноходково•аныхо•многo•былодобрыхo•людин**: The context makes clear that **навовскии** belongs to **вожвода** and that **и** cannot stand for the conjunction. This means that A28 seems to contain the oldest example of a vowel prothesis with *i* before a cluster with *l*, cf. Shevelov (1979, 461–62, 473), who cites the same word from a Lviv charter of 1400 and attributes the rise of prothetic *i* before *l*, *r*, *m* to the fifteenth century.

2.4. Text A29, Strilyči,¹⁰ 7 May 1396 (*Moldovan 2000*, 270)

A29.1 (1): **свѣдчю**: SSUM (1977–1978) cites examples of **свѣтчиги** (such is the spelling of the entry) from only one fourteenth-century charter (from Kolomyja, dated 1398; published in Rozov 1917, 57). The other examples date from the fifteenth century, the oldest among them being **свѣдохю** from a Lviv charter of 1421. Sreznevskij (1893–1903, s.v. **свѣдчиги**), of course, lists only Ukrainian and Belarusian examples of the word. A29 seems to contain the oldest of them.

A29.2 (2): **сесь листъ**: The oldest example of the reduplicated pronoun **сесь** has been found in a charter from Suțeava dating from 1388 (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **сесь**); the other examples belong to the fifteenth century. The example from A29 seems to be the second oldest hitherto known and the oldest from non-Moldavian charters.

A29.3 (3, 6): **выкупюеть, выкупити**: The oldest example of **выкупити** cited in SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **выкупити, выкупить**) is contained in a Lviv charter of 1386; the other examples belong to the fifteenth century. SDR (1988–, s.v. **выкупити**) cites seven examples of **выкупити**, but only the example from the Lviv charter of 1386 in fact means only ‘to buy’. In Old East Slavic and Middle Russian texts, as well in the Moscow charter of 1389 that is erroneously added in SDR (1988–) to the meaning “**выкупить что-л.**,” it means ‘to pay for getting somebody free.’¹¹ Within the corpus of the Galician Ukrainian charters A29.3 shows the only imperfective form and the second oldest known example

of this word. In other old East Slavic texts, e.g., in the “Pravda russkaja,” the imperfective aspect reads **выкоупати** and has the same early meaning ‘to pay for getting somebody free.’ **Выкоуповати** is not attested; most probably it is a Polonism.

A29.4 (3, 4): **оу пани марьѣ; та пани марьѡ**: cf. A28.12. Here -и is found in the genitive as well as in the nominative case of **пани** instead of **ѣ** as in A28.12.

A29.5 (4, 6, 5, 9): **татъ весь; тѣто дѣдниноу; тыто дѣти** (twice): This form of the demonstrative pronoun does not appear in other Ukrainian charters at all. Only the type **тога, тоты** with the indeclinable part in front is attested on occasion (see SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **тотъ**; see also Kuraszkievicz 1934, 122 with **тоти, тоты**).

A29.6 (4, 7, 8): **имала, имаѣтъ** (2x): cf. A28.18. In addition, the older form **имѣти** appears twice in an idiomatic expression in A29.10 (see below).

A29.7 (5): **посагъ**: This word does not appear in any other Ukrainian charters of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; cf. Polish *posag* ‘dowry’.

A29.8 (5–9): **кеды бы тыто дѣти • на имѡ • ганька • и олюхна • хотѣли • тѣто • дѣднину • оу пана ключа выкупити • штожь бѣдѣтъ • право имѣти • к тон дѣднинѣ • тогда • панъ • ключъ • имаѣтъ • тоѣ дѣднины ажъ есмо первѣи • именовали • имаеѣтъ • постѣпити • а своѣ пѣназѣѣ • оузати • оу тѣхъ дѣтти • ѣжь есмо • первѣи • именовали**: SSUM (1977–1978) records examples of the clear Polonism **кеды** (with *e < ѡ* in *kęgd-*). Both of them date from 1395 and originate from Moldavian charters, and both use **кеды** in connection with **коли**—that is, as **кеды коли**. SDR (1988–, s.v. **кеды**) cites one example of **кеды** from a charter from Łęczysca of 1388 (Rozov 1917, 39) where it is connected with **како** in **како кеды**, which SDR translates as a causal conjunction by ‘поскольку’. A29 (1396) contains the oldest example of the Polonism **кеды** functioning as a temporal conjunction alone and the oldest example of the word from non-Moldavian charters.

A29.9 (5–7, 9–10): **тыто дѣти • [...] штожь бѣдѣтъ • право имѣти; штожь бѣдоуѣ • тыто • дѣти • имѣти • право**: The first examples of the new analytic future tense construction with *budu* + infinitive cited by IUMM (1978, 294) belong to the fifteenth century, although IUMM claims there that the model was quite common during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **быти**, meaning 4a) cites two certain examples from the fourteenth century, one from a charter written by Kost’ko in Bachorz in 1377 (Rozov 1917, 23–24: **служити бѣдетъ**) and one from a charter from Cracow dating from 1388 (Rozov 1917, 41: **бѣдемъ держаѣ**); both of them are heavily Polonized. A29 contains two further examples of the new analytic future tense and the first from the Ukrainian language territory.

A29.10 (5–7, 9–10): **право имѣти (къ)**, context in A29.10: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **имѣти**, meaning 11), lists only late fifteenth-century examples of

МЕТИ ПРАВО, ПРАВО МЕТИ in the same meaning “позиватися, судитися” with the complements “з ким о що, о чому з ким.” Thus A29 seems to contain the oldest examples of this phrase in Ukrainian. Furthermore, it provides evidence for another possibility of its government.

A29.11 (10): **СВѢДЦИ**: This example confirms the observation that the forms with the preserved reflexes of the second palatalization are typical of the southern (i.e., Galician and Moldavian) Ruthenian charters (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 112–13).

A29.12 (11) **К ТОМУ КСМО ЛИСТОВИ • НАШЮ ПЕЧА** приложили: The dative form ending in **-ОВИ** is particularly interesting because the noun **ЛИСТЪ** is (semantically) inanimate; see A28.1. Kuraszkiewicz (1934, 108) emphasizes that **-ОВИ** is found only “wyjątkowo w nieżywotnych.”

A29.13 (14): **ОУ ПОНЕДѢЛЕ**: This clear phonetic Polonism with **-ЕКЪ** < *-ькѣ* is quite a surprise (mentioned without comment by Moldovan 2000, 271). SSUM (1977–1978) only records **ПОНЕДѢЛОКЪ** and **ПОНЕДѢЛНИКЪ**.

2.5. *Text A43, Lviv, 23 June¹² 1413 (Moldovan 2000, 271–72)*

A43.1 (1): **Во има бѣже мы па" ива" срѣмскии староста рѣскии визнавам то си" своимъ листомъ [...]**: A charter contained in Rozov (1917, 85), which dates from 1414 and originates from Lviv, contains exactly the same formula with the same verb form **ВЫЗНАВАМЪ**: “Во има божѣе мы па" ива" срѣмскии староста рѣскии визнава" то си" наши" листомъ.” It seems that the form **ВЫЗНАВАМЪ** was typical of Ivan Srěms'kyj's scribe.

A43.2 (2): **ОЧВИСТЕ**: SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ОЧВИСТЕ**, **ОЧВИСТѢ**, **ОЧВИСТЕ**) records one example of the word originating from the same Lviv charter of 1414, where it figures as **ОЧВИСТЕ** (it is the same charter as the one cited above). Later examples date only from the middle of the fifteenth century. Obviously, in A43 we are dealing with the oldest example of this Polonism in Ukrainian, which seems to be typical of Ivan Srěms'kyj's scribe.

A43.3 (2): **ДОБРОВОЛНЕ**: The word **ДОБРОВОЛНИИ** itself often appears in older Ukrainian charters, yet the form **ДОБРОВОЛНЕ** seems to be typical of Ivan Srěms'kyj's scribe, as the other example of this form cited in SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **ДОБРОВОЛНЕ**) is again from the 1414 charter, whereas yet another example, presumably dating from 1388, is in fact taken from a late copy. SDR (1988–, s.v. **ДОБРОВОЛНО**) cites examples for the word in the meaning ‘voluntarily’ only from Galician charters and has a separate entry for **ДОБРОВОЛНѢ**, which figures there as a Church Slavonic loan in the meaning ‘charitable’.

A43.4 (4): **ЗА ДЕСАТЬ КОПѢ РѣСКОИ ЛИЧБЫ**: The earliest examples of the Polonism **ЛИЧБА** in the meaning ‘calculation’ cited in SSUM (1977–1978) date from the 1480s. Two examples—from Ostrih of 1427 and from Turejs'k of 1429—contain **ЛИЧБА** with the special meaning ‘exchange rate of money’, which appears in this example as well. SDR (1988–) does not have an entry for the

word. A43 thus contains the oldest example of this word known from the Ukrainian charters.

A43.5 (4–6): **ТАКЪ ВОНО ПАНУ ГРИГОРЕВИ И ЕГО ЛЮДЕМЪ ГРОДИСЛАВЧАНОМЪ В ТЫХ ЛѢСѢХЪ И В ДУБРОВАХЪ РҪВАТИ НАЧИНЫЕ И ДРВА И ШТО КОЛИ ИМЪ НАДОВѢ И ПОЖИВАТИ ТАКО ВОЛНО ТАКО ПАНУ ГЛѢВОВИ И ЕГО ЛЮДЕМЪ**: As the entries in SDR (1988–, s.v. **волно**) confirm, the predicative form **волно** is used not only in Belarusian (cf. also copy D of the Smolensk/Smalensk charter of 1229) and Ukrainian charters, but also in East Slavic Church Slavonic texts. As regards Ukrainian charters, SSUM (1977–1978) cites only one example of predicative **волно** from the fourteenth century, though in fact we are dealing with a sixteenth-century copy. Peščak (1974, 155) lists two examples of **волно**, but the second one does not really figure as a predicative form. Only the first one originates from the well-known charter by Kazimierz III for his servant Ivan (Rozov 1917, 2–4) and belongs here (the earliest reliable example of predicative **волно** cited in SSUM [1977–1978] comes from a Moldavian charter of 1408). A43 appears to contain two of the oldest Ukrainian examples of predicative **волно**.

A43.6 (4): **ЛЮДЕМЪ ГРОДИСЛАВЧАНОМЪ**: Whereas **гродиславчаномъ** reflects the Polish metathesis form, in line 3 we find the authentic East Slavic **к селу городиславичомъ** with pleophony.

A43.7 (4, 7, 6): **ПАНУ ГРИГОРЕВИ (2x); ПАНУ ГЛѢВОВИ**: see above, A16.3.

A43.8 (5): **НАЧИНЫЕ**: SSUM (1977–1978) does not record this Polonism. In Old Polish, *naczynie* could mean “z grubsza obrobiony materiał drzewny, zdalny na budulec oraz do przeróbki na narzędzia, wozy itp., nap. dyle, żerdzie, tarcice itp., ligna ad instrumenta efficienda idonea” (see SStP 1953–2002, s.v. *naczynie*). It is exactly this meaning that is represented in A43. SDR (1988–) does not record the word.

A43.9 (5): **ДРВА**: Other examples of the Common Slavic word *dr̥va* attest the original Ukrainian reflex **дрыва**, as we find it in a charter of uncertain provenance of 1424 and in a Luc´k charter of 1447 (SSUM 1977–1978, s.v. **дрыва**). It is hardly possible to explain this spelling as a scribal error or as a result of the lack of the titlo (see Moldovan 2000, 272). Most probably, this is another phonetic Polonism reflecting Polish *drwa* < *dr̥va*. SDR (1988–, s.v. **дрѡва**) does not cite any example of **дрыв-** or **дрв-**.

A43.10 (5): **ШТО КОЛИ ИМЪ НАДОВѢ** (context in A43.5, cf. A28.2 for **кто коли**): The first example of **што коли** cited in SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **штоколи, щоколи**) is taken from a 1386 charter of uncertain origin, written by a scribe of southern origin (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 15). The dictionary points to the Old Czech source of this word but does not mention that *cokoli* is also attested in Old Polish.

A43.11 (5): **ПОЖИВАТИ**: According to SSUM (1977–1978), the earliest example of the Polonism **поживати** would appear in a Luc´k charter of 1388, where it

means 'eat', but the material is taken from an unreliable sixteenth-century copy (Peščak 1974, 93–96). Another example of **ПОЖИВАТИ** in its meaning 'use' was written by the scribe Van 'ko in 1424 (Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, no. 54)—that is, it originates from another Galician charter; all other examples date from the late fifteenth century. SDR (1988–) has no entry for **ПОЖИВАТИ**. A43 contains the earliest example of this word.

A43.12 (5): **ПАКО** (context in A43.5): see A27.4.

A43.13 (6): **СО ВСѢМЪ ПРАВОМЪ СО ВСѢМИ ВЖИТКИ**¹³ (cf. A27.3): The formulaic expression **СО ВСѢМЪ ПРАВОМЪ** is extended here by **СО ВСѢМИ ВЖИТКИ**, a frequent formula.

A43.14 (10–11): **НИМЖЕ ЧЕСТЬ И ВѢРА ЛЕЖИТЬ**: SSUM (1977–1978) counts three examples of **ЛЕЖАТИ** in the meaning of **НАЛЕЖАТИ** 'belong to' and cites two of them, both originating from Lviv, one dating from 1412 and one from 1421 (Rozov 1917, 81, 94). Both of them reflect exactly the same phrase as found in A43; both of them are written by Ivan Srěms 'kyj's scribe (see Kuraszkiewicz 1934, 7, nos. 44, 51). SDR (1988–, s.v. **ЛЕЖАТИ**) does not record **ЛЕЖАТИ** in the meaning 'belong to'.

A43.15 (11): **НА ЗАВТРОНЕ ПО БЖЪЕМЪ ТѢЛѢ**: These words not only contain the Polonism **БЖЪЕ ТѢЛО** in the meaning 'Corpus Christi', which is not attested in other Ukrainian charters,¹⁴ but they also allow us to date the charter more accurately: in 1413 Corpus Christi was celebrated on 22 June, and thus **НА ЗАВТРОНЕ ПО БЖЪЕМЪ ТѢЛѢ** means 23 June.

3. CONCLUSION

The five newly found Galician Ukrainian charters not only attest additional examples of otherwise rarely used Ukrainian forms and spellings, but in some cases also provide evidence of the oldest examples of some Ukrainian innovations. This holds true not only for the lexicon, but for all linguistic levels. The high number of Polonisms in these five charters confirms the vivid Polish-Ukrainian linguistic encounter in Galicia at the turn of the fifteenth century. There is no question that the five charters must be added to the canon of Ukrainian historical philology.

NOTES

1. All readings were checked against the photographs.
2. Cf. also a charter from Przemyśl dating from 1378 (Rozov 1917, 25): "Во има ѿца и с̄на и с̄то д̄ха. Аминь. божью м̄тъю. и добрыхъ людии прыазнью. и сталася торгуваа. межи добрыми людми. [...]"
3. As regards the hypothesis about the influence of medieval Czech charters on the

Ukrainian charters, see Zoltán (1988, 90): “В виду отсутствия чешских грамот, хотя бы одновременных с первыми галицкими, непосредственное чешское влияние на галицкую канцелярскую практику второй половины XIV в. не может быть доказано. Сходство формуляра украинских и чешских грамот объясняется, на наш взгляд, намного проще: их общей зависимостью от тех же латинских образцов. Отсутствие грамот на польском языке в данный период свидетельствует лишь о том, что в польских канцеляриях не писали на польском языке, но едва ли можно себе представить, чтобы не существовал польский устный вариант документов, составляемых на латинском языке. ‘Типично чешские слова’, обнаруженные Й. Мацуреком в галицких и молдавских грамотах, являются словами, общими для чешского и польского языков (в ряде случаев, конечно, в результате сильного влияния чешского языка на польский), поэтому не могут свидетельствовать о непосредственном чешском влиянии на язык староукраинских грамот.”

4. See the Moldavian charters in Rusaniv's'kyj 1965. Alexander: 1408, 1422, vs. 1411: азъ, 1423: Алехандръ воевода [...] чинимъ знаменито [...]), 1423, 1429, 1433, vs. 1429: азъ, 1430: азъ. Other voivodes: Il'ja: 1432, 1438, mid-fifteenth century; Stefan 1434, 1443, 1443(2), 1446, vs. 1488: се азъ ра(б) вл(д)кы моего їс̄ х̄а, analogically 1488(2), 1490; Petro 1448, 1454, 1456(1), 1456(2), 1456(3), 1458, 1460, 1462(2), 1463, 1471, 1472, 1474.
5. The place is not mentioned, but all persons and actions refer to Lviv.
6. Notation in this article is as follows: “A16.1 (4)” indicates the first example from A16.1 in line 4 of the charter.
7. It is used in other Old Church Slavonic texts as well, but is rarely attested elsewhere in Old East Slavic texts. Sreznevskij (1893–1903) cites only an East Slavic copy of the Bulgarian Church Slavonic “Besedy” by Gregory of Nazianzus (fourteenth century) and one copy of the vita of Boris and Gleb.
8. See Moldovan (2000, 265): “над є более тонким пером написано мѣ.”
9. The orthography of the example already makes it clear that it cannot originate from one of the well-edited charters of 1350.
10. The name of the village is not contained in SSUM (1977–1978), but Ivan Kryp'jakevyč refers to it as one of the villages the charters of 1350–1370 said existed before. Strilyči belongs to the “Галицька волость” (Крып'jakevyč 1984).
11. Cf.: “А хто буде(т) покупи(л) земли да(н)ныѣ, служнии или черны(х) лю(д)а<и>, по оца моего животѣ, по княз<а> [sic] велико(г) по Ивановѣ, а тѣ, хто зможе(т) выкупи(т), инѣ выкупа(т), а не змогу(т) выкупити, инѣ потагну(т) к черны(м) люде(м)” (SDR 1988–, s.v. **выкупити**).
12. See A43.15.
13. Moldovan (2000, 272) shows the unusual form **всемн** (line 6), however the photograph (illustration 19) shows that this is a misprint for **всѣми**.
14. “Bozeie tiŃo” cited in SSUM (1977–1978, s.v. **божій**) in a copy of a charter of 1433 indeed means “причастя, святи дари” as noted there.

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